

The Storm.

A Biography of Edvard Munch. Volume 2.

Ivo de Figueiredo

Extract for German Consultants

Translated from Norwegian by Matt Bagguley

Sonderbund, 1912

[The Sonderbund Exhibition, Cologne, 1912:]

Although Munch was putting all his efforts into building himself up in Norway, it didn't mean he had abandoned Germany. The desire to send the Aula decorations to Berlin was there, but how on earth would he find places to show the enormous pictures, and a gallerist willing to transport them? An equally big problem was that he no longer followed the German art scene. How would the Germans react to his new monumental works? Was he in step with the times, or had he been overtaken by the young Expressionists?

Munch was right to be worried. After the turn of the century, he had established himself in an art scene dominated by the Berlin Secession under leaders such as Max Liebermann, Paul Cassirer and Walter Leistikow. The Secessionists were committed to openness and diversity, but artistically pursued a moderate version of Impressionism. Munch had been the ultra-radical exception, tolerated as the lone barbarian from the North.

From around 1905-06, the moderate Secessionists were under pressure from two sides. On the one hand they were criticised by national conservatives who viewed Impressionism and the newest directions within art as a French invasion, and by antisemitic circles as dangerous Jewish internationalism.¹ On the other hand they were subjected to increasing

¹ From around 1905-06: These delimitations are based on the conflict surrounding Julius Meier-Graefe's book *Der Fall Böcklin*, published in 1905, and *Der Brückes* debut the year after. The conservative reaction to modern art did not originate so much from Keiser Wilhelm and Anton von Werner, whose influence on the art-world was significantly weakened, but from national populists who wanted to confront "foreign art" with a modern art that reflected the spirit of Germany, exemplified by the very artist that Meier-Graefe had dismissed in his book, namely Arnold Böcklin. The attack on Meier-Graefe was formulated by art-historian Henry Thode in a series of lectures where he also

pressure from the young avant-garde. When several expressionists were refused prior to the Berlin-Secessionists spring session in 1910, the radical wing broke away and formed a secession of their own, the New Secession. At the same time, a number of other avant-garde scenes emerged. In December 1911, the Expressionist group *Der Blaue Reiter* held its first exhibition in Munich with artists such as Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc. The exhibition toured the country and ended in Berlin where it opened the *Galerie Der Sturm*, owned by Herwarth Walden, editor of the radical journal *Der Sturm*. In Düsseldorf, the “West-German Sonderbund” was also formed, which held annual group exhibitions that included German and French Impressionists and Post-Impressionists.

From Kragerø, Munch tried to keep track. In letter after letter, he probes Schiefler for information: Who is against who in Germany? What are the best galleries, which critics are worth listening to? For him to have a future there, he would have to be embraced by the young and radical, that much he understood.

“There is revolution after revolution in Berlin. My health prevents me taking part in any of it,” he complains to Schiefler, “I often long for people and big cities, but I’m suffering from acute tiredness and need to live in peace.”²

In November 1910, Munch tested the water by sending *History* to the Berlin Secessionists’ winter exhibition. The German newspapers’ criticism of his work was encouraging: It had left the conservatives angry, the impressionists cold and “the moderns” excited.³ So the following year, he agreed to send the Aula decorations to Germany. Helping him, as a local agent, was someone he must have long written off. Albert Kollmann was now 74 and had for the last few years been living in sanatoriums. In the summer of 1911, however, he was back in Berlin, and with his usual tenacity working on getting the decorations to that year’s winter exhibition.

But before Kollmann could achieve anything, Munch called the whole project off: The Aula pictures were too big, and they weren’t even finished.⁴ He instead accepted an invitation from Heinrich Thannhauser’s *Moderne Galerie* in Munich, which wasn’t so bad considering he hadn’t had a major exhibition in Germany’s second largest art-city in nineteen years. Munich had also become home to a new generation of artists, the Expressionists of *Der Blaue Reiter*, who had made their debut at the very same gallery only weeks before Munch’s pictures appeared on the wall.

accused the Berlin Secessionists of being enemies of German art. Munch becomes aware of this conflict via Gustav Schiefler, cf. GS to EM 28.01.1911, K 3188.

² EM til GS 08.04.1911, PN 554, og 02.02.1911, PN 552, jf. til samme 10.01.1911, PN 549.

³ Teste stemningen: EM til GS 06.11, PN 545, og Herbert Esche 15.12.1910, PN 28, jf. *Katalog der einundzwanzigsten Ausstellung der Berliner Secession Zeichnende Kunst, November 1910-Januar 1911*, Berlin 1910. Optimistisk til Schiefler: EM til GS 16.12.1910, PN 548.

⁴ AK til EM 19.08.1911, K 2672. Kollmann stilte seg til tjeneste for Munch julen 1909, men fikk ikke utrettet noe før han vendte tilbake til Berlin, EM til AK 26.08. og 13.10.1911, N 3170 og N 3173.

In preparation for this he invited Schiefler to Norway, where they spent four days together after Christmas, mostly in dark and snowy Hvitsten. During the evenings Schiefler sat by the kerosene lamp while Munch worked on a woodcut of them both, and in the daytime Schiefler helped select pictures for Munich: As a collector of Expressionist prints and friend of Emil Nolde, Schiefler was in fact the most qualified consultant available to Munch prior to his comeback as a modern artist in Germany.⁵

But in the end, it wasn't Munich where this would happen. By the time Thannhauser opened the exhibition of Munch's 48 paintings and 69 graphic prints on February 13, 1912, the artist had already received a letter from Richart Reiche, conservator at the Barmen Art Association and board member of the West German Sonderbund in Düsseldorf, asking if he would consider taking part in the Sonderbund's summer exhibition in Cologne. Munch immediately understood the opportunity he was being presented, and wrote joyfully to Ernest Thiel:

“It is a unique exhibition, meant to collect all of modern European [art] into a large overview exhibition – (mostly of art that is related to Expressionism).”⁶

Reiche had promised to give Munch a prominent place, so it was now a case of assembling the best of his pictures not already committed to other exhibitions. Munch saw this as such a great opportunity that he decided to visit the West German city on the Rhine himself. It would be his first trip abroad since his return home and required preparation. After a trip to Bergen in March he took a room at a mountain hotel in Finse, and spent the following month “sleeping,” an expression that was Munch-ish for calming his nerves before the big trip.⁷ When he finally took the train south, he chose a sleeping car, to avoid people, and arrived in Cologne well ahead of the opening on May 25.

Munch's intuition hadn't failed him. The Internationale Kunst-Ausstellung des Sonderbundes was the fourth in a series and is considered the first systematic attempt to not just gather the breadth of European contemporary art, but also place it in a chronological line of development. Cezanne, Gauguin and van Gogh were represented by as many as 107 paintings, and there was Pierre Bonnard, Henri Matisse, André Derain, Picasso and George

⁵ Schiefler til Norge: Munch møtte Schiefler ved ankomsten til Kristiania 26.12.1911. Sammen tok de fergen til Nedre Ramme. På ettermiddagen 28.11. pakket de ned bildene som skulle til München. Kvelden etter tok Schiefler fergen tilbake til Kristiania, mens Munch fulgte etter neste dag. Om kvelden 30.11. tok de nattoget til Brevik og kystbåten videre til Kragerø, der Schiefler ble én dag før han dro hjem til Hamburg, GS til Luise Schiefler, GSD I:415ff og EM til GS 12.04.1910, PN 54.

⁶ EM til Ernest Thiel, mars 1912, PN 1188, til Fritjof Nansen, beg. feb. 1912, PN 192 og Jens Thiis, feb. 1912, N 3096. I invitasjonen skriver Reiche at formålet med utstillingen var å gi en oversikt over «den såkalte ekspresjonistiske bevegelsen innen maleri, og vise verk av alle kunstnerne i Europa som, i motsetning til impresjonismens intensjoner, streber etter en kunst som er absorbert i sjelen og forenklet i uttrykksformen», Richart Reiche til EM 30.01.1912, K 3472. Etter dette la Munch mindre vekt på Thannhauser og begynte å engste seg for at utstillingen her skulle stå så lenge at han ikke ville å få bildene til Køln i tide, EM til AK 26.02.1912, N 3191.

⁷ EM til GS april-mai 1912, PN 572.

Braque, from Switzerland Ferdinand Hodler and from Austria Oskar Kokoschka and Egon Schiele, not forgetting the German Expressionists of Die Brücke and Blaue Reiter. It would simultaneously be a history lesson, a study of the present, and a vision of the future for modern European art.

In the middle of all this, and better represented than most with 32 paintings, was Edvard Munch. Before the opening, he wandered around the exhibition and met Albert Kollmann who introduced him to several of the younger artists. Norway was the only Scandinavian country there, but his compatriots' pictures hadn't yet arrived. Munch was glad his own pictures had come in time, because the wall space quickly filled up.* Now able to see the very latest art presented on one platter, he realised that all his expectations were about to become outdated: "There is of course a lot of Matisseism, or Cezanneism here," he writes to Jappe. "But I am happy - this time there are almost no apples"

Cezanne's famous apples were the very epitome of the new avant-garde's emphasis on form and colour rather than a picture's literary subject. "Hasn't one single apple made it to Cologne?" he asked a Hungarian, busy hanging up his pictures:

"The apples?" I asked.

"Did you say apples?"

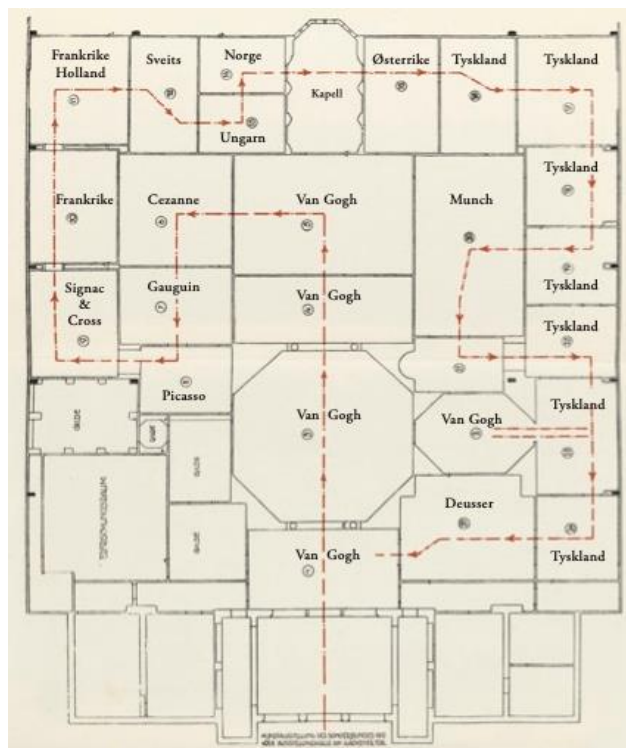
He looked at me thoughtfully, puzzled, then whispered:

"At home - We left our apples in Hungary."

Either way, Munch was certain that Norway's Matisse-disciples would deliver the apples as prescribed when their paintings arrived. The sarcasm can be interpreted as his awareness that Cezanne's loose approach to the realistic depiction of nature had long been surpassed by the Expressionists' and Cubists' move towards pure abstraction. And the Norwegian Matisse-ists weren't, after all, *that* modern. At the same time, he realised that the sarcasm backfired on him: "Here is a collection of the wildest paintings in Europe - I am simply a classic, and I pale in comparison - Cologne Cathedral is shaking in its Foundations."

That Munch seemed like a classic in Cologne is a matter worth discussing. His claim of paling in comparison was pure vanity. The truth is, the organisers had elevated him to the level of the greats in terms of the scope and publicity he was given, and through the clever

* EM til Jappe Nilssen 23.05.1912, PN 752. Liebermann: Kneher 1994:329. At akkurat Norge var representert, må ses på bakgrunn av tyskernes dragnings mot norsk eksotisme generelt, men den direkte foranledningen var arrangørens planer om å fremheve Munch. På Reiches forespørsel om hvilke norske kunstnere burde velge, henviste Munch til Jens Thiis, *Tidens Tegn* 23.05.1912 og Richard Reiche til EM 18.02.1912, K 3473. Thiis satte sammen den norske kontingenten, og rapporterte fra utstillingen i *Kunst og kultur*, jf. Thiis 1911-12.

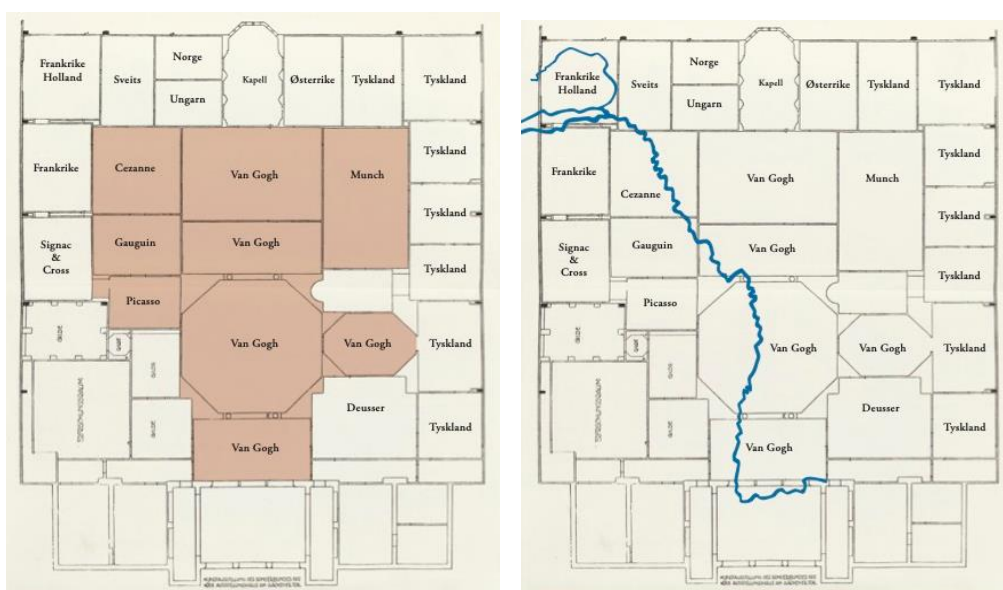


placement of his pictures. In the floor-plan above, the dotted line shows the route visitors took through the exhibition after coming in through the entrance at the bottom. First they entered the central rooms dedicated to van Gogh, before turning left to look at Cezanne, Gauguin and Picasso. Then, to the right, the rooms containing French art, followed by rooms for the Netherlands, Switzerland, Hungary and Norway leading towards the chapel with its protruding bay window at the top of the drawing. The next room was dedicated to Austria, followed by rooms for German art which ran the length of the right side but took a detour halfway into the large Munch room. This made the exhibition seem like a chronological and geographical journey through modern art-history, and between great artistic personalities and their successors. Passing visitors may have seen Munch as much as a contemporary artist as a classic: as a classic, he was the only one still alive; as a contemporary artist, the only one besides Picasso to be honoured with his own room. In short, he represented *continuity*, placed in the middle of the stream of German artists with a selection of images that spanned from 1889 (*Inger on the Beach*) to his latest paintings (*Winter in Kragerø*, 1912).⁹

If we look again at the floor-plan, and at the shaded part of the drawing below-left, we can see how van Gogh makes up the dominant centre, flanked by Cezanne and Gauguin on the left, and Munch on the right. This red area, comprising the main rooms of the exhibition, can be seen as a triptych of modern art's "old" masters, with Munch occupying as much space

⁹ Iris Müller-Westermann, Iris, udatt.: *Sonderbund. International Kunstausst. Coeln 1912 in der Ausstellungshalle der Stadt Coeln am Aachener Tor 25. Mai-30. September 9-17 Uhr*, hefte med identifisering av Munchs bilder på Sonderbund-utstillingen på grunnlag av utstillingsfotografiene, MM.

as Cezanne and Gauguin combined. This triptych of masters is then encircled by successors; the French behind Cezanne and Gauguin, and the Germans behind Munch.



The illustration on the right shows how the floorplan can also be seen as a compressed and slightly rearranged map of Europe, where you can imagine the Rhine cutting diagonally through the rooms from the top left corner. The upper row then consists of the small countries which in reality surround the main cultural nations of France and Germany from north to south but are here gathered schematically in the map's upper (northern) periphery. Another and more significant difference is that the cultural superpower France has become much smaller than Germany, a comparison that only becomes clear when we understand that the catalogue presented van Gogh as Germanic ("one of our race"). Munch has been similarly kidnapped from his countrymen, stripped of his status as a Norwegian primitive and annexed into the Germanic community: "Munch's technique is inconceivable without schooling from Paris," says the exhibition guide. "In spirit, however, he reveals at first glance the Germanic people."¹⁰

As such, the exhibition seems to have been an attempt to shift modern art's centre of gravity north, by means of a floor-plan equivalent to the military maps that came into use when the Great War broke out two years later – an array of battling canons, before the cannons broke loose.

¹⁰ «En av vår rase»: Fra Richard Reiches forord i *Internationale Kunstausstellung des Sonderbundes Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler zu Cöln 1912. Illustrierter Katalog*, Köln 1912:5. «Munch er i sin teknikk»: Heinrich von Wedderkorps forordet i Sonderbund-utstillingens utstillingsguide, sitert etter Kellein 2002/03:136, jf. Clarke 2013. Enda lenger gikk direktøren for Wallraf-Richartz Museet i Köln, Alfred Hagestange, som i *Kölnische Volkzeitung* 25.05.1912 slår fast at «Van Gogh bør regnes som germaner; det er det mest avgjørende argumentet mot anklagen om fransksisme i den nye retningen», sitert etter Koldehoff 2012:81.

The most important consequence of the Sonderbund exhibition for Munch was this: Although the success de scandale of 1892 had introduced him as a Norwegian primitive for the few, he was now recognised as a Germanic artist for the many. This shift in status was closely related to the Germans' need to strengthen their position in the field of European art, and was rooted in the contemporary belief that forms of art could be traced back to geographical, climatic and racial conditions. Here it was common to distinguish between the northern Germanic mentality, which was thought to be manifested by a painterly and abstract style, and a southern Romanesque style characterised by a more plastic and linear form. Traditionally, the southern (classical) style had been ranked more highly than what came from Europe's northern periphery. But for the Germans it was of course natural to cultivate the idea of a solely Germanic aesthetic, borne through the centuries as a whisper from Teutonic forests, that now brought a scream from the high north with it.¹¹

Nationalist impulses within the German arts were so strong they influenced historians as diverse as the conservative nationalist Julius Langbehn and the progressive cosmopolitan Julius Meier Graefe. So it was natural, in line with the rising status of modern artists after 1905, that many wanted to consider artists like van Gogh, Hodler, Munch and even Gauguin as shoots on the Germanic branch.¹²

As with all nationalist movements, the urge to show strength to the outside world was closely linked to a need for reconciliation and unification within. In that respect Munch was a unifying figure, a Germanic artist but one untouched by the dispute over German art, both a lone troublemaker from the north and the embodiment of continuity in the history of modern German art, provocative and patinated at the same time.¹³

"I think you will be happy to learn that many of today's youngest and liveliest artists look at your works in awe," wrote August Macke, the young co-founder of *Der Blaue Reiter*, a few

¹¹ Germanic-Romanesque: Since the Renaissance, it had been customary to categorise art according to geographical, natural and climatic criteria. The superiority of classical, Romanesque style was confirmed by the art historian Johan Joachim Winkelmann (1717-1768), and continued, for example, in the French-leaning Swiss art historian William Ritter's (negative) assessment of Munch's northern primitiveness at the 1905 exhibition in Prague (see p. ...). The Swiss art historian Heinrich Wölfflin (1864-1945), however, does not write so disparagingly about northern Germanic culture. In his influential work *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (1915, *Principles of Art History*), Wölfflin presents a more descriptive theory of southern (Italian) and northern (Germanic) art based on factors such as national character, race, etc., where the northern form of "imagination" supposedly resulted in a painterly style, and the southern one in a clear and linear style, cf. English edition: Wölfflin 1950:1-17 (Introduction) and 226-237 (Conclusion). Check: I think my portrayal of Winkelmann is misleading, since he is known for his belief that Germany is the successor to the Roman Empire.

¹² Langbehn og Meier-Graefe: Før århundreskiftet lanserte Langbehn et syn på Rembrandt som germaner, mens Meier Graefe fremstilte gamle og nye mestere som Michelangelo og Cezanne som «universelle genier», muligens som en strategi for å kunne fremheve dem uten å fremstå som unasjonale, jf. Langbehn 1890 og Berman 1996. For van Gogh, se Manheim 1989:277-288. For Gauguin, se McGavran 1912 og Timonina 2020. Se også fremstillingen av germaniseringen av Munch og andre ikke-tyske kunstnere i Clarke 2013. For Munchs del er det betegnende at en konservativ kulturhistoriker som Arthur Moeller van den Bruck i 1906 kunne slå fast at han sto «romlig og åndelig nærmere det germanske *Urheimat* enn tyskerne selv», Arthur Moeller van den Bruck: «Munch» i *Die Zeitgenossen*, 1906:213.

¹³ Emil Nolde til GS 14.08.1912, sitert etter Schneede 1994:101.

months after the Sonderbund. “Amongst the serious conflicts we have today, you stand above the parties involved. We ‘boys’ raise you upon our shoulders.”

Nolde spoke warmly of him too, as did Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, who met Munch for the first time in Cologne. At the same time, it was hard to deny that the young artists had not only learned from him but that it was also reciprocal: “He may seem a little old-fashioned to us, but he makes an effort to remain in touch with young artists,” writes Lisbeth Stern in *Sozialistische Monatshefte*. Stern felt that the colours and forms in Munch’s recent pictures were superficial, and preferred those of the 1890s – “it is as if contemporary artistic expression is alien to him.”¹⁴

Adam of Paradise

[1912-13: Munch tries to follow up on the Sonderbund success from Norway. His helper Albert Kollmann puts him in touch with German collectors:]

[...] Among them was a wealthy banker named Carl Steinbart, and Curt Glaser the 33-year-old art historian and physician who worked as assistant researcher at the National Gallery’s etchings collection in Berlin. Glaser already owned two of Munch’s lithographs, but what made him truly devoted to the Norwegian artist was the Cologne exhibition. Not content with writing and lecturing about Munch, that autumn and winter, Glaser tasked himself with acquiring an entire collection of graphic prints for his employer.¹⁵

Both Glaser and his wife, Elsa, were childless and, according to Kollmann, lived entirely for art. So too did Elsa’s father Hugo Kolker, an industry magnate and Portuguese consul in Breslau. Curt and Elsa were approached by Hugo Perls, Glaser’s cousin and brother-in-law since his wife, Käte, was Elsa’s sister. Perls was a young philosopher, lawyer and aspiring art collector with two or three works by Munch in his collection. Now he wanted a portrait of his wife, which Kollmann was certain Munch would like to paint because of her thick, mahogany-red hair. In addition, the couple were planning to build a villa outside Berlin; perhaps Munch would be interested in decorating it with a frieze?¹⁶

Kollmann certainly enjoyed fishing for collectors, but was frustrated by the lack of bait. “It would be nice if you could send paintings to Berlin more often,” he writes impatiently to Munch just before Christmas. “There is a lot of interest here now.”¹⁷ Steinbart had requested

¹⁴ Lisbeth Stern i *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, Berlin 12.09.1912, s. 1250, sitert etter Schneede 1994:101.

¹⁵ Glaser eide Munch-lito: I brev til EM 14.09.1910, K 3489, ber Paul Cassirer om Munchs hjelp til å restaurere et maleri på vegne av eieren som Cassirer oppgir å være Curt Glaser, men som i virkeligheten var Glasers fetter, Hugo Perls, jf. Flaatten 2014:49.

¹⁶ AK til EM 30.08.1912, K 2698.

¹⁷ AK til EM 20.12.1912, K 2713.

two paintings be sent for evaluation, although without committing to purchase them. It was laborious all round. Furthermore, everyone wanted to meet the artist in person, and Glaser was eager to see the Aula decorations for himself.

At Nedre Ramme, Munch was feeling the pressure. Had he been younger, he would have boarded the first train out of the country, but something in him resisted. Either way it was too much, he became sick, the bronchitis returned, and so did the anxiety. The correspondence was hanging over him, and the idea of doing several exhibitions weighed heavily. He was simply in no condition to meet his wealthy admirers. But he wasn't going to get off that easily. Before the year was out, he had Glaser, Perls and Steinbart, all offering to visit him in Norway. Munch reluctantly welcomed them [...]

The German Invasion

One day at the beginning of March 1913, a slightly-built man with dark eyes, and a slim woman with well-defined features and mahogany-red hair, got off the train at Moss station. Hugo Perls and his wife Käte had made the long journey from their elegant new villa on the outskirts of Berlin to meet the Germanic master Edvard Munch. They were met on the platform by a giant of a man and an old-timer with a square beard; Munch's friend and neighbour consul Christen Sandberg, and an assistant, who were ready with a carriage to drive the couple to Arnesen's hotel.

Munch had barely unpacked after his move from Hvitsten. Ravensberg was ill, and Ingeborg Kaurin, who had agreed to join them as housekeeper, was in Kristiania, so Munch was forced to entertain the guests himself. Later that day he strolled down to Arnesen's hotel and invited Perls to Grimsrød. The married couple were then presumably greeted in the same manner as all the guests were; by Bamse, who bounded towards them with Boy and Fips barking at his feet, past nice-and-plump Rousseau who was lounging in the garden, before walking through the stately villa's doors and into the artist's spartan cave. None of this prevented the German guests from seeing what they had come to see, a Norwegian artist "so pure, so innocent," a Rousseauian figure who "lived the healthy life of a Norwegian farmer, even if he did not work the land."¹⁸

During their stay, Munch painted several portraits of the couple, both together and separately, including one where Käte lets her hair flow down her shoulders. The colours, thinned with turpentine, allowed him to form the subject out of soft, flowing patches in a style common to several works from this period that used oils like watercolours. Not neglecting his role as host he took the couple to Kristiania, on another day he showed them the

¹⁸ Perls 1965:26, 29. Der ikke annet står er fremstillingen av Perls' besøk basert på kapitlet Edvard Munch-minner, s. 19ff.

preliminary Aula decorations at Nedre Ramme, and one evening turned up at the hotel with one of his dogs on a leash; he wanted to take them to the cinema and had bought tickets for them all, including the dog. Before going in, he explained the rules for the movie night: “When the dog gets bored, it will bark, and we will leave.”

In Kristiania, Perls came across many of the graphic prints that Munch had offered to the National Gallery, but which Thiis had not yet decided on. Perls then persuaded Munch to sell the prints to him, before finding even more at Nedre Ramme which he just had to have. Altogether, the couple are said to have bought 340 graphic prints and five portraits. It was a spectacular sale, but Munch was not at all happy:

“By the way, I had a German couple here who almost drove me crazy with all their bother,” he complains to Ravensberg after the guests had left. They had arrived before he was finished moving, and while he was still “totally devastated” by work and a nasty flu. He doesn’t mention a word about the sale.¹⁹

Nevertheless, he wasn’t too devastated in April, when he embarked on a journey as hectic as it seems in hindsight to be mysterious. One year earlier, the Sonderbund had sent him sky high in Germany. He was now being exhibited everywhere, the prices of his work climbing steeply, and there must have been a long queue of people wanting to meet him. So you would assume, on his first visit to the country after Cologne, that he spent his time nurturing his network, meeting buyers, giving interviews and arranging new exhibitions.

But no. When Munch returned to his second homeland, he traveled as though Tulla herself was at his heels. On April 15 he arrived in Berlin, but that same night went promptly to Frankfurt to inspect an exhibition. He stayed there for one day before setting off for Cologne. Three days later it was off to Paris and London where he stayed for just over a week before heading home via Hamburg and Berlin.

Why the hurry? And why on earth did he travel incognito? He didn’t even bother to meet his agents. On his way from Frankfurt to Cologne, he knocked on Kollmann’s door in Wiesbaden, without realising the man was in Berlin, the city he had just left. Hugo Perls and Paul Cassirer were deeply offended that Munch hadn’t come to find them: “I am very sad that you ignore and clearly no longer want to know me now that you have become so famous,” a dejected Cassirer writes later.²⁰

¹⁹ 340 trykk: Perls 1965:26ff. Det eksakte antallet er usikkert. Perls nevner både 325 og 340 trykk som han kan ha kjøpt i mars eller da ekteparet kom tilbake til Norge i september. «Jeg har forresten»: EM til LOR 06.04.1913, N 2889.

²⁰ Paul Cassirer til EM 17.05.1913, K 3495, jf. EM til Paul Cassirer juni 1913, N 2741. Her beklager Munch at han ikke oppsøkte galleristen i Berlin, men slår ikke til på tilbudet om ny utstilling (hans neste store utstilling i Berlin blir Herbstausstellung i november). Hugo Perls: AK til EM 14.05.1913, K 2717. Når det gjelder Kollmann, ser det ut til at han og Munch lyktes å treffes på tilbakeveien fra London, jf. EM til AK juni 1913, N 3231.

The previous winter, Munch had exhibited both with Cassirer and at other German galleries. Most of these exhibitions were small and consisted mainly of graphic prints and the odd painting. Cassirer must have believed that the country was ready for a major painting exhibition but could see who was now setting the terms: “You will of course get the grand gallery as requested. I am confident about you sending me your collection.” But he miscalculated, as did Eberhard Grisebach in Jena:

“Why couldn’t I see him in Berlin?” sighs Grisebach. “Meeting such a man in Europe appears to be very difficult, so I’m not getting my hopes up.”

Grisebach had heard, from Nolde’s wife, Ada, that a man in Berlin had bought Munch pictures for 100,000 marks. The amount seems exaggerated, but it’s hard to imagine it being anyone other than Perls, and the rumour confirmed Grisebach’s impression that German collectors had grown tired of waiting for Munch and were now going to Norway to meet him there instead.²¹

And rightly so. In mid-July, Kollmann wrote to Munch saying that he was in Copenhagen heading north with Hugo and Käte Perls, who wanted to buy more graphics. Curt and Elsa Glaser had announced that they would be arriving at the end of the month, and after them he was expecting a visit from Carl Steinbart and someone from Galerie Commeter, Heinrich Wilhelm Albert Oberheide.

At Grimsrød, Munch prepared himself for the imminent invasion. His first move was to summon Field General Ravensberg to discuss the rules of engagement – “it is now important to think carefully and plan so that we are not caught off guard.”²² They rented a large car, and had floodlights sent to Nedre Ramme so that the drafts of the Aula decorations could be presented in the outdoor studio. In the picture below, the host and the first guests have been placed in the rental car. Munch and Ravensberg sit face to face

²¹ Eberhard Grisebach til Helene Spengler 27.04.19013, Grisebach 1962:36.

²² EM til LOR 22.07.1913, N 2891.



in the back seat on the left, Elsa Glaser pokes her head up beside them, to her right Jappe Nilssen and Albert Kollmann, a bespectacled Christian Gierløff sits in the front seat while Curt Glaser holds the steering wheel. The car has stopped at the junction between Rostedsgate and Fredenborgsveien in Grünerløkka on what must have been a guided tour of locations from the artist's life, for his guests, and for the journalists who proudly announced that Glaser had made an "extraordinarily large purchase" of Munch's graphics for the etchings collection at Berlin's National Gallery.

And there was indeed a purchase, although not quite as large as the newspapers assumed. Some of Glaser's shopping may have been on behalf of his employer, but the large purchase was first put off and then held up by the war. Glaser did, however, acquire prints and paintings of his own, including the painted and lithographic portraits of himself and Elsa. After the Glasers had left, Albert Oberheide showed up and bought graphics for 400 marks.²³ At the end of August, Munch went to Stockholm to oversee the hanging of a new exhibition of paintings at Konstrådhuset. There he met Carl Steinbart and his daughter Irmgard, who returned to Moss with him and stayed at Arnesen's hotel.

By this point Munch was growing a bit tired of it all. "Yet another German wanting a portrait of his daughter," he complains to Aunt Karen, "it's becoming too much of a good thing."²⁴ Soon after, Hugo and Käte Perls turned up again, checking in at Arnesen's hotel while Steinbart and his daughter were still there, and if Hugo Perls' memoirs are to be believed, the two male collectors didn't get along very well:

²³ EM til GS 27.08.1913, K 3878, Albert Oberheide til EM 01.09.1913, K 3217.

²⁴ EM til KB 27.08.1913, N 976.

“Who has the biggest Munch collection,” asked Steinbart on the first day, during supper. Perls doesn’t mention Steinbart by name but refers to him as a corpulent man with a voice so hoarse it sounds like he may have swallowed a cheese-grater.

“Rasmus Meyer in Bergen,” replied Perls.

“How many paintings does he have?” retorts Steinbart.

“33.”

“I must have the biggest collection of Munch, or nothing at all.”²⁵

This was all according to Perls, who clearly needed to distinguish between the vulgar investor-collector he saw in his rival, and the genuine art lover he considered himself to be. Ravensberg, who had now come to Munch’s rescue, shared Perls’ view that Steinbart was a quite brutal chap. But this was nothing compared to the contempt he pours on Hugo Perls (“a fat and cheerful little Jew”) and his wife Käte (“a thorny, fox-faced Jewess”).²⁶ As Ravensberg saw it, the whole gang had come to Moss to pick up the most valuable prints for a bargain. According to the same source, Munch was deeply upset by “these people who keep coming up here, bothering me and ruining my summer.” However grateful he was to Germany and his friends Schiefler, Linde, Kollmann and now Glaser too, he refused to personally “haggle and fight, while exhausted and besieged” by tactless collectors like Steinbart and Perls.

So Munch claimed, writes Ravensberg. His contempt for these tactless people didn’t stop him from selling to them. Steinbart announced that he would buy for as much as 34,500 marks. Although he canceled some orders and mislaid a picture on the way home, Munch billed him for 17,000 marks, which may have covered all or part of the purchase. Glaser similarly purchased for 16,000 kroner and paid 9,000 marks for *Workers in Snow* on behalf of his father-in-law. Finally, Hugo bought Perls’ print for 3,000 marks.²⁷ If we add all this to the unknown sum made from the large sale in March, we can safely assume that Munch made a fortune from the German collectors who had gone to the effort of tracking him down to the backwater he was hiding in.

The Reluctant Victor

²⁵ Perls 1965:36.

²⁶ LRD 06.09.1913, LOR 547 (samt følgende sitat).

²⁷ Steinbarts kjøp: EM til ukjent, ant. Carl Steinbart, 25.12.1913, N 2739, Carl Steinbart til EM 03.09.1913, K 3358. Rotet bort bilde: Da Steinbart ankom Stettiner banhof, Berlin, 8. september, gikk han over i en drokje og festet maleriet *Morgen i Åsgårdstrand* på taket. Vel fremme i Groschlichterfelde oppdaget han at bildet var falt av på veien. Han utlyste en dusør på 200 mark for bildet, som hadde en anslått verdi på 6000 mark, *Aftenposten* 09.1913. Glasers kjøp: Brevutkast EM til ukjent, udat, N 2628, jf. Flaatten 2014:29, note 241 og brevutkast EM til Hugo Kolker beg. sep. 1913. Perls kjøp: EM til Hugo Perls sep. 1913, N 2397, jf. Hugo og Käte Perls biograf i Perls 1965 og <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/libraries-and-research-centers/leonard-lauder-research-center/research/index-of-cubist-art-collectors/perls-hugo>.

One reason for Munch's hesitation in Germany may have been that he still lacked professional agents there. Kollmann pressed on but was and continued to be an amateur whose efforts involved giving Munch's address to collectors already eager to purchase. Curt Glaser would prove to be of far greater importance, but it is otherwise clear that Munch responded to the increasing demand with repressed skepticism towards collectors and serious gallerists such as Cassirer, Commeter, Arnold and the "other Jewish art dealers trying to cheat him."

Let's look at that last comment: Was Munch's dislike of German gallerists and collectors tinged with antisemitism? The denunciation of "Jewish art dealers" originates from Ravensberg. No sources give reason to think that Munch bore ideologically antisemitic views himself, and it's quite possible that he even shared Thiis' dislike of the "idiotic" antisemitism that emerged when modern art came under attack from national conservatives during the interwar years. He was nevertheless totally capable of making hostile remarks about Jewish people, and we can't dismiss the possibility that his everyday antisemitism may have increased his skepticism towards German collectors and gallerists - encouraged by Albert Kollmann, who warned him in letter after letter about the greedy Jews.²⁸

Either way, it's a regrettable fact that this hostility towards Hugo and Käte Perls has survived in the literature on Munch. But were they that bad? Hugo and Käte were people who lived both for art and from art, first as collectors, then as dealers. The fact that they were demanding doesn't necessarily mean that they were unreasonable - such as when Hugo criticised the quality of the prints and suggested that Munch reprint them on better paper. Carl Steinbart couldn't have agreed more: "The way you are producing now is no good," he is said to have exclaimed, "it is almost like being in a factory."

²⁸ **Munch and antisemitism:** Some will perhaps react to me making a distinction between "ideological" and "everyday" antisemitism, but I believe that grading this type of mindset is necessary if the goal is to assess it historically, and not just morally. Kjetil Braut Simonsen's rough categorisation of Norwegian antisemitism as, respectively, "a contiguous and comprehensive worldview" and "culturally conditioned attitudes towards Jews and Jewishness" corresponds with my own distinction between ideological and everyday antisemitism, Simonsen Oslo 2020:25. Thiis' dismissal of idiotic antisemitism: See Nils Messel's account of Søren Onsager and Wilhelm Rasmussen's criticism of Thiis' alleged betrayal of Norwegian art in favour of "foreign" art when re-equipping the National Gallery in 1924. As Messel shows, Thiis reacted to the critics' nationalistic and xenophobic narrow-mindedness, and especially their "idiotic" antisemitism, cf. Jens Thiis in *Dagbladet* 21.07.1923.

Rasmussen and Onsager became two of the very few Norwegian artists to join the far-right Nasjonal Samling party, and the latter of the two would become head of the nazified National Gallery during World War II (see s...). Onsager's ideological view was on clear display in a debate in 1925: "And so I wish to conclude by saying that we Norwegians must now unite and be on guard, in art as with everything else, against destructive elements that would attack us, that would try to wipe out our identity, our distinctive character, our pride, our faith, our race, our love of country, everything that makes us a nation," *Tidens Tegn* 29.01.1925, quoted by Messel 2016:264, cf. p. 256ff. Encouraged by Kollmann: In several letters Kollmann warns Munch against trusting Jewish art dealers like Cassirer, Thannhäuser, Israel Beer Neumann etc., for example, see AK to EM 30.08.1912, K 2698. With regard to Munch's dependency on his agents to orient himself in the German market, it's not unlikely that Kollmann's antisemitism strengthened his already ingrained scepticism towards art dealers.

In reality, it's hardly strange that the Perls haggled with an artist known for putting a high price on his work, or that they re-sold the pictures later on.²⁹ In that respect, Munch had enough to be vexed about when the couple returned to Germany. First, they persuaded Linde to print a new edition of the Linde portfolio before trying to buy the Reinhardt frieze which Max Reinhardt had put up for sale after the rebuilding of the Kammerspiel. In May 1914, Hugo Perls then sold the entire graphic collection to Galleri Arnold in Dresden for a huge profit. According to Perls, it was because he was in financial trouble. That may well be true, but for Munch it made Perls an extremely dubious person, and to Ravensberg a sly "money Jew." Others will think that the Perls' buying and selling of art made them what we normally refer to as – art dealers.³⁰

Munch's hesitation to follow up on the success of Cologne wasn't only due to the lack of agents, it was equally because of the widening schism between German artists. Since the Expressionists' departure in 1910, the Berlin Secession had lost much of its status. When Paul Cassirer became its leader, he made several attempts to win back the young avant-garde, one such measure being the creation of a new autumn exhibition, to be held in 1913. Berlin's Autumn Exhibition (Berlin Herbstausstellung) would embrace Impressionists and Expressionists, Germans and foreigners. Glaser was assigned the task of bringing Munch: The Autumn Exhibition could be a new Sonderbund, he enticed, and assured Munch that he would get the biggest room to himself.³¹

Munch knew how important it was to make his mark in Berlin, where he hadn't had a major painting exhibition for six years. But everything became complicated when, at the end of March, he received a letter from August Macke making it clear that not all of Germany's young artists supported Cassirer: Herwart Walden the editor of *Der Blaue Reiter* and *Der Sturm* was arranging a rival Autumn Exhibition, the First German Autumn Salon (Erster

²⁹ «Slik De produserer»: LRD 06.09.1913, LOR547. Munch priste seg høyt: Se f.eks. Richart Reiche til EM 20.09.1912, K 3474, der Reiche etter stengingen av Sonderbund-utstillingen beklaget at Munch hadde satt høyere priser på bildene enn han og andre kunne gi. Reiche hadde gjennom Kollmann anmodet Munch om å sette ned prisene, men fått nei til svar. At disse signalene kom fra en av utstillingens hovedorganisatorer, som nettopp hadde til hensikt å fremme ham i Tyskland, forteller oss at Munch overvurderte markedet og muligens priset seg ut i Sonderbund-utstillingen. Munchs irritasjon over at samlere solgte bildene med fortjeneste, avslører kanskje hans manglende vilje til å forsone seg med kunstmarkedets uunngåelige konsekvens – at kunstens autonomi ikke bare gjaldt verkets essensielle kvaliteter, men også verket som vare. Merkelig nok virker det ikke som om han innså at et blomstrende sekundærmarked kunne bidra til å styrke hans omdømme, presse prisene opp og styrke kunstnerskapet på sikt.

³⁰ Perls, Linde-mappen og Reinhardtfrisen: Se hhv. Curt Glaser til EM 14.06. og 11.09.1913, K 2266 og K 2273. Max Reinhardt hadde lagt ut seks av frisefeltene til salgs hos kunsthandler Gurlitt i Berlin, men satt som betingelse at Munch måtte godkjenne et salg. I brev av 26.09.1913, K 5720, ber Perls Munch innstendig om å godkjenne salget og signere bildene (noe som ville øke verdien). Munch sendte ingen godkjenning, og enden ble at Gurlitt selv kjøpte frisen, splittet den opp og solgte de enkelte bildene videre. I mai 1914 solgte Hugo Perls sin egen samling på 325 trykk til Galleri Arnold i Dresden, jf. Curt Glaser til EM 19.12.1913, K 2280.

³¹ Curt Glaser til EM 01.03.1913, K 2262, jf. følgende brev 15.03. og 20.03.1913, K 2263 og K 2264.

Deutsche Herbstsalon), based on the Salon d'Autonomie in Paris – wouldn't Munch rather participate in that?³²

Munch was in doubt. The Berlin Secession was his association, but despite the helping hand Cassirer had given young artists, people like Cassirer and Liebermann may have seemed no more like natural leaders of the avant-garde to Munch than they did to Macke. This doubt must be why instead of flying the flag on his trip in April 1913, he chose to sneak through Europe, hiding from friends, agents, journalists and buyers. The purpose of the trip may have been simply to orientate himself within the field of German and European art, to make a better assessment of his current and future position.

Despite Glaser's earnest invitation, Munch sent no pictures to the Berlin Secession's Summer Exhibition either. Here Cassirer had succeeded in luring some of the Expressionists back, which provoked a reaction from the moderate secession members. This caused a new rupture in the Berlin Secession with Cassirer and Max Liebermann forming a breakaway group along with the bulk of its members. When Munch was then offered an honorary membership from the remaining moderate members it all became too complicated. He needed advice, and as usual sought it from Gustav Schiefler:

There are three groups, which one should I join? I actually think I should be independent and stand alone. I should probably display my large decorations at the Secession's Autumn Exhibition (led by the Cassirer group). The old Secession have proposed that I become an honorary member. The youth are knocking on the door – and I feel obliged to support them.³³

The fact that Munch wasn't just invited to Berlin's Autumn Exhibition and the First German Autumn Salon but was also offered honorary membership in the old Berlin Secession, says everything about his status in Germany: Everyone wanted him, except for the academic idealists who still considered Impressionism an abomination. But what did he want himself? To be a figurehead for the moderates, or an equal of the young? After much hesitation, he ended up declining the honorary membership and withdrawing from the old Berlin Secession. He then accepted the invitation to Cassirer's Autumn Exhibition. This meant he rejected Walden and Der Blaue Reiter's Autumn Salon, which, out of the two autumn exhibitions, was the one that went down in history as the last great international avant-garde exhibitions in pre-war Germany.

Even though Cassirer's autumn exhibition was progressive enough – it included Picasso and several German Expressionists – it is misleading to claim, like some, that after the Cologne Sonderbund, Munch became an unequivocal ally of the young and radical. The truth is that,

³² August Macke til EM 29.03.1913, K 3665.

³³ EM til GS 31.07.1913, PN 588.

since Die Brücke first approached him six years earlier, he had been keeping his distance from them. In autumn 1913, he chose Cassirer and the moderately-radical centre, which also ensured him a broad reception for the work he had put all his artistic prestige into in recent years: the Aula decorations, represented by a scaled-down mini-Aula.³⁴

Stockholm - Berlin

[...] Along with Curt Glaser, he formed a strategy in two parts: First, a viewing of the mini-Aula at Cassirer's Berlin Autumn Exhibition in November 1913, then a large exhibition of old and new paintings at Kunstsalong Gurlitt. Glaser sent Munch detailed drawings of how the Aula pictures could be mounted in the Autumn Exhibition's main hall and asked him to send the large Aula pictures – “in Berlin it is better to have too much than too little.”

Munch disagreed. The Aula pictures were too big, so the mini-Aula would have to suffice. Judging by the photographs, the pictures seemed impressive enough, hanging taught and tightly along the walls in broad, white frames.³⁵ At the opening on November 1, Munch was there in person and could confirm that the strategy had been successful. As in Cologne, he and Picasso were the only contemporary artists with their own rooms, there was abundant press coverage, and the critics were in a celebratory mood. One of them referred to him as “the leader of the latest trend,” something Picasso would have objected to. Still, the biggest compliment was in *Die Kunst*, where the reviewer simply declared that “these paintings by Munch give Berlin's Autumn Exhibition its raison d'être.” It was a dutifully generous and quote-friendly piece by the journal's reviewer Curt Glaser.

³⁴ Munch leaves the old Berlin Secession: Draft letter EM to Berliner Secession 05.09.1913, N 3418, cf. Curt Glaser to EM 14.06.1913, K 2266. According to August Macke, Munch had already politely declined the *Erster Deutsche Herbstsalon* in April, August Macke to Herwarth Walden 21.04.1913, Hüneke 2011:313. According to Macke, Munch's reason was that he had already accepted Cassirer's invitation, but in the letters to Schiefler and Glaser he expressed doubts about the choice right up until Glaser's visit in June 1913. Der Blaue Reiter member Wassily Kandinsky did *not*, incidentally, share Macke's enthusiasm for Munch, without it seeming to have affected the invitation, Kandinsky to Franz Marc 21.09.1911, Hüneke 2011:49. The last major international avant-garde exhibition: Paret 1980:220f and Altschuler 2008:141ff.

In the literature about Munch, his choice of Cassirer over the old Secession is often portrayed as a radical choice, see e.g., Heller 1984:211f and Yarborough 1995:268ff. In my opinion, it is obvious that Munch needed to cut ties with the old Berlin Secession, and that the decisive choice was between Cassirer and the young avant-garde represented by Walden and Der Blaue Reiter, principally with the former Brücke artists too, who had no binding relationship with Cassirer. In the spring of 1914, Cassirer's faction organised itself as the Free Secession, but never managed to become a unifying force for German avant-gardeism, cf. Paret 1980:231f.

³⁵ Curt Glaser til EM 07.09.1913, K 2270. Av Glasers brev av 14.10.1913 (K 2274) ser det riktignok ut som om Munch likevel hadde sendt ett av de store bildene, men Petra Pettersen argumenterer overbevisende for at dette neppe ble stilt ut på Herbstausstellung. Miniaulaen besto av 11 bilder, som originalen. Ifølge katalogen for Berlin Herbstausstellung stilte Munch ut 12 bilder. Det siste bildet kan ha vært et utkast, jf. Pettersen 2011b:266.

In January, the mini-Aula moved on to the Frankfurt Art Association. At the same time, Glaser was preparing the great exhibition that was coming in February 1914 at Kunstsalon Gurlitt. This all meant that Munch was well and truly back in Berlin. And the Berliners were delighted to have him. If we are to believe Grisebach, a good Munch print never sold for less than 1,000 marks, while the popular lithograph of *The Sick Child* cost as much as 4,000 marks. The only fly in the ointment must have been that other people were earning just as much or more from his old pictures. People such as Hildebrand Gurlitt, the art dealer who the previous autumn paid 30,000 marks for *The Reinhardt Frieze*, then resold the six paintings individually for a total of 150,000 marks.³⁶

Munch was aggrieved, although comforted by the fact that he not only had a past in Germany, but a future. In December, Paul Cassirer's cousin Bruno, a publisher, decided that the time was ripe a new book about Munch. It would be the fourth in a row, but strictly speaking the first actual biography. As author he chose none other than Curt Glaser.³⁷

The National and the Modern

[1914:]

If we look at Munch's success at the Sonderbund in 1912 alongside his breakthrough for the Aula project two years later, it's tempting to see this as a double victory; the first canonising him as one of the forefathers of European modern art, the second making him a Norwegian national hero.³⁸ Although both of these claims have some merit, Munch's relationship with nationalism and modernism is more complicated [...]

[Here I first discuss the Aula project and Norwegian nationalism, before looking at the importance of the Sonderbund to Munch's position in modern art]:

[...] Nor did the Sonderbund exhibition secure him a position as a master of modern art, at least not if you see "modern art" as a broad trend in Western art. As we saw in the chapter on the Sonderbund exhibition, in Germany Munch's radical style was viewed as Germanic based on their theories about national character, race and climate. In that sense, nationalism

³⁶ Et godt Munch-trykk: EM til AK 03.02.1914, N 3224 og Eberhard Grisebach til Helene Spengler 25.02.1914, Grisebach 1962:42f. Gurlitt tjent rått: EM til AK 03.02.1914, K 3224.

³⁷ Se bl.a. Curt Glaser til EM 01.12.1913, K 2277. Fjerde i rekken: De tre første var Przybyszewski (1894/2022), Linde (1902) og Esswein (1905). Da er første bind av Gustav Schiefflers grafikkatalog ikke regnet med.

³⁸ Tesen om at Køln 1912 representerte et « europeisk » eller « internasjonalt » gjennombrudd for Munch er forfektet av bl.a. Kellein 2002:14 som skriver at Munch « befestet sin plass i europeisk kunsthistorie », jf. Flaatten 2014:48, der det heter seg at Køln sikret Munch « en historisk og velfortjent plass i den moderne europeiske kunsten » og Elisabeth Prelinger, som hevder at utstillingen « sikret hans internasjonale omdømme », Prelinger 2001:45.

didn't have to be incompatible with modern art, nor did modern art's followers have to be international cosmopolitans – especially not in Germany.

Although the Cologne Sonderbund is considered one of the most important international avant-garde events of its time, it is important to remember that Munch's canonisation was mainly significant in Germany and Scandinavia. This becomes clear if we compare the Sonderbund with two other international exhibitions that came to be highly important to the canon of modernism in the Anglo-Saxon area. The first was organised by the art critic Roger Fry. After seeing the Sonderbund exhibition in Cologne, Fry returned to London and organised The Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition at the Grafton Galleries in October 1912 – which was also a follow-up to a similar exhibition he had organised the previous year.³⁹ Fry's exhibitions are considered the English breakthrough for the new art (which Fry summarised as “post-impressionism”). But for Fry, modern art was a predominantly French story, and although the exhibition did feature artists from Russia and Italy, it didn't include a single German – and it didn't include Munch.

The second international exhibition took place in New York in February 1913 and would be as important to the spread of new avant-gardism in the USA as Fry's exhibitions were in England. One of The Armory Show's initiators was the artist Walther Kuhn. He too had visited Cologne, and although he wanted to present a wider selection of artists than Fry, The Armory Show came to be equally dominated by French art.

The international exhibitions in England and the USA were confirmation of an Anglo-French love story that Munch had little hope of participating in. But although Fry's exhibitions could have spurred Munch to visit London in the spring of 1913, he made no advances on Britain.⁴⁰ He was also remarkably slow to follow up on Kuhn's invitation. It was January 1913, just prior to the exhibition's opening, before Munch sent any pictures across the Atlantic, and even then, it was only eight graphic works and not the paintings Kuhn had

³⁹ Utstilling året før: «Manet and the Post-Impressionists».

⁴⁰ Munch og Storbritannia I: Fra barndommen av var Munch godt kjent med oversatt britisk litteratur, men viste generelt liten interesse for britisk kunst. Heller ikke vennskap med britene F. Delius og E. Mudocci ansporet noen større interesse for det anglosaksiske området. I så måte er det verdt å dvele ved hans korte besøk i London i 1913. Vi vet lite om hva som fikk ham til å dra hit, men skal vi gjette, er det nærliggende å anta at Frys post-impresjonistiske utstillinger gjorde byen til et naturlig stopp for én som ville oppdatere seg på den europeiske kunstscenen – og det selv om Munch ankom etter at The Second Post-impresjonist Exhibition stengte 31.01.1913. Hva han gjorde her, vet vi lite om, bortsett fra at han laget et litografi av Westminster Abbey og muligens engasjerte en tysk kontakt, Egon Hanfstaengl, som guide. Ellers antyder bokmerkene i hans utgave av Baedekers London-guide at han kan ha besøkt The Tower, London Zoo og Victoria og Albert Museum, jf. Lathe 1995. Om Munchs senere tilstedeværelse i Storbritannia, se s. ..., og note ...

requested.⁴¹ Presumably he was unaware of what an occasion The Armory Show was promising to be and was seemingly content with his status in Scandinavia and Germany.⁴² Precisely how Germanic an artist *Munch* considered himself to be, is difficult to say, he was probably more concerned with being seen as a *unique* artist. In general, he appears to have reacted pragmatically to the term while it served him, and dismissively to it when the association with Germany became a burden. Still, there can be no doubt that he was willing to orientate his art towards the German palate, for example during the vitalist period around the turn of the century.⁴³

The War Profiteer

[1914. The First World War breaks out:]

[...] The patriotic fervour of his German friends didn't make things any easier. Paul Cassirer enlisted in the military and started the patriotic journal *Kriegszeit* which in its first edition featured Max Liebermann's illustration to the Kaiser's words: "I no longer recognise parties, only Germans!" Harry Kessler served in uniform and received the Iron Cross before the year was out, Julius Meier-Graefe joined the Red Cross, was captured, and spent two years in Russia. Two of the younger Expressionists, Max Beckmann and Erich

⁴¹ Munch og USA I: Ifølge Walter Kuhns senere beretning sikret han seg Munchs verk for The Armory Show da han kom til K ln 30. september, Kuhn, Walt. «The Story of the Armory Show», New York 1938, sitert etter Arno Press 1972:9. I Association of American Painters and Sculptors pressemelding om utstillingen 12.12.1913 er imidlertid ikke Munch med p  listen over inviterte kunstnere, Brown 1988:66f, 79. Av de to bevarte brevene fra Munch til Kuhn, virker det som om Kuhns henvendelse kom sent, eller ogs  at Munch tok seg god tid med   f lge opp invitasjonen. I brev til Kuhn 03.01.1913, PN 1254, beklager Munch at han ikke har noen malerier   avse, bare grafikk. I neste brev 11.01.1913, PN 1256, bekrefter han   ha sendt fire litografier og fire tresnitt til New York samme dag. I et brev fra Herman Foss Reimers, diplomat ved Utenriksdepartementet, til Munch to dager tidligere (K 1326) fremg r det at Kuhns medhjelper i Paris, Walter Pach, hadde henvendt seg til Reimers for   f  Munch til   sende trykkene. Reimers brev gir inntrykk av   v re en purring p  Pachs vegne.

Alt tyder ogs  p  at Munch var sen med   f lge opp invitasjonen til The Armory Show, og han sendte ikke bildene f r 11. januar. Av beklagelsen han gir Kuhn fremg r det at Kuhn prim rt hadde  nsket seg en tyngre representasjon av malerier. En grunn til at Munch ikke hadde noen malerier   avse kan v re at de viktigste var stilt ut andre steder. Ikke desto mindre viser handlem ten - eller frav r av handling - at han neppe la s rlig vekt p  The Armory Show. Medvirkende til vurderingen kan ogs  ha v rt at han var representert med seks malerier p  den skandinaviske vandreutstillingen Contemporary Scandinavian Art, som  pnet i The American Art Galleries, New York, 10.12.1912. Vandreutstillingen gikk videre til Buffalo, Toledo (Ohio) og Boston, der turneen ble avsluttet 21.04.1913. Om Munchs senere tilstedev relse i USA, se s. ..., og note ...

⁴² Utover Sonderbund-utstillingen og The Armory Show var den eneste internasjonale utstillingen av moderne kunst som Munch deltok p , Internationale Ausstellung der sch ne K nste i Amsterdam, som  pnet i april 1912. Her sendte han fire malerier, men bare ett ble antatt, EM til AK 06.03.1912, N 3182, jf. Kneher 1994:475. Munch var innom utstillingen p  vei til K ln i april 1912, jf. Christian Gierl ff til EM 03.06.1912, K 198.

⁴³ NB: Dette er et stort emne. Mulige forbilder er bl.a. Max Klinger, Liebermann (Badende emnn) etc. L se med littref?

Heckel signed up to the medical corps. Unlike Franz Marc and August Macke, they made it home unscathed.

Munch couldn't believe what he was reading in the newspapers. Could Meier-Graefe and Liebermann be mocking the French without having their lives threatened? Gustav Schiefler's enthusiasm for war could at least be explained by the fact that his son was at the front. "It is a terrible, but also wonderful time," wrote the good-natured lawyer in August. "But now there is only a will for war! And this will guarantees our victory."⁴⁴

Although patriotism was flourishing in all the belligerent countries, many including Munch were astonished by how easily liberal Germans devoted themselves to the Kaiser, the war and the nation. Some have pointed out how deeply militarism ran in Europe's youngest nation-state, created as it was by Prussian military power, rather than a bourgeois revolution. In Germany there was little room for civil opposition, and many of its intellectuals must have felt a lack of patriotism, which the war – reinforced by the Allies' huge propaganda campaign, depicting the Germans as pure barbarians – now gave them a chance to rectify.⁴⁵

To Munch's German friends, the accusation of barbarism seemed absurd. For them, German militarism and German culture were indistinguishable; in fact, they celebrated how the war was uniting Germans irrespective of class. They no-doubt felt misunderstood, but also increasingly frustrated as the war's bloody events unfolded. On the night of August 26, thousands of books went up in smoke when German soldiers torched the university library in Leuven. The incident shocked the outside world; was this how they waged war in the homeland of Schiller and Goethe? Forty British writers signed a petition condemning the atrocity, only to be met by a counter-petition signed by German intellectuals who rejected the accusation of their homeland committing war crimes.

Only three weeks later, German planes bombed the Gothic cathedral in Reims, this time causing a huge outcry from Swiss artists. Even then, German artists and intellectuals responded with a declaration of patriotism, its signatories including Max Reinhardt, Richard Dehmel, Max Liebermann and other former acquaintances of Munch. They were especially disappointed to find Ferdinand Hodler's name among the Swiss protesters. Besides Munch, Hodler was the most important Germanic artist outside the Empire. Now he had betrayed them, as had Henry van de Velde, whose treachery was having returned to his war-torn homeland of Belgium.⁴⁶

The pressure on Munch increased. Whose side was he on? Germany or its enemies? Editor Karl Scheffer wanted him to draw war pictures for *Kunst und Künstler*, Cassirer asked him to contribute to *Kriegszeit*, while Schiefler tried to persuade him to create scenography

⁴⁴ GS til EM 20.08.1914, K 3224, EM til GS 14.09.1914, PN 596.

⁴⁵ Demm 2021:51ff, jf. Wold, Bendik: «Med kulturen som klubbe», *Klassekampen* 21.05.2022.

⁴⁶ Se omtale av den sveitsiske protesten i Yarborough 1995:60ff, jf. Curt Glaser til EM 22.10.1914, K 2290, der han erklærer at Hodlers stilling «er rystet for alltid».

for a Strindberg performance in Hamburg. Everyone wanted the Germanic master's insignia on Germany's battle, in fact Schiefler put it bluntly: that Munch, like other Scandinavians, owed his loyalty to the German soldiers who were sacrificing their blood in defence of all Germanic culture - which included "Germanic Scandinavians" - against the Slavs' war of destruction.⁴⁷

Schiefler's overblown appeal didn't resonate with Munch who consistently rejected his German friends' pleas, albeit diplomatically - partly out of consideration, but no-doubt also to preserve his reputation in the country. Only Ravensberg was given Munch's unfiltered opinion: "Now the Germans are demanding that we who rallied for the French revolution and liberalism should suddenly worship the Kaiser and the Middle Ages and militarism. I have to say, although I'm very fond of my German friends, I cannot take part in this." Had Nietzsche's theory of the Übermensch driven the Germans "mad from self-overestimation"? No, he had experienced the dark side of Germans before. Karl Steinbart, for example, had refused to buy the portrait of his daughter he had personally ordered: For Munch, the breach of contract was comparable to Germany's attack on Belgium "in miniature."⁴⁸ Fortunately, his friends came to accept his neutrality, possibly helped by their growing realisation that the war would not be the fast and glorious mission they had first envisioned after all [...]

A note about the art market in Germany after 1914:

Art prices in Germany remained low throughout 1915. The following year they began to rise and continued to do so until 1918. Galleries and auction houses were busy dealing with people wanting to invest in art, and not just in "safe" artists like Rembrandt, but in German and French Impressionists. Even German modernists were attracting buyers hoping to invest in the masters of tomorrow. In that sense, the avant-garde benefited from the speculative art market. However, as a Norwegian it was hard for Munch to profit from this market with the war going on, as argued in the main text, cf. Alvi 2020.

The Master's Return

[1918 - 1921:]

[...] Naturally, during the war years in Germany, the interest in Munch was only modest. In December 1915, his most enthusiastic agent there, Albert Kollmann, passed away aged 78. Pictures had been bought and sold. In 1917 Curt Glaser finally published his Munch book,

⁴⁷ GS 21.09.1914, K 3225.

⁴⁸ LRD 28.09, 30.10, og 15.11.1914, LOR 197 og 554.

Gustav Schiefler gave a few lectures, and some newspaper or other remembered him as the “secret, not always openly recognised father” of Expressionism. Otherwise, it had been quiet around Munch.⁴⁹

At the start of 1919, the Germans began to indicate that they were ready for him again. “I would like to ask you to send me some new works,” writes Glaser in February, “but I don’t know if I dare or if you will be inclined to do it.” A few months later, Paul Cassirer broached the idea of a new exhibition in Berlin: “You cannot imagine what it will mean to us if a man like you found it worth exhibiting in our impoverished city of Berlin.”⁵⁰

The humble tone must be seen in the light of Germany’s cultural isolation. Before the war, the Germans, in their struggle for national self-assertion, had elevated Munch as a Germanic master. Now, as a non-German tribesman from a neutral country, he represented a potential bridge back to the European community. Basically, the Germans needed him, and probably more than he needed them. Or as Cassirer exclaimed at the thought of Munch responding with a yes: “Finally, a window to the outside world will open for us.”⁵¹

This didn’t mean that Munch’s German friends had learned the same lessons from the war. Cassirer was one of those who had changed their position. After a fit of patriotism, he became a socialist and was imprisoned for his pacifist beliefs. Schiefler, Glaser and Max Linde especially were less humble. The eye doctor from Lübeck was deeply offended by the Allied countries’ portrayal of the Germans as barbarians, and demanded that old, Germanic high culture be respected: “What geniuses can the Romanesque world offer compared to Beethoven, Brahms, Bruckner and Grieg?” Just like Schiefler did when the war broke out, Linde reminded his Norwegian friend of the duties of the tribal confederation: “The Scandinavian people are of Germanic origin too, so their art is destined to first gain ground in Germany.”⁵²

For Munch, Linde’s lack of self-scrutiny must have been problematic. But his ties to Germany were strong. He wanted to go back, albeit without the same enthusiasm as before. The big sales exhibitions in Norway had made him a wealthy man. Were he to venture into Germany, it wouldn’t be to sell pictures for the living rooms and bank vaults of private collectors, but to secure his position as master through large exhibitions and sales to public museums.

But was it worth the effort? In the literature, it is often claimed that the First World War caused just a temporary rupture with Germany, but the truth is that after 1914 Munch had

⁴⁹ Kollmanns død: På fetteren Hans von Flotows initiativ gikk Kollmanns venner sammen om en minnebok, der også Munch anerkjente sin gjeld, jf. EM til Hans von Flotow 17.07.1916, N 2212. «hemmelige, ikke alltid»: *Hamburger Correspondent* 21.01.1915.

⁵⁰ Curt Glaser til EM og P. Cassirer til EM hhv. 06.02. og 06.08.1919, K 2318 og K 3496.

⁵¹ Paul Cassirer til EM 13.12.1919, K 3498.

⁵² Cassirer pasifist: Brühl 1991:63-104. «Hvilke genier»/Det skandinaviske folk»: Max Linde til EM 15.05.og 14.12.1922, K 2843 og K 2844. Linde bedyrer at han deler disse tankene med Glaser. Schiefler, derimot, fremstår ved krigens slutt som mer av en bitter realist: «Vi tapte krigen, og ettersom skjebnen har vendt seg mot oss, må vi bære konsekvensene», GS til EM 26.11.1923, K 3256.

major problems operating in the German market until 1926-27. The biggest problem was the protracted and severe post-war crisis, where the rampant inflation and imbalance between the Norwegian and German currencies ate away at his sales profits, while the cost of shipping and insurance for the German organisers increased. Not to mention the art buyers, who could find that the picture they ordered at an exhibition had become a lot more expensive when the time came to settle the bill. Added to this was a lack of money in general, high tariff walls and strict import restrictions.⁵³

Moving people was equally laborious. "In the past, I would have just got on a train to Norway," complains Glaser in June 1922. "But now it's as far away as China used to be." It wasn't much easier for Munch going the other way. The war had been a blow to the world he knew, a Europe of nations which had effectively been a borderless continent, crossing frontiers had been easy, exchange rates stable, train and ferry connections ever better. For over twenty years he'd been able to pack up on the spot and travel wherever he wanted, he had been able to send and receive crates of pictures, check into hotels and spas, escape from Tulla and from himself, and constantly occupy new cities on his restless journeys between Kristiania, Berlin and Paris, along the axes of a triangle that framed his life as an artist. From August 1914, Munch's Europe had become "the world of yesterday," a cosmopolitan continent that now seemed to be lost forever.

Paul Cassirer had a long wait before getting Munch to Berlin. He promised to come, but repeatedly postponed the trip.⁵⁴ 1919 drew to a close, 1920 came and went. But Munch didn't dare to send the paintings, claiming that they were needed to help him create new pictures. He was probably afraid of them getting lost or damaged. The war had ended, but Europe was now a troubled place, with strikes and revolutions threatening to break out at any time. He could have sent graphic works, but excused himself by saying that he'd sold most of them and didn't have time to produce new ones.⁵⁵ [...]

[...] On 3 April 1921, Cassirer's Munch exhibition which included 24 paintings and 90 graphic works, opened in Berlin. The exhibition then moved to Dresden, Chemnitz and Munich. In Hamburg, Galerie Commeter held its own exhibition of Hudtwalcker's collection, while Lübeck paid tribute to Munch with a large assembly of his work during that

⁵³ Da Munch fikk Glaser til å kjøpe grafiske trykk på hans regning for å hjelpe unge tyske kunstnere, fikk Glaser store problemer med å få sendt dem til Norge på grunn av skyhøy toll, Curt Glaser til EM 10.06.1922, K 2336. Like tungvint var det andre veien: I brev til EM av 29.11.1919, K 2321, forteller Glaser at han måtte søke utenriksdepartementet om tillatelse, ikke bare til å importere bilder, men også for å selge dem i Tyskland. Manglende fortjeneste for Munch: Se f.eks. *Dagbladet* 06.01.1939, der Munch forteller at om salget av *Mann med hest* (1918) til Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlung via Cassirer i 1921. Museet skal ha betalt 100 000 DM for bildet, men «da jeg 3 dager etter skulle ha pengene i en tysk bank, fikk jeg ikke en blank øre, det var blitt til ingenting».

⁵⁴ Første gang Munch nevner at han vil tilbake til Tyskland etter krigen er i brev til Curt Glaser, okt 1919, N 2663.

⁵⁵ EM til Curt Glaser des. 1920, N 3430.

autumn's Nordic Week. As a whole, these exhibitions formed Munch's artistic return to post-war Germany.

A Frieze for Freia

[1922-23]

[...] During the long post-war crisis, it at least looks as though Germany's art agents began to view the neighbouring countries of Switzerland and Austria as a German hinterland. Both Glaser and Cassirer had been keen promoters of the previous year's exhibition in Zurich and seem to have thought that if they could only get Munch's pictures there, it wouldn't be such a long way to Germany.

And they were right. Munch received an enquiry from Otto Hettner at the Art Academy in Dresden, asking if the city's art association could take charge of his pictures when the tour in Switzerland was finished. Hettner suggested that the Swiss pay for the shipping and insurance as far as the border, and that if the Hamburg art association wanted to take over the pictures after Dresden, perhaps they could pay for the transport back to Norway?⁵⁶ Hettner's haggling says a lot about how miserable things were in the German economy. And it would get worse. In January 1923, Franco-Belgian forces occupied the industrial Ruhr Valley as collateral for Germany's unpaid war reparations. The occupation plunged Germany into a period of hyperinflation that almost destroyed its economy. In September, a painting by Max Libermann was sold for 100 million marks, then the equivalent of 80 US dollars. Curt Glaser was just one of many art collectors who were forced to sell works from their collections. "Right now, we calculate in the trillions," he complains in November. "Who knows what the figure will be next week." The gallerist Alfred Flechtheim resorted to stating his prices in Swiss francs to help him retain any idea of what a picture was worth. Flechtheim also opened a branch in Vienna, while the F.A. Lutz Gallerie did the same in St. Moritz, Switzerland - both with the intention of exhibiting Munch's pictures.⁵⁷

In 1923 Germany was at its lowest point of post-war misery. Munch showed his solidarity by supporting German art institutions, and by purchasing graphic works from young German artists, which he was thanked for by being accepted as a member of the Berlin Academy of Arts. And while organising an exhibition for a foreign artist had never been more difficult, three Munch exhibitions opened in Berlin that spring, albeit with pictures that were already in the country. One of the exhibitions, organised by the Academy, placed around twenty Munch pictures at its centre surrounded by younger German exhibitors, with the full-length portrait of Walther Rathenau as the centrepiece. After the war, Rathenau was foreign

⁵⁶ Otto Hettner til EM 04.09.1922, K 2497.

⁵⁷ «Akkurat nå». Curt Glaser til EM 10.11.1923, K 2346. 80 dollar: Gee 2014, jf. Alfred Flechtheim til EM 09.11.1923, K 3532 og F.A. Lutz til EM 17.12.1923, K 4350.

minister in the Weimar government, before being shot and killed in broad daylight by radical right-wing terrorists in the summer of 1922; that alone must have strengthened Munch's affiliation to the venerable academy.⁵⁸

European Rapture

[1925-27:]

[...] The victorious powers had eased Germany's war reparations, and in July 1925, French troops began withdrawing from the Ruhr valley. A newfound sense of optimism could be felt in the art world, where after many lean years the galleries and museums finally dared to make good on their ambitions for Munch. In May, he was informed that he had been made honorary member of the Bayerische Akademie der bildende Künste. That this distinction had come from an art academy was no coincidence. From then on, nearly all the inquiries from Germany came from public art museums – totally in line with the country's tradition of having an active *Kulturpolitik*. Since the turn of the century, the heads of the regional museums had been persistent agents for the modernisation of Germany's art world, and the war's catastrophic effect on private fortunes had only strengthened their initiative.

[...] From then on things gradually snowballed for Munch in Germany, through that year and the next, before culminating in an avalanche with the massive exhibition in March 1927, at Kronprinzenpalais in Berlin. It was the largest collection of Munch's work outside Norway during his lifetime, his absolute peak in Germany and at the same time his farewell to the country.

It all started in the summer of 1925, with an invitation from Hans Posse the director of Dresden's famous Gemäldegalerie. Posse said that the traditional summer exhibition would be replaced the following year by a large exhibition of modern European art – the first of its kind in post-war Germany. Over the New Year this was followed by an offer for him to exhibit among the Expressionists of the Neue Münchener Secession in Munich. Eight years after the war and after the crippling financial crisis, it was time to fulfil the ambitions of the Cologne Sonderbund exhibition and incorporate German art into the world of modern European art. The aim of both exhibitions seems to have been to put the spotlight on Munch, so that his position as a neutral German, untainted by war and crisis, would strengthen Germany's cultural self-confidence. Or as Adolf Schinnerer, leader of the Neue Münchener Secession, put it:

⁵⁸ Tre utstillinger i Berlin: Ved siden av Akademiet, viste galleri Lutz og Nasjonalgalleriet bilder av Munch. Munch selv var innom Berlin på vei fra Sveits og foreviget Rathenaus begravelse i litografiet *Oppløp på Frankfurter Bahnhofplatz* (1922).

Your art represents our feelings more closely than that of the French, whose influence in Germany hasn't always been good. You are a leader for the future, and for we Germans who are at a low ebb and increasingly unsure of ourselves.

They were generous words, but not easy for Munch to live up to. He didn't have many pictures to send, and the Norwegian collectors increasingly demanded expensive guarantees for sending their pictures abroad. Munch did what he could, and when the exhibitions opened in June 1926, he was represented with 11 paintings in Dresden, and 17 paintings and 30 prints in Munich.⁵⁹ [...]

[...] At the end of June 1926, he was back in Norway, and spent the rest of the summer responding to enquiries from Germany after the Dresden and Munich exhibitions triggered rumours that masses of his paintings were back on the exhibition market. In Dresden, Galleri Arnold wanted to follow up with a large sales exhibition, but Munch no longer wanted to sell to private collectors, his mission was to secure his legacy in Germany.⁶⁰ He therefore accepted an offer from Gustav Hartlaub, director of the Stadtische Kunsthalle in Mannheim, who

⁵⁹ "Your art represents our feelings": Adolf Schinnerer to EM 20.02.1926, K 3969, cf. Invitation from Schinnerer 18.01.1926, K 3965, cf. EM to Adolf Schinnerer 06.04.1926, N 2611. Schinnerer's ambition for the Munich exhibition are reflected by the hunt he triggered for pictures from collections in Germany and elsewhere. In the given situation 17 paintings has to be considered a descent yield. The organisers in both cities stressed that they would cover all the expenses, in Munich the costs were shared between the state and the city. In Dresden, Posse wanted Munch to send pictures from the period when his influence on Die Brücke and other German artists was at its peak. With regard to the exhibition's international profile it could seem like Posse wants to give Munch a somewhat similar position to the Cologne Sonderbund in 1912, cf. Hans Posse to EM 12.06. and 17.11.1925, K 3757 and K 3759. A similar ambition to rebuild German modern art on the European stage can be read from the organiser's tribute to the shared lifeworld of the French Revolution and the European bourgeoisie in the foreword of the catalogue for Hamburg art association's centenary exhibition in 1927, cf. *Europäische Kunst der Gegenwart*, Hamburg 1927:7ff

⁶⁰ Ludwig Wilhelm Gutbier til EM 04.08.1926, K 3725. Gutbier, som drev Galleri Arnold, fikk utstillingen sin etter at Kronprinzenpalais stengte i mai-august 1927. I flere brev fra denne tiden understreker Munch sin motvilje mot å selge bilder i Tyskland. I tillegg klaget han over at etterspørselen fra private samlere uansett var liten og at han fortsatt ikke kunne få anstendige priser for bildene, jf. f.eks. EM til Jappe Nilssen 13.06.1926, PN 742 og EM til Friedrich Schreiber ved Chemnitzer Kunsthalle 18.08.1926, PN 305. De få salgene han gikk med på, gikk til offentlige museer. Dette styrker min tese om at motivasjonen for utstillingene var å befeste sin posisjon og sikre ettermele i Tyskland.

Check with German consultants: My theory is thus, that Munch was very much wanted by the German art world after the First World War, but that very real economic factors made it impossible to promote him before 1926-27 - especially because he was foreign (currency, insurance, shipping etc). The window that opened in 1926-27 soon closed again when a new crisis struck in 1929.

I also suppose that progressive forces in Germany may have seen Munch as a bridge builder for Germany's reintroduction to Europe's cultural sphere, and that this was the motive for the international exhibitions in Dresden and Munich in 1926 (and Hamburg 1927). This is somewhat speculative on my part, and it's possible that these exhibitions were primarily intended to expand the German cultural community in order to rival the Anglo-French one, as the case was in Cologne 1912. This is where I need qualified input from German consultants.

wanted to take over the other two exhibitions, and expand them with as many pictures as necessary to present the most complete overview of Munch's life's work.⁶¹

The State Genius

[After the exhibitions in Mannheim in autumn 1926, Ludwig Justi organises an enormous Munch exhibition in Kronprinzenpalais, Berlin, in March 1927. This consists of pictures from Mannheim, along with paintings on loan from museums in Germany and Scandinavia. The exhibition moves on to the National Gallery in Oslo in June. I go straight to the recap/analysis of these exhibitions]:

[...] The Berlin and Oslo exhibitions in 1927 were the biggest to be held during Munch's lifetime. Not only were they extravagant summaries of his work, there was also something fresh about presenting Germans and Norwegians with paintings that had for years been in each other's respective countries. Together, the exhibitions can be seen as the culmination of Munch's artistry and his double crowning as the most important classical contemporary artist in Norway and Germany. That's not to say both countries, which he considered his homeland, crowned him for the same reason.

In Germany, the Kronprinzenpalais exhibition seemed to validate Munch's canonisation at the Cologne Sonderbund in 1912. When the economic recovery of the mid-twenties allowed the Germans to act on their glorification of "Germanic ancestors," such as Munch, van Gogh, Lovis Corinth and Ferdinand Hodler, Munch was the only member of this group who was still alive. At that time, Germany had such a great need for self-actualisation that even some right-wing Germans were prepared to accept Expressionism as being the result of a distinctly Germanic aesthetic, which meant that there was no longer a palace in Berlin too big for Munch.⁶² The irony of this was that he reached the pinnacle of his importance in Germany

⁶¹ Gustav Hartlaub til EM 28.07.1926, K 3936 og etterfølgende korrespondanse, jf. Curt Glaser til EM 18.11.1926, K 2357.

⁶² **The canonisation of Munch in Germany after the First World War:** A typical view of the nation and art among progressive Germans can be found in Ludwig Justi's museum guide from 1921, where he claims that, with Munch leading the way in German Expressionism, along with Hodler, van Gogh and Cezanne, it is now Germany not the France who is at the forefront of art, Justi 1921. That same year the artist Otto Grautoff proclaimed van Gogh, Munch, Hodler and James Ensor to be four Nordic artists "standing at the gateway to the new art," Grautoff 1921:110. Similar assessments were made by several of Munch's German supporters, among them Gustav Pauli at Hamburger Kunsthalle and Emil Waldman at Bremen Kunsthalle, cf. Pauli 1915:13 and Waldmann 1927:126. Cf. In an interview with *Oslo Aftenavis* 07.11.1925, Friedrich Dörnhöffer, the director of the Bavarian art collection in Munich, said that along with Hodler and van Gogh, Munch represented "today's Germanic sense of art". Franz Servaes, who had followed Munch since he came to Germany, found Germanic traces in his pictures - "the Germanic world, the Germanic people, the Germanic landscape. But none of it antiquated," Servaes 1927. For these people Munch lost none of his status as modern Germanic

at a time when his art must have seemed old-fashioned to many of his admirers. Under the microscope, these tributes to his greatness can seem like the critics' answer to this untimeliness was to simply build on Munch's own view of himself as an exceptional person who rose above styles and trends and created his art out of inner necessity. It was Munch's "unusual personality," Karl Scheffler believed, that made him able to transform something once criticised for being literary and romantic into "purely painterly qualities." Similarly, the critic Paul Westheim claimed that Munch's sometimes obvious titles should not be taken literary, but understood as personal references, while Curt Glaser linked Munch's art to life by quoting the artist himself: "I want to paint life" and "I do not paint what I see, but what I saw."⁶³ [...]

[...] Nearly all the fuss around him involved the authorities.⁶⁴ For German museum directors, having a collection of classic Munch had long been a must. Hans Posse at the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden, for example, had asked repeatedly about buying the 1907 version of *The Sick Child*, until Munch finally caved in and sold it to him. Munch did not like being separated

master during the 1920s; according to Jay Clarke it was more the case that Germany's need for self-assertion made even some conservative critics inclined to accept Expressionism as Germanic.

There was however still a great deal of antipathy towards modern art, and museum directors were increasingly criticised for purchasing modern art as the twenties became the thirties. The same applied to the purchase of works by artists who were not German. Ludwig Justi responded to the latter by saying that although he had acquired many pictures from abroad, the only ones he had *purchased*, were by the two great Germanic masters of recent times": Edvard Munch and van Gogh, Justi 1932:115-16.

Within this is also the criticism Munch received from progressive corners about him not being radical enough, especially after his "French slide" during and after the war. In 1925, for example, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner writes: "In his old age, Munch has become quite naturalistic, and very crude and insensitive with colour." Kirchner assures Schiefler that although he appreciated Munch as a person, he felt very differently about his art: "Munch's pictures depict states of mind, while mine contain fundamental human truths." Luckily for Munch, there were enough others who didn't see the difference, cf. three letters from E.L. Kirchner to GS, respectively, 02.10.1925, undated and nov. 1924, Kirschner 1990:391, 321 and 495. Munch, the only "forefather" still living; Van Gogh had been dead since 1890, Hodler passed away in 1918, Corinth in 1925. For an overview Munch's reception in Germany between 1918 and 1927, see Clark 2013 and Manheim 1989.

⁶³ Karl Scheffler: «Edvard Munch in der Nationalgalerie», *Kunst und Künstler* 25/1927, Paul Westheim: «Das Leben Maler. Zur Munch-Ausstellung im Kronprinzen-Palais», *Frankfurter General-Anzeiger* 24.03.1927, Curt Glaser: «Edvard Munch. Zu der Ausstellung seiner Werke im Kronprinzenpalais», *Berliner Börsen Kurier* 13.03.1927. Også Servaus fremhever hvordan Munch hadde utformet den germanske arven på en helt og holden ny og personlig måte, jf. Frank Sarveus: «Die Edvard Munch-Ausstellung seine Werke im Kronprinzen-Palais», *Berliner Börsen Kurier* 13.03.1927, alle sitert etter Clarke 2013.

⁶⁴ Statens deltakelse: I Norge subsidierte Statens jernbaner frakt av bilder til og fra Berlin, begge lands ambassader var involvert i fasiliteringen av begge utstillingene. Da Justi besøkte Oslo i januar, hadde kirkestatsråden personlig gitt tillatelse til utlån av Nasjonalgalleriets bilder. Regjeringen hadde også lovet Berlins nasjonalgalleri fraktreduksjoner på norske tog, liksom de sørget for ekstratog og billigbilletter for å gjøre veien til Nasjonalgalleriet kortere for trøndere og bergensere. Nå var aktiv statlig kulturpolitikk ikke noe nytt i Norge, og Munch hadde i alle år etter verdenskrigen fått god hjelp av den norske legasjonen i Berlin (og tilsvarende av det tyske gesandtråd i Oslo) for å opprettholde forbindelsen mellom til Tyskland. For Thiis representerte imidlertid regjeringens innsats denne gangen noe nytt: I åpningstalen på Nasjonalgalleriet understreket han at regjeringens bidrag ga utstillingen et «offisielt præg», og ga uttrykk for håp om at dette ville utslette Munchs «bitre erindringer om motstand og uretfærdig bedømmelse i hans eget land».

from his best paintings, and although he didn't principally object to repainting them, he wasn't being ironic when he said that the museums now wanted to "subscribe" for copies of his old motifs.⁶⁵ By 1933, thirteen German museums had purchased a total of 30 paintings and an unknown number of prints. The largest collection was at the National Gallery in Berlin, which consisted of six paintings and a near complete collection of graphic works.⁶⁶ [...]

German or Jew

When the National Socialists seized power in January 1933, the new regime set about removing unwanted elements in the art world that had supposedly been corrupted by "Jewish

⁶⁵ EM til Gustav Hartlaub 07.-16.01.1927, N 3482.

⁶⁶ **Munch paintings in German museums:** In October 1919, Georg Swarzenski at the Städtische Galerie in Frankfurt wrote to Munch asking to buy pictures because "the modern, exclusive collection that we are planning, will seem to me like a falsification of history unless it has you in the foreground," Georg Swarzenski to EM 02.10.1919, K 3796. Swarzenski had few people with him in 1919, but five-six years later the German economy was stable enough for several museums to express their interest: In a letter to EM 12.04.1925, K 4016, Otto Fischer at the museum in Stuttgart writes about his intention to present a whole exhibition of graphic works due to Hamburg collector Heinrich Hudtwalcker's having donated his Munch collection to the museum. Fischer writes bluntly that he has not been able to buy prints earlier because of "the gloomy economic situation," and mentions that even now it would have been difficult to buy the most expensive prints because of the ongoing lack of money. The previous May, Dresden art association (in a cooperation with F.A. Lutz Galerie) had once again asked Munch to participate in their summer exhibition. The association was still struggling financially, but went through with the exhibition in June, cf. F.A. Lutz to EM and Künstler-Vereinigung Dresden to EM respectively. 10.04. and 27.05.1924, K 3574 and K 3742. In October 1924, Munch took part in the Berlin Academy's autumn exhibition with 33 prints, this time without the academy trying to lump someone else with the shipping and insurance costs, Max Liebermann to EM 01.08. and 10.10.1924, K 3511 and K 3512.

According to Bischoff 1994:112-126 the German museums purchased 31 (30, see below) paintings by 1933. These museums were Bremer Kunsthalle (1), Städelsches Kunstinstitut und städtische Galerie, Frankfurt (3), Hamburger Kunsthalle (2), Neue Staatsgalerie München (2), Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg, Halle (1), Museum für Kunst- und Kunstgeschichte, Lübeck (4), Die Städtische Kunstsammlung, Chemnitz (2 - according to Kunstsammlung Chemnitz the correct number is 1), Mannheimer Kunsthalle (2), Gemäldegalerie Dresden (2), Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Köln (3), Nationalgalerie Berlin (6), Museum der Stadt Wuppertal (1), Folkwang-Museum Essen (2).

Some of the museum directors went out of their way to acquire pictures, to Munch's great frustration. At the same time, he wanted to be represented, and also felt indebted to them after the huge success of the exhibitions. After the Kronprinzenpalais exhibition in 1927 he gifted the painting *Snow Shovellers* (1913-14) to the National Gallery in Berlin. Other museums bought Munch paintings from the art market. The director of the museum in Chemnitz, Friedrich Schreiber-Weigand, who received a no when he asked Munch directly, succeeding in buying *Two Human Beings (The Lonely Ones)* (1905) from Halfdan Nobel Roede with the involvement of Gallerie Arnold in 1928. Just as Heise did in Lübeck, Schreiber-Weigand dreamt of having his own Munch room in the city where the artist had left his mark. That Hamburg, a city so important to Munch only acquired two paintings for its Kunsthalle before 1933, might seem meagre, but there was nevertheless a vigorous amount of support for him there thanks to Gustav Schiefler, Heinrich Hudtwalcker, Commeter Kunsthandel and the local art association. Many of these paintings vanished from the museum walls during Hitler's attacks on modern art in 1937-38 (see s....). There are no inventories of the graphic prints once held by German museums, but Glaser's successor at the copperplate collection in Berlin's National Gallery assured Munch that the museum's entire 230-piece collection of his graphic works remained intact until as late as December 1933, Staatliche Museen to EM 12.12.1933, K 3645. Check Bischoff's information with German consultants.

Bolsheviks” and cosmopolitan ideas. Exactly what kind of art conformed with Nazi values, and what would be condemned as “degenerate,” was by no means clear. In hindsight, the Nazi aesthetic seems to have been typified by heroic realism, while modern anti-realistic trends were everything the Nazis opposed. In truth things were a lot more complicated, as the tribute Munch received on his 70th birthday from propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels makes clear:

“Edvard Munch’s works, grown from Nordic-Germanic soil, tell me about life’s profound seriousness ... as a powerful headstrong spirit ... he liberates himself of all forms of naturalism and harkens back to the eternal, national basis of creation.”⁶⁷

Goebbels’ tribute is often referred to as a curiosity, a result of personal taste almost, but in reality this view of Expressionism, as a uniquely Germanic or Nordic aesthetic, was popular deep within the National Socialist camp, especially among the youth. Disagreeing with this however was a faction who sharply rejected the modern trends and preferred traditional realism, among them the party’s well-known ideologue, Alfred Rosenberg and, more importantly, the Führer and former painter, Adolf Hitler.⁶⁸

At the time of the takeover there was much debate among the National Socialists, between the supporters and opponents of Nordic Expressionism. Ultimately, of course, the Führer’s view won. But typically of the Third Reich’s power structure, Hitler allowed these different factions to exist and compete with each other. As a result, the Third Reich’s cultural policy was often arbitrary and inconsistent.

When the regional museums began arranging “horror-shows” of modern art in 1933, Munch was among the “degenerate” artists displayed at Kunsthalle Mannheim in April and in Ulm in September. In Mannheim a regime-friendly consultant replaced museum director Gustav Hartlaub to make the exhibition “Cultural Bolshevik Pictures” in which paintings by German Expressionists, Mark Chagall and Edvard Munch were stripped of their frames and labelled with the names of the Jewish art-dealers who sold the pictures and what was paid for them. The point of this was to expose the former director’s friendliness towards Jews and his reckless use of money. At the end of that month an exhibition called “Degenerate Art” opened in Dresden city hall. Munch was not represented here, but Posse’s favourites, *The Sick Child* and *Life*, were removed from the Gemäldegalerie for the occasion.

⁶⁷ Publisert i flere aviser, bl.a. *Kunst der Nation* 15.12.1933. Siteret her etter Lampl 1964.

⁶⁸ **The battle over Expressionism NSDAP:** Towards the end of the 1920s a wave of admiration for Nordic Expressionism swept through the far-right and also made itself felt in the NSDAP. In the period after the seizure of power there has been an established belief that Hitler, after a brief dispute over the party’s stance on art, came down in favour of a consistently anti-modernistic style. Based on Emil Nolde, however, Bernhard Fulda shows that pro-modernism continued to thrive amongst the regime’s leadership and institutions – something which also casts an explanatory light over the continuing good will towards Munch’s art during the whole National Socialist period, Fulda 2019:39-63, cf. Fleckner 2015:77-85.

The following year Hartlaub became the first museum director the Nazis fired.⁶⁹ He was soon followed by Carl Georg Heise in Lübeck, Ludwig Justi in Berlin, Max Sauerland in Hamburg, Friedrich Schreiber-Weigand in Chemnitz and Georg Swarzenski in Frankfurt, all of them committed modernists who throughout the 1920s had prided themselves in having secured at least one of Munch's paintings for their collection. Now pictures deemed unacceptable for the new era were being taken down, borrowed pictures returned, others sold. Similarly, artists were thrown out of academies and fired from their teaching jobs, while Hitler voiced his opinion on Expressionism, Cubism – or whatever other “degenerate art” that had been allowed to flourish during the Weimar-years – more often, and with increasing hostility.

Most of Norway's artists opposed fascism, with some exceptions, the most important of these being the sculptor Wilhelm Rasmussen, and the painters Anders Svarstad and Søren Onsager. They had lost against the Matisse-ists in the battle for positions and had aligned themselves with xenophobic nationalism which during the 1920s had gained ground in Norway. In March 1934, Rasmussen became chairman of the newly formed Norwegian-German Association and got Knut Hamsun and the composer Christian August Sinding to join its declaration of support for the new Germany. Rasmussen wanted Munch's signature as well, but, after some consideration and many drafted letters, received a diplomatic “no” from Ekely. A journalist wanting Munch's signature on a protest *against* Germany, or more precisely against the concentration camps, was given the same answer with Munch justifying the rejection by saying that he knew too little about the matter to express an opinion and was either way too ill and depressed to get involved.⁷⁰

Overall, these rejections show us that Munch had no intention of making his view of Hitler's Germany public. Even in private he was reticent, except for one letter he wrote to Jens Thiis in October 1933:

“This is the second time I've been thrown out of Germany,” he sighs after having read a newspaper cutting about the degenerate art exhibition in Dresden. “Before anything can be said, it must be properly confirmed. My pictures hang in Berlin, Hamburg and elsewhere of course, and I've had exceptionally nice things written about me. But how long will that last?”⁷¹

⁶⁹ The horror shows: The exhibition “Cultural Bolshevik Pictures” was curated by Otto Gebele von Waldstein, the Nazi appointed provisional director of Kunsthalle Mannheim under the title of “assistant consultant.” The exhibition then moved on to Munich, and was one of two “degenerate art” exhibitions that year, which we know included pictures by Munch. The other exhibition was held in Ulm, in September 1933.

⁷⁰ Opprop om støtte for Tyskland: Munch avslår Rasmussens forespørsel i brev av 14.03.1934, N 1994. Også Nasjonal Samlings nestleder, I.B. Hjort, tok kontakt for å verve ham som abonnent på tidsskriftet Ragnarok. Noe svar fra Munch er ikke bevart, men han var høyst sannsynlig avvisende – i motsatt fall ville Nasjonal Samling ganske sikkert ha gjort et stort poeng av hans tilslutning, jf. I.B. Hjort til EM 20.06.1935, K 1323. Protest mot Tyskland: EM til Christopher Vibe 14.06.1934, N 2163.

⁷¹ EM til Jens Thiis okt. 1933, N 2957. Brevet har vært feildatert til 1937, men referansen til artikkelen «Entartete Kunst» i *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 01.10.1933 tilsier at riktig datering er oktober 1933.

The letter to Thiis is Munch's first and almost only principle-based assessment of Nazi cultural policy. In that respect it's worth noting that he was chiefly concerned with his own fate in the country, but he was also having a dig at his old allies: He'd never actually wanted to sell the pictures, he impressed upon Thiis. It was Posse and the other museum directors who had nagged him to do so. At the same time, he leaves no doubt about his loathing of the Nazi regime's behaviour, his sadness at the thought of people streaming to Dresden city hall to ridicule the work of young German artists, "from Nolde, Heckel, Kokotska and Beckmann to Grosz, Dix og Klee."

The previous January, those same artists had been part of a large presentation of German Expressionists at Kunstnernes hus. "Modern German Art" was a direct follow-up to Munch's great exhibition in Berlin in 1927 and consisted of the most radical German art Justi could obtain. Munch clearly had an unusual involvement with the exhibition and urged Thiis to purchase something for the National Gallery.⁷² He may well have been genuinely interested in the German artists he'd supported throughout the 1920s recession, but he may also have felt that a touch of contemporary German painting would create a sorely needed frame around his own pictures at the gallery. Nevertheless, "Modern German Art" showed more than anything how far the Norwegians were from the development of art in the country that had once been the very motherland for Norwegian painters. Despite respectful reviews, the pictures, including those by Kirchner, Nolde, seemed like curiosities to Norway's French-oriented critics, who spent as much time reflecting on the difference between Germanic and Romantic race and culture as they did reviewing the art. Everyone pointed out Munch's importance to German artists, but almost no one saw the mutual influences in these works and Munch's.

Nor did Jens Thiis, who had very little time for German Expressionism and felt the exhibition had had an unfavourable influence on young Norwegian artists, and for this reason didn't make any purchases. This meant that Munch continued to hang in the National Gallery as an isolated, Norwegian genius, precisely as Thiis had decided he was.⁷³

⁷² EM til Jens Thiis jan. 1932, N 3121.

⁷³ "Modern German Art" in Oslo, Januar 1932: The exhibition was arranged by Berlin's National gallery and was held at Kunstnernes hus. The exhibition was a powerful celebration of German Expressionism, and provoked strong objections in Germany for its omission of Liebermann and the German Impressionists, Fulda 2019:39f. Munch was a member of the exhibition's honours committee. The most positive reviews came from the worker's newspapers, see, for example, Inger Tostrup in *Arbeiderbladet* 04.01.1932 and unsigned. *Norges Fremtid* 11.01.1932. Indicatively, Olav Dalgard in *Den 17de Mai* 12.01.1932 was one of the very few people who pointed out the fellowship between Munch and young German artists, totally in line with the trend of the politicised 1930s where the labour movement's cultural commentators portray Munch and the Expressionists as radical non-conformists who make the opposite of bourgeoisie, salon-ready and French-inspired art (despite the fact that most Norwegian artists, the Matisse-ists included, were left wing). The young artists Thiis thought had been unfavourably influenced by the exhibition were Sigurd Strømme, Gert Jynge, Erling Enger, Olav Strømme, Bjarne Engebret and several others who under the name "Eleven young artists" debuted at the Artists Association the following March with pictures clearly inspired by German Expressionism.

For Munch the exhibition must have confirmed just how little his status in Germany meant to Norwegians beyond the fact that he was “big abroad.” That specific emblem had faded over the years, indeed, since the outbreak of the Great War he’d insisted to his countrymen that he wasn’t a Germanified artist and had denied being in any way influenced by Nietzsche, who he associated with the underlying chauvinism in German culture. When Hitler then came to power, he must have quickly seen that being associated with Germany could be a burden.⁷⁴

This didn’t mean that Munch immediately cut ties or publicly denounced the new regime: His rejection of Rasmussen’s call to support Hitler’s Germany in the winter of 1934 came only after he’d asked the art historian and Germanophile Henrik Grevenor for his assessment of modern art’s future in Germany. Such hesitant attitudes to Hitler’s Germany were common amongst writers who had a German market. Tarjei Vesaas, for example,

Steinar Gjessing presents the German exhibition as a prelude to an “aesthetic revolt” within Norwegian art, which comprised the Expressionists of the eleven artists, and led to the rise of Surrealism in Norway in 1935 before being forced back by the naturalistic and “strictly formal classicism” that had dominated Norwegian art after the Great War. Gjessing places considerable responsibility on Jens Thiis for having isolated Munch from his German contemporaries at The National Gallery. Thiis publicly sympathised with the German Expressionists after the confiscations in 1937, but in a private statement describes the young Norwegian Expressionists as “Nazi-Artists.” Unless we dismiss his choice of expression as mere insult, it’s tempting to consider it a sign that Thiis, like many of the Modern German Art exhibition’s critics, didn’t view German Expressionism as a German version of continental modernism, but as yet another reflection of a German spirit and cultural climate that was in principle no different to Nazism, cf. interview with Thiis in *Tidens Tegn* 17.08.1937.

For Munch’s part it is symptomatic that he not only defended German Expressionism, but in the article about the Modern German Art exhibition he almost behaves like a reconciler between the Germans and the French, Edvard Munch: “The German Exhibition,” *Dagbladet* 03.02.1932, cf. *Nyere tysk kunst. Maleri og skulptur, ex. cat.* Oslo 1932, Gjessing 1980 and Gjessing 2013.

⁷⁴ **Munch forneker Nietzsche:** I begynnelsen av 1890-årene var Nietzsche utvilsomt en inspirasjon for Munch og miljøet han vanket i. «Så skit som kunsten i sin almindelighed står her i Tyskland», skriver han til H. Roede i mai 1893 (PN 21), «vil jeg dog sie en ting – den har den fordel henede at den har frembragt enkelte kunstnere der rager så høit over alle andre og som står så alene – for eksempel Böcklin ... Wagner blant musikerne – Nietzsche blant filosoferne». Etter utbruddet av første verdenskrig ble tonen en annen: «M sætter Nietzsche i forbindelse med krigen, Übermensch und Übernation», skriver Ludvig Ravensberg i dagboken. Året etter skal Munch ha uttalt at «Nietzsche er Krigens filosof, overmennesket er hele den tyske nation», jf. LRD 28.09.1914 og 02.03.1915, LOR 197 og 199. Enda senere forklarer Munch Nietzsche-portrettene sine til Harry Fett med egne ord: «Jeg ville fremstille mannen som ante alt som skulle komme, hele uhyggen, alt det forferdelige som vi siden har opplevet, og som vi ennå kan oppleve.», Fett 1956, sitert etter Rognerud 2010:51.

Oppgjøret med Nietzsche må ses i sammenheng med Munchs generelle behov for å distansere seg fra det tyske etter 1914, ikke bare på grunn av den antityske stemningen under verdenskrigen, men også for å fremstå som en selvskapt kunstner. Utover i mellomkrigstiden ble behovet for å bli sett som en norsk og skandinavisk kunstner bare styrket hos Munch: I et udatert brevutkast til Ragnar Hoppe (N 253) skriver han: «Jeg har ærgret mig heroppe at man har påduttet mig’ det tyske’ ... Uanseet min høiagtelse for det ypperlige store tyskere har ydet i Kunst og filosofi ... Vi har jo heroppe Strindberg – Ibsen og andre – (osså Hans Jæger) Søren Kierkegaard har jeg mærkeli nok først læst det sidste år – Så er det Ruserne Dostojevski – Naturligvis er der osså Nietzsche som dog ikke så meget har intreseret mig.»

declined to add his name to the widespread outcry at Knut Hamsun's condemnation of Carl von Ossietzky, the imprisoned Nobel prize nominee.⁷⁵

On a deeper level, the idea of the Nazis possibly declaring him undesirable must have troubled Munch, although not as much as it would had they ended up embracing him. But what did he have to lose? When Hitler seized power Munch lost practically all his old friends and connections in the art world. Some were forced out due to their Jewish background or political views, others because they were old, sick or didn't feel at home in the new Germany. The last time he met Gustav and Luise Schiefler was during their Norwegian holiday in the summer of 1928, the same year that Schiefler crowned his life's work of Munch with a second edition of his graphic prints catalogue. Not long after he suffered a stroke which sent him into a deep depression. When Schiefler died in August 1935, Munch lost a true friend more than an agent; that role having been taken over after the Great War by Curt Glaser. In 1932, Glaser himself lost his beloved Elsa. Then, the following year, the Nazis fired him from his job at the National Gallery because of his Jewish background. That summer he was forced to sell large parts of his art collection and flee the country, first to Switzerland, before settling in the USA with his new, young wife and daughter. He died there in 1943.

In Weimar, Elizabeth Förster-Nietzsche sided with Hitler's ranks, while Munch's benefactors in Jena, the Jewish couple Felix and Anna Auerbach, committed suicide in February 1933. For Harry Graf von Kessler, things began to decline after the Great War when Great Britain seized his inheritance from his English mother. Despite dwindling funds, he continued to support artists, writers and lovers throughout the 1920s, and gave large sums of money to the Nietzsche archive in Weimar despite Förster-Nietzsche's support of fascism. When Hitler came to power, von Kessler fled the country, and settled in Mallorca where he worked as secretary and waiter at a café where old men would come and play dominos. In his spare time, he wrote a memoir in four volumes which has become a classic work of cultural history. In September 1937, he died in a village outside Fournels and was buried at Péré Lachaise with sixty mourners present.

In Switzerland, Eberhard Grisebach sat philosophising over the German people's decline into Hitler's irrational and mystical worldview: "One only hopes that it is the beginning of something, and not the end."⁷⁶

Besides Förster-Nietzsche, Max Linde was the only one of Munch's old friends who welcomed the new era: "I'm sure you hear all the horror stories the Jews have been spreading abroad," writes Linde in December 1933. "I can assure you that it's all lies."

For Linde, Hitler's firm hand was just what Germany needed after having been sucked dry by external and internal foes since the Great War. Now buildings were finally shooting up along the completed Edvard Munch Strasse, and in the cultural sphere the future of

⁷⁵ Spurte Grevenor til råds: Brevutkast EM til Henrik Grevenor 1934, N 1692, Henrik Grevenor til EM 26.02. og 10.04.1934, K 223 og K 224. Tarjei Vesaas: Fulsås 2002.

⁷⁶ Eberhard Grisebach til EM 31.12.1935, K 2442.

Nordic-Germanic art had been secured, yes, at the opening of an exhibition of young German artists the national director Lübeck Hans Wollf said that because of Munch, the dominance of French Impressionism in Germany had been broken. As had Jewish power. In Linde's view, Jews like Paul Cassirer and Max Liebermann were responsible for turning art into a market where paintings were treated like stocks and shares.

But the National Socialists had put an end to that: "What Kollmann strove for is now at last being fulfilled," celebrated Linde, "the elimination of the Jewish art-dealer clique."⁷⁷

The Homecoming

By 1937, Joseph Goebbels had adapted to Hitler's view of art and renounced Nordic Expressionism and its entire nature – at least outwardly. At the end of June, he appointed a commission that would, over little more than a week, tour the country's museums and seize artworks which, based on not terribly precise instructions, they considered degenerate. Of the paintings that were taken, two were by Munch.⁷⁸ The confiscated works were sent to Munich, where Goebbels was planning a large exhibition of art that was not wanted by the Third Reich, as a discouraging contrast to a simultaneous exhibition of desirable art.

The Great German Art Exhibition and the Degenerate Art Exhibition opened on July 18 and 19 respectively, and showed the world how seriously art was being taken by the Third Reich. In his opening speech for the first exhibition Adolf Hitler spent plenty of time ridiculing Cubism, Futurism, Dadaism and other despicable artistic styles performed by dilettantes that God had refused any genuine talent. Instead of aspiring for beauty, they made "deformed cripples and idiots" into subjects of their art and depicted "the fields as blue, the sky as green and the clouds as sulphur-yellow." People with such a view of the world, said Hitler, must have seriously impaired eyesight. If this impairment was physical, it was, unfortunately for them, the result of poor genes and the logical solution was to prevent such people from reproducing. Real art, he concluded, did not require overblown instructions to be understood but showed its legitimacy through the enthusiastic approval of the masses.⁷⁹

In Norway there was one pressing question: Was Edvard Munch now banned from the very country that had proclaimed him the greatest European artist of modern time? And

⁷⁷ Max Linde til EM og 10.12.1933 og 10.12.1934, K 2856 og K 2857.

⁷⁸ The two paintings were *Gardener in Dr. Linde's Garden* (1903) from Kunsthalle Mannheim and a version of *Self-Portrait with the Spanish Flu* (1919) from Museum Behnhaus, Lübeck. The first was confiscated 08.07, the other 14.07.1937. Goebbels' instructions were to seize pictures painted after 1910. It is well known that the commission didn't adhere to this rule about time during the later rounds of confiscations, but the Munch example shows that it wasn't adhered to in the first round either.

⁷⁹ Hitlers tale ble sitert i flere aviser, f.eks. *Aftenposten* og *Morgenavisen* 28. og 22.07.1937. Min oversettelse bygger på https://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/docpage.cfm?docpage_id=2373.

what did the artist think about this himself? Was he worried about being cleansed from Germany? Dagbladet got on the phone to Ekely:

“I don’t know anything about it,” replied Munch.

“But you’ve heard the rumours?”

“Like everyone has. I read the newspapers of course. But I don’t know any more than you.”⁸⁰

He knew of course, but Munch had decided to keep his thoughts on Nazi-Germany to himself. What’s more striking is that nobody later has tried to reconstruct the fate his pictures met during the Nazi purges. For example, it has been assumed that he wasn’t included in the Degenerate Art Exhibition, but there are indications that one or more of his pictures were hung up at the opening, then quickly removed after objections from the Norwegian embassy.⁸¹

The Degenerate Art Exhibition lasted until November before it was sent on a three-year-long tour of the country. In the meantime the purge continued with increased force. From August 1937 the confiscation committee went round the country’s museums, and by December more than 17,000 works had been seized, including 22 paintings and 61 graphic prints by Munch taken from 21 central and regional museums.⁸² Several museums objected

⁸⁰ Intervju med EM i *Dagbladet* 16.08.1937.

⁸¹ **Was Munch branded a “degenerate” artist at the Degenerate Art exhibition in Munich, 1937?** In letters from the publisher Reinhardt Piper to Ernst Barlach 28.07.1937 (Piper 1987:198) Piper writes that his son had attempted to enter the exhibition’s very last room when he was stopped by a man who said “You can’t go in there. There’s a picture by Munch in there, and the Norwegian ambassador has complained.” The room had indeed been set aside for artists and professors believed to have led young artists astray, and it’s true that this room was rearranged two or three days after the opening day and had since then only been accessible to specially invited visitors. But that Munch was included among these false prophets is something we only have a publisher’s son’s word for. The source isn’t made any more reliable by the fact that the man who spoke to Piper’s son was apparently an ordinary visitor. What might support the claim in the letter is a critical reportage that appeared in *Dagbladet* 31.07.1937, in which the artist Ragnhild Kaarbø mentions “a room that contains more modern paintings [which] has been closed to the public in the Deutsches Museum. Among the incarcerated is our very own Edvard Munch.” It’s a confusing source because the Deutsches Museum in München is a technical museum that was established 1903. It’s not known what the specific Munch paintings may have been. The two paintings that were confiscated in Mannheim and Lübeck on 08. and 14.07.1937 were, judging by the dates of confiscation, almost certainly intended to be hung in the degenerate art exhibition (see note ...). As for the paintings that were owned by the Bavarian State Painting Collections in Munich, they seem to have found themselves at a temporary location in the library building when the exhibition opened. These paintings were not confiscated until 25.08.1937. On the other hand, nothing about Piper’s account seems unlikely, and although the basis of the source is somewhat weak, German researchers have assumed that Munch was represented at the Degenerate Art Exhibition at its opening, cf. Zweite 1987:275f. and Lüttichau 1991:64f, cf. Barron 1991a:19.

Check with German consultant: How do we explain Kaarbø’s claim that Munch’s pictures were “incarcerated” at the Deutsches Museum. Could she have been referring to room number seven at the Degenerate Art Exhibition, or perhaps the paintings in the Bavarian State Painting Collections in Munich?

⁸² **The confiscations of Munch’s pictures at German museums:** The most up-to-date estimate of confiscated Munch works is in a database compiled by the Forschungsstelle Entartete Kunst (FEK) at Freie Universität, Berlin. The database includes previous overviews, such as the “Harry Fischer list” at the Victoria & Albert Museum in London, and documents the confiscations of 22 paintings and 61

to these confiscations. In Frankfurt the director Alfred Wolters couldn't believe that the museum's two Munch paintings were degenerate art and called the seizure a "serious mutilation" of the collection.⁸³ Paul Ortwin Rave, director of the National Gallery in Berlin planned to set up a separate "foreign artists gallery" hoping to avoid confiscations by presenting van Gogh and Munch as German masters. The idea was a follow-up to Ludwig Justi's attempt at similar reorganisation of Kronprinzenpalais just before the Nazi takeover. However, before Rave managed to open his foreigner's gallery, he received orders to send Munch as well as van Gogh to the warehouse for confiscated art in Köpernick Strasse, Berlin.⁸⁴

It was here that Adolf Hitler turned up at New Year 1938, along with Goebbels, to inspect the confiscated items. "The outcome was devastating," the latter noted in his diary.⁸⁵ Not one picture escaped the Führer's scorn.

That spring the confiscations became law, with retroactive effect, while discussions continued over whether the works should be destroyed, swapped abroad for "proper masterpieces," or sold on the international market for foreign currency. The second of these

prints by Munch; 83 works in total. What proportion this comprises of all the Munch works in German museums has not been investigated, but it is clear that far from all the works were taken. Although the FEK database, for example, lists 10 confiscated prints from the National Gallery's copperplate collection, a letter from the museum til Munch 12.12.1933 (K 3645) indicates that the collection at the time consisted of 230 prints. We have a better overview of the paintings, which were far more valuable and fewer in number. According to von Bischoff 1994:112-126 there were at least 31 Munch paintings in German museums prior to 1933, which is nine more than the FEK database lists as confiscated.

This discrepancy may stem from the fact that the pictures were hidden or transferred some other way, but the most important factor has to be that the confiscation committee focussed on single works and not artists, along with the random criteria for what qualifies as "degenerate" art. An illustrative example is the fate of *Spring Ploughing* (1916-20) which was acquired by Klaus Graf von Baudissin, the Nazi director at Essen's Folkwang museum in 1936 - the same year that von Baudissin purged the collection of Kandinsky's *Improvisation* (1912). In 1937 in the capacity of head of the department of culture he became one of the leaders of the attack on modern art and thus for the confiscation of the same Munch paintings he had bought himself as museum director one year earlier, Bischoff 1994:123. The extent to which un-confiscated Munch pictures in German museums remained hanging or were put into storage, is not known either, but during World War Two German propaganda at least claimed that Munch was hanging in the museums as before.

⁸³ Brev fra Alfred Wolter 15.11.1937, sitert etter Roth 2011:210.

⁸⁴ Rave's plan for a foreigner's gallery at Berlin's National Gallery involved in itself a power struggle between him and Klaus Graf von Baudissin in the Reich Ministry of Science, Education and Culture which is accounted for in Hollmann/März 2014:100ff. The order to confiscate Munch and others came from Franz Hoffmann and Rolf Hetsch in the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. Justi's reorganisation of Kronprinzenpalais: In January 1933, Justi transferred Max Liebermann and the French Impressionists to the historic collection in the museum's main building, while Munch, Hodler and van Gogh were hung on the first floor of Kronprinzenpalais to be the first thing visitors would see upon entering the museum. By doing so he would "hide" the Impressionists by incorporating them chronologically in the main building, while at the same time securing the status of Munch, Hodler and van Gogh by elevating them as "fathers" of modern German art in Kronprinzenpalais, cf. Janda 1991:105f.

Check with German consultant: Have I interpreted Janda correctly when I assume that Justi's motives were to "hide" the Impressionists and protect Munch & Co by elevating them, or is this an over interpretation? Is it valid speculation?

⁸⁵ Foreløpig fra engelsk, finn Goebbels dagbok for 13.01.1939 - skal finnes online.

alternatives was tried by Cornelius Müller-Hofstede, the director of the Silesian Museum of Fine Arts in Breslau, who sent two Munch paintings to the National Gallery in Oslo requesting they be swapped for Caspar David Friedrich's *Riesengebirge Landscape* (1835) which the museum in Breslau had on loan. The exchange was later portrayed as the most fruitful of the whole degenerate art campaign, but in reality the National Gallery rejected the request and had the Friedrich painting sent back from Breslau.⁸⁶

For Goebbels it was more important to sell the works abroad in order to, as he writes in his diary, "at least earn some money from this rubbish." The suggestion originally came from Göring, who marched into Köpernickstrasse in May and reserved 13 paintings for himself, among them four Munch paintings from the National Gallery in Berlin.⁸⁷ To organise the sale Goebbels appointed a disposal committee which by mid-September had assembled every work deemed internationally sellable at Schönhausen Palace in Pankow, north Berlin. Rumours about this unique sale of modern masterpieces quickly spread, and German authorities were contacted by several Norwegians hoping to get a cut-price Munch, some of them dealers, others not.⁸⁸

The winning bidder was Harald Holst Halvorsen, an art dealer from Oslo who realised early on how profitable buying up Munchs in Nazi-Germany to sell them in Norway could be. In May 1938, he had contacted Luise Schiefler to trace the ownership history of Munch's prints, and secured himself the painting *Two People* (1905) from Hildebrandt Gurlitt, one

⁸⁶ The Munch paintings that Cornelius Müller-Hofstede, director of Das Schlesisches Museum, sent to the National Gallery were *Girl Under Apple Tree* (1904) and *Max Linde in Sailing Outfit* (1904). In the minutes of the meeting from Kommission zur Verwertung der Produkte entarteter Kunst 11.12.1941, R55/21020, BA, it seems that the Munch-Friedrich exchange was deemed complete and successful, yes, as the most valuable exchange of the whole operation. The German art historian Andreas Hüneke assumes that the exchange was completed (Hüneke 1991:124), but Norwegian sources clearly show that the Friedrich painting was sent back to Norway via the Norwegian legation in Berlin in September 1939, cf. letter from the Norwegian legation to the National Gallery 23.09.1939, NAM. According to Anita Kongssund, research archivist at the National Museum in Oslo, the National Gallery entered into negotiations to purchase *Young Woman*. This however dragged on, and when Germany invaded Norway 9. April 1940, the painting was stranded there. After the war the National Gallery bought the painting from the Directorate of Enemy Property, and swapped it with Hans Heyerdahl's *The Expulsion from Paradise* (1877), which had a private Norwegian owner. The Linde portrait was purchased by the art dealer Harald Holst Halvorsen, cf. Kongssund 2001 and Kongssund 2006:111. Caspar David Friedrich's *Riesengebirge Landscape* is at the National Museum in Oslo to this day. This doesn't mean that the National Gallery was principally against doing an exchange with confiscated art; Jens Thiis made a fruitless attempt to acquire Munch paintings in exchange for one of the National Gallery's German painters (Fritz von Uhde), *Tidens Tegn* 18.08.1937.

⁸⁷ «Penger på søppelet»: Goebbels dagbok pt 1, vol. 3, 445, 494 (sjekk). Göring reserverte følgende bilder av Munch: *Snøskufferne* (1913-14), *Omfavnelse på stranden* (1904), *Melankoli* (1906-07) og *To mennesker* (1906-07), se Hollmann/März 2014:78ff.

⁸⁸ Jf. brev fra kunsthandlerne Oscar Johannessen, Oslo, og E. Olsens Efir. Konstandel, Göteborg, til Nasjonalgalleriet i Berlin hhv. 25.07. og 01.11.1938, ZSM. Strengt tatt hadde norske aviser spekulert over muligheten for å få Munch «billig hjem» helt siden entartete-aksjonen ble kjent året før, se *Stavanger Aftenblad* 09.08.1937 og *Aftenposten* 16.08.1937.

of the Nazi regime's official dealers of confiscated art.⁸⁹ When Gurlitt turned up at Schönhausen Palace to buy several Munch pictures on October 25, Holst Halvorsen had by then acquired the rights to them using money from the shipowners Thomas Olsen and Niels Werring, assisted by lobbying from Jens Thiis and the Norwegian legation's secretary in Berlin, Ulrich Stang.⁹⁰

In practice Holst Halvorsen could pass for a semi-official representative of the Norwegian authorities and business interests; exactly what the Nazi regime needed, since Munch was no easy man to get rid of, even for a fascist dictatorship. A general worry was whether internationally renowned artists could be disposed of without offending their native countries.⁹¹ This applied especially to Munch, who belonged to a Germanic brother-country that the Nazis had every reason to maintain good relations with. Besides, Munch also had an increasing number of admirers within the Third Reich's power circles. Yes, even among Nordic Expressionism's detractors, many must have found lumping him with the Jews and Bolshevics meaningless.

With his long career and wide stylistic variations, categorising Munch using the Nazi's simple aesthetic criteria was a headache under any circumstances: If anyone had been inclined to view clouds as sulphur-yellow and fields as blue, it was him. What was the *Scream* figure if it wasn't a textbook example of the "deformed cripple" Hitler had ridiculed in Munich? But what about the thoughtful girls in *The Girls on the Bridge*, and the vitalistic chaps in *Bathing Men*? Were they really examples of degenerate art? Not to mention the old, Nordic sage under the oak tree in *History*.

⁸⁹ Luise Schiefler to EM 06.05.1938, K 3320. Holst Halvorsen and Gurlitt: Fleckner 2017. In *Tidens Tegn* 02.07.1938 it is claimed that Holst Halvorsen found *Two People* (1905) in Switzerland. The truth is quite different: The painting was part of the Munch collection at the Städtische Kunstsammlung Chemnitz. When the confiscation committee's people raided the museum in 19.08.1937, they neglected to confiscate Munch's pictures, possibly because they assumed that the order only applied to German artists. Immediately afterwards the museum chose to sell the painting to Hildebrandt Gurlitt in case the committee came back and took it without compensating them. In the summer of 1938 Gurlitt then sold the picture to Holst Halvorsen, according to information from Anja Richter at Kunstsammlungen Chemnitz 21.09.2023. *Two People* and *Young Woman Under Apple Tree* (1904) and *Max Linde in Sailor Outfit* (1904) from Das Schlesische Museum are examples that German museums disposed of Munch paintings either before the campaign against degenerate art began or beyond the formal channels while the campaign was ongoing. None of the three paintings are included in FEK's database of confiscated art.

⁹⁰ Gurlitt's campaign: Hildebrandt Gurlitt to Rolf Hetsch at the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda 28.10.1938, R 55, 21015, BA. Holst Halvorsen's support from Olsen, Werring, Thiis and Stang: Holst Halvorsen in *Morgenposten* 15.12.1939, Osman Kibar's interview with Fred. Olsen, *Dagens Næringsliv* 31.12.2002, P.O. Rave to Generaldir. der Staatlichen Museen 21.11.1938, ZSM, letter to Martin Bormann (unsigned., presumedly from Franz Hofmann) 19.11.1938, R 55/21020, BA, *Tidens Tegn* 17.08.1937, cf. Hoffmann 2017. Ulrich Stang became incidentally a member of the NS during the war and was convicted of treason after the war. Negotiate directly: Holst Halvorsen to Rolf Hetsch 21.10.1938, ZSM, cf. Rolf Hetsch to Regierungsrat Dr. Hopf 21.03.1939, R 55/21020, BA.

⁹¹ The question is asked of the Foreign Minister Joakim von Ribbentrop's wife, Annelis, by one of the official Nazi dealers of confiscated art, Ferdinand Möller, in a letter from 09.11.1938, Nachlass Ferdinand Möller, Berlinerischer Galerie, Berlin (recounted in Hüeneke 1991:127).

Nowhere were these questions asked more passionately than in Lübeck. The old North-German Hanseatic city didn't just consider Munch a fellow citizen, it was also the home of the German-Scandinavian society *Nordische Gesellschaft*, which from 1922 had worked to strengthen the cultural and commercial links between Germany and the Nordic countries. In medieval Lübeck, the dream of the Hanseatic golden age in the North Sea and Baltic Sea Region was deeply rooted and easily compatible with modern racial theories pronouncing the Nordic race (more so than the Arian) to be the salt of the earth. This in itself casts an explanatory light over Munch's many years of popularity in the city. After the Great War, interest in Nordic culture rose to even greater heights, manifesting itself in events such as Lübeck's Nordic Week (1921), where Munch dominated the art section, and the opening of the German-Nordic Writers' House in Travermünde in 1934.⁹²

When the Nazi's main spokesman for the Nordic programme, Alfred Rosenberg, established the NSDAP Office of Foreign Affairs, he brought *Nordische Gesellschaft* under its control to strengthen the Nazi party's orientation towards Nordic culture. In his work Rosenberg could then rely on Lübeck's politicians and businesses. So there was total dismay in Lübeck when the confiscation committee took three Munch paintings and twenty graphic prints from the Behnhaus Museum in the summer of 1937. Heise's successor as director, Hans Schröder, was no fan of avant-garde art, and insisted even more that Munch represented something quite different.⁹³

When the disposal committee met to decide Munch's fate on November 17, 1938, the people from Behnhaus Museum and *Nordische Gesellschaft*, as well as Lübeck's Lord Mayor and councillor, had already lobbied to have the pictures returned. A meeting with the head of the commission Franz Hofmann gave cause for optimism: Hofmann admitted that he didn't consider Munch degenerate either. Nevertheless, it was Rosenberg's man, the art historian Robert Scholz, who swung the disposal committee's decision, saying bluntly that Munch should be struck from the list of degenerate artists. After all, Germany had officially paid tribute to the artist on his 70th birthday. Condemning him now would draw criticism,

⁹² Germany's Nordic Society/*Nordische Gesellschaft*, in Lübeck and Travermünde: See Almgren/Hecker-Stampehl/Piper 2008, cf. Ørskov 2023: 49-53. Nordic week in Lübeck: *Festschrift zur Nordische Woche in Lübeck 1.11. September 1921*, H.G. Rahtgen Verlag, Lübeck 1921, cf. Bastek 2021. For more overriding analyses of the connections between German and Nordic intellectuals during this period, see Nygård/Strang 2016 and Fulsås/Rem 2019. As is evident from Almgren/Hecker-Stampehl/Piper 2008, Nordic ideology was strongest in Germany and had only limited support in the Nordic countries. Most of the research on German-Nordic connections during the inter-war period is focussed on writers and intellectuals, while little has been done on the area of visual arts – and hardly anything on Munch. It would have been a valuable contribution to the research if someone looked more closely at the role Munch played in Lübeck's great Nordic festival in 1921 (Nordic week 01.-11.09.), 1926 (Lübeck's 700th anniversary), 1929 (Nordic-German week 15.-23.06.) and 1931 (Baltic year).

⁹³ Lobbying activities from Lübeck here and in the following: Described by Albrecht 2003 on the basis of, among other things, original letters at the Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck (copies of which are at Behnhaus Museum), cf. *Bildersturm im Behnhaus. Mit einer Dokumentation der 1937 beschlagnahmten Gemälde und Skulpturen*, exh.cat. Behnhaus Museum, Lübeck 1987.

especially if they removed the painting *Snow Shovellers*, which Munch had gifted to Berlin's National Gallery in 1927; Scholz was no doubt aware that rumours about the confiscation had already caused reactions in the Norwegian press.⁹⁴

The problem was that the commission had also received clear orders from Adolf Hitler to expedite the sale of confiscated art. An attempt was therefore made, in line with the Third Reich's contradictory decision-making structure, to combine the Führer's orders with politically-pragmatic considerations: So on the one hand, they chose not to accept a declaration that would free Munch of being labelled degenerate, but on the other, struck the confiscated pictures from the list of works that were to be sold at the large degenerate-art auction that was being planned in Luzern, Switzerland and promising to be internationally controversial. They also supported the return of *Snow Shovellers* to the National Gallery in Berlin, along with the sale of 14 paintings and 61 prints in diplomatically tolerable forms to Holst Halvorsen for a total of 6,375 British Pounds.⁹⁵ As for the pictures from Lübeck, Holst Halvorsen managed to take over the prints, while the three paintings were eventually returned to the Behnhaus Museum on the condition that they would be kept in storage.

Things didn't go so well with *Snow Shovellers*, which was one of the paintings Göring had reserved for himself. After much back and forth he consented to it being returned, but from that point on all trace of it disappears. Of all the confiscated Munch-paintings, this is the only one that was lost.⁹⁶

So Munch's fate became complicated during the Third Reich: The committee for disposing of the modern art Hitler condemned as degenerate, was established by a regime leader who actually admired Nordic Expressionism, Joseph Goebbels; and in the camp of Alfred Rosenberg, one of the Nazi leaders spearheading the war on modern art, was Munch's most ardent defender, Robert Scholz. We can say roughly that Munch's status was discredited for aesthetic reasons, but then restored because of his race. The irony here speaks volumes about the decision-making structure of the Third Reich, but it also says something about the complex web of cultural policy, nationalism and racial ideology that bound Munch to Germany, and Germany to him.

The story is equally ironic when viewed from the Norwegian side. On December 12, 1938, Munch's 75th birthday, a train loaded with valuable art pulled into Oslo's

⁹⁴ The disposal committee's meeting 17.11.1938: "Kommission zur Verwertung der Produkte entartete Kunst," minutes from the meeting 17.11.1938, R 55/21020. Reactions in Norway: See, for example, *Østlands-Posten* 31.10. and *Varden* 02.11.1938. On 08.12.1938 *Dagbladet* informed its readers that the confiscation had been reversed and that *Snow Shovellers* would be returned to the National Gallery in Berlin.

⁹⁵ In reality Holst Halvorsen didn't have any competitors, which explains why he got the paintings for 6375 GBP even though the reserve price was 7000 GBP, cf. letter from Franz Hofmann to Joseph Goebbels via his state secretary, Karl Hanke, 28.11.1938, R 55/21020 and letters to Martin Bormann (unsigned, pres. from Franz Hofmann) 19.11.1938, sst.

⁹⁶ The fate of *Snow Shovellers*: Hollmann/März 2014:100ff, cf. Hüneke 1991:128.

Østbanestasjon. Waiting on the platform was Holst Halvorsen and a cluster of journalists. In a feat of well-orchestrated media hype, the art dealer claimed he had saved the pictures by a whisker and brought them home after a struggle with other bidders.⁹⁷ In reality he was the only bidder and had got the pictures for below the asking price. He also gave roughly the same explanation the Germans would stick with from then on: Munch's pictures hadn't been sold because they were degenerate, but because the space was needed for German art that had been stowed away during the Weimar period. Holst Halvorsen reassured the journalists that the Germans were as always "extremely keen" on Munch, and promised to do everything he could to sell the pictures in Norway.⁹⁸

Not even the latter of these statements was true, however, because two days after their arrival in Oslo, Holst Halvorsen wrote to the Tate Gallery in London offering the British gallery the same pictures. It was only after being rejected by London, that he allowed the pictures to be auctioned in Norway.⁹⁹ This double-dealing was of course hidden from journalists who over the following days praised Holst Halvorsen's art deal as a "homecoming" using words which, to their readers, must have echoed the fabled repatriation of publishing rights to the works of Ibsen, Bjørnson, Kielland and Lie, which had been bought from Denmark thirteen years earlier. So ended Nazi-Germany's purging of Munch, as a national feel-good story in Norway, to the great satisfaction, perhaps, of the National Socialist propaganda machine. That decent, non-Nazi Germany had been robbed of an important part of its modern cultural heritage didn't seem to upset anyone at the time - except for the Norwegian artists and intellectuals close to young Germany, that were helping the German artists who had fled to Norway, such as Rolf Nesch, Kurt Schwitters and Bruno Krauskopf. Unsurprisingly, many of these people reached out to Munch.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ *Sarpsborg Arbeiderblad* 14.12.1938.

⁹⁸ Interview with Holst Halvorsen in *Morgenbladet* and *Arbeiderbladet* 14.12.1938 and *Arbeider-Avisen* 16.12.1938. The German side: See, for example, statements from an anonymous official in the German Ministry of Culture to *Tønsberg Blad* 12.01.1939 (the interviewer was the Hitler-friendly journalist Sigvart Abrahamsen, mentioned in Nilsen 2010). The same official claims that barely 5% of Munch's pictures had been sold at German museums, and that many of the existing pictures had got "a far more prominent place than before," cf. corresponding statements from the art historian (and Nazi) Alfred Stange from the University of Bonn to *Nationen* 06.03.1939.

⁹⁹ Harald Holst Halvorsen to the Tate Gallery 14.12.1938, Tate Gallery's Robin Ironside to Harald Holst Halvorsen 20.12.1938, TG 4.2.757.1. **Check with Tate and perhaps German consultant:** In 1939 the Tate Gallery was planning a large Munch exhibition which was cancelled due to the outbreak of World War 2. According to Munch the director had been very interested in acquiring *The Sick Child*, so why did they reject Holst Halvorsen's offer in 1938? Were they principally against buying confiscated pictures from Nazi-Germany? Buchholz was rejected by the Tate as well. Check with the the Tate's archivist to see if there are more documents relevant to Munch, including when Thomas Olsen donated *The Sick Child* (1907) to the gallery in 1939.

¹⁰⁰ German artists fleeing to Norway: Most had been vilified as degenerate in their homeland, some moved on quickly, others had a lasting effect on Norwegian art. In September ... Rolf Nesch came from Hamburg with a recommendation from Schiefler and Hudtwalcker. "The best proof that you are an eternally young fighter," he wrote to Munch, "is that you are counted among the cultural Bolsheviks," Rolf Nesch to EM 09.12.1933, K 2965. ... Schwitters: ... Krauskopf: ... Check... In Lübeck, Heise asked Munch if he would pay for the promising artist Ernst Wilhelm Nays' trip to

Otherwise, the attitude seems to have been that as long as the German state was robbing itself, one just had to be happy that Munch had come home. Yes, *Morgenposten's* art critic Birger Moss-Johnsen was so excited, he allowed himself a modest cheer for the occasion – “it almost makes you want to shout ‘Heil Hitler’.”¹⁰¹

History

In retrospect it's hard to separate the Nazi regime's plunder-sale of its own people's art treasures from the country's persecution of Jews, the brutal campaign of violence against Jewish citizens and their property which reached an initial climax on the night of November 10, 1938. “Kristallnacht” ushered in a dramatic worsening of the situation for German Jews and, after the annexing of Austria and the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia earlier that year, showed Nazi-Germany's true, aggressive face for anyone still in doubt. Against this backdrop many in the international art world were critical of the Nazi art sales and warned against helping to finance the regime by purchasing confiscated pictures.¹⁰²

In Norway such criticism was scarce, with the clear exception of *Dagbladet's* art critic Finn Nielsen. He believed that the ideological motives for the confiscations suggested that they weren't indifferent to where the pictures ended up: “Imagine if the state now recognised this opportunity, bought these 14 gallery pictures in one lot, and let them become the foundation of a Munch museum.”¹⁰³

At New Year 1939, Oslo's art buyers waited excitedly for the great auction Holst Halvorsen had promised. In the meantime, there were other auctions offering a wealth of opportunity to expand one's collection; many were of course eyeing the chance to get a bargain off the back of Hitler's purges. In September 1938 the auctioneer Eivind Rølles at City Auksjon had auctioned off what was reportedly Germany's biggest collection of Munch prints. On January 19, 1939, Rølles once again held a large auction where seven of Munch's paintings and a handful of prints went under the hammer.

Lofoten in the summer of 1937, and at the end of 1938 Munch also received a letter from the artist Erich Nagel. He lived in Sweden and was afraid of being sent back to Germany. In the letter he refers to Nay and Grisenbach, and asks Munch for a personal invitation, which would enable him to come to Norway, cf. E.W. Nay til EM 27.06, 16.09. and 11.08.1937, K 2970-72, cf. Barron 1991312f., cf. E. Nagel to EM 17.12.1938, K 2963.

- **NB Check:** Write briefly about who stayed and for how long, and how much contact they had with Munch.

¹⁰¹ *Tidens Tegn* 06.01.1939. «Heil Hitler»: Birger Moss-Johnsen i *Morgenposten* 02.01.1939.

¹⁰² The strongest international reactions were in connection with the large auction of confiscated art in Lucerne, Switzerland, in June 1939, cf. Barron 1991b:137, 139. NB: Do we know any more about these reactions? For example, from the Tate Gallery, see above.

¹⁰³ *Dagbladet* 13.01.1938. Også *Morgenposten* så muligheten for at bildene kunne inngå i et fremtidig Munch-museum, men uten Nielsens moralske begrunnelse, jf. *Morgenposten* 15.12.1938.

Both of these auctions came as a surprise to the public and were surrounded by considerable discretion. At least the first of Rølle's auctions was initiated by what the newspapers referred to as a "major Norwegian bank" which had sent an anonymous art dealer to Germany to buy art to be sold in Norway as a way of freeing the bank's holdings of German marks that had been "frozen" in Germany and could only be used for the import of German goods. Hildebrandt Gurlitt's cash books reveal that the large collection of graphic prints, which Gurlitt had then taken over from the widow of the recently deceased Hamburg lawyer Paul Rauert, was bought by Den norske Creditbank. At the September auction Jens Thiis bought 26 of these prints for the National Gallery. Of the items auctioned in January we know that *History* (1914) had belonged to the German-Jewish art collector Martin Flersein from Frankfurt, and that the paintings *Melancholy* and *Embrace on the Beach* originated from the confiscated Munch pictures Göring had picked out for himself. The seller of the last two pictures was none other than Harald Holst Halvorsen, who had bought them straight from Göring's art dealer, Joseph Angerer.¹⁰⁴

On January 23, 1939, Harald Holst Halvorsen opened his own auction of repatriated Munch pictures in Wang's Kunsthandel. Outside was a long queue of gleaming cars with chauffeurs who opened the doors for their affluent passengers. Inside, a room loaded with expectation, where in just a few hours 14 paintings and 57 of the prints changed hands for a total of 225,000 kroner.¹⁰⁵ Jens Thiis and Oslo's mayor Trygve Nilsen sat in the front row in order to secure themselves *Life* for the forthcoming city hall. Nilsen had been granted 40,000 kroner of taxpayer's money to do so but lost the bidding round to a lawyer who was bidding on behalf of an anonymous buyer. This buyer was none other than Thomas Olsen, who upon hearing that his man had been competing with the local government, withdrew his bid and handed the winning bid to the mayor. The painting was eventually installed on the west wall of Oslo Rådhus, where it still hangs.

¹⁰⁴ DnC/City Auksjon september 1938/Rauert: *Aftenposten* 14.01.1939, jf. Gurlitts kassabok for august 1938, Nachlass Gurlitt, N 1826/..., BA (sjekk ref), jf. uttalelse av Harald Isey, tidligere ansatt i DnC 17.06.1990, kopi MM. Iseys forklaring er ikke helt pålitelig bl.a. forveksler han auksjonene ved City auksjon med Holst Halvorsens kjøp fra tyske myndigheter. Thiis kjøpte 26 trykk: I Nasjonalgalleriets katalog over museets samling av Munchs malerier og trykk (Ustved/Yvenes 2022:191) oppgis det at de 26 trykkene stammet fra den jødiske samleren Martin Flersheims bo. Jeg har informert Nasjonalmuseet om at denne proviensen er feil, og at grafikken som ble solgt på City Auksjon i september 1938 kom fra Hamburg-juristen Paul Rauerts bo og har etter hva vi vet ingen forbindelse med konfiskasjonene av tyske jøders verdier. Görings malerier *Omfavelse på stranden* og *Melankoli*: Hollmann/März 2014:97. *Historien* (1914): Se nedenfor i teksten.

NB sjekk: I brevet til Tate Gallery 14.12.1938, TG 4.2.757 der Holst Halvorsen tilbyr Tate Gallery de 14 konfiskerte Munch-maleriene, beskriver han et av maleriene som «one of the first studies for our Universitetet Aula». Vi kan ikke si med sikkerhet hvilket maleri han sikter til, men det er ikke utenkelig at han mener *Historien* (1914). Det betyr i tilfelle at Paul Cassirer Kunsthandler, avd. Amsterdam, har solgt Florence 'og Fritz 'Flersheims maleri gjennom Holst Halvorsen. Disse tre kommer da i tillegg til de 14 maleriene han kjøpte direkte fra den nazistiske avhendingskommissjonen.

¹⁰⁵ Avskrift av brev fra Deutsche Gesandtschaft Oslo til Auswärtiges Amt 26.01.1939, ZSM, jf. Hollmann/März 2014:29. Halvorsen solgte 57 av de 61 trykkene i Wangs kunsthandel. De fire siste trykkene kjenner vi ikke den videre skjebnen til.

More than 90 years after Hitler's regime began the systematic confiscation of modern art from Jewish collectors and gradually from Germany's museums, it's striking that nobody has looked more closely at the movement of artworks from Germany on the Norwegian market in the latter half of the 1930s. The museum's archivists have scratched the surface, and in 2002 a series of in-depth articles were printed in *Dagens Næringsliv* when the journalist Osman Kibar found key documents in the German archives. Nevertheless, art historians haven't looked further into any of these finds.

So, the myth about Harald Holst Halvorsen's great "homecoming" has been largely allowed to live on, although exactly what "home" means in this context is debatable: Of the fourteen paintings that were sold at Wang's Kunsthandel and went to the homes of ship owners, industrialists and one stonemason – six were eventually sold to foreign buyers. That Thomas Olsen wound up with as many as eight paintings is undeniably striking considering it was he who financed Holst Halvorsen's purchases along with Niels Werring. The reason for this, according to Olsen's son, Fred, is that the auction was fixed so that his father and Werring could point out the pictures they wanted in advance and then have them "bid" on via a proxy.¹⁰⁶

Besides the examples mentioned, it is very difficult to grasp how much of the art sold at auction or otherwise in Norway either originated from seized Jewish assets or had been sold by German Jews fleeing the Nazis. If we limit ourselves to the 31 Munch paintings we know Thomas Olsen had in his collection, nine of them were confiscated museum pictures, while four paintings had belonged to Jewish collectors who had sold them because they were fleeing. These are *Law* (1887), *The Scream* (1895) and two paintings which had belonged to Curt Glaser, *By the Sea* (1906-07) and *Dance on the Beach* (1906-07).¹⁰⁷

The seven paintings at City Auksjon also went to private buyers. Two of them, *Harry Graf Kessler* and *History*, ended up with Rolf Stenersen, who in turn included them in his large gift to Aker municipality. Today this collection forms part of the Munch Museum in Oslo, and it is one of the paintings that wound up here that succeeds more than any other to lift the veil on the murky reality behind the great repatriation of winter 1938-39. The German-

¹⁰⁶ Fred Olsen i intervju med Osman Kibar, *Dagens Næringsliv* 31.12.2002.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas Olsens Munch-samling: I tillegg til de åtte maleriene Thomas Olsen kjøpte på Holst Halvorsens auksjon 23. januar, kjøpte han *Omlavnelse ved stranden* som Holst Halvorsen solgte på City Auksjon 19. januar. Når det gjelder de fire maleriene som hadde tilhørt jøde på flukt, hadde *Jus* (1887) tilhørt den jødiske galleristen Alfred Flechtheim og *Skrik* (1895) den jødiske samleren Hugo Simons. Ett av maleriene som hadde tilhørt Glaser, *Dans ved stranden*, ble solgt av Thomas Olsens sønn Petter på Sothesby i februar 2023 for 181 millioner kroner. Petter Olsen valgte å dele salgssummen med Curt Glasers etterkommere, som i mange år har forsøkt å få bildene tilbake ... **Sjekk:** Hva skjedde? Avisene fremstilte dette som en storstilt gest fra Olsens side overfor Glasers etterkommere, men jeg vedder hatten på at det var Glaser-familien som fremsatte krav etter årelang kamp for å få tilbake den konfiskerte kunsten, jf. <https://www.aftenposten.no/kultur/i/wAxK1o/den-jødiske-kunstsamleren-ble-tvunget-til-aa-selge-munch-maleriet-i-1933-naa-roser-arvingene-loesningen>.

Jewish collector and patron of the arts Martin Flersheim had probably bought *History* when Munch exhibited it in Frankfurt the same year it was painted. After the Nazi takeover, he and his family prepared to escape, but before they got that far Martin died. In 1937 his son Fritz managed to flee the country, followed by his mother Florence the year after. Before escaping much of their art collection was confiscated, the mother and son had the remaining pictures sent to the Netherlands, where they stayed in removal crates at the free port of Amsterdam. To finance the next part of their escape to the USA they were forced to sell a number of artworks, among them *History*.

By doing so, the family spared itself the fate that Martin's brother Ernst and his family met. Ernst, like Martin, was also an art dealer in Frankfurt. He fled to the Netherlands at the same time as his sister-in-law but, unlike Florence and Fritz, had stayed there until the Nazis invaded the Netherlands in 1940. Ernst was then arrested along with his wife Gertrud and sent to Bergen-Belsen where they were both murdered. The couple's seriously ill daughter Margarete killed herself to relieve her husband Rudolf and their son Hans of any burden during their escape. This however seems to have been in vain, since both Rudolf and Hans ended up dying in Auschwitz.

So *History* (1914) wasn't confiscated by the Nazis, but sold in desperation by a Jewish widow escaping Nazi persecution. It was perhaps the horror of Kristallnacht that made Florence and Fritz give *History* to Paul Cassirer's Amsterdam gallery, who then shipped it to Oslo, January 16, 1939. Mother and son probably thought they would get the best price for the painting in the artist's homeland.

Three days later the painting was offered a bid of 20,500 kroner at City Auksjon. Whether it was actually sold, isn't clear from the newspaper accounts, but on March 9 the painting cropped up at an auction at Blomqvist Kunsthandel, where Rolf Stenersen bought it for his collection. What Florence and Fritz got for the sale, nobody knows, but today their descendants have been in touch with the museum to¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ **The story of Martin Flersheim's painting *History* (1914) by Edvard Munch:** The Flersheim family's history: <https://www.lostart.de/en/lost/person/flersheim-martin-und-florence/542404>. *History* (1914) was loaned to the large Munch exhibition in Berlin in 1927. Here the catalogue confirms, just as the archive at Berlin's National Gallery would, that the picture was owned by Flersheim. In an enquiry to the Munch Museum in 2016, representatives for Flersheim's heirs claimed that the painting was one of those sold by Florence in Amsterdam in 1937. The enquiry did not lead to any initiative for compensation or settlement from the Munch Museum and the case was put on hold. In March 2023 representatives for Flersheim's descendants got in touch again, this time with recently-found historical sources which fill out the picture's provenance, leaving little doubt that the painting was sold by Florence and Fritz Flersheim as a result of them fleeing Nazi persecution. In the archives of the Amsterdam-branch of Paul Cassirer's gallery it emerges that the gallery sold the painting for a commission on behalf of Florence Flersheim at City Auksjon, January 19, 1939, cf. "Oude Commissionsboek 1938-41," the Paul Cassirer & Walter Feilchenfeldt Archive, Zürich. According to *Tidens Tegn* 20.01.1939 the painting went under the hammer for 20,500, while *Aftenposten* and *Morgenbladet* claimed the same day that the painting wasn't sold because the seller decided that the sum was too low. The auction catalogue is preserved, but the owner/buyer is not listed. If *Aftenposten*

As a sad footnote to the painting's ownership history, after the war *History* was one of several pictures from Stenersen's collection that Oslo municipality hung in the student residences at Sogn. In 1973 these paintings were cut from their frames and stolen, but later recovered. Today, when visitors admire *History* (1914) at the Munch Museum, it's a good opportunity for them to reflect, on the connection the art has with the world, on the painting as both a "pure" aesthetic experience and as an item that has absorbed not only paint but blood, and perhaps reflect on Munch's own words about how the subject emerged while he stood at the easel with Børre Eriksen sat before him on a chair in the garden at Skrubben:

To me, the little bright-red hat he wore became a bloody crown or helmet - The large patches in various colours became "patches of time" - There was ruin and struggle therein - The large red patch on his knee became a bloody sheet - A bloody battle - And it had an overall effect on the patches on the old tree's trunk - The large patches of moss - The crumbling roots growing in the ground.¹⁰⁹

is correct, it must have been the mother and son Flersheim, or Cassirer on their behalf, who rejected the highest bid. Either way, the painting was sold in the end, not just once, but twice. Florence and Fritz boarded a ship to America in Le Havre, February 15, 1939. After a period in New York, they went on to Buenos Aires. It's not known if they came to a settlement regarding the auction sale. *History* at Blomqvist: *Alienposten* 06.03.1939, *Dagbladet* 07. and 08.1939.

NB: Check the statement above and add some sentences about the issue of liability or similar, based on the international conventions for the confiscations of Jewish assets 1933-45. Clarify this note with the Munch Museum, to ensure that the statement is correct and up to date. **NB: These affairs must be treated as confidential until further notice, this also applies to the consultants reading this.**

¹⁰⁹ N 48 (1933-40).

Litteratur

IKKE TIL OVERSETTELSE

- Albrecht, Thorsten (2003). «Entartet oder Nordische Kunst. Das Schicksal der Werke Edvard Munchs in Lübeck nach 1933», i Albrecht, Thorsten m.fl. *Edvard Munch und Lübeck*, utst.kat. Museum Behnhaus/Drägerhaus, Lübeck.
- Almgren, Birgitta, Jan Hecker-Staempchl og Ernst Piper (2008). «Alfred Rosenberg und die Nordische Gesellschaft. Der 'nordische Gedanke' in Theorie und Praxis», *Nordeuropa Forum* nr. 2.
- Altschuler, Bruce (2008). *Salon to Bienall - Exhibitions That Made Art History. Volume I:1863-1959*, Phaidon Press Limited, New York.
- Alvi, Maddalena (2020). «The Land of Cockaigne. The German Art Market and the First World War», *German History* nr. 4.
- Ames, Eric (2008). *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire of Entertainments*, University of Washington Press, Seattle og London.
- Anker, Peder og Patricia G. Bermann (red.) (2011). *Edvard Munchs aulamalerier. Fra kontroversielt prosjekt til nasjonalskatt*, Oslo.
- Arno Press (1972). *The Armory Show. International Exhibition of Modern Art 1913, vol. III. Contemporary and retrospective documents*, Arno Press, New York.
- Arnold, Anastassia (2003). *Balladen om Marie. En biografi over Marie Krøyer*, Oslo (København 1999).
- Aubert, Andreas (1904). *Det nye Norges Malerkunst. Attenhundre og fjorten til nittenhundre*, Kristiania.
- Bal, Mieke (2017). *Emma & Emma Looking Sideways. Loneliness and the Cinematic*, utst.kat. Munchmuseet, Oslo.
- Bang, Erna Holmboe (red.) (1948). *Aldri skal du svikte. Brev fra Jappe Nilssen til en svensk venninne*, Oslo.
- Bang, Erna Holmboe (red.) (1963). *Munchs kriseår*, Oslo.
- Bardon, Annie (1999). «Warnemünde - hvordan Edvard Munch kunne oppleve badestedet 1907-1908», i Bjørnstad, Sissel (red): *Munch og Warnemünde*, Oslo.
- Barron, Stephanie (1991a). «Modern Art Politics in Prewar Germany», i Barron, Stephanie (red.): *"Degenerate Art". The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany, ... forlag*, Los Angeles.
- Barron, Stephanie (1991b). «The Galerie Fischer Auction», i Barron, Stephanie (red.): *"Degenerate Art". The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany, ... forlag*, Los Angeles.
- Bastek, Alexander (red.) (2021). *100 Jahre Nordische Woche/100 Jahre Museum Behnhaus*, utst.kat., Michael Imhof Verlag, Lübeck.

- Berg, Knut, Nils Messel og Lange, Marit (1981). "Maleriet 1870-1914", i *Norges kunsthistorie, bind 5: Nasjonal vekst*, Oslo.
- Bergman, Gösta M. (1966). *Den moderna teaterns genombrott 1890-1925, ... forlag*, Stockholm.
- Berman, Patricia G. (1993). "Body and body politic in Edvard Munch's Bathing Men", i Adler, Kathleen og Marcia Pointon (red): *The Body imaged. The Human Form and Visual Culture since the Renaissance*, Cambridge University Press, ... by.
- Berman, Patricia G. (1996). "The Invention of Julius Meier-Graefe, German Modernism and the Genealogy of Genius", i Forster-Hahn, Francoice (red): *Imagining Modern German Culture 1889-1910, ... forlag*, Washington.
- Berman, Patricia G. (2006). "Edvard Munch's 'Modern life of the soul'", i McShine, Kynaston (red): *Edvard Munch. The modern life of the soul, ... forlag*, New York.
- Berman, Patricia G. (2011a). "Strategisk modernitet. Munch og universitetet", Anker, Peder og Patricia G. Bermann (red.): *Edvard Munchs aulamalerier. Fra kontroversielt prosjekt til nasjonalskatt, ... forlag*, Oslo.
- Berman, Patricia G. (2011b). "Fra Munchs laboratorium", i Ydstie, Ingebjørg (red): *Munchs laboratorium. Veien til aulaen*, Munchmuseet, Oslo.
- Berman, Patricia G. (2016). "Self-Portraits as Expressionist Embodiements", i Lloyd, Jill og Reinhold Heller (red): *Munch and expressionism*, utst.kat., Prestel, New York.
- Berman, Patricia G., Petra Pettersen og Ingebjørg Ydstie (2011). "Innledning", i Ydstie, Ingebjørg (red): *Munchs laboratorium. Veien til aulaen*, Munchmuseet, Oslo.
- Bischoff, Ulrich von (1994). "Munchs Einzug in die deutschen Museen bis 1937", i Hansen, Dorothee (red.): *Munch und Deutschland*, utst.kat. Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg.
- Biørnstad, Sissel og Arne Eggum (1981). *Alfa & Omega*, utstillingskatalog, Munchmuseet, Oslo.
- Bjerke, Øivind Storm (2015). "På terskelen til modernismen", etterord i den norske nyutgaven av William Ritters essay om Edvard Munch (Ritter, William: *Edvard Munch*, Oslo (1906).
- Bjerke, Øyvind Storm (2012). «The Pavilion of De 14», i van den Berg, Hugo m.fl. (red.): *A Cultural History of the Avant-Garde in the Nordic Countries 1900-1925*, Editions Rodopi B.V.
- Borberg, Peter (2017). *Storm P. En biografi*, Aarhus.
- Brandell, Gunnar (1950). *Strindbergs infernokris*, Stockholm.
- Broen. Åsgårdstrandiana*, utgitt av Åsgårdstrand og omegn historielag, 2012
- Brown, Milton W. (1988). *The Story of the Armory Show*, Aberville Press, New York.
- Bruteig, Magne (2018). Ingse og Edvard. Et livslangt vennskap, <https://www.arkiverket.no/utforsk-arkivene/nyere-historie-1814-/ingse-og-edvard-et-livslangt-vennskap>.
- Brühl, Georg (1991). *Die Cassirers. Streiter für den Impressionismus*, Edition Leipzig, Leipzig.
- Brynhildsvoll, Knut (2008). *Sigurd Mathiesen. Norges bortglemte laurbær*, Oslo.
- Brünniche, Einar (1919). "Om kunst og sinnslidelse", *Tilskueren* juli.
- Chang, Alison W. (2014). "Staging ethnicity. Edvard Munch's image of Sultan Abdul Karim", i Childs, Adrienne og Susan Libby (red): *Blacks and Blackness in European Art of the long Nineteenth Century*, Aschgate, London.
- Chéroux, Clément (2012). "Optical Space", i Lampe, Angela og Clément Chéroux (red.): *Edvard Munch. The Modern Eye*, Tate Publishing, London.
- Clarke, Jay A. (2013). "1927. Munch's changing role in Germany", *Kunst og Kultur* nr. 4.
- Dahl, Anne Maren (2002). *Et psykiatrisk perspektiv på Edvard Munch med vekt på hans personlighetsprofil*, oppgave i medisin, Universitetet i Oslo.
- Danbolt, Gunnar (2015). *Norsk kunsthistorie. Bilde og skulptur frå vikingtida til i dag*, Oslo.
- Dedichen, Jens (1981). *Tulla Larsen og Edvard Munch,*, Oslo.

- Demm, Eberhard (2021). *Censorship and Propaganda in World War I. A Comprehensive History*, Bloomsbury Academic, London.
- Dietrichson, Lorentz (1991). *Norges kunsts historie i det nittende århundre*, Messel forlag, Oslo.
- Dietrichson, Lorentz (1993). *Norges kunsts historie. Renaissance og dansketid*, Messel forlag, Oslo.
- Durie, Bruce (2015). "Could Edvard Munch have had children with Eva Mudocci? Genealogy and DNA", i Influence on genealogy and heraldry of major events in the history of a nation. Proceedings of The XXX International congress of genealogical and heraldic sciences, Oslo 2014, Oslo.
- Easton, Laird (red) (2013). *Journey to the Abyss. The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler 1880-1918*, Vintage Books, New York (2011).
- Egge, Peter (1948). *Minner fra barndom og ungdom*, Oslo.
- Egge, Peter (1950). *Minner fra tiden rundt århundreskiftet*, Oslo.
- Eggum, Arne (1978). "Brücke og Edvard Munch", i *Die Brücke - Edvard Munch*, utst.kat. Munchmuseet 16. oktober-26. november, Oslo.
- Eggum, Arne (1987). *Munch og fotografiet*, Gyldendal, Oslo.
- Eggum, Arne (2007). "Munch på vei til Thielska galleriet. En vandring med Nietzsche langs stupet", i Linde, Ulf (red.). (2007). *Edvard Munch og Thielska galleriet*, Oslo.
- Eitheim, Øyvind, Jan T. Klovland og Jan F. Qvigstad (red) (2007). *Norges Banks occasional papers no. 38. Historical Monetary Statistics for Norway - Part II*, Oslo.
- Endresen, Signe (2015). *Serial Experiments. Close-Readings of Edvard Munch's Det grønne værelset (1907)*, PhD-avhandling, Universitetet i Oslo.
- Esswein, Hermann (1905). *Edvard Munch,* (forlag og by)
- Evensmo, Sigurd: *Det store tivoli. Film og kino i Norge*, Oslo 1992 (1967).
- Feilchenfeldt, Rahel E. & Markus Brandis (2002). *Paul Cassirer Verlag, Berlin 1898-1933. Ein kommentierte Bibliographie*, München.
- Fett, Harry (1956). "Geniet og hans mor", *Aftenposten* 17.07.
- Figueiredo, Ivo de (2010). *Mysteriet Ingeborg Køber. En sann historie og spiritisme, kjærlighet og et mulig mord*, Aschehoug Oslo.
- Figueiredo, Ivo de (2019). *Henrik Ibsen. Mennesket og masken*, Oslo (2010).
- Filla, Emil: «Tsjekkerne og Edvard Munch», *Kunst og kultur* 1939.
- Fleckner, Uwe (m.fl.). (2017). *Markt und Macht. Der Kunsthandel im «Dritten Reich»*, Schriften der Forschungsstelle «Entartete Kunst», Berlin.
- Fleckner, Uwe (2015). "Der Expressionismus als 'nordische' Moderne, i Fleckner, Uwe og Maike Steinkamp (red.): *Gauklerfest unterm Galgen. Expressionismus zwischen «Nordischer» Moderne und «Entarteter» Kunst*, Schriften der Forschungsstelle «Entartete Kunst», Berlin.
- Flotow, H.v. (red): *Albert Kollmann. Ein Leben für die Kunst*, Berlin 1921.
- Flaatten, Hans-Martin Frydenberg (2013a). *Edvard Munch. Måneskimm i Åsgårdstrand. Edvard Munchs sjøleilandskap, scener, stemmer og stemninger i en småby ved fjorden*, Sem & Stenersen, Oslo.
- Flaatten, Hans-Martin Frydenberg (2013b). *Edvard Munch. Soloppgang i Kragerø. Historien om Edvard Munchs liv på Skrubben 1909-1915*, Sem & Stenersen, Oslo.
- Flaatten, Hans-Martin Frydenberg (2014). *Edvard Munch i Moss. Kunst, Krig og kapital på Jeløy 1913-1916*, Punkt Ø, Moss.
- Flaatten, Hans-Martin Frydenberg (2016). *Edvard Munch. Høysommer i Hvitsten. Hans kunstnerliv på Nedre Ramme 1910-44*, Vestby kommune, Vestby.
- Forfatter/red (1972). *The Armory Show. International Exhibition of Modern Art 1913, Vol. III. Contemporary and retrospective documents*, Arno Press, New York.
- Forsberg, Lars Ragnar (2016). *Ernest Thiel. Pengar och passion*, Stockholm (2015).

- Friedman, Robert Marc (1911). "Et forjættende symbol". Aulæen, universitetet og folket", i Anker, Peder og Patricia G. Bermann (red.): *Edvard Munchs aulamalerier. Fra kontroversielt prosjekt til nasjonalskatt*, Oslo.
- Fulda, Bernhard (2019). *Emil Nolde. The Artist during the Third Reich*, Prestel, München.
- Fulsås, Narve (2002). «Tarjei Vesaas og norsk litteratur i Nazi-Tyskland», *Edda* nr. 2.
- Fulsås, Narve og Tore Rem (2019). "Networks, Asymmetries and Appropriations. Towards a Typology", *Ibsen-Studies* vol. 19, nr. 2.
- Gauguin, Pola (1946). *Edvard Munch*. Ny utgave, Oslo.
- Gee, Malcolm (2014). "Contemporary Art in Boom and Crisis. France and Germany 1918-1933", https://www.academia.edu/34745810/Contemporary_Art_in_Boom_and_Crisis_France_and_Germany_1918_1933.
- Gerlach, Hans Egon (1955). *Edvard Munch. Sein Leben und sein Werk*, Hamburg.
- Gierløff, Christian (1946). «Kampår», i *Edvard Munch som vi kjente ham. Vennene forteller*, Oslo.
- Gierløff, Christian (1953). *Munch selv*, Gyldendal, Oslo.
- Gjessing, Steinar (1980). «Tendenser og retninger gjennom fem decennier 1930-40: Norge og Europa», i Hellandsjø, Karin og Steinar Gjessing (red.): *Kunstnerens hus 1930-1980*, Kunstnerens hus, Oslo.
- Gjessing, Steinar (2013). «Canica Kunstsamling – noen overveielser og premisser», i Toft-Eriksen, Lars (red.): *Fra Munch til Slettemark. 200 kunstverk fra en norsk privatsamling*, utst.kat. Munchmuseet, Oslo.
- Glaser, Curt (2007). *Zu Besuch bei Edvard Munch in Ekely - 1927*, Kleine Bibliothek nr. 2, Basel.
- Gløersen, Inger Alver (1958). *Mefisto i Djæveklubben. Boken om maleren Ravensberg*, Oslo.
- Goffman, Erwin: *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959, norsk oversettelse Vårt rollespill til daglig – en studie i hverdagslivets dramatik, 1974. Hanseth, Tor: *Andreas Haukland. Liv og diktning*, Mosjøen 1972
- Goldstein, Emanuel (1908): «Indtryk fra Munchs Ophold på Jacobsens Klinik», unpubl. Ms. (kopi MM).
- Grautoff, Otto (1921). *Die neue Kunst*, Berlin.
- Grisebach, Eberhard (1962). *Maler des Expressionismus in Briefwechsel mit Eberhard Grisebach*, Hamburg.
- Grøgaard, Stian (2013). *Edvard Munch. Et utsatt liv*, Akademika forlag, Oslo.
- Grøndahl & Søn (utg.) (1946). *Edvard Munch. Mennesket og kunstneren*, Oslo.
- Guleng, Mai Britt (2011). "Edvard Munch – fortelleren", i Guleng (red): *eMunch.no – tekst og bilde*, Oslo.
- Halse, Sven (2004). "Vitalisme – fænomen og begreb", *Kritik 171*, København.
- Halvorsen, Walther (1911). "Kunst og unge kunstnere", *Kunst og Kultur*.
- Hammervoll, Ingvild: «En dans med døden», *Kunstforum* 3/2016.
- Hamsun, Tore (1990). *Efter år og dag*, Gyldendal, Oslo.
- Hansen, Jens Morten: "The Introduction of Bjørnson and Ibsen on the German Stage", i Lothe, Jacob og Bente Larsen (red): *Perspectives on the Nordic*, Oslo 2016.
- Haugerud, Helge (1985). *Edvard Munch – årene 1902-09*, spesialoppgave i psykiatri, Universitetet i Oslo.
- Hauptmann, Ivo: *Erinnerungen an Edvard Munch*, Oslo kommunes kunstsamlinger, Årbok 1963.
- Hedgecock, Jennifer (2019). *Cultural Reflections of Medusa. The Shadow in the Glass*, Routledge, London.
- Heise, Brigitte (1998). "Die Familie Linde in Lübeck. Pioniere der modernen Kunst", *Weltkunst* nr. 2.
- Heller, Reinhold (1984). *Munch. His Life and Work*, The University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

- Heller, Reinhold (2006). "‘Could only have been painted by a madman’ - or could it?", McShine, Kynaston (red): *Edvard Munch. The modern life of the soul*, New York.
- Heller, Reinhold (2015). "In part myself. Edvard Munch and Vincent van Gogh compared", i Dijkstra, Maite van m.fl. (red): *Munch: Van Gogh*, utst.kat. Munchmuseet, Oslo.
- Heller, Reinhold (2017). «Edvard Munch as Photographed for his 75th Birthday, 1938. Strategies in Defense of a Legacy», *Kunst og Kultur* nr. 1-2.
- Heller, Reinhold (1968). «Strømpefabrikanten, van de Velde og Edvard Munch», *Kunst og Kultur* nr. 2.
- Hoff, Svein Olav (1992). *Henrik Sørensen. Fragmenter av et kunstnerliv*, Oslo..
- Hoffmann, Meike (2017). «Sabotuer und Profiteur. Hildebrandt Gurlit als Händler ‘entarteter’ Kunst», i Fleckner, Uwe m.fl. (red.): *Markt und Macht. Der Kunsthandel im «Dritten Reich»*, Schriften der Forschungsstelle «Entarteter Kunst», Berlin.
- Hollmann, Andrea og Roland März (2014): *Herman Göring und sein Agent Josef Angerer. Annexion und Verkauf “Entarteter Kunst” aus deutschen Museumsbesitz 1938*, Schriften der Forschungsstelle «Entartete Kunst», Paderborn.
- Holt, Cecilie Tyri: *Edvard Munch. Fotografier*, Oslo 2013.
- Hougen, Pål (1967). *Edvard Munch (1863-1944)*, utst.kat. Stavanger kunstforening 7.-30. april.
- Howoldt, Jenns E. (1987). *Bildersturm im Behnhaus. Mit einer Dokumentation der 1937 beschlagnahmten Gemälde und Skulpturen*, utst.kat. Museum Behnhaus, Lübeck.
- Hüneke, Andreas (1991). "On the Trail of Missing Masterpieces. Modern Art from German Galleries", i Barron, Stephanie (1991b). "The Galerie Fischer Auction", i Barron, Stephanie (red.): *"Degenerate Art". The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany, ...*, Los Angeles.
- Hüneke, Andreas (red.) (2011). *Der Blaue Reiter. Eine Geschichte in Dokumenten*, Stuttgart.
- Høisæther, Ole Rikard (1995). «Utstillingsplanen 1940. Status og vendepunkt», *Kunst og kultur* nr. 4.
- Jacobsen, Kjetil og Kathrine Lund (2015). *Krigsbilder. Kunst under okkupasjonen 1940-45*, utst.katalog, Arendal.
- Jacobsen, Lasse (2012). "History, Events and Stories", i Angela og Clément Chéroux (red): *Edvard Munch. The Modern Eye*, Tate Publishing, London.
- Jacobsen, Lasse (2019). «Edvard Munchs testamentariske gave i krigens tegn», i Munchmuseet (utg.): *Exit! Historier fra Munchmuseet 1963-2019*, Oslo.
- Jacobson, Daniel (1932). *I kittel og kjole. Smaaatræk af et menneskes liv*, København.
- Janda, Annegret (1991). "The Fight for Modern Art. The Berlin Nationalgalerie after 1933", i Barron, Stephanie (red.): *"Degenerate Art". The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany, ...*, Los Angeles.
- Jensen, Robert (1994). *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey.
- Jensen, Arnfinn (2012). «Christian Gierløff – forfatter og samfunnsbygger», *Historieglimt. Årsskrift for Kragerø og Skåtøy historielag 2012*, Kråkerøy.
- Johannisson, Karin (2015). *Den sårade divan. Om psykets estetik*, Stockholm.
- Johannisson, Karin (2016). *Melankoliska rum. Om ångest, leda och sårbarhet i förfluten tid*, Stockholm (2009).
- Justi, Ludwig (1932). "Zum Ankauf des van Gogh", *Kunst und Wirtschaft* nr. 13.
- Justi, Ludwig (1921). *Neue Kunst. Ein Führer zu den Gemälden der sogenannten Ekspressionisten in der National-Galerie*, Berlin.
- Justi, Ludwig (1927). *Edvard Munch. Ausstellung in der Nationalgalerie 1927*, Berlin.
- Kellein, Thomas (red.). (2002). *Edvard Munch. 1912 in Deutschland*, utst.kat. Kunsthalle Bielefeld.
- Kieler, Laura. *Silhouetter*, Odense 1887.

- Kirchner, Ernst Ludwig (1990). *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner - Gustav Schiefler. Briefwechsel 1910-1935/1938*, Belser Verlag:Stuttgart und Zürich.
- Kittelsen, Elin (2017). "Myth of 1910. Edvard Munch's Alpha and Omega, *Kunst og Kultur* nr. 1-2.
- Kittelsen, Ingrid Treider (1959). *Tiril-Tove. Minner om Th. Kittelsen og hans hus*, Oslo.
- Kneher, Jan (1994). *Edvard Munch und seinen Ausstellungen zwischen 1892 und 1912. Eine Dokumentation der Ausstellungen und Studie zur Rezeptionsgeschichte von Munchs Kunst*, Phd-avh., bd. II, Ruprecht Karls Universität, Heidelberg.
- Koldehoff, Stefan (2012). "Eben doch nur ein Künstler kleineren Stils'. Vincent van Gogh und der Kampf um die Moderne in Deutschland", i Schaefer, Barbara (red): *1912 - Mission Moderne. Die Jahrhundertschau des Sonderbundes*, utst.kat., Köln.
- Köllnitz, Andrea (2012). "Promoting the Young. Interactions between the Avant-Garde and the Swedish Art Market 1910-1925", i van den Berg, Hubert (red): *A Cultural History of the Avant-Garde in the Nordic Countries, 1900-1925*, Rodopi, New York og Amsterdam.
- Kongssund, Anita (2001). «Fra nazistene til Nasjonalmuseet», *Klassekampen* 10.05.
- Kongssund, Anita (2006). «Saaledes slumrer vist...», *Kunst og Kultur* nr. 2.
- Kotalík, Jiri m.fl. (1971). *Edvard Munch og den tsjekkiske kunst*, utst.kat. Munchmuseet, Oslo.
- Kuenzli, Katherine: *Henry van de Velde. Designing Modernism*, Yale UP, New Haven og London 2019.
- Kratter, Otto (1953). *Edvard Munch som sjelsgransker. En kunstpsykologisk studie*, Oslo.
- Krieger, Peter (1978). *Edvard Munch Der Lebensfries für Max Reinhardts Kammerspiele*, Berlin.
- Kringlen, Einar (1979). "Edvard Munch - A psychiatric outline", i Roth M. og V. Cowie (red): *Psychiatry, Genetics and pathography*, London:Gaskell Press.
- Køhler, Kaia A. (2004). "Fra stumfilmstiden", *Historieglimt. Årsskrift for Kragerø og Skåtøy historielag*, Kragerø.
- Körber, Lill-Ann (2006). "Munch and men. Work, Nation, and reproduction in Edvard Munch's later works", i Mørstad, Erik (red): *Edvard Munch. An Anthology*, Oslo.
- Lampe, Angela (2012). "Munch and Max Reinhardt's Modern Stage", i Lampe, Angela og Clément Chéroux (red): *Edvard Munch. The Modern Eye*, Tate Publishing, London.
- Lampl, Hans Erich: «Edvard Munchs skjebne i Nazi-Tyskland», *Morgenbladet* 10.03.1964.
- Langbehn, Julius (1890). Rembrandt als Erzieher, von einem Deutschen, Leipzig.
- Langaard, Johan H (1932). *E. Munch (Maleren). Veiledet IV*. Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo.
- Lathe, Carla (1995). «Edvard Lathe. Edvard Munch and Great Britain», *Scandinavia* nr. 2.
- Lerberg, Ellen (1993). *Maleren Anders Castus Svarstad (1869-1943)*, magisteravh. Universitetet i Oslo.
- Linde, Brita (1969). *Ernest Thiel och hans konstgalleri*, Stockholm.
- Linde, Max (1902). *Edvard Munch und die Kunst der Zukunft*, Berlin.
- Linde, Ulf (2007). *Edvard Munch og Thielska galleriet*, Oslo.
- Luckhardt, Ulrich (2001). «'Noch immer sind Besitz und Kultur getrennte Güter'. Das private Sammeln von Kunst in Hamburg», i Luckhardt, Ulrich og Uwe M. Schneede (utg): *Private Schätze. Über das Sammeln von Kunst in Hamburg bis 1933*, Hamburg.
- Lüttichau, Mario-Andreas von (1991). "Entartete Kunst, Munich 1937, i Barron, Stephanie (red.): *"Degenerate Art". The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany, ...*, Los Angeles.
- Lømo, Margrethe (2014). *Din hengivne Jens Thiis. Hvordan Jens Thiis fremmet Edvard Munch gjennom tekst, samling og kuratering i perioden 1900-1913*, masteroppgave, Universitetet i Oslo.
- Macyntire, Ben (1993). *Forgotten Fatherland. The search for Elisabeth Nietzsche*, Bloomsbury Paperbacks 2013 (1993).
- Manheim, Ron (1989). "The 'Germanic' van Gogh. A Case Study of Cultural Annexation", i *Simiolus*, vol. 19, nr. 4. Apeldoorn.

- Markussen, Åse (2003). "Matisse-elevene inntar kunstakademiet", *Kunst og Kultur* nr. 2.
- McGavran, Sarah: «Gauguin auf der Sonderbund-ausstellung. Die Verdeutschung 'des grossen Barbaren'», i Schaefer, Barbara (red): *1912 - Mission Moderne. Die Jahrhundertschau des Sonderbundes*, utst.kat., Köln.... sjekk ref.
- Meier-Gräfe, Julius (1904). *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Modernen Kunst*, bd. I-III, Stuttgart.
- Messel, Nils (1995). *Karsten*, Oslo.
- Messel, Nils (1999). *Sommeren med Edvard Munch og Arne Kavli*, Stiftelsen Modum Blaafarveværk 22. mai-30. september 1999, Modum.
- Messel, Nils (2012). «'Den smakfuldeste dekoratør i Norden'. Jens Thiis i Nasjonalgalleriet», *Kunst og kultur* nr. 4.
- Messel, Nils (2016). *Franske forbindelser. Kunst, kapital og konjunkturer i Norge rundt 1. verdenskrig*, Messel forlag, Oslo.
- Messel, Nils (2022). «Edvard Munch og Nasjonalgalleriet», i Ustvedt, Øystein og Marianne Yvenes (red.). *Edvard Munch og Nasjonalgalleriet. En samlet oversikt*, Nasjonalmuseet, Oslo.
- Midtbøe, Hans: "Max Reinhardts iscenesettelse av Ibsens Gespenter i Kammerspiele des Deutschen Theaters Berlin 1906 - Dekor Edvard Munch", *Det kgl. norske videnskabers selskabs skrifter* 4/1969.
- Mohr, Otto Lous (1960). *Edvard Munchs auladekorasjoner i lys av ukjente utkast og sakens akter*, Oslo.
- Morehead, Allison (2017). *Nature's Experiments and the search for symbolist form*, The Pennsylvania State University Press. (strøket ref?)
- Munch, Edvard (1911). *Munchs konkurranseutkast til Universitetets festsal. Utstilling i Dioramalokalet*, Kristiania.
- Munch, Inger (1932). *Akerselven*, N.W. Damm & Søn, Oslo.
- Müller-Westermann, Iris (udat.). *Sonderbund. International Kunstaust. Coeln 1912 in der Ausstellungshalle der Stadt Coeln am Aachener Tor 25. Mai-30. September 9-17 Uhr*, hefte med identifisering av Munchs bilder på Sonderbund-utstillingen på grunnlag av utstillingsfotografiene, MM.
- Mæhle, Ole (1970). *Jens Thiis. En kunstens forkjemper*, Oslo.
- Nerdrum, Nora Ceciliedatter (2021). *Om Kunskabens Træ paa godt og ondt*, utst.kat., Munchmuseet, Oslo.
- Nilsen, Thomas (2010). *Antisemittisme og antijudaisme i Vestfold 1918-1942. En undersøkelse av lokale antisemittiske og antijudeiske holdninger i avispressen*. Masteravhandling ved Det teologiske menighetsfakultetet.
- Nilsen, Tom Normann (1994). *Jens Thiis' renessansestudier. En analyse av Jens Thiis' renessanseforskning i lys av hans hjemlige kulturmiljø og internasjonale forskningsmetoder*, hovedoppgave, Universitetet i Oslo.
- Nolde, Emil (1958). *En kunstners kampår*, København.
- Nome, Paul: *Krystallisasjon som kunst. En studie i Edvard Munchs notater om hans tro, livssyn og kunstforståelse, relatert til hans bilder*, Menighetsfakultetet, Oslo 2000.
- Nygård, Stefan og Johan Strang (2016). "Facing Asymmetry. Nordic Intellectuals and Center-Periphery Dynamics in European Cultural Space", *Journal of the History of Ideas* vol. 77, nr. 1.
- Næss, Atle (2004). *Munch. En biografi*, Oslo.
- Oxfeldt, Elisabet: *Nordic Orientalism. Paris and the Cosmopolitan Imagination 1800-1900*, København 2005.
- Paret, Peter (1980). *The Berlin Secession. Modernism and it's Enemies in imperial Germany*, Harvard UP.
- Pauli, Gustav (1915). *Der Krieg und die deutsche Kunst*, Hamburg. **Sjekk**

- Pauli, Gustav (1990). "Begegnung mit Edvard Munch am 22. Juni 1926", *Idea. Werke, Theorien, Dokumente. Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunsthalle*, Hamburg.
- Perls, Hugo (1965). *Varför är Kamilla vacker?*, Stockholm (tysk utg. 1962).
- Petersen, Vibeke (2012). "The Avant-Garde and the Danish Art Market", i van den Berg, Hubert (red): *A Cultural History of the Avant-Garde in the Nordic Countries, 1900-1925*, Rodopi, New York og Amsterdam.
- Pettersen, Petra (2001a): "Alma Mater - Munchs stebarn", i Ydstie, Ingebjørg (red.): *Munchs laboratorium. Veien til Aulaen*, Munchmuseet, Oslo.
- Pettersen, Petra (2011). "Munchs forarbeider til aulamaleriene", i Anker, Peder og Patricia G. Bermann (red.): *Edvard Munchs aulamalerier. Fra kontroversielt prosjekt til nasjonalskatt*, Oslo.
- Pettersen, Petra (2011b). "Edvard Munchs seiersgang. Dekorasjonsutkast i 'halv' størrelse, Ydstie, Ingebjørg (red.): *Munchs laboratorium. Veien til Aulaen*, Munchmuseet, Oslo.
- Piper, Ernst: *Nationalsozialistische Kunstpolitik. Ernst Barlach und die "entartete Kunst"*, Frankfurt 1987
- Prelinger, Elisabeth (2001). *After the scream. The late paintings of Edvard Munch*, New Haven & London.
- Prelinger, Elisabeth (2002). *After the Scream. The late paintings of Edvard Munch*, utst.kat. High Museum of Art, Atlanta, Yale University Press, New Haven and London.
- Przybyszewski, Stanisław (1894/2022). *Edvard Munchs verk. Fire bidrag av Stanisław Przybyszewski, Dr. Frank Servaes, Willy Pastor og Julius Meier-Gräfe*, oversett. Eivind Tjønneland, Orkana Akademisk, Stamsund (tysk utg. 1894).
- Rassmussen, Rulle (1943). *Salong og foyer. Minner, meninger, fantasier om livet på scene og podium*, Oslo.
- Ravenal, Carol M. (1986). "Three faces of mother. Madonna, martyr, medusa", *Journal of psychohistory*, nr. 13.
- Retterstøl, Nils (2004). "Edvard Munch", i *Store tanker, urolige sinn. 21 psykiatriske portretter*, Oslo.
- Rilke, Rainer Maria (2004). "Briefe über Cézanne" (1903), i norsk oversettelse: *August Rodin. Brev om Cézanne*, Oslo.
- Rima Shore, Rima (2019). *Lady with a Brooch. Violinst Eva Mudocci. A biography and a detective story*, Scriviana Press: Eugene, Oregon and Iowa City.
- Rode, Edith (1957). *Paa rejse i livet*, København.
- Rode, H.P. (1963). "Edvard Munch på klinik i København", *Kunst og kultur* nr. 4.
- Rognerud, Hilde (2010). *Zarathustra-Nietzsche med vinger. Edvard Munchs portretter av Friedrich Nietzsche 1906. Oppdragssituasjon - ikonografi - motvifortolkninger*, masteravh, Universitetet i Oslo 2010.
- Rognerud, Hilde (2013). "Munch! - Nietzsche, Thiel och Nordens störste konstnär", i Brändström, Anders (red): *Munch! - Nietzsche, Thiel och Nordens största konstnär*, Stockholm.
- Romdahl, Axel (1944). "Edvard Munch. Intryck och minnen», *Konsthistorisk tidskrift XIII*, jan.
- Roth, Nicole (2011). «Schwere Verstümmelung und sehr merkbare Rangminderung der Sammlung», i Fleckner, Uwe og Max Hollein (red): *Museum im Widerspruch. Das Städel und der Nationalsozialismus*, Schriften der Forschungsstelle «Entartete Kunst», Berlin.
- Sandberg, Inger (2013). «Edvard Munch - Skrubben og Kragerø», i *Kragerø og Skåtøy historielag* (utg): *Edvard Munch i Kragerø*, Kragerø.
- Sassoon, Donald (2006). *The Culture of the Europeans. From 1800 to the Present*, HarperPress, London.
- Schiefler, Gustav (1907/1974). *Verzeichnis des graphischen Werks Edvard Munch bis 1906*, Oslo 1974 (Berlin 1907).

- Schneede, Uwe (1994). "Eine der Säulen moderner Malerei". Munch auf der Sonderbund-Ausstellung 1912 in Köln", i Hansen, Dorothee (red): *Munch und Deutschland*, uts.kat. Hamburg Kunsthalle
- Schreiner, Kristian (1946). "Minner fra Ekely", i *Edvard Munch som vi kjente ham. Vennene forteller*, Oslo.
- Semenova, Natalya: *Mozorov. The story of a Family and a Lost Collection*, Yale University Press 2020.
- Sennett, Richard: *The Fall of Public Man*, New York 1992 (1977).
- Servaes, Franz (1927). «Die Edvard-Munch-Ausstellung der Nationalgalerie», *Der Tag* nr. 3.
- Shore, Rima (2019). *Lady with a Brooch. Violinist Eva Mudocci. A biography & a detective story*, Iowa City.
- Simon, Hans U (utg.): *Eberhard von Bodenhausen - Harry Graf Kessler. Ein Briefwechsel 1894-1918*, Marbach 1978.
- Simonsen, Kjetil Braut (2020). «Antisemittismen i Norge, ca. 1918-1940. Former, funksjoner og virkninger», i Sørensen, Øystein og Kjetil Braut Simonsen (red): *Historie og moral. Nazismen, jødene og hjemmefronten*, Oslo.
- Sjåstad, Øyvind (2018). «Edvard Diriks. En viking på Montparnasse», *Kunst og kultur* nr. 4.
- Skedsmo, Tone (1976). *To norske kunstsamlere ved århundreskiftet. Olaf Schou og Rasmus Meyer*, mag. avh. Universitetet i Oslo.
- Slagstad, Rune (2008). «Munchs kropp», i (*Sporten*). *En idéhistorisk studie*, Pax Forlag, Oslo.
- Solbakken, Bente og Anita Kongssund (2020). *Nasjonalgalleriets historie*, Nasjonalmuseet, Oslo.
- Sollhjell, Dag (2009). «Nasjonalgalleriets første direktør, Jens Thiis, som kunstopolitiker og institusjonsbygger», *Kunst og kultur* nr. 1.
- Steinberg, Stanley og Joseph Weiss (1954). "The art of Edvard Munch and its function in his mental life", *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, New York nr. 3.
- Stenseth, Bodil (1994). *Pakten. Munch - en familiehistorie*, Aschehoug, Oslo.
- Strindberg, August (1970). *August Strindbergs brev 12. December 1896-augusti 1898*, Torsten Eklund (red.), Bonnier, Stockholm.
- Sulerud, Gard Jørgen: *Edvard Munch. Mord/Marat-bildene. En studie av visuelle endringer i form og tematikk*, masteroppgave, Universitetet i Oslo 2017.
- Sørensen, Gunnar (1981). "Vitalismens år?", i *Cras* (dansk tidsskrift), København.
- Sørensen, Gunnar (2006). "Vitalismens år", *Livskraft. Vitalismen som kunstnerisk impuls 1900-1930*, utst.kat. Munchmuseet, Oslo.
- Sørensen, Gunnar (2011). «Edvard Munch og de andre - Konkurransen», i Ydstie, Ingebjørg (red.): *Munchs laboratorium. Veien til Aulaen*, Oslo.
- Sørensen, Henrik (1911). "Thorvald Erichsen og Oluf Wold Thorne", *Kunst og Kultur*.
- Tandberg, Kristin (2003). *Utstillingene «Nyere tysk kunst» i Oslo 1932 og «Zeitgenössische Norwegische Malerei und Skulptur» i Berlin 1933. Norsk-tysk samarbeid under nasjonalsosialismens fremmarsj*, hovedoppg. i kunsthistorie, Universitetet i Oslo.
- Therkelsen, Jørgen (1993). Edvard Munch og Daniel Jacobson, *Bibliotek for læger* nr. 4.
- Thiel, Ernest (1990). *Vara eller synas vara. Minnen och anteckningar*, Stockholm (1969).
- Thiis, Jens (1901). "Edvard Munch. Et fragment", *Samtiden*.
- Thiis, Jens (1907). "Edvard Munch. Et foredrag holdt i anledning af en udstilling af kunstnerens arbejder i Kristiania", *Ord och Bild*.
- Thiis, Jens (1907). *Norske malere og billedkunstnere. En fremstilling af norsk billedkunsts historie i det nittende århundrede med oversigt over samtidig fremmed kunst, bd. II: Fransk malerkunst - norske kunstforhold - norsk malerkunst i de sidste 25 år og bd. III: Billedhuggerne*, Bergen.
- Thiis, Jens (1911-12). "Den internationale kunstutstilling i Köln", *Kunst og Kultur*,
- Thiis, Jens (1938). «Det offentlige monumentmaleri i Norge», *St. Halvard*.
- Thiis, Jens i *Kunst og kultur* 1913-1914:79f..... **sjekk** (50-års jub.nr.)
- Thommessen, Rolf (1904). *Norsk billedkunst. En historisk veiledning*, Kristiania.

- Thue, Sivert (2011). «Den fri kjærligheds by. Et dramatisk oppgjør med Kristiania-bohemen», Guleng 2011.
- Thue, Sivert: “Also sprach Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche. Edvard Munch og Weimars førstedame”, *Kunstforum* 1/2010.
- Timonina, Alexandra (2020). “Comparing the Cologne Sonderbund of 1912 and the Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition in London”, i Argan, Giovanni, Maria Redaelli og Alexandra Timonina (red): *Talking and Denying. Challenging Canons in Arts and Philosophy*, Venezia.
- Torjusen, Bente: «Edvard Munchs utstilling i Praha 1905», *Kunsten i dag* 3/1971.
- Ugelstad, Janike Sverdrup: “Kunstnermøte”, *Kunst og kultur* 3/1996.
- Ustvedt, Øystein (2019). “Tøvær: Munch, landskap og Elgersburg-kvintetten”, *Kunst og kultur* nr. 3.
- Ustvedt, Øystein og Marianne Yvenes (red.) (2022). *Edvard Munch i Nasjonalmuseet. En samlet oversikt, Nasjonalmuseet for kunst, arkitektur og design*, Oslo.
- Vassenden, Eirik (2012). *Norsk vitalisme. Litteratur, ideologi og livsdyrking 1890-1940*, Oslo.
- Volle, Wenche (2013). “Edvard Munch’s Exhibition at Kunsthandlung P.H. Beyer & Sohn in 1903”, *Kunst og kultur* nr. 4.
- Wahl, Volker (1988). *Jena als Kunst-Stadt 1900-1933*, Leipzig.
- Waldmann, Emil (1927). *Die Kunst des Realismus und des Impressionismus im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin.
- Werenskiold, Marit (1989). “Fra Kirchner til Kandinsky. Die Brücke og Der Blaue Reiter i Kristiania 1908-1916”, *Kunst og Kultur*.
- Woll, Gerd (1978). «The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil,” i (red.): *Edvard Munch. Symbols & Images*, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.
- Woll, Gerd (1993). «Fra aulaen til rådhuset. Edvard Munchs utsmykningsprosjekter 1909-1930», i (red.): *Edvard Munch. Monumentale prosjekter 1909-1930*, utst.kat., Lillehammer Bys Malerisamling, Lillehammer.
- Woll, Gerd (2001). «Aulamalerier i krigens tid», i *Munchs laboratorium. Veien til Aulaen*, Munchmuseet, Oslo.
- Woll, Gerd (2009). “Alpha og Omega. Munchs bildefabel om de to første mennesker», i *Edvard Munch og Danmark*, Ostfildern:Hatje Cantz.
- Woll, Gerd (2014). «A Genius of printmaking», utg. i forbindelse med utstillingen «Edvard Munch - 150 master prints i Kunsthau Zürich, 2014.
- Wylie, Harold og Mavis Wylie (1980). «Edvard Munch», *American imago*.
- Wölfflin, Heinrich (1950). *Principles of art history. The problem of the development of style in later Art*, Dover Publications, New York (Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe, 1915).
- Yarborough, Tina (1995). *Exhibition strategies and wartime-politics in the art and career of Edvard Munch, 1914-1921*, phd-avh. The University of Chicago, Chicago.
- Yarborough, Tina (2006). «Public Confrontations and Shifting Allegiances. Edvard Munch and the Art of Exhibition”, i McShine, Kynaston (red): *Edvard Munch. The Modern Life of the Soul*, utst.kat. The Museum of Modern Art, New York.
- Ydstie, Ingebjørg (2006). “Ekspionert - mannsakten som fotografisk erfaring”, i ... red. navn... (red.): *Livskraft. Vitalismen som kunstnerisk impuls 1900-1930*, utst.kat. Munchmuseet, Oslo.
- Ydstie, Ingebjørg (2006). “Ekspionert - Mannsakten som fotografisk erfaring”, i *Livskraft. Vitalisme som kunstnerisk impuls 1900-1930*, Oslo.
- Ydstie, Ingebjørg (2011). “Munchs auladekorasjoner og det nasjonale prosjekt”, i Ydstie, Ingebjørg (red.): *Munchs laboratorium. Veien til Aulaen*, Oslo.

- Ydstie, Ingebjørg (2012). «The Cinema-Art Galleries of Halfdan Nobel Roede», i Lampe, Angela og Clément Chéroux (red): *Edvard Munch. The Modern Eye*, Tate Publishing, London.
- Ytreberg, Espen (2014). *En forsvunnet by. Jubileumsutstillingen på Frogner 1914*, Oslo.
- Zweite, Armin (1987). “Franz Hofmann und die Städtische Galerie 1937”, i Schuster, Peter-Klaus (red): *Die “Kunststadt” München 1937. Nationalsozialismus und “Entartete Kunst”*, Prestel, München.
- Ørskov, Frederik Forrai (2023). *Seaside Encounters. Culture, Politics, and Comradeship at the German-Nordic Writers House, 1934-1939*, phd-avh. University of Helsinki.
- Øverland, Arnulf (1920). *Edvard Munch*, Kristiania.
- Aagesen, Dorte (2012). “Art Metropolis for a Day - Copenhagen during World War I”, i van den Berg, Hubert (red): *A Cultural History of the Avant-Garde in the Nordic Countries, 1900-1925*, Rodopi, New York og Amsterdam.
- Aarkrog, Tove (1989). *Edvard Munch. Et livsløb af en grænsepersonlighed forstået gennem hans billeder*, København.