



Fig 1 Edvard Munch outside his studio in Kragerø c 1911
MM.D.02052-03
Photo © Munchmuseet

Object Biographies
The impact of Degenerate Classifications upon Edvard Munch's
'Embrace On the Beach (A Summers Day)' 1904 & 'Madonna' 1894.

Master's Thesis
Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough
Student no. 7865058
Research Master's Art History
First Reader: Prof. Dr Alison Boyd, Utrecht University
Second Reader: Dr Ute Kuhlemann Falck, Munch Museum Oslo

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Summary

This thesis examines the layers between art history, provenance research and contemporary collecting practices within the topic of restitution. This work aims to investigate the under-discussed study of the Norwegian expressionist artist Edvard Munch (1863-1944) and his iconic masterpieces affected by the National Socialist policy of 'Degenerate Art' between 1933-37. This thesis will unearth the journey his artwork went on from 1933 to the outcome of their homecoming sales in Oslo in 1939 onwards. Segmented into three key case studies, the thesis will first reflect on establishing his art & career in Germany before 1933, and second the displacement of two of the 83 degenerate works of 1937. Finally, the third segment explores how contemporary researchers retrace artworks and their biographies within the context of the art dealer Harald Ludvik Holst Halvorsen (1889-1960), who impacted the recorded lineage of Munch's artwork.

A term that will be discussed throughout this research is the meaning and contextual understanding of degenerate, as it holds prominence in how it impacted the trajectory of Munch's expropriated artworks and his established career in Germany. Revisualising the invisible ownership of these works has spotlighted how the study of degenerate art, provenance research and contemporary collecting practices can shine a new light on objects themselves and their placement in the broader art historical study of Edvard Munch's art.

In recent years the topic of looted art and restitution practices appeared when Edvard Munch's displaced artworks came to auction and exhibition, which gave rise to unanswered questions on the biographies of his artwork and how they can impact the future sale of artworks throughout the industry. The importance of due diligence checks, how they can aid or hinder museum specialists and the auction houses will thus form part of the discussion on Munch's displaced artworks, as a significant step in supporting the history of art sector with the degenerate period of history.

This research will examine Munch's displaced and lost degenerate art in multiple mediums, ensuring optimal analysis of the nuances between them. Analysing a work on canvas against that of a work on paper will highlight the vital complexities between the two mediums. Significantly works on paper are often overlooked or underrated; therefore, a comparison must be made in the provenance research of both. The process of due diligence in this research is more complicated and less clear-cut than that of a looted piece of art and, thus is a key area this research will look to explore.

At the recent 2021 and 2023 Sotheby's auctions, two of Munch's monumental friezes for sale had been subjected to the degenerate art classification. For this research, it is crucial to discuss the artwork placed on sale in 2021 as it was part of the dismantled Berlin National Museum until 1937, having been owned by Dr Curt Glaser, the German Jewish art historian and director at the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett until 1927 - a patron and friend to Munch. By looking into the prior ownership of this painting in particular, against the backdrop of the restitution cases and dedicated exhibition on Dr Glaser, this research will highlight the challenges of researching an artwork's shift in ownership due to the NS and alterations in aesthetic reception towards his art.

The two case studies look at his famous masterpieces 'Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day' 1904, initially made for his patron Dr Max Linde (1862–1940), and the 'very rare' dry point etching 'Madonna' 1894. The provenance of these artworks will be analysed, investigating the research compiled to date using primary sources, especially concerning the artist, his German collectors and the Degenerate inventories. By discussing the artworks, the artist's activities and legacy in German Museums, we can better understand the canon of Munch before the Degeneracy. This analysis will be used to present the artwork's unique patterns in their ownership histories, documented as having collectors in German museums before 1933 with connoisseurial practices that dismantled his artworks amid the impending war in Norway in 1940. Due to their timeline, both case studies will thus allow for an interesting exploration into his correspondences with patrons regarding the degenerate classification whilst also discussing their sale in Norway between 1938-39.

In reviewing Munch's artistic processes as a printmaker and his commission of the frieze series for Dr Linde, we can better understand the collectorship of his work in Germany. Completing a 360-degree review of this topic will highlight the importance of provenance research and its pertinence for the future of art historical research, where we see the impacts of conflict, collecting practices and the movement of the art itself. Building upon this rhetoric will allow for a greater understanding of why this topic is significant not only for the art historical study of Munch's German-housed artworks but also for how the impacts of WWII shifted their provenance forever. Analysing the selected case studies within the context of the events that took place in the period will shed new light on the complexity of these cases. Due to the significant number of artworks by Munch that were labelled degenerate, this research has not been able to cover the whole group, but only the two selected cases as a starting point. Choosing only two of these artworks makes it possible to focus on the areas that have proven to be most problematic and, therefore, can be adopted into future research.

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523.	Munch (12772)	Trost	Halvor- sen	V	60 L			
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526.	" (12775)	Urne						
527.	" (12776)	Mädchen am Strand						
528.	" (12777)	Geschrei						
529.	" (12778)	Mann						
530.	" (12779)	Les peintres graveurs						
531.	Nesch (12471)	Freihafenbrücke in Hamburg						
532.	Nolde (12673)	Ada						
533.	" (12674)	Mann mit Mädchen						
534.	" (12675)	Frauenkopf						
535.	" (12676)	Mann und junges Weib						
536.	" (12677)	Hafenstimmung						
537.	" (12678)	Tod als Tänzerin						
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544.	" (16384)	Unterhaltung						
545.	" (16385)	Mann und Weibchen	D					
546.	Pascin (12635)	Zwei Frauen						
547.	Pauli (12636)	Bildnis Weese						
548.	Pechstein (12637)	Zwei badende Mädchen						
549.	" (12638)	Selbstbildnis	EZ					
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551.	" (12640)	Exotischer Kopf						
552.	" (12641)	Stürmisches Meer						
553.	" (12642)	Fischerkopf						
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555.	" (12644)	Bohn des Künstlers						
556.	" (12645)	Krankes Mädchen						
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INTRODUCTION

Aims of the Thesis and Relevance

This thesis investigates how the Norwegian artist Edvard Munch's artworks, held within German institutions before 1933-37, were aesthetically rejected, displaced, and sold after the NS classification of Degeneracy in 1937. This research will highlight the development of Munch's artistic oeuvre in Germany before the degenerate labelling from 1933-37 and the establishment of networks and patronage he cultivated in his 'second home'¹ of Germany. In discussing the patronage Munch received from esteemed individuals as Dr Curt Glaser, Dr Max Linde, and Harald Holst Halvorsen, we can delve into the study of object biographies, especially for these degenerate artworks and their aesthetic collectability.

Based on the limited research on Edvard Munch and Degenerate Art², it is essential to examine both primary sources such as correspondences³, inventories, auction catalogues, sale ledgers, newspaper clippings and more contemporary sources, such as museum inventories and the online Freie Universität (FU)⁴ & "Explore 'Entartete Kunst'"⁵ V&A databases. By utilising these sources, it has been possible to re-read the topic of Edvard Munch and the impact of the pre/inter-war period upon his artistic career – an extension of the research performed in some ways by Tine Yarborough concerning the "Exhibition Strategies and Wartime Politics in the Art and Career of Edvard Munch, 1914-1921" published in 1995. In mining this topic further, the research will review how vital provenance research is for this scholarship and the broader frameworks within Art History, Museums studies and the Art Market. As noted by scholar Arthur Tompkins "All those involved with art – creators, dealers, researchers, art historians, critics, writers and, last but certainly not least, its viewers – deserve to know the work's provenance or lack of provenance, be it the storied histories of famous works of art or the equally obscure or confused tales, of less-recognised pieces"⁶. This methodology introduced a new understanding of the concept of an object biography and the degenerate group 83 of Munch's artworks. Selecting two examples from this group will open new understandings of the lasting impact on Edvard Munch's 'Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day' 1904 and 'Madonna' 1894.

When discussing the degenerate artworks of Edvard Munch, it is essential to note that little has been written on this topic, which the question should be: why? As leading Munch scholar Patricia Berman highlights, in her seminal overview of Munch scholarship (1994), the irony of Munch and his German reception "It was also in

¹ Clarke, J.A. '1927: Munch's changing role in Germany', *Kunst u Kultur*, 2013, Nr.4, 96, pp 170-181

² As referenced by Patricia Berman back in 1994. See: page 6 of '(Re-) reading Edvard Munch: trends in the current literature', *Scandinavian Studies*(Vol. 66, Issue 1), Winter 1994, University of Illinois Press

³ See for example the correspondence of Edvard Munch with patron and art historian Dr Curt Glaser. E:Munch

⁴ Freie Universität [FU] "DEGENERATE ART" RESEARCH CENTER is a long term project assisted by the [Ferdinand Möller Foundation](#). Since 2016 the "Degenerate Art" Research Centre is funded by the Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media

⁵ The V&A holds the only known copy of a complete inventory of Entartete Kunst confiscated by the Nazi regime from public institutions in Germany, mostly during 1937 and 1938. The list of more than 16,000 artworks was produced by the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda) in 1942 or thereabouts. It seems that the inventory was compiled as a final record, after the sales and disposals of the confiscated art had been completed in the summer of 1941. The inventory's two typescript volumes provide crucial information about the provenance, exhibition history and fate of each artwork.

⁶ Tompkins, A. 'Provenance Research Today: Principles, Practice. Problems', Lund Humphries Publishers Ltd, 3rd December 2020

Germany where he was condemned as "Degenerate" along with other modernists of his (and the following) generation. On the "Entartete Kunst" exhibition, Munch had the dubious honour of being one of the oldest artists identified as a "Degenerate."⁷ Berman's 'overview' of the Degenerate and Munch highlights the small scholarship on this topic by the early 1990s, with a small reference to only three scholars: Stephanie Barron, Robert Rosenblum, and Guido Magnaguagno. Therefore, this research aims to develop upon the scholarship of the early 1990s and discuss the contemporary stance on degenerate art and Munch, as has been performed by painting specialist Petra Pettersen (2010) and the recent auction catalogue essays by the specialists at Sotheby's regarding two works on canvas by the artist (2021-2023).

Historically, it is crucial to ask why such a lacuna is present in the scholarship when we discuss the complex journey of his art and its shifts in reception. As seen across much of the literature to date, it has been dedicated towards the 'genius', the 'myth of the artist', his anxieties and complex mental health, all accentuated by his iconic oeuvre comprised of the prolificity of his prints & graphic works, masterful paintings, and plentiful photographs⁸. So, why is there a lack of concentrated scholarship towards this gap in his history? Furthermore, the absence of the historical implications of the Second World War upon the stronghold of his collectorship, both privately and publicly held in Germany only seven years before he died in 1944, has been overlooked.

As this study intends to express to the reader, we must comprehend these displaced artworks within the broader range of reception history and the shifts in artwork ownership. This will enable an understanding of how to introduce the idea of 'provenance branding'⁹ for Munch's Degenerate works, as such terminology can profoundly impact the reception and interpretation of objects still to this day¹⁰. Exploring this concept within Munch's sphere and the scholarship surrounding his oeuvre can better open new lines of enquiry into how we trace an object's biography and the implications of historical events upon his legacy and reception. A view adopted in contemporary exhibitions and scholarship has raised important crucial meaningful conversation on his reception as a modernist "master" while revealing new aspects of his work. Providing an opportunity to re-evaluate the public assumptions of originality vs social context in his oeuvre¹¹ is thus a pertinent goal of this research.

With the group of Munch's degenerate artworks being 83, it will be to discuss why the two artworks in this research were selected and how they, as case studies, broaden the narrative of the degenerate group as a whole. Both will present various challenges when analysing the artwork's ownership history, reception, and

⁷ Berman, P. '(Re-) reading Edvard Munch: trends in the current literature', *Scandinavian Studies*(Vol. 66, Issue 1), Winter 1994, University of Illinois Press, p 6

⁸ Berman, P. '(Re-) reading Edvard Munch: trends in the current literature', *Scandinavian Studies*(Vol. 66, Issue 1), Winter 1994, University of Illinois Press pp 1-8

⁹ Pierson, S. *The Power of Provenance. "Dr Johnson's Teapot and the Materialization of Fame": Names, Titles & Branding*, p 29-43, Nr. 1 (2022): transfer – Zeitschrift für Provenienzforschung und Sammlungsgeschichte

¹⁰ Kemp, W. *The work of art and its beholder. The methodology of the aesthetics of reception*, "The subjects of art history: historical objects in contemporary perspectives". Cambridge, 1998, pp. 180-196

¹¹ Kurczynski, K. Exhibition review of *Edvard Munch: The Modern Life of the Soul and Edvard Munch: Symbolism in Print, Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 5, no. 2 (Autumn 2006), <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn06/151-edvard-munch-the-modern-life-of-the-soul-and-edvard-munch-symbolism-in-print>

impact of this classification. A particular barrier to this research has been that both artworks are privately held in global collections, which limits physical access to the works and availability to their tracing.

As leading art historian and provenance researcher Lynn H. Nicholas notes, “Today, a full provenance must take into consideration the total context of a work as it moves through time, and the resulting narrative is often as fascinating a social and historical document as the work of art itself.”¹² Therefore, when we analyse the movement and shift in biographies of the two chosen artworks, new information can act as multiple access points for understanding this complex and interdisciplinary field. By analysing the early work of Munch, these case studies stimulate new rhetoric within the topic of provenance research concerning Degenerate Art. Through an in-depth analysis of the historical context of when the works were created, classified, and dispersed, these chapters will identify the critical differences between a work on canvas (an individual) versus that of a print (a multiple) and the expansive knowledge required when delineating the deaccessioned works in question. In particular, the latter part of the thesis approach will address how we, as contemporary scholars, utilise source material in combination with innovative digital databases and how issues can arise in the ever-changing digital field.

These chapters thus present the necessity for art historians to scope further effective provenance research for private and public collections where such degenerate artworks are found. By owning a degenerate artwork, you become responsible for this piece of history, as denoted by Michelle Turner in the study “The Innocent Buyer of Art Looted during World War II” 1999. Turner states that “many of the artworks that were not recovered were sold on the international market and made their way to buyers who did not suspect their provenance”¹³. This idea of the innocent buyer goes beyond the NS rationale towards the deaccessioning for sale prioritised over the artistic aesthetic of the works in question. The relationship between the study of provenance research and the degenerate classifications is that they tell a drastically different story to artworks looted from persecuted individuals. Overall Degenerate art act as a lens through which we can focus the broader discussion of the political, economic, social, and artistic upheavals of the 20th century on Museum collection under the Faustian bargain of the NS¹⁴. Whilst highlighting significant caesuras in the focused provenance research of the affected Munch artworks from this period.

To best address the core of this research, this thesis investigates the artworks "Embrace on the Beach - A Summers Day" 1904 [fig.1] and "Madonna" 1894 [fig.2], as they highlight crucial moments in his artistic oeuvre and are highly regarded within his works. To effectively present the issue of studying their object biographies, the research is structured around introducing degenerate classifications, the creation of these artworks in Germany

¹² Nicholas, L.H. *Collections. A Journal for Museum and Archives Professionals*, Introduction, Vol 10, 2014, pp 249-254

¹³ Turner, Michelle I. "The Innocent Buyer of Art Looted during World War II.", 4.Looted Art in the Possession of an Innocent Buyer, pp 1525, *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law*, vol. 32, no. 5, November 1999, p. 1511-1548. HeinOnline.

¹⁴ Petropoulos, J. *The Faustian Bargain: The Art World in Nazi Germany*, New York, Oxford University Press, March 2000, pp *These figures in the art world had the opportunity for a Faustian bargain because the Nazi leaders themselves cared so much about culture – The visual arts in particular. The Nazi leaders devoted an inordinate amount of time to cultural matters. The leaders provided the political leverage and the operating capital, and the subordinates offered their skill and expertise. This collaboration occurred in all branches of the art world.*

and the role of his collectors, as how this classification brought his artworks back to Oslo in 1938-9. Reconstructing these moments in the artworks' histories, we can better explore the circumstances of their change in ownership from the point of the auction in 1938-9 and how the research was conducted, the challenges faced and how it has formed new lines of inquiry into the contemporary narrative in Munch and Degenerate scholarship.



Figure 1 - 'Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day', (The Linde Frieze), 1904
Signed Edv. Munch (lower left)
Oil on canvas, 90.5 by 194.9cm (35¾ by 76¾in.)
Photo © Sotheby's



Figure 2 - 'Madonna', 1894
Inscription: Edv Munch // Af Tidligste Tryk 1905-6 [blyant, n.t.h.]
Sch. 16 (II), Wöll. 11, Will 15
MM.G.00015-02
Motif: 360 × 265 mm; Paper: 655 × 500 mm; Plate: 375 × 277 mm
Photo © Munchmuseet
Note: Comparable version of the 'Madonna' 1894 part of the later editions produced by the artist in 1984.

Research objectives

This research stems from the absence of dedicated knowledge and overview of the degenerate classified art of Edvard Munch, of which the following unanswered questions summarise: to what extent did such policies of degenerate between 1933 & 1937 categorically alter the trajectory of these objects and their biographies? What can we learn from the role of Munch's strong patronage by collectors and art dealers such as Dr Curt Glaser, Thomas Olsen and Harald Holst Halvorsen by studying primary sources such as letters, auction catalogues and memoirs? And, how can dedicated provenance research open new questions into why the research of Munch's degenerate group is essential for the future art historical research into his oeuvre, both the works on canvas and, crucially, those graphic works?

The main research objective is to discuss the challenges and limitations of researching this dispersed group of works and the importance of tracing their locations and ownerships. The secondary research objective is to discuss how a new framework needs to be implemented when museums or auction houses come into ownership or custody of these works. To have a new format in which information is shared more freely is essential in the distribution of knowledge when we study these degenerate works of Munch's as they vary across different mediums. With this objective, the research will aim to provide this clear insight that will add to the scholarship on Munch's oeuvre, as performed so expertly by Gerd Woll in the 2009 volumes of *EDVARD MUNCH: Complete Paintings* and 2012 volume *EDVARD MUNCH: Complete Graphic Works* as well as the 2013/14 editions of *Edvard Munch: A Genius of Printmaking*.

Main research aims and Hypothesis.

With the focus of the analysis being on two of the displaced artworks, the main research aim is to gain knowledge into the provenance of the artworks through a framework of case studies, basing in-depth analysis on two artworks from this group. With this structure, we can lay out a pre-requisite for conducting future provenance research and build a strong understanding of this for the collection of Edvard Munch and the archives at the Munch Museet Oslo, which will add to the future collection knowledge, management and more specifically, the archival database in the prints cabinet of the museum.

The hypothesis for the research is that collating both primary documentation with contemporary resources will expose the trends in the market for 'degenerate art' and the implications this had on German museums from 1937. By reinforcing this study of Munch's degenerate art and the impact of the classifications, we can generate a groundwork for formative research into their provenances and biographies. Overall unearthing a new scholarship and reaction to how we research, review and publish the Degenerate Art and Edvard Munch findings.

A customary practice in provenance research recommends using interdisciplinary perspectives & approaches, including historical research combined with digital humanities and art historical analysis. Consequently, it lends towards an evolving interdisciplinary approach that requires due diligence in finding archival information. Thus

the secondary aim of this thesis is to determine how the chosen methods employed to investigate the provenance of these artworks are up to date or if they will face future problems when new material surfaces. To create a framework of consistency when researching, for example, the prints of Edvard Munch, when looking into their ownership histories it can differ significantly from the approach taken on canvas artworks deemed more accessible to research.

The methodology chosen for the investigation consists of four approaches. Firstly, contextualisation of the Degenerate movement and the historical sale of Munch's classified artworks. Secondly, through the case studies and contextual overview of the artistic development of Munch's printing and painting in Germany early in his career, combined with a detailed reading of both artwork's provenance from the point of deaccessioning in 1937. The final stage includes the creation of a revised survey of the provenance research performed and the challenges of this line of research. The theory of object itineraries/biographies will be employed throughout the research addressing the work of Joyce and Gillespie 2015 and other leading scholars from a multidisciplinary field to offer a 'deep dive' into the myriad ways we can learn from this specific concept concerning provenance research. Tracing and visually re-mapping the various trajectories and provenance narratives of the artworks during this time frame will open new discussions within the field of Munch research and the more exhaustive provenance research adopted by auction houses and museums globally.

We are presented with a more challenging research process by looking at the broader group of 83 artworks (graphics and paintings). This is due to the variety of approaches that need to be conducted when researching the group, specifically, a print vs a work on canvas. The limitations of not having access to the physical works are more apparent. Consequently, there is a need for a revised understanding of how we survey the degenerate Munch group. The methods used should facilitate the practical research of each artwork within the broader knowledge of Munch's *raisonné* and thus why the research focuses on two key artworks.

Object Biographies

By utilising scholarship surrounding object biographies, collecting practices and changes in reception, it is employed to better unpack how we review provenance research against art historical studies. As addressed in the works of Joy 2009¹⁵; Hetherington 1999¹⁶; Gregg & Seigworth 2010 et al¹⁷, and Kopytoff 1986¹⁸, a few will be discussed concerning these artworks. This theory initially stems from social anthropological and archaeological disciplines. However, when adopting the method into that of Art Historical research, it has opened new lines of inquiry towards provenance research and tracing the invisible lives of the artworks through time, a key point

¹⁵ Joy, Jody. 2009. "Reinvigorating Object Biography: Reproducing the Drama of Object Lives." *World Archaeology* 41 (4): 540–56.

¹⁶ Hetherington, Kevin. 1999. "From Blindness to Blindness: Museums, Heterogeneity and the Subject." *The Sociological Review* 47: 51–73.

¹⁷ Gregg, Melissa, and Gregory J Seigworth. 2010. *The Affect Theory Reader*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

¹⁸ Ethnohistory Workshop (1983 : University of Pennsylvania), and Symposium on the Relationship between Commodities and Culture (1984 : Philadelphia, Pa.). 1988. *The Social Life of Things : Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (version First paperback edition.). Edited by Arjun Appadurai. First paperback ed. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

introduced in Igor Kopytoff's *The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process* (1986) and more recently in *The Power of Provenance* by Stacey Pierson (2022).

In a museum context, especially that of the Munch Museum and their building of knowledge of where his artworks are now located globally, the biographical concept can be applied to outline the historical timeline of the painting / graphic work regarding the artwork's date of production, exhibition history, museum acquisition and current ownership.¹⁹ The objective of introducing biographies is beneficial for tracing the artworks movement in 1937 from their museum context at the time. However, in terms of past research into this, the biography should also include the 'material aspects' of the artefact in flux, as addressed by anthropologist Elizabeth Brumfiel²⁰. Brumfiel argues in this adjacent field of research to art history, it is the 'physical life of artefacts' that alters through time and therefore, concerning both 'Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day' 1904 and 'Madonna' 1894, their physical characteristics have changed²¹. Regarding any visual markers such as stamps/ inscriptions/ annotations to their versos or the addition to their original rectos. (As will be addressed in case 1&2) This 'physical' change is as significant as the historical context of change and movement from owner to owner.

In addition to understanding the material biography of Munch's artworks, a theoretical framework is required when addressing the selected works physical movement from the point of deaccessioning²². The object biography framework has been re-evaluated to accommodate the 'mobility of things' using an 'object-itinerary' approach. "Things in Motion" explores the meanings behind an artefact's multiple interactions over time, mapped by the various routes or journeys described as 'itineraries' (Joyce and Gillespie 2015). The advantage of this theoretical concept is that it helps to build on the object's metaphorical biographical movement. As Joyce brings the idea of an object's 'birth, life and death' into context, which can be seen in the study of these two artworks.

In the context of Munch's degenerate artworks', we can adopt this theory of an object's birth, life and death itinerary to understand the shifts in the movement of the artwork and reception during this period. To reinforce the framework of the theoretical epistemology of this research, it will also be beneficial to introduce the concept of transmissibility, a term reinforced by Jae Emerling in 'Transmissibility: A Mode of Artistic Re-Search' (2017)²³. The Aesthetic labour (creation, research performance) and Cultural Reception (exhibition, historiography, criticism) can be highlighted within both case studies as the two selected artworks demonstrate how events impact their trajectory. It is an approach to art history that unpicks the complications of temporality, immanent movement, and the creation of sense events that comprise the most vital artworks. Therefore, as a parallel theory,

¹⁹This can be seen in cases where Edvard Munch's artworks come to auction from originally being thought lost or in unknown private collections.

²⁰ Brumfiel, E. *It's a material world: History, Artifacts, and Anthropology*. In *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol 32. 2003, pp 205-223, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25064827>

²¹ See 'Best Practice in Provenance Research' by Marie Stolberg and Andrea Lehmann in Tompkins, A. 'Provenance Research Today: Principles, Practice. Problems', Lund Humphries Publishers Ltd, 3rd December 2020, pp 54-67, Outlining the stages of systematic and holistic provenance research, moving from the physical examination of the object itself for clues like labels, to investigating the artist and then the owners, with record-keeping top of mind.

²² This will be discussed in the historical context of the Degenerate Art movement of chapter 1 of the thesis.

²³ Emerling, Jae. 2017. "Transmissibility : A Mode of Artistic Re-Search." *Dark Precursor* Seiten 437-445.

it can assist in examining how impactful the degenerate classification was upon not just the artworks, but the reception of such works and their shift in ownership.

By tracing the complex movement of Edvard Munch's paintings and graphic works that were deaccessioned by 1937, we must discuss such theories in scholarship as a framework for this research. To address the narratives for how such theories can be adopted into the future research of the 2 of the 83 artworks from German museums at this time is essential. To best approach this research through *Embrace on the Beach* 1904 [fig.1] & *Madonna* 1894 [fig.2], it is important to contextualise the challenges of researching Degenerate Art, due to the historical laws created in the 1930s to facilitate the NS move to deaccession the monumental artworks of modernism from German institutions. Therefore, the challenges of such laws in how we approach provenance and due diligence research, as in many instances, highlight the protocol of 'restitution' where problematic information comes to light is not the case for this group.

Theories & Context

When looking at the displacement of artworks, there are two lines of inquiry, 'Looted' art and 'Degenerate' art. Looted art has become an important symbol of what was taken from persecuted individuals during the war²⁴, especially during WWII. Whilst 'Degenerate' art has become a symbol of the aesthetic shift from celebrating the Modern Avant-Garde in Germany to its defamation and shift in public reception in 1937. The 'Degenerate' artworks by Modern Masters²⁵, as Edvard Munch and cultural artefacts stood – and continue to stand – for something far more significant than their material value alone. They engage with the idea and theory of an object's biography and attached motives that defamation and displacement can have. A point reinforced by theorist Chris Godsen is the relationship between people and things that:

*"People have realised that objects do not just provide a stage setting to human action; they are integral to it. Certainly, if we consider material culture in its different moments of production, exchange and consumption, then little is left out, especially once each of these is set within its social contexts and consequences. This new focus directs attention to the way human and object histories inform each other."*²⁶

Such an extract highlights how social contexts and consequences can have effective/affected meaning when we look at the biography and reception of an object. In this instance, the classification of modern art from 1933-37 impacted those 83 artworks by Edvard Munch in German museums.

The role of reception history when combining art with the classification of degeneracy is an appealing line of theory for object biographies. Reception theory trend can be considered an authentic history of taste when

²⁴ Houpt, S. 'Museum of the missing', Sterling Publishing Co., New York, 2006, pp 30-69

²⁵ Nochlin, L. *Bathers, Bodies, Beauty : The Visceral Eye*. The Charles Eliot Norton Lectures, 2003-2004. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006.

²⁶ Godsen, G. Marshall, Y. 'The Cultural Biography of Objects', Taylor & Francis, Vol.31 (2), World Archaeology, 1999, pg 169

monitoring the art trade, theft and destruction of art - a view taken by Art Historians Wolfgang Kemp²⁷ and Francis Haskell²⁸. Centrally, in approaching the topic through such theories, we can best understand how Munch's artistic status shifted from 1933- 1937 and how this affected the displacement and sale of some 83 artworks by 1939²⁹. As Benjamin asserts:

*"There is no document of culture which is not at the same time a document of barbarism. And just as such a document is not free of barbarism, barbarism taints also the manner in which it was transmitted from one owner to another."*³⁰

Therefore, as Munch's artworks are deaccessioned, so too are they affected by the political shifts of the time. They are now symbols of political dominance and disdain.

An outcome of the displacement of artworks in both instances has seen a focus on provenance research – the linear study of tracing the ownership history and its movement through time, history and collections. Even before the end of WWII, with such task forces as the *Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives* [MFAA]³¹ & the Munich Central Collections Point [CCP]³². The role of provenance research has been an integral tool in uncovering the invisible movement of these objects. Such commissions as MFAA were enacted to spearhead the tracing, locating, and recovering of looted objects. This field of research has been significant due to both groups' ability to counteract and undo - to some extent – the NS' scheme to dismantle Western Art and Global Heritage. Yet, the study of the movement of Degenerate Art has not been given as much dedicated research as Looted Art. Partly, this is due to the unclear nature of these artworks being deaccessioned, sold, collected or destroyed. There is no clear line for argument towards the Fair and Just Solutions regarding the displacement of such state-owned collections from German museums during this period; therefore, dedicated groups like the MFAA were not put in place.

A concept surrounding Looted and Degenerate art research is how armed conflicts and war imbue them with specific cross-border characteristics. This 'cross-border characteristic,' as highlighted by the European

²⁷ See Wolfgang Kemp, 'The Work of Art and Its Beholder: The Methodology of the Aesthetic of Reception', in *The Subjects of Art History: Historical Objects in Contemporary Perspectives*, ed Mark.A. Cheertham, Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey, New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp 189-96

²⁸ See Francis Haskell, 'Past and present in art and taste : selected essays', 1987, 'Enemies of Modern Art', pg 221
"Hostility toward contemporary art (for various reasons I have tied to indicate) which – so it came to be believed – was the necessary breeding ground for true art. The consequences of that hostility, its repudiation, and its re-creation art still with us. Under apparently peaceful fields unexploded weapons lurk dangerously."

²⁹ The movement of Munch's works to the Schloss Schönhausen, Berlin <https://www.moma.org/slideshows/221/2886>

³⁰ Benjamin, W. 'Theses on the Philosophy of History', *Illuminations*, New York Schocken Books, 1968, 265

³¹ On June 23, 1943, President Roosevelt approved the formation of the "American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas" widely known as the "Roberts Commission," after its chairman, Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts. The "Harvard Group" and the "American Council of Learned Societies" work contributed to its establishment. Thus was born the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives ("MFAA") section under the auspices of the Civil Affairs and Military Government Sections of the Allied Armies. Together the Monuments Men worked to protect monuments and other cultural treasures from the destruction of World War II. <https://www.monumentsmenfoundation.org/the-heroes> - SNK - *Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit* English Translation: Netherlands Art Property Foundation

³² Munich Central Collecting Point [CCP] was established to accommodate repositories of Nazi-confiscated works of art and other cultural objects, hidden throughout Germany and Austria, which the Allies discovered at the close of World War II. At the central collecting points of Marburg, Wiesbaden, Munich, and the Offenbach Archival Depot, objects were identified, photographed, and restituted to their countries of origin. The works of art that passed through the Munich Central Collecting Point originated from many European museums and from private collections, a large percentage of which were French and Dutch. The recovered objects comprised a wide variety of media, from painting and sculpture to textiles and metalwork. The Munich Central Collecting Point ceased its restitution activities in 1951.

Parliament's legislative initiative report into *Cross-border restitution claims of looted works of art and cultural goods*³³, draws attention to cases of looted items and their displacement/export from the country where the looting took place. The same can be viewed of the 'cross-border characteristic' when looking into the displacement of Degenerate Art, especially that of Edvard Munch's⁸³ artworks from major German institutions. As discussed in cases One & Two, such Institutions as the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett and the Berlin Nationalgalerie Kronprinzen-Palais, had, before 1933, seen Edvard Munch as a strong pioneer in their collection of avant-garde and modern expressionists³⁴. The degenerate classifications allowed this 'cross-border characteristic' to be enacted and crucially made possible through the association of international art dealers as the Norwegian Harald H. Halvorsen with the NS Party.

The artworks grouped within the Entartete Inventories demonstrate the rigid boundary of the NS aesthetic categorisations towards the Avant-Garde, but these 'deaccessioning' tools do not fall into the same restitution practices as those looted from 'persons who had been persecuted'³⁵. "Entartete Kunst", as discussed by journalist Christopher Knight, was organised explicitly to *demonstrate the consequences of any rejection of social and sexual norms*³⁶, and the defining boundaries of this degenerate criteria highlighted the National Socialist disdain for the 'other'. As remarked by Michele Wijegoonaratna in her review of the Gurlitt Trove Report:

*"More than 20,000 "degenerate" works were in German state museum collections by 1933, when the Nazis came to power. They were confiscated – mostly legally – after 1937 by the government, which had jurisdiction over the works and could choose to destroy or sell them on the open market"*³⁷.

This extract highlights the importance of researching such affected artworks as they were not only deaccessioned for their aesthetic qualities but additionally for their monetary value. The latter will be addressed given that all 83 of Edvard Munch's artworks were sold off. This aesthetic shift's construction can solely be based on the regime's expression of its cultural world-view culminating³⁸ in the Entartete grouping of modern art therefore altering the reception and collectability of Munch's art in Germany and potentially its reception globally.

³³ Svoboda, P. European Added Value Assessment: Accompanying the European Parliament's Legislative initiative report "cross-border restitution claims of looted works of art and cultural goods", 9.10.2017, [LINK](#)

³⁴ Clarke, J.A. '1927: Munch's changing role in Germany', *Kunst u Kultur*, 2013, Nr.4, 96, pp 170-181

³⁵ Campfers, E. "Fair and Just Solutions? Alternatives to Litigation in Nazi-Looted Art Disputes: Status Quo and New Developments", Dutch Restitutions Committee, Eleven Publishing, December 2014, Chapter 2 'Sources of Inspiration: Old and New Rules for Looted Art' pp 13-40, Subchapter 2.4.1 'Scope of Restitution', pg 20, [LINK](#)

³⁶ See Christopher Knight, ART COMMENTARY: 'The Ties That Bind : The reconstruction of the 1937 'Degenerate Art' exhibition reflects a rising--and malevolent--tide of modern-day populist rhetoric' 10 March 1991, *LA Times*, [LINK](#)

³⁷ Wijegoonaratna, M. 'Book Review: A Report on the Status Report of the Munich Art Trove', *IFAR Journal* "Gurlitt Status Report", Vol 18 No. 4 2018, Pg 19

³⁸ O'Donnell, N. *A Law and Ethics in the Battle over Nazi-Looted Art: Tragic Fate, Part One: Art & Culture in Occupied Europe*, Pg 5, ABA Book Publishing, 2017, pg 1-397

Chapter One: 1937 Modern Art Against National Socialism

Classifications of 1937 and the homecoming sales

1.1 Challenges and Limitations of Researching Degenerate Art

Dear Thiis, I have just received a copy of the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung Berlin. The article is entitled "Degenerate Art"... masses of people flock to see these degenerate creatures who exhibit under this title... With me, all the above-mentioned painters have been thrown out.³⁹

Edvard Munch to Jens Thiis, Dates 1937

As Munch attests, the significance of this event would be monumental, as only a few years later would his 'thrown out' artworks return to Oslo. With the total number of his rejected degenerate artwork reaching 83 from leading modern art collections across German museums, this moment cements the displacement in the timeline of his collectability in Germany by 1937. These works were not looted are more significantly associated with art and the NS, but they were 'deaccessioned' and therefore stripped from the German museums due to their aesthetic differences with the state's core values.

So what is the difference between the concept of looted art & degenerate art?⁴⁰ The primary nuances between the two are that the first was 'confiscated' from persecuted individuals after the 1935 Nuremberg Laws, whilst the latter was 'deaccessioned' from the 1937 laws. The museums they were housed in no longer had legal rights to reclaim their collection after the 1937 degenerate movement. Underpinning this challenge of rightful ownership was the legislation from 1938, under the *Gesetz über Einziehung von Erzeugnissen Entartete Kunst*⁴¹, which allowed the state to sell the deemed 'degenerate' art from museums, a key concept addressed in the chapter.

To better understand how this legislation changes and challenges how we approach the ownership histories of Degenerate artworks, it is essential to look at research into this topic, such as that addressed by scholars like Lynn Nicholson, Jonathan Petropoulos, and the reception theorist Francis Haskell⁴². Moreover, looking at the impacts of such classifications, we can present how vital the storytelling behind the artworks and their ownership histories⁴³ are. Effectively, offering a more comprehensive⁴³ background of where these artworks

³⁹ MM N 2957, Munch Museum. Dated 1937. Letter to Jens Thiis

⁴⁰ Protocol for Looted Art and Restitution, *Committee for the Evaluation of the Restitution Policy for Cultural Heritage Objects from the Second World War* - https://www.lootedart.com/web_images/pedf2020/Striving+for+Justice.pdf

⁴¹ Law Concerning the Appropriation of Products of Degenerate Art See: Lynn H. Nicholas *The Rape of Europa*, pp. 60-65 (1994).

⁴² Haskell, F. "Enemies of Modern Art", *Past and present in art and taste: selected essays*, Yale University Press, 1987

⁴³ Augustin, C.A. 'THE OBJECT'S AFTERLIFE: Nazi-looted precious metal objects, art history, and Jewish history in postwar Germany', *The German historical institute, Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 66, 2020, Seite 31-51, pg 32

are now can expose the lineage of some important collectors within the object's history and movement and is crucial for the studies of Munch's collectorship.

1.2 Repatriation of Degenerate Art: Precedent cases

A recent precedent in April 2023 was the purchase at auction and return of a print by Egon Schiele to the Folkwang collection. As addressed by Dr Ulrich Blank, Chairman of the Folkwang-Museumverein, "85 years after the still painful confiscations, Museum Folkwang now has an outstanding work by Egon Schiele. [fig.3] At the same time, it bears witness to the early enthusiasm that Karl Ernst Osthaus had for the work of this extraordinary artist". Blank's statement highlights the enthusiasm of the then director's preference towards modern art but also addresses the 'painful confiscation'. It is important to underline this view as the work, like that of Edvard Munch in the Folkwang's collection, was owned by the museum and not by an individual but was indeed confiscated during this deaccessioning of art from the museum's collection. Alongside the view taken by Dr Blanks is the current Director of the Folkwang Museum, Prof Peter Gorschlüter, who made it clear in his statement that "We are very pleased that Egon Schiele's close personal relationship with Karl Ernst Osthaus and the museum, which the artist once described as "the best modern Museum Folkwang", will once again have a permanent presence in the museum collection through the reacquisition."⁴⁴ With the artwork deaccessioned in 1937 under Osthaus' directorship, this monumental repatriation - through donor funds - demonstrates the new state at which artworks come back into museum collections.

This precedent of a case for the repatriation of 'degenerate' art to the museum is interesting as it is and was only made possible through the financed bequest by the Essen-based couple, Walter and Liselotte Grieser, who stipulated that the fund must be used to buy Expressionist art. As the curator of the museum's Drawings, Prints and Watercolours collection Tobias Burg stated, "Now and again, something surfaces...You have to be quick. Fewer and fewer of these works are available on the market. Most are in museums"⁴⁵ or, notably, private collections. Unlike cases of looted art, the rehoming of Degenerate art can only be made possible through purchase at auction or donations and bequests from private collectors. Essentially, through the policy 31st May 1938, under which Goebbels legitimised the spoliation of the museums, it has never been repealed, and the confiscations are still deemed valid therefore, the return of such artworks is only possible through the acquisition of funds. *Standing Woman* 1911 was the 25th confiscated work that the Folkwang has re-acquired since 1939 and, in many ways, shows the importance of such repatriations to these museums.

Other recent examples of how degenerate art has made its way back into the museum space are that of the Kunstpalast Düsseldorf's reacquisition of Lovis Corinth's 1925 *'Still Life with Lilac & Anemones'* [fig.4] as well as the Kunsthalle Mannheim purchase of Otto Mueller's *'Kneeling Female Nude'*. Such examples of the active nature of these affected museums demonstrate that the study and research into the degenerate art spoliation by

⁴⁴ Hickley, C. *Germany's museums buy back degenerate artworks purged by the Nazis*, <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2023/05/10/germanys-museums-buy-back-degenerate-artworks-purged-by-the-nazis>, 10 May 2023

⁴⁵ USA Art News.com, *Germany's Museums buy back 'degenerate' artworks purged by the Nazis*, quoted Tobias Burg, 10th May 2023, <https://usaartnews.com/news/germanys-museums-buy-back-degenerate-artworks-purged-by-the-nazis>

the NS still impact the collections of German museums. In many ways, in 1937, “German museums lost their modernity”, and buying back these classified artworks is recovering a piece of their identity. Therefore, as part of this research focuses on two of Edvard Munch’s degenerate artworks, it is such interesting cases of ‘reconsolidation’ that we must consider against the backdrop of the standard restitution cases of looted art.



Figure 3 – *Stehendes Mädchen, das Gesicht mit den Händen bedeckend/Standing Woman Covering Face with Both Hands*, Egon Schiele
1911
Gouache, watercolor, and pencil on paper
44.8 × 31.4 cm (17,6 × 12,4 in)
Museum Folkwang, Essen 2023
© Photo Jens Nober



Figure 4 – *‘Still Life with Lilac & Anemones’*, 1925
Lovis Corinth
(Sticker on the Verso of the canvas)
Die Etiketten auf der Rückseite des Gemäldes offenbaren die Geschichte:
Aufkleber von einer Ausstellung, die 1962 in München die Nazi-Aktion
“Entartete Kunst” dokumentierte
© Photo Birgit Kölgen



However, using provenance research by art historians can also provide inconclusive results and unsubstantiated accounts of degenerate artworks, as the method is less defined than the protocol for looted artwork⁴⁶. Therefore, the forthcoming chapters will be divided into cases to evaluate further the challenges and limitations faced when analysing the provenance of degenerate artworks, ensuring that more effective research in this art historical field is performed. By conducting the study, it is hoped that we can add to the formative scholarship on this topic, particularly the Munch Museums' archive of known locations of such artworks within private and public collections.

The following four criteria can be examined when addressing the challenges faced in this research. Firstly, when looking at these artworks, resources such as primary archival sources can help substantiate specific answers when stamps, markings or notes on the works are present, which can assist in finding known locations to particular points. Yet this can cause gaps in the ownership documentation when such details are missing. Secondly, as this field of research is so dependent on sharing knowledge - due to the variety of documentation being split between different institutions - it can cause barriers to discovering primary information. Thirdly, as much of the research has been digitised on platforms (as will be discussed), we are dependent on these sites utilising the correct image of the artworks and keeping their sites up to date. Lastly, when identifying the artwork's new owner, all contact is usually - for the most part - done through second parties such as auction houses, art dealers, or museum

⁴⁶ Campfens, E. 'Fair and Just Solutions? Alternatives to litigation in Nazi-looted art disputes: status quo and new developments', Eleven International Publishing, The Hague, 2015, pg 1-312

curators due to strict confidentiality restraints. Overall, making the process of documenting the ownership of the artwork more complicated and less accessible.

1.3 The 'Degenerate' Edvard Munch works

As discussed in both cases of the selected Munch artworks, the challenges and limitations concerning these are to expose the intricate web of networks, invisible paper trails and the problem raised by the lack of established research into his degenerate. Within the inventories compiled, a total of 83 artworks by the Norwegian were selected by a small advisory group of NS therefore, there was no systematic rationale as to why the chosen works were indeed part of this grouping. The significant point to express here is that this inventory of his works represents only a fraction of his art held within the major museums across Germany by 1937, and the question is why only 83 of these varied in styles, motifs and periods of his art were selected. The research is streamlined into selecting two of the 83 artworks [fig 5]. Presenting and reconstructing the provenance of two of this group will expose the more significant stakes of the project as a whole, as they tell us more about the movement of Edvard Munch's overall group of artworks from 1937 to the present day.

The importance of this research can be adequately summarised through a citation from the leading art historian and provenance researcher Lynn Nicholson "These pictures had been banished from Germany as "degenerate art", but the Nazi authorities were well aware of their usefulness as a convenient means of raising urgently needed foreign currency for the Reich."⁴⁷ Nicholson believes that Entartete Kunst allowed the Nazi authorities to alter art history and introduced a malignancy in the broader societal reception of such artworks for their benefit. Nicholson states that this tactic by the National socialist officials opened the world to the European-housed artworks of the 20th century and transformed the known locations of such works forever, as can be attested to the works of Edvard Munch and their dispersal across the globe.

Title (German)	Measu	Type	Signed/Dates	MUSEUM	Woll N	NS Invento
Trøst	21,5 x 32x	Etching	1895	Berlin, Staatliche Museen - Kupferstichkabinett	6	12772
Badende mann	45 x 45 cm	Druckgraphik	1899	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett	149	12778
Kristiania-Boheme I (Munch og regissør Lud	28 x 37,7	Etching	1895	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett	15	2614
Umarmung am Strand (Der Linde-Fries)	90,5 x 198	Oil on canvas	1904	Berlin, Nationalgalerie (Kronprinzen-Palais)	613	15662
Schneeschipper	151 x 128	Oil on canvas	1913/14	Berlin, Nationalgalerie (Kronprinzen-Palais)	1092	15664
Melancholie (Reinhardt-Fries)	90 x 160 c	Oil on canvas	1906/07	Berlin, Nationalgalerie (Kronprinzen-Palais)	736	15666
Zwei Menschen. Die Einsamen (Reinhardt-F	89,5 x 159	Oil on canvas	1910	Berlin, Nationalgalerie (Kronprinzen-Palais)	135	15668
Madonna	36 x 26,5	Druckgraphik	1984	Berlin, Staatliche Museen - Kupferstichkabinett	11	12773
Salome II	13,2 x 9,3	Druckgraphik	1905	Berlin, Staatliche Museen - Kupferstichkabinett	256	12774
Die Urne	46 x 26,5	Druckgraphik	1896	Berlin, Staatliche Museen - Kupferstichkabinett	67	12775
Frauenkopf am Strande	47 x 41,5	Farbholzschnitt	1899	Berlin, Staatliche Museen - Kupferstichkabinett	152	12776
Skrik	35,5 x 25,	Lithograph	1895	Berlin, Staatliche Museen - Kupferstichkabinett	38	12777
Der Menschenberg	51,2 x 38,	Lithograph	1916	Bielefeld, Städtisches Kunsthaus	604	14694
Angst	46 x 37,8	Farbholzschnitt	1896	Bremen, Kunsthalle	93	9196
Drei Gesichter, Tragodie	36 x 45,8	Druckgraphik	1913	Bremen, Kunsthalle	465	9271-01
Das Leben	194 x 369	Painting	1910	Dresden, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie	938	15763
Das Kranke Kind	118,7 x 11	Painting	1907	Dresden, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie	791	15764
Tête à tête	20,7 x 31,	Etching	1894/5	Düsseldorf, Kunstsammlungen der Stadt	9	2613

Figure 5 – An overview of the Edvard Munch artworks from the Degenerate inventories adopted into the Excel created for this project.

Figure 5 can be located in the supplementary documentation of this thesis Appendix I

Photo © Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough, RMA Utrecht University, 2020-23

⁴⁷ Nicholson, L. 'The Rape of Europa – The Fate of Europe's Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War', Random House, New York, 1995, p5

An overarching question is how the works were selected in the process, and this can be spearheaded on two points. Firstly, the selected work on canvas has appeared on the art market twice since its reclassification as degenerate. Secondly, the selected print through the research is highlighted as being 'very rare' and against the various graphic works, this makes for an intriguing study due to its rarity and small print number.

1.4 Degenerate Art - Expropriation or Robbery? The Trail of Missing Masterpieces

"What of Munch's eighty-two works? We know that his work was hung in the mysterious Room 7 under the title 'These are the masters who have been teaching German youth . . . They have four years left.'"⁴⁸

Sue Prideaux, *Edvard Munch: Behind the Scream* 2005

As made clear in the introduction, this research focuses on how the classifications of the NS aesthetic rejection of Munch's artworks crucially affected their known trajectories. As remarked by Prideaux, states 'eight-two works' yet the total number was 83, clearly demonstrating how research into Munch's degenerate works is crucial when debunking incorrect research. The masters who taught the German youth, as Edvard Munch had done, were now among the vast inventories and defamatory exhibition of 'Entartete Kunst' by 1937. By exploring how this classification impacted the German Museum-owned Munch artworks [Fig.5], I will discuss their involvement in the inventory, exhibition, and subsequent movement during the year of degenerate labelling. To unpack the movement of this group is vast and challenging, and therefore the approach has been taken to address the gaps in two artworks biographies, "*Embrace on the Beach - A Summers Day*" 1904 & "*Madonna*" 1894 [Fig.1 – 2].

When researching the impact of the 'Degenerate art' classification of 1937⁴⁹ & 1942 [Fig.6]. As stated by art historian and specialist in Modern Art History & Theory Olaf Peters, the term Degenerate Art can be seen as a slogan that characterises the cultural barbarism and the destruction of modernism in Germany⁵⁰. Crucially, Adolf Hitler and his party did not invent the phrase but adopted, intensified, and derived their destructive policies on art⁵¹. This aggressive dismantling of art from public state collections unleashed, as the first director of the Central

⁴⁸ Prideaux, S. "Degenerate Art: 1920-1940", *Edvard Munch: Behind the Scream*, Yale University Press, 2005, pg 322

⁴⁹ The term 'Degenerate' has already been used defamatorily in a pejorative and racial ideological (e.g., anti-Semitic) context during the 19th century. The National Socialists deemed as 'degenerate' those works of art that did not correspond with their own ideological and aesthetic doctrine. Works of all modern art movements, from Fauvism to Expressionists, were arbitrarily declared 'decadent' and the artists debased as 'pathological fantasists'. All works by artists of Jewish descent were also denounced as 'degenerate'. In so-called 'shame exhibitions' (Schandausstellungen) presented since 1933, modernism was publicly denounced. In July 1937, the National Socialists removed hundreds of works from 32 German museums in an initial 'purge', followed soon after by the nationwide confiscation of modern art from all public collection. In 1938, Degenerate Art Action (Aktion Entartete Kunst) was legitimised retrospectively by the 'Law on the Confiscation of Products of Degenerate Art' (Rich Law Gazette I, p.612). Many of these works were presented in the context of an exhibition that toured the entire country from 1937 to 1941, beginning with the infamous exhibition *Entartete Kunst* in Munich, which opened on 19 July 1937.

⁵⁰ Peters, O. 'Fear and Propaganda: National Socialism and the Concept of "Degenerate Art"',

⁵¹ Houpt, S. "Theft in a Time of War" in *Museum of the Missing: A History of Art Theft*, Sterling Publishing Co. New York, 2006, Pg 31-32 – As remarked by Houpt the term "spoils of war", which comes from the Latin word *Spolium* (translated as the "hike stripped from an animal"), has been in use for above seven hundred years. The practice of extracting spoils goes back even farther. Roman soldiers took home religious relics... the Greeks plundered Troy. Kings in feudal China displayed prizes from the provinces they defeated. During the fall of Constantinople in 1204, Venetians snatched the bronze Horses of San Marco and other treasures... All of those conquerors, though, are mere amateurs when they stand next to one man. In conception and execution, Napoleon Bonaparte was, for his time, one of the most audacious art snatchers the work had ever known.

Collecting Point (CCP)* in 1945, Craig Hugh Smyth notes, a dramatic process of "art movement... the consequences of which still have not been conclusively established to this day"⁵². The barbarian labelling of such art is more than the exhibition of 1937 [Fig.7]; it affected the trajectory and reception of the artworks and that of Edvard Munch's "Embrace on the Beach (a Summers Day)" 1904 & "Madonna" 1894 [Fig. 1-2].

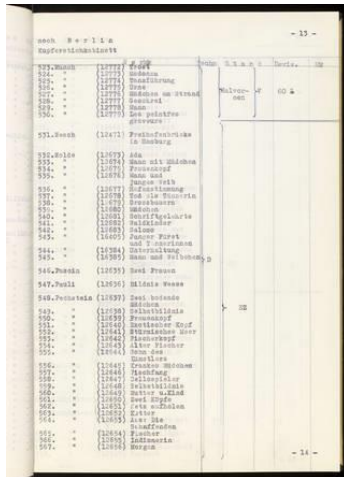


Figure 6 – Entartete Kunst, vol. 1: Aachen to Görlitz, compiled by the Ministry for Propaganda, Germany, about 1941 – 42, Museum no. MSL/1996/7/1, p. 25.
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Figure 7 – 'Degenerate Art' exhibition catalogue, front cover (left) and p.31 (right)
Published by Verlag für Kultur- und Wirtschaftswerbung, 1937, Berlin, Germany.
Museum no. 38041996105979.
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London

The study of objects seized, deaccessioned, sold, and looted during the Second World War has, since the early 1990s, received international attention and recognition from Legal Practitioners, Governments, Art Historians, Sociocultural scholars, and Auction Houses⁵³ and Museums. This specialist field of research into looted and deaccessioned property has seen a growth in multidisciplinary approaches in projects such as the AAM Guide to Provenance Research (2001), The Getty Research Institutes Project for the Study of Collecting and Provenance (PSCP), Provenance Research Today (2020), and Collecting and Provenance: A Multidisciplinary Approach (2019/2021⁵⁴).

The most significant research into the degenerate art movement, to date, has been performed by the Freie Universität Berlin research team within the project "Entartete Kunst" database c.2016 & the digitisation by the V&A Museum of the "Explore 'Entartete Kunst': The Nazis' inventory of 'degenerate art'" in 2014. The inventory was donated to museums National Art Library by Elfriede Fischer, the widow of Heinrich Robert (Harry) Fischer, in 1996. It forms part of the National Art Library Fischer Collection. The FU University project is led by professors Andreas Hüneke and Meike Hoffmann⁵⁵, and the complete index of "degenerate art" confiscated in 1937/38 from German art museums has been digitised into an online platform that holds the most relevant information from the complete index based on the National Socialist inventory of seizures. The data was

⁵² Smyth, C.H. The Central Art Collecting Point in Munich, Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste, 2022, [LINK](#)

⁵³ Simmons, L. *Provenance and private ownership: just and fair solution in the commercial art market*, Simmons states the policy that "Since 1997 Sotheby's has run a due diligence program targeted at identifying possible WW II provenance issues amongst the thousands of artworks which we are asked to sell or value every year." Pg 995

⁵⁴ Milosch, J. Pearce N. (eds.) 'Collecting and Provenance: A multidisciplinary approach', Rowman & Littlefield, 2019, pp 428

⁵⁵ Andreas Hüneke is an art historian and works for the research centre "Degenerate Art", combined with teaching assignments. Meike Hoffmann is the scientific coordinator of the Berlin research centre "Degenerate Art".

completed and amended as much as possible, and information regarding their circumstance and current location was expanded.⁵⁶ It is the most complete online platform of its kind, but where this research into Edvard Munch is concerned, any new information/details obtained during the thesis research will be passed onto the project where there are gaps or inaccuracies.

This research into degenerate has become integral to academic and museum working practices through scholarship and due diligence, outlined by the International Council of Museums (ICOM) in their Code of Ethics for Museums⁵⁷ and the Washington Principles Act (1998)⁵⁸. It has been trailblazed by scholars such as Lynn Nicholson in her 'The Rape of Europa: The Fate of Europe's Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War' (1995), which gives an accessible overview of the Nazi art policy. Beginning with the Degenerate purging in 1937 to the confiscation of Jewish property in Austria and Occupied Countries—providing a historical overview of the impact of the Nazi art policies on politics and the efforts made by the Allied forces in recovering, identifying, and the restitution of looted artworks and cultural objects.

Several publications of note in this field are Jonathan Petropoulos' 'Art as Politics in the Third Reich' (1996), 'The Faustian Bargain: The Art World in Nazi Germany' (2000) and 'Göring's Man in Paris: The Story of a Nazi Art Plunderer and his World' (2021). Such publications explore the different aspects of Nazi looting, the role of Nazi policies, and the activities of prevalent collectors between 1933-45. In his 1996 text, Petropoulos examines the efforts of Nazi leaders to obtain European art treasures rather than to study the connections between aesthetics and ideology in the National Socialist's 'New World' ideal of party politics. In his work 'The Faustian Bargain', he examines the careers of several prominent Nazis associated with the arts, such as Robert Scholz and Kajetan Muhlmann, who, like Faust, chose to pursue artistic ends through collaboration with evil forces.

In Olaf Peters 'Fear and Propaganda: National Socialism and the Concept of "Degenerate Art"' (2016), he reflects on the impacts of social shifts in public reception due to the devices of the Nazi Propaganda's use of Max Nordau's text 1892-3 'Entartung'⁵⁹. A strategy offering the reader a novel understanding of the manifold origins, conception, and theme the NS would return to when they combined art, morals, politics, and eugenics in their propaganda-driven construction of "degenerate art." In 'Die "Kunststadt" München 1937: Nationalsozialismus und "Entartete Kunst."' (1987) edited by Peter Klaus Schuster, we are introduced to the two defining exhibitions that took place simultaneously, the "Entartete Kunst" and "Great German Art", both held in Munich in 1937. Schuster gives a reconstruction of the two exhibitions, a list of the works exhibited, and photographs of the different rooms. The inclusion of the exhibition guide for the Entartete Kunst shown is reproduced alongside documented photos and texts of the opening ceremonies of the Great German Art Exhibition. Additionally, the

⁵⁶ Note - In addition to the works listed in the inventory other works, which were verifiably confiscated or seized according to the museum of origin but were not in the inventory, such as those works given by the museums themselves during the National Socialist era, or those which were lost in another way, are also recorded.

⁵⁷ See The ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums: Addressing the diverse museum-related topics such as acquisition procedures, compliance with legislation, management of resources, security, returns and restitutions. The Code also advocates strong principles playing a key role in the fight against illicit traffic, for instance concerning due diligence and provenance. <https://icom.museum/en/resources/standards-guidelines/code-of-ethics/>

⁵⁸ See *The Washington Conference on Holocaust Era Assets*, Washington, DC, December 3, 1998, [LINK](#)

⁵⁹ German to English translation – 'Entartung' means 'Degeneration' a phrase utilised by Max Nordau's seminal

variety of essays describing and documenting the interlocking processes that led to both exhibitions of 1937 is introduced to highlight the NS' role in implementing a new political stance towards modern arts for public consumption.

. As well as the pioneering scholarship on this topic, there are ongoing research publications such as 'Markt und Macht: Der Kunsthandel im »Dritten Reich« (Schriften der Forschungsstelle "Entartete Kunst", 12), Heidelberg University's 'Transfer – Journal for Provenance Research and the History of Collections as well as the Getty's 'Collecting & Provenance', the Smithsonian Provenance Research Initiative into 'Collecting & Provenance' and finally Mieke Hoffmann's 'The Intersection of Degenerate Art / Nazi-Looted Art: A Double Challenge for Provenance Research, to name a few.

Alongside the above, there has been an impetus placed upon reconstruction exhibitions. Such exhibitions as the Neue Galerie New York's 'Degenerate Art: The Attack on Modern Art in Nazi Germany 1937' (2014), MOMA's digital exhibition 'Degenerate Art' (July 2017 – February 2020) and LACMA's 'Degenerate Art: The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany' (1991). The most active in recent years has been the research project and dual exhibition looking into the Gurlitt trove⁶⁰. The exhibitions at the Kunstmuseum Bern and the Bundeskunsthalle in Bonn in 2016 were part of the *Gurlitt Provenance Research Project*⁶¹. The approach taken by the Gurlitt Status Report was to work collaboratively to uncover the lost histories of the 'degenerate' artwork's ownership before their detainment in the Gurlitt trove. The essay by Meike Hoffmann and Johannes Gramlich investigated Gurlitt's diverse activities in the art markets in Germany and occupied Europe during 1939-45 highlighting the collaboration of leading dealers in modern art. A contributing essay by Georg Kreis explores the business of 'degenerate' ostracised art confiscation from German museums and their place on the open market of the late 1930s. All such essays highlight the differing approaches taken by scholars to unpack the complexities of 'degenerate' classified objects.

The most recent and relevant to the research of Degenerate Art & Edvard Munch has been the Kunstmuseum Basel's exhibition "The Collector Curt Glaser: From Champion of Modernism to Refugee" (October 2022 – February 2023). The exhibition and catalogue focus on the prominent Berlin Art Historian, Museum Director, Art Collector and friend of Edvard Munch, Dr Curt Glaser, and highlight the polarising situation of the late 1930s and the persecution of Glaser. The emphasis of this exhibition and catalogue has been to enrich the knowledge of the dealer's collection and the effects of the NS rise to power upon his career and collection; whilst illuminating a hitherto little-known chapter in the history of Modernism.⁶² For my line of research, it has been

⁶⁰ Baresel-Brand, A. Hoffmann, M. Gramlich, J. (et all). 'Gurlitt: Status Report', Kunstmuseum Bern, and Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Germany: Hirmer, 2017, pp 344

⁶¹ Lulińska Agnieszka, Baresel-Brand, A. and Frehner, M. (2017) Gurlitt : status report. München: Hirmer.

⁶² The art historian, curator, and art critic Curt Glaser (1879–1943) was a central figure in Berlin's art scene in the 1910s and 1920s, yet he has been nearly forgotten in the years since his death. The biography of this champion of modern art was caught up in the cataclysms of the twentieth century. He and his wife Elsa assembled a private collection that included outstanding works by Edvard Munch, Henri Matisse, and Max Beckmann, among others. Persecuted by the Nazis for his Jewish background, he lost his position as director of the Staatliche Kunstbibliothek and emigrated to Switzerland in 1933, moving to the United States in 1941. When Glaser had most of his collection auctioned in 1933, it was scattered across the globe.

In the same year, the Kunstmuseum Basel acquired two hundred prints and drawings from the collection. In 2020 the museum reached a just and fair solution with Glaser's heirs to retain the works. Internationally, this has since been deemed best practice. This exhibition links

interesting to parallel this research when addressing the degenerate works of Edvard Munch, in particular 'Embrace on the Beach (a Summers Day)' 1904, which Dr Glaser owned up until 1929 as part of his "Fluchtgut"⁶³ sales.

This period and term have been mentioned within Munch Scholarship, but gaps and unanswered questions remain. It has only been touched upon by biographers of the artist, such as Susanne Prideaux in her seminal work 'Edvard Munch: Behind the Scream' (2005) and by J.P. Hodin's 'Edvard Munch' (1972) and Rolf Stenersen's 'Edvard Munch: Close-up of a Genius' (1945) and more recently Petra Pettersen in her 2010 text 'Edvard Munch: ou l'anti-Cri' for the Pinacothèque de Paris. Therefore, the research aims to establish a new framework for developing such scholarship in our approach to the provenance of Munch's degenerate artworks and their known location since 1937. In doing so, can we open new lines of examination into a story that provides as many gaps as there are answers?

1.5 Degenerate Art and the Norwegian:

"The Greatest Painter of the Germanic World" - a contradiction

By the early 1930s, Modern Art had been viewed to encompass, as examined by Paul Schultze-Naumburg in his polemic *Kunst und Rasse*⁶⁴ 1928, the theory that modernism was the outcome of sickness, depravity, and disease. A reflective approach performed by Naumburg in his publication of modern art verse insanity and deformity - a tactic developed from Max Nordau's 1892-3 *Entartung*⁶⁵. Naumburg set the black and white reproductions of works by artists such as Modigliani, Picasso, and Emil Nolde alongside photographs of deformed and disfigured bodies.[Fig.8] Such a dramatic contrast between Modern Art and the insane demonstrates the contours of the Nazi conception of the Degenerate Art Exhibition and subsequent inventories of modern masters as outcasts from German intuitions. This paradigm adopted by the NS and their condemnation of modernism as the symptom of a cultural decline inextricably associated with liberal democracy. It acted as a biopolitical tool which takes us directly to the pinnacle moment of the expropriation and destruction of paintings and sculptures deemed as degenerate.

Curt Glaser's life and work with impressive pieces that are being shown together again for the first time since they were dispersed in 1933. By bringing a fascinating collection back to life and examining Glaser's broad impact on the art world in Weimar-era Berlin, the show illuminates a hitherto little-known chapter in the history of Modernism.

⁶³ 'Provenance Research Manual', the English working translation of the German »Leitfaden Provenienzforschung« that was published in November 2019., **1.1** Historical Context and Need for Action, Subsection "**1.1.a** Antisemitic and other discriminatory laws on property seizure", pp 16

Flight assets - In European and non-European states that were not allied with the Deutsches Reich and offered exile to those persecuted, seeking refuge and displaced persons often sold cultural property they had been able to export from Germany between 1933 and 1945. The objects of these sales are often described as »Fluchtgut« («flight assets»). Such disposals in relatively safe exile are currently being handled differently and are the subject of professional and political debate. It is therefore not possible to issue a general recommendation; every individual case must be closely examined.

⁶⁴ *Kunst und Rasse*, Schultze-Naumburg, Paul, Published Munich : JF Lehmanns Verlag, 1935

⁶⁵ *Degeneration* by Max Nordau was first published in 1892 in German as *Entartung* and English as *Degenerate*. Nordau's book saw an unrelenting attack on nearly every facet of modern fin de siècle life where he sought to expose the discourse of degeneration in order to critique literature and the arts; in an overall attempt to interpret contemporary art, artist's and aesthetic movements dominance over cultural decay.

For the work of Edvard Munch, the links went back to the very start of his career, where critics of his work utilised Nordau's doctoring. A point referred to by Prideaux is that both 'The Sick Child' and its maker were the products of cumulative hereditary degeneration⁶⁶. Therefore, a re-adoption of Munch into the league of the Degenerate by the NS was inevitable in their attack on modernism.



Figure 8 – Kunst und Rasse, title page (left) and works cited as examples of 'degenerate art', p.106-107 (right), Paul Schultze-Naumburg, published by J.F. Lehmanns Verlag, 1928, Munich, Germany. Museum no. L.1991-1933. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

This tool of comparison for denigration, as remarked by Stephanie Barron⁶⁷, highlights the narrative of their campaign to link Avant-Garde artists' masters of modernity to the asylum of madness and deformity. Such strategies were underlined by then curator of the Berlin Nationalgalerie Paul Ortwin Rave when he reflected on the Entartete Exhibition in 1937 *"There can be no doubt that at the time, the aim of the propaganda, which was to deal a death blow to genuine modern art, was in large measure achieved."*⁶⁸ The aesthetic rejection noted by Ortwin demonstrates the NS proposition that such a grouping of artists was deemed immoral, excessive, fanatical, illogical, and offensive to the canons of cultivated taste. Hitler further admonished such distaste in his speech on the art of the degenerates *"Wallow in filth for filth's sake, to paint the human being only in a state of putrefaction, to draw cretins as symbols of motherhood, or to present deformed idiots as representatives of manly strength."*⁶⁹ Yet, how was this reflected in the work of Edvard Munch, and how could his works now be reassessed within the purification of society, as Hitler states.

Therefore the significance of Munch's inclusion in this grouping was vital for inside trading amongst the art dealers and NS officials in 1938. When looking at the lists of artists grouped into this classification, is it ever apparent that they were the innovators of their time - artists such as Picasso, Ensor, Kokoschka, Ernst, Dix, Kandinsky, Mondrian and Modigliani. When reflecting on Edvard Munch's placement within this group, only some five years prior had he been elevated to the heights of the German artistic elite, being awarded the Goethe-Medaille für Kunst und Wissenschaft 1932 by Hindenburg⁷⁰. [Fig.9] Edvard Munch's works to be part of this

⁶⁶ Prideaux, S. "Degenerate Art: 1920-1940", *Edvard Munch: Behind the Scream*, Yale University Press, 2005, pg 327

⁶⁷ See Stephanie Barron, *'Degenerate Art: The Gate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany', Chapter One '1937: Modern Art and Politics in Prewar Germany'*, pp 9-25, LACMA, United States, Abrams; January 1, 1991

⁶⁸ As quoted by Georg Bussmann, *"'Degenerate' Art—A Look at a Useful Myth," German Art in the 20th Century: Painting and Sculpture 1905-1985*, London: Royal Academy of Art, and Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1985, p. 113. [LINK](#)

⁶⁹ Lüttichau, M. A von. 'Entartete Kunst, Munich 1937 A Reconstruction' in Barron, S. *'Degenerate Art: The Gate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany', Chapter One '1937: Modern Art and Politics in Prewar Germany'*, pp 9-25, LACMA, United States, Abrams; January 1, 1991, pg 46

⁷⁰ In 1932, Paul von Hindenburg presented him with the Goethe medal for Science and Art. It afforded him great satisfaction as he was following in the footsteps of the great German artists and scholars he greatly respected.... It was fortunate that Hindenburg thought to

historical degenerate inventory were only made possible through the inception of the Reichskulturkammer⁷¹ in 1933-1937.



Figure 9 – Verso: Obverse of a Goethe medal. Inscription: 'Für Kunst und Wissenschaft', Donated by Reich President von Hindenburg in 1932 / Recto: Goethe medal. Inscription: Goethe

Starting in 1933, with the rise to power of the NS, all museum directors who had collected modern art or were of Jewish heritage⁷² were dismissed from office and replaced by others who continued to collect more moderately⁷³. Germany's new rulers organised so-called 'Schandausstellungen' (condemnation exhibitions) across the Reich; these would ultimately serve as the blueprint for the 1937 Inventory and Entartete Exhibition. The displays had titles such as 'Schreckenskammer (Chamber of Terror), Kunst im Dienste der Zersetzung (Art in the Service of Subversion) and Entartete Kunst (Degenerate Art)⁷⁴. The exhibitions argued that those politicians who had nurtured this art had promoted utterly destructive social and cultural trends since the Treaty of Versailles in 1919.

Following Wolfgang Willrich's book *Säuberung des Kunsttempels – Eine kunstpolitische Kampfschrift zur Gesundung Deutscher Kunst im Geiste nordischer*⁷⁵ and in the tradition of 'condemnation exhibitions' the Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels was inspired to organise a central exhibition of degenerate art. With such a culmination in cleansing the *Temples of Art*, Goebbels constructed a committee led by Nazi politician and President of the Academy for Fine Arts Adolf Ziegler. Under his leadership, Ziegler's commission which included Wolfgang Willrich, had, by the first half of July 1937, amassed c.1,100 artworks from 30 museums into their inventory. By 10th July, roughly 600 were denounced for the Degenerate Art exhibition. Under his guidance, the 'Degenerate Art' inventories were constructed after more than 16,000 artworks were deaccessioned from German state museums by 1937.

This systematic liquidation of modern art affected such major art museums of Essen, Hamburg, Berlin, Mannheim, and Frankfurt, which all housed many of the great works of modern masters and primarily held Edvard Munch as an absolute pinnacle in their collections.⁷⁶ A point reinforced by Jay A Clarke in his reference to art critic

honour him this year as the following year Hindenburg appointed Hitler as Chancellor and Munch saw his own art officially declared degenerate, banned and confiscated. Chapter 24 – Page 10 of 16 (see what page number this is in the book as a whole).

⁷¹ Reichskulturkammer – Reich chamber of culture, established by law in 1933, the Reichskulturkammer (RKK) was created to enable the Reichsministerium fuer Volksaufklaerung und Propaganda (RMfVP)(Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda) to control virtually all aspects of organised cultural life in Germany. The RKK was closely linked to the RMfVP under Joseph Goebbels, who also served as president of the RKK.

⁷² Note: Among them was Ludwig Justi who had been responsible for the fortunes of the Nationalgalerie Berlin and its opening to modernism since 1910⁷² and Dr Curt Glaser of the Berlin Staatliche Kunstbibliothek [State Art Library] since 1924

⁷³ "Entartete Kunst" Database, Article "*The Confiscation of "Entartete Kunst" in 1937 and its Consequences*", LINK

⁷⁴ Schuhmacher, J. 'Entartete Kunst': The Nazis' inventory of 'degenerate art', V&A Online, LINK

⁷⁵ German translation into English - Cleansing of the Temples of Art. An Art-Political Polemic for the Recovery of German Art in the Spirit of Nordic Style

⁷⁶ See: [Entartete Kunst inventory, vol. 1](#) & [Entartete Kunst inventory, vol. 2](#)

Joan Westheim’s view of Munch as being “not only the greatest stimulator of our German artistic youth and our art history... he created a new expressive artistic vocabulary for an entire generation of artists”⁷⁷. The establishment of Munch within these leading institutions highlights the pre-war aesthetic in collecting practices⁷⁸ that would during this period see a total U-turn towards the young artists of *Die Bruke* and *Der Bleue Reiter* and to Edvard Munch’s art - as will be addressed in case studies One & Two.

The Entartete Inventories created by the NS detail this mass confiscation from these museums of modernism but shed more precise detail on where, whom, and for what price such artworks – as that of Edvard Munch’s – entered the open market [Fig.10], marking the end of modern art's kinship in pre-National Socialist Germany. Interestingly the final inventories were not completed until c.1942 by the *Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* (Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda). As remarked by the V&A’s archive, this was only done as a ‘final record, after the sales and disposals of the confiscated art had been completed in the summer of 1941’ and are documented in two volumes at the museum archive⁷⁹. These primary documents provide crucial information regarding each artwork's provenance, exhibition history and fate. All paramount in the case of Edvard Munch’s artworks especially *Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day* 1904 & *Madonna* 1894.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
City	Institution	Name of artist	Inventory number	Title of confiscated artwork	Technique	Name of the authorised dealer	Fate of artwork	Sale price in foreign currency	Sale price in German currency
Altona	Stadtmuseum	Beyer	(19814)	Karussell	Öl	Bachholz	K		
		Blohm	(19822)	Mädchenkopf	A		X		
		"	(19823)	Mädchenkopf	A		X		
		Gilles	(19815)	Abendgesellschaft	Öl		E		
		Lohse-Wächter	(19815)	2 Frauenakte	A	Böhmer	V	0,2	RM
		"	(19816)	Legendes Mädchen	A	"	T		
		"	(19817)	Strassenmusik	A		X		
		"	(19818)	In der Kneipe	A		X		
		"	(19819)	Aus St. Pauli	A		X		
		"	(19820)	Café	A		X		
		"	(19821)	Cabarett	G		X		

Figure 10 – Extract example from the V&A online database for Entartete Inventory, “How to read the Entartete Kunst inventory”.

- 1.City | 2. Institution | 3. Name of artist | 4. Inventory number | 5. Title of confiscated artwork | 6. Technique: 'A' for Aquarell (watercolour), 'G' for Graphik (print), 'ÖL' for Ölmalerei (oil painting) | 7. Name of the authorised dealer where applicable | 8. The fate of artwork: 'E' for Entartete (featured in the 'Degenerate Art' exhibition), 'V' for Verkauf (sale), 'T' for Tausch (exchange), 'X' for Vernichtung (destroyed, as could not be sold or exchanged), 'K' on commission with dealer | 9. Sale price in foreign currency | 10. Sale price in German currency (Reichsmarks)
- © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

⁷⁷ Clarke, J.A. ‘1927: Munch’s changing roles in Germany’, *Kunst og Kultur*, Vol 4. 2013, See reference 26: Westheim, J. “End of Expressionism: Art and the November Revolution in Germany, 1918-19” Chicago 1990, pp.39-43

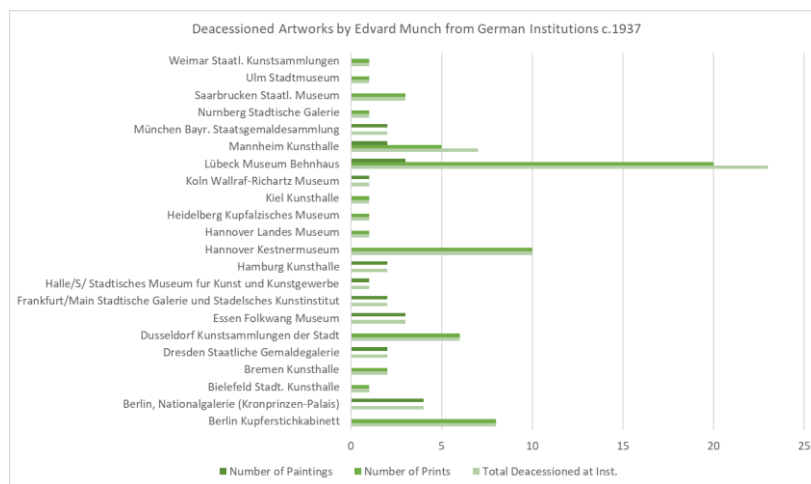
⁷⁸ Berman, P. “The Business of Being Edvard Munch” in ‘Edvard Munch: Between the Clock and the Bed’, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2017, pp 51-57

⁷⁹ Note - The inventories were donated to the V&A’s National Art Library by Elfriede Fischer, the widow of Heinrich Robert (Harry) Fischer, in 1996. It forms part of the National Art Library Fischer Collection. Two other copies of an earlier version of Volume 1 (A – G) are known to have survived the War, and these are now held by the [German Federal Archives in Berlin](#) (R55/20744, R55/20745). Both copies have the same hand-written title, in black ink: *Beschlagnahmte Werke/nach Museen geordnet* (Confiscated works, arranged by museum). Both copies also contain the same typescript list of artworks, arranged by city, institution and artist. One of the Berlin documents (R55/20745) was clearly the working copy, as it also includes additional manuscript information about the fate of individual works. Many of the entries have been annotated with symbols to show that they were destroyed, sold or exchanged. Although the information varies in detail, it seems likely that the V&A’s inventory was produced from this earlier list or something similar. There was presumably also a master list, in inventory number order.

As will be discussed in the cases of “*Embrace on the Beach*” 1904 and “*Madonna*” 1894, their movement from Berlin and their subsequent lowered price of purchase and authorised trade will open new views on the nature in which this took place. The inventory numbering some 482 pages, immortalises the ‘vilified’ artworks of modernity from across German Museums, and it is the artworks of Munch that survived this persecution through the intervening of such individuals as Halvorsen, as will be unpacked. This salvation of the degenerate works was only after his works were not placed on the “internationally disposable works” that Propagandaministerium official Rolf Hetsch sought to destroy, as would be seen in the bonfires of 1938.

When looking at the primary sources listing the artworks - essentially the two selected pieces by Edvard Munch in this research - by the commission, it is evident that they act as the foundation for this research and its methodology as they cement these artworks to date, location and new owner. A view stressed by one of the most important art critics of the NS regime Robert Scholz⁸⁰, in his 1977 book,⁸¹ highlights the blatant and transparent dismantling of these pioneering collections for propagandist and monetary drive. Evident through legislation compiled as early as 1933, such as the *Deutscher Kunstbericht* (German art Report). This report focused on all new approaches that would be taken against modern art, setting the groundwork for this well-organised raid on modernism – as shown in Fig.10 with the annotations on 9. & 10.

The amassed collection of Munch’s artworks can be shown in this cross-section of the variety of museums his art was deaccessioned from as Berlin’s Nationalgalerie (Kronprinzen-Palais) and Staatliche Museen – Kupferstichkabinett to Essen’s Fra Folkwang Museum and the Hannover Kestner-Museum. Such a cross-section highlights the sheer amount of Munch’s graphic works removed from such institutions vs those on canvas. [Fig.11] This chart visualised the disparity in the number of deaccessioned artworks but also shows the museums where these pieces were removed.



⁸⁰Robert Scholz - A painter in 1924 and, in 1927, an art critic for the newspaper *Die Deutsche Tageszeitung* with which he remained until 1934, when he went over to the *Voelkische Beobachter*. In the same year he became a naturalized German citizen, and met Alfred Rosenberg, through the architect, Professor Scultze-Mauuburg. On 1 January 1935, Scholz joined the NSDAP as member and in the same year became Kunstreferent in the Party Kulturgemeinde. In 1937 he became Kunstreferent in the Amt Reichsleiter Rosenberg and editor of the art journal *Kunst im Dritten Reich* (subsequently *Kunst im Deutschen Reich*). In 1939 he was appointed Director of the Museum at Halle.

⁸¹Scholz, R. 'Architektur und bildende Kunst 1933 - 1945 [I.E. Neunzehnhundertdreißig Bis Neunzehnhundertfünfundvierzig]', 1977, Preuss[isch] Oldendorf : Schütz

When breaking down the total of 83 artworks that the NS removed, it is shown that the following was detached at the institutional level –

Institution	Deaccessioned Artworks	Print	Painting
Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett	8	8	
Berlin, Nationalgalerie (Kronprinzenpalais)	4		4
Bielefeld, Stadt Kunsthalle	1	1	
Bremen, Kunsthalle	2	2	
Dresden, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie	2		2
Düsseldorf, Kunstsammlungen der Stadt	6	6	
Essen, Folkwang Museum	3		3
Frankfurt am Main, Städtische Galerie und Städelsches Kunstinstitut	2		2
Halle, Städtisches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe	1		1
Hamburg, Kunsthalle	2		2
Hannover, Museum August Kestner	10	10	
Hannover, Landesmuseum	1	1	
Heidelberg, Kurpfälzisches Museum	1	1	
Kiel, Kunsthalle	1	1	
Köln, Wallraf-Richartz Museum	1		1
Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus Drägerhaus	23	20	3
Mannheim, Kunsthalle	7	5	2
München, Bayer. Staatsgemäldesammlung	2		2
Nürnberg, Städtische Galerie	1	1	
Saarbrücken, Staatl. Museum	3	3	
Ulm, Kunstmuseum der Stadt	1	1	
Weimar, Staatl. Kunstsammlungen	1	1	
	22	83	61
			22

The following legislations were drastic, foreshadowing the persecution of modern art in 1937 and as shown above, it made it possible for the NS to conduct such an arrangement. The Kunstbericht included points to ensure a dramatic change and imbalance in German Museums.

- All works of a cosmopolitan or Bolshevik nature should be removed from German museums and collections, but first, they should be exhibited to the public, which should be informed of the details of their acquisition and then burned.
- All museum directors who “wasted” public monies by purchasing “un-German” art should be fired immediately.
- No artists with Marxist or Bolshevik connections should be mentioned henceforth.
- No blocklike buildings should be built (an assault on Bauhaus architecture).

he even wrote a letter to the artist on his 70th birthday. Stating, 'I greet you as the Greatest Painter of the Germanic World', continuing to address him in the third person on behalf of his country

*"Sprouted from Nordic-Teutonic soil, his works speak to me of life's profound seriousness. His paintings, landscapes, and representations of human beings are suffused by deep passion. Munch struggles to comprehend nature in its truth and to capture it in the picture, uncompromisingly scorning all academic formality. A powerful, independent, strong-willed spirit – heir of Nordic culture – he frees himself of all naturalism and reaches back to the eternal foundations of National [völkischen] art-creating."*⁸⁵

However, even if Goebbels had an affinity for the Norwegian master, his personal preference would not be considered in the classifications by Hitler, Ziegler and his committee.

The impacts of this far-reaching classification on the object imbue the art of the classified degenerates as now being in a state of fluidity in reception as they circulate in and out of different social situations⁸⁶. As the Entartete Kunst exhibition of 1937 would hope to achieve. By staging such a virulent attack against modern art with the inventory, this propaganda-driven concept would seek to highlight the purification of a percentage of modern art from German Museums and engage with the new cultural ideal for socially realistic art with classicist overtones. As remarked by Edvard Munch to his friend and patron Jens Peter Thiis (1870–1942) in 1937

"I have just received a copy of the [Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung](#) Berlin. The article is entitled «Degenerate Art» In the Town Hall in Dresden, lots of people flock to see these malignant creatures exhibiting under this title... It is almost all the painters who had exhibitions [...] here from Nolde, Heckel, Kokoschka and Hofer and Beckmann to Grosz, Dix and Klee... with me, all the above painters have also been thrown out -... This is the second time I have been thrown out of Germany" [Fig.13]

This totalitarian clean-up operation was designed to purge the country's museums of all examples of decadent art, and the Munich exhibition included only a portion of the works removed from German museums.

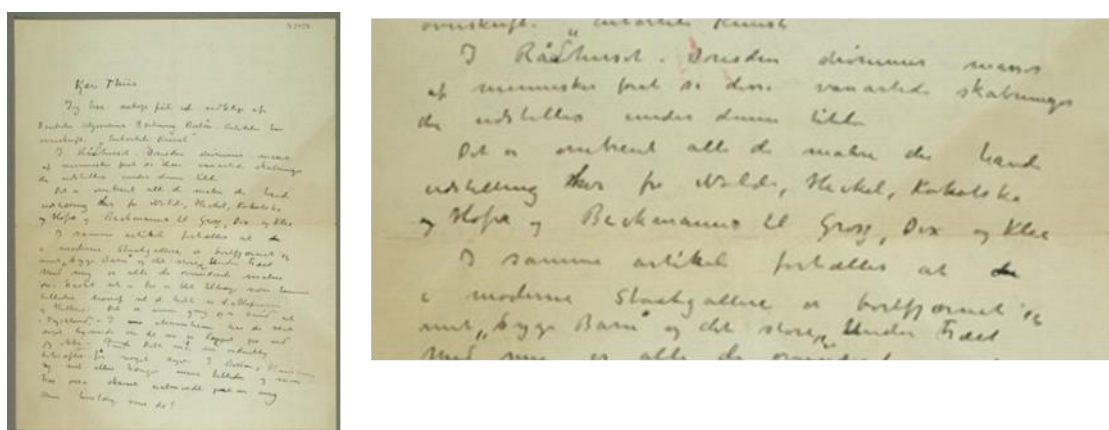


Figure 13 – MM N 2957, Munch Museum. Dated 1937. Letter to [Jens Thiis](#)
Philological commentary: A couple of clarifications in pencil verso.
Photo © Munchmuseet

⁸⁵ Goebbels to Munch, 6 December 1933, Munch Museum

⁸⁶Hodge,C.J., 'A Guide to Object Biography', Stanford University, Archeological Collection, 2017, https://suac.stanford.edu/sites/g/files/sbjbj12066/f/suac_2017_guide_to_object_biography_0.pdf

Removing up to 83 artworks [Fig.14] by the Norwegian master Edvard Munch from their German-housed collections is significant as these works were never shown at the landmark exhibition on 21st July 1937. Numerous works not included were packed into a furniture van and driven away⁸⁷. As addressed in LACMA's exhibition catalogue, the items to be shown at the Entartete Kunst exhibition by Edvard Munch were placed in Room 7. Yet, "during the run of the exhibition, Room 7 remained closed to the public, and access to it was granted only to journalists and holders of special permits"⁸⁸ So why were his artworks removed from the exhibition? Conversely, with several artists' work being removed from the Berlin exhibition, Munch saw his paintings and prints as part of the protests that raised concerns about how they had been attacked. As pointed out, as Munch's works had been ostracised, so too had those of war heroes like August Macke and Franz Marc⁸⁹ and retaliation towards this was shown to foreigners like Piet Mondrian.

As noted by Nicholas M. O'Donnell in '*Law and Ethics in the Battle over Nazi-Looted Art – A Tragic Fate*,' the role pursuant to the degenerate art legislation, disapproved works were taken out of German museums and sold on the international market⁹⁰. A view also taken by Christoph Zuschlag in *Gesetz über Einziehung von Erzeugnissen entarteter Kunst* (Law on the Confiscation of Products of Degenerate Art)⁹¹. Both analyse how artworks and, in this case, that of Edvard Munch were deemed superior in monetary value to the NS. The NS legislation passed on 31st May 1938 allowed for the full ratification of the expropriation of artworks and the sale of classified items. Essentially, it facilitated the sale of degenerate artworks for monetary gain to the Reich and senior National Socialist officials.

When reflecting upon the impact this legislation had on Munch's artworks, it is evident that officials such as Herman Göring⁹² had, as shown in many cases of looted artworks and the growth of his collection, benefited from such legislation. By the early 1930s, Göring had been forging his private art collection; he was the first to recognise the monetary value of this trove by sending his art dealer Sepp Angerer to the warehouse on Copernicusstrasse Berlin, essentially being able to put aside paintings which would have value abroad.

Such a 'foray netted him pictures by Cezanne, Munch and Marc – and no fewer than four Van Gogh's. These he used to obtain cash for the Old Master's he preferred'⁹³ [Fig.15]. As shown in the documentation of the Entartete Inventory, this venture is chronicled in highlighting the scrupulous dealings of Göring. Still, when

⁸⁷ Barron, S. '*Degenerate Art: The Gate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany*', Chapter One '*1937: Modern Art and Politics in Prewar Germany*', pp 9-25, LACMA, United States, Abrams; January 1, 1991, Pg. 64-65

⁸⁸ See Stephanie Barron, '*Degenerate Art: The Gate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany*', LACMA, United States, Abrams; January 1, 1991, Ref. 28 Paul Ortwin Rave, "Bericht über den Besuch der Ausstellung 'Entartete Kunst' in München am 21 und 22 July 1937," unpublished memorandum (typescript), estate of Paul Ortwin Rave, pg 65

⁸⁹ Lüttichau, M. A von. '*Entartete Kunst, Munich 1937 A Reconstruction*' in Barron, S. '*Degenerate Art: The Gate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany*', Chapter One '*1937: Modern Art and Politics in Prewar Germany*', pp 9-25, LACMA, United States, Abrams; January 1, 1991, pg 46

⁹⁰ O'Donnell, N.M. '*Law and Ethics in the Battle over Nazi-Looted Art – A Tragic Fate*', Introduction, Chicago: American Bar Association, 2017, pp 5-6

⁹¹ Zuschlag, C. "*Chambers of Horrors of Art*" and "*Degenerate Art*": *On Censorship in the Visual Arts in Nazi Germany*, in: Childs, Elizabeth C. (Hrsg.): *Suspended License: Censorship and the Visual Arts*, Seattle 1997, S. 210-234, A Samuel & Althea Stroum, 1997, pg 221

⁹² Hollmann, A. et al. '*Hermann Göring und sein Agent Josef Angerer - Annexion und Verkauf "Entarteter Kunst" aus deutschem Museumsbesitz 1938*', pg 29

⁹³ Nicholas, L. *Prologue: They had Four Years*. In *Rape of Europe: The Fate of Europe's Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War* (1995), pg 23

reviewing this inventory concerning Edvard Munch, these prices are tactfully omitted [Fig.16]. As addressed in ‘Hermann Göring und sein Agent Josef Angerer. Annexion und Verkauf "Entarteter Kunst"' aus deutschem Museumsbesitz 1938’ Andrea Hollmann states that Göring utilised his position to annex “thirteen paintings of so-called "degenerate art" by five outstanding artists of classical modernism: Paul Cézanne, Vincent van Gogh, Franz Marc, Edvard Munch and Paul Signac. All paintings were part of public collections across Germany... The sole aim of the campaign was to sell the thirteen paintings abroad for foreign exchange⁹⁴. As demonstrated in the inventories below

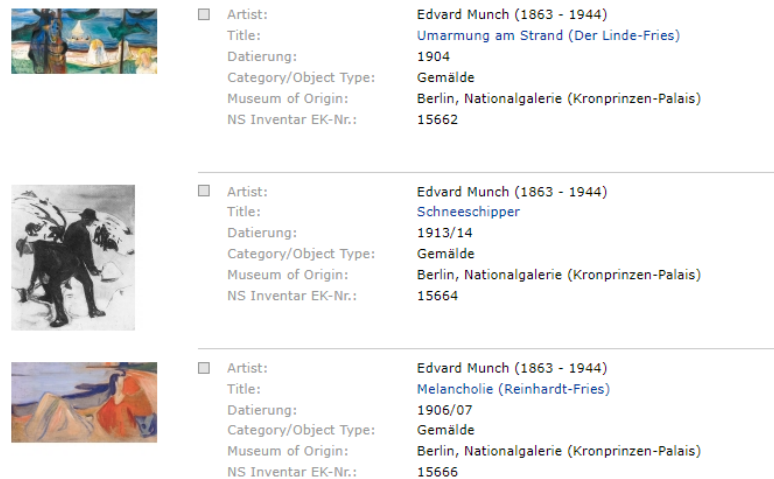


Figure 14 – Three of the paintings procured by Hermann Göring
 © "Degenerate Art" Research Center, Freie Universität Berlin

With such documentation, we see the exportation Göring performed on his selection of Edvard Munch’s paintings [Fig.15-16], where *Umarmung (Embrace)*, amongst the other three paintings, from the Berlin Nationalgalerie was selected. The problem of what to do with the masses of expropriated degenerate art that had not been ‘pre-selected’ by the likes of Göring, it was clear, as Goebbels wrote in his diary, that he hoped to “make some money from this garbage”⁹⁵. With the wholesale plundering of the NS complete, as Franz Hofmann, Chairman of the Confiscation Committee, proclaimed in March 1938, introducing a select and trusted group of German art dealers was arranged.

14.	(16311)	Phantastische Gebilde	D	E	
15.	van Gogh	(15674) Garten	ÖL	Rm. Göring	150 000
16.	" "	(15677) Daubignys	ÖL	"	
17.	" "	(15682) Liebespaar	ÖL	"	
18.	Grauel	(12396) Hookende	P	X	- 4 -

Figure 15 – Extract from [Entartete Kunst inventory, vol. 1](#), Berlin Nationalgalerie page 3, Van Gogh Inventory numbers 15674, 15677, 15682. Rm purchased them. Göring for 150,000 Reichmarks. (c. 1938 \$1.00 = 2.50 rm)

⁹⁴ Hollmann A, März R. *Hermann Göring und sein Agent Josef Angerer*, (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill | Fink, 10 May. 2019) doi: <https://doi.org/10.30965/9783846751732>

⁹⁵ Cited in Barron, S. ‘*Degenerate Art: The Gate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany*’, LACMA, United States, Abrams; January 1, 1991, Pg. 135

342.	"	(16103)	mit Badenden Teich mit Badenden	OL		X
343.	"	(16299)	Paar 16	D		E
344.	"	(16456)	Akte im Grünen	D		E
345.	Munch	(15662)	Umarmung	OL	Rm. Göring	R
346.	"	(15664)	Schneeschipper	OL	"	"
347.	"	(15666)	Melancholie	OL	"	"
348.	"	(15668)	Begegnung am Meer	OL	"	"

Figure 16 – Extract from [Entartete Kunst inventory, vol. 1](#), Berlin Nationalgalerie page 9, Edvard Munch Inventory numbers 15662, 15664, 15666, 15668. Rm purchased them. Göring sale price not listed.

They were starting with Karl Buchholz and Ferdinand Möller in Berlin, Hildebrand Gurlitt in Hamburg and Bernhard A. Böhmer in Güstrow, who had dealt in modern art for many years⁹⁶. As O'Donnell states, all were given a licence – and a monopoly – to trade in this new form of contraband. The selected works for sale were moved to the Schloss Schönhausen in Berlin under the orchestration of art historian Rolf Hetsche and subsequently managed by Gertrud Werneburg to be placed on show for the group of dealers.

In Werneburg's recollection, she stated that on 1st September 1938:

*"Gotthold Schneider came with Dr Hetsch. They ask her, 'Wouldn't you take 175 oil paintings out here? This is degenerate art, sold abroad, a closed exhibition. You'll take this on your own.' I said I could neither typewrite nor shorthand, so only with a secretary. I started with these 175 oil paintings, which gradually grew to 6,000. Or 7,000. I didn't count them. Constantly came Gustav Knauer who brought new pictures. And then came watercolours, and all the Brücke people, from Marc to Rohlf, from Kirchner to Dix. Then came the Lehmbrucks. The pictures came from Köpenicker Straße (in Berlin-Kreuzberg, ed.). These were all the pictures confiscated from museums. It must have been about 15,000."*⁹⁷ [Fig 17-19].



Figure 17 – Edvard Munch's "The sons of Dr Linde" 1903 (Far Right) at the Depo for beschlagnahmte "Entartete Kunst" im Schloss Schönhausen, Berlin ©bpk

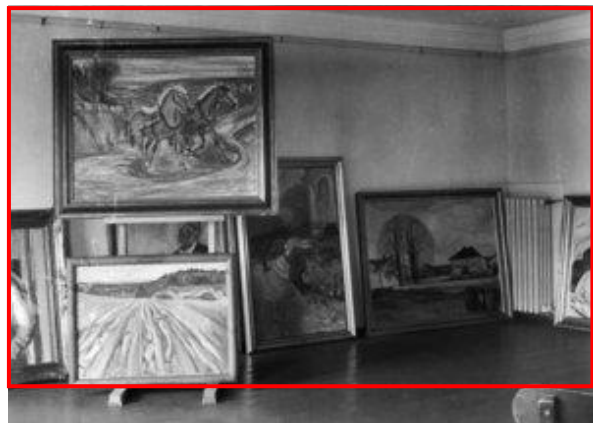


Figure 18 – Edvard Munch's "Woman on the Verandah" 1924 (Left), "Spring Ploughing" 1916 (Upper Left), "Ploughed Fields" 1916 (Lower Left), "Gardener in Max Lindes Garden" 1903 (Middle), "Monastery Garden in Åsgårdstrand" 1905 (MR) & "Self-portrait with palette" 1926 (LR) at the Depo for beschlagnahmte "Entartete Kunst" im Schloss Schönhausen, Berlin ©bpk

⁹⁶ Hoffmann, M. 'Hildebrand Gurlitt and His Dealings with German Museums during the "Third Reich"' New German Critique, No. 130, Nazi-Looted Art and Its Legacies (February 2017), Duke University Press, pp. 35-55

⁹⁷ Extract taken from the article Sale of "degenerate art" in the Nazi regime: The theft of the 20,000 pictures [Thomas Gerlach](https://taz.de/Verkauf-entarteter-Kunst-im-NS-Regime/!5865584/) 7/19/2022, 10:42 am watch <https://taz.de/Verkauf-entarteter-Kunst-im-NS-Regime/!5865584/>

The collection of financially profitable artworks made its way to the Schloss Schönhausen, so did Edvard Munch's works that had been moved from Room 7 of the Entartete Exhibition in 1937. The creation of this new depot meant that all artworks were offered for cut-price amounts and only to be accepted for sale in a foreign currency by the selected dealers. A point highlighted in the inventories completed in 1942 clarified the names of art dealers and high-ranked NS individuals who were part of modern art's wholesale plunder.

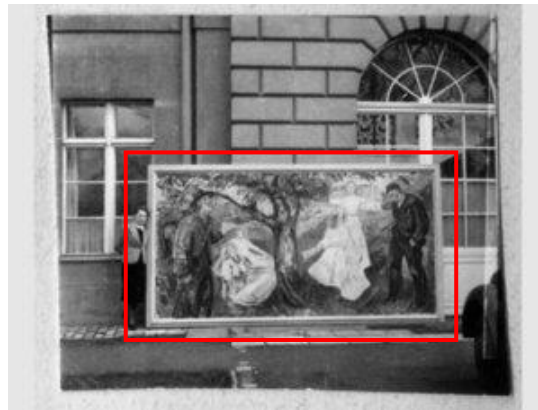


Figure 19 – Edvard Munch's "Life" 1910, outside the Depot for "Entartete Kunst" Schloss Schönhausen, Berlin ©bpb

With the founding group of art dealers given access to this plunder being based in Germany, it was decided that the collection on offer at Schloss Schönhausen, Berlin, would be opened to a broader group of international dealers. As Werneburg remarked, and where the inventories denote, *“then some art dealer kept coming, from Norway, Oslo”* that of Harald Holst Halvorsen. As Harald Holst Halvorsen from Oslo, so did Theodor Fischer in Lucerne, [Fig 20-21] enterprising from this counterfeit and Faustian deal and therefore the question to be asked if, in many ways, they did so to ‘save’ the artworks from destruction or gain from the future monetary value on offer? Through collaboration, these masterpieces of modernity by Edvard Munch became profitable assets and salvaged goods for these pioneering art dealers. Yet, the artworks at the holdings of Schloss Schönhausen that could not be exchanged or liquidated through these collaborative purchases not fit for the sales by Fischer or Halvorsen were to be destroyed.

In the case of Munch's works, the Norwegian Art Dealer purchased the holdings and brought them home - by those artworks located at the Schloß Niederschönhausen or from Göring⁹⁸ directly. Halvorsen was said to have ‘agreed on a purchase price of c.5,000 Reichsmarks for the works by Munch’⁹⁹ a point highlighted by Susan Roland in *Hitler’s Art Thief* (2015), and this transaction was known to Hitler as his secretary Martin Bormann was informed of the decision to sell to Halvorsen due to the recommendation of the Norwegian legation. This advantageous sale agreement was completed within nine days, and with the guidance of art dealer Karl Haberstock, Goebbels was informed of the situation surrounding the art, as Hitler wanted the sale to be completed shortly¹⁰⁰. The main reason the sale of Edvard Munch’s artworks went for 6,375 pounds, even though

⁹⁸ Hermann Göring selected thirteen paintings from the collection — Van Gogh's Daudigny's Garden, Wheat Field, and Young Lovers, Marc's Turm der blauen Pferde and Drei Rehe, Munch's Embrace, Encounter by the Sea, Melancholy, and Snow Shovelers, and Signac's Port, all from Berlin, Cezanne's Quarry, Essen, Van Gogh's Dr Gachet, Frankfurt, and Marc's Hirsch im Walde, Halle

⁹⁹ Ronald, S. *Hitler's Art Thief : Hildebrand Gurlitt, the Nazis, and the Looting of Europe's Treasures*. Firsted. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2015

¹⁰⁰ Kibar, O. 'Storauksjon etter Krystallnatten', *Dagens Næringsliv*, 31.01.06, <https://www.dn.no/storauksjon-etter-krystallnatten/1-1-701931>

the price was lower than the original 7,000 demanded - as reporter Osman Kibe for Dagens Næringsliv states from archival findings – as contact had already been established at this time between Buchholz and the Oslo dealer Harald Halvorsen to appraise the works for this amount.



Figure 20 – *Gemälde und Plastiken Moderner Meister aus Deutschen Museen*, Auktion in Luzern 30 June 1939, Galerie Fischer, Luzern Niederschönhausen ©bpc



Figure 21 – Holst Halvorsen i Wangs Kunsthandels lokale, Oslo, Edv. Munch malerier og grafiske arbeider fra tyske museer, 16th-23rd January 1939 ©Munchmuseet

Through this bartering process, Halvorsen was celebrated by The Norwegian press for having achieved such a patriotic undertaking that they triumphantly stated, “*Munch is coming back!*”¹⁰¹. Heralded by the Norwegian press, the works by the national hero would now be brought home rather than destroyed in Germany or sold globally. But the question is again, to what extent were the artwork’s aesthetic rejection and cut-price sale a reflection of Halvorsen’s capitalist nature as an art dealer, or was it an altruistic attempt at saving Munch’s artworks from Germany?

Yet, Halvorsen’s dealings cannot be seen as a solo recovery mission but were indeed backed by a passionate supporter/Patron of Munch’s, the Shipping Magnate Thomas Fredrik Olsen. In a 2002 interview conducted by Osman Kibe for Dagens Næringsliv, he interviewed Olsen’s son Fredrik Olsen who remarks.

*“Whether it was art dealer Harald Holst Halvorsen who came to Father, or whether it was he who contacted Holst Halvorsen, I do not know. But father and his best friend shipowner Niels Werring joined forces to finance Halvorsen’s home purchase of Munch pictures from Germany. After the pictures came home, they approached Munch and agreed to give as much publicity as possible to what had happened to the pictures and the Nazi behaviour. That is why Holst Halvorsen arranged an auction.”*¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Aftenposten , Saturday 14 January 1939, https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digavis_aftenposten_null_null_19390114_80_24_1

¹⁰² Kibar, O. ‘Kjøpte 75 Munch-skatter av Hitlers menn: Store deler av Munch-samlingen til Olsen-familien ble kjøpt rett fra Adolf Hitlers håndlangere’, Dagens Næringsliv, 31.01.06, <https://www.dn.no/kjopte-75-munch-skatter-av-hitlers-menn/1-1-701930>

So too, with such a 'homecoming' through Halvorsen's sceptical and potentially villainous cooperation in 1938 but with the backing of Olsen, what was the fate of these works? As recognised by Munch, with so much of his life's work confiscated and destroyed, 'what would be of his future.' A point reinforced by Prideaux, who contemplates Munch's precarious situation stating, "*No longer could he indulge himself in the existence of a rich hermit.... Safe in the knowledge that the German museums and collectors had secured his artistic immortality*"¹⁰³. Therefore, even by 1938, the same year this group of Degenerate art - in the grand scheme of things - came home. The future of his established collection in mainland Europe seemed a tilt, and their biographies were forever altered due to this schism by the NS and their aesthetic rejection of his art.

1.6 Purchase and the Homecoming Sale: Collaboration for Profit or Altruism?

When delving into the homecoming sale by Harald H. Halvorsen and the chronology of both *Embrace on the Beach* - *A Summers Day* 1904 & *Madonna* 1898, an expansion of the knowledge must be gathered from primary sources as they assist in highlighting how vital his role was in this formative exchange from the hands of the NS to the open market in Oslo. The role of Halvorsen in the 'repatriation' of these artworks is paramount. Still, more clearly, it expands upon this idea of the shift in the artwork's object biography and this term of provenance branding. With these homecoming sales, we can better understand the importance of these transactions by Halvorsen in that they add to both the provenance of these works and how they obtain a new legacy in sale and ownership again upon entry to the Norwegian art market.

When looking at the press of the time, it was in the art historical journal *Kunst og Kultur*, edited by Norwegian Art historian and Munch admirer Harry Per Fett (1875–1962), that the critical sale at H. Halvorsen's was written about. Author E.L. remarked that the sale as

During the winter, no less than four large auctions of Munch's works were held: City Auction in Hotel Bristol on 12 and 13 September 1938, Wang's auction of lawyer Harald Norregaard's collection on 24 and 25 September 1938, City auction in Handverkersalen 18-19 January 1939 and Holst Halvorsen's auction of Munch Arbeider in German museum ownership with Wang on 23 Jan 1939... Battle after battle with this auction came the representative collection from German museums under the hammer - 57 graphic magazines and 14 paintings. The selection, exhibited at Holst Halvorsen and sold at Wang, gave a rather extraordinary filling impression of Munch's art. Several of the pictures were unknown here, such as the wonderful Åsgårds picture with Kiosterud's house from 1905. From the same museum also came the excellent 'Horse Team' paid for with 15,000 kroner. The version of 'Sick Girl' from 1906-07 from the Dresden Gallery went for 30,000 kroner. The highest price reached the monumental composition 'Life'

¹⁰³ Prideaux, S. 'Edvard Munch: Behind the Scream', New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005, pp 317

with 40,500 kroner, by the buyer transferred Oslo municipality to the decoration of the Town Hall.¹⁰⁴

[Fig.22-23]

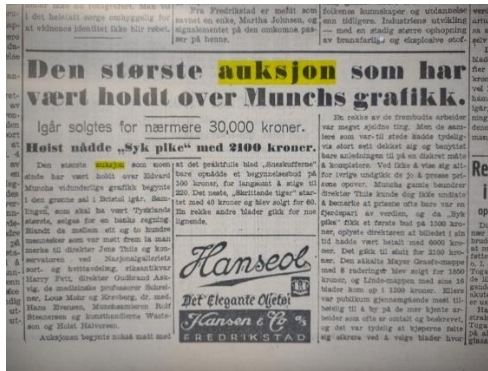


Figure 22-23 – Munch-Auksjoner og Utstillinger 1938-39, Kunst og Kultur Journal (printed ed.). 1939, Vol. 25, Page 121-123, Bergen : Grieg, later: Oslo : Gyldendal ©Nasjonalbiblioteket

This testament against the backdrop of the repatriation sales and their popularity is evident in these clippings 1939. Still, it also highlights Halvorsen's role in his patriotic efforts to bring these works home. The news of 5th January 1939 was given front page status in the lead Norwegian publication *Aftenposten* “Today, the Munch pictures from the German galleries have returned to Oslo”. The coverage is followed up with several articles in the weeks before the auction, “Munch returns home”, reports *Aftenposten* on yet another front page on 14 January 1939, illustrated by a Munch picture “These days a further number of valuable Munch pictures have come home to Norway.” These remarks highlight the importance of the sales, not only for the moral of the Norwegian spirit but for the reception of his art in Norway pre the 1940 occupation.

The reception of his art in Oslo and the augmented art market there shows the collectability of these ‘Munch pictures from German galleries’ and additional auctions from prominent Norwegian collectors in Oslo. Such auctions that took place were that of Harald Nørregaards Collection sold at Wangs Auktion [26 Sept 1938] & the Hotel Bristol - City Auktion [12-19 September 1938] from a German collector’s bank sale of “The largest auction ever held of Munch’s graphics”. This auction, as mentioned in the *Tidens Tegn*, listed the leading collectors in Norway of the time as Harald Halvorsen, Dr Harry Fett & director of the National Gallery Norway Jens Thiis, with the auction selling off 333 graphic works that highlight the importance of the Norwegian market as a neutral ground for sale in this pre-war period.

¹⁰⁴ E.L. "Kunst og Kultur" Vol. 25, 1939. "Munch-Auksjoner og Utstillinger 1938-1939", pp121-23, [https://www.nb.no/items/d16c5536106f3187a0ee9423da3f9474?page=135&searchText=kunst og kultur](https://www.nb.no/items/d16c5536106f3187a0ee9423da3f9474?page=135&searchText=kunst%20og%20kultur)



Tidens Tegn [Sign of the times], Monday 12.09.1938 «Den Største auksjon som har vært holdt over Munchs grafikk», Hotel Bristol - City Auksjon [12-19 September 1938] ©Munchmuseet

When looking into the importance of such archival documents in highlighting how the works came to be in Oslo, the records from the Ministry of Public Information and Propaganda in Berlin must hold at the V&A show, among other things, that Harald Holst Halvorsen was in direct contact with the MPIP in Berlin. Crucially it further reinforces the recollection of Gertrud Werneburg from only a year before c.1938, when the Norwegian was to be seen in the depo repeatedly. They underpin how we view these primary documents created by MPIP as being systematic records of the sale of the confiscated art from the museums to Halvorsen, directly strengthening his part in the movement of these works. Such primary material [fig.24-25] guides the research as it was developed. It also brings new gravitas when cross-referencing the sales in Oslo with the latest findings of the sale ledgers and the additional primary material in 2022, as discussed in CS1 & CS2.

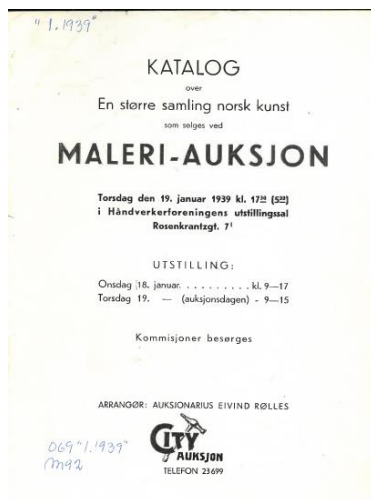


Figure 24 – City Auksjon, Oslo, 19th January 1939 ©Munchmuseet



Figure 25 – Holst Halvorsen i Wangs Kunsthandels lokale, Oslo, Edv. Munch malerier og grafiske arbeider fra tyske museer, 16th-23rd January 1939 ©Munchmuseet

From the sales of January 1939, the significance of this ‘saviour’ of Edvard Munch artworks by Harald Halvorsen is crucial in the journey of these artworks. In his catalogue introduction in 1954, Halvorsen remarks about the need to save such works and the financial benefit these artworks made at auction for his own business. Such a remark can be complex, but it gives additional insight into the number of works he sold at auction and those he sold privately, as discussed in case study One.

“When Hitler in the 1930s purged the German museums of modern junk, which he called with a collective term degenerate, Frederick the Great's Schonhauser Palace in Berlin was filled with the works of world-famous painters, which were then spread to all winds American, French, Belgian and Swiss art dealers, with their great purchasing power, made off with van Gogh, Gauguin, Cezanne, Monet, Picasso and others who made fortunes. I had to concentrate on getting Edv. Munch's paintings and graphics are home to Norway. After a very tough competition and with good and understanding help from home, it was also successful... Collections - 14 paintings and 60 graphic works - I sold at auction in January of the following year...The prices were exorbitantly high at the time but still very low compared to the value of all the works now.”

These auctions and additional private sales made by Halvorsen do indeed highlight the ‘safeguarding’ of Munch’s repatriated artworks, but, as this research unpacks, it does bring to light again this shift in ownership as the works enter the art market again. Signalling the need to uncover the ‘new’ owners of these deaccessioned artworks and the implications they have in safeguarding these works for the future. To reform the object biographies of the artworks, can we better comprehend the importance of researching degenerate classified groups, as they are as crucial in many instances as those looted from private collectors during the war? In addressing the theory of a *Parrhesia of Traces*, an idea conceived by provenance researcher Lea Grüter and the complex moral views on looting and deaccessioning during the Second World War, can we view them as being intrinsically linked to the idea of the object’s biography? In that, as with its shift in ownership, it takes with it the trauma it was present at and for the works of Edvard Munch, both the *Madonna & Embrace* hold various aspects of ‘trauma’ from persecution still to this day.

With the knowledge of the sales conducted publicly and privately by Harald H. Halvorsen, we can best reimagine the nexus of new ownership from 1938/39 for the *Madonna* 1894 & *Embrace on the Beach* 1904. By utilising the primary sources and accounts to hand, and those located along this reconstruction, can both the selected artworks be discussed in the broader context of their movement from the German institutions they were housed in but also the transitional stories they tell today when we discuss the transparency of ownership and provenance branding.

When looking at this ‘wholesale purchase’ by Halvorsen directly from the NS & Göring with the backing of shipping magnates Thomas F. Olsen and Niels Werring, it is interesting to look at how their role was essential in this process but also for both how they could also benefit from such an alliance in this ‘repatriation’ of Munch’s classified artworks. A letter from 14th December 1938 by Halvorsen to the Tate London [Fig.26] highlights his recent purchase of the degenerate works and his attempts to sell privately to the museum, but this did not go ahead of the January Auction in 1939. It highlights that Halvorsen ‘bought 14 works’ (Paintings) from the German Government. Still, it also demonstrates how he utilised his cut-price purchase of these deaccessioned artworks for his benefit through the attempted sale to global museums like that of Tate Britain.

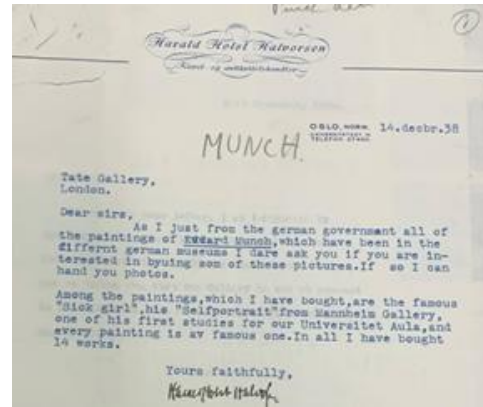
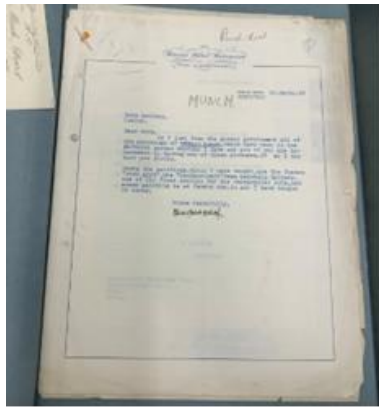


Figure 26 – 14th December 1938 by Harald H Halvorsen to the Tate Britain, London, TG 4/2/757/1, Tate Collections Acquisitions, Munch, Edvard ©Tate Archive

Such material highlights how the overall importance of these works was for Halvorsen and his reputation of restoring the legacy of Munch’s work for the Modern Art collections of Europe, even during a world war. With the collective purchase of these works back to Oslo with the assistance of Olsen & Werring, it is crucial to address how not all works were placed at auction. Olsen’s contribution to this homecoming of the degenerate works meant he was privy to a pre-sale purchase of some of the most iconic pieces in this group [Fig. 27]. These were part of his extraordinary collection of about 30 works by Edvard Munch. Still, it wasn’t until after Britain declared war on Germany in 1939 that Olsen went on to hide these in a remote barn in the Norwegian forest, as told to Sue Prideaux by Peter Olsen, son of Thomas and Henriette Olsen. In this interview, she noted

*“Now those who had already saved the paintings from destruction the first time round had to find a way of saving them a second time, by hiding them from the occupying troops. One of the philanthropists whom Munch had urged to save his pictures was Thomas Olsen... by now had an important collection that included *The Scream* and *The Sick Child*. He trundled them successfully on innocuous-seeming vehicles to the Olsen family farm Sandbu near Otta in Gudbrandsdalen...here the crated-up paintings spent the war hidden in a neighbour’s large hay barn, splendidly protected and undetected.”¹⁰⁵*

Therefore, even with his support in repatriating these artworks, he was alert that these works by Munch, even if in his private collection, could again be persecuted by the NS, who would come to occupy Norway in April 1940.

¹⁰⁵ Prideaux, S. *Edvard Munch : Behind the Scream*, Yale University Press, 2005. Pp 335, Chapter 25, Reference 3

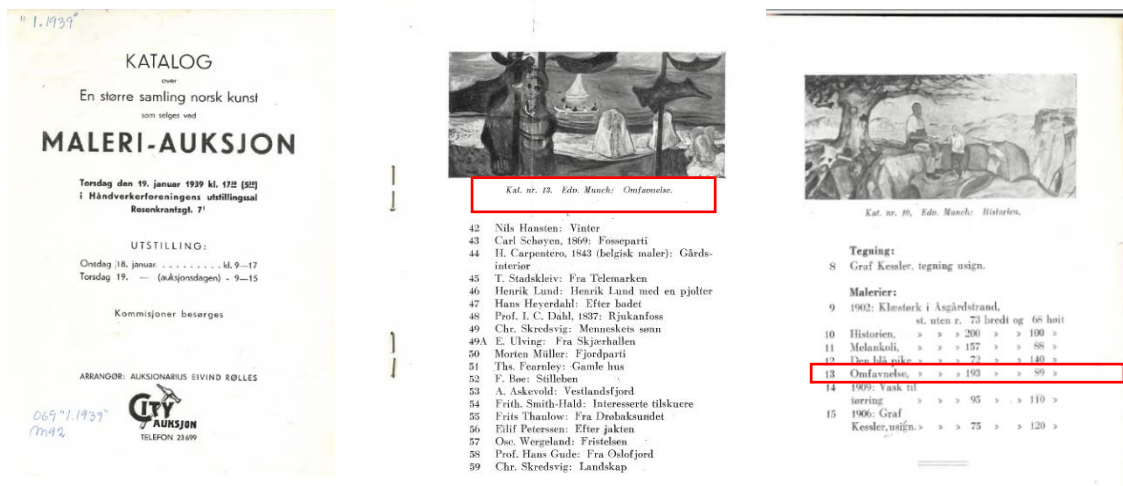


Figure 27 – Harald Holst Halvorsen, City Auktion, 19.01.1939, Nr. 13
© Munchmuseet

So, to the journey of the two chosen artworks [Fig.1-2] after the monumental auctions by Harald Halvorsen in 1938-9? By tracing both artworks from the different moments of their production, exchange, rejection, and consumption (ownership), we can learn more about the shifting narrative of a degenerate artwork against the backdrop of this moment in history and within the historicism of Edvard Munch. The hunt for the classified degenerate group is more problematic and less clear-cut, even when addressing the two chosen artworks in this research. To trace these degenerate works is not as easy, but by utilising the known primary material, it is clear that a dependence on the only dedicated database is essential for this research that of the Beschlagnahmeinventar “Entartete Kunst” as a starting point. Before we discuss the utilisation of this database, it is the contextual background of how these works became part of the tapestry of the German Museum's development of Modern art within their collections and also the support of Edvard Munch's leading German patrons and avant-garde artist's that must be discussed – as will be constructed in both case studies for the Embrace on the Beach & the Madonna – as they form an additional backdrop to how we trace the biographies of these works.

For Edvard Munch, as stated by his close friend and biographer Rolf Stenersen in *Close-up of a Genius*, the artist was reticent about the wholesale clearance of his art from German museums that had for so long held his art with great esteem. As the artist attests, he was as much in the dark as everybody else as to what was happening to his paintings. ‘I’ve no more idea than you what is going on’, he told a reporter. In Munch's view, he stated to Stenersen:

“That Hitler, now, he must be crazy don't you think?... I understand he doesn't like my pictures. Of course, those who have painted up and down with broad brushes can't stand those of us who paint with the art size. I'm too old to keep up with the happenings down there. They'll have to do whatever the devil dictates, I guess... They've even sold a painting of mine that was donated by someone to the Dresden gallery... What about Goebbels? Do you think he's just as crazy? He sent me a letter on my seventieth birthday. 'I greet you as the greatest painter of the Germanic world,' he said. I wonder what

has happened to him – perhaps he has been fired. He owned a couple of my etchings. You really should have bought that picture from Dresden”¹⁰⁶

Therefore, as asserted by Munch, his awareness of the sale of his art was known, but his expression of concern for the sale of the donated work was alarming. Overall, what we can learn from such an extract but also from this research is that the apparent ‘dislike’ by Hitler is the pinnacle of these artworks’ deaccessioning, but when addressing the whole group and indeed the two selected artworks, ‘*Madonna*’ 1893 and ‘*Embrace on the Beach*,’ 1904, it is this question of the morality of the purchases and the homecoming of the artworks. Overall, the movement of his art and the unclear nature of its auction in Oslo was unknown to Munch but clearly shows why researching these degenerate artworks is essential. It opens the process of how we research these artworks but also outlines the momentous events that intrinsically are linked through the act of such individuals as Harald Halvorsen and Thomas Olsen. Without such patronage of Olsen, these ‘homecoming’ sales by Halvorsen would not have been made possible, but unpacking what happened next in the timeline of these artworks is crucial. By addressing their point of production, creation, and placement, we can better reconstruct their lineage, provenance and biography to where they are to date.

¹⁰⁶ Stenersen, *Close-up of a Genius*, Gyldendal; 2nd English ed edition, January 1, 1972, p. 118

Chapter Two

Case Study One: *'Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day', 1904 an invisible lineage*

In the shifts of ownership and the idea of an object's biography, *'Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day'* 1904 [Fig.27] is a key example. The research into Munch's degenerate group has revealed more about the abyss of German history and the influential owners of this artwork from commission to movement. By reconstructing the provenance of this work, it will be crucial to reflect upon the moral challenge to the post-degenerate classification and future sales of this painting. Subsequently, the role that the Halvorsen sale to Thomas Olsen had on this shift in ownership will be addressed against the backdrop of the circumstances of the 'homecoming sale' and the future of this artwork upon the art market.

By stepping back in time through the lineage of this artwork and its scattered history of ownership, we can engage closer with the important collectors and champions of Edvard Munch's art and the events that altered this artwork's movement and aesthetic look. The events of the Degenerate Classifications of 1937 and the homecoming sale in 1939 it is the focus of this case study two-fold as it consists of an overall introduction to Edvard Munch and the role of his patrons in Germany upon the inception, reception, rejection and relocation of the monumental canvas *'Embrace on the Beach - A Summers Day'* 1904 as well as forming a contextual background to how the painting came into the holdings of the Nationalgalerie Kronprinzen-Palais Berlin through the persecution of Dr Curt Glaser before the degenerate classification of 1937.

The second part of the case study concerns the reconstruction of the point at which the 'degenerate' artwork made its way – along with the additional artworks purchased by the Norwegian art dealer H. Halvorsen - to Oslo and the ripple effect this has upon the object's biography in this study. By reviewing primary source material alongside secondary digital archives to reconstruct the movement and shift in ownership of this piece, it is hoped that we can re-evaluate the reception of this piece as well as bring to the overall discussion the importance of reconstructing and understanding the due diligence performed before the recent auction of 2021 for *Embrace on the Beach*.

When we develop upon this idea of the object biography and how intrinsic it is to the dispersion of Edvard Munch's art, as discussed through this research, it is essential to understand how, by focusing on the affected artworks can we review the shifts in this work on canvas and more specifically its conception, reception and displacement. The monumental canvas *'Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day'* 1904 [Fig.1] and its biography against the evolving climate it was privy to during this tumultuous period.

By contextualising the importance of Dr Curt Glaser's patronage of the rejected frieze series by Dr Max Linde in 1904, we can better understand how it came to enter the collection at the Nationalgalerie Kronprinzen-Palais Berlin c.1929 until its deaccessioning in 1937 onwards. Discussing the process of reassembling will bring to

light nuances of how this process of provenance research is somewhat more straightforward for a work on canvas than it is for a print, as discussed in Case Study Two. It is no less a challenge, but it prompts a variety of new questions, as with 'Embrace on the Beach', its list of owners calls into question some aspects of moral views and standpoints as will be discussed.

A concept of the Parrhesia of Traces¹⁰⁷ brings new ways of thinking when researching looted and deaccessioned objects from private collectors and public collections. The trail of evidence we gather and compile when researching degenerate art is as important as that of Looted art research when we look at this concept of provenance research. Biographies of things can make salient what might otherwise remain obscure and is an essential part of this research as we reflect upon the biography of the artwork and its 'cultural data'¹⁰⁸. Reflecting upon the similar approaches of restitution cases, both echo how "socio-political relevance is for tracing of people and their absence caused by crime, which is still present in objects and documents, hidden in the blind spots of public institutions."¹⁰⁹ Therefore, when absorbing this theory into the research, it is this act of tracing this crime/classification on the artworks themselves and the future owners, as addressed by Michelle Turner,¹¹⁰ that better forms a new meaning to these artworks' biography.

PROVENANCE TIMELINE

EMBRACE ON THE BEACH 1904



Provenance Timeline constructed 2020-21 by the author for 'Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day', 1904
© Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough

¹⁰⁷ Gruter, L. 'Introducing the concept of Parrhesia of Traces A study on the memory politics of Nazilooted art restitution or: What are we forgetting?', Reinwardt Academy, Amsterdam Hogeschool vor Kunsten, June 2019, pp 9-97

¹⁰⁸ Kopytoff, I. 'The Cultural Biography of things', Commodities in Cultural Perspective, Cambridge University Press, 1986, pg 67

¹⁰⁹ Gruter, L. 'Introducing the concept of Parrhesia of Traces A study on the memory politics of Nazilooted art restitution or: What are we forgetting?', Reinwardt Academy, Amsterdam Hogeschool vor Kunsten, June 2019, pp 9

¹¹⁰ Turner, Michelle I. "The Innocent Buyer of Art Looted during World War II.", Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law, vol. 32, no. 5, November 1999, pp. 1511-1548. Note: "This Note considers the legal issues relating to innocent buyers of looted art. After providing some historical background on the massive displacements of art that took place during World War II, the Note surveys recent developments, including the different types of disputes that have arisen in the past few years. It then provides a legal framework for analyzing one type of dispute, that of the innocent buyer of looted art".

2.1 Munch and the collector's support: The German Years 1894 - 1937

When looking at Munch's establishment in Germany between 1894-1937 against the backdrop of this research into the effects of degenerate classifications and shift in ownership post-1937, it is vital to unpack when this artwork was conceived, commissioned, deaccessioned, and sold on the art market by Harald. H Halvorsen in 1938-9 as addressed in the degenerate art chapter. All such moments in its object biography are integral for a greater understanding of these events' effect and for the collectorship of his work in Germany.

Focusing on the iconic Embrace on the Beach from the NS inventory and its shift in ownership from 1937, it is felt necessary to discuss its inception. Therefore, when reworking the transition in ownership of this artwork, it is imperative to discuss Dr Max Linde and his role in Munch's early work upon his arrival in Germany in the early 1890s. By examining this work in the context of its degenerate classification of 1937 and within the broader context of the frieze series, it is vital to address how its rejection upon completion in 1904 led to the artwork's transmissibility in its subsequent ownership by Dr Curt Glaser and circumstances of placement within the Nationalgalerie Kronprinzen-Palais Berlin until 1937.

These defining moments in the artwork's trajectory highlight all the shifting points of its ownership and how they have defined and branded this artwork intrinsically and physically. We can see how crucial their early collectorship was for his art through the discussion of Munch's dedicated patrons of the early twentieth century. As presented above in the reconstructed timeline of ownership and the original documentation by the NS c.1941-42 from the 1937 Entartete Kunst inventory, all are pertinent to this research focus.

By looking at the early patronage of this artwork, as shown in the reconstruction, we can better understand the establishment of his work in Germany. Art historian J. A. Clarke argued that Munch was 'co-opted' as German. As such a remark aligns with his career development in German as with the assistance of such patrons as Dr Max Linde and Dr Curt Glaser, we can also evaluate how such early dedicated monographs to his work ultimately acted as promotional sales catalogues of his designs for the collections, both private and public across Germany by the mid-1920s, better.

As discussed by Ulrich Bischoff in the article '*Munchs Einzug in Die Deutschen Museen bis 1937*', we can see a dedicated overview of this early collectorship and exhibit of his works. Such an article gives an additional layer of understanding to the conditions surrounding these events and the critical moments in his preliminary years in Germany. In his review of the establishment of Munch in Germany, he notes:

"Munch only found recognition after the turn of the century, first from private collectors, then from the gallery owners Cassirer and Commeter Galerie. The 1912 Sonderbund exhibition in Cologne with its own hall in which 32 paintings could be seen on a par with van Gogh, Cézanne, Gauguin and Picasso - brought Munch international attention. However, the work of the artist, who was now almost sixty, did not find its way into the collections of the major German museums until after 1920."¹¹¹

¹¹¹ Bischoff, U. *Munch und Germany, 'Munch Einzug in die deutschen Museen bis 1937'*, Hamburger Kunsthalle, 1994, pp 112

Bischoff's overview of this time highlights how Munch worked hard to promote himself, firstly with the private collectors, secondly with the dealers and finally being worthy of a place in the principal museums across Germany. Such a point emphasises his skills in self-promotion and the cruciality of his patron's support.

In the works of contemporary Munch scholars such as Patricia Berman (2017) in *'The Business of Being Edvard Munch'*¹¹², Tina Yarborough (1995) *'Exhibition Strategies and Wartime Politics in the Art and Career of Edvard Munch, 1914-1921'*¹¹³, Jay A Clarke's (2013) article *'1927: Munch's changing role in Germany'*¹¹⁴ and Sue Prideaux *'Edvard Munch: Behind the Scream'* (2005), they all reference the idea or acceptance of Munch as being intrinsically 'German' or part of the pre-WWII nationalist Germanic critical identity. Therefore, we can open a new narrative of Munch and Germany by studying the reception of his work pre-1937 and their movement from Germany after the Degenerate classification. Allowing for a nuanced look at the establishment of his art against the reception and establishment of his career by 1937. From living and working in Germany again and again between 1892 and 1908 – especially in Berlin - and with c.60 exhibitions between 1892 and 1933, it proved to be one of the most important European hubs in his career. It was a space where he cultivated and surrounded himself with like-minded artists, supportive gallery owners, intellectuals and collectors seeking to promote his work. In particular, when we expand upon this time in Germany through the context of ownership, patronage and commissions of his art, we can better understand his establishment within the leading collections of German museums and private collections before the 1930s. Without such patronage and support, Munch would not have had such a cemented grounding in the museums of the mid-20s into the 1930s.

Munch had a gravitational field within which he circulated the important art historians, critics, gallerists, and museum directors, all committed to promoting his work¹¹⁵. Especially felt during the formative years in Germany, where he would be coined by fellow artist Lovis Corinth as the most famous man in the whole German empire¹¹⁶, as remarked by Sue Prideaux. By creating a groundwork from which he mixed with like-minded artists, thinkers and pioneers of modernism, he would form lifelong friendships with dedicated collectors and sellers of his art.

He arrived in Berlin in the autumn of 1892 and left a visible and lasting impact on the cultural landscape of German modernism. In Germany, by 1894, he also discovered printmaking as a positive medium for his artistic development, as will be discussed in CS2, but within these formative years, he found lasting friendships with patrons such as Dr Max Linde, Albert Kollmann, Dr Curt Glaser, Gustav Schiefeler and Ludwig Justi. Such patronage would prove essential for the promotion and collectorship of his works, with three of his collectors' creating

¹¹² Berman, P. "The Business of Being Edvard Munch" in *'Edvard Munch: Between the Clock and the Bed'*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2017, pp 45-58.

¹¹³ Yarborough, B.R. "Exhibition Strategies and Wartime Politics in the Art and Career of Edvard Munch, 1914-1921, 1995. Thesis Note *"Just prior to World War I Edvard Munch's international fame appeared to be firmly established; with the outbreak of war, however, his international market, upon which this fame rested, collapsed. Confined to Norway, Munch lost his broader European cultural identity, and faced a more limited audience influenced by the conditions of war. Through an analysis of his exhibitions and their critical responses, this dissertation examines Munch's strategies in response to this altered situation as a "new Munch" took shape"*. [LINK](#)

¹¹⁴ Clarke, J.A. '1927: Munch's changing role in Germany', *Kunst u Kultur*, 2013, Nr.4, 96, pp 170-181

¹¹⁵ Przybyszewski, S. Meier-Graefe, J. 'Das werk Des Edvard Munch: vier Beiträge', 1894

¹¹⁶ Prideaux, S. *'Edvard Munch : Behind the Scream'*, Yale University Press, 2005. P 154

catalogues of his art from 1902-1917. Between 1892 - 1908, Munch spent a great deal of time in Germany, with summers in Norway and the occasional visits to Paris, as described by Clarke (2013). He found a home for his art with the early support of Dr Max Linde and Curt Glaser, who would go on to support the artist both in the promotion of his career financially and emotionally. Thus, his time in Germany catalysed his artistic and personal metamorphosis from a little-known Norwegian artist to the famous 'father' of expressionism.

By the late 1890s – early 1900s, he had established his art within leading collections in Berlin, Lübeck, Hannover and Mannheim - to name a few - cementing a solid groundwork for his network of essential patrons and collectors across Germany. As attested to by Ulrich Bischoff, the Berlin exhibition of 1927 saw a greater recognition of the reception of his art after the disappointing first appearance in 1892. This shift in his reception, especially in Berlin, catalysed the reception of his work across Germany as Berlin “was the site at the centre of debate about modernity nationwide, and the events in Berlin had a signal effect on all other museums.”¹¹⁷ Even if Berlin was to be the signifier for taste and acceptance of his work by the mid-1920s, it had not always been the case.

His personal and artistic connection with Germany began at his first exhibition of 1892 in Berlin at the Verein Berliner Künstler.¹¹⁸ Yet, the art academy of Berlin did not initially recognise or accept his innovative and Avant Garde style. Such a striking exhibition of his art caused a scandal aptly named the 'Der Fall Munch' (Auch Munch-Affäre, Munch-Skandal and in Norwegian Affæren Munch¹¹⁹). Within days, it had to be closed down. The members of the Verein voted that it was 'out of reverence to art and artistic effort'¹²⁰. Munch excitedly wrote to his aunt that it created enormous indignation with many terrible old painters beside themselves at the new trend...All the young artists on the other hand are very keen on my pictures... Many people are coming to see the exhibition; a major art dealer here has suggested I show in Cologne and Düsseldorf.¹²¹ Enhancing not only his notoriety amongst the Berlin intelligentsia, it further kindled the admiration of his German colleagues and pioneers of the future Die Brücke movement. Not discouraged by this, he distinguished a flourishing career during this period, adopting new patrons and associations with art dealers & critics such as Julius Meier-Graefe (1867–1935), who went on to publish the first critique of Edvard Munch's work in 1894. Meier-Graefe became a significant supporter of Munch's early career after they met in Berlin in the early 1890s, writing articles about the artist and coming to act as his dealer, especially encouraging Munch's efforts in the realm of printmaking¹²² as discussed in case study two.

¹¹⁷ Bischoff, U. *Munch Und Deutschland*, Stuttgart : G. Hatje, 1994, pp 112-126

¹¹⁸ Mørstad, E. "MUNCH'S IMPACT ON EUROPE". In *A Cultural History of the Avant-Garde in the Nordic Countries 1900-1925*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill. 2012, pp 81-90, https://doi-org.proxy.library.uu.nl/10.1163/9789401208918_006

Note: Adelsteen Normann's personal tastes were far removed from those of Munch. Nevertheless, he resolved to propose that Munch be invited to Berlin as a principal exhibitor at the artists' association, the Verein Berliner Künstler. He was clearly impressed by Munch's talent, and presumably felt that both the public and artists in Berlin would more readily accept the most progressive styles of the day, including French Impressionism, if they were practised and presented to them by his young Scandinavian discovery. As early as 24 September, Adelsteen Normann wrote to Munch that the Verein Berliner Künstler's exhibitions committee (of which, propitiously, the painter himself was a member) had voted unanimously to invite Munch to hold a one-man show in the German capital that autumn.

¹¹⁹ Heller, R. Reinhold Heller, "Affæren Munch' Berlin 1892-1893", *Kunst og kultur*, 1969, pp 175-91

¹²⁰ Prideaux, S. 'Edvard Munch : Behind the Scream', Yale University Press, 2005. P 153

¹²¹ Inger Munch (ed.): *Edvard Munchs brev : familien.*, Johan Grundt Tanum Forlag, Oslo, 1949, p 120-122

¹²² Clarke, J.A. "Meier-Graefe Sells Munch: The Critic as Dealer," in *Festschrift für Eberhard W. Kornfeld zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. C.E. Stauffert (Bern: Kornfeld, 2003), 181–93.

From 1892-1895, he spent his time in Berlin amongst the artistic spheres of the Ferkel Circle¹²³ intelligentsia; after the scandalous press coverage surrounding the exhibition at the Verein Berliner Künstler, he became an essential group member. As stated by Munch scholar Lasse Jacobsen, it was remarked in *Klostret* by August Strindberg (written in 1898 but not published until 1966) that *"It was here the émigré Norwegians settled down at the beginning of this century's last decade. A strange herd of talented individuals who sought recognition, understanding and a livelihood."*¹²⁴ The group was keenly interested in the newest ideas and trends in literature and art, symbolism and the aesthetics of decadence, the latest discoveries and ideas in the natural sciences, or the more esoteric movements and phenomena. The artistic milieu in Zum Schwarzen Ferkel, where one could exchange new and constructive impulses, was extremely important for the later creative development of many of its members. For Munch, however, this group was essential for the preliminary grounding of his art in the milieu of Berlin's avant-garde art scene and his discovery of printmaking, as discussed in CS2.



Figure 28 – *Dr Max Linde*, 1904
Sch. 178, Woll. 85, MM G 79A
Drypoint on copperplate

motif: 32 × 32.4 × 22.5 cm; Plate: 34.3
× 24.8 cm, Drypoint Etching
© Munchmuseet

Berlin; Bern; Chemnitz; Chicago;
Frankfurt a.M.; Gothenburg;
Hamburg;
Lübeck; New York (MoMA);
Washington DC (NGA/Epstein)



Figure 29 – *Else & Curt Glaser*, 1913

Sch. 405, Woll. 443, MM G 366
Lithographic crayon on paper,
55–57 × 82–84.5 cm Printed by Nielsen
Printed in black ink. Multicoloured impressions
In four colours, e.g. red, yellow, green, blueish grey and
possibly yellowish brown ink.
Printed on smooth, cream-wove, or laid Japanese paper
© Munchmuseet

I. Monochrome impressions printed from
one stone (366–8). Impression inscribed
E Munch // Probedruck (Gothenburg).
II. Multicoloured impressions. Signed
impressions inscribed Prof. Glaser og frue
(366–7); 2te Zustand (private collection); An
Frau Elsa Glaser zu freundlich Erinnerung
Edv. Munch (private collection, Germany).
Munch-museet (9),
Boston (MFA); Gothenburg; Paris; Tel Aviv.

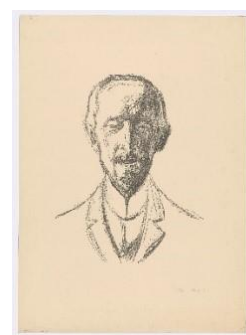


Figure 30 – *Albert Kollmann*, 1906

Sch. 244, Woll. G 283, MM G 260
Lithographic crayon on paper
42.9–43.5 × 33.8–34 cm (stone: 54 × 45 cm acc.
To Schiefler)

Printed at the Weimarer Kunstschule.
Printed in black or violet ink (or other colours,
according to Schiefler).

Stone ground down, according to a letter from
Schiefler dated 1 May 1908 (Munch/Schiefler,
Vol. 1: 385). Printed on European cream wove.
© Munchmuseet

Impression in violet (260–3), in black (260–4).
Munch-museet (9), RES Berlin; Hamburg

¹²³ Note taken from article *Zum schwarzen Ferkel* by Lasse Jacobsen (English translation © Francesca M. Nichols)

"August Strindberg's group 'Zum schwarzen Ferkel' named after the Berlin wine bar Zum schwarzen Ferkel (The Black Piglet) due to the wineskin that hung over the entrance. During the early 1890s the circle consisted of the Finnish writer Adolf Paul, the German poet Richard Dehmel, the medical doctor and surgeon Carl Ludwig Schleich and the Polish author Stanislaw Przybyszewski and his wife Dagny Juel. The Norwegian writers Gunnar Heiberg, Axel Maurer, Gabriel Finne and Sigbjørn Obstfelder, artists such as Christian and Oda Krohg, Gustav Vigeland, the Finnish painter Axel Gallén and the Danish poet Holger Drachmann. Edvard Munch arrived in the German capital in October 1892. After the scandalous press coverage surrounding the precipitous closing of his exhibition in Verein Berliner Künstler, he became an important member of the group. In Klostret Strindberg writes: "It was here the émigré Norwegians settled down in the beginning of this century's last decade. A strange herd of talented individuals who sought recognition, understanding and a livelihood." Ola Hansson, Strindberg and Przybyszewski were well acquainted with the philosophy of Nietzsche and the other members of the group were keenly interested in the newest ideas and trends in literature and art, in symbolism and the aesthetics of decadence, in the latest discoveries and ideas in the natural sciences or in the more esoteric movements and phenomena. The artistic milieu in Zum Schwarzen Ferkel, where one could exchange new and constructive impulses, was extremely important for the later artistic development of many of its members; for August Strindberg, for Stanislaw Przybyszewski and for Edvard Munch. (https://emunch.no/ENGART_ferkel_eng.xhtml)

¹²⁴ Jacobsen, L. 'Zum schwarzen Ferkel', English translation by Francesca M. Nichols (https://emunch.no/ENGART_ferkel_eng.xhtml)

This network of like-minded individuals of art historians, critics, gallerists, and museum directors was essential for the early formation of his art against the backdrop of German Modernism in the arts. When looking at the central figures within this sphere, it can be seen that the support of the German ophthalmologist Max Linde was crucial to the early establishment of his art in Germany. Such support by his patrons as Dr Max Linde, Dr Curt Glaser and Alfred Kollmann [fig. 28-30] essentially created the momentum for other individuals as art dealers like Julius Meier-Graefe and Bruno Cassirer (1872–1941) to collect the early works of Munch, paving the way for the initial expressionist's success and a subsequent breakthrough.

2.2 The Linde Frieze – Conception, reception, rejection, relocation

Ophthalmologist and Art Collector Dr Max Linde possessed one of Europe's most important private collections of modern art at the beginning of the 20th century, with works by pioneers such as Auguste Rodin [Fig.31] and Max Liebermann. Still, it was Edvard Munch that Linde saw great potential and admiration for. Linde was not alone in this early admiration of Munch, also shown in the patronage of Albert Kollmann (1837–1915), the art dealer, collector, and connoisseur of the scene along with Gustav Schiefler, who was also very interested in modern graphic art and by 1907 completed the first index to Munch's prints. All three were patrons of contemporary art in Germany, with Kollmann's first visit to Dr Linde's home in Lübeck by 1902 with a folder of etchings by the artist, and it was this initial encounter with the Norwegian's work that sparked Linde's fascination. Being so inspired by the young artists' work, Linde published '*Edvard Munch und die Kunst der Zukunft*' (Edvard Munch and the Art of the Future) within the same year.

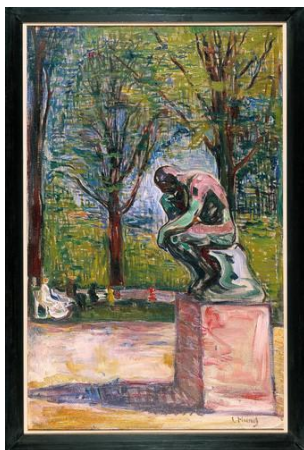


Figure 31 – 'Le Penseur de Rodin dans le parc du Docteur Linde à Lübeck', Edvard Munch, 1907
© ADAGP, Paris, 2012

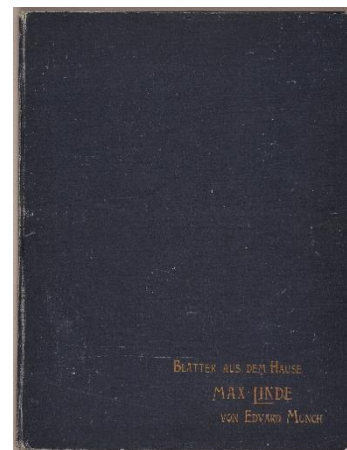


Figure 32 – Portfolio cover and colophon page, from Max Linde's House, Ref. 1963.334.2, Art Institute Chicago
© Clarence Buckingham Collection

The monograph was illustrated with elegant photogravures of Munch's works, but it emphasised the artist's authenticity and vanguard status against the backdrop of the fin de siècle. Such a monograph highlighted the formation of their collaborative friendship and patronage that would essentially lead to commissioning the future Linde Series, part of the overall 'Blatter Aus Dem Hause Max Linde' Fig. 32 and the Frieze series on canvas.

Establishing this patron, artist friendship, Munch enjoyed visits to Linde's house. On 14th December 1904, he wrote to his aunt

'Here in Lübeck, I live very well quietly working, no Norwegians – I have painted a large self-portrait, and I think I could do a lot of painting here – Dr Linde's house is an excellent place to stay'¹²⁵. This period in Munch's early career in Germany and at Linde's villa offered a sanctuary for the artist to test new ideas, techniques and styles, as seen in such portraits of Linde and his family in various mediums. He wrote, "I am now in Lübeck and etch my German patron. He has bought etchings for 1,000 marks—the biggest share of the money has gone to the printer to pay my debt. But still, it helps—I am etching him and his wife. They are both excellent people."¹²⁶

The alliance of the patron/artist for both was beneficial in this new nucleus of creativity that Munch found from Linde's support, as attested by leading Munch scholar Gerd Woll Munch that he stayed with the Linde family between 1902 - 1904 and produced several works [Fig. 33-36], one of which was in homage to their sons, "Die Vier Söhne des Dr Max Linde" [Fig. 35]. A painting produced in 1903 and bequeathed in 1926 to the Museum of Lübeck¹²⁷ before being part of the degenerate classifications in 1937 – subsequently returned to the museum in 1938¹²⁸.



Figure 33 – Max Linde, 1903
© Linde collection



Figure 34 – Dr Max Linde, 1902
Sch. 179, Woll. G 211, MM.G.00080-02
Drypoint on copperplate
Motif : 27–27.3 × 21.5–21.8 cm ; Plate : 28.7 × 23.4 cm
© Munchmuseet

Munch-museet (2) Chicago; Essen; Frankfurt a. M.; Lübeck; New York (BMA); Tel Aviv; Washington DC (NGA/Epstein 2)

¹²⁵ Müller-Westermann, I. 'Munch by Himself,' London, 2005, p. 78

¹²⁶ Meyer, C. 'Max Linde, MD, A Lübeck Ophthalmologist and Patron of Edvard Munch, Linde Discovers Munch, in Survey of ophthalmology', Vol. 43, Nr. 6, May-June 1999, pp 527

¹²⁷ Dr Linde sold his collection to suitable museums as he wrote to Munch 28th August 1925 such as the local museum of Lübeck. Stating in this letter that "We have lost almost everything in the inflation, and even the house had to be sold, in spite of my vigorous resistance. The house will remain and a street will lead through the park where so many of your beautiful works were created. There is only one consolation for us now and that is that the majority of your most beautiful pieces have gone to museums, so that we can see and admire them again one day. I am also very satisfied that you, dear Mr. Munch are now, after all, considered suitable for museums". This meant a large proportion of patron's artworks by Edvard Munch were from 1925 until the degenerate classification of 1937 on show at the Lübeck museum. The degenerate Munch works from this museum were however returned in 1939 – see Albercht 2003.

¹²⁸ Beschlagnahmeverzeichnis "Entartete Kunst", "Degenerate Art" Research Center, FU Berlin, LINK



Figure 35 – *Dr Linde's Sons (Lindes Söhne)*, 1903
Woll 563, Oil on canvas, 144 x 199.5 cm
© Museum for Art and Cultural History of the Hanseatic City of
Lübeck — Behnhaus Lübeck, Germany

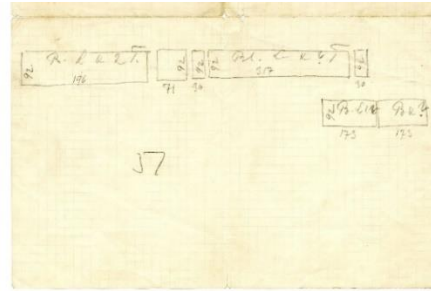


Figure 36 – Sketch with measurements for the seven fields,
attached to a letter from Linde to Munch, 2 December 1903
MM K 2784
© Munchmuseet

From then on, Linde ardently supported the artist, organising commissions and exhibitions and monitoring his well-being¹²⁹. The *Aus dem Hause Linde* cycle, later called the Linde Folder, consists of 13 etchings and lithographs created in November 1902. Such a series [Fig.32] was part of the folder, which shows the preliminary idea for the portrait of the Linde children [Fig 35]. After this, Munch was commissioned to create a frieze series for the children's playroom. The commission was agreed on in the autumn of 1903, and in a letter to Munch, Linde enclosed a sketch of the measurements for the seven designs to be placed in the children's playroom [Fig.36].

Munch immediately proposed painting various life episodes in a summer scene set in a park and the coast from Åsgårdstrand. In *Studenterlunden*, in the centre of Oslo, he found young people kissing and embracing on park benches [Fig. 40], which can be seen as influential in his design motif, in which he planned to create a series of artworks about youth and early explorations of love. Yet, with the commission and creation of the frieze series, Munch had moved away from Linde's guidance where he explicitly requested, "*I would ask you please to keep the subject childish by which I mean in keeping with a child's nature, in other words, no kissing or loving couples. The children as yet have no knowledge of such things. I thought it would be best to choose something with a landscape, as landscapes are neutral and also will be understood by the children.*"¹³⁰

When Linde saw the paintings, later called *The Linde Frieze*, they were not what he had expected. They hung in the Linde's house from December 1904 but were deemed unsuitable and were taken down and returned to Munch in Norway. Eggum notes, 'Dr Linde considered the intensely coloured, almost aggressive spontaneity of Munch's interpretation of youth and the implied awakening of sexuality too erotic and, therefore, inappropriate for his children's room'.¹³¹ Not only were they full of erotically charged motifs, but the colours clashed with the French imperial-style interior of the children's room. Linde's rejection of the paintings was a major artistic and financial blow for Munch¹³². Linde felt guilty about the rejection and offered to make up the financial loss by buying a version of one of Munch's less controversial paintings. As shown below, the entire series of the commission, with a selection being housed in the Munch Museum Oslo [Fig.37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42 & 43] to this

¹²⁹ See E:munch – Person – Max Linde (<https://www.emunch.no/person.xhtml?id=pe301>)

¹³⁰ Max Linde to Munch, 1904, Munch Museum.

¹³¹ Eggum, A. *Edvard Munch: the Frieze of life from painting to graphic art*, Oslo : J. M. Stenersen Forlag, 2000., pp. 21-22

¹³² MM K 2652, Munchmuseet. Date 03.01.1905. Brev by Albert Kollmann, https://www.emunch.no/HYBRIDNo-MM_K2652.xhtml

date, and with three 'Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day' [Fig.1] and the two floral motifs [Fig. 44-45] being either lost or, as this research has traced, still part of a private collection.



Figure 37 – *Summer in the Park (The Linde Frieze)*, 1904
Oil on canvas, 91 x 172 cm, MM.M.00013, Woll M 607
Photo © Munchmuseet



Figure 38 – *Young People on the Beach (The Linde Frieze)*, 1904
Oil on canvas, 90 x 174 cm, MM.M.00035, Woll M 608
Photo © Munchmuseet

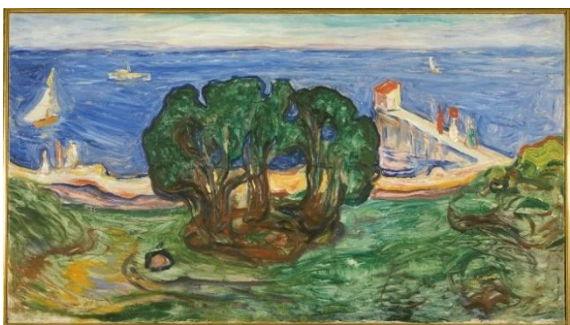


Figure 39 – *Trees by the Beach (The Linde Frieze)*, 1904
Oil on canvas, 93 x 167 cm, MM.M.00014, Woll M 609
Photo © Munchmuseet

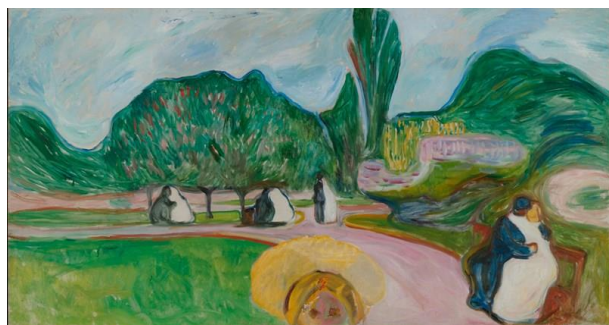


Figure 40 – *Kissing Couples in the Park (The Linde Frieze)*, 1904
Oil on canvas, 91 x 170.5 cm, MM.M.00695, Woll M 610
Photo © Munchmuseet



Figure 41 – *Girls picking Fruit (The Linde Frieze)*, 1904
Oil on canvas, 92 x 170 cm, MM.M.00019, Woll M 611
Photo © Munchmuseet

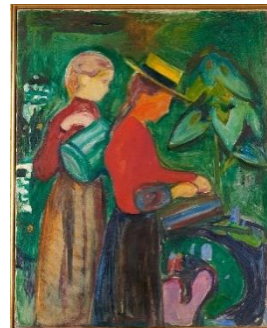


Figure 42 – *Girls Watering Flowers (The Linde Frieze)*, 1904
Oil on canvas, 99.5 x 80 cm, MM.M.00054, Woll M 612
Photo © Munchmuseet

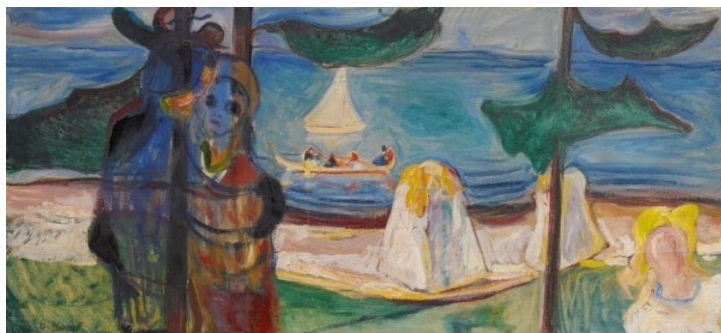


Figure 1 – *Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day (The Linde Frieze)*, 1904
Oil on canvas, 91 x 195 cm, Woll M 613, Private Collection

Photo © Sotheby's



Figure 43 – Dance on the Beach (The Linde Frieze), 1904
Oil on canvas, 90 x 316 cm, MM.M.00719, Woll M 614
Photo © Munchmuseet



Figure 44-45 – Sunflower (The Linde Frieze), 1904
Oil on canvas, MM.F.00041-01, Woll 615/Woll 616, Location – Unknown/lost.
Photo © Munchmuseet

In his correspondence of 5th April 1905, Linde replied, "*My Dear Munch, I am very sorry that you are disappointed with the way the Frieze affair has gone... I would have asked you to do it in Lübeck so that I could have expressed my wishes.*"¹³³ The impact of this rejection was also noted by a close friend and patron, Albert Kollmann, and in 1905, he wrote, "*Dear Mr Munch, I wrote you a letter on Tuesday... I got very angry with Dr Linde that he didn't want to accept the Frieze and made dismissive comments about it.*"¹³⁴ Such correspondences demonstrate the support of his patrons but also the long-term effect of this rejection for the frieze series and its future.

Kollmann notes his impression of the series in another letter dating a few days earlier "*I saw the frieze, and I must say a big bravo to you. That's a beautiful piece of art. I can't understand at all that Dr Linde doesn't want to like it*"¹³⁵. With the reception of this painting - although not to the liking of Linde - the likes of Kollmann appreciated it, as he notes, and within the same year, the series went on a touring sale exhibition in 1905. A series selection was presented at art dealer Paul Cassirer's show in January 1907 and the display at art dealer Leonhard Boldt's Berlin atelier between May 1905 and February 1906. The exhibition of 1906 was highlighted by the press

¹³³ MM K 2806, Munchmuseet. Date 05.04.1905. Brev fra Max Linde, https://www.emunch.no/HYBRIDNo-MM_K2806.xhtml

¹³⁴ MM K 2653, Munchmuseet. Date 08.01.1905. Brev fra Albert Kollmann, https://www.emunch.no/HYBRIDNo-MM_K2653.xhtml

¹³⁵ MM K 2652, Munchmuseet. Date 08.01.1905. Brev fra Albert Kollmann, https://www.emunch.no/HYBRIDNo-MM_K2652.xhtml

as the foremost collectors and dealers saw it in the Weimar capital. It was enthusiastically described by the Berlin newspaper *Berliner Börsen-Courier* (20 January 1906) as an 'awakening of joy'.¹³⁶

Hier und dort.
 Im Atelier eines hiesigen Malers — Leonhard Boldt — ist ein neues Werk von Edvard Munch ausgestellt, in welchem die besten Eigenschaften seiner Kunst zum Ausdruck kommen. Es ist ein Fries in Öl in sieben großen und drei kleinen Bildern.
 Auf dem ersten Bilde tanzen junge Menschenkinder, an hellen, starken Farben sich freuend, durch den Wald. In Sonne gebadet, von frischem Wind umweht. Hier ist eine erwachende Freude an dem Leben, es ist, als hörte man in den Lüften den Lobgesang der Lerche, als stiege aus sprießendem Gras und erstem Frühlingsgrün von leichten Gliedern und aus jungen Kehlen ein Jubel auf. Das Bild ist eine jugendfrische Ouvertüre an das Sommermärchen, das an weißen Sonnentagen in hellen Sommernächten spielt.
 Wie die Glieder der Lebenskette areifen die Bilder



Figure 46—Clipping from *Berliner Börsen-Courier*, 20 January 1906

Figure 47 – Edvard Munch outside his studio in Kragerø, c. 1911
 MM.D.02052-03

Photo © Munchmuseet

Note: with close up of *Embrace on the Beach* (UR)

The article reflected that the series, rich in the material description, admits to more than one interpretation of the design: "No doubt the individual pictures will also be judged differently"¹³⁷. Importantly these works came back to Munch's studio at Kragerø, outside Oslo after the exhibition, as noted by contemporary art historian and Munch scholar Petra Petersen¹³⁸. In this period of the frieze series' return to Kragerø, between 1906 – 1911, Munch added the translucent couple to the foreground of *Embrace on the Beach*, as shown in [Fig. 47], where it is displayed at the back of his outdoor studio. This aesthetic addition has been described as reflective of his development with photography and movement - see A. Eggum, *Munch and Photography*, 1989 – as it also progresses in this work and towards its name, '*Embrace on the Beach*'. The artistic importance of this painting amongst the series is that he purposely chose to add to this scene during its point of rejection until its new ownership c.1914 and not to any of the other canvases in the frieze series.

The ephemeral nature of the new embracing couple that he added in 1907 when it returned to Oslo is essential in the biography of this object. Just as the addition of this transparent couple, so too is there a transience in the ownership of this work and Munch's attempts to paint over the original motif so that the original form can

¹³⁶ Translation of the original German source, January 2023 "A new work by Edvard Munch is on display in the studio of a local painter, Leonhard Boldt, in which the best qualities of his talent are expressed. It is a frieze in oil in seven large and three small images. In the first picture, young human children dance through the forest, rejoicing at the bright colours that start. Bathed in sun, blown by a fresh breeze. Here is an awakening joy in life, it is as if one heard the song of the lark in the air, as if a jubilation rose from sprouting grass and the first green of spring from light limbs and from young stoles. The picture is a youthful overture to the summer fairy tale, which takes place on white sunny days in bright summer nights"

¹³⁷ John Hertz, *Here and there*, *Berliner Börsen-Courier*, 20 January 1906, Nr 33-39

¹³⁸ Pettersen, P. 'The art the Nazis didn't want' in *Chronicle*, 2-3 Munch Museet, Oslo, 2014, pg 50

no longer be accurately recorded'¹³⁹. The shift in ownership took place c.1914 when Munch sold this panel from the series to a close patron and friend of the German Jewish art historian and collector Dr Curt Glaser.



Figure 48 – Paintings for the Linde Frieze in the Garden, Åsgårdstrand, 1904
Gelatine developing paper
MM.F.00041-01
Photo © Munchmuseet
Note: Closeup of Fig.45-46 present

This transaction took place after it was exhibited at the Kunst-Salon of art dealer Fritz Gurlitt's Berlin showroom in 1914 under the title Am Strande¹⁴⁰ No.23. As noted by Kollmann:

*"The exhibition at Gurlitt is very good with rich material - but the uniform effect is not as good as the exhibition in Frankfurt am Main - this has me very surprised – it was wonderful local – Frankfurt am Main is also very magnificent – the new and the old { ... } go parallel each other – along the Rhine – Th{ ... }the best paintings at Gurlitt are perhaps the rejected, these large ordered and rejected paintings – by the Berlin, he{ ... }man who was with me in Summer. Also, Lindefries works very much good – The Reinhardt Fries Kammerspiel Fries bought { ... } Mr Gurlitt for 5 times doubled prices from { ... } Reinhardt."*¹⁴¹

This testament of the purchase by Glaser of an additional series, the Reinhardt Frieze, but it was also the presentation of Embrace on the Beach from Linde's series that was also on view at Gurlitt's salon [Fig.49-50]. This correspondence from Albert Kollmann highlights the interest in such a series but does not fully address if Glaser purchased the Embrace on The Beach at this viewing directly or privately from Gurlitt after. Glaser's early interest and collection of Munch's monumental paintings, portraits and graphic works demonstrates, like the patronage of Dr Linde, that he saw great potential in the future success of Munch's avant-garde style in the leading collections, both private and public, of Germany.

¹³⁹ Eggum, A. "Edvard Munch and Lübeck", Chapter Four 'Der Linde-Fries', Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck, 2003. Pg 32-37

¹⁴⁰ German translation for: On the Beach

¹⁴¹ MM N 3224, Munchmuseet. Date 03.02.1914. Brev fra Albert Kollmann, https://emunch.no/HYBRIDNo-MM_N3224.xhtml#ENo-MM_N3224-00-01r

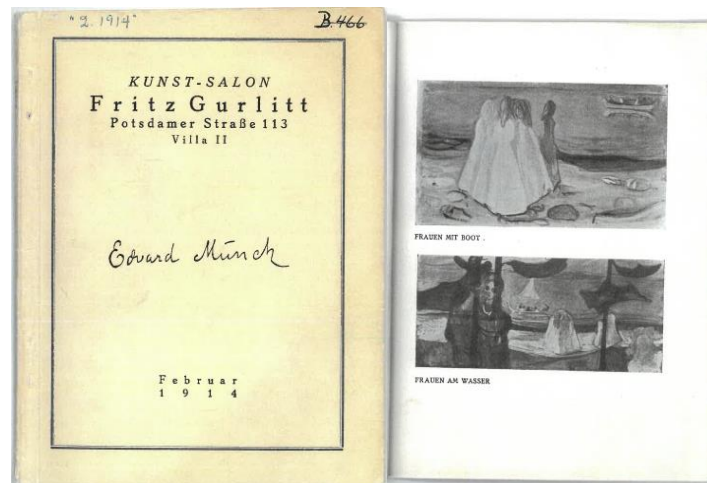


Figure 49 -50– Kunst Salon Fritz Gurlitt, 'Edvard Munch', February 1914, Potsdamer Straße 113, Villa 11, Cover & *Frauen am Wasser*
 Kunst Salon Fritz Gurlitt, 'Edvard Munch', February 1914, Potsdamer Straße 113, Villa 11
 Photo © Munchmuseet

With such early support expressed in the publication above 'Edvard Munch's *Graphische Kunst*' from 1923 and after the purchase of the *Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day*' 1904 at Fritz Gurlitt's Kunst Salon in 1914, he referenced it in his publication 'Edvard Munch' 1917. So, who was this passionate patron and friend of Munch's Dr Curt Glaser?

2.3 Dr Curt Glaser – Champion of modernity to persecution

*Ihre Bilder hängen als Leihgabe im Kronprinzenpalais, und sie mögen dort bleiben. Aber alles, was mich belastete, mußte schwinden*¹⁴²

Dr Curt Glaser to Edvard Munch, Dated 19th May 1933

If we go back thirty years before Glaser's emotive letter of May 1933, their introduction in 1913 sparked the formation and development of their patron/friend relationship. When looking at the development of Munch's art within the leading collections of Germany's museums, it can be seen that the support of Dr Glaser was instrumental in his career as an established member of the avant-garde sphere of Germany's modern art movement. The formation of this supportive relationship between the two, like that of Max Linde's, would also see a growth in the collection of his prints and works on canvas that entered both private collections and public institutions of German, especially as remarked above, in that of the Kronprinzenpalais by the early 1930s. So how did Glaser's support as a patron come to such an end in May 1933, and how would the implications of the fraught political situation of the time cause such a shift in societal values towards both Dr Glaser and the art he owned?

¹⁴² MM K 2387, Munch Museum. Dated 19/05/1933. Letter from Curt Glaser .English translation:
 "Your pictures are on loan at Kronprinzenpalais, and they likely remain there. But everything that weighed on me had to disappear."

So, who was Dr Glaser, and how did his rise within the museum sector see an impassioned growth in the collectability of Munch's art from the time they became acquainted with its demise by 1937? [Fig.51]

Dr Curt Glaser (1879–1943) was a leading art historian/researcher/collector and art critic, and from the early 1900s until the early 1930s, he went on to tenure positions at some of Berlin's leading art institutions. This champion of modern art would, towards the end of his life, be caught up in the cataclysms of the twentieth century, but it is his early career and collecting practices that shine a light on the development of Munch's art and their biographies within these bastions of German modern institutions. Between 1909-20, he worked as a curator and assistant at the Kupferstichkabinett Berlin, where he procured a sizable number of modern prints by contemporary artists of the time with the likes of Edvard Munch, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Max Beckmann, Max Pechstein and Marc Chagall - a point highlighted in *The Collector Curt Glaser: From Champion of Modernism to Refugee 2023*—his love for Old master counterbalanced such a formative collection.



Figure 51 – Curt Glaser & Edvard Munch, Berlin", 1913. 34.56 cm x 53.39 cm,
MM.D.03311-01
Photo © Munchmuseet

With such a successful time at the Kupferstichkabinett Berlin, he later became the Head Curator between 1920-1924, where Magne Bruteig remarks that Glaser 'made sure the holdings of Munch's prints were to become the most important outside of Norway'¹⁴³ revealing why such a large group of Munch's works were in the collection's holdings by 1937. From 1924, as director of the Staatliche Kunstbibliothek, he again sought to build an eminent and impressive art collection, with the works of Munch's forming a large percentage of the initial acquisitions in the museum's holdings. Such an early affinity to Norwegian art would see, by 1936, another 135

¹⁴³ Bruteig, M. 'Edvard Munch Prints', Philip Wilson Publishers, Hunterian Museum & Art Gallery, University of Glasgow, 2009, pg 52

graphics by the artist reach the collection, including seven sheets of Munch's graphic works from his private collection.¹⁴⁴

During his tenure, he had a decisive influence on the art library and the collection of contemporary graphics in the Kupferstichkabinett, but his private collecting practices demonstrated his progressive and multi-discipline interest in art. As the article published by the Berliner Tageblatt 'Ein Haus der Kunst' 1929 [Fig.52] highlights, his eminent art collection saw regular salons at his Berlin home on the Prinz-Albrecht-Straße. These lectures on the future of modern art in Germany were, as the journalist Augusta von Oertzen praised:



“Against the background of exquisite art objects, in front of many and selected books, artists, art critics, art collectors gather; you sit at small tables, drink tea and liqueurs, chat and dance: things that you do at every reception, but which are permeated with an aura of personal life.”

Figure 52 – Excerpt from the photo of the article by Dr Augusta von Oertzen about the Monday receptions at the Glaser's in Weltspiegel, Berliner Tageblatt, 31 March 1929 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz

Such a first-hand remark of the salon evenings reimagines the collection of the art historian and his prestige in Berlin at the time as a connoisseur of the arts. So, when looking at the article's photographs, the focus is his study *Das Munch Zimmer* (The Munch Room) [Fig. 53-54] The aptly named room highlights the support Glaser gave Munch even though it was to all be lost in the coming years upon the NS rise to power and subsequent vilification of Glaser and his position at the Staatliche Kunstbibliothek.

As discussed above, Glaser's friendship, patronage and collectorship of Munch's art shows how crucial this was for the Norwegian. Having met by 1913, Munch went on to paint a portrait of the art historian's first wife, Elsa Glaser neé Kolker, as well as the lithograph of the couple [Fig. 29]. From the beginning of the 1900s and earlier, Curt and his wife had amassed a wide-ranging and significant collection. As shown in the Berliner Tageblatt

¹⁴⁴ This collection of seven sheets from his private collection were given to the museum after they were placed on sale at the Max Perl Auctions in Berlin by May 18 and 19, 1933 – See https://kunstmuseumbasel.ch/en/file/3111/10e4ecd0/DecisionKunstkommission_CurtGlaser.pdf

article, Glaser's collection ranged from Old Master Paintings, antique furniture and modern art objects and paintings, ultimately indicating Glaser's artistic dialogue with an unconventional display that reflects his career and scholarly approach.



Figure 53 – Study with paintings by Edvard Munch, Curt and Elsa Glaser's apartment, Prinz-Albrecht-Straße 8. Approx. 1930
Photo © Berlin State Archive / Photographer: Marta Huth

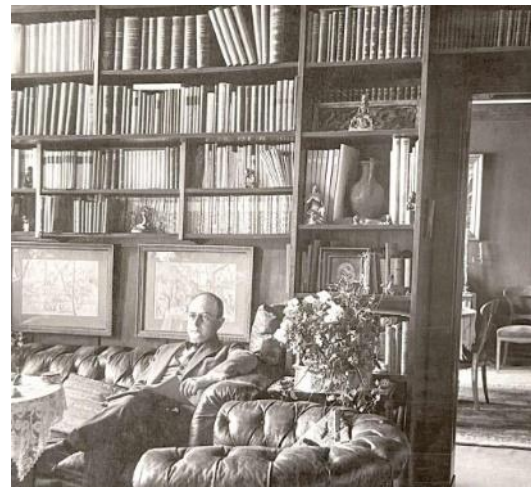


Figure 54 – Curt Glaser in his Berlin apartment, 1923
Photo © Berlin State Archive / Photographer: Marta Huth



Figure 54 – Curt and Elsa Glaser in an automobile with Edvard Munch, Ludvig O. Ravensberg, Jappe Nilssen, Albert Kollmann and Christian Gierloff in Fredensborgveien (districts of St. Hanshaugen & Grünerløkka). Kristiana (Oslo), August 1913
Photo © Munchmuseet

Glaser and his first wife Elsa regularly visited Munch in Oslo [Fig. 54] He stayed with the couple when he visited Berlin in the 1920s. So, it was not just pure patronage but, like that of Dr Max Linde, a friendship of mutual interest. Firstly, the financial support that Glaser afforded Munch in his procurement of his art; secondly, the publicity this had in shaping and growing his reception and acceptance by the German public by the mid-1920s and finally, how Glaser's connoisseurial knowledge of Munch's art both in graphic works as well as his works on

canvas was formative to the development of scholarship surrounding his career¹⁴⁵. This was not a phenomenon in the historicism of Munch, but it reinforces how his collectability across German museums can be attributed to such support by Dr Glaser. Yet, this was all to change in the coming years of the early 1930s with the rise of the NS Party and their dominance and assertiveness in shifting the collections of national cultural heritage significantly developed during the 1920s.

As discussed in the 2022 publication on the Art Historian Dr Glaser and his developments, pre-the NS rise to power; it is a topic that has been given significant attention. Therefore, it is not the focus of this research to delve in detail into his practices as a collector and the dismantling of his career, life and personal collection. It is for this paper to discuss how his ownership of the *Embrace on the Beach* from Glaser's purchase c.1914 ultimately changed and became part of the Berlin, Nationalgalerie (Kronprinzenpalais) by c.1929 due to the impact of the NS upon his career. As put by Art Historian Alain Berset, *By accepting a bequest, one not only assumes ownership of property or assets but also becomes responsible for a piece of history, as did the Nationalgalerie upon Glaser's loan*. This impact on Glaser is essential as it draws upon how we closely review the moment this painting came into the museum's holdings.

Following the seizure of power by the NS in January 1933, the "Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service" (*Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums*)¹⁴⁶ was enacted on 7th April 1933. This law made it possible to remove Jewish citizens from the civil service and was thus directed as a discriminatory tool against Germany's Jewish population and opponents of the new power. On April 9, 1933, a large number of personnel changes were made public – among progressive museum directors, the implications of such laws saw through the *Deutsche Zeitung* a defamatory report about Glaser's suspension, which was also mentioned by the newspapers *Basler Nachrichten* and the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* between April and June 1933. By this time, Glaser was not only at the peak of his career but was in the discussion of newspapers *Deutsche Zeitung* and *Berliner Tageblatts* as he was a figure of public interest. Yet, the exact date of his suspension is not known since several weeks might have passed between these events, but from the primary correspondences with Munch, we can assume it was between April and mid-May that he was stripped of his position, evicted from his apartment and forced to flee Germany on to Switzerland.

¹⁴⁵ Glaser, C. *Edvard Munch*, 1917

¹⁴⁶ **Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service: 7 April 1933**

"The Law was enacted to exclude Jews and other political opponents of the Nazis from all civil service positions. The law initially exempts those who had worked in the civil service since August 1, 1914, those who were veterans of World War I, or those with a father or son killed in action in World War I. The German government also issues a new law concerning membership in the bar, which mandates the disbarment of non-"Aryan" lawyers by September 30, 1933. Exempted from this provision are Jewish lawyers practicing law since August 1, 1914, or Jewish lawyers who are German veterans of World War I.", Holocaust Encyclopedia, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/timeline-event/holocaust/1933-1938/law-for-the-restoration-of-the-professional-civil-service>

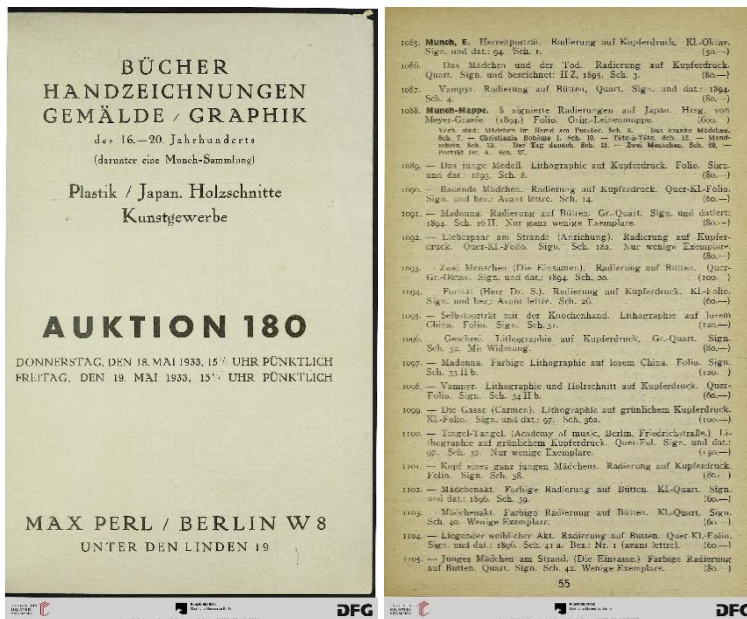


Figure 55 – Max Perl Berlin, Books, hand drawings, paintings, graphics 16 - 20 Century; Plastic, Japan. woodcuts, decorative arts; 18 & 19 May 1933, Katalog Nr. 180, Berlin, 1933
© Heidelberg University Library

Such events led to a series of ‘Fluchtgut’¹⁴⁷ forced sales at the auctioneer's Max Perl Berlin by May 1933 [Fig. 55], where a large percentage of Glaser’s belongings were sold. The dismantling of his collection and life, he writes to Munch¹⁴⁸ about this turbulent period and how it saw the undoing of everything he had striven to build within his career and personal life. With this wholesale dismantling of Glaser’s collection, it was only the works held within the museums that by 1933 were to be saved from these sales of persecution at Max Perl Berlin.

Yet, as with hindsight, the fate of such works would be in the balance by 1937. So how do we trace the movement of Glaser’s *Embrace on the Beach* that was ‘on loan at Kronprinzenpalais’ as Glaser wrote to Munch. This panel from the Linde Frieze series was to be housed by the Kronprinzen-Palais to ensure its longevity within the beloved museums that Glaser worked for. Exposing these invisible links of how the painting became part of the Berlin Nationalgalerie highlights that he must have seen it with great esteem to trust it to the museum.

¹⁴⁷ Campfens, E. A Note in Favour of Clear Standards, Academic articles, Leiden University Press, , pg 58, <https://scholarlypublications.universiteitleiden.nl/access/item%3A2981061/view>

“Forced sales or ‘sales under duress’ qualify as Naziconfiscation under the fair and just rule. At one end of the spectrum lies the typical ‘gun-to-the-head’ situation: a Jewish owner being forced to sell their artefacts to Nazi authorities under threat of reprisals. Similar would be a loss in the absence of the owner (i.e. without the will or initiative on the part of the owner), because they had been forced into hiding or were able to make it away in time. Sales in order to keep oneself alive while in hiding for undervalue would also qualify, like the sale ‘for an apple and an egg’ by the Jewish owner in hiding in occupied Belgium of their Griffer painting as dealt with in the first report of the UK Spoliation Panel.²⁰ Not always, though, circumstances are so clear. Difficult categories without clear standards include ‘early sales’, sales by art dealers and so-called ‘Fluchtgut’ sales; these will be discussed below. Under post-war restitution laws, decisive elements in determining whether a sale should be classified as forced or not included:

- a fair purchase price (or conversely: disparity between value and selling price) and free availability of the proceeds;
- the time of the loss of possession (before or after the racial laws of 1935 in Germany, with different periods applying to each country depending on when they were under Nazi control)
- own initiative
- the nature of the acquiring party (was it a Nazi-official?)

¹⁴⁸ Munchmuseet, MM K 2387, Date 19/05/1933. Brev fra Curt Glaser

“My dear old friend, since I last wrote to you, so much has happened here that I would have to write you a whole book totell you everything in order. In a word, since the death of my wife, the whole world of my past has collapsed piece by piece until nothing is left of it... I had to give up my apartment, I lost my job. Since I found it pointless, now a new big one I freed myself of all my old possessions in order to start a new. Your pictures are on loan in the Kronprinzenpalais, and they may stay there..”

With the forced sale of his collection, due to the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service of April 7, 1933 (later the 15th September 1935 Nuremberg racial laws), it is vital to address the moment at which he loaned this work to the museum. It is then only possible to view how this work became later part of the Entartete Kunst' ['Degenerate Art'] inventories of 1937 due to these earlier laws and shifts in political uncertainty for Glaser. By referencing such correspondence of May 1933 [Fig. 56], Glaser intended for this new palace of modernity to house his beloved paintings gives hints as to where the primary documentation of this bequest is housed. Yet, the intriguing letter of May 1933 does not list each painting but alludes to the favoured paintings in Glaser's collection; therefore, the unpacking of further primary material will lead to a greater understanding of this painting's biography and shift in ownership pre-1937.

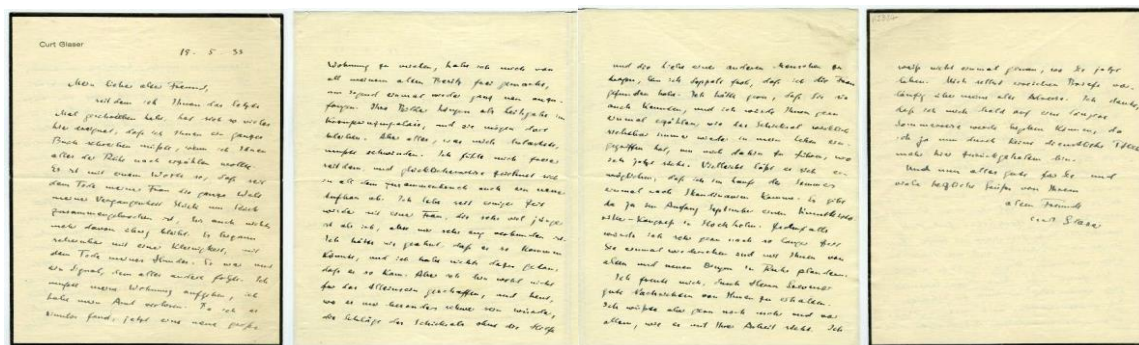


Figure 56 – Letter from Curt Glaser to Edvard Munch, Dated 19/05/1933, four pages MM K 2387, Munch Museum (https://emunch.no/HYBRIDNo-MM_K2387.xhtml) © EMunch

To start with, the artwork and its complex ownership, even by 1914 and again in 1933, is crucial to delve into the complex and everchanging dilemmas surrounding this painting's object biography to answer the questions of Where has it been? How has it changed hands – from whom and to whom? And How did it get both to where it was and to where it is now?

2.4 Shift in ownership - The 'Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day' 1904 between 1929 – 1937

Written in ink for safe keeping "Prof. Dr. Curt Glaser Berlin S W 11, Prinz Albrechtstr. 8"

With the implications of the NS rise to power and future ramifications upon Glaser, the archives of the Berlin Nationalgalerie aid in tracing the movement of *Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day* into their holdings. Following this new lineage and, as Glaser remarks to Munch, "I had to give up my apartment, I lost my job.. Your pictures are on loan in the Kronprinzenpalais, and they may stay there."¹⁴⁹ it is essential to review the primary documentation at the BNG as he had intended for his prized paintings to be kept there. Such resources strengthen

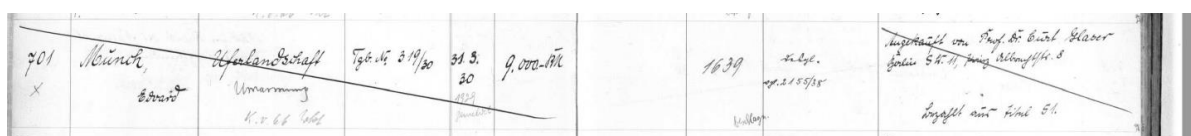
¹⁴⁹ Munchmuseet, MM K 2387, Date 19/05/1933. Brev fra Curt Glaser

the knowledge of the painting's ownership in the 1920s – 1930s but also present the works as being there before 1937. Examining the documentation so far aids our interpretation of Glaser's correspondence to Munch about this turbulent time, but it also highlights a key part of this research goal the obtaining of material to prove such findings.

With the research depending on the sharing of knowledge, it was crucial to review the primary documentation from this period at the Nationalgalerie, now based at the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, and their dedicated research project "Acquisition Logs at the Nationalgalerie"¹⁵⁰ which is part of the larger research project "Provenance & Collections". The overall project at the museum aims to digitise the acquisition logs at the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin in the hopes of providing a record of the inventories of the museum's collections to reflect the eventful history of the evolution of the museum and the provenance of the items that make them up. The hand-written records date back to the 17th century but for this research, it is the inventory book A II. Malerei dating 1912 – 1951. The importance of these inventory books is that it helps pieces together the gaps in the documentation of when artworks entered the museum's collection, giving such information as *the accession conditions, previous owners or the circumstances under which the artefacts were uncovered, as well as later losses or collection relocations*¹⁵¹.

The logbook Malerei A 11, holds all information on artworks that entered the collection between 1912-1951 and, from the correspondence of 4th March 2022 (appendix II), it informed the research that *Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day* 1904 was listed as ID—700 in the book [Fig.57]. The logbook is structured around a table containing pertinent information such as the curator's detailed notes, the consignment date, price, and a description, which can vary in length and provenance information. Regarding the logbook entry for *Embrace on the Beach*, the information provided highlights the provenance of Dr Glaser, but the dates are questionable due to the inclusion of a pencil inscription as a later unknown date of entry. In accessing this primary material, it is interesting to review the notes

Berlin Nationalgalerie Kronprinzenpalais



¹⁵⁰ Hand-written records date back to the 17th century, noting information about the accession conditions, previous owners or the circumstances under which the artefacts were uncovered, as well as later losses or collection relocations. The Staatliche Museen zu Berlin's acquisition logs provide a record of the inventories of the museums' collections and reflect the eventful history of the evolution of the collection and the provenance of the items that make them up, all the way up to the present day. The project Provenance and Collections: Publishing the Acquisition and Accession Logs of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Online publishes the entire historical collection of these books, comprising more than 1,000 volumes.

¹⁵¹ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Acquisition Logs of the Nationalgalerie, <https://www.smb.museum/en/museums-institutions/nationalgalerie/collection-research/acquisition-and-accession-logs/>.

The acquisition logs of the Nationalgalerie have been sifted, digitized and made available online within the framework of the project "Provenance and Collections: Publishing the Acquisition and Accession Logs of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Online". This project was initiated and funded by the Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media.

Inventory No.	Artists	Title	Measurements	Date	Price	Location	Cat. No.	Registration	Remarks
701	Munch Edvard	umarmen	Tgb. No. 319/30	31.3.30 13.3.30 1929	9.000Rk		1639	2155/35	„Angekauft von Prof. Dr. Curt Glaser Berlin S W 11, Prinz Albrechtstr. 8 Bezahlt aus Titel 51.“

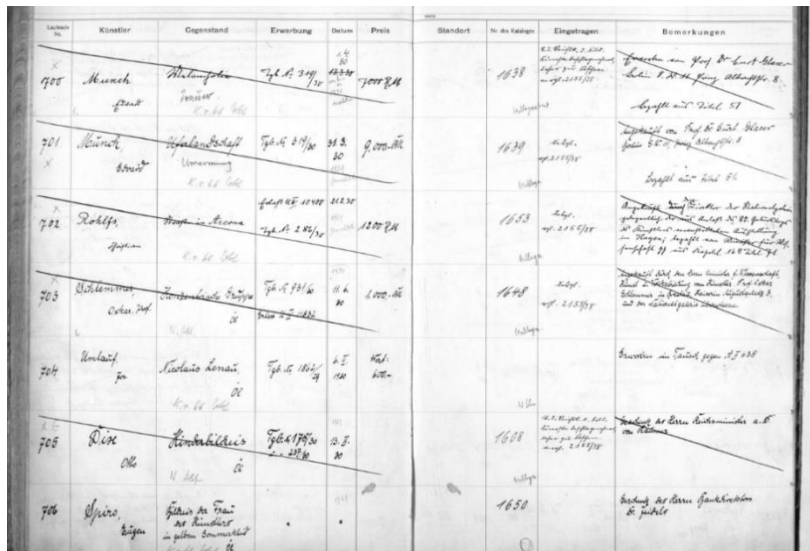


Figure 57 – Berlin Nationalgalerie Kronprinzenpalais, Inventarbuch A II. Malerei
 Nachweiszeitraum der Zugänge 1912-1951 (Lfd.-Nr. A II 1/1912 – A II 1070/1951)
 © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie
 *Inventory page acquired 2022 before the online publication of 2023

[LINK](#)

In locating the primary material, it was essential to formally outline the purpose of having such primary documentation. The notes above support the findings in tracing the painting to Glaser before his forced resignation in 1933. As the material above lists, the work was listed to have been purchased from Glaser in 1930, yet this does not wholeheartedly support the primary material as the letter to Munch and the pencil marking to the inventory book states ‘1929’. It is the pre-empting of Glaser to bequest his paintings to the museum, but with the note of prices, can we view this as his attempt at a flight sale or sale to raise capital towards his impending emigration? As the note lists “Acquired from Prof. Dr. Curt Glaser Berlin S[outh] W[est] 11, Prinz Albrechtstr. 8 Paid from the [financial] title 51.” at a price of 9,000 Reichsmark which in many way along with other items he would have sold would have been placed towards his future Fluchtgut to Switzerland.

By tracing this work from its conception at the request of Dr Max Linde for his children’s playroom to then its rejection and sale at Fritz Gurlitt’s to Dr Glaser, the transition of this painting tells a broader history of Munch’s patronage, support, sale and promotion in the galleries, auction houses, private collections and finally that of the Berlin National Galerie. The movement of this work and, in between its ownership and the physical

addition of the couple by Munch between c.1904/1907 – 1914, it is interesting how we view this work, as with its multitude of movements, so has its resemblance from its original form changed. With the purchase of Glaser and the subsequent donation of this painting to the museum due to the political circumstances, he was presented with, can we learn more about the importance of this panel? It tells a monumental story, yet it is a story that is very little told in the history of Munch. Viewing these shifts in its ownership that mark this moment before the Degenerate Classifications in 1937 and its entry back into the open market of Norway by 1939, it is an intriguing history to analyse.

To trace this artwork further and with the somehow limited access to new information, it is pertinent how we mine the primary documentation offered by institutions, archives and sources so that a new understanding of the future due diligence performed pre-auction in 2021 can be understood. When we reflect upon the circumstances of Glaser and his donation and apparent sale to the museum between 1929-30, how do we morally address this? Can we review this case and the due diligence performed to unpack this problematic history and how it contrasts with the restitution cases of the Glaser family in 2023?

2.5 Tracing the Embrace: The movement at the hands of Halvorsen 1939

The approach to this case study's methodology follows the documentation that has surfaced and, as addressed above, the correspondences of Munch's patrons, exhibition catalogues, newspaper articles and the archival documents held at the Berlin Nationalgalerie. From this point of gathered knowledge, the known contemporary documentation of the NS inventory pre-1937, the catalogue raisonné, and the most contemporary digital databases of the FU & the V&A lead this research. Central to developing the invisible movement of this painting, the NS Inventory gives exact details that steer the research towards the direction of the artworks from Berlin into Herman Göring's collection for future monetary sale to Harald Halvorsen and then on to Oslo in 1938. Yet, very little is listed in the inventories of Halvorsen as to who purchased Embrace in 1938. A dependence is made upon the contemporary auctions of this painting in 2006 & 2021.

For the *Embrace on the Beach – A Summer's Day*, Thomas Olsen was essential in its safeguarding and the longevity of this painting in the families collection lasted from 1938 – 2006 & 2021. The addition of the primary documentation reinforces how the collation of all material be it primary or secondary can benefit this research.

Primary sources

Berlin Museum Inventories
pre 1912 - 1951
NS Inventory of 1937
Halvorsen Sale 1939
Halvorsen Sale ledger 1939
Exhibition Catalogues
Newspaper Articles

Secondary sources

Gerd Woll catalogue raisonné
Contemporary Auction
Records
Contemporary Exhibition
Records Catalogues

Contemporary tools

FU Degenerate Digital
Database
Art Price Online
Auction Houses websites
Newspaper Articles C.1990s -
Onwards

By utilising the FU database, due to its apparent ‘completeness’¹⁵² alongside that of the V&A’s online digitisation of the primary Entartete Kunst inventories, it is evident that two crucial names appeared, as addressed in Chapter One. When reflecting on this against the catalogue entry of Gerd Woll, there is no mention of Dr Glaser, Harald H. Halvorsen or Thomas Olsen. The only provenance, in a way, is that of its link to the remaining paintings in the Linde Frieze series housed at the Munch Museum. Therefore, demonstrating such lacunes in the most ‘official’ documentation of the catalogue raisonné.

With the documentation from the FU database [Fig.58-59], only listing up until 2006, it was essential to note that when the research was conducted in December 2021 – April 2022, the listing of the contemporary auction at Sotheby’s London was not redacted. Demonstrating the implications of sometimes outdated central databases, as they are not maintained regularly. Therefore, it was essential that this research update the database and separate it from any inconsistencies in the FU site’s research.



Figure 58 – Listing from the Freie Universität Berlin “Entartete Kunst” database for the ‘Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day’ 1904
© "Degenerate Art" Research Center, Freie Universität Berlin



Figure 59 – Listing of Provenance Details from the Freie Universität Berlin “Entartete Kunst” database for the ‘Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day’ 1904
© "Degenerate Art" Research Center, Freie Universität Berlin

With access to the cataloguing of Sotheby’s London February 2006 [Fig. 60] & March 2021 [Fig.61-62] it is clear the work remained with the Olsen heirs. Therefore, the due diligence performed at both would be vital to addressing how we interpret Glaser’s prior ownership until c.1929. As seen in the recent case of the Reinhardt Frieze *Dans på stranden* (Dancing on the Beach) 1906-07¹⁵³ sale of 2023. Glaser’s ownership of this painting was assessed as a panel sold under duress but when reviewing its provenance, the work came into the holdings of the

¹⁵² This classification of ‘Complete’ can be misleading as was concluded in this research study. A point raised in the Provenance Research Manual is that “the amount of data available online is growing by the day. Thus, any overview of databases and their contents can only ever be a snapshot of the current status.” [pg. 63](#)

¹⁵³ Harris, G. *Reflect, Restore, Rebuild: Restitution at Sotheby’s* – “Dance on the Beach was acquired by the curator, Professor Curt Glaser, who held the eminent position of director of Berlin State Art Library (he also published the first German monograph on Munch in 1917). Glaser was however forced to sell the work in Berlin in 1934 while fleeing from the Nazis. Just months later, Thomas Olsen, a Norwegian shipowner and Munch’s neighbour, bought Dance on the Beach at an Oslo auction along with a number of other works by Munch. When World War II broke out, Olsen took his Munch pictures into hiding, concealing them in a barn in the Norwegian forest for the remainder of the war. Dance on the Beach has been with the Olsen family ever since; as part of a unique agreement between the Olsen and Glaser families, the Expressionist masterpiece will be sold as part of a restitution settlement with the family of Curt Glaser. Simmons sums up meanwhile how his efforts make a difference. “It is wonderful as you can give back what the Nazis took away. You can breathe a little life into the owners’ legacy”. February 2023, <https://www.sothebys.com/en/articles/reflect-restore-rebuild-restitution-at-sothebys>

Olsen family at the same time as Embrace on the Beach did in 1938. Therefore, how do we interpret its degenerate classification and earlier provenance relating to Glaser when we look at this piece within a contemporary mindset?



Important Works by
EDVARD MUNCH
from the Olsen Collection
LONDON, 7 FEBRUARY 2006

Sotheby's

PROPERTY FROM THE OLSEN COLLECTION

EDVARD MUNCH 1863-1944


SUMMER DAY
signed Edv. Munch (lower left)
oil on canvas
90.5 by 195.5cm., 35½ by 77in.
Painted in 1904-08.
£ 2,500,000-3,500,000
€ 3,720,000-5,200,000 US\$ 4,380,000-6,130,000

PROVENANCE
Dr Curt Glaser, Berlin (acquired by 1930)
Nationalgalerie, Berlin (acquired from the above in 1931)
Seized as 'degenerate art' on 30th October 1937 (inventory no. 15662) and brought to Kerpener Strasse Depot Schloss Schoenhausen
Hermann Goering, Germany (acquired from the above)
City Auktion, Oslo, 1939, lot 13
Thomas Olsen (purchased at the above sale)
Thence by descent to the present owner

EXHIBITED
Berlin, Fritz Guritz, 1914, probably no. 23, illustrated in the catalogue
Düsseldorf, Galerie Flechtstein, Edvard Munch, Ernst Barlach, 1914, no. 12
Zürich, Kunsthaus, Bern, Kunsthalle & Basel, Kunsthalle, Edvard Munch in Zürich, Kunsthau, 1922, no. 21
Berlin, Nationalgalerie, Edvard Munch, Der Lebenskreis für Max Reinhardts Kammerspiele, 1928, no. 32, illustrated in the catalogue
Kiel, Kunsthalle zu Kiel, Edvard Munch, Gemälde und Zeichnungen aus einer norwegischen Privatsammlung, 1979, no. 9, illustrated in colour in the catalogue
München, Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung; Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle & Berlin, Nationalgalerie, Munch und Deutschland, 1994-95, no. 41
Oslo, Munch-museet, Edvard Munchs sene Livfise og Lindfriesen, 1998, no. 3
Lübeck, Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Edvard Munch und Lübeck, 2003, no. 47, illustrated in colour in the catalogue

LITERATURE
Berliner Börsen Cour., Berlin, 20th January 1906
Curt Glaser, Edvard Munch, 1922, illustrated p. 20
Arne Eggum, Edvard Munchs Linde-Fries, Oslo, 1972, no. 3, illustrated
Kunst in Deutschland 1905-1935, die verbundene Sammlung der Nationalgalerie (exhibition catalogue), Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1992, p. 171
Edvard Munch – Theme and Variations (exhibition catalogue), Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, 2003, no. 4, illustrated in colour p. 173

Figure 60 – Important works by Edvard Munch from the Olsen collection, Sotheby's, 2006
Lot 34 'Summer Day', 1904-08, Edvard Munch
© RKD Collection – Netherlands Institute for Art History/IB, The Hague



PROPERTY FROM THE OLSEN COLLECTION | 奧爾森收藏

Edvard Munch
Summer Day or Embrace on the Beach (The Linde Frieze) | 《夏日》或《沙灘上的擁抱》(馬克斯·林德宅的橫幅畫)

† VAT reduced rate
W UK: Greenford Park Warehouse
O Guaranteed Property
Irrevocable Bid

Auction Closed
March 25, 09:05 PM CET

Estimate
9,000,000 - 12,000,000 GBP

Lot Sold
16,284,000 GBP

Lot Details

Description

Property from the Olsen Collection
奧爾森收藏

Edvard Munch

愛德華·孟克

1863 - 1944

Summer Day or Embrace on the Beach (The Linde Frieze)
《夏日》或《沙灘上的擁抱》(馬克斯·林德宅的橫幅畫)

signed Edv. Munch (lower left)
款識: 藝術家簽名Edv. Munch (左下)
oil on canvas
油彩畫布
90.5 by 194.9cm., 35½ by 76¾in.
90.5 x 194.9公分, 35½ x 76¾英寸
Painted in 1904.
1904年作

Provenance

Dr Curt Glaser, Berlin (acquired circa 1914)

Nationalgalerie, Berlin (acquired from the above in 1931, inv. no. A II 701; deaccessioned on 30th October 1937)

Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, Berlin (transferred from the above, inv. no. 15662; titled *Umarmung am Strand (Der Linde-Fries)*)

Hermann Goering, Berlin (acquired from the above through Josef Angerer in December 1937)

Harald Holst Halvorsen, Oslo (acquired from the above in January 1939. Sold: City Auktion, Oslo, 19th January 1939, lot 13 (titled *Omfavnelse*, illustrated))

Thomas Olsen, Oslo (purchased at the above sale for NK 8.600)

Private Collection (by descent from the above. Sold: Sotheby's, London, 7th February 2006, lot 34)

Purchased at the above sale by the present owner



Verso & Canvas support with the NS Inventory Number on a sticker reading "15662."

Figure 61 – Sotheby’s Catalogue Notes Online: PROPERTY FROM THE OLSEN COLLECTION
Edvard Munch, 2021© Sotheby’s London

Figure 62 – Close up of the verso with the NS inventory number 15662 as well as Halvorsen’s sale marking

With this evidence of tracing this painting from the private ownership of Dr Glaser pre-1930 into the Berlin museum’s collection due to circumstances of persecution, can we view this artwork as being tainted already before its degenerate classification in 1937? What stance can be taken when due diligence is performed at the auction level? As shown in all the collated primary and secondary documentation and with the knowledge that this painting entered the market twice in the last twenty years, it is prudent to review that the due diligence is met. Yet, no mention of the problematic nature of Glaser’s ownership is stressed.

Overall, as listed in their contribution to the ‘Holocaust Era Assets Conference Proceedings’ in Prague and Terezin from 26-30 June 2009. Lucien Simmons states in *Provenance and Private Ownership: Just and Fair Solution in the commercial art market* that:

Since 1997, Sotheby’s has run a due diligence program to identify possible WW II provenance issues amongst the thousands of artworks we are asked to sell or value annually. The essentials of the program have not changed since 1997 and include the following elements:

▶ *Maintaining a specialized international team of provenance researchers within Sotheby’s whose role is to support Sotheby’s specialists worldwide in dealing with provenance research and spoliation issues. The team is staffed with art historians and lawyers in New York and London and calls on the services of a network of independent art historians based in Europe and North America.*

▶ *To ensure that works of art are offered for sale by Sotheby’s with good title, all sellers are asked to provide written confirmation of their legal ownership or their authorization to act on behalf of the legal owner. Sotheby’s asks sellers to warrant that they have good and marketable title to the property and that both title and right to possession will pass to the buyer. Sellers are also asked to warrant that the property is free from any third-party rights, claims or potential claim and that they have provided Sotheby’s with all information regarding the provenance of the property and any concerns expressed by third parties regarding its ownership. Sotheby’s has the right to require sellers to indemnify the buyer*

for breaches of these warranties. Sellers are particularly asked to provide all information they may have regarding the ownership history of any work of art from 1933 to 1945.

▷ *Works of art are physically examined for the appearance of brands, markings or labels that indicate they may have been displaced during the period between 1933 and 1945. They will also look for labels and seals of public collections that are known to have lost property during the war.*

▷ *Works of art are checked against the principal public lists and publications for art looted from museums and individuals including those for Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Poland and Russia to ensure that the work of art is not an extant loss. The lists checked include the internet-based database.*

▷ *Sotheby's pays the Art Loss Register to check all lots in its auction catalogues against their databases of losses — both from the WW II period and from recent times.*

▷ *Complimentary catalogues are sent to the main commissions and working groups in Europe and elsewhere dedicated to researching art stolen or looted during World War II so that they too can make sure that there are no matches in our catalogues with missing works of art.*

If the due diligence process highlights a possible WW II provenance issue, then this will trigger further research that must be completed satisfactorily before the work of art concerned may be included in a sale. Often, this further research will involve work in archives in Europe and the United States as well as inquiries to governments, provenance research bodies and professional researchers. The research will often involve tracing and contacting the heirs to prior owners of an artwork — sometimes the successors to as many as three or four prior owners of a single artwork where their input is necessary to understand the ownership history of the work.¹⁵⁴

In developing a more comprehensive understanding of how the above can be translated into this case study, it was pertinent to contact both the Head of Europe Restitution, Julia Rickmeyer & Global Head, Lucien Simmons, as they were present for the 2006 and 2021 due diligence checks in this artwork's sale. It was confirmed that - from the correspondence of 20th June 2022 - all the archival information collated in this thesis' research was also utilised (but not made public on exact details on their website) when such checks were performed. Mr Simmons stated that he had indeed worked on this painting in "2006 and 2021 and had all the documents you have unearthed on both occasions, along with correspondence regarding the acquisition of the work from Glaser. Lucian"¹⁵⁵ Therefore, confirming that the research performed here followed the formal structure adopted by the auction house Sotheby's (when systematically assessing all the individual points of contention and known primary documents) is essential. Overall, the due diligence performed in this research reviewed such documentation as the Inventory book of the Nationalgalerie, The NS Inventory, and The Halvorsen sale at City Auktion 19.01.1939. With the knowledge of Thomas Olsen's purchase of this painting, it is clear that the lineage of this artwork, until it resurfaced to auction in 2006 and again in 2021, shows a clear line of ownership in the artwork's biography.

¹⁵⁴ Extract taken from: '1.1.4 Holocaust Era Assets Conference Proceedings' 2009, Lucien Simmons, Sotheby's USA. 'Provenance and Private Ownership: Just and Fair Solution in the commercial art market', pp 995 - 996

¹⁵⁵ Correspondence dating 20th June 2022 between Researcher Miss Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough & Head of Restitution Global Mr Lucien Simmons. See appendix I with full email correspondence chain.

Nevertheless, the prior auctions' cataloguing did not clearly state the importance of the degenerate classifications and the necessary ownership by Herman Göring in the 2006 sale note.

Yet, the question is, what were the circumstances of the painting entering the National Galerie before 1937, and how do we interpret this alongside the due diligence of Sotheby's? When looking at the brief catalogue raisonné note by lead Munch scholar Gerd Woll gives an overview of this painting but no reference, as previously stated, of any of the above documentation regarding the known Primary documents.

Cataloguing for 'Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day', 1904
Author: Gerd Woll
No. 613 <i>Embrace on the Beach</i> 1904 Oil on canvas 91 x 195 cm Signed lower left <i>Edv. Munch</i> Private Collection <i>The was originally painted as one of the largest components of the Linde Frieze and is described in its original form from the exhibition in Boldt's Studio. The couple kissing on the left were added later, although before 1911, as is apparent from a photograph from Munch's open-air studio in Kragerø (B2052). The motif with young people embracing or dancing by the water's edges on light, Nordic summer nights became almost a standard element in Munch's many attempts to realise his so-called Frieze of Life in a decorative format.</i>

Therefore, it is crucial that a complete gathering and centralising of this information is created for the catalogue raisonné but for their archives as well. As discussed in Chapter One, the sale demonstrates how the Harald Holst Halvorsen worked in many ways as both a collaborator and repatriator of some of Munch's most daring and beautiful artworks back to Norway. It also highlights from the addition of archival material that shipping magnate Thomas Olsen was party to this homecoming sale to grow his collection of Munch's monumental paintings. They, overall, act in a complicit way in the 'homecoming' auctions that took place.

Therefore, focusing on the primary material at hand, such as sale ledgers, restitution practitioners and contemporary sources, can give a new contemporary perspective on the development of this artwork's biography. With the review of the auction houses' due diligence, it is possible that this artwork can never be restituted, but as shown in other cases of degenerate artworks re-entering the art market (with the potential for donor funding) could this painting be returned to the Berlin Nationalgalerie Kronprinzen-Palais as Glaser had hoped it would stay?

By reconstructing its movement, we can learn more about the collecting practices of Munch's supporters in Germany pre-1937. Additionally, this provenance line insightfully highlights the scrupulous nature of National Socialist officials in their propagation of the canons of modernism for monetary gain. With the initial line of taking us back to Oslo it is important a future development of the morality of these 'homecoming' sales by Halvorsen be formed. As this moment in time it is a balanced line that we reflect on these acts of repatriation being either immoral or moral by both Halvorsen and Thomas Olsen/Heirs.

PROVENANCE TIMELINE

EMBRACE ON THE BEACH 1904



Provenance Timeline constructed 2020-21 by the author for 'Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day' 1904

© Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough

From the findings in the case study, it is crucial to see how such tracing of sources can assist in uncovering the movement of the Embrace on the Beach but, in contrast, how we as contemporary researchers cannot have a dependence on the online databases, so these can become outdated with unpublished information. The documentation in the process of following the biography of Embrace on the Beach – A Summer's Day highlights how this work on canvas, especially that of such a monumental size, may indeed be more straightforward than the attempts made in Case Study Two.

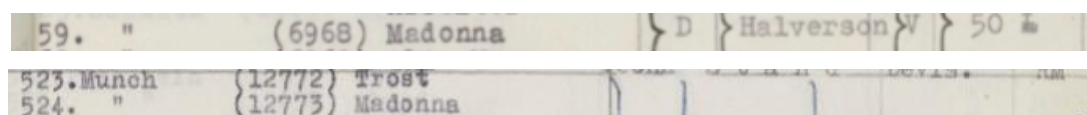
The research into Embrace shines a small light on the wider nexus of this group of affected artworks before the degenerate classifications demonstrating the future of this research. It is through this first case study that we can unpack the biography of this artwork further, and this is something that needs to be adopted into total research of the remaining degenerate group and where this case study is directed towards those works on canvas as still, 21 paintings need this in-depth and object-based research. To bring into context the importance of addressing these tangled webs, these biographies will expose what has been touched upon with Embrace on the Beach and Curt Glaser. What we can learn from this going forward is how we interpret the material at hand and overall the new approach that needs to be taken for the Degenerate group and the reason such artworks came into these German museums even by 1929. Trailing the missing, lost and destroyed canvas' of Edvard Munch from this degenerate group deserves and requires further scoping if we are to widen the knowledge of this affected group. As will be shown in the case of the 1894 *Madonna* the nuances of this research is diverse, but it also brings new light into understudies scholarship, as this thesis has hoped to achieve.

Chapter Three

Case Study Two: The Berlin 'Madonna' 1894 the point where Past, Present & Future meet

With the degenerate Munch group numbering 83 artworks in total it is interesting that 61 items from his group are comprised of graphic works. These include a variety of mediums in his oeuvre ranging from etchings, woodcuts & lithographs and drypoint etchings. The prolific variety of works from this group created a challenge as to which design would express this research's goal of addressing the importance of provenance research and their object biographies. Upon closer inspection, an additional factor was the selected motifs by the NS being that of some of Munch's most iconic design series, from the Omega series, the Lonely Ones and the iconic Madonna designs.

For the research into the movement of such goods from these German museums to Halvorsen's auctions, it was interesting to select a work of rarity in design, as seen for 'Madonna' in 1894. As introduced in Chapter One, the inventories produced of these selected works is important in the rationale towards why the 1894 Madonna was selected, as there was another version of this design present in the group that of the 1895-1902 more commonly reviewed lithograph. As shown in the NS inventories the later and more common design was moved from the Kestner Museum in Hannover Inv 6968 whereas the rarer design of the 1894 Madonna from the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett collection inv 12773:



With a small amount of scholarship published on this 1894 version of the Madonna it is crucial that the research look at where the known editions are. Relying on the catalogue raisonné by Gerd Woll and its listing of six at the Munch Museum Oslo's collection, three within international institutions and two being known to private collections. The search for this particular design from the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett collection is insightful for formatting the future of this research into the 60 additional graphic works.

In tracing this rare drypoint, we can learn about the nuances related to Munch's prints and answer the following questions: Why was there such a juxtaposition in the percentage of works on canvas versus his graphic works in the Degenerate art inventory? And what can this teach us about how his graphic works were deemed more 'Degenerate' than those on canvas? Why was such a substantial proportion of these prints taken from the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett collection verse other institutions such as Museum Folkwang?

Overall, the main line of this case study is understanding how (multiple) prints are more difficult to trace and more accessible to sell than (unique) paintings. Therefore, all such questions offer a multitude of possibilities

for research topics. However, it is how the artwork of Case Study Two highlights the more significant nuances that surround provenance research into (multiple) prints and the challenges or obstacles that arise when looking at its placement on the open market from 1939 versus the tracing of 'Embrace on the Beach – A Summer's Day'. As presented in Chapter One, we can see that patterns start to emerge when looking at the NS Degenerate Inventory within the column 'Stand' or "Status"¹⁵⁶ in English. The notable Norwegian Art Dealer Harald Holst Halvorsen was integral to the salvation of these works as he remarks in his 1950 exhibition, "*I had to concentrate on getting Edv. Munch's paintings and graphics home to Norway. so too. (...) The collection - 14 paintings and 60 graphic works - I sold at auction in January the following year.*"¹⁵⁷.

When reviewing the inventories further, it is evident that a large proportion of the selected works were from his most iconic set of early motives of the 1890s - later known as the *Frieze of Life*, which included works such as *The Scream* (1895), *Vampire* (1895), *Angst* (1896) the iconic *Madonna* in two versions (1894) & (1895-1902) and *Death and a Woman* (1894) as shown in Fig 64-69 were present. Through his experimentation, the sheer prolificity of these impressions is evident when you reference the degenerate list against the backdrop of the works he produced¹⁵⁸, as referred to by Magne Bruteig. Through the selection process, the earliest version of the '*Madonna*' 1894 through the following criteria: point of conception, collection, deaccessioning, sale and location known to date through dedicated research. Vital questions arise when looking at the impact of this classification and, most notably, when researching them in parallel to the concept of an object's biography.

Reflecting on how the theories of the biographies of these artworks and the Madonna it is interesting to view that the classifications of degenerate attach themselves to the future reception of these prints. The rare masterpiece of the Madonna now becomes sticky or tainted when we investigate its journey across time and space. As Sara Ahmed argues in her contribution to *the Affect Theory Reader* that emotions, events and moments in history can taint or 'stick' to objects¹⁵⁹. Such effects can be sustained and preserved in the connection between an idea and value upon an object, notably these degenerate works. A point stressed by Paul O. Rave in 1947 is that »[...] because the history of public art collections is also intellectual history and reflects the development and change of art, reflects the question of art and state, art and artists, art and life, art and society.«¹⁶⁰ Therefore, with such strong far Right propaganda, the 'correct art' shifted public reception and in the case of this research the selected artworks by Munch when they left the German museums in 1937.

¹⁵⁶ In German the meaning can also be associated to an abbreviation of "location" ("Standort")

¹⁵⁷ Halvorsen, H. 'Edvard Munch - Works sold by Halvorsen between 1915 and 1950', 1950, pp 1-54

¹⁵⁸ Bruteig, M. '*Edvard Munch Prints*', Philip Wilson Publishers, Hunterian Museum & Art Gallery, University of Glasgow, 2009, pg 2-49

¹⁵⁹ Ahmed, S. "*The Affect Theory Reader: Happy Objects*", November 2010, pg 29–30 "My essay will offer an approach to thinking through affect as "sticky". Affect is what sticks, or what sustains or reserves the connection between ideas, values and objects. My essay contributes to what has been described by Patricia Clough (2007) as "the affective turn" by turning to the question of how we can theorise positive affect and the politics of good feeling. If it is true to say that much work in cultural studies has investigated bad feelings (shame, disgust, hate, fear and so on), it might be useful to take good feelings as our starting point."

¹⁶⁰ Original German "»[...] denn auch die Geschichte der öffentlichen Kunstsammlungen ist Geistesgeschichte und spiegelt Entwicklung und Wandel der Kunst, spiegelt die Frage nach Kunst und Staat, Kunst und Künstler, Kunst und Leben, Kunst und Gesellschaft.«" Paul Ortwin Rave, 1949

Therefore, further development of the concepts surrounding an object's biography and an artwork's provenance is crucial when looking at the case study of 'Madonna,' 1894. Through the idea of provenance branding and the profound impact it has on the reception and interpretation of this print, we can delve a bit closer into the importance of this field within the broader study of Munch and the investigation of degenerate artworks. The contextual history and the primary sources' role are central to this topic, as they allow for a greater understanding of this specific 'rare' print the problematics of researching the multiples within Edvard Munch's scholarship. This case study's theoretical background will also review leading Munch scholars' works, such as Gerd Woll, Patricia Berman, Sarah Epstein, J.P. Holdin, J. A. Clarke, Reinhold Heller, Peter Black, Magne Bruteig, and Erik Møstad as also shown in case study one. This case builds upon this extensive body of work, investigating how such literature can work in parallel to the discussion of Munch's classified 'Degenerate' prints within the German institutions and open market of 1937-39.

In doing so, it acts as a marker within the central discussion of this thesis to bring new light to the dedicated scholarship and how it is absorbed into this new narrative for debate. Central to this research is the use of primary source material, but by combining this with the extensive amount of scholarship on Munch and his printing production, we will find exciting intricacies in Munch as Degenerate. Alongside the discussion of Munch-centric art historical scholarship and its leading role within this case study, it is beneficial, as examined in Case Study One, to address contemporary scholarship on the provenance research for such complex analysis.

- 13 -

noch Berlin
Kupferstichkabinett

	W e r k k	Techn	S t a n d	Devis.	RM
523.	Munch (12772) Trost				
524.	" (12773) Madonna				
525.	" (12774) Tanzführung				
526.	" (12775) Urne				
527.	" (12776) Mädchen am Strand	Halvor- sen	V	60	L
528.	" (12777) Geschrei				
529.	" (12778) Mann				
530.	" (12779) Les peintres				
	graveure				

Figure 63 List of graphic works by Edvard Munch that was deaccessioned from the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett in 1937

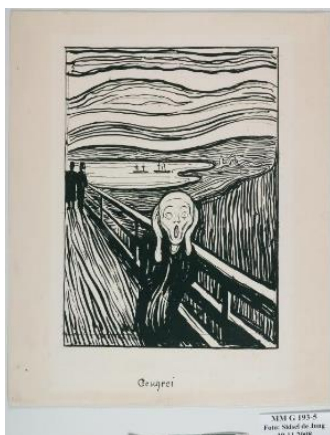


Figure 64 – *The Scream* (1895)
Sch.32, Woll. 38, MM G 193-2
© Munchmuseet



Figure 65 – *Vampire I* (1895)
Sch.34a, Woll. 40, MM G 567-27
© Munchmuseet

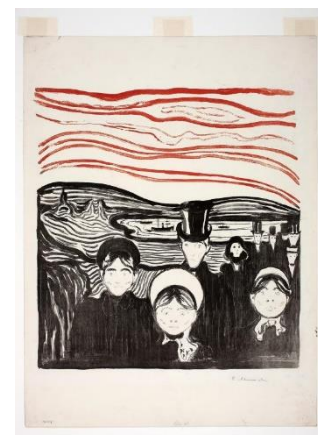


Figure 66 – *Angst* (1896)
Sch.61 (I-II), Woll.63 MM G 204-01
© Munchmuseet



Figure 67 – *Madonna*, 1894
Sch. 16 (I), Woll. 11, Will. 15,
MM.G.00015-05
© Munchmuseet



Figure 68 – *Madonna*, 1895-1902
Sch.33 (I-II) , Woll.39, MM G 194
© Munchmuseet



Figure 69 – *Death and the Woman*,
1894
Sch. 3 (I-II), Woll. 3 (I-II), MMG 3
© Munchmuseet

3.1 The Influence of Berlin on Munch's Printmaking

So how to trace this Madonna and understand how it came to be at the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett before its degenerate classification by 1937? To unpack this further, it is crucial that a contextual background to Munch's development as a printmaker is addressed and in doing so, it will bring current scholarship into question to fill in the under-reviewed 1894 Madonna in the literature. Knowledge of his early print technique will aid the research into the biography of this piece and its conception, reception, and placement in Berlin before 1937 to present day, as has been addressed in CS1.

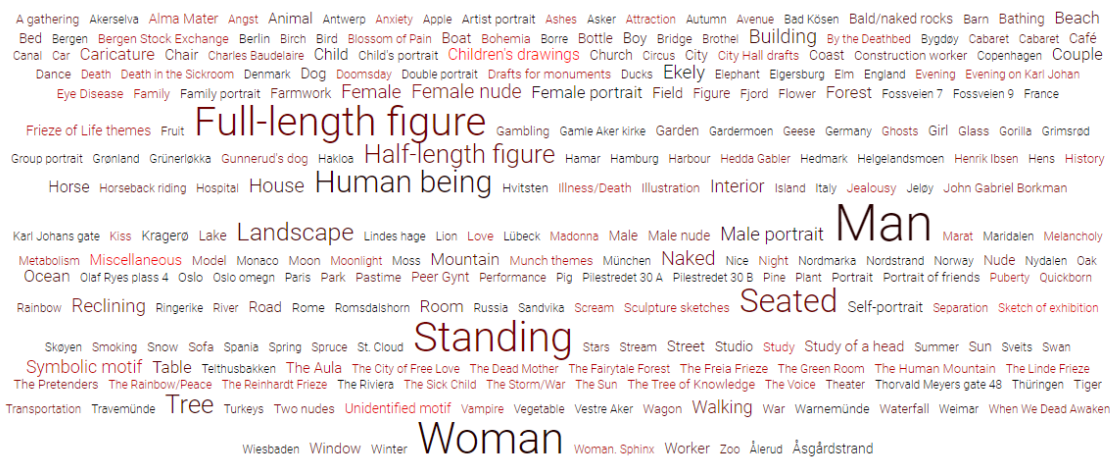
'Love, anguish, sickness, and death'¹⁶¹ are central themes in the extraordinary motifs that constitute Edvard Munch's oeuvre and are synonymous themes in his focus on man's psyche and his account of his own life. He was internationally recognised for his ground-breaking, fresh, and inspiring works on canvas and, at the same time, his pioneering prints from etchings, lithographs, and woodcuts. His extraordinary images play a significant role in his mastery of straddling these art forms and highlight his ingenuity and skill. Through Munch's dedication to expressing his work across a variety of mediums, we have been left with great examples of his skills, as remarked by a close admirer, the German expressionist artist Ernst Ludwig Kirchner "*Nowhere can one get to know an artist better than in his prints*"¹⁶² For Munch, this was essential in his drive to break the boundaries of artistic endeavour. Printmaking, no longer defined by the old connotations of craftsmanship and communication, had for the avant-garde, as Edvard Munch became an integral aspect of his flourishing career. This shift from archaic definitions to innovative dynamism for printmaking marked a pivotal moment for Munch and his peers and followers.

¹⁶¹ Knausgård K. *Edvard Munch : Love and Angst*. British Museum, and Munch-museet (Oslo, Norway). Edited by Giulia Bartrum. London: Thames and Hudson, 2019

¹⁶² Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, 1921, Louis de Marshall in 'Uber Kirchners Graphik', *Genius* 3, no. 2, p. 252; as quoted in 'The Revival of Printmaking in Germany', by I. K. Rigby; in *German Expressionist Prints and Drawings - Essays Vol 1.*; published by Museum Associates, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, California & Prestel-Verlag, Germany, 1986, p. 39

To better understand the prolific nature of Edvard Munch, his printmaking is best displayed by the dedicated Munch Museum’s collection of some 27,000 artworks, of which around 18,000 are graphics, within which some 842 are different motifs. Such examples at the museum demonstrate a fraction of his production¹⁶³ and are clear markers of the variety and extraordinary breadth of his artistic practice that is still on the global market today and within Global institutions. Munch’s graphic works not only highlight but constitute a great deal of the eternal nature of his artistic production. Examples of his reworking of such iconic painting motifs as *Madonna* (1893), *The Vampire* (1893), and *The Lonely Ones* (1893) - the loose grouping of artworks within the broader project of the Frieze of Life - demonstrate the power of the printed medium of his creative expression (see Fig.62-67). Munch made his works on paper in various means as Ute Kulhemann Falck states ‘for instance, by catering to exhibitions, collectors, art dealers and publications’¹⁶⁴. Yet, this is unclear in the earliest edition of the *Madonna* in 1894, as he had only started experimenting with this design and medium.

These closely reflective early prints highlight his processes in reworking such designs, as discussed by the Munch Museum. Through his dynamic colour palette, construction, and technique to express the organic nature of creation, Munch was explorative in his processes. Yet, as noted by Munch scholar Elizabeth Prelinger, the artist had not started producing prints until the age of thirty (Prelinger 1983), a point reinforced by leading expert Gerd Woll in her extensive catalogue raisonné (Woll 2012) in the opening essay *Fifty Years of Printmaking* where she states: “Edvard Munch’s graphic work is an integral part of his artistic oeuvre and should not be considered in isolation from his paintings, sketches, and drawings... Munch’s graphic activity spans 50 years, from the first intaglio prints in 1894 to the last lithographs produced immediately before his death in early 1944.”¹⁶⁵



An example demonstrating the many motifs of Munch – Taken from the Munch Museum’s online Collection database ‘Motif cloud’

The adaptability of printmaking for Munch meant that he was able to create an astonishing amount of works free from the confines of his studio, as the nature of etching into copper became as easy a medium to him as his sketchbooks or diaries, “so simple ... that he could even carry the needle and copperplate in his pocket using

¹⁶³ Gerd Woll estimates the total production to be around 30,000 prints, which means that around 60% of Munch's prints are kept at the Munch Museum and the remainder are present within global collections public and private or on the open market.

¹⁶⁴ Kulhemann Falck, U. Edvard Munch : Works on Paper, The ‘public’ Munch on Paper, pp 10-20, New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press., 2013

¹⁶⁵ Woll, G. ‘Edvard Munch: The Complete Graphic Works’, London Philip Wilson Publishers, 2012, pp. 8

it like a sketchbook”¹⁶⁶. The freedom and diversity of techniques offered to the artist allowed for his second development, a point he recognised: "The worst thing about selling prints is hunting them out – producing them is relatively easy”¹⁶⁷. The early years of Munch’s progression into printmaking saw the earliest of his designs in the drypoint medium. Such early works attempted, with convincing results, allowed him to express delicately shimmering three-dimensionality to appear in prints as well, whose light, atmospheric vagueness’ evokes mystery¹⁶⁸, as you will see in this his early motif of *Madonna* 1894 and even in the subsequent lithographs of 1895-1902. [Fig. 70]

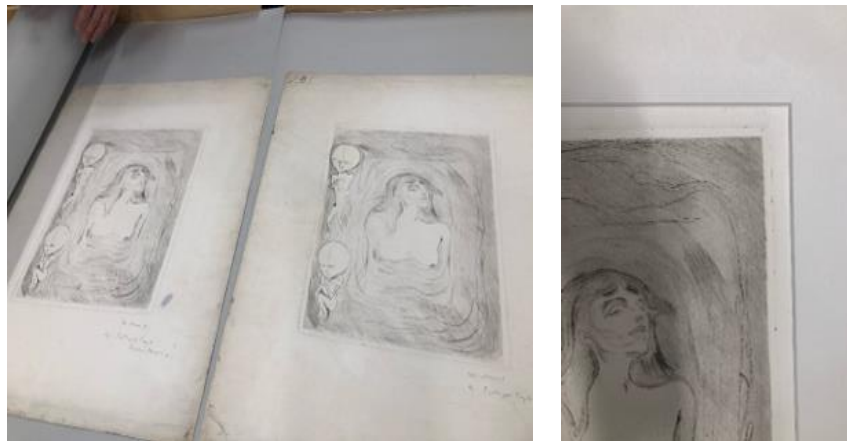


Figure 70 – ‘Madonna’ 1894, Personal Photograph taken upon research at the Munch Museum, Oslo, Norway, 2021-2022
Photo © Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough, RMA Utrecht University, 2020-23

The freedom that printmaking afforded him formatively was an essential step in his artistic development as it enabled a seamless shift from the somewhat confined nature of painting, and its limitations of the studio setting, to a more open and limitless possibility afforded by printing. An observation noted by scholar and patron of Munch’s Julius Meier-Graefe, in the introduction of the 1895 portfolio *Edvard Munch’s Prints*, it is in fact the early intaglios that are almost “definite works of art” in their own right. Reinforcing “the same man... accustomed to working with a brush like a broom, here, in his subject matter, as well as technically, he has mastered such a delicate manner”¹⁶⁹. These skilful early works demonstrate Munch’s knowledge of the novel challenges faced in preparing, constructing, and incising the delicate designs into the plate - if acid is used - and are evident even in his earliest print *Madonna* 1894 [Fig.70].

Printmaking extended his ability, like many young avant-garde artists at the time, to disseminate their artistic message more feely. Importantly for Munch, this can be seen across his exhibitions and sales. A point raised by leading Munch scholar Patricia G. Berman in her essay ‘*The Business of Being Edvard Munch*’ centred around the theme of Munch as an “*Homme de Commerce*”, a term even stated by the artist in 1913¹⁷⁰. “Now I

¹⁶⁶ Bruteig, M. ‘*Edvard Munch Prints*’, Philip Wilson Publishers, Hunterian Museum & Art Gallery, University of Glasgow, 2009, pg.28

¹⁶⁷ Letter to Sigurd Høst, postmarked 6 November 1909. Published in Pola Gauguin: ‘Munch-utstillingen i Bergen 1909. Med en samling brev fra Edv Munch til lektor Sigurd Høst’ in Vennene forteller, Oslo 1946.

¹⁶⁸ Stubbe, W. *Munch’s Bild-Ideen und die Technik seiner Druckgraphik (Edvard Munch’s graphic prints reveal much more than one could have imagined) Translated 06.06.2022 Norwegian to English, 1977, p 1-4*

¹⁶⁹ Przybyszewski, S and Meier-Graefe, J. *Das Werk Des Edvard Munch, 1894*, S. Fischer, Berlin, pg 14

¹⁷⁰ “Now I have an intense demand for my prints. I must soon raise my prices... *Volilà l’homme de commerce*” Edvard Munch, 12 December 1913, letter to Sigurd Høst, quoted by Bessie Rainsford (Tina) Yarborough, *Exhibition Strategies and Wartime Politics in the Art and Career of Edvard Munch, 1914-1921*, PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1994, p.50

have an intense demand for my prints. I must soon raise my prices... Volià l'homme de commerce” Edvard Munch, 12 December 1913, letter to Sigurd Høst. The artist's drive for self-promotion was highlighted in his creation and production of self-designed exhibition posters. As the scholar Patricia Berman has argued, “[Munch]represented his innovation in publicity.... Munch’s first poster, an advertisement for his 1897 exhibition at Dioramalokalet... used a mirror image of his 1896 woodcut Man’s Head in Woman’s Hair... Later, using the same motif that graced the covers of prototypes for a print portfolio that Munch intended for sale.”¹⁷¹ Berman’s analysis of Munch’s early innovations in the use of printing not only as an art form but as a point of self-promotion with the potential of advertising has also been touched upon by Ole Dag Rustad and further by J. A. Clarke. In Berman’s exhibition catalogue 2009, it is expressed that his aesthetic, financial and professional ambitions were intertwined as he pursued a set of saleable, cutting-edge, and intensely personal motifs. Berman drives this idea further, stressing that this moment in artistic production defines Munch in his development of the power of prints to disseminate his art and exhibitions and drive innovation. A similar device was utilised by Avant-Garde groups like the Vienna Secession in 1898 through designs such as Gustav Klimt’s coloured lithograph. [Fig 71]



Figure 71 - Gustav Klimt, *Poster for the First Secession Exhibition* (censored version) (1. Kunstausstellung Secession), Lithograph, 1898 25 x 18 7/16" (63.5 x 46.9 cm) Gift of Bates Lowry © MOMA

Printmaking's role for the vanguards of modernism marks a shift in the multiplicity of this medium for the point of dissemination, a sentiment addressed by Walter Benjamin in his 1935 essay *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. “At the beginning of the nineteenth century, lithography made its appearance... distinguished by the tracing of the design on a stone rather than its etching on a copperplate.”¹⁷² When addressing Munch’s influential prints concerning Benjamin’s quote, it is important to discuss his development away from etching towards lithography by 1895 and the impact this had on the collectorship of his earlier designs and his newly formatted lithographs.

Anna Schultz addressed in ‘*Eugene Carriere and Max Klinger: Two Symbolist Printmakers within the Orbit of Munch*’ that during his time ‘in Berlin and Paris, he made the acquaintance of fellow artists, especially

¹⁷¹ Berman, P. *The Business of being Edvard Munch*, 2017, Yale University Press, Pg 24, Reference 23 – Ute Kuhlemann Falck, “The Mirror – Munch’s Frieze of Life on Paper”, in *Edvard Munch: Works on Paper*, edited by Magne Bruteig and Ute Kuhlemann Falck, exh. Cat., Munch Museum, Oslo, 2013-14, pp 185-87

¹⁷² Benjamin, W. *Illuminations, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction”*, 1935, edited by Hannah Arendt, translated by Harry Zohn, from the 1935 essay, New York: Schocken Books, 1969, p 2
“at the beginning of the nineteenth century, lithography made its appearance. With lithography, the technique of reproduction reached an essentially new stage. This much more direct process was distinguished by the tracing of the design on a stone rather than its incision on a block of wood or its etching on a copperplate and permitted graphic art for the first time to put its products on the market, not only in large numbers as hitherto, but also in daily changing forms. Lithography enabled graphic art to illustrate everyday life, and it began to keep pace with printing”

printmakers, many of whom were inspired by his work¹⁷³. Demonstrating how the power and mobility of production in printmaking by the late 19th century had become integral for centres of the graphic arts such as Berlin and Paris. In many ways, this early stage of his print production and its role in accessible collectorship was promoted by leading individuals such as art critic Julius Meier-Graefe, influential advocate of modernism Samuel (Siegfried) Bing (1838–1905) and Bruno Cassirer (1872–1941). Bing sponsored such monographic exhibitions of Edvard Munch's prints as the 1896 L'Exposition d'Edvard Munch, reviewed by August Strindberg in *La Revue Blanche*.¹⁷⁴ Whilst Bruno Cassirer pioneered the commerce of Munch's printing production by forging a healthy market for the artist and was the dealer that later commissioned Curt Glaser to write the book on his prints in 1913.

By the mid-century, printmaking and prints had been confined by the popularity of illustrations and reproductions of old masterworks. By the early 1880s, as distinguished by many print scholars, it saw a growth in societies of artists across Europe that sought to promote a new standard to this artistic practice. Key examples are critical examples of the founding of organisations like 'The Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers in London, Paris and Berlin in the 1880s. Notable for Edvard Munch's work, as Prelinger observed, "In contrast to Norway, where there was little interest in printmaking, Germany and France were centres of the graphic arts"¹⁷⁵. His time in Berlin was crucial for this new artistic practice and records of his spontaneity in these early designs marking a turning point in his dedication to this unique art form.

The printed medium, for Munch, allowed for greater dissemination of his exhibition posters for the public and acted as a steady source of income, as for many artists of the time, they were the most efficient means of distribution, being cheap to produce. In doing so, he proactively chose to meet the desires of his collectors, but this, in part, was only made possible for the artist through the networks he surrounded himself with. With social networks integral to Munch, such collectors' circles afforded him the support Artist / Patron relationship, as discussed in chapter two. With the likes of keen collectors of Albert Kollmann, Dr Max Linde, Dr Curt Glaser and Gustav Schiefler, many of these individuals produced small booklets and catalogues of his printed designs.

This form of patronage set into motion the creation of such monographic editions as Curt Glaser's 1917 book *Curt Glaser von Edvard Munch*, as discussed in CS1. Following on from the previously published monograph by patron Dr Max Linde's 1902/5 '*Edvard Munch und die Kunst der Zukunft*' and Julius Meier-Graefe's 1895 '*Edvard Munch*' such early booklets of his work were overall exhaustively condensed by Gustav Schiefler in his three-part

¹⁷³ Schultz, A. *Eugene Carriere and Max Klinger: Two Symbolist Printmakers within the Orbit of Munch*, pp 5-17 in Munch, Edvard. 2022. *Munch and His World : Graphic Arts and the Avant-Garde in Paris and Berlin*. Edited by Giulia Bartrum. British Museum Research Publications, 237. London: British Museum

¹⁷⁴ For several months before Munch's arrival in Paris, Julius Meier-Graefe had been tempting him to move to the city with the promise of an exhibition at the gallery where he worked, L'Art Nouveau. He made good on his word almost immediately, arranging Munch's first monographic show in Paris, held in late spring of 1896 and favourably reviewed by Strindberg in *La Revue blanche* in June. "ref 15. August Strindberg, "L'exposition d'Edvard Munch," *La Revue blanche*, vol. 10, no. 72 (June 1896), pp. 525-26."

Extraordinary opportunity to display for the first time a substantial group of prints in multiple, variant impressions (different states, hand-colored, and black and white)..... 9 The exhibition at L'Art Nouveau undoubtedly influenced Munch's increased concentration on the possibilities of print-making and the role of prints in his work. Edvard Munch: Graphic Revelations in Paris SHELLY R. LANGDALE Monographic Exhibition at the Gallery L'Art Nouve, Pg 28 - 29`

L'Art Nouveau was run by Siegfried Bing, an important dealer and influential advocate of modernism in all areas of the arts but especially architecture, interior design, decorative arts, and

¹⁷⁵ Prelinger, E. *Edvard Munch Master Printmaker : An Examination of the Artist's Works and Techniques Based on the Philip and Lynn Straus Collection*. Neuberger Museum of Art and Busch-Reisinger Museum. 1983., 1st ed. New York: W.W. Norton., Pg 5

editions starting the 'Verzeichnis des graphischen Werks Edvard Munch's bis 1906' the later editions from 1928. Such dedicated and catalogued collections of Munch's complete graphic works mark a significant turning point for his career, as noted by Gerd Woll in her remarks on the importance of collectorship

*"In 1902... it was not until this unique showing of Munch's Intaglio prints at the home of Dr Linde that the seed was sown, which led to a deep and life-long interest in Munch's graphic works... In 1904 he began to collect material for a catalogue of Munch's graphic works, published in 1907, and has remained our most important source of information on Munch's early graphic works ever since."*¹⁷⁶

Such crucial moments in his early career are critical examples of his natural abilities as a graphic artist but also highlight how this new medium allowed for a natural progression in his artistic developments and repetitive reworking of these early motifs. The strong circle of progressive like-minded individuals, followers, admirers, and friends meant that Munch pushed to develop these new designs. With such a fast-paced medium that printing afforded Munch, meaning he was able to disperse such works to a variety of passionate collectors with the multitude of exhibitions in Germany during the early 1900s, he was able to expedite this process even further with prominent curators at Germany's leading museums as the Kupferstichkabinett Berlin and the Staatliche Kunstbibliothek collecting these early works – Like that of Dr Curt Glaser.

As remarked by supporter Eberhard von Bodenhausen¹⁷⁷, where he reinforces that "It seems to be that printmaking is your true domain... I do not doubt that pecuniary results will come when you achieve even greater technical perfection"¹⁷⁸. As highlighted in the catalogue raisonné, Woll discusses the importance of Schiefler's first 1907 manuscript on Munch's prints. For this first volume, Schiefler was in close contact with Munch, and together they visited print shops, studied impressions, and discussed states, techniques, dating and editions". Crucially demonstrating how, for Munch, printing was as integral to him as his works on canvas and ensuring they were catalogued correctly was essential to him and his marketability.

Similarly, such support by leading patrons such as Dr Max Linde found its way into publications akin to that of the later 1906-28 editions of Schiefler, and that was the 1902 edition *Edvard Munch und die Kunst der Zukunft*¹⁷⁹. Such extensive efforts by Munch's patrons and collectors to collate catalogues of the fledgling printmakers' work clearly show the prestige of these early works on paper; this was not lost to Munch. In the markets of Paris and Germany from the 1890s onwards, his prints saw growth in collectability, contributing to the sheer prolificity of graphics he produced, even in the early years, and their place still in the market today.

As noted by renowned previous collector and curator at the Berlin Nationalgalerie Kronprinzen-Palais and advocate of modernism, Dr Curt Glaser, in his 1922 letter to Munch on the sale of his printed catalogue,

¹⁷⁶ Woll, G. 'Edvard Munch: The Complete Graphic Works', Fifty years of printmaking, London, 2012, pg.19

¹⁷⁷ Hans Eberhard von Bodenhausen (1868–1918) - German art historian and industrial leader. Co-founder and author of the journal Pan. Interacts with a number of significant artists, poets and art collectors. Student of the art historian Henry Thode at Heidelberg University. Portrayed by Munch in 1895, Drypoint on copperplate, [MM.G.00022-01](#), Woll G 24, Schiefler nr: 23

¹⁷⁸ Letter from Eberhard von Bodenhausen to Edvard Munch, Dated 12 December 1894, [MM K 2071](#), Munch Museum. Quoted Woll G. 'Edvard Munch 1895' p.12. The commissioning and marketing of the Julius Meier-Graefe portfolio are examined in Clarke "Meier-Graefe Sells Munch" pp. 181-94

¹⁷⁹ *Edvard Munch and The Art of the Future* – Dr Max Linde published in 1902

“Incidentally, my book about your art is once again out of print and will be reprinted as soon as paper can be obtained”.¹⁸⁰ Such examples of Munch’s collectors’ role in promoting his prints and style are crucial in studying Munch and his collectorship. He recognises where these patrons resided, and the ripple effect on the museum collections of fin de siècle society in Europe is essential. Especially for modern museums in Germany, at institutions in Berlin, Dresden, Hamburg and Lübeck, to name a few.

In reflecting on the importance of this innovative medium for Munch, it is evident that their growth in museum collections coincided with this growth in the modern collector, connoisseurs, and art market specialists in this field. As shown in the cross reference chart of the number of prints and paintings by Munch that were subjected to the degenerate classification, it is clear that his graph works were widely collected with potentially greater ease due to the mass printing of his favoured themes. In Munch’s case, this medium’s strength boosted his collectorship. As this case study focuses on the 1894 *Madonna*, it is this acquisition of the early print for the significant collection at the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin’s preeminent Nationalgalerie Kronprinzen-Palais in 1926. As discussed by Art historian Hans Möhle Munch’s graphics within the Kupferstichkabinett highlights the collectorship of his works and that “However, the number of etchings by Edvard Munch (1863-1944) is second to lithographs. But his etched portraits, for example, are among the psychologically and formally finest human designs of the early modern era.”.¹⁸¹

Munch’s period in Berlin was crucial in his career because he mastered the graphic medium there. The overt wealth in discoveries for Munch and printmaking is evident throughout his oeuvre, but it highlights his outstanding formal talent in realising the technical possibilities of each matrix, even from this drypoint matrix for *Madonna*’s inception in 1894. This defining moment in his artistic career demonstrates his ingenuity, and this early drypoint of the rare *Madonna* is central to this case study. In his graphic works, Munch did more than transfer the themes of his paintings; he established beyond all doubt his pioneering role as a leading figure of the graphic medium that has an effect that still surfaces today. Gerd Woll discusses how as the Munch Museum obtains the world-leading collection of a vast array of graphic works that he left behind, it only touches the surface of the number of his prints across techniques still represented across global private and public collections.

The mastery of his skill in printing is a defining point in his career and, for this case study, is an irrefutable point at which we see the challenges faced with tracing an object’s biography when we are presented with multiple such designs as ‘*Madonna*’ 1894. The growth of collectorship of graphic works by the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century until his passing in 1944 shows Munch’s insatiable and indefatigable production of such designs and their reception and collection shows as J.P. Hodin discusses:

“In Munch, we recognise one of the greatest graphic artists of his time... continually seeking new means of expression... in the beginning, it was one of Munch’s aims not only to find a simplified and

¹⁸⁰ Letter from Curt Glaser. MM K 2331, Munch Museum. Dated 18.02.1922. https://emunch.no/HYBRIDNo-MM_K2331.xhtml

¹⁸¹ Möhle, Hans. ‘*Das Berliner Kupferstichkabinett*’, Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG, 1 Jan 2019, Second edition reprint of original 1963 version, Translation German to English 30.06.2022. Original German “*Die Radierungen von Edvard Munch (1863-1944) treten allerdings an Zahl hinter Steindruck zurück. Doch zählen z.B. seine radierten Bildnisse zu den psychologisch und formal feinsten Menschengestaltungen der beginnenden Moderne.*”

condensed form of expression but also to make possible the replication of his pictorial ideas so as to reach a larger audience than his paintings could ever hope to do.”¹⁸²

By referencing the outstanding graphic works, he produced - in these seminal years of his early thirties - in Berlin and based on the research, we can discover, alongside leading scholarship of today, even more knowledge of how he mastered the art of printmaking and his establishment of such a crucial collector base in Germany even until 1937. By exploring the avenues in which the collectorship of Munch’s graphic works flourished in this period, it is evident that through the patronage of such individuals as Albert Kollmann and other wealthy individuals¹⁸³ as Gustav Schiefler, Dr Linde, Curt Glaser, and Julius Meier-Graefe, Munch was able to develop and grow as both an artist and as a businessman. Their collection of his innovative, expressive, mysterious, and personal works set a precedent for modern European collections, particularly print collections across Germany. These prints responded to the shifting attitudes toward Modern Art, especially the popularity of graphic prints in fin de siècle society across Western Europe until the Degenerate classifications of 1937.

3.2 The Madonna Motif and its original form 1894: Conception and Reception

“Madonna is one of Munch’s great graphic works and a favourite among collectors.”

J.P. Hodin, *Edvard Munch* 1972

When looking at Munch’s famous designs for the earliest *Madonna* 1894, a more comprehensive knowledge of the works point of creation should be discussed to unpack his development in this rare design and how important it is for tracing the Berlin Madonna from Berlin in 1937. Doing so allows for a greater understanding of why this motif is crucial and how this earlier and rarer version of the Madonna was against the backdrop of his prolific production of the Madonna designs 1895-1902, as Hodin remarks, being a collector's favourite. While retracing the provenance and biography of this iconic early print, it has been crucial that a discussion of the design’s matrix is addressed alongside his preoccupation with the progress of his style, aesthetic, and dedication to the graphic technique. This is mainly due to the small-scale production of this work and the lack of dedicated literature, making it an even rarer design for the Munch Museum, the degenerate research project and its known locations globally.

In examining the wide-ranging scholarship that focuses on Munch’s *Madonna*, it is evident that much of the research to date addresses the iconic work on canvas of the *Madonna* from 1893 and the lithograph 1895/1902 *Madonna (Woman making love)* [Fig.70] from the black and white lithographs to the red and blue designs, Munch experimented more with the use of colour in these more commonly known lithographs verse that of the earlier design in 1894. This ideal time in Berlin for the young artist would set a tone for the processes of

¹⁸² Hodin, J.P. *Edvard Munch*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1972, pg 186

¹⁸³ Stenersen, R. *Edvard Munch: Close-up of a Genius, ‘Sales and Collections’*, Translated and Edited by Reidar Dittmann, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, First English Edition 1969, Pg 21

creating both this motif in his graphic prints and on canvas, now on display at the Nasjonalmuseet Oslo [Fig 72]. When approaching this design, we tend to reference the lithographic Madonna, yet, only a year before this highly reproduced design, the artist had created a more sublime and delicate motif as he noted, a “Woman in a state of surrender-where she acquires the afflicted beauty of a Madonna”¹⁸⁴ and that is the rare 1894 drypoint and burnisher on copperplate of the same title [Fig.71].

Going even further in revising Munch's attitude toward this design, we can see in his letters that:

“Your face holds all the tenderness of the world - your eyes dim as the green-blue sea - sucks me to you - your mouth has a painfully tender smile - as if you would {...} ask me for forgiveness for something - your {...} lips are lustful - < dog eyes > \ (er) / purple - like two pure blood red worms - It's devotion in your face there under the moonlight - ... < your hair from > {d} Your clean forehead is the hair ironed back - Di {n} t... Your profile is ...} A Madonna - your mouth lips slide apart as in pain - Your eyes are half closed as in Devotion - I ask in anxiety if you are sad - but you answer whisper just I love is glad of you”¹⁸⁵

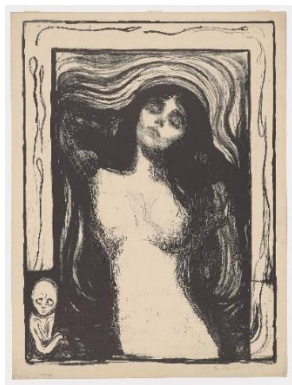


Figure 71 – ‘Madonna’, 1895
Lithograph
Motif: 60 × 44 cm; Paper: 64 × 48 cm
MM.G.00194-32, Sch. 33 , Woll. G 39
Photo © Munchmuseet



Figure 81 – ‘Madonna’ 1894
Drypoint, European wove paper
Motif: 360 × 265 mm; Paper: 65.9 × 50 cm;
Plate: 37.3 × 27.6 cm
MM.G.00015-06, Sch. 16 (II), Woll. 11, Will.
15

Photo © Munchmuseet



Figure 72 – Madonna, 1894,
Oil on canvas, NG.M.00841
70.5 × 90.5 cm
Gift from Olaf Schou 1909
Photo © Nasjonalmuseet / Børre Høstland

When tracing the development of this motif, it has been crucial to reflect upon the climate in which he conceived it and the crucible of fin de siècle¹⁸⁶ society in this hub of bohemia in Weimar Berlin. Between 1892 and 1896, Munch spent much of his time in Berlin, where he found the soil where he could thrive, and the city was receptive to every novelty modernity could offer. During this time, as discussed by Bilmer, he was inspired by his artistic muse and friend Dagny Juel Przybyszewska.

¹⁸⁴ Madonna, Munch Museum, <https://www.munchmuseet.no/en/our-collection/madonna/>

¹⁸⁵ Edvard Munch literary letters, MM N 645, Munch Museum. Not dated. Note. https://emunch.no/HYBRIDNo-MM_N0645.xhtml

¹⁸⁶ Fin de Siècle is an umbrella term embracing **symbolism**, **decadence** and all related phenomena (e.g. **Art nouveau**) which reached a peak in 1890s. Although almost synonymous with other terms such as the Eighteen-Nineties, the Mauve Decade, the Yellow Decade and the Naughty Nineties, the fin de siècle however expresses an apocalyptic sense of the end of a phase of civilisation. The real end of this era came not in 1900 but with First World War 1914.

'Given Dagny's spell over Munch and her popularity among the men of the Ferkel Circle in Berlin, she is most likely the subject in *Hands* (Fig.12). Like the *Portrait of Dagny Juel-Przybyszewska* (Fig.10) and *Madonna* (Fig. 60a) executed in 1893.'¹⁸⁷

In reflecting upon this earlier design and suggesting the *Madonna* was designed after Munch's close friend and love interest Dagny Juel [Fig. 73], we must reference the cover that Munch designed [Fig. 75] for her husband Stanislaw Przybyszewski's book '*Vigilien*' 1894¹⁸⁸ [Fig. 74]. There is a clear formal similarity in design for the book cover and the 1894 *Madonna* [Fig. 76], but it crucially highlights how Munch's preoccupation with such a subject matter was transcribed by the literati circle of the Ferkel group in Berlin at the time.

In contrast, the drypoint *Madonna* 1894 highlights Munch's developments with the printed medium and the eloquence of line and form that etching afforded the young printmaker. Such motifs of this design are not printed reproductions but developments in his approach to the *femme fatale* of the intimate *Madonna* design. The highly stripped-back and delicate version of the female identity in *Madonna's* formal construction is developed through a monochromatic design. Only one version is noted to have been hand coloured by the artist [Fig.76]. The *Madonna* 1894 reimagines the artist's view on the modern woman's gendered procreative powers and sexuality¹⁸⁹; a turning point in the study of this motif is present in this early design. The addition of the frame swirling the muse demonstrated through the addition of the spermatozoa and foetuses in the border, similarly akin to the lithographic version from 1895, exposes Munch's lyricism in discussing the ecstasy of the *femme fatale* and that of the point of conception.



Figure 73 – '*Dagny Juel Przybyszewska*'
Oil(?) on canvas, 1893
149 x 100.5 cm
MM.M.00212, Woll M 337
Photo © Munchmuseet



Figure 74 – '*Vigilien*'
Published 1894/95
Stanislaw Przybyszewski
Photo © Munchmuseet



Figure 75 – '*Face of Madonna*', 1894/95
charcoal and crayon
MM T 2449
Photo © Munchmuseet



Figure 76 – '*Madonna*', 1894
Etching, Handcoloured
Motif: 358 x 263 mm; Paper: 442 x 339 mm; Plate: 375 x 275 mm
MM.G.00015-04, Sch. 16 (II),
Woll. 11, Will 15
Photo © Munchmuseet

¹⁸⁷ Bimer, B. '*Edvard Munch's Fatal Woman: A Critic Approach*', North Texas State University, 1985, pg 81

¹⁸⁸ The original drawing '*Face of Madonna*' 1894 is held at the Munch Museum, MM T 2449,
<https://munch.emuseum.com/objects/6214/madonnas-ansikt>

¹⁸⁹ A topic studied by scholars such as: Barbara Bimer '*Edvard Munch's Fatal Women A critical Approach*' (1985), Linda Nochlin '*The Politics of Vision*', and Kristie Jayne '*The Cultural Roots of Edvard Munch's Images of Women*' (1989)

Yet, several of his contemporaries saw the frame as too offensive. For his conservative buyers, it would be redacted and left for his more 'daringly liberal collectors'¹⁹⁰ as is seen from 1895 onwards in the lithographic series. This highly prized 1894 design and its small-scale circulation have made it a collector's piece that has been present in some of his most essential collectors' inventories of early Munch collectorship, as demonstrated when referencing the catalogue raisonné of Gerd Woll¹⁹¹. A point referenced by a close friend and Munch biographer Rolf Stenersen "*Although he liked to sell prints, he made certain each edition was relatively small*"¹⁹². When addressing such a rare and delicately constructed print as the Madonna, it is essential to reflect upon the place of production, and the point of its conception, which denotes a significant moment in Munch's artistic practices and developments as a printmaker. By 1893 Munch had commenced his career within the bohemia of Berlin's fin de siècle, and this transition from the Parisian scene was a defining moment.

Munch's images of the Madonna are among the most haunting and evocative of the nineteenth-century obsession with the 'femme fatale'. This concept has been described by the art critic and art historian Bernard Denvir

*"The concept of the femme fatale... to indicate the idea of woman as a malevolent, destructive, and seductive siren, appears time and time again... typified by the preoccupation with the theme of Salome, and it played a vital part in the work of Munch. Time and time again, he reverts to the theme of woman as a vampire, as the fatal temptress, and even in his madness, he seems intent on destroying utterly the icon which in the past had done so much to idealise femininity."*¹⁹³

As remarked by Denvir, Munch's typified preoccupation with the female identity, form and influence on his soul has been manifested into the traditionally idealised appearance of the Madonna. The motif of the mythic Madonna was initially conceived during his time in Berlin between 1893 to 1894, where *Madonna's* expression was first etched into copper. During these early years in Berlin, Munch was part of the bohemian Ferkel group¹⁹⁴ bound together by their interests and discussions of sexuality, psychology, and Satanism. Looking at the composition and personal exploration of this theme, it is evident that Munch's time with such individuals of the Ferkel Group¹⁹⁵ was a turning point in his artistic development of these designs.

¹⁹⁰ Orozco, M. 'Edvard Munch. Motifs and colour variants', Pg142,

https://www.academia.edu/62953849/Edvard_Munch_Motifs_and_colour_variants

¹⁹¹ Woll, G. 'Edvard Munch: Complete Graphic Works', Edition I (2012), Edition II (2014), W.11, Sch.16 (I-II), New York, H.N. Abrams, p 45 Cataloguing of Madonna 1894 – See page 28

¹⁹² Stenersen, R. *Edvard Munch: Close-up of a Genius, 'Sales and Collections'*, Translated and Edited by Reidar Dittmann, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, First English Edition 1969, Pg 95

¹⁹³ Denvir, B. 'Fauvism and Expressionism', Thames and Hudson Ltd., London, 1975, p. 16, as cited in Wylie (1976), p. 426 and Bimer (1985) pg3

¹⁹⁴ Ferkel Group – A male-dominated, intellectual circle in Berlin where philosophy, art, and literature were discussed. Comprised of North European writers and artists who frequented a tavern on the Unter den Linden in Berlin known as Zum Schwarzen Ferkel [The Black Piglet]. The group remained bound together by their congruous interests, particularly the discussions of the darker sides of sexuality, psychology and Satanism which characterized the Zum Schwarzen Ferkel circle.

¹⁹⁵ Ferkel group member – German-Polish author Stanislaw Przybyszewski, German poet Richard Dehmel and art historian Julius Meier-Graef, August Strindberg, Norwegian sculptor Vigeland and Norwegian art critic Jens Thiis

This circle of likeminded bohemian modernists with such *congruous interests, particularly the discussions of the darker sides of sexuality, psychology and Satanism which characterised the Zum Schwarzen Ferkel circle*¹⁹⁶, highlights how such topics were expressed in Munch's designs for the 'Frieze of Life' project from the 1890s. Such expressions are told through well-known motifs, both in paint and print. The research examining the 1894 Madonna gives a greater insight into how the Ferkel circle's influence had not only in how he expressed her erotic nature and unclothed state but her fervently fluid state of eroticism.

The posture of the Madonna in parallel signifies her as an object of desire, a motif adopted by Munch in his approach to the femme fatale. Munch broke with past pictorial conventions that portrayed the Madonna as a loving mother who was subordinated by the figure of her child. Instead, he depicted her as a femme fatale. As shown in the more commonly known design of the lithograph, the Madonna is set free from the shackles of motherhood, and this is even more evident in the earlier edition of the rare drypoint, overall making this design of 1894 a collector's piece as Holdin & Schiefler refer. A common misconception or discussion among scholars is that the designs resemble Ferkel circle member and friend of Munch's Dagny Juel Przybyszewska to the Madonna. Yet, the Madonna has, throughout scholarship, been labelled as an unnamed model who merely engages with Munch's experimentation of, as he notes, "*The woman {...} there is ~~she~~ for Diversity is for the Man a Mystery - The woman who is at once the Saint - Whore and an unhappy devotee*"¹⁹⁷. This salient remark harkens to the theme of the femme fatale and Munch's obsession with his own, at times, clouded view of women, especially those he interacted with, as adopted into the research of Barbara Bimer in the 1985 thesis on *Edvard Munch's Fatal Women: A Critical Approach*.

Within his experimental process of the early Madonna motif of 1894, it is essential to note that it stands at this crossroad in his experimental phase in his printmaking skills. This view is taken clearly by Gerd Woll in her opening essays in the catalogue raisonné, second edition from 2014, where she discusses his development as a printmaker and the importance of his time in Berlin from 1890 – 1895. When addressing the cataloguing and reviewing the six editions in the Munch Museum collection, this design is more ethereal than its counterpart as a lithograph. Defining which version of the Madonna most closely matches that of the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett motif is challenging and will be expanded upon in the case review. The challenge faced when reviewing such a rare work is that this design has hardly been addressed throughout contemporary literature, making it crucial to its declassification from the renowned modern collection at the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett to the dynamic change in its object biography from 1937 still to this day.

¹⁹⁶ Quoted from Bonhams, New York, Impressionist & Modern Art sale, 6th May 2014, Lot 22, August Strindberg, Edvard Munch and friends at the café 'Zum Schwarzen Ferkel', Berlin 8, <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/21468/lot/22/>

¹⁹⁷ Note, MM N 30, Munch Museum. Dated 1894–1895, https://emunch.no/HYBRIDNo-MM_N0030.xhtml

Munch Museum Held Versions 'Madonna' 1894



Figure 77 – 'Madonna' 1894
Material/technique: Drypoint, European
wove paper

MM.G.00015-01
Sch. 16 (II), Woll. 11, Will. 15

Motif: 360 × 263 mm; Paper: 657 × 498 mm;
Plate: 374 × 278 mm

Markings: 15-3 [blyant, n.t.v.] // 146 [blyant,
verso, n.t.v.]

Inscribed: *Af de tidligste Tryk Berlin 1905–6*,
on heavy white wove
Photo © Munchmuseet



Figure 78 – 'Madonna' 1894
Material/technique: Drypoint, European
wove paper

MM.G.00015-02
Sch. 16 (II), Woll. 11, Will. 15

Motif: 360 × 265 mm; Paper: 655 × 500
mm; Plate: 375 × 277 mm

Signed: Edv Munch [blyant, n.t.h.]

Inscribed: *Af de tidligste Tryk 1905–6*
Markings: 15-4 [blyant, n.t.v.] // 146
[blyant, verso, n.t.v.], on heavy white
wove

Photo © Munchmuseet

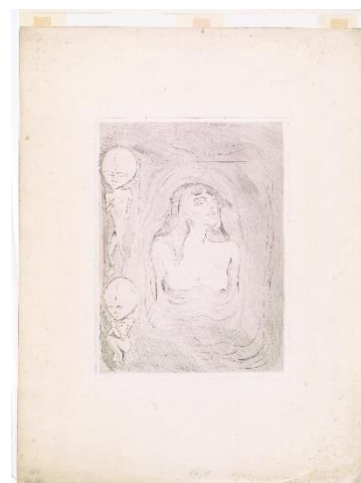


Figure 79 – 'Madonna' 1894
Material/technique: Drypoint, European
wove paper

MM.G.00015-03
Sch. 16 (II), Woll. 11, Will. 15

Motif: 360 × 262 mm; Paper: 658 × 499
mm; Plate: 373 × 275 mm

Markings: 15-2 // Sch 16 [blyant, n.t.v.] //
Sch 16 [blyant, n.m.] // OSLO KOMMUNE
MUNCHS GRAFIKK [stempel, verso, n.t.v.]
Photo © Munchmuseet

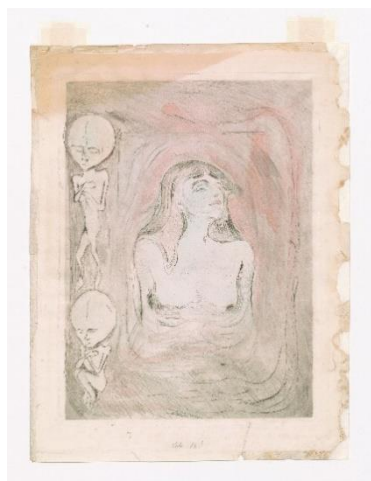


Figure 76 – 'Madonna' 1894
Material/technique: Drypoint, European
wove paper

MM.G.00015-04, Sch. 16 (II), Woll. 11, Will
15

Motif: 358 × 263 mm; Paper: 442 × 339 mm;
Plate: 375 × 275 mm

Markings: Sch 16 II [blyant, n.m.]
Impression hand coloured in light reddish
and greenish tones of watercolour
Photo © Munchmuseet



Figure 80 – 'Madonna' 1894
Material/technique: Drypoint, European
wove paper

MM.G.00015-05, Sch. 16 (I), Woll. 11,
Will. 15

Motif: 360 × 262 mm; Paper: 480 × 324
mm; Plate: 372 × 273 mm

Markings: I [blyant, n.m.]
Material/technique: Drypoint, European
wove paper
Photo © Munchmuseet

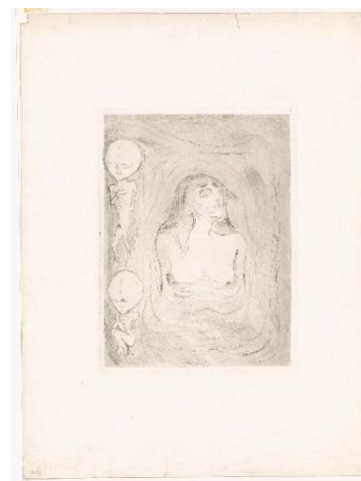


Figure 81 – 'Madonna' 1894
Material/technique: Drypoint, European
wove paper

MM.G.00015-06, Sch. 16 (II), Woll. 11,
Will. 15

Motif: 360 × 265 mm; Paper: 659 × 500
mm; Plate: 373 × 276 mm

Markings: 16-1 [blyant, n.t.v., siste siffer
noe usikkert] // Sch 16 [blyant, n.m.] // 146
[blyant, verso, n.t.v.] // 585 c [blyant,
verso, n.t.h.]
Photo © Munchmuseet

To have first been conceived in the dynamic city so receptive to every novelty of his new designs and a place that became his second home, this print, in particular, is a pivotal example of the influence of fin de siècle Berlin upon Munch. It was in Berlin that he first achieved critical notoriety and commercial success “*The Norwegian remains closer both spatially and spiritually to the German Urheimat than the German himself.*”¹⁹⁸ A point later reinforced by contemporary scholar Jay A Clarke that Munch had co-opted into the German psyche. In reflecting upon such remarks, this motif's arrival into the newly formed ‘modern art’ collection at the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett in the 1920s established Munch’s reputation and was heralded by the director of the Nationalgalerie Kronprinzen-Palais Berlin Ludwig Justi¹⁹⁹. The establishment of Munch’s collectorship within such a prominent collection can be seen to have been driven by Justi to some extent, as he was the driving force behind *Munch’s most successful exhibition*²⁰⁰. The large Munch retrospective was presented at the national galleries of Berlin & Oslo in 1927 by their respective directors. Reinforcing this established following can be seen in Justi’s earlier remarks in his 1921 guidebook that Munch was one of the (expressionist) movements’ principal forbearers²⁰¹ as a highlight of modernity, which only eleven years later would be dismantled for purposes of propaganda and degeneracy.

3.3 Challenges of the Madonna & the Sale History

In the process of extending the above research into the structure of the case studies findings, it was crucially important to address a greater understanding of Munch’s printing developments in Germany c.1894. The development of this motif and the establishment of such a following of crucial collectors was, as in CS1, an important tool in the approach. A more significant appreciation of this early version of the Madonna has been addressed but also the complexities and nuances of tracing this design is attested to in this research.

As shown in Case Study One, this research has been centred around the socio-contextualisation of the establishment of Munch’s career in Germany and the support of his patrons, Dr Linde & Curt Glaser, but it has also been addressed against the backdrop of the degenerate art movement by the NS in the 1930s and the creation of the NS inventories of 1937. The impact that both the exhibition and inventories had on the subsequent sale of Munch’s artworks by Harald Holst Halvorsen by 1939 [Fig.25] in Oslo is pertinent to this line of research. Such a contextualisation within Chapter One of the degenerate movement has acted as the groundwork for the research within both case studies. Both highlight the challenges proposed when revising the topic of an artwork’s biography of these varying mediums. Yet, like many case study-based research, it has been integral that a structure aligned with historical research into provenance and archaeological methodologies were followed. As

¹⁹⁸ Moeller van den Bruck, A. ‘Die Zeitgenossen’, Munch, 1906, pg. 213, <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb11167198?page=231&q=Edvard+Munch>

¹⁹⁹ Ludwig Justi - German art historian. Director at the Nationalgalerie Berlin 1909-33. Built the world's first museum of contemporary art in the Kronprinzenpalais in 1919.

²⁰⁰ Sigurd Willoch; Johan H Langaard; Louise Averill Svendsen. *Edvard Munch, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum*. Pg 20, <https://ia800500.us.archive.org/33/items/edvardmunch00munc/edvardmunch00munc.pdf>

²⁰¹ Justi, L. *The New Art: A guide to paintings of the So-Called Expressionists at the Nationalgalerie*, 1921

Dr Anna-Carolin Augustin explains, "Provenance researchers try to reconstruct the previous owner history of an object based on the object itself. In a way, they resemble archaeologists attempting to infer knowledge from material remains"²⁰² Therefore, such working practices for Munch's degenerate works can be viewed in this manner.

As shown in many instances of provenance research, it is not always finite and concrete research due to evolving nature of the research and new findings of archival documents, a point discussed within the renowned 'Gurlitt Status Report' by the Schwabing Art Trove Taskforce²⁰³. As shown in Case Study One, this case follows a similar format in that it covers the following Base Data and Work Identity criteria in a format addressed by Marie-Stolberg and Andrea Lehmann in their review of 'Best practice guidelines, research methods and tools'. We should assess the following criteria: "The Object, Object Documentation, Art Historical Resources, People & Institutions and Online Resources"²⁰⁴ in relation to the print and the challenges faced in finding a very rare imprint.

However, in contrast to CS1, where we are led predominantly by 'unique object' that offers evidence as labels, inscriptions, stamps and markings, all usually present on works on canvas. The approach for researching prints is less clearcut due to the nature in which they are printed as multiples meaning a wider distribution of the same motif [Fig. 83] that not all owners put their stamp or evidence of auctions, exhibition labels are present as you will more commonly see on a canvas. The contrast is that the artist may add inscriptions to the variety of multiples, acting as signifiers to the difference of each print [Fig.82] "E Munch 5e Dr. u 2dre Z 1894" but these are not always apparent.



Figure 82 – *Madonna*, 1894

Kunsthalle Hamburg Inv.-Nr. 1917-104

Signed and inscribed lower right: "E Munch 5e Dr. u 2dre Z 1894" (pencil) 62

Provenance: Hamburger Privatsammlung, - 1917; Auktion XVI (Galerie Commeter), Hamburg, 20.-22.2.1917, Nr. 311, dort erworben

²⁰² Anna-Carolin Augustin, "Tracking Entangled Provenances: Knowledge Production in Relation to Objects," *History of Knowledge*, October 23, 2019, <https://historyofknowledge.net/2019/10/23/knowledge-production-in-relation-to-objects/>.

²⁰³ The Gurlitt Provenance Research Project was established as a follow-on project to the Schwabing Art Trove Taskforce and ran until December 31, 2017. It researched the origins (provenance) of the artworks that had been found at the homes of Cornelius Gurlitt (1932–2014) since 2012. A large number of written documents from Gurlitt's estate were also listed in an inventory and made accessible. The aim of the provenance research was to clarify the historic ownership status of the suspicious artworks in order to establish whether any of them were Nazi-confiscated property and, if so, from whom they had been taken. The research work was conducted based on the agreement signed by the Federal government, the Free State of Bavaria and the Kunstmuseum Bern Foundation (agreement) in 2014. The German Lost Art Foundation was the body responsible for the project between January 1, 2016 and December 31, 2017. The project was funded by the Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media. The 1,566 artworks and bundles of items from the Gurlitt art trove had been dealt with by the Taskforce and the project by the end of 2017. Looking at the art trove as a whole, it becomes clear that it is not so much a collection of highly valuable artworks worth billions as was initially assumed, but rather a mixture of family heirlooms and dealer stock. It does contain some very high quality, outstanding pieces, but most of it consists of works on paper, including a large number of serial graphic works.

²⁰⁴ Tompkins, A. 'Provenance Research Today: Principles, Practice and Problems', Stolberg, M, Lehmann, A. 'Best-Practice Guidelines, Research Methods and Tools', Lund Humphries, 2020, pp 54-67

The methodology of this case study will be to utilise the ‘known’ versions of ‘The Object’ to inform the research best when reconstructing the ‘Berlin Kupferstichkabinett Madonna’ biography as this print is held in a private collection – a point discussed in how we trace the degenerate ‘Madonna’ drypoint. In contrast to the standardised format of tracing a work on canvas, it has been adapted into a structure of ‘best practices’ for searching multiples to becoming acquainted with all notable characteristics of the individual print. Markers to be aware of in this instance are if the print is hand-coloured, if it bears markings/inscriptions, collector stamps, being aware of paper variants or any significant damages to the print in question. Additionally, dependence on primary documentation and secondary accounts as the catalogue raisonné and museum inventory notes, is essential.

This line of research is very much dependent upon the catalogue raisonné, a point highlighted in the 2019 Provenance Research Manual²⁰⁵ when evaluating the best practices in methods concerning prints and graphics, where they state the rather obvious and general fact that it is “*a type of literature on paintings, sculptures and especially works on paper that is relevant for provenance research*”²⁰⁶. A point that briefly reinforces the essential nature of such a dedicated source is shown in the cataloguing by Gerd Woll and her historic predecessor in Munch’s Prints, Gustav Schiefler. When focusing on such specifics as listed in the cataloguing of an artwork, one must be aware of the variants and minutia that come into play with multiples and how integral this is to provenance research and precisely the challenges when looking at Munch’s printed oeuvre.

According to Michael Findlay,²⁰⁷ a “catalogue raisonné allows the knowledgeable dealer to... combine the information in the catalogue raisonné with his or her knowledge of current ownership and infer how many (or rather, how few) of a particular type of work is ever likely to be sold”²⁰⁸ and for this case its presence in public/private collections. A practice performed by both Schiefler and Woll and contemporary scholars of Edvard Munch. Focusing on the catalogue raisonné as a starting point highlights the complexities of researching Munch’s early *Madonna* 1894 and the variety of known motifs. It is integral for the case at hand that we go even closer to the archival material to uncover the transition of this object's biography. Such primary sources as the Degenerate Inventory are crucial in both cases, especially for the Madonna case, as this research will set a precedent in how we trace a print due to the sheer scale of Munch’s graphics present in the NS document.

²⁰⁵ *Provenance Research Manual - TO IDENTIFY CULTURAL PROPERTY SEIZED DUE TO PERSECUTION DURING THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST ERA*, German Lost Art Foundation, English working translation of translation of the German »Leitfaden Provenienzforschung«, 2019, pp 6-113

²⁰⁶ *Provenance Research Manual - TO IDENTIFY CULTURAL PROPERTY SEIZED DUE TO PERSECUTION DURING THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST ERA*, German Lost Art Foundation, English working translation of translation of the German »Leitfaden Provenienzforschung«, 2019, pg 61

²⁰⁷ Michael Findlay - Director of [Acquavella Galleries](#), which specializes in Impressionist and Modern European works of art and post-war American painting and sculpture. From 1984 – 1992 Findlay was the Head of the Impressionist & Modern Department at Christies and during his career he has published essays and art criticism in magazines and exhibition catalogues and has been writing and publishing poetry since the 1960’s. His most recent publication ‘*The Value of Art*’, published by Prestel Verlag, 23 May 2012, homes in on the importance of the catalogue raisonné for art market specialists, dealers, collectors etc. when a work comes onto market.

²⁰⁸ Findlay, M. *The Value of Art*, Prestel Verlag, 23 May 2012

3.4 Tracing the Berlin Madonna & its Future

As stated by Art Historians and leading art market specialists Marie Stolberg and Andrea Lehmann, the central role of 'The Object' in any provenance research case is paramount. As the object moves through the institution, collection and art market, it acquires new meaning, history and identity. Jacques Schuhmacher also states that provenance can tell fascinating and deeply moving stories about the worlds these objects inhabited as they passed through different hands²⁰⁹. Therefore, the research approach to 'Madonna' 1894 had to be slightly varied to the counterpart study 'Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day' 1904.

Aforementioned the focus is on the primary and secondary documentation as the catalogue raisonnés, exhibition/collection/auction catalogues (as below). To counterbalance this due to the challenges of a multiple, a focus is also placed on differentiating the known examples against the primary documentation like that of Halvorsen's sale catalogue and the NS Inventory. Additionally, the use of secondary sources, as listed, is essential. This method follows a historical approach based on the critical analysis of sources listed below while also placing past events and acts in the context of their time²¹⁰ in constructing the *Madonna* 1894's object biography.

Knowing the last museum location of this work is essential in tracking down the original archival inventory books from the Kupferstichkabinett Berlin. From referencing the FU database listed in Fig. 83, the accession date is not referenced for the Berlin collection nor for whom it was purchased, only the sale it was sold at. Such redacted information shows gaps in the known data and therefore highlights the role this thesis research aims to demonstrate. Therefore by contacting the Head of Research and curator at the Kupferstichkabinett Berlin, Dr Andreas Schalhorn, the documentation was obtained showing that this work originally came into the museum in the 1920s. By accessing this, it provides evidence of the exact date and year that this print entered the museum's collection - on 5th November 1926 [Fig 84].

Primary sources

Berlin Museum Inventories pre 1937
NS Inventory of 1937
Halvorsen Sale 1939
Halvorsen Sale ledger 1939
Exhibition Catalogues
Comparative editions of the Madonna 1894 from the Munch Museum Collection

Secondary sources

Gerd Woll catalogue raisonné
Gustav Schiefler catalogue raisonné
Auction Records
Newspaper Articles
Contemporary Exhibition Catalogues

Contemporary tools

FU Degenerate Digital Database
Art Price Online
Auction Houses websites

²⁰⁹ Ding, E. 'The Provenance Detective', The Virginia Quarterly Review Summer 2022, ([Emily Ding profiles the work of Jacques Schuhmacher, Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Provenance and Spoliation Curator at the Victoria & Albert Museum London](#))

²¹⁰ Gramlich, J. Reflections on Provenance Research: Values – Politics – Art Markets, Journal for Art Market Studies 2, Vol.1 - Issue 2, 2017, [LINK](#)

BESCHLAGNAHMEINVENTAR "ENTARTETE KUNST"

Artist	Provenance	Literature
xx	13.08.1937: Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett	
	Sources	
	13.08.1937 - 12.1938: Deutsches Reich / Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, Berlin	
	Beschlagnahme; am 31.05.1938 Einziehung zugunsten des Deutschen Reiches	
	08.1938 - 12.1938: Berlin, Depot Schloß Schönhausen	
	Lagerung "international verwertbarer" Kunstwerke	
	12.1938 - 23.01.1939: Oslo, Harald Holst Halvorsen	
	Kauf; Versteigerung, Auktion "Edv. Munchs tyske museums malerier", Nr. 54, E 7,5-	

Figure 83 – Listing from the Freie Universität Berlin "Entartete Kunst" database for the 'Madonna' 1894

180	Munch, Edvard	Madonna. Sch. 16-I	R.	Angekauft von K. Nierendorf Berlin	350 Mark	
181	Gauguin, Paul	Die Nautischen Karten	R.	Angekauft von Julius Hart	160 Mark	

R.	Angekauft von K. Nierendorf Berlin	350 Mark	"
----	--	----------	---

Figure 84 - Inventory Logbook, Berlin Kupferstichkabinett, 1920s, Item 180
Close-up of right page with auction and purchase price 350 mark.
© Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie

This crucial piece of information is vital in uncovering more knowledge of the museums collecting practices coinciding with the trends in collecting by Munch connoisseurs in Germany by the mid-1920s, as discussed by Munch Scholar Jay A Clarke. Overall, it highlights the collecting practices of the Berlin Staatliche Museen Kupferstichkabinett collections and the preferences of the chief curators Dr Curt Glaser and Ludwig Justi and Wilhelm Carl Albert Kurth. The latter of the two, Willy Kurth, who in 1937 attempted to save the collection held in the *Neue Abteilung*²¹¹ and Wolfgang Schone, who had both been so strongly influenced by the previous director Dr Curt Glaser²¹² and his development of the modern prints department and passion for collecting the work of Munch.

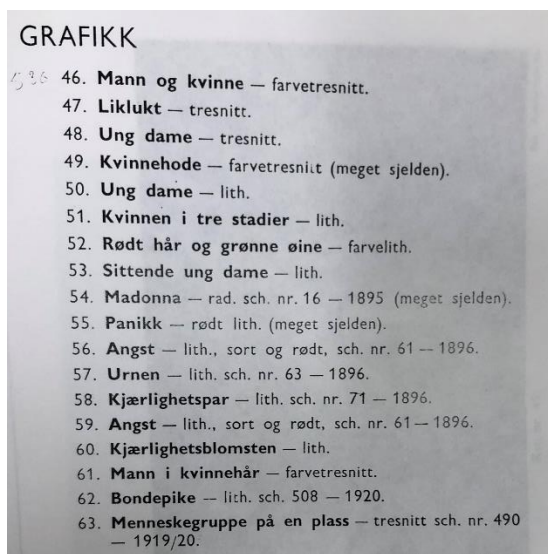
Upon systematically assessing all the individual points of contention of known primary documents, such as the Inventory book of the Kupferstichkabinett, The NS Inventory, and the sale catalogue & sale ledger, it was crucial to create a working document to follow the known locations of the *Madonna* 1894 [Fig 2] - a tool utilised

²¹¹ Neune Abteilung – German Translation for New Department

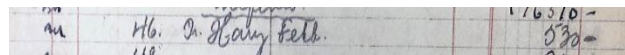
²¹² Joachim Brand und Hein-Th. Schulze Altcapenberg, *Curt Glaser und die Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, in: *Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 2012, Bd. XLVIII, hrsg. von Hermann Parzinger, Berlin 2014, S. 376

by provenance researchers when structuring their findings²¹³. The FU and V&A online platforms influenced this master list. The preliminary known provenance aided in determining the actual sale, the price achieved, and the subsequent owner in 1939 due to the Halvorsen Sale catalogue & sale ledger being present in the Munch Museums holdings. As discussed in Chapter One, the sale demonstrates how the renowned Norwegian Art Dealer Harald Holst Halvorsen repatriated some of Munch's most daring and beautiful artworks back to Norway, marking the moment that altered their object biographies even further.

The *Madonna* print and its new ownership, as listed in Halvorsen's sale catalogue and sale ledger [Fig.86-87], being that of Dr Harry Fett the national antiquary (1913-1946) and pioneer in Norwegian art historical research. Fett was a strong collector of Munch's art and within this sale in particular he purchased a three works from the same auction:

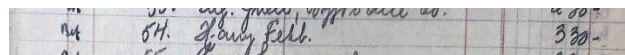


46. Mann ok Kvinne



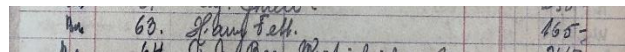
(Sch. 102, Woll. 124)

54. Madonna



(Sch. 16, Woll. 11)

63. Menneskegruppe på en plass



(Sch. 490, Woll. 622)

Obtaining such material guided the biography of the *Madonna* and that it was purchased by such a prominent collector of Munch's art. Yet, when referencing the FU list of the artwork's provenance, this name was absent - as was the case for the date it entered the prints collection in Berlin. Such a point highlights the limitations of grounding research on contemporary online portals due to the inevitable gaps that are present, also shown in CS1. Therefore, by focusing on the primary material at hand, like that held in the archives of the Munch Museum, the sale ledger can guide the research towards the new owner of the *Madonna* that of Dr Harry Fett.

As per any provenance research, the primary sources can be the most revealing, and as shown above and in Figure 86, this was the case in the 1939 sale catalogue as Halvorsen listed the *Madonna* as '*meget sjelden*'²¹⁴ along with the archival document of the sale ledger [Fig.87]. As described by Gustav Schiefeler in his cataloguing of the work in the first edition from 1905, he states the variety of this small-scale series and the minutia or nuances

²¹³ Yeide, N.H, Akinsha, K. Walsh, A.I. "How to Record Provenance", *AAM Guide to Provenance Research*, Washington, DC, 2001, pg 33-35

²¹⁴ **Meget Sjelden** – Translated from Norwegian as 'Very Rare'

required for each version and even goes as far as to say, "Only very few copies of both states." Such early cataloguing by Schiefler is reflected in Gerd Woll's notes.

Figure 85 – Cataloguing of the known version of the 1894 Madonna

Cataloguing for the Berlin Madonna

Titles (English)	Measurements	Type	Signed/Dates	Location of creation	Provenance	Halvorsen Lot no.	Halvorsen Sale Purchaser	Price realised NOK	NS Inventorg no.	Schiefler No.	Voll No.	M N
Madonna	358-360 x 265 mm	Dry point and burnisher on copperplate	1894/5	Berlin, Germany	1926: Purchased Galerie Neumann-Niendorf, Berlin 1926 - 12.08.1937: Staatliche Kupferstichkabinett Berlin 13.08.1937 - 12.1938: Deutsches Reich / Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, Berlin Beschlagnahme; am 31.05.1939 Einziehung zugunsten des Deutschen Reiches. 08.1938 - 12.1938: Berlin, Depot Schloß Schönhausen Lagerung "international unverwertbarer" Kunstwerke 1938: Purchased Harald Holst Halvorsen, 60 Riksmark? 1939: Sold Harald Holst Halvorsen, Oslo, 23rd January 1939, Auction "Edv. Munchs tyske museums malerier", Nr. 54, £ 7,5. 1939: Purchased Dr. Harry Fett, Norway 1939 - 2005: Thence by descent to relatives of Dr. Harry Fett, Norway 17th October 2005: Sold Blomqvist, Oslo, Lot 32, 450,000 Nok 2005 - Present Day: Private Collection, Norway	54	Dr. Harry Fett	330	12773	16	11	M 15

Museum that are listed in Woll	Country	Total	B&W	Colour	Notes	Links	Additional notes	Further notes
Munch Museet	Norway	6	5	1	NOT Applicable for Halvorsen Sale			
Hamburg	Germany	1						
Fogg Museum, Harvard, Cambrid	USA	1	1	0		https://hvrd.art/		Medium - Dry
National Galleries Scotland	Scotland, UK	1	1	0	On longterm loan from a Private Collector, Accession number: GML 984	https://www.na		
Private Database file	Export licence request	Person requesting						
MM. 15	Christies, London, 25.9.1	Rolf Strangers Dodsbo						
Auctions	Date	Sale no.	Lot	Price realised	Important notes			
Xties London	12/05/1990	Sale no. 442	Lot 378	£20,000	Frame print - Madonna - E Munch, See catalogue scan			
Blomqvist Oslo	17-Oct-05	Sale no.	Lot 32	450,000	Provenance note in their cataloging. Staatliche Kupferstichkabiner Berlin, Stamped on the back of the motif and marked 180-1926 Sold by Holst Halvorsen in 1939 at auction: Edvard Munch's paintings and graphic works from German museums, cat. 54			

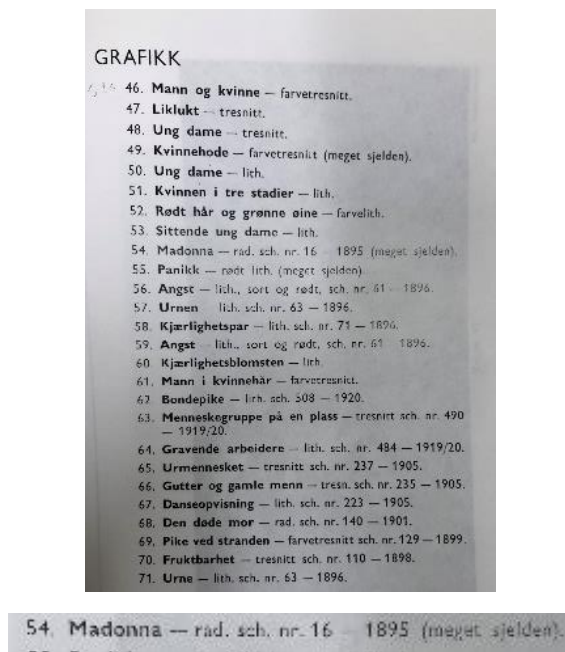


Figure 86 – Harald Holst Halvorsen, Oslo, Auction, 23.01.1939, "Edv. Munchs tyske museums malerier", Nr. 54, £ 7,5-
Photo © Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough, RMA Utrecht University, 2020-23

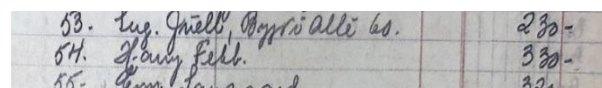
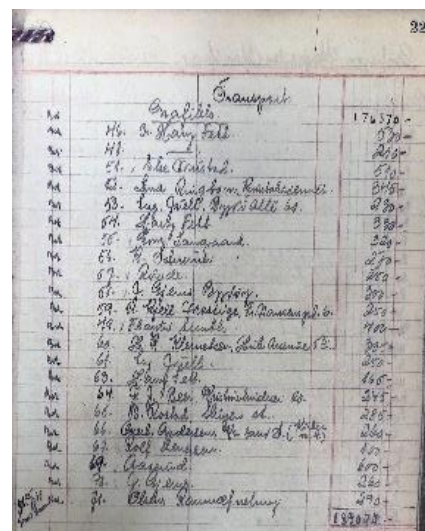


Figure 87 - Harald Holst Halvorsen, Oslo, Auction, 23.01.1939, "Edv. Munchs tyske museums malerier", Sale Ledger
Photo © Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough, RMA Utrecht University, 2020-23

Gustav Schiefler

Translation of cataloguing from German to English:

The naked torso of a lying woman, seen from above, with the ecstatic facial expression of the moment of conception. The depiction is surrounded by a frame in which the forms of coarsened sperm cells are drawn on the right, and embryo shapes on the left. compare N33

Pl. 374 x 273

e.g. 360x265

- I. Drawing in strong lines on a white background. The central image is bordered by a clearly visible line in the square, which separates it from the framing drawing.
- II. Instead of the straight quadrilateral line, which was mostly designed by polishers, there are wavy lines. The background is toned by lines and dashes. To the right of the neck, above the shoulder, part of the unravelled hair that is missing on the I state is visible. signed e.g. B.:, E. Munch 5,7, Dr., 2 Z, 1894 (Julius Meier-Graefe).

Only very few copies of both states.

Gerd Woll

Schiefler and Willoch date the print 1895, but I. Langaard lists it among the prints from 1894 (I. Langaard 1960 p.274, footnote 10). The delicate technique as well as inscriptions on various impressions support 1894.

Version I

The image has been drawn with a clear and bold outline, with the central area bordered by a distinct framing (15-1)

Version II

Some changes with the burnisher, the framing between the central section and the border was partly removed and replaced by wavy lines.

The background has been given a light tone with dense layers of drypoint lines.

Schiefler recorded an impression in Julius Meier-Graefe's collection inscribed 'E Munch //7te Dr 2te Z 1894 (Wittrock 1980)

Impressions on heavy white wove inscribed 'E Munch // 5e Dr. 2eZ 1894' (Hamburg); 'E Munch // avant lettre' (Chr December 1990); impression signed in ink 'Edv Munch 1894' (Private Collection Germany).

Slightly later impressions e.g. on heavy white wove, inscribed 'af de tidligste Tryk 1905-06 (15-2); 'af de tidligste Tryk Berlin 1905-06 (15-1).

Impression hand coloured in light reddish and greenish tones on watercolour (15-4).

Munch-museet (6) Cambridge MA Fogg Museum (1); Hamburg Kunsthall (1)

Upon reviewing both catalogue notes and Woll's list of known contemporary locations of the 'very rare' edition, I felt it essential to review the distinguishing varieties of this small edition of the motif held at the Munch Museum. Therefore, when consulting Munch prints specialist Dr Ute Kuhlemann Falck, it was evident that from the initial reliance on the FU database and their cataloguing, the preliminary assumption that the Berlin Madonna from the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett was a 'Hand Coloured' version [Fig.76] was indeed wrong²¹⁵ [fig 89]. (see Appendix I) After reviewing this closer, Dr Ute Kuhlemann Falck guided the search to address the complexity of reviewing Munch's prints and that to be sure as to not 'fall down a rabbit hole in the processes of provenance

²¹⁵ A comment on the challenged of the methodology of Provenance research highlights across the use of a variety of sources/archives there can start to be patterns that expose the limits, gaps or incorrect conclusions that we must be aware of. This is a crucial example I have come across when being depended on the so called 'up to date' digital database of the FU site in that they have utilised the wrong image for this print. A common mistake that has become apparent when looking at a few other examples of Munch 'Degenerate' listed prints.

research. This is due to Munch's varying impressions of each print within the series.²¹⁶ By critically analysing the museums own collection of this motif first development of knowledge in identifying the small detail and nuances of the design will be expanded upon [Fig. 90] By doing so and only once uncovering the 'Berlin Madonna', the research can critically confirm it as being the correct version that of the unique drypoint of this series and not as shown in the FU database.

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BESCHLAGNAHMEINVENTAR "ENTARTETE KUNST"

Advanced Search Search help Results Portfolio DE | EN

Sorting: Geography View: Detail 6 from 83

Artist:	Edvard Munch (1863 - 1944)
Title:	Madonna
Location:	unbekannt
Date:	1894
Category/Object Type:	Druckgraphik
Material/Technique:	Radierung
Measure:	Bildmaß 36 x 26,5 cm
Catalogue Raisonné:	Woll 11
EK-Title:	Madonna
NS Inventar EK-Nr.:	12773
Museum of Origin:	Berlin, Staatliche Museen - Kupferstichkabinett
Loss through:	Beschlagnahme
Status of Research:	30.06.2020

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Artist Provenance Literature

www.fu-berlin.de

Figure 88 - Cataloguing from the Freie Universität Berlin Entartete Kunst archive

* Image on the left is a false representation of the Madonna, that was part of the Kupferstichkabinett until 1937



²¹⁶ Note from our discussion between Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough & Dr Ute K. Falck in December 2020 regarding the variety of editions and the nuances to be aware of.



Figure 89 – Photographs were taken of editions of the Madonna 1894 motif held within the Munch Museum's collection.
Photo © Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough, RMA Utrecht University, 2020-23

Analysing the motifs held in the museum's collection, it is evident that a connoisseurial approach should be enacted. Expanding the research to visual analysis of comparative works of this motif from other known global locations, private and public, raises new approaches to finding the Berlin Madonna version. When performing such research, following a similar protocol to the documentation created by the Object Record Excerpts (ORE) was essential. Reviewing both catalogue raisonné of Gustav Schiefler & Dr Gerd Woll grounded the known versions of this motif and established a baseline for the research when looking into the variety of designs in global collections, both privately & publicly. T Woll's cataloguing clearly states:

Schiefler and Willoch date the print to 1895, but I. Langaard lists it among the prints from 1894 (I. Langaard 1960 p. 274, footnote 10). The delicate technique, as well as inscriptions on various impressions, support 1894.

I. The image has been drawn with a clear and bold outline, bordering the central area by a distinct framing (15–5).

II. Some changes with the burnisher, the framing between the central section and the border partly removed and replaced by wavy lines. The background has been given a light tone with dense layers of drypoint lines. Schiefler records an impression in Meier Graefe's collection inscribed E Munch // 7te Dr 2te Z 1894 (Wittrock 1980).

Impressions on heavy white wove inscribed E Munch // 5e Dr. 2e Z 1894 (Hamburg); E Munch // avant lettre (Chr December 1990); impression signed in ink Edv Munch 1894 (private collection, Germany).

Slightly later impressions, e.g. on heavy white wove, inscribed Af de tidligste Tryk 1905-6 (15–2); Af de tidligste Tryk Berlin 1905-6 (15–1). Impression hand coloured in light reddish and greenish tones of watercolour (15–4).

Munch-museet (6) Cambridge MA; Hamburg

The print is possibly a reversed version of a lost painting. There are drawings of the head from ca. 1894 (private collection and MM T 2449). A drawing was used as the cover illustration for Stanislaw Przybyszewski's book *Vigilien*, which Munch received for Christmas 1894 with a dedication from the author. Cf. also cat. no. 39.

To have such detailed cataloguing from Woll, it guides the research of the known 1894 Madonna's that is known globally. Yet, the absence of any mention of the degenerate classified Madonna is interesting as it is felt

in the research that a note about this is both interesting for the scholarship and for the general reader. From gaining knowledge on the variety of motifs of this design, as the hand-coloured version, black and white or a more burnished appearance on the place background. When we reference the known versions and the problems of the FU site showing the hand coloured edition from the Munch Museum, it clouds the research into which is the current Berlin Madonna.

Therefore, contacting the known institutions that hold other editions of this work as the Fogg Museum Harvard, the Kunsthalle Hamburg and the National Gallery Edinburgh (see appendix I), to obtain further information and high-resolution images would aid in how a determination is made of the version of the deaccessioned Berlin motif. By following the research protocol guidelines, it established a more concrete database of the non-Munch Museum-owned editions' known locations and sale histories.

International Museum Held Impressions of the Madonna 1894



Figure 90 – 'Madonna' 1894
Fogg Museum Harvard, USA
 Sch. 16 (II), Woll. 11, Inv. M21448
 plate: 37.1 × 27.6 cm (14 5/8 × 10 7/8 in.)
 sheet: 56.8 × 48.8 cm (22 3/8 × 19 3/16 in.)

Previously owned by Julius Meier-Graefe
 Inscribed '**E Munch //7te Dr 2te Z 1894'**
(Wittrock 1980)
 Inv.-Nr. M21448

collector's mark: verso, blue stamp with
 graphite numbering below: [Fogg Museum
 accession stamp (Lugt 936)]
 Photo ©Harvard Art Museums/Fogg
 Museum, Purchase through the generosity
 of Philip A. Straus, class of 1937, and Lynn
 Straus

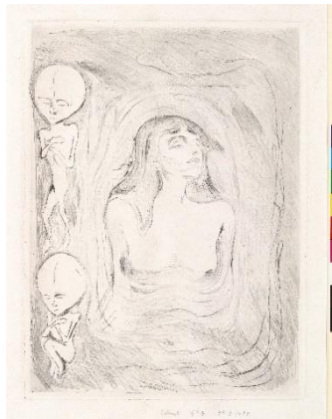


Figure 91 – 'Madonna' 1894
Kunsthall Hamburg, Germany
 Sch. 16 (II), Woll. 11
 plate: 36.2 × 26.7 cm (14 2/5 × 10 5/1 in.)
 sheet: 37.3 × 27.6 cm (14 6/8 × 10 8/6 in.)

Inscribed '**E Munch 5e Dr. 2dre Z 1894'**
(Hamburg)
 Inv.-Nr. 1917-104

Photo © Kunsthalle Museum

Provenance: Hamburger Privatsammlung, -
 1917; Auktion XVI (Galerie Commeter),
 Hamburg, 20.-22.2.1917, Nr. 311, acquired
 there



Figure 92 – 'Madonna (Woman Making Love)' 1894
National Gallery Scotland, Edinburgh
 Sch. 16 (II), Woll. 11
 plate: 36 × 26.5 cm (14 1/7 × 10 4/3 in.)
 sheet: 65.4 × 52.8 cm (25 7/4 × 20 7/8 in.)

Inv, Nr. GML 984

Private Collection on long-term loan to the
 National Galleries of Scotland, 2003
 Photo © NGA Scotland

Privately Owned Editions



**Figure 93 – ‘Madonna’ 1894
Private Collection,
Sold Christies, London, December
4th 1990, £10,000 – 15,000**

Sch. 16 (II), Woll. 11
Measurement given: 37.6 x 27.7 cm
(14 8/0 x 10 5/1 in.)

Inscribed ‘E Munch // avant lettre’
(Chr December 1990)

Photo © Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough,
RMA Utrecht University, 2020-23

Such documentation enables us to deduce which versions of this motif were on the open market, held globally in international museums vs those at the Munch Museum, overall allowing the search to be narrower and crucially in finding the specific Madonna 1894 from the degenerate group. When addressing the other known locations of this motif, the only misleading example was that held at the National Galleries of Scotland was listed as on a long-term loan and privately owned. It is a questionable version because it is not listed in Woll’s notes, nor does the NGS list any provenance for this work because it is privately owned. Therefore, we can determine if this motif is the degenerate Madonna 1894 by contacting the Head of Collections Management, Kerry Watson. They stated, *Our records are in several places and in our ‘card records’, we have actually found a sale of an impression of Madonna (Woman Making Love), Woll 11, to [current owner]. It was sold on February 27th 1997, and bought from [redacted] in New York in October 1996.*²¹⁷ Therefore this impression was not the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett Madonna but would potentially be another version of this rare design with an interesting provenance. [see Appendix I]

²¹⁷ Extract from correspondence between Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough and Kerry Watson of the NGS Collections management department 7th July 2022 at 11:45am GMT

Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough
 Research Masters Student
 Utrecht University
 178 van Herwen Goedhartplein, 3257DK
 Netherlands

Confidential

Oslo, March 20, 2022

Dear Collections Management Department,

My name is Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough and I am a research master's student from Utrecht University, Netherlands. I currently working at the MUNCH Museet Oslo, as part of my master's degree, where I have been conducting research into the displacement of artworks by Edvard Munch from German museums in 1937.

As part of my thesis research, I am looking into the provenance of a rare drypoint print *Madonna* 1894 that was originally part of the Staatliche Kupferstichkabinett Berlin Collection from 1926 – 1937.

This print was part of a group of deaccessioned artworks in October 1937 by the *Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* due to their Entartete classification. These 12 artworks (8 prints, 4 paintings) by Edvard Munch were subsequently purchased by the Norwegian Art Dealer *Harald Holst Halvorsen* from the Nazis and brought back to Oslo where they were sold both at public auction and privately to collectors.

From my research to date, I have found that this rare *Madonna* has only been located at two museums external to MUNCH, as stated by Gert Wöll, and is in a handful of Private Collections. From recent findings, I have located the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett *Madonna* as being last up for auction in 2005 at Blomqvist, Oslo. As part of the detailed cataloguing Blomqvist supplied, it stated the 1939 Harald Holst Halvorsen sale Oslo and the Staatliche Kupferstichkabinett Berlin Collection (see attached on page 4). From my knowledge to its provenance post-1939 until 2005, I am aware that it entered into the collection of Art Historian Dr Harry Fett and thereby descent to his relatives until the Blomqvist sale.

I would therefore like to enquire if the *Madonna* in the NGS is potentially this version or if you have any information regarding the Private Collector and their acquisition of said state. Additional to this I hope you may be so kind as to supply some further information on this graphic work, such as:

- A high-res photograph of the recto-verso (Front/Back) showing the whole sheet (not cropped)
- Condition report and authentication documents
- Additional notes on any inscriptions on recto-verso
- Any significant features to the etching and its state

As part of my research, I am most interested in collecting important details that will aid in reworking the provenance and missing gaps of its object biography. To add further details regarding the state of the etching is also important to building a defining picture of Munch's printing processes.

Please also note that any information supplied will be treated as confidential and will fall in line with the GDPR and the Data Protection Act of 2018.

I thank you again in advance for your assistance.

Yours sincerely,

Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough

Artwork



*Image is taken from the 2005 sale of Blomqvist

Artist	Edvard Munch
Title	Madonna
Location	Unknown 2022
Date	1894
Category/Object Type	Graphic work / Printmaking
Material/Technique	Drypoint
Measure	36 x 26.5 cm
Catalogue Reference	Wöll 11 / Sch. 13
EK Title	Madonna
NS Inventar EK NR.	12773
Museum of Origin	Berlin, Staatliche Museen - Kupferstichkabinett
Museum Inv.	Inv. 108-1926
Loss through	Seizure
Date of Loss	1937

Provenance	1926: Purchased <i>Galerie Neumann-Neverdorf, Berlin</i> 1926 - 13.08.1937: Staatliche Kupferstichkabinett Berlin 13.08.1937 - 12.1938: Deutsches Reich / Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, Berlin Beschlagnahme; am 31.05.1938 Einziehung zugunsten des Deutschen Reiches 08.1938 - 12.1938: Berlin, Depot Schloß Schönhausen Lagerung "international vewererbter" Kunstwerke 1938: Purchased Harald Holst Halvorsen, 60 1939: Sold Harald Holst Halvorsen, Oslo, 25 th January 1939, Oslo, Auction "Edv. Munchs tyske museums maleri", Nr. 54, £ 7,3- 1939: Purchased Dr Harry Fett 1939 - 2005: Theresby decent to relatives of Dr Harry Fett, Norway 17 th October 2005: Sold Blomqvist, Oslo, Lot 32, 450,000 Nok 2005 - XXXX: Private Collection
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Figure 94 – Document sent to Collections Management Department at the National Gallery Scotland, Edinburgh, 20th March 2022



Figure 95 - Example of the formatted letter of correspondence with the National Galleries Scotland regarding their privately owned edition of the *Madonna* 1894. Sent March 20th 2022

Alongside this process of elimination, a reversion to hands-on research through historic sale catalogues held within the Munch Museum and a more contemporary method of utilising online tools such as ArtPrice and Artnet was essential.(see appendix I-II) In doing so, it exposed the collated data held at the museum but additionally the rich data that is shown online. With this variety of secondary and contemporary archives, it led

to the location of two of the known privately held Madonna, one sold at *Christie's, London, on May 12th 1990*, by a Norwegian collector – a sale listed by Gerd Woll in 2014 - and the second sold at *Blomqvist, Oslo on October 17th 2005* – not listed by Gerd Woll in 2014. Being aware of the Christies sold lot from Gerd Woll's cataloguing was an exciting breakthrough in potentially locating the 'degenerate' Madonna from Berlin as part of the 2005 sale. When reviewing the cataloguing by Blomqvist and knowing that it was purchased by Dr Harry Fett in 1939 it is evident that this was the exact Madonna.

The Blomqvist cataloguing listing is as follows:

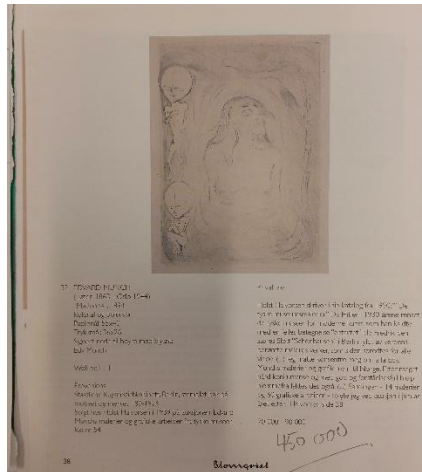


Photo © Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough, RMA Utrecht University, 2020-23

Translation of Norwegian cataloguing

Provenance

Staatliche Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, Stamped on the back of the motif and marked 180-1926

Sold by Holst Halvorsen in 1939 at auction: Edvard Munch paintings and graphic works from German Museums, Kat nr. 54

Private Owner

Holst Halvorsen writes in his catalogue from 1950: "The German museum paintings. "When Hitler in the 1930s cleansed the German museums of modern art, which he called by a common term" degenerate ", Fredrik the Great's castle became" Schönhausen "in Berlin filled with the works of the world-famous painters, which were then spread for all winds. (...) I had to concentrate on getting Edv. Munch's paintings and graphics home to Norway. (...) The collection - 14 paintings and 60 graphic works - I sold at auction in January the following year." Halvorsen page 38

ArtPrice.com THE WORLD LEADER IN ART MARKET INFORMATION

Madonna

Auction databases Marketplace Market news Pricing

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Edvard MUNCH (1863-1944) Followed

Madonna (1894)

Lot # 32

Print-Multiple

Drypoint

36 x 26 cm

Hammer price: £ 39,366 (NOK 450,000)

Estimate: £ 6,123 - £ 7,873 (NOK 70,000 - NOK 90,000)

JOBILEUMSAUKJON

17 oct 2005

Blomqvist

Oslo, Norway

Details

Signed <Edv Munch> lower right

Notes: [Woll, II, 11] Woll, II, 11

Illustrated on page 38 of the catalog

Figure 96 - Extract from the online art market database ArtPrice.com 'Edvard Munch's *Madonna (1894)*, 36 x 26 cm, Signed <Edv Munch> Lower right, Woll, II, 11 Sold: Blomqvist, Lot 32, October 17th 2005, 450.000 NOK'

From gathering the material as mentioned earlier in locating the sale of this Berlin Madonna, I was able to contact the auction house directly to investigate the current owner of this work(see appendix I). From corresponding with specialist Gunnar Krogh-Hansen at Blomqvist, it was confirmed that the heirs of Dr Harry Fett sold the print and that a Norwegian Business magnet subsequently purchased it. With the catalogue notes listing the print was given an stamp by the Staatliche Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin it gives an insight that other prints from this collection and

in the group of Munch's degenerate will also have this marking. Therefore, this can be brought into any future research on the Berlin Staatliche Kupferstichkabinett group. Finding the new ownership enabled the research to document the new details yet through data protection it causes roadblocks in accessing or viewing the print at its new location.

Photographs and visitation were requested through the auction house Blomqvist yet no feedback was given. ,With future assistance from the Munch Museum it would be intended to add to the knowledge base of their archive and this research goal as twofold. Following the same process as discussed in my contact with the National Galleries of Scotland, all details known to the work (cataloguing, known sales, ownership, archival documents etc.) was listed in the letter sent to the auction house for the new owner. (See Appendix I)

Through such a process of elimination and following the object biography format built for the rare Madonna, the nexus formed highlights the dynamic ownership history of the work but exposes that this line of research only touches the tip of the iceberg, that is, the affected graphic works of Munch from the NS Inventory. Such a reconstruction ultimately stresses the effect of the degenerate classification, its placement on in the Homecoming auction and ownership by Munch scholar Harry Fett before its resurgence on the art market in 2005.

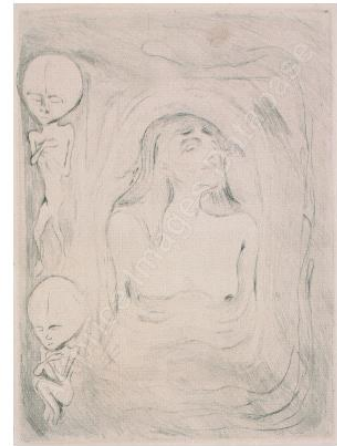
It overall exposes trends in collecting practices due to significant events such as degenerate sales to Halvorsen and his 'homecoming' sales of 1939. The Madonna traverses across these events from collector to collector, but it is essential for its rarity and the importance of knowing the exact work it is and not generalising when we research the artwork on digital platforms like the FU platform had done. To add to the biography of the artwork and the catalogue raisonné produced by Gerd Woll and Gustav Schiefler is crucial in ensuring that this print's future scholarship and knowledge are stated correctly.

To answer the questions of this whole group of graphic works through the case of the Madonna is not easy, but the process of creating a grounding for this research has been performed. To illuminate the provenance of this piece and what it did, and where it went from 1937 onwards is a fascinating tool in exposing the popularity of Munch's graphic works in the art market of the late 1930s. It also exposes the question of why the National Socialists selected such a varied group of his most iconic graphic motifs and was this due to their expressive and emotive designs of such images as the Madonna (1894), Vampire II (1895-1902), Puberty (1902) and the Scream (1895) or was this due to the knowledge of how successful they would be when sold for monetary gain?

As shown in the reconstruction of the rare Berlin Madonna, this accumulation of documentation fills the gaps as has been laid out. Yet, it is the pinnacle of this research that even 86 years later, these degenerate works still show on the market, and it is still possible for 'tainted' art of this kind to enter the collections through purchases, gifts and bequests. Essentially, as these works can never be restituted to the museums they were housed in, like the Madonna and the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett, this work in the future must be placed on loan to the museum as it would highlight the strength of Munch's art in its holdings before the classifications of 1937. Ultimately, the story of the rare Madonna and the rationale behind its selection was to use it as a basis for future research into this graphic group as it was part of such a small print group of only listed c. 11 known versions.

PROVENANCE TIMELINE

MADONNA 1894



The Berlin 'Madonna' – Provenance reconstruction © Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough, RMA Utrecht University, 2020-23

Figure 97 -
Madonna (1894), 36 x 26 cm, Signed
 <Edv Munch> Lower right, Woll. II, 11

Contemporary Provenance Research: A reflection

Conclusion

The classifications of 1937 brought on the 83 artworks of Edvard Munch, especially in this research, '*Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day*' 1904 [Fig.1] & the '*Madonna*' 1894 [Fig.97] has essentially altered the trajectory and ownership forever. As shown in both case studies, the complexities in tracing these works, especially the graphic of the Madonna, highlights how these works may never be seen in the institutions they were deaccessioned from. The movement and resale of these artworks show the dismissal of Munch's works in Germany by 1937, but it clearly shows the positive reception of his work in Oslo in 1938/39 and the growth in the market for these degenerate artworks.

The idea coined by Aby Warburg of *Bildwanderung*²¹⁸ is the migration of images which are not bound by borders and can be appropriated, adapted, and transformed. Such a theory, alongside those of Kopytoff, Gosden and Marshall, and notably Pierson's 'provenance branding' concept, can we better assess the profound impact that the degenerate classifications had, not only on the reception and interpretation of these artworks but on their biographies in the future. The reconstruction of these biographies – ultimately their changes in provenance documentation – matters because it reveals the profound social narrative Munch's art was caught up in by 1937. Tracing the threads from this point has allowed for a formative discussion of the role of Halvorsen in auctioning these works. Still, in doing so, we can make this tumultuous moment real to the contemporary reader.

As pointed out by Gerd Woll, provenance is an important issue when deciding the authenticity of a work and even more so in establishing its history²¹⁹. As hoped in this research, the 360 review of both provenances allows us to pinpoint the history of these works and, in turn, question the NS inventories and compiled primary documentation. Counterintuitively by making this reconstructive history for both, it is evident which case study highlighted the issues and which demonstrated the importance of moral due diligence. As reviewed in case study two, the authenticity of the exact edition of the Madonna print is essential in researching this print against the image utilised on the FU degenerate art database.

Formulating the research into two cases enabled this research to discuss the point at which both artworks were conceived, received, rejected and sold. Both unpack the crucial moments that led to such events as Munch's time in Germany, the support of his patrons & friends and the point both works entered the institutions they were removed from. Overall, the point at which the works were removed from the museums and into the open market in Oslo demonstrates the capitalist and Faustian dealings Halvorsen and Olsen took part in through collaboration. Such events highlight the importance of these 'homecoming' sales for the collectors in Norway and the trends in collecting these 'classified degenerate' artworks due to the new owners listed in such sale ledgers (Thomas Olsen & Dr Harry Fett, two prominent collectors of Munch's art).

The issues raised in the case of the *Madonna* demonstrate that tracing its movement has been inevitably more complex than that of *Embrace on the Beach*, and this is due to the medium of being a print vs that of a work on canvas. The challenges faced when researching a print are tenfold compared to a unique single canvas, as

demonstrated in the case study. The critical role of due diligence, however, with the *Embrace on the Beach – A Summers Day* is that with the tracing of this work back to the Jewish collector Dr Curt Glaser how do we morally review the information on how it entered the Berlin Kronprinzenpalais in 1929? With such due diligence performed when this artwork resurfaces at auction, how can we view this degenerate artwork and its complex ownership history?

The groundwork for the future of this research shows the lacunae in Munch's scholarship and Degenerate art. To fill this gap and essentially answer the questions proposed has been a formative process, and dividing the research into a contextual history of the artwork's conception to the point of deaccessioning has been indispensable. Principally, highlighting both the reception under the NS and, more clearly, the positive reception of these works back in Oslo due to Halvorsen's collaboration or 'acceptance' into the inner circle of trusted art dealers has opened a new avenue in the research. That of the Norwegian art market during the occupation deserves future research, especially in the trends in the collectorship of Munch's art from 1938-1945.

The provenance branding of these two artworks and the group again highlights the collaboration processes for monetary gain. It demonstrates that those involved were not blind to the rationale of the NS officials. Museum directors like Jens Thiis or collectors such as Dr Fett and Thomas Olsen, who purchased these artworks during the 1938-39 auctions in Oslo, were doing more than rescuing the artworks from the National Socialists; they were taking advantage of the turbulent situations of which they were very much aware. With such auction titles as 'Edvard Munchs German Museums Paintings' (*Edv. Munchs tyske museumsmalerier*), the knowledge of the circumstances where the artworks came from was emphatically evident to those who purchased them.

This discrediting of Munch's art from German museums points to a moment in the history of this divisive and innovative artist's career. It grounds this research to a moment when all the selected artworks' futures changed. By selecting a graphic work and a canvas, we can minutely address the shifts in ownership by accumulating primary documentation from the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett & Kronprinzenpalais Nationalgalerie. This study suggests that provenance branding gives the painting and print a particular form of agency, enabling them to connect with the reader and, indeed, the viewers. Therefore, The degenerate classification shapes the reception and interpretation of both artworks and empowers the provenance of the objects as they move from private collections onwards.

Attitudes Case studies: Consistent with my expectations?

The hypothesis of this research has been to show how the collation of primary documentation against the backdrop of contemporary resources like the FU & V&A databases has afforded the research to expose the biographies of these works where information is missing. Reinforcing this study of Munch's degenerate art has allowed for a total review of this under-discussed topic. It has highlighted the gap in literature, knowledge and the sharing of primary documentation. It has overall meant that a microscopic approach was taken in reviewing

just two of the total 83 artworks and that by performing this at the object level can we consider this study against such theories as provenance branding, The Cultural Biography of Objects and The Intersection of "Degenerate Art" / Nazi-Looted Art. To form a new narrative is essential for the growth of this study and how we can react to the classifications through the research conducted, the review process of the provenance and the publication of such research for the future of this interdisciplinary study within the broader narrative of Edvard Munch's oeuvre.

This study's expectations and reality have been consistent with the initial expectations, and this is due to the small field of dedicated knowledge of the Munch group in the broader study of degenerate art scholarship. Building upon the groundwork of the research performed by such art historians as Andreas Hüneke, Christoph Zuschlag & Meike Hoffman as they created the most informative study to date on 'Degenerate' art highlights how in the case of Munch, there is still more to be uncovered. This new narrative of filling the gaps is an essential part of provenance research concerning Munch's degenerate art as it will add to the work of Gerd Woll in the catalogue raisonné for both his Paintings and Graphic works. The enormity of this task is great, but establishing the research on just two of this more comprehensive data set for 83 has been achieved in this thesis research.

Reflection of Methodology

By separating the research into two sections, one for the canvas and the other for the graphic work, it has been possible to research the narratives of these artworks more clearly and tackle the reification of these works as their reception shifted and developed. The case studies were instrumental as the separate analysis of the two chosen artworks allowed for growth in tracing the biographies of these pieces and the nuances that appear when reviewing the primary documentation.

The approach of both cases highlights the limitations and difficulties that appear when researching degenerate artworks and their movement. It is even more apparent that the lack of physical object-level viewing hinders the research as it becomes more dependent on archival visits, online databases and access to literature both in person and online. Yet, it has overall helped the aim and outcome of the reconstruction as this has been achieved.

Limitations and future recommendations of the current study

The study's limits lie clearly in the scope of a master's thesis in that only 2 of 83 artworks could be reviewed. For further studies, locating the remaining artworks would be essential and paramount for object-based research and how it can superimpose the already formed FU database. To grow the knowledge field of Edvard Munch's degenerate-focused scholarship would be paramount as this thesis has addressed that very little has been done previously, which has led to discrepancies in the thesis – as shown in Prideaux's statement of Munch having 82 degenerate artworks. Further research needs to be conducted where it relates to institutions – as addressed in case study two – mainly when contacting institutions such as museums or auction houses, private collectors etc.

With the limitations of freely contacting private collectors, it is a challenge to act through a conduit like an auction house; there can be delays or rejections in requests for information.

The degenerate database and the issues that arose highlight the need to be updated regularly. The research found gaps and inconsistencies with all the new information relating to literature, exhibitions and, most importantly, the artwork's provenance. Essentially, the limitation of such databases is the time-consuming, expensive kind of research needed to keep this platform as up-to-date as it can be year after year which is an impossible task due to the size of the degenerate group. Overall, the research of just the Munch artworks highlights this as they come to market, and researchers in this field only sometimes track such information. Therefore, this research must be adopted into a future project to focus on just the artworks by Edvard Munch in these inventories – a point reinforced throughout this thesis.

Finally, the discrepancy between these two case studies highlights the approaches listed in the research as they differ per medium. With this print group making the majority, it demonstrates that the 'designs' of these were deemed more 'degenerate' by the NS committee. Alternatively, can the view be taken that a larger group of the most desirable motifs would mean a more significant profit margin due to their collectability? These are future questions that need to be mined to open the narrative and, indeed, into the closer inspection of Munch's designs.

Ultimately, this thesis shows how nuanced the study of degenerate art is, especially in the context of 2 of the 83 classified artworks. From the initial research, challenges are varied when researching the variety of artworks, especially the prints, as the protocol is significantly different from those on canvas. From the structure of the two selected artworks from this broader group, we can better comprehend these pieces' conception, reception, rejection and ultimate recirculation into the art market even in 2023. The role of this research has always been to set out a clear discussion and framework for future research into the biographies of these essential pieces from Munch's oeuvre.

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E

Eberhard von Bodenhausen to Edvard Munch, 12.12.1894 (MM K 2071), Pp 1-2

https://emunch.no/HYBRIDNo-MM_K2071.xhtml

Edvard Munch to Jens Thiis, 1937 (MM N 2957), Pp 1-2

https://www.emunch.no/HYBRIDNo-MM_N2957.xhtml

Edvard Munch literary letters, Undated (MM N 645), Pp 1-2

https://emunch.no/HYBRIDNo-MM_N0645.xhtml

Edvard Munch literary letters, 1894–1895 (MM N 30), Pp 1-2

https://emunch.no/HYBRIDNo-MM_N0030.xhtml

M

Max Linde to Edvard Munch, 05.04.1905 (MM K 2806), Pp 1-2

https://www.emunch.no/HYBRIDNo-MM_K2806.xhtml

Archives

Victoria & Albert Museum, London, United Kingdom

'Entartete Kunst': The Nazis' inventory of 'degenerate art'

<https://www.vam.ac.uk/articles/explore-entartete-kunst-the-nazis-inventory-of-degenerate-art>

Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

"DEGENERATE ART" RESEARCH CENTER

'Degenerate Art Database'

https://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/en/e/db_entart_kunst/index.html

Munch Museum, Oslo, Norway

The Munch Museum Library

<https://munch.mikromarc.no/mikromarc3/default.aspx?Unit=6473&db=munch>

<https://www.munchmuseet.no/en/about/research/>

Tate Archives, London, United Kingdom

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVE READING ROOMS

<https://www.tate.org.uk/art/archive>

Appendix I

Master List of all 83 degenerate artworks of Edvard Munch's from the NS inventories

Title (German)	Measure	Type	Signed/Dates	MUSEUM	Woll No.	NS Inventory no	Note
Trøst	21,5 x 32,3	Etching	1895	Berlin, Staatliche Museen - Kupferstichkabinett	6	12772	
Badende mann	45 x 45 cm	Druckgraphik	1899	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett	149	12778	
Kristiania-Boheme I (Munch og regissør Ludvig	28 x 37,7 c	Etching	1895	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett	15	2614	
Madonna	36 x 26,5 c	Druckgraphik	1884	Berlin, Staatliche Museen - Kupferstichkabinett	11	12773	
Salome II	13,2 x 9,3	Druckgraphik	1905	Berlin, Staatliche Museen - Kupferstichkabinett	256	12774	
Die Urne	46 x 26,5 c	Druckgraphik	1896	Berlin, Staatliche Museen - Kupferstichkabinett	67	12775	
Frauenkopf am Strande	47 x 41,5 c	Farbholzschnitt	1899	Berlin, Staatliche Museen - Kupferstichkabinett	152	12776	
Skrík	35,5 x 25,4	Lithograph	1895	Berlin, Staatliche Museen - Kupferstichkabinett	38	12777	
Der Menschenberg	51,2 x 38,2	Lithograph	1916	Bielefeld, Städtisches Kunsthaus	604	14694	
Angst	46 x 37,8 c	Farbholzschnitt	1896	Bremen, Kunsthalle	93	9196	
Drei Gesichter, Tragodie	36 x 45,8 c	Druckgraphik	1913	Bremen, Kunsthalle	465	9271-01	
Tête à tête	20,7 x 31,5	Etching	1894/5	Düsseldorf, Kunstsammlungen der Stadt	9	2613	
Kristiania-Boheme I (Munch und Direktor	70,4 x 110,	Lithograph	1916	Düsseldorf, Kunstsammlungen der Stadt	566	2614	
Ludvig Didrichsen)							
Anziehung I (Auge in Auge I)	47,2 x 35,5	Druckgraphik	1896	Düsseldorf, Kunstsammlungen der Stadt	75	2615	
Gesellschaftslehre, Ursache und Wirkung (Ges	28,6 x 34	Lithograph	1910	Düsseldorf, Kunstsammlungen der Stadt	384	2615	
Eifersucht II	33 x 46 cm	Farbholzschnitt	1896	Düsseldorf, Kunstsammlungen der Stadt	68	2763	
Die tote Mutter und das Kind (Tote Mutter und	32,3 x 49,3	Druckgraphik	1901	Düsseldorf, Kunstsammlungen der Stadt	163	2764	
Rouge & Noir	25,2 x 19	Druckgraphik	1898	Hannover, Kestner-Museum	131	6947	
Meer der Liebe	31 x 41,9	Druckgraphik	1896	Hannover, Kestner-Museum	81	6964	
Frauenbildnis	56 x 36,5 c	Farbholzschnitt	1911-12	Hannover, Kestner-Museum	393	6965	
Fruchtbarkeit	42,5 x 52 c	Druckgraphik	1900	Hannover, Kestner-Museum	160	6966	
Grabende Arbeiter	44 x 50 cm	Druckgraphik	1920	Hannover, Kestner-Museum	648	6967	
Madonna	41,9 x 44,7	Lithograph	1895/1902	Hannover, Kestner-Museum	39 IV	6968	
Alte Männer und Knaben	35 x 44 cm	Druckgraphik	1905	Hannover, Kestner-Museum	272	6969	
Angst	42 x 38,5 c	Druckgraphik	1896	Hannover, Kestner-Museum	63	6970	
Die Blume der Liebe	62 x 29 cm	Druckgraphik	1896	Hannover, Kestner-Museum	80	6974	
Måneskinn	41,2 x 47,5	Etching	1896	Hannover, Kestner-Museum	90	6988	
Weib mit rotem Haar und grünen Augen. Die S	70 x 40,5	Druckgraphik	1902	Hannover, Provinzial-Museum	198	7023	
Die Urne	46 x 26,5	Lithograph	1896	Heidelberg, Kurpfälzisches Museum, sch. nr. 63	67	11098	
Badende dâmer	22 x 32,5	Etching	1895	Kiel, Kunsthalle	18	14480	
Satyrfopf, Blatt aus der Mappe "Alfa og Omega	18,8 x 13,1	Lithograph	1908-1909	Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus	338	11483	
Die Schlange wird erwürgt, Blatt aus der Mappe	20,8 x 32,5	Lithograph	1908-1909	Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus	344	11484	
Das Weib und die Schlange	30 x 40	Lithograph	1908-1909	Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus	360	11485	
Der Bâr, Blatt aus der Mappe "Alfa og Omega"	23,7 x 41,2	Lithograph	1908-1909	Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus	345	11486	
Omega und die Blume, Blatt aus der Mappe "Al	25,8 x 18,6	Lithograph	1908-1909	Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus	348	11487	
Omegas Augen, Blatt aus der Mappe "Alfa og O	23 x 18,3	Lithograph	1908-1909	Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus	349	11488	
Alfas Nachkommen, Blatt aus der Mappe "Alfa	24,8 x 50,4	Lithograph	1908-1909	Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus	354	11489	
Omegas Tod, Blatt aus der Mappe "Alfa og Om	30,7 x 53	Lithograph	1908-1909	Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus	356	11490	
Der stille Tröster	25 x 39,6 c	Lithograph	1908-1909	Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus	361	11491	
Tiere und Menschen	16 x 27,7 c	Lithograph	1908-1909	Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus	363	11492	
Mondaufgang, Blatt aus der Mappe "Alfa og O	21,2 x 43,3	Lithograph	1908-1910	Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus	341	11493	
Die Wolke, Blatt aus der Mappe "Alfa og Ome	25,8 x 49,7	Lithograph	1908-1910	Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus	343	11494	
Omega und das Reh, Blatt aus der Mappe "Alfa	24 x 36,8	Lithograph	1908-1910	Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus	350	11495	
Omega und das Schwein, Blatt aus der Mappe	32,5 x 46,5	Lithograph	1908-1910	Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus	351	11496	
Die tote Mutter und das Kind	32,3 x 49,3	Lithograph	1908-1910	Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus	163	11499	
Frau Marie Linde	34 x 24,8	Lithograph	1902	Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus	209	11500	
Der Dank an die Gesellschaft	42 x 53	Lithograph	1899	Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus	123	11501	
Vampire II	38,7 x 56 c	Lithograph	1895-1902	Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus	41	11502	
Der Urmensch	68,5 x 46	Druckgraphik	1905	Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus	274	11518	
Bauernmädchen	56 x 43,5 c	Lithograph	1920	Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus	660	11603	
Mtiv fra Alpha og Omega: Die Wolke	25,8 x 49,7	Lithograph	1908/09	Lübeck, Museum Behnhaus	343	11494	
Männerkopf in Frauenhaar	54,4 x 38,5	Druckgraphik	1896	Mannheim, Städtische Kunsthalle	89	6097	
Trauerbesuch	50 x 60 cm	Druckgraphik	1915	Mannheim, Städtische Kunsthalle	547	6116	
Die Hände	48,5 x 29,6	Lithograph	1895	Mannheim, Städtische Kunsthalle	42	6424	
Der Kuß III	50,4 x 40,5	Druckgraphik	1898	Mannheim, Städtische Kunsthalle	124	6425	
Karikatur: Der Sumpf	48,4 x 60,5	Lithograph	1903	Mannheim, Städtische Kunsthalle	237	6437	
Sitzender Akt. Der Floh	35 x 31,5 c	Lithograph	1912	Nürnberg, Städtische Galerie	411	7274	
Die Blume des Schmerzes	46,5 x 33	Druckgraphik	1898	Saarbrücken, Staatliches Museum	130	6810	
Das Weib	46,2 x 59,5	Lithograph	1899	Saarbrücken, Staatliches Museum	147	6817	
Die tote Mutter und das Kind	32,3 x 49,3	Druckgraphik	1901	Saarbrücken, Staatliches Museum	163	6864	
Pubertät	18,8 x 15 c	Druckgraphik	1902	Ulm, Stadtmuseum	186	9794	
Menschengruppen bei Elgeseter Kloster	31 x 49,5	Woodcut	1917	Weimar, Schloßmuseum	622	15379	

Museums contacted for Case Studies

**Please note that some external correspondence within the research has been redacted from the publication due to GDPR and the Data Protection Act of 2018.*

Berlin Kupferstichkabinett, Germany

Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough
Research Masters Student
Utrecht University
178 van Heeven Goedhartplein, 3257DK
Netherlands

Confidential

Oslo, March 11, 2022

Dear Dr Dieter Scholz,

As you are aware from our recent correspondence, I am conducting research into the displacement of artworks by Edvard Munch from German museums in 1937.

As part of my thesis research, I am looking into the provenance of a rare drypoint print *Madonna* 1894 that was originally part of the Staatliche Kupferstichkabinett Berlin Collection from 1926 – 1937. Previously owned by Dr Curt Glaser or purchased by the director with Museum funds – this line of inquiry is in review however, I am aware of the acquisition of said work in 1926, as you will see in the provenance section.

This print was part of a group of deaccessioned artworks in October 1937 by the *Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* due to their Entartete classification. These 12 artworks (8 prints, 4 paintings) by Edvard Munch were subsequently purchased by the Norwegian Art Dealer *Harald Holst Halvorsen* from the Nazis and brought back to Oslo where they were sold both at public auction and privately to collectors.

From my research to date, I have found that this rare *Madonna* was last put up for auction at Blomqvist Oslo in 2005. As part of the detailed cataloguing Blomqvist supplied it states the 1939 *Harald Holst Halvorsen* sale Oslo and the *Staatliche Kupferstichkabinett Berlin Collection* (see attached on page 4). From my knowledge of the works provenance post-1939 until 2005, I am aware that it entered into the Art Historian Dr Harry Fett collection and thence by descent to his relatives until the Blomqvist sale.

I would therefore like to enquire if you may be so kind as to supply some additional information on this graphic work from the time it entered the Staatliche Kupferstichkabinett Berlin Collection:

- Inventory entry into the SK Berlin Collection
- Any annotations noted such as inscriptions on the recto/verso
- Accession stamps that may have been added to the verso
- Notes on if the work was loose or glued to a backing sheet
- Any photographs Dr Glaser may have made of the work

As part of my research, I am most interested in collecting important details that will aid in reworking the provenance of ownership and the missing gaps of its object biography.

I thank you again in advance for your assistance.

Yours sincerely,

Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough

Hamburgh Kunsthalle, German

Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough
Research Masters Student
Utrecht University
178 van Heeven Goedhartplein, 3257DK
Netherlands

Confidential

Oslo, April 20, 2022

Dear Collections Management Department,

My name is Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough, and I am a research master's student from Utrecht University, Netherlands. I currently working at the MUNCH Museet Oslo, as part of my master's degree, where I have been conducting research into the displacement of artworks by Edvard Munch from German museums in 1937.

As part of my thesis research, I am looking into the provenance of a rare drypoint print *Madonna* 1894 that was originally part of the Staatliche Kupferstichkabinett Berlin Collection from 1926 – 1937.

This print was part of a group of deaccessioned artworks in October 1937 by the *Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* due to their Entartete classification. These 12 artworks (8 prints, 4 paintings) by Edvard Munch were subsequently purchased by the Norwegian Art Dealer *Harald Holst Halvorsen* from the Nazis and brought back to Oslo where they were sold both at public auction and privately to collectors.

From my research to date, I have found that this rare *Madonna* has only been located at three museums external to MUNCH, as stated by Gert Woll, and is in a handful of Private Collections. I would therefore like to enquire if the Hamburg Kunsthalle is able to supply further information on this work such as the below:

- A high-res photograph of the recto/verso (Front/Back) showing the whole sheet (not cropped)
- Condition report and authentication documents
- Additional notes on any inscriptions on recto/verso
- Any significant features to the etching and its state
- A scan of the inventory book regarding when this work entered the collection

As part of my research, I am most interested in collecting important details that will aid in reworking the provenance and missing gaps of its object biography. To add further details regarding the state of the etching is also important to building a defining picture of Munch's printing processes.

The *Madonna* I have been looking into originated from the Staatliche Kupferstichkabinett Berlin prior to its deaccessioning in 1937 so below you will see details on this. For my enquiry into your *Madonna* it is more for my own knowledge of the version of this motif that you have in your collection.

Please also note that any information supplied will be treated as confidential and will fall in line with the GDPR and the Data Protection Act of 2018.

I thank you again in advance for your assistance.

Yours sincerely,

Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough

National Galleries Scotland, Edinburgh

Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough
Research Masters Student
Utrecht University
178 van Heeven Goedhartplein, 3257DK
Netherlands

Confidential

Oslo, March 20, 2022

Dear Collections Management Department,

My name is Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough and I am a research master's student from Utrecht University, Netherlands. I currently working at the MUNCH Museet Oslo, as part of my master's degree, where I have been conducting research into the displacement of artworks by Edvard Munch from German museums in 1937.

As part of my thesis research, I am looking into the provenance of a rare drypoint print *Madonna* 1894 that was originally part of the Staatliche Kupferstichkabinett Berlin Collection from 1926 – 1937.

This print was part of a group of deaccessioned artworks in October 1937 by the *Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* due to their Entartete classification. These 12 artworks (8 prints, 4 paintings) by Edvard Munch were subsequently purchased by the Norwegian Art Dealer *Harald Holst Halvorsen* from the Nazis and brought back to Oslo where they were sold both at public auction and privately to collectors.

From my research to date, I have found that this rare *Madonna* has only been located at two museums external to MUNCH, as stated by Gert Woll, and is in a handful of Private Collections. From recent findings, I have located the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett *Madonna* as being last put up for auction in 2005 at Blomqvist Oslo. As part of the detailed cataloguing Blomqvist supplied, it stated the 1939 *Harald Holst Halvorsen* sale Oslo and the *Staatliche Kupferstichkabinett Berlin Collection* (see attached on page 4). From my knowledge of its provenance post-1939 until 2005, I am aware that it entered into the collection of Art Historian Dr Harry Fett and thereby descent to his relatives until the Blomqvist sale.

I would therefore like to enquire if the *Madonna* in the NGS is potentially this version or if you have any information regarding the Private Collector and their acquisition of said state. Additional to this I hope you may be so kind as to supply some further information on this graphic work, such as:

- A high-res photograph of the recto/verso (Front/Back) showing the whole sheet (not cropped)
- Condition report and authentication documents
- Additional notes on any inscriptions on recto/verso
- Any significant features to the etching and its state

As part of my research, I am most interested in collecting important details that will aid in reworking the provenance and missing gaps of its object biography. To add further details regarding the state of the etching is also important to building a defining picture of Munch's printing processes.

Please also note that any information supplied will be treated as confidential and will fall in line with the GDPR and the Data Protection Act of 2018.

I thank you again in advance for your assistance.

Yours sincerely,

Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough

Auction Houses, Private Collectors & Email Correspondences

Blomqvist Auction House Oslo, Norway

Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough
Research Masters Student
Utrecht University
178 van Heuven Goedhartplein, 3257DK
Netherlands

Confidential

Oslo, March 9, 2022

To whom this may concern,

My name is Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough and I am a research master's student from Utrecht University, Netherlands. I currently working at the MUNCH Museet Oslo, as part of my master's degree, where I have been conducting research into the displacement of artworks by Edvard Munch from German museums in 1937.

As part of my thesis research, I am looking into the provenance of a rare drypoint print *Madonna* 1894 that was originally part of the Staatliche Kupferstichkabinett Berlin Collection from 1926 - 1937.

This print was part of a group of deaccessioned artworks in October 1937 by the *Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* due to their Entartete classification. These 12 artworks (8 prints, 4 paintings) by Edvard Munch were subsequently purchased by the Norwegian Art Dealer *Harald Holst Halvorsen* from the Nazis and brought back to Oslo where they were sold both at public auction and privately to collectors.

From my research to date, I have found, as you will be aware, that this rare *Madonna* was last put up for auction at Blomqvist in 2005. As part of the detailed cataloguing Blomqvist supplied it states the 1939 Harald Holst Halvorsen sale Oslo and the Staatliche Kupferstichkabinett Berlin Collection (*see attached on page 4*). From my knowledge to its provenance post-1939 until 2005, I am aware that it entered into the collection of Art Historian Dr Harry Fett and thereby descent to his relatives until the Blomqvist sale.

I would therefore like to enquire if you may be so kind as to supply some additional information on this graphic work, such as:

- A photograph of the recto/verso (Front/Back)
- Condition reports and authentication documents
- Additional notes on any inscriptions on recto/verso

As part of my research, I am most interested in collecting important details that will aid in reworking the provenance of ownership and the missing gaps of its collection history.

Please also note that any information supplied will be treated as confidential and will fall in line with the GDPR and the Data Protection Act of 2018.

I thank you again in advance for your assistance.

Yours sincerely,

Aurora Wilson Dyer Gough

Email Correspondence with Sotheby's Restitution Department London & New York
Removed for GDPR and the Data Protection Act of 2018

Email Correspondence with Christie's London Prints Department London, United Kingdom
Removed for GDPR and the Data Protection Act of 2018

Email Correspondence with Blomqvist Auction House Oslo, Norway
Removed for GDPR and the Data Protection Act of 2018

Email Correspondence with SMB Berlin, Germany
Removed for GDPR and the Data Protection Act of 2018



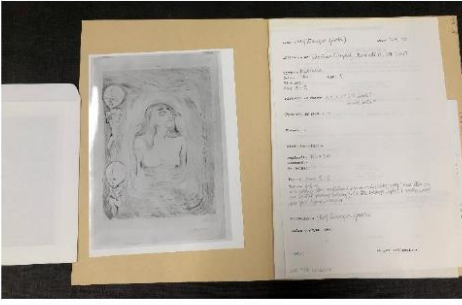
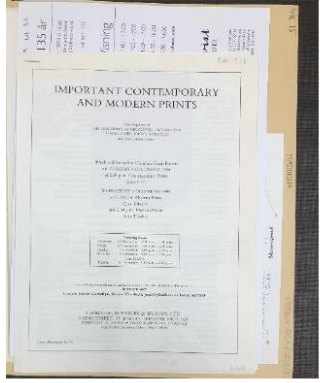
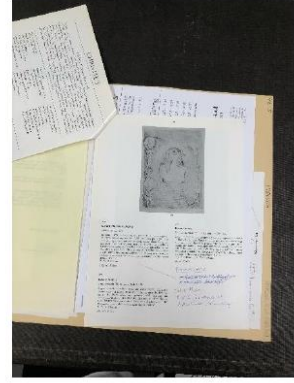
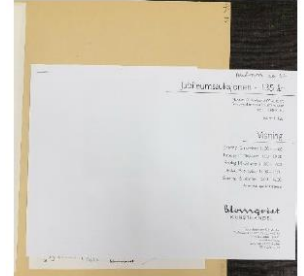
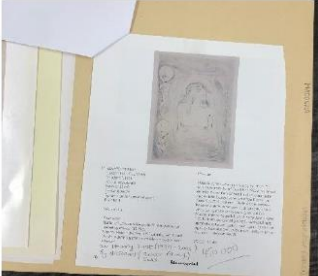
Email Correspondence with Private Collector
Removed for GDPR and the Data Protection Act of 2018


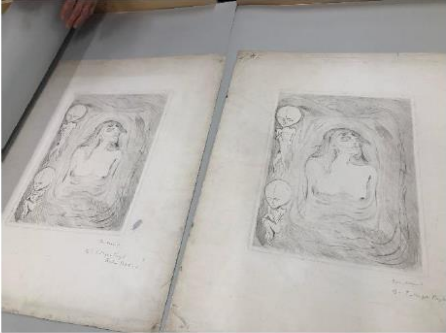

Email Correspondence with National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, United Kingdom
Removed for GDPR and the Data Protection Act of 2018


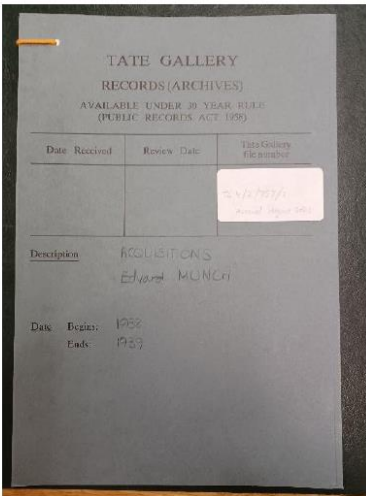
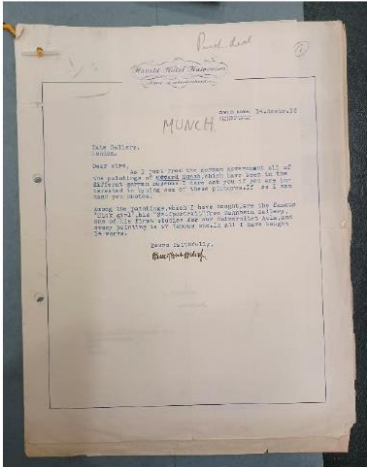
Email Correspondence with The "Degenerate Art" Research Centre, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany
Removed for GDPR and the Data Protection Act of 2018

Appendix II

Collected information at Munch Museum – Research Stage

February 2022	IMAGE
Thesis Research	IMAGE
<p>Photographs of the research in the private owner filing system at MM in the Prints department as part of my thesis research</p> <p>Attached are the following:</p> <p>Top left. Archive draws with all private known owners whom request export licences for sale. Sorted via the museum's ID numbering system that follows MM. G. XXXX</p> <p>Top-Right & Middle. Private owner folder per artwork with cataloguing supplied by the owner: high-resolution photograph, negative, export licence and information on sale location (auction)</p> <p>Bottom four images. All examples of the sale catalogues where this print has been sold.</p>	      

March 2022	IMAGE
Meeting 1	IMAGE
<p>Viewing meeting to discuss the variety of the 'Madonna' 1894 motifs held within the museum collection.</p> <p>The meeting has been organised by myself with supervisor Ute K. Falck and registrar Timothy Brignall who has kindly brought these works out of storage in CARDEX.</p> <p>All 5/6 highlight the variety of techniques he used for one motif from hand-colouring, scratches, imperfections and annotations on the prints etc.</p> <p>These different 'Madonna' 1894 motifs/editions are examples I will incorporate into my thesis Case study No. 2</p>	  

Tate Archive Visit	IMAGE
<p>Visit at the Tate Archive, London</p> <p>A few examples of the letters I went to see for Thesis Research</p>	
<p>Example of the archive folders containing all correspondences regarding Edvard Munch</p>	
<p>Letter from Harald H Halvorsen to the Tate London Dated 14.12.38</p> <p>Letter regards Halvorsen's purchase of Munch Artworks from the German Gov.</p>	

Close up from the letter in the Tate archive.

Tate Gallery,
London.

Dear sirs, As I just from the German government all of the paintings of Edvard Munch, which have been in the different German museums I dare ask you if you are interested in buying some of these pictures. If so I can hand you photos.

Among the paintings, which I have bought, are the famous "Sick girl", his "Selfportrait" from Mannheim Gallery, one of his first studies for our Universitet Aula, and every painting is a famous one. In all I have bought 14 works.

Yours faithfully,
Hans Holm

Letter from Blomqvist to the Tate offering the painting 'History' painting on 27th January 1939

The History design now located at the Oslo Municipality town hall was originally located at Dresden, Fra Galleriet I Dresden, Germany until being deaccessioned by the Nazis in 1937.

