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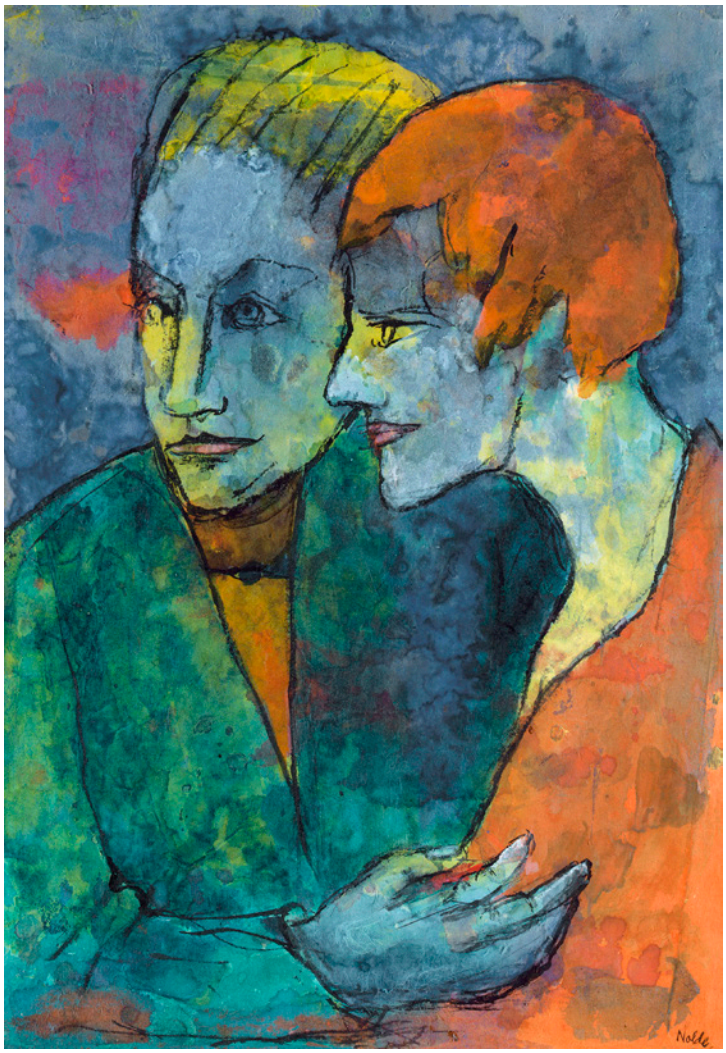
Resonance Chamber.

Museum Folkwang and the Beginning of Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza's German Expressionist Collection

Nadine Engel



Emil Nolde
Young Couple,
c. 1931–35

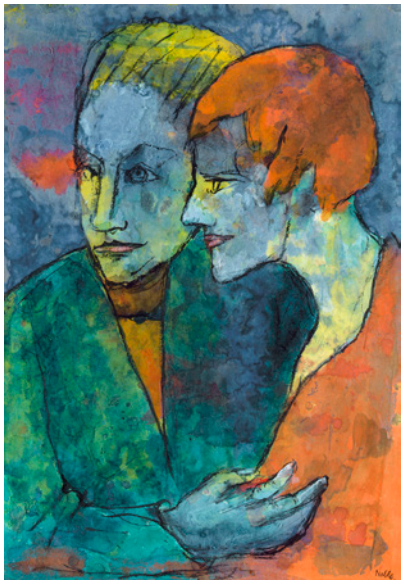


fig. 1
Emil Nolde
***Young Couple*, c. 1931–35**
Watercolour on paper, 53.5 × 36.9 cm
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collections,
inv. 1961.3

Holländischer Direktor brachte Thyssen-Schätze nach Essen

Malerei aus fünf Jahrhunderten / 110 Meisterwerke

Einen kaum zu beziffernden Wert hat eine Ausstellung des Folkwang-Museums, die bis zum 20. März gezeigt wird: sie enthält hundertzehn Meisterwerke der europäischen Malerei des 14. bis 18. Jahrhunderts aus der berühmten Sammlung Schloß Rohoncz, die heute im Besitz des noch jungen Barons H. H. Thyssen-Bornemisza ist und in der Villa Favorita bei Lugano ihr Domizil hat. Insgesamt umfaßt sie 350 Arbeiten. Erst um 1925 wurde sie in bescheidenen Anfängen von August Thyssen gegründet, dann von dessen Söhnen, zumal von Heinrich Thyssen, entscheidend ausgebaut. Jetzt hütet und vermehrt sie der Enkel.

Bei der Eröffnungsfeier, zu der auch Justizminister Flehinghaus mit den Glückwünschen der Landesregierung NRW erschienen war, sagte Oberbürgermeister Nieswandt, die Wahl Essens sei auch darum glücklich, weil wir dabei nicht nur des Mannes August Thyssen gedenken, dessen Leben und Wirken mit dieser Landschaft eng verbunden war, sondern auch, weil diese Ausstellung hier einem weiten, hart schaffenden Bevölkerungskreis zugute komme, der eines solchen Ausgleichs dringend bedarf. Baron H. H. Thyssen-Bornemisza schilderte in einer kurzen Rede die Entwicklung der Sammlung und erklärte dann die Ausstellung für eröffnet.

Daß die Ausstellung nach Essen kam, ist der Initiative von Dr. J. C. Ebbinge-Wubben, dem Direktor des Museums Boyman-van Beuningen in Rotterdam, zu danken, der sie für sein Institut gewinnen konnte. Er hatte für eine Ausstellung in der Bundesrepublik Köln, Düsseldorf und Essen in Erwägung gezogen und sich für das neuerbaute Folkwang-Museum entschieden, da es räumlich die besten Möglichkeiten bot.

Lugano — Rotterdam — Essen

So trafen denn die behutsam gepflegten Schätze in drei wohlgesicherten Transporten die Fahrt von Rotterdam nach Essen an, nachdem sie ein paar Monate zuvor die Reise über die Alpen nach Holland gut überstanden hatten. Dr. Heinz Köhn und seine Mitarbeiter hängten die Bilder so licht, daß jedes einzelne seine individuelle Wirkung entfalten kann.

Nur einmal bisher wurde ein kleinerer Teil der Sammlung Thyssen-Bornemisza in Deutschland ausgestellt, 1930 in München. Essen darf es sich also zur Ehre anrechnen, zweiter Aussteller zu sein.

F.G.H.

Baron und Baronin Thyssen im Gespräch mit Oberbürgermeister Nieswandt bei der Ausstellungseröffnung im Museum Folkwang

fig. 2
Baron and Baroness Thyssen in conversation with Mayor Nieswandt at the opening of the exhibition Sammlung Thyssen-Bornemisza (Schloss Rohoncz), Museum Folkwang, Essen, 27 January 1960
Museum Folkwang archive, MF 00993

The sale in early May 1961 of a watercolour by Emil Nolde at an auction in the Stuttgarter Kunstkabinett founded by Roman Norbert Ketterer (1911–2002) was to change, within the space of a couple of days, the direction of a collection that had grown up over decades [fig. 1]. The picture, which Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza (1921–2002) and his wife Fiona Campbell-Walter (*1932) bought for a high price, together with eight other works, was full of symbolism: whilst Hans Heinrich's father had favoured the Old Masters, the purchase of this Nolde, with its specific subject matter and style, was indicative of a shift by the family's younger generation towards modern, contemporary art. It was almost as if Hans Heinrich and Fiona saw themselves reflected in Nolde's *Young Couple* [fig. 2]. As the Baron himself was to recollect twenty years later, this picture and German Expressionism were to mark the start of his exploration of twentieth-century art in and through his collection.[1]

1
Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza: *Der deutsche Expressionismus – eine persönliche Wahl*, 1983, reprinted in: *Expressionismus. Meisterwerke aus der Sammlung Thyssen-Bornemisza*, exhib. cat., Lugano, Villa Favorita, July – October 1989, pp. 9–10, here p. 10.

In the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza's current exhibition, Guillermo Solana has been able to show that Hans Heinrich's embrace of modern art was not a sudden decision, but grew gradually, influenced by a variety of events and personal encounters.[2] As research at the preliminary stage of this project has revealed, Museum Folkwang's role in this process was by no means negligible. We need only call to mind the points of contact already known to us: from October to December 1958, a high-profile retrospective of the *Brücke* group of artists went on show in Essen.[3] In his copy of the catalogue, the Baron marked two privately-owned works by Karl Schmidt-Rottluff.[4] On 27 January 1960, Hans Heinrich was invited to Essen where he opened the Folkwang's Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection exhibition, featuring masterpieces from the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries.[5] At that stage, the new Folkwang building was not yet finished, and it was a little later when the Baron received the catalogue for the museum's reopening on 27 May 1960.[6] One year on, after fourteen years following his father's collecting tradition, Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza turned his sights to modern art. Nor was the Emil Nolde watercolour his only acquisition in 1961; he also purchased five major works directly from Ketterer. The pictures, by Erich Heckel, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Max Pechstein and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, had all been on show in Museum Folkwang in 1958, and (with one exception) had featured in the accompanying catalogue.[7]

This early sequence of events already points to the resonance chamber which Museum Folkwang created for German Expressionism in general and for the *Brücke* group of artists in particular, both in its collection and its activities. The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection example shows how, in the 1950s and 1960s, it resonated far beyond the city of Essen. In 2022, the history of this resonance chamber will be told in a major special exhibition.[8] It dates back to the early years of the twentieth century, to Folkwang founder Karl Ernst Osthaus (1874–1921) and the city of Hagen, and to Ernst Gosebruch (1872–1953), former director of the Essen Art Museum [Kunstmuseum], on whose initiative the Folkwang was to find a new home in this city.[9] The museum's influence on the reception of Expressionism cannot always be defined in a specific and direct way but, as is the case for Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza, can be approached in concentric circles.

2
Guillermo Solana: "Los orígenes de una pasión", in Guillermo Solana and Paloma Alarcó: *Expressionismo alemán en la colección del barón Thyssen-Bornemisza*, exhib. cat., Madrid, Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, October 2020 – March 2021, pp. 12–25, here p. 17.

3
Brücke 1905–1913, eine Künstlergemeinschaft des Expressionismus, exhib. cat. Essen, Museum Folkwang, October – December 1958.

4
Juan Ángel López-Manzanares and Leticia de Cos Martín: "Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza y el expresionismo alemán. Nuevos datos sobre la génesis de una colección", in Solana and Alarcó 2020, op. cit. note 2, pp. 224–41, here p. 229.

5
Cf. *Sammlung Thyssen-Bornemisza (Schloss Rohoncz). 110 Meisterwerke der europäischen Malerei des 14. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, exhib. cat., Essen, Museum Folkwang, January – March 1960; see also the exhibition record held in Museum Folkwang Archive, MF 00993.

6
López-Manzanares and Cos Martín 2020, op cit. note 4, p. 231.

7
Erich Heckel, *Brickworks*, 1907, exhib. cat. Essen 1958, op. cit. note 3, No. 11, Plate 2; Idem, *House in Dangast [The White House]*, 1908, No. 18, Plate 3; Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Doris with Ruff Collar*, c. 1906, No. 54, Plate 1 [here "Mädchen mit Halskrause 1906" (*Girl with Ruff Collar*, 1906)]; Kirchner, *Fränzi in front of Carved Chair*, 1910, No. 60 [here "Fränzikopf" (*Fränzi's head*), 1907/08"]; Max Pechstein, *Horse Fair*, 1910, No. 120, Fig. 15; Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, *Sun over Pine Forest*, 1913, cat. no. 160.

8
Expressionismus am Folkwang, Essen, Museum Folkwang, August 2022 – January 2023.

9
On the foundation history, cf. Paul Vogt: *Das Museum Folkwang Essen. Die Geschichte einer Sammlung junger Kunst im Ruhrgebiet*. Köln, DuMont, 1965, p. 9ff.

Traces of a Baron of the Ruhr. The Thyssens' associations with the Folkwang Museum Society [Folkwang-Museumsverein]

The foundations for the Thyssen family's collecting endeavours were laid by Hans Heinrich's grandfather, August Thyssen (1842–1926).[10] In addition to representative art, between 1905 and 1911, August Thyssen acquired seven sculptures by Auguste Rodin, which were set up in the winter garden of Schloss Landsberg, an estate near Essen.[11] As founder member of the supervisory board of the electricity company Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk AG, August Thyssen was indirectly involved in the acquisition of Karl Ernst Osthaus's Folkwang Collections for the City of Essen in 1922: RWE was one of the most generous patrons of the Folkwang Museum Society [Folkwang-Museumsverein], which had been founded precisely for such fund-raising purposes, and in which RWE board member Ernst Henke (1881–1974) was actively engaged from the start.[12] With a view to raising the Osthaus family's asking price for the collection of 15 million German marks, the Society was specifically formed as an amalgamation of leading entrepreneurs from the Ruhr region.[13] From Thyssen's circle, the mining company Mülheimer Bergwerks-Verein was also part of this group as of 1922. As of 1952 at the latest, it was represented by Hans Broche (1896–1963) on the Folkwang Museum Society's board, while Thyssenhandel Mülheim Ruhr, was represented by Wilhelm Schulte zur Hausen.[14] Both men took a keen interest in the museum's developments. As the minutes of the supervisory board's meetings reveal, they were involved in the plans for the new museum building and in decisions about new acquisitions. They also took the opportunity to engage with the life of the museum and its Society, taking part in exclusive tours and events. In March 1958, Ernst Henke's endeavours also brought August-Thyssen-Hütte into the Folkwang Museum Society,[15] and in 1960, its Director General Hans-Günther Sohl (1906–1989) pledged a donation of DM50,000 "in memory of Herr August Thyssen [...] and on account of the splendid 'Exhibition of the Heinrich Thyssen Collection' here at the Folkwang Museum".[16] At this point then, the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection was still publicly associated primarily with Hans Heinrich's

10
Johannes Gramlich: *Die Thyssens als Kunstsammler. Investition und symbolisches Kapital (1900–1970)*. PhD, Paderborn, Ferdinand Schöningh, 2015, p. 57ff.

11
Four of these pieces now belong to the Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection and are on display in the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza. Cf. Paloma Alarcó, ed.: *Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza. Modern Masters*. Madrid, Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, 2009, p. 11.

12
Ulrike Laufer: *Sammlerfleiß und Stiftungswille. 90 Jahre Folkwang-Museumsverein – 90 Jahre Museum Folkwang*. Göttingen, Edition Folkwang/Steidl, 2012, p. 14.

13
Ibid., p. 45.

14
Museum Folkwang Archive, MF 00691, Niederschriften und Protokolle über die Verwaltungsratssitzungen des Folkwang-Museumsvereins [Records and minutes Folkwang-Museumsverein board meetings], 1946–2002, minutes dated 4.12.1952.

15
Laufer 2012, op. cit. note 12, p. 261.

16
Museum Folkwang Archive, MF 00616, Ernst Henke estate, correspondence with the Museum Folkwang Society on donations and recruiting members, 1954–1964, Ernst Henke to Hans-Günther Sohl, 1.12.1960.

fig. 3
Greece, Anonymous, Neck-handled amphora, c. 710 BC, Museum Folkwang, Essen.
Acquired 1960 as an endowment of August-Thyssen-Hütte in memory of August Thyssen and the exhibition *Sammlung Thyssen-Bornemisza (Schloss Rohoncz)*

father, as indeed it was by the Baron himself.[17] It was not until one year later that modern art would give him the chance for emancipation. It seems appropriate then that, in 1960, Sohl und Henke should have agreed to use funds for the purchase of a Greek amphora for the Museum Folkwang [fig. 3],[18] while August-Thyssen-Hütte might have participated in the purchase of an early landscape painting by André Derain, acquired to help make good the numerous losses the museum had suffered in 1937.[19] In 1963, Ernst Henke sought the offices of Franz Brandi, who was part of the management of Thyssensche Kohlen- und Energiewirtschafts-GmbH. and had joined the Folkwang Museum Society personally, to bring on board the German undertakings owned by Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza.[20] Ultimately, however, the Baron opted for an exclusively personal membership, even when Henke continued his attempts to include Thyssensche Gas- und Wasserwerke GmbH.[21]

17
Cf. Solana 2020, op. cit. note 2, p. 14.

18
Museum Folkwang Archive, MF 00616, Hans-Günther Sohl to Ernst Henke, 14.3.1960, and Wolfgang Homberg to Ernst Henke, 20.12.1960.

19
André Derain, *Vue de Collioure (View of Collioure)*, 1905, Essen, Museum Folkwang, Essen, inv. no. G 317. Cf. Vogt 1965, op. cit. note 9, p. 72ff.

20
Museum Folkwang Archive, MF 00616, Franz Brandi to Ernst Henke, 22.1.and 13.5.1963.

21
Ibid., Franz Brandi to Ernst Henke, 28.1.1963. Cf. Payment document for DM100 dated 5.10.1964 in the archive of Stiftung zur Industriegeschichte Thyssen, Duisburg, TB/2711. Economically, this was to the Society's disadvantage, because company membership contributions were ten times higher.

Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza visits Essen. The exhibition "Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (Schloss Rohoncz)" and its consequences

Even had Hans Heinrich not been aware of the profile of Essen's art collections previously, by January 1960 at the latest his attention was most certainly drawn to them at the opening of the Museum Folkwang's temporary exhibition "Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (Schloss Rohoncz)". On that evening, the Mayor of Essen Wilhelm Nieswandt (1898–1978) emphasised the Folkwang's commitment to contemporary art movements and described the Folkwang as "one of the significant museums of modern art".[22] "Your Lordship, Baron Thyssen! May I begin by saying once again how very happy we are here in Essen that, after their exhibition in Rotterdam in November and December, we are now able to exhibit the 120 paintings from the Schloß Rohoncz Collection here at Museum Folkwang. I am most grateful to you for your kindness, as are the Museum's board of trustees, the members of the Folkwang Museum Society and all art lovers in Essen and the Ruhr area, who have already learned about this magnificent exhibition".[23] Thus began, in September 1959, the sparse correspondence between Folkwang director Heinz Köhn (1902–1962) and Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza, now kept in the Museum Folkwang Archive. Since 1948, the Baron had been keen to ensure his Villa Favorita collection would gradually be made accessible to the public and occasionally loaned works to temporary exhibitions.[24] Now a large-scale and comprehensive exhibition was to provide the Thyssen-Bornemisza Group's employees with an opportunity to see the collection's major works in the Netherlands and Germany.[25] His contact with Museum Folkwang was the initiative of Johan Conrad Ebbinge Wubben (1915–2014). As director of Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Ebbinge Wubben had designed the Rotterdam exhibition, which covered European painting from the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries, and recommended Essen to the Baron as the show's second port of call.[26] At that time, the gallery wing of a new building for the Folkwang had just been completed, and had already grabbed attention as an excellent example of contemporary museum architecture, even before the final construction phase began.[27] Hence "old art in a modern museum" was the headline in the local press in January 1960 on the opening of the temporary exhibition of the Thyssen-Bornemisza

22
Museum Folkwang Archive, MF 00993, Wilhelm Nieswandt, typescript of the opening speech for the exhibition *Sammlung Thyssen-Bornemisza (Schloss Rohoncz)* at Museum Folkwang, 27.1.1960.

23
Museum Folkwang Archive, MF 00993, Heinz Köhn to Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza, 15.9.1959.

24
López-Manzanares and Cos Martín 2020, op cit. note 4, pp. 224–41, here p. 226ff.

25
Museum Folkwang Archive, MF 00993, Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza to Heinz Köhn, 18.9.1959. This refers to complimentary tickets for the following organisations: August Thyssen-Bank AG, Bergwerksgesellschaft Walsum mbH, Stahl- und Röhrenwerk Reisholz und Maschinenfabrik, Flensburger Schiffsbaugesellschaft, Seismos GmbH and Thyssensche Gas- und Wasserwerke GmbH.

26
Museum Folkwang Archive, MF 00993, Johan Conrad Ebbinge Wubben to Heinz Köhn, 6.5.1959. Willem van Elden of Bank voor Handel en Scheepvaart N. V. acted as facilitator.

27
Cf. Laufer 2012, op. cit. note 12, p. 281ff.

fig. 4
Installation shot from the exhibition *Sammlung Thyssen-Bornemisza (Schloss Rohoncz)*, Museum Folkwang, Essen, January – March 1960

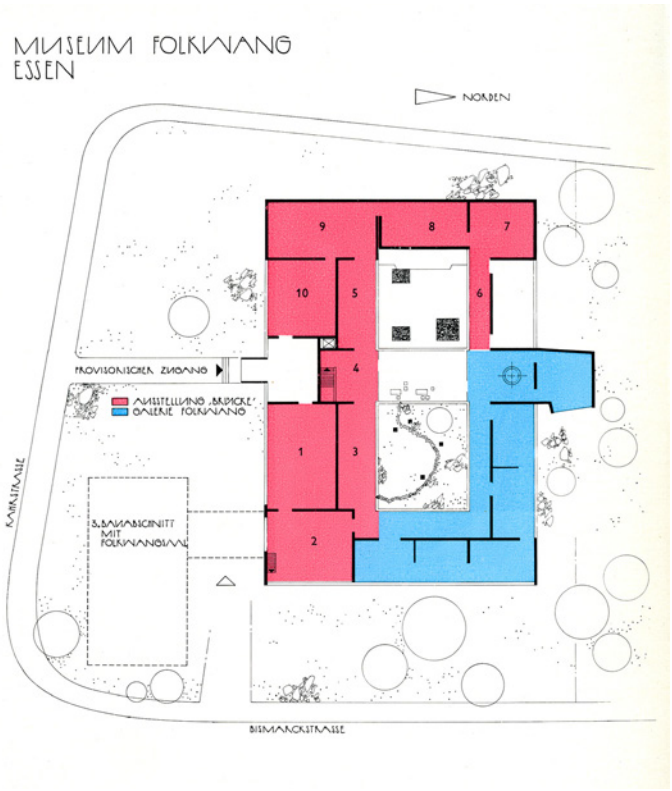


fig. 5
Floor plan of gallery wing in Museum Folkwang at the time of the exhibition *Brücke 1905–1913, eine Künstlergemeinschaft des Expressionismus*, October – December 1958

Collection, in which Hans Heinrich took part with his wife at the time, Fiona Campbell-Walter [see fig. 2].[28] As installation shots show, the masterpieces from the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection were hung in the series of rooms devoted to temporary exhibitions in the museum's south and west wings [fig. 4]. Heinz Köhn and curator Paul Vogt (1926–2017) had made use of these areas for the first time in October 1958 to showcase the major *Brücke* retrospective, whereas the north-east galleries were given over to the Folkwang's permanent collection [fig. 5].[29] This distribution may have been retained in early 1960 and might have been how the Thyssens saw the masterpieces from the Museum

28
Museum Folkwang Archive, MF 00993, Alte Kunst in modernem Museum. Sammlung Thyssen-Bornemisza im Essener Folkwang-Haus, Der Mittag, No. 22, 27.1.1960, n. p.

29
Cf. Exhibition site plan, included in exhib. cat. Essen 1958, op. cit. note 3.

fig. 6
Emil Nolde
***Adoration*, 1922**
Oil on canvas, 105 × 140 cm
Museum Folkwang, Essen, on permanent loan from Sparkasse Essen since 1983, previously Ernst Henke Collection.
Exhibit from "documenta 1", Kassel, Fridericianum, July – September 1955, and the Emil Nolde memorial exhibition, Museum Folkwang, Essen, June – September 1957

Folkwang's holdings, particularly the German Expressionists. Two years earlier, Hans Heinrich may even have visited the *Brücke* exhibition *in situ*, for which he had a copy of the catalogue. However, none of this can be confirmed from the Museum Folkwang's archive records.[30] On the other hand, a letter from the archive of the Thyssen Industry's history foundation [Stiftung zur Industriegeschichte Thyssen], does reveal that Heinz Köhn invited the Baron to Essen for the museum's reopening before May 1961.[31] The invitation may well have reached Hans Heinrich in the same post with the catalogue of the accompanying exhibition following the development of modern art from Impressionism to Expressionism and Art Informel.[32] Be that as it may, for the first time since the end of World War II, the Museum Folkwang Collection was finally presented in a comprehensive and permanent manner. Rooms had been specially designed for Expressionist art, with incident lighting that differed from the nineteenth-century rooms.[33] At the same time, a new catalogue of the collection was published already emphasising the Folkwang's focus on the works of Christian Rohlfs, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner and Emil Nolde.[34] Before long, both Kirchner and Nolde would be among the most important artists in Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza's collection, which included sets of ten and twelve of their paintings respectively.[35]

30
As my colleagues Juan Ángel López-Manzanares and Leticia de Cos Martín have determined, this first contact with Museum Boijmans van Beuningen dates from August 1958, cf. López-Manzanares and Cos Martín 2020, op cit. note 4, p. 229. The oldest source preserved in Museum Folkwang however dates from September 1959.

31
Stiftung zur Industriegeschichte Thyssen, Duisburg, TB/2703, Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza to Heinz Köhn, 8.5.1961. My thanks to Britta Korten for her kind assistance.

32
Cf. *Dem wiedereröffneten Museum Folkwang zum Gruß*, exhib. cat., Essen, Museum Folkwang, May – July 1960.

33
Cf. Luce Hoctin: "Folkwang Museum, Essen", in *L'OEil,* Year 67/68, 1960, pp. 26–35, here p. 27f.

34
Paul Vogt: *Museum Folkwang Essen. Gemälde 19. und 20*, Essen, Museum Folkwang, 1960, pp. 27, 39, 45ff.

35
Cf. Solana and Alarcó 2020, op. cit. note 2, p. 243ff.

“Already a legend”[36]. Emil Nolde, Ernst Henke and Museum Folkwang

By 1961, Essen had already been “Nolde City” for some time.[37] This was not least apparent in private collections like the one owned by Ernst Henke, to which Heinz Köhn promised Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza a visit before 8th May, 1961.[38] It was Ernst Gosebruch who had created these favourable conditions for Nolde, having repeatedly included the artist in exhibitions after 1909, despite facing strong opposition at first.[39] By 1927, Nolde had had four solo exhibitions in Museum Folkwang, and even after World War II, his work continued to be promoted in Essen. Promoted by Gosebruch’s personal contacts to artists like Nolde, Henke’s private collection had grown vigorously in parallel to the museum’s exhibition activities, and in 1930 he commissioned an extension on his private house from Mies van der Rohe (1886–1969).[40] Indeed, Henke’s Nolde collection must have been quite significant by that stage, as he was already opening it up to young artists.[41] When Heinz Köhn and Paul Vogt organised an extensive memorial exhibition for Nolde in 1957, Henke, together with Bernhard Sprengel (1899–1985), was the major private lender. Even today six Nolde paintings from Henke’s former collection are on permanent loan to the Museum Folkwang, three of which were already exhibited in 1957 [fig. 6].[42] Among the total 550 exhibits at the Essen memorial exhibition was also a representative group of brush drawings in watercolour, reminiscent of the *Young Couple* which Hans Heinrich and Fiona later bought at auction.[43] Two separate exhibition sections were devoted to this group entitled “Heads” and “Fantasies”.[44] The foundations were therefore already laid when Ketterer called the lot at auction. It was owned by Folkwang lender Bernhard Sprengel, who had joined the Folkwang Museum Society two years earlier.[45]

36
Horst Keller in a lecture to Kunstring Folkwang on the occasion of the Nolde memorial exhibition on 13.7.1957, in excerpts printed in: Käthe Klein, ed.: *Bilder von Emil Nolde in Essen*, Essen, Kunstring Folkwang, 1957, pp. 33–48, here p. 33.

37
Laufer 2012, op. cit. note 12, p. 29.

38
Stiftung zur Industriegeschichte Thyssen, Duisburg, TB/2703, Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza to Heinz Köhn, 8.5.1961, where it is miswritten “Henckel” instead of “Henke”.

39
Cf. Käthe Klein: “Preface”, in: *Emil Nolde. Ausstellungen in Essen*. Essen, Kunstring Folkwang Essen, 1967, pp. 3–4, here p. 4.

40
Cf. Laufer 2012, op. cit. note 12, p. 27, and Norbert Hanenberg and Daniel Lohmann: “Bauforschung im Essener Haus Henke von Mies van der Rohe”, in Andrea Pufke, ed.: *Neues Bauen! Moderne Architektur der Weimarer Republik im Rheinland* (Mitteilungen aus dem LVR-Amt für Denkmalpflege im Rheinland, no. 35), 2019, Pulheim, pp. 65–70, here p. 67. The building at 124 Virchowstraße in Essen-Bredeney was largely destroyed in World War II.

41
Cf. Laufer 2012, op. cit. note 12, p. 118.

42
Cf. Foreword in Vorstand der Sparkasse Essen, ed.: Sammlung Sparkasse Essen, Essen, 2003, pp. 32–35, here p. 33, and in the exhib. cat. *Gedächtnisausstellung Emil Nolde*, Museum Folkwang, Essen, June – September 1957, cat. nos. 60, 140 & 150.

43
Also included in the exhibition was the Impressionist-style painting *Summer Afternoon*, now in Colección Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza. Cf. the exhib. cat. Essen 1957, op. cit. note 42, cat. no. 14, p. 352.

44
Ibid., p. 34.

45
Solana and Alarcó 2020, op. cit. note 2, p. 51; Laufer 2012, op. cit. note 12, p. 262

From Essen to Lugano. Edgar Horstmann, Roman Norbert Ketterer and Max Pechstein's *Horse Fair*

fig. 7
Max Pechstein
***Horse Fair*, 1910**
Oil on canvas, 70 × 81 cm
Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection on loan at the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, inv. CTB.1961.16
[+ info]

The business relationship between Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza and Roman Norbert Ketterer in the 1960s was as close as Ketterer was to Museum Folkwang in the 1950s. To counteract the hefty losses sustained by the collection as a result of the Degenerate Art campaign, Heinz Köhn had started building up contacts with art dealers and auctioneers as soon as the museum resumed its activities. By 1949 at the latest, he was frequenting the Stuttgarter Kunstkabinett.[46] The first acquisitions from Ketterer occurred in 1952 when two works by Christian Rohlfs which had been confiscated from the Folkwang in 1937 were repurchased.[47] Further acquisitions followed swiftly, particularly in the case of prints. In 1957, the relationship between the dealer and the museum was so close that Ketterer offered Köhn his help preparing the *Brücke* retrospective: "Because I could imagine that neither you nor I would rest until we had brought together the best examples of the *Brücke* artists in the proper context, and the ensuing exhibition had won over the last remaining sceptic."[48] Working together with Museum Folkwang opened up significant supply sources for Ketterer. A case in point is Pechstein's *Horse Fair*, which Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza purchased in Stuttgart in 1961 [fig. 7]:

46
Cf. Museum Folkwang Archive, MF 00146, correspondence with Galerie Ketterer on art acquisitions, 1949–1964, Roman Norbert Ketterer to Heinz Köhn, 8.11.1949.

47
Christian Rohlfs, *Acrobats*, c. 1916, Museum Folkwang, Essen, inv. no. G 224, and Christian Rohlfs, *The Towers of Soest*, c. 1916, Museum Folkwang, Essen, inv. no. G 233.

48
Museum Folkwang Archive, MF 00146, Roman Norbert Ketterer to Heinz Köhn, 25.9.1957.

originally bought by the Berliner Nationalgalerie in 1928, by resorting to the networks and leading figures of the National Socialist art market, Hamburg architect Edgar Horstmann (1902–1994) was able to take possession of the work.[49] Not only did Horstmann live in Essen from 1928 to 1937, where he was already collecting modern art,[50] he also played quite a significant role as middleman in the sale of "degenerate" works in the postwar period.[51] After 1949, he sold three works that had come from the Museum Folkwang Collection, by Heckel, Nolde and Rohlfs respectively, back to Heinz Köhn within a short space of time and for a profit.[52] Horstmann also loaned out works of art to Museum Folkwang. In 1957, he made seven available for the Nolde memorial exhibition. In 1958, three paintings from his collection were exhibited at the *Brücke* Retrospective. One was Pechstein's *Horse Fair*, which Horstmann offered for sale to Museum Folkwang in the opening month of the exhibition.[53] A handwritten note states Heinz Köhn's wish to speak to Horstmann by telephone. Did Köhn use that opportunity to put Horstmann in contact with Ketterer, who then became the owner of the painting? Although we as yet have no definitive answer to that question, there are nonetheless traces leading from Essen to Lugano via Stuttgart. In 1983, Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza wrote that, through Ketterer, he had come "close to the source"[54] of German Expressionism. The above explanations will have made clear just how strongly Museum Folkwang resonated in that process. ●

49
Cf. Solana and Alarcó 2020, op. cit. note 2, p. 152.

50
Museum Folkwang Archive, MF 00085, documents regarding the exhibition *Brücke 1905–1913, eine Künstlergemeinschaft des Expressionismus* in Museum Folkwang, 1958, Edgar Horstmann to Heinz Köhn, 19.10.1958.

51
Maike Hoffmann: *Ein Händler "entarteter" Kunst: Bernhard A. Böhmer und sein Nachlass* (texts from the "Entartete Kunst" research centre, Vol. 3), Berlin, 2010, p. 120.

52
Erich Heckel, *On the Beach*, 1921, Museum Folkwang, Essen, inv. no. G 74; Emil Nolde, *Saint Mary of Egypt*, 1912, Museum Folkwang, Essen, inv. no. G 217; Christian Rohlfs, *Return of the Prodigal Son*, 1914, Museum Folkwang, Essen, inv. no. G 221.

53
Museum Folkwang Archive, MF 00085, Edgar Horstmann to Heinz Köhn, 25.10.1958.

54
Thyssen-Bornemisza 1989, op. cit. note 1, p. 9.

On Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza's beginnings as a collector of modern art

Juan Ángel López-Manzanares

The Moltzaus and Thyssens at the Stuttgarter Kunstkabinett's 36th auction held at the broadcasting studio of Süddeutscher Rundfunk in Villa Berg, Stuttgart, at the beginning of May 1961

On Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza's beginnings as a collector of modern art

Juan Ángel López-Manzanares

Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza visited R. N. Ketterer's gallery in Campione d'Italia on 14 September 1964 and wrote in the guest book: 'Expressionism is a drug / here I am again [...]'.

Such a statement attests to the powerfully engaging effect German Expressionism came to have on the baron, who put it into words years later in interviews and articles. In November 1979, for example, he told the Zurich-based *Du* magazine: 'I became interested in German Expressionism at an early age, even while I was studying. But I couldn't talk to my father about it. It was only when I became a collector [...] that I gradually began purchasing modern paintings. I started with Expressionists and then added to the collection step by step'.[1] Three and a half years later, in July 1983, he likewise wrote in *Apollo* magazine's special issue devoted to the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection: 'German Expressionism was for me the departing point of my collection of twentieth-century masters, that at least in terms of quantity have now overtaken my collection of Old Master paintings'.[2]

This latter article is interesting because it recalls a practically linear progression in his collecting, beginning with German Expressionism and continuing with other avant-garde movements. However, the question inevitably arises: did the baron's collecting really run such a straight course? Was he initially only interested in German Expressionism?

* * *

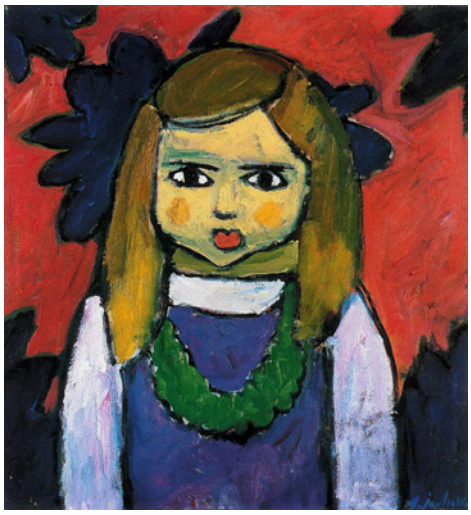
To shed greater light on Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza's first steps in collecting modern art I will quote from a hitherto unknown document entitled 'Verzeichnis der Gemaelde mit Standortangabe' [List of paintings with information about their location] in the Stiftung zur Industriegeschichte Thyssen–Archiv in Duisburg.[3] It is a typed inventory dated 1 January 1964, of which the baron himself, his secretary Joseph Groh – possibly its author – the accounts and security departments, and the picture gallery received copies. It is 20 pages long and includes several sublists: among them, one featuring 334 works by

1
Wolfhart Draeger: 'Gespräch mit Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza'. In *Du. Die Kunstzeitschrift*. Zurich, February 1980, p. 47.

2
Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza: 'German Expressionism. A Personal Choice'. In *Apollo*, London, no. 257, July 1983, p. 78.

3
'List of paintings with information about their location', 1 January 1964, in Stiftung zur Industriegeschichte Thyssen–Archiv, Duisburg, hereafter Duisburg Archives, TB/2711.

fig. 1
Alexej von Jawlensky
***Small Child*, c. 1908**
Oil on canvas, 52.5 × 49 cm
Fridart Foundation, Amsterdam



'[Old] Masters'; another with 11 paintings by 'nineteenth-century masters'; and, most relevantly for this article, one of 51 'modern pictures' acquired between 1961 and 1963. Besides naming all the paintings belonging to the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection as of 1 January 1964, the document provides valuable information about their location.

We will focus on the last list, that of the 51 'modern pictures.' Contrary to what might be expected, only 18 of these works are Expressionist. Five of them – *Doris with Ruff Collar* (c. 1906) and *Fränzi in front of Carved Chair* (1910), by Kirchner; *Group of Houses in Spring* (1916), by Itten; *Summer in Nidden* (c.1919–20), by Pechstein; and *Still Life with Dice* (1923), by Klee – are currently part of the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza's permanent collection. A further six works are documented as having been inherited by the baron's children: *The Little House* (1906), by Schmidt-Rottluff; *Woman in front of Birch Trees* (c. 1907), by Kirchner; *Three People Strolling* (1914), by Macke; *Young Couple* (c. 1931–35), by Nolde; *Magic River (Dream across the River)* (1937), by Feininger; and *Church in Malcantone (Ticino)* (1938), by Hofer.[4] And three more pictures – *House in Dangast (The White House)* (1908), by Heckel; *Horse Fair* (1910), by Pechstein; and *Sun over Pine Forest* (1913), by Schmidt-Rottluff – are now in the Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection. I will not discuss any of them at length because detailed information about them can be found in the catalogue of the recent exhibition *German Expressionism in Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza's Collection*.[5]

The remaining four Expressionist works the Baron purchased between 1961 and 1963 – some of which were later sold – are: *Small Child* (c. 1908), by Jawlensky; *Path to Staffel* (1919), by Kirchner; *Steamboat at High Seas (Hamburg)* (c. 1920), by Nolde; and *Red Houses with Windmill* (c.1923), by Pechstein. What do we know about each one? The first [fig. 1] was acquired by the baron on 13 July 1961 through Menburg-Coray, Ascona. From Hans Heinrich's collection it passed to Roman Norbert Ketterer and was no longer listed among the Thyssen holdings by August 1981 according to an inventory drawn up by Simon de Pury of the modern pictures in the collection.[6] The catalogue raisonné of the artist's work states that Ketterer sold it to the Fridart Foundation in Amsterdam.

4
Information confirmed by Maria de Peverelli of the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collections, Zurich, to whom I am grateful for her help.

5
See Paloma Alarcó and Guillermo Solana: *German Expressionism in Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza's Collection*. Madrid, Fundación Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza, 2020. *Church in Malcantone*, by Hofer, that is not included in the show, was adquired by Fiona Campbell-Walter, third wife of the baron, at the 37th auction of the Stuttgarter Kunstkabinett, at the beginning of May 1962, and has always been in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection.

6
Simon de Pury: *Office Memorandum*, 21 August 1981, in Duisburg Archives, TB/3837.

fig. 2
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
***Path to Staffel*, 1919**
Oil on canvas, 120 × 120 cm
Hilti Art Foundation, Vaduz, Liechtenstein

fig. 3
Emil Nolde
***Steamboat at High Seas (Hamburg)*, c. 1920**
Watercolour on paper, 25,5 × 27 cm
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collections

The second painting, Kirchner's *Path to Staffel* [fig. 2], came from Ketterer's private collection and was acquired by the baron at the end of 1961. At the beginning of 1964, it decorated Villa Alcyon, the baron's residence in St Moritz, but shortly afterwards – possibly after the baron and his third wife, Fiona Campbell-Walter, divorced in the summer of 1964 – it was deposited with Ketterer. The dealer included it in his 1965 exhibition *Moderne Kunst II* and again in *Moderne Kunst III*, in 1966, and *Moderne Kunst VI*, in 1969. It now belongs to the Hilti Art Foundation in Vaduz, Liechtenstein. Of the nine works the baron acquired from Ketterer's personal collection, it is the only one he later sold.

Nolde's *Steamboat at High Seas (Hamburg)* [fig. 3], the third of the works listed, was acquired by Fiona on 3–4 May 1962 at the Stuttgarter Kunstkabinett's 37th auction and became hers – and still is – after she divorced the baron. Lastly, Pechstein's *Red Houses with Windmill* (c. 1923) [fig. 4] was purchased on 3 June 1961 at the Kunsthaus Lempertz auction house in Cologne. Surprisingly, only a few months later the baron gave it to Ketterer to be included in the 37th auction. It did not sell

fig. 4
Max Pechstein
***Red Houses with Windmill*, c. 1923**
Oil on canvas, 70.5 × 80.5 cm
Frank Brabant, Wiesbaden

and in 1964 it was still on deposit at Ketterer's gallery in Campione d'Italia. It was finally put up for auction on 9 December 1965 at Sotheby Parke-Bernet, New York, listed as number 119.[7]

Of all the above works, the only ones that decorated Villa Favorita in January 1964 were: *Church in Malcantone*, by Hofer; *Woman in front of Birch Trees*, by Kirchner; *Still Life with Dice*, by Klee; *Three People Strolling*, by Macke; and *Young Couple*, by Nolde. Kirchner's *Doris with Ruff Collar* and *Path to Staffel* hung in Villa Alycon, in St Moritz.[8] And a number of very significant paintings were on deposit: *Group of Houses in Spring*, by Itten; *Fränzi in front of Carved Chair*, by Kirchner; *Horse Fair* and *Summer in Nidden*, by Pechstein; and *The Little House* and *Sun over Pine Forest*, by Schmidt-Rottluff. The 1964 inventory records Heckel's *House in Dangast* as being on deposit in Essen, possibly at the Museum Folkwang.

However, as stated earlier, these Expressionist pieces accounted for no more than 18 of the 51 modern works the baron acquired between 1961 and 1963 – that is, only 35 percent. The second largest group in the 1964 inventory is what we might classify as 'post-war abstraction'. Much less known than the previous group, these paintings are largely in keeping with the art in vogue in the 1950s, and some 15 can be ascribed to this category.

Of these works, six were acquired by the baron and baroness at the Stuttgarter Kunstkabinett's 36th and 37th auctions in May 1961 and 1962. They are: *Composition Blue-Red (Seascape)* (1949), by Alfred Manessier; *The Stones* (1951), by Helena Vieira da Silva; *City* (1952–53), by Francis Bott – the first piece of modern art to be acquired for the collection, in strictly chronological terms; *The Lovers and the Beach* (1954), by Gustave Singier [fig. 5]; *Metaphysical Landscape* (1955), by Willi Baumeister [fig. 6]; and *Provence. Morning, Sun and Sand* (1959), by Singier. Another abstract canvas, *Composition on Greenish-Blue Ground* (c. 1955), by Serge Poliakoff [fig. 7], was also acquired by the baron and his wife at the first of those auctions, but it was no longer in the collection by 1964 as it was sold at the Stuttgarter Kunstkabinett in 1962.

7
According to the catalogue raisonné of the artist, following a subsequent auction at Hauswedell & Nolte, Hamburg, on 6 June 1980, the work now belongs to Frank Brabant, Wiesbaden.

8
As shown by a photograph of Fiona and her daughter Francesca Thyssen of about 1963, where part of Kirchner's *Doris with Ruff Collar* is visible hanging on the wall.

fig. 5
Gustave Singier
***The Lovers and the Beach*, 1954**
Oil on canvas, 89 × 116 cm
Private collection

fig. 6
Serge Poliakoff
***Composition on Greenish-Blue Ground*, c. 1955**
Oil on canvas, 73 × 60 cm
Private collection

fig. 7
Willi Baumeister
***Metaphysical Landscape*, 1955**
Oil on canvas, 34 × 44 cm
Private collection

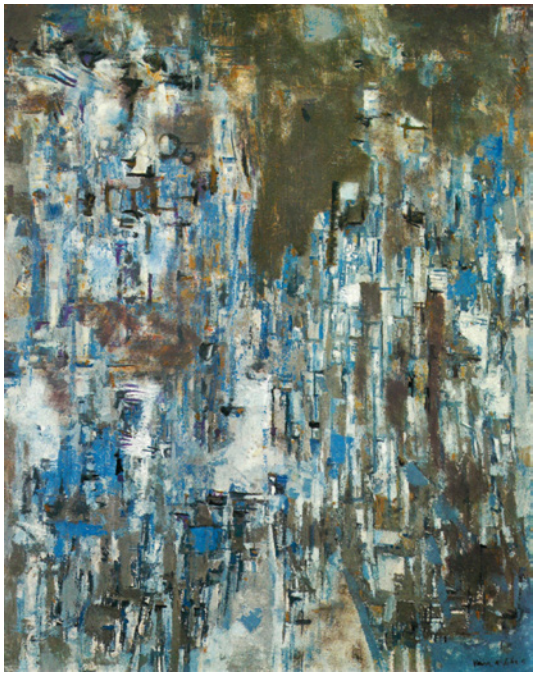


fig. 8
Helena Vieira da Silva
***Alleyway*, 1961**
Oil on canvas, 100 × 81 cm
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collections

The baron and baroness purchased another two abstract – or quasi-abstract – works at the 31st Venice Biennale in 1962: *Objects by a Window* (1962), by the Italian artist Giuseppe Ajmone, and *Composition D* (1961), by the Japanese Tadashi Sugimata. They acquired the other paintings from dealers and auction houses such as Sotheby's London (*Grey Composition* (1948), by Nicolas de Staël); Knoedler of New York (*Alleyway* (1961), by Vieira da Silva [fig. 8]); Galerie Nathan in Zurich (*Mediterranean Landscape* (1953), by De Staël); Galleria Levy in Milan (*Autumn* (n.d.), by Edmund Alleyn, and *Samedi Soir* (n.d.), by Jean Lefebvre); and Toninelli Arte Moderna in Milan (*Composition* (n.d.), by Jean-Paul Mousseau and *Brown and Silver I* (1951) by Jackson Pollock).

New information about the last of these paintings – acquired in 1963 – has been gleaned from the documents examined at the Thyssen Archives in Duisburg. For example, we now know that it was not the first Pollock the baron considered acquiring as in May 1961 Marlborough in London had offered him the possibility of buying *Search for a Symbol* (1943), *The Wooden Horse* (1956, now in the Moderna Museet in Stockholm) and *Composition No 6* (year unspecified), all by the US artist.[9] A year later, on 15 May 1962, the antiquarian and collector Robert Bouyeure, a friend of the baron's, sent him a photograph of *Brown and Silver I*, which Toninelli had brought from New York to Milan and offered to take to Chiasso, near Lugano.[10] The purchase was finalised in 1963, after the work was shown in a Pollock retrospective at Toninelli Arte Moderna in Milan and Marlborough Galleria d'Arte in Rome.

Of this large group of works, few decorated the homes of the baron and baroness. According to the January 1964 inventory and Fiona's testimony, only the oil paintings *Mediterranean Landscape*, by De Staël, *Alleyway* by Vieira da Silva, and *Brown and Silver I*, by Pollock graced the walls of Villa Alcyon, in St Moritz.[11]

9
Letter from Frank Kenneth Lloyd to Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza, 18 May 1961, in Duisburg Archives, TB/2703.

10
Letter from Robert Bouyeure, Milan, to Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza, 17 May 1962, in Duisburg Archives, TB/2706.

11
Interview by Guillermo Solana with Fiona Campbell-Walter, Madrid, 1 November 2019.

fig. 9
Zoran Music
***Horses and Riders*, 1951**
Oil on canvas, 93 × 123 cm
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collections

The fact that only a few of the abovementioned painters were subsequently accorded a prominent place in art history explains the short period for which most of them belonged to the collection. This was not true of the two paintings by Nicolas de Staël or Pollock's canvas, which are now in the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza; of the Manessier, now in the Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection; or of Vieira da Silva's *Alleyway*, which is still owned by the Thyssen family.[12] As for the rest, except for Baumeister's *Metaphysical Landscape* (sold at Grisbach GmbH, Berlin, in 2002)[13] and Signier's *The Lovers and the Beach* (sold at auction by Sotheby's London in 2002),[14] none remained in the collection by August 1981.

The third sizeable group of paintings in the 1964 inventory consists of canvases and works on paper from the Italian post-war figurative art currents. They were mostly acquired at the Stuttgarter Kunstkabinett's 36th and 37th auctions: *The Ornate Dress*, by Massimo Campigli (1956); *Red Horse and Rider* (1952), by Marino Marini; *Horses and Riders* (1951), by Zoran Music [fig. 9]; and *Rhythmic Evocation* (1952), by Mario Sironi.

12
I am grateful to Maria de Peverelli for supplying this information.

13
Auction of 7 June 2002, lot 92.

14
Auction of 27 June 2002, lot 214.

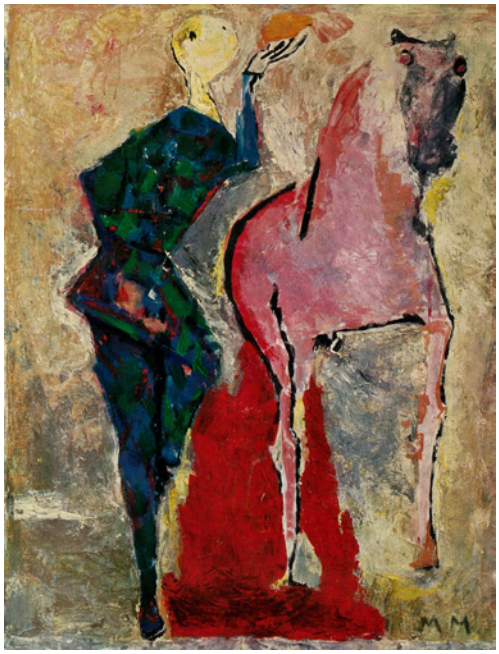


fig. 10
Marino Marini
***Juggler*, 1959–60**
Oil on canvas, 150 × 120 cm
Private collection

A second work by Marino Marini – *Juggler* (1959–60) [fig. 10] – was purchased by the baron and baroness directly from the artist's Milan studio in 1963. According to Fiona's testimony: 'I dragged a very reluctant Heini to his studio as I had wanted to buy a bronze statue of the Fallen Rider for the garden. Heini, still in the early days of his more contemporary life cycle, refused to buy anything. Heading for the door after a leisurely and wonderful visit with Marino, I said we can't leave empty handed, and Heini said ok, choose a painting. As there were some paintings leaning against the wall near the front door, I chose one'.[15]

Of all these works, only Music's hung in the sitting room at Villa Favorita in January 1964. And since, like the previous group, they were very much contemporary when acquired and, accordingly, subject to fluctuating art trends, only a few remained in the collection after 1981. Music's *Horses and Riders* still belongs to the Thyssen family;[16] Marini's *Juggler* passed to Fiona after her divorce from the baron in 1964[17] and was sold at Sotheby's London in 2000;[18] and the gouache entitled *Red Horse and Rider*, also by Marini, was sold at the same auction house in 2002.[19]

What other pictures did the baron acquire during those first three years? To start off with, two Impressionist paintings: *Cornfield* (1879), by Renoir (purchased at Marlborough London, in 1961) and *The Blue Row Boat* (1886), by Monet (acquired at Sotheby's London the following year). In January 1964, both works hung in Villa Favorita: Monet's in the sitting room and Renoir's in the breakfast room. *The Blue Row Boat*, as stated in the catalogue raisonné of Monet's oeuvre, passed into Fiona's collection in July 1964. *Cornfield* remained in the holdings and joined the Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection in 1993.

15
Fiona Campbell-Walter's correspondence with Guillermo Solana, 1 October 2020.

16
I am grateful to Maria de Peverelli for supplying this information.

17
Indeed, when it was shown at the Palazzo Venezia in Rome in 1966, it was listed as 'Saint-Moritz, collezione Baroness Fiona Thyssen-Bornemisza'.

18
Auction of 25 October 2000, lot 6.

19
Auction of 25 June 2002, lot 282.

Except for a couple of portraits of the baron and his wife and a few minor works, by the start of 1964 other paintings that do not fall into the previous categories had also found their way into the Thyssen collection. The first is Max Ernst's Surrealist *Solitary and Conjugal Trees* (1940), acquired at Sotheby's London in 1963 and now owned by the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza. Ernst's German descent may have influenced this acquisition which, like that of the Pollock, heralded future developments in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection.

Another four that are worthy of mention are a work by André Derain entitled *Dorothée* (n.d.) a Christmas gift to Hans Heinrich in 1961 from the Knoedler Gallery in New York and currently unidentified; a canvas by the Italian Futurist painter Roberto Iras Baldessari, *The Carousel* (1920) (acquired at Toninelli Arte Moderna, Milan, in 1962); a Matissian picture by German painter Rudolf Levy, *Still Life with Watercress* (1922) (acquired at the Stuttgarter Kunstkabinett, in 1961); and a watercolour entitled *Suburban Wall (Shell Petrol Pump in the Town)* (c.1930), by the Mannheim-based German painter Xaver Fuhr (also from the Stuttgarter Kunstkabinett's 36th auction in 1961).

* * *

What does this tell us about how Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza got into collecting modern art? Let's go back to 1954.

Hans Heinrich's first purchase of a painting that did not involve buying back a work previously belonging to his father's collection and put up for sale by one of his siblings dates back to early 1954. It was El Greco's *The Annunciation* (c.1596–1600), sold by the Knoedler Gallery in New York. Stavros Niarchos – a shipowner, art collector, and friend of the baron's – had also expressed an interest in the painting. During the years that ensued until May 1961, Hans Heinrich continued to buy only Old Masters in keeping with the tastes of his father – in whose opinion art history ended in the eighteenth century – and the latter's advisor Rudolf J. Heinemann. But a lot happened in those barely seven years to change his perception of modern art.

One of the factors that most greatly influenced this change was the shift in collectors' tastes, driven, among others, by the London auction house Sotheby's. Whereas up until then the art market had been dominated by classical art, in the mid-1950s Impressionism and Postimpressionism began to take centre stage with a string of highly successful auctions such as the Biddle sale at the Galerie Charpentier in Paris (1957), the Weinberg sale at Sotheby's London (1957), the Lurcy sale at the Parke-Bernet Galleries in New York (1957), and the Goldschmidt sale also at Sotheby's (1958). An important contributing factor was the acquisitions made by a group of Greek shipowners headed by Niarchos, whose fortunes were greatly boosted following the Second Arab-Israeli War (1956) and the consequent closure of the Suez Canal, as their large oil tankers and cargo ships were able to sail around the Cape of Good Hope.[20]

In February 1957, Niarchos – with whom the baron often coincided at St Moritz during the three months of the year he used to spend at the Swiss resort[21] – acquired 58 Impressionist and Postimpressionist paintings from the collection of the actor Edward G. Robinson through Knoedler. And according to Fiona's testimony, that purchase had a decisive influence on Hans Heinrich's perception of modern art.[22] It is even quite possible that at this point he began to regard himself as a somewhat antiquated collector out of touch with the fashions of the period and motivated solely by his father's tastes. Indeed, several documents show that until well into the 1960s at least the baron did not consider the collection he had inherited – already hanging on the walls of Villa Favorita, with hardly any space for new acquisitions – to be his own.[23]

At the end of 1957, Niarchos opened an exhibition of his collection at the Knoedler Gallery. It was followed by subsequent shows at the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Tate Gallery in London, and the Kunsthaus in Zurich (the baron kept a copy of the catalogue of the latter exhibition in his library at Lugano). But he was not the only one to exhibit his private collection. In the autumn of 1958, another of the baron's shipowner friends, Ragnar Moltzau, showed his collection of modern art at the Tate Gallery in London. Did these exhibitions – especially that of the Niarchos collection – influence the shows the

20
Nicholas Faith: *The Rise and Fall of the House of Sotheby*. New York, Macmillan Publishing Company, 1985, p. 48–53.

21
Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza: *Interviews/memoirs*, I, 25 July 1987, pp. 67–68, in Duisburg Archives, TB/01147-Part One.

22
Interview by Guillermo Solana with Fiona Campbell-Walter, Madrid, 1 November 2019.

23
As an example of these testimonies, following the exhibition *From Van Eyck to Tiepolo* at the National Gallery at the beginning of 1961, Hans Heinrich wrote to the director of the institution: '[I] would like to thank you for the nice words you said and all the efforts made by you to make the collection of my father popular'. Letter from Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza to Philip Hendy, 26 April 1961, in Duisburg Archives, TB/2702.

baron decided to organise in the winter of 1959–60 at the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam and the Museum Folkwang in Essen? They may well have.

In addition, judging by the works of modern art the baron acquired between 1961 and 1963, it is quite likely that he was not particularly drawn to the Impressionist and Postimpressionist painting then in vogue at the leading auction houses. This may have been due to his father's indoctrination. But perhaps it can also be explained by the fact that during those early years as a collector he viewed the French trends of the last quarter of the nineteenth century as alien to the family tradition, which was focused on German and Dutch art.

In the abovementioned interview published in *Du* Hans Heinrich pointed out that he had been interested in German Expressionism 'at an early age, even while I was studying'.[24] Although it is unlikely – if not impossible – that this interest dates back quite so far, it may have started developing in 1958. At least that is what may be inferred from the fact that the baron kept in his library at Villa Favorita a catalogue of the exhibition *Brücke 1905–1913, eine Künstlergemeinschaft des Expressionismus* (Museum Folwang, 1958) in which two works by Schmidt-Rottluff are marked with a circle, despite not being reproduced in the publication: the watercolour *Brickworks* (1909), and the oil painting *Sun over Pine Forest* (1913).[25]

The following year, however, Hans Heinrich's interests veered decidedly towards modern art as a result of his relationship with Stavros Niarchos and David Rockefeller, as he himself recalled in 1983.[26] Specifically, in the autumn of 1959, Niarchos and his wife Eugenia Livanos – then very good friends with the Thyssens according to Fiona[27]– invited them on a week's cruise around the Aegean on their schooner *Créole*, which was decorated with Impressionist and Postimpressionist works from their collection. They were not alone. David and Peggy Rockefeller and Jack and Drue Heinz accompanied them on the cruise. And as the American banker later recalled, 'our cruise brought out the fact that we were all interested in art'.[28] Although Jack and Drue Heinz owned several early Picassos as well as Morandis and Modiglianis, Rockefeller's collection was unquestionably the most important, including pieces by Corot,

24
Draeger 1980, *op. cit*. note 1, p. 47.

25
Catalogue numbers 209 and 160, respectively.

26
Thyssen-Bornemisza 1983, *op. cit*. note 2, p. 76.

27
Interview by Guillermo Solana with Fiona Campbell-Walter, Madrid, 1 November 2019.

28
David Rockefeller: *Memoirs*. New York, Random House, 2002, p. 448.

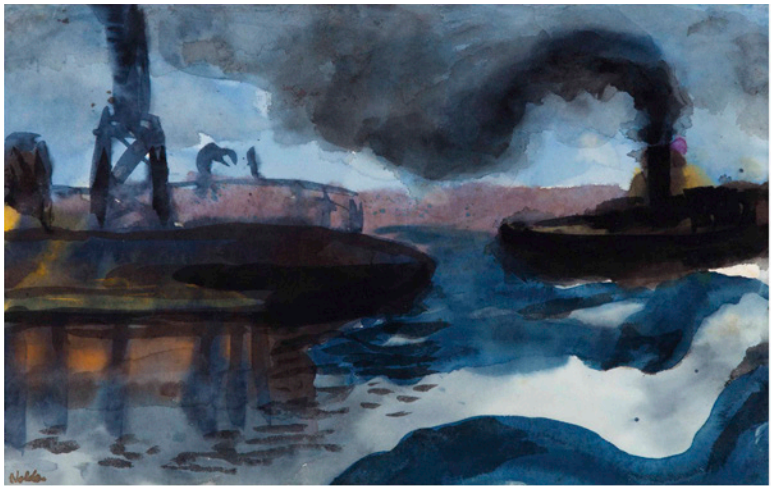


fig. 11
Emil Nolde
***Port of Hamburg,* n.d**
Watercolour and black ink on Japanese paper, 30 × 46.8 cm
Private collection (former David Rockefeller Collection)

Boudin, Fantin-Latour, Manet, Degas, Monet, Pissarro, Seurat, Signac, Redon, Bonnard, Vuillard, Matisse, Vlaminck, Dufy, Van Dongen, Hopper, Burchfield, and Campigli. Could that cruise have changed the baron's opinion about modern art? It may well have.

A few months later, in May 1960, the Niarchoses and Rockefellers paid a visit to the baron in Lugano and travelled from there to Stuttgart to view the works up for auction at the Stuttgarter Kunstkabinett. They placed bids on several lots and Rockefeller found out when he was back in New York that he had won *Bouquet of Autumn Leaves* (1930), by Klee; *Street Fight* (1934), by Grosz; *Concarneau* (1931) and *Cape Thistle* (1950), by Feininger; *Port of Hamburg* (n.d.), by Nolde [fig. 11]; *Two-masted Sailboat off the Coast* (c. 1925), by Vlaminck; and *Tower of Mothers* (1937–38), a sculpture by the artist Käthe Kollwitz. It is not known which works Niarchos acquired at that year's event, but what does seem certain is that the involvement of Rockefeller and Niarchos in the auction paved the way for the baron's acquisitions of a type of art in which he had begun to develop an interest at Essen late in 1958 but whose dealers may have been unfamiliar to him. But how was he to go about collecting it?

fig. 12
Massimo Campigli
***Santa Trinità dei Monti Steps*, 1954**
Oil on canvas, 96.5 × 130 cm
Private collection (former David Rockefeller Collection)

The earliest reference likely to have provided the baron with a starting point may have been his friends' collecting activities. If we bear in mind Hans Heinrich's initial lack of interest in Impressionist and Postimpressionist art, David Rockefeller's foray into German art of the start of the century may have proved fairly enlightening. During the following years the American banker continued to acquire chiefly works by painters already present in his collection, such as Pissarro (in 1962), Signac (in 1964), Bonnard – one of his favourites – (in 1960 and 1963), and Matisse (in 1962 and 1963). However, some of the works he purchased in 1959–60 – during which he was in close contact with the baron and his wife – may have influenced Hans Heinrich's first steps as a modern collector, for example Rockefeller's acquisition of Campigli's *Trinità dei Monti Steps* (1954) [fig. 12] and Nolde's abovementioned watercolour *Port of Hamburg* (n.d.).

Niarchos's progression as a collector poses more of a problem as the information we previously had only covered his purchases up to 1959, which were centred on Impressionism and Postimpressionism. However, we recently learned from Fiona Campbell-Walter that a few days before the Stuttgarter Kunstkabinett's 37th auction in May 1962 she and Niarchos's wife, Eugenia Livanos, agreed on the lots each couple was interested in.[29] In the end, Fiona – and not the baron, who was

29
Fiona Campbell-Walter's correspondence with Guillermo Solana, 2 October 2020.

fig. 13
Willi Baumeister
***Moby Dick III*, 1951**
Oil on panel, 65 × 54 cm
Former Niarchos Collection

fig. 14
Max Ernst
***The Song of the Frog*, 1953**
Oil on canvas, 65 × 92 cm
Former Niarchos Collection

unable to attend the auction – bid on behalf of both couples and after the event the following works joined the Niarchos collection: the watercolours *Blue Staircase with Two Figures* (1920), by Klee, and *Couple* (c. 1930), by Nolde (belonging to the same series as the one the baron purchased the previous year); the oil paintings *Moby Dick III* (1951), by Baumeister [fig. 13] (Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza and his wife also bid for work by this artist at the same auction) and *The Song of the Frog* (1953) by Ernst [fig. 14] (as we have seen, the baron bought a work by this German Surrealist painter the following year); and the tempera by the American painter Mark Tobey, *Encircled* (1961).[30]

Another collector belonging to the baron's close circle was the Norwegian shipowner Ragnar Moltzau, whom we mentioned earlier in connection with the exhibition of his collection at the Tate Gallery in 1958 and who sat beside the baron and his wife – they even changed the places assigned to them in the seating plan – at the Stuttgarter Kunstkabinett's 1961 auction. Moltzau's vast picture collection ranged from Impressionist paintings from 1875 onwards to abstract canvases of the 1950s, and also included artists such as Bonnard, Braque, Cézanne, Dufy, Ernst, Gauguin, Léger, Matisse, Miró, Modigliani, Munch, Picasso, Rouault, and Vlaminck. But what is perhaps most

30
Ingeborg Henze-Ketterer and Wolfgang Henz's correspondence with the author, 17 October 2020. I am grateful to Roman Norbert Ketterer's daughter and her husband for their invaluable assistance in understanding the beginnings of Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza's collecting.

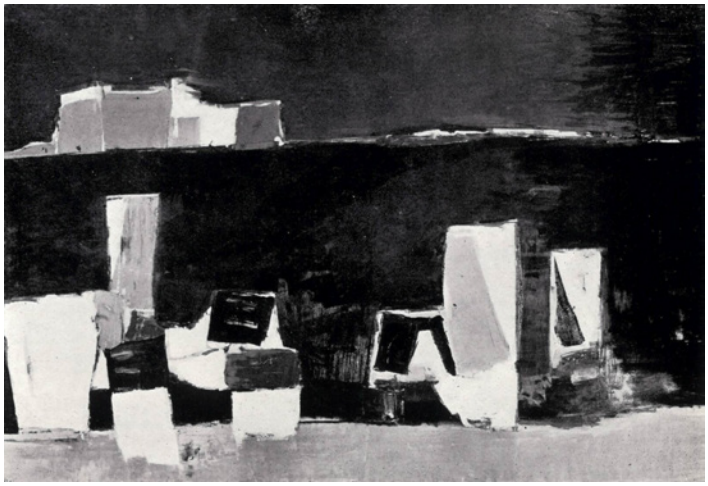


fig. 16
Nicolas de Staël
***Landscape, Martigues*, 1953–54**
Oil on canvas, 97 × 146 cm
Former Moltzau Collection

fig. 15
Alfred Manessier
***Summer Evening at the Baie de Somme*, 1947**
Oil on canvas, 100 × 81 cm
Former Moltzau Collection

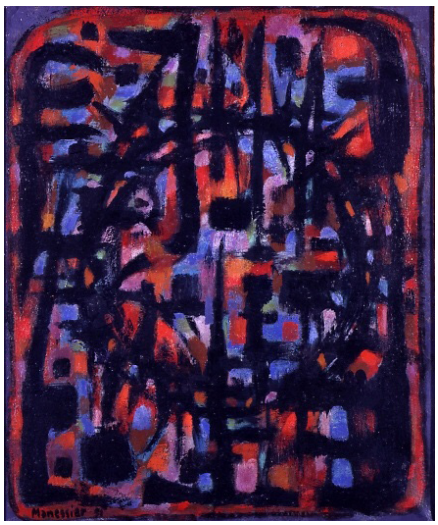
surprising is the large proportion of works executed after 1945: 58 out of 103 – nearly 60 percent – judging by the London show. Some of the youngest artists represented in the collection, then considered ultra-modern, were Bazaine, Bissière, Corneille, Dubuffet, Estève, Manessier [fig. 15], Music, Poliakoff, Soulages, and De Staël [fig. 16]; four of them are also among the baron and his wife's first acquisitions.

Having mentioned some of the modern art collections of the baron's closest acquaintances, I now wish to return briefly to 27 May 1960 – that is, only a few days after Niarchos and Rockefeller visited Lugano and Stuttgart for a preview of the works up for sale in the Stuttgarter Kunstkabinett's 35th auction. That day the Museum Folkwang's new premises, designed by Werner Kreuzberger, Erich Hösterey and Horst Loy, opened with an exhibition of *Fifty Masterpieces of Modern Painting* from other museums and private collections and a display of its nineteenth- and twentieth-century holdings. A new guide to its collections was also published, featuring works by Baumeister, Derain, Ernst, Feininger, Xaver Fuhr, Heckel, Hofer, Jawlensky, Kirchner, Klee, Macke, Manessier, Music, Nolde, Pechstein, Poliakoff, Renoir, Schmidt-Rottluff, Singier, and Vieira da Silva; the baron would acquire pieces by all these artists until 1964.

fig. 17
Lyonel Feininger
***Gemerolda IX*, 1926**
Oil on canvas, 100 × 80 cm
Museum Folkwang, Essen

fig. 18
August Macke
***Modes. Woman with Parasol in front of Milliner's Shop*, 1914**
Oil on canvas, 60.5 × 50.5 cm
Museum Folkwang, Essen

fig. 19
Alfred Manessier
***Crown of Thorns*, 1951**
Oil on canvas, 58 × 48,5 cm
Museum Folkwang, Essen
[acquired in 1957]



This connection is even more evident if we compare specific works in both collections. For example (always citing the paintings in the Museum Folkwang first), *Olive Garden* (c. 1910) and *Cornfield* (1879), by Renoir; *Gelmeroda IX* (1926) [fig. 17] and *Magic River (Dream across the River)* (1937), by Feininger; and *Modes: Woman with Parasol in front of Milliner's Shop* (1914) [fig. 18] and *Three People Strolling* (1914), by Macke. And it is even closer as far as the abstract works are concerned: *Crown of Thorns* (1951) [fig. 19] and *Composition Blue-Red (Seascape)* (1949), by Manessier; *Orange Composition with Blue Circle* (1953) [fig. 20] and *Composition on Greenish-Blue Ground* (c. 1955) [see fig. 6], by Poliakoff; *Morning. High Tide* (1956) [fig. 21] and *The Lovers and the Beach* (1954) [see fig. 5], by Singier; and *Grey Town* (1956) [fig. 22] and *Alleyway* (1961) [see fig. 8], by Vieira da Silva.

To sum up, of the 22 modern paintings the baron and his wife acquired in 1961, 17 were by artists featured in the catalogue of the Museum Folkwang collections – that is, 77 percent. This proportion had fallen to just under 60 percent (9 out of 15 works) by 1962 and dropped significantly to 36 percent (4 out of 11) the following year.

fig. 20
Serge Poliakoff
***Orange Composition with Blue Circle*, 1954**
Oil on canvas, 89 × 116 cm
Museum Folkwang, Essen
[acquired in 1958]

fig. 21
Gustave Singier
***Morning. High Tide*, 1956**
Oil on canvas, 129.2 × 162.8 cm
Museum Folkwang, Essen
[acquired in 1957]

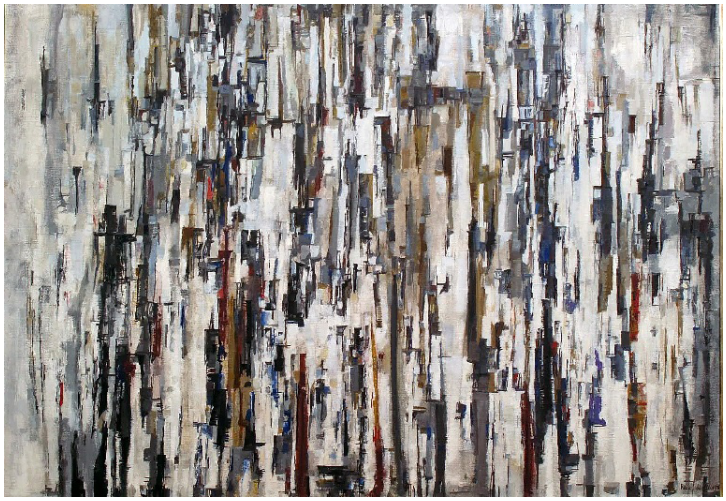


fig. 22
Helena Vieira da Silva
***Grey Town*, 1956**
Oil on canvas, 113 × 160 cm
Museum Folkwang, Essen
[acquired in 1958]

How close was the baron's relationship with the Museum Folkwang? Apart from the exhibition of the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection at the Essen museum from January to March 1960, there is evidence that the baron and baroness coincided with Heinz Köhn – director of the Museum Folkwang – and his wife at the Stuttgarter Kunskabinett's 36th auction.[31] Seeing them purchase a Nolde watercolour, *Young Couple*, Köhn probably invited them to visit the museum and view the Nolde collection of Ernst Henke, president of the Folkwang Museumsverein, the Association of the Museum Folkwang. A few days later, on 8 May, the baron wrote to Köhn thanking him for his kind invitation and informing him he would be free to visit Essen in September.[32] In a second letter dated 16 May, Köhn replied to the baron: 'I shall definitely be here in Essen in September and hope to show you the brand new Museum Folkwang'. He also stated he was sending him the museum guidebook.[33]

31
According to the seating plan kindly provided to the author by Wolfgang Henze, they were due to sit in different rows, the Thyssen couple in front of Moltzau and his wife.

32
Letter from Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza to Heinz Köhn, 8 May 1961. In Duisburg Archives, TB/2703.

33
Letter from Heinz Köhn to Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza, 16 May 1961. In Duisburg Archives, TB/2703.

Perhaps the guidebook – featuring 22 reproductions in colour and 109 in black and white – which baron kept in his Lugano library, served him as a model in his shift towards modern art. But if so, it must have occurred after the Stuttgarter Kunstkabinett's 36th auction. Could the baron have seen the Museum Folkwang's new premises before September 1961? We can only speculate. Though there is one fact that could back this hypothesis: in January 1961, the baron received the minutes of the meeting of the Folkwang Museumsverein, proof of his already existing connection with this association or with its president, Ernst Henke.[34]

* * *

We have examined what happed after that January in the analysis of the 1964 inventory. I simply wish to point out a few factors which, in my opinion, led the baron to focus his collecting on German Expressionism following his initially more disparate acquisitions of modern art.

The first, referred to earlier, is related to his personal tastes, which were probably closer to German Expressionism than Fiona's. To what extent are these differences reflected in the works that decorated Villa Favorita (predominantly German art of the beginning of the century) and Villa Alycon (more modern works, some decidedly abstract) in January 1964? We can only hypothesise. Whatever the case, it is evident that the active role Fiona played in the first acquisitions of modern art for the collection and her own artistic tastes went to the background when the couple divorced in the summer of 1964; and it should be remembered that Villa Alcyon went in the settlement to Fiona.

A second factor, almost as important as the first, was the close relationship the baron established with Roman Norbert Ketterer, the owner of one of the finest collections of German Expressionist art of the period and the executor of Kirchner's estate. The fact that in mid-May 1961 – that is, barely a few days after the Stuttgarter Kunstkabinett's 36th auction – Ketterer decided to sell the baron two of the best works in his collection, followed by a further four that same year and three more in subsequent years, greatly influenced the future of the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (suffice it to recall

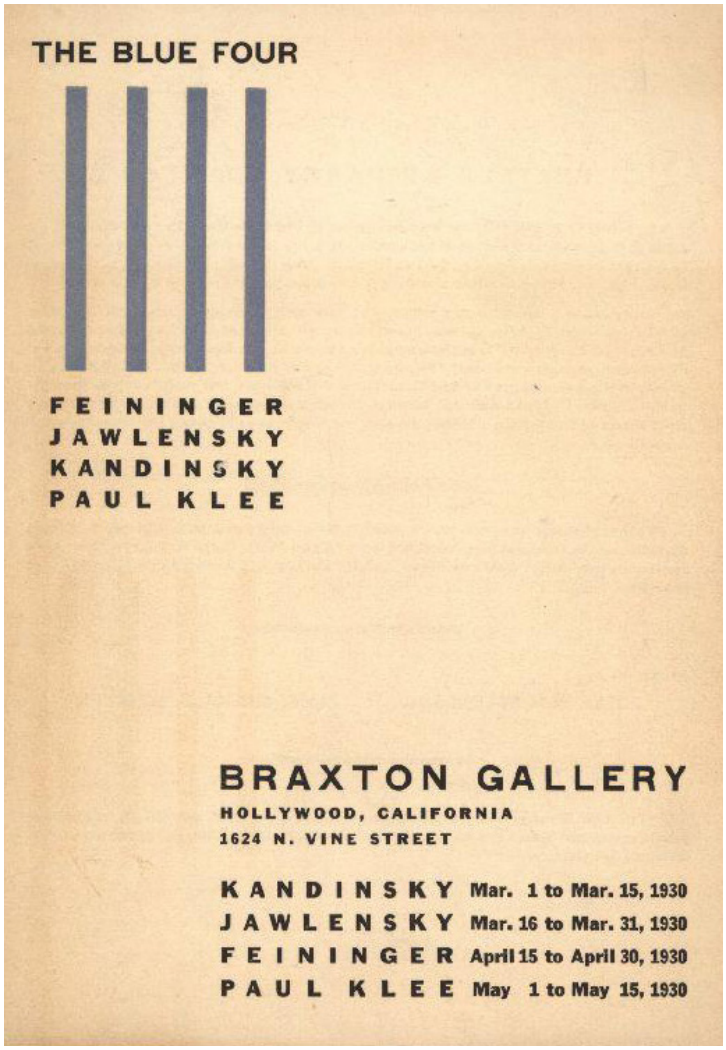
34
As confirmed by the 'Minutes of the general meeting of the Association of the Museum Folkwang of 20 January 1961', held in Duisburg Archives, TB/2703.

that without them, the German Expressionist works acquired by the baron at the start of 1964 would be significantly lower not only in quality but also in number: 12 instead of 18). And if the transfer of ownership of those works was not sufficient to convince the baron he was on the right path, Ketterer's very possible collaboration on the baron's project to show 15 Expressionist works at Villa Favorita at the start of 1964 must have provided him with new, unquestionable reasons.

Lastly, a third and possibly more circumstantial factor is the short-lived success of the abstract and Italianizing post-war trends. Their demise has been confirmed by art history over the years and certainly cannot have escaped the attention of a regular reader of artistic literature like Hans Heinrich. It is known that the baron carefully studied the provenance of works before purchasing them and was averse to taking unnecessary risks. And if a painting failed to live up to his initial expectations, the periodic classifications of his pictures as 'top', 'good', 'medium', and 'mediocre' quality were a basis for selling off those of more dubious value. In short, as the baron soon realised, none of the movements to which his first acquisitions of modern art belonged provided a better starting point for building his new collection than German Expressionism. ●

‘The Blue Four’: Galka Scheyer and the promotion of Feininger, Jawlensky, Kandinsky and Klee in California

Clara Marcellán



Brochure of the Blue Four’s exhibition at Braxton Gallery, 1930, with the group’s distinctive four blue vertical stripes

'The Blue Four': Galka Scheyer and the promotion of Feininger, Jawlensky, Kandinsky and Klee in California

Clara Marcellán

fig. 1
Cover of the *San Francisco Examiner*, 1 November 1925

PROPHETESS OF "THE BLUE FOUR" DISCUSSES MODERN ART

MME. SCHEYER, THE BLUE FOUR AND THEIR ART

Pictures That Ordinary Man Can't Understand Are Really Portrayals Of Exaltation of Soul, She Declares.

By NADIA LAVROVA

Not More Copies

Periods Obvious

Malaria Foe to Paralysis

Eye Pains Lavoptik

ASTHMA

ASTHMA-TABS

'Have you heard about the Blue Four? If not yet, you are destined to hear much about them soon'.

These are the opening lines of an article entitled 'Prophetess of "The Blue Four" discusses Modern Art. Mme. Scheyer, the Blue Four and their Art', which was published on the cover of the November 1925 issue of the *San Francisco Examiner* [fig. 1]. The German-born art collector and promoter Galka Scheyer (Brunswick, 1889–Los Angeles, 1945) had arrived in the United States in 1924 with a mission, to publicise the work of Jawlensky, Feininger, Klee, and Kandinsky, grouping them together under the name of 'Blue Four' for this purpose. This article traces the fortunes of her endeavour,[1] which involves three of the works now in the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza. It therefore adds a further story to those told in the exhibition *German Expressionism in Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza's Collection*, which celebrates the emergence of this movement in the baron's life and studies the dissemination of Expressionist works throughout the twentieth century, among other episodes.

1
The Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena houses Galka Scheyer's archives, correspondence, and art collection, and has conducted various projects on them to analyse and disseminate her legacy. This article is based on the following publications: Vivian Endicott Barnett and Josef Helfenstein (eds.), *The Blue Four Feininger, Jawlensky, Kandinsky, and Klee in the New World.* [Exh. cat. Kunstmuseum Bern-Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Dusseldorf, 1997–1998], Cologne, Dumont-New Haven, Yale University Press, 1997; and Vivian Endicott Barnett, *The Blue Four Collection at the Norton Simon Museum.* [Exh. cat.] New Haven–London, Yale University Press, 2002. In 2017, the Norton Simon Museum hosted the exhibition *Maven of Modernism: Galka Scheyer in California*. The accompanying lectures given by Gloria Williams Sander, Victoria Dailey, and Susan Landauer provided a wealth of visual records and new information on Scheyer's role on the Los Angeles art scene (the videos can be viewed here: https://vimeo.com/214554546, https://vimeo.com/218049459 and https://vimeo.com/234930680). New details of the history of the works in our collection have been garnered from Scheyer's letters to Kandinsky in the Bibliothèque Kandinsky, MNAM/CCI, Centre Pompidou, which were accessed via the website https://archivesetdocumentation.centrepompidou.fr/

Blue mania

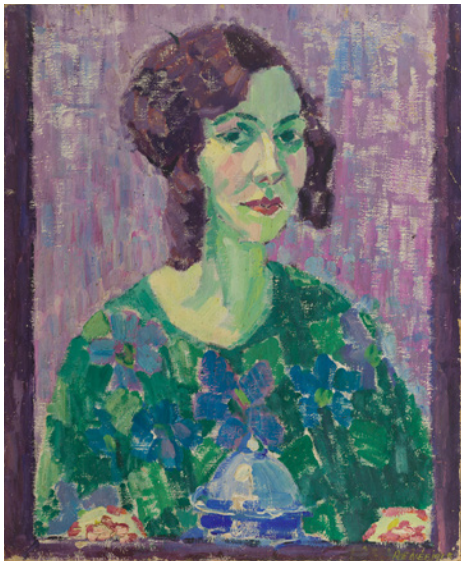


fig. 2
Emmy E. Scheyer
***Self-Portrait*, 1915**
Private collection,
United States

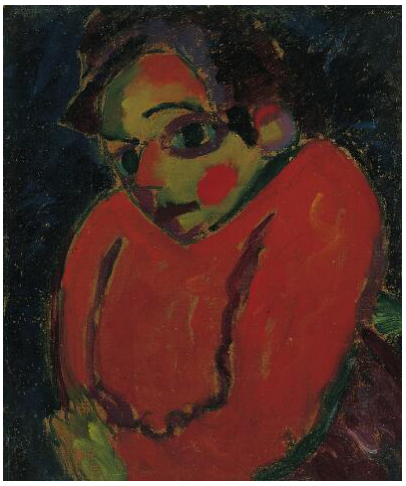


fig. 3
Alexei Jawlenksy
***Hunchback*, 1917**
Oil and pencil on textured cardboard, 24.8 x 21 cm
Norton Simon Museum
The Blue Four Galka Scheyer Collection
This a version of the work that made an impression on Galka when she met Jawlensky. The artist painted it for her sometime later.

When she discovered Jawlensky's works in Switzerland in 1916, Emmy Esther Scheyer abandoned her own artistic aspirations [fig. 2] in order to become the painter's promotor. It was Jawlensky who called her Galka, the Russian word for jackdaw, after this bird appeared to him in a dream and reminded him of her: friendly, warm, protective, and possessive. Scheyer ended up adopting it as her first name, and it appears on her American passport in 1932. Through Jawlensky she met Klee, Kandinsky, and Feininger, who were linked to the Blue Rider group before the First World War and played an active role in the Bauhaus school in Weimar after the war. Bound by ties of friendship, the artists nevertheless had very different styles, though this was perceived as an advantage, as Kandinsky states in a letter to Scheyer dated 17 January 1924. Galka not only promoted the Blue Four but became a very early collector of their works: she received many as gifts [fig. 3] and purchased others whenever she could afford to.

Driven by her faith in the value of their work, Scheyer proposed that the four artists team up to make a name for themselves in the United States. On 31 March 1924, they signed an agreement authorising Scheyer to disseminate their work overseas through lectures and exhibitions, and specifying that she would immediately leave for America.

fig. 4
Lyonel Feininger
***The Lady in Mauve*, 1922**
Oil on canvas, 100.5 × 80.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid
[+ info]

Why the United States? Hyperinflation in Germany was causing the sales and prices of their works to fluctuate and the resulting insecurity had prompted Berlin gallery owners such as Ferdinand Möller and J. B. Neumann to open branches in New York in 1923. Also in 1923, Scheyer had met the female painter Rajah Rubio, who invited her to the United States. Klee, in turn, had put her in contact with Katherine Dreier, a painter, collector, and pioneer in promoting modern art in America, with a view to organising a Jawlensky exhibition in New York in 1924. Scheyer's privileged education – she studied art at the British Museum and English at Oxford from 1906 to 1910, besides training in Brussels and Paris – equipped her to get along easily in the United States.

To carry out her mission she received works on consignment, which were returned to the artists if they were not sold. This is where one of the Museo Thyssen paintings with a key role in this story comes into the picture: Feininger's *The Lady in Mauve* [fig. 4]. Created in 1922, it must have accompanied

Galka on her boat journey, as evidenced by its presence in the first exhibitions she mounted in the United States. According to the agreement signed with the Blue Four, when a work was sold, 50 percent of the proceeds would go to the artist, 30 percent to Galka, and 20 percent to the group's funds. The contract also specified the name, 'freien Gruppe der blauen Vier' [free group of the blue four], most likely a reference to the importance of this colour in its members' creative universe, as it had been part of the title of their previous collaborative project, the Blue Rider Almanac. In some of the interviews she gave on the Blue Four in the United States, Galka had to explain that whereas in English 'blue' has connotations of sadness – which some people hastily attached to their works – for the artists it had a deeply spiritual significance.[2]

Modern art enjoyed a limited reception in the United States and Scheyer's educational drive, shared with Klee, Kandinsky, and Feininger, who also taught, proved essential. The only precedent was perhaps the Armory Show, the International Exhibition of Modern Art held in New York, Chicago, and Boston in 1913, which introduced the European avant-garde movements to some 300,000 visitors. An important role was likewise played by people such as Alfred Stieglitz and also by Katherine Dreier, who founded the Société Anonyme together with Marcel Duchamp and was a pioneer in organising Kandinsky's and Klee's first solo exhibitions in the United States in 1923 and 1924 respectively.

When Galka arrived in the United States in May 1924 she stayed for a few weeks with Rajah Rubio in Ossining (New York), where she was visited by Dreier and gave interviews announcing her intentions. In June she moved to New York to put together a promotional mailing list. She eventually sent material on the Blue Four to 600 universities and 400 museums, besides offering to stage exhibitions and deliver lectures on them. Galka used the artworks themselves in her lectures, as well as 600 (glass plate) slides of modern art and architecture that she had amassed before leaving Europe. The Blue Four group's first exhibition, of which there is no complete surviving list, took place in February 1925 at The Daniel Gallery in New York. Despite positive reviews from critics, it closed without a single sale.

2
See, for example, 'Expect Furor when *Blue Four* Exhibit Opens here Today'. In *The Spokesman-Review*, Spokane, Washington, 15 May 1927, p. 27.

Conquering the West

After her work in New York went unrewarded, Scheyer set off for the West on 30 May 1925, motivated by the response received from the Oakland Art Gallery in California – the only institution to reply to her mass mailing. She was accompanied by sculptress Angelica Archipenko – married to Alexander Archipenko – who had lived in New York since 1923. Together they visited Chicago, Denver, and Santa Fe before arriving in Los Angeles on 8 June 1925. Through her contact with Hollywood-based Austrian architects, Galka was introduced to actresses and directors, whom she viewed as potential buyers and ambassadors of her Blue Flour.

She gave her first talks in San Francisco in September and her efforts soon paid off with an exhibition at Stanford University (Palo Alto) and the cover of the *San Francisco Examiner* mentioned earlier. Writing to Feininger on 30 October 1925, Scheyer reported on the success that securing an exhibition and a front-page article in a newspaper with two million readers entailed. In January 1926, an exhibition of graphic work at the Paul Elder Gallery in San Francisco brought her first earnings from the sale of nine works. Shortly afterwards, in February, Evelyn S. Mayer, director of the State Teachers College in San Francisco, became the first West Coast collector of the Blue Four when she purchased graphic works by the group for educational purposes.

The Oakland Art Gallery not only responded to Galka's offer to stage exhibitions and give lectures but hired her as its agent in Europe. Indeed, this municipal museum hosted the first major show of the Blue Four in May 1926 featuring the works she had brought with her in 1924 accompanied by a few from Jerome Eddy's collection (Chicago) and others lent by Katherine Dreier. One of the canvases on display was Feininger's *The Lady in Mauve*. It also travelled with the exhibition to Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, and Spokane, where the tour, promoted by the Association of the Directors of Western American Museums, ended in May 1927. An article published in connection with its showing at the last venue, entitled 'She can Prove *Red Spot* is Art',[3] takes Kandinsky's *Red Spot* to be a symbol of the doubts raised about the artistic merit of some

3
M. B.: 'She can Prove *Red Spot* is Art'. In *The Spokesman-Review*, Spokane, Washington, 20 May 1927, p. 6.

fig. 5
Wassily Kandinsky
***In the Bright Oval*, 1925**
Oil on cardboard, 73 x 59 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid
[+ info]

of the works and highlights Scheyer's efforts to cultivate appreciation for the new art: 'to the uninitiated [it] looks like a street corner the morning after the Fourth of July before the street cleaner has got to work [...] Her tremendous enthusiasm and vitality are stimulating and convincing, and before you leave her you will decide that "The Red Spot" is a great picture'.

In June 1928, Scheyer returned to Europe for the first time since leaving the continent in 1924. She was accompanied by Evelyn S. Mayer, who, as we have seen, may be considered the first collector of the Blue Four in western America. Together they delivered a paper at the 6th International Conference for Art Education and Arts and Crafts in Prague on their educational experiences and the exhibition they had organised at the Oakland Art Gallery that May: *Free, Imaginative and Creative Work by Children*. Scheyer's travels around Germany took her to Dessau and Wiesbaden, where she visited Feininger, Kandinsky, Klee, and Jawlensky, returned unsold works to them, and selected new ones. Among the paintings she took back with her to California in October 1928 are two now in the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza: Kandinsky's *In the Bright Oval* (1925) [fig. 5] and Klee's *Omega 5 (Traps)* (1927), as may be deduced from the shows and sales she organised on her return to the United States.

'Adieu San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley. Guten Tag Hollywood'[4]

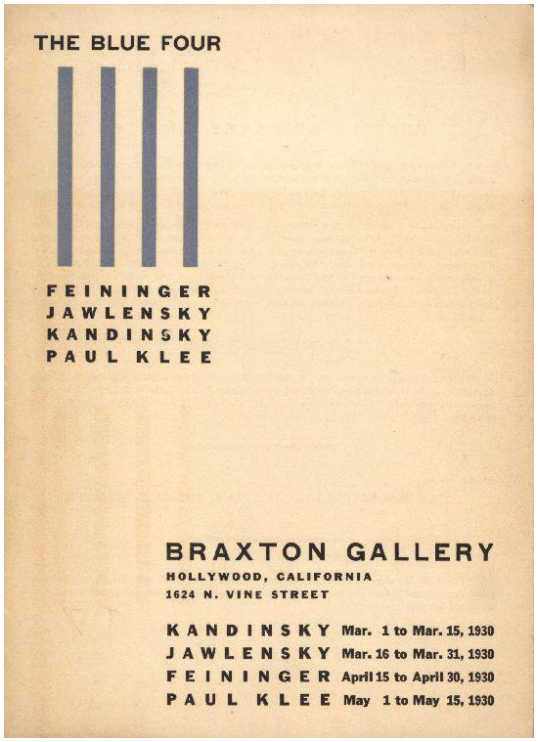


fig. 6
Brochure of the Blue Four's exhibition at Braxton Gallery, 1930, with the group's distinctive four blue vertical stripes

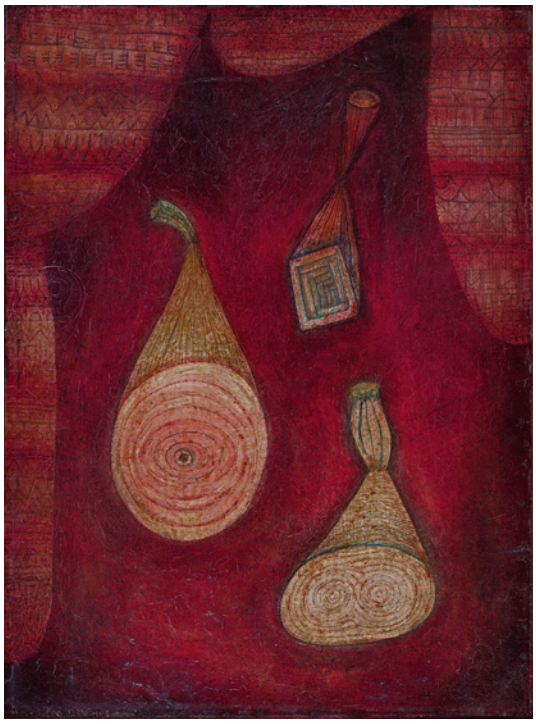
The second stage of Galka's life in the United States began with what she called the golden year, the golden dollar year: in May 1929 Harry Braxton proposed showing the Blue Four at his Hollywood gallery and in August she met one of his clients, Austrian film director Josef von Sternberg, with whom she collaborated for a short but intense period. At the time Sternberg was one of the few people in the Hollywood film industry with a genuine interest in modern art. His collection went on to be displayed at the LACMA in 1935 and 1943 and, by chance, included a painting now in the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza: Egon Schiele's *Houses on the River*. During this first visit to Galka, he purchased 500 dollars' worth of graphic works by the Blue Four. At the end of the year, Sternberg shot *The Blue Angel* in Germany. The film was a stepping-stone to stardom for Marlene Dietrich, who established herself in Hollywood to carry on taking part in Sternberg's films and became friends with Galka.

The Blue Four's exhibition at the Braxton Gallery at last opened in the spring of 1930 [fig. 6]. Its promoter was Sternberg and it was installed in an equally modern space designed by R. M. Schindler, a collaborator of Frank Lloyd Wright and a friend of Galka. Feininger's *The Lady in Mauve* and Kandinsky's *In the Bright Oval* were again shown in this exhibition. Galka's letter to Kandinsky dated 7 March 1931 confirming she had sent copies of the exhibition catalogue to Chaplin and Greta Garbo indicates that she was on the lookout for new clients in the film world.

4
Letter from Scheyer to the Blue Four, 4 June 1929.

5
Marjorie Eaton had studied with André Lhote in Paris before meeting Scheyer. An active member of the artistic community in Taos and close to Diego Rivera, she finally opted for a career in acting, appearing in blockbusters such as *Mary Poppins* and the fifth episode of *Star Wars*, totally unrecognisable as Emperor Palpatine.

fig. 7
Paul Klee, *Omega 5 (Traps), 1927, 295*, 1927
Oil and watercolour on canvas nailed to cardboard, 57.3 x 43 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid
[+ info]



In 1930, Marjorie Eaton, a painter and actress[5] Galka had met in 1926, purchased another of the works Galka had brought with her: Klee's *Omega 5 (Traps)* [fig. 7]. She had already bought works by Jawlensky, Kandinsky, and Klee from Galka and the two women were close friends. Among other privileges, Galka would lend her works by the Blue Four to keep in her home for a time until she decided whether or not to buy them – a practice Galka repeated with other clients. *Omega 5* remained in her collection until 1957 at least.

Meanwhile, the artists, who had so far only exhibited together in the United States, had their first group show in Europe in 1929. It opened at the Galerie Ferdinand Möller in Berlin under the looming shadow of the Wall Street Crash and Galka's plea that the Blue Four lower their selling prices in an attempt to keep their heads above water.

1930 is also the year Galka met, or at least developed a closer relationship with, Louise and Walter Arensberg, the eminent collectors of modern art, chiefly French, who had moved from New York to Hollywood in 1927. Scheyer managed to arouse their interest in the Blue Four and they became the leading collectors of the group's work in western America, though they did not always buy through her.

Another well-known name first appeared on her lists of buyers in 1931: Diego Rivera. Scheyer met him in San Francisco while he was working on the murals for the city's Stock Exchange Tower and a few months later she involved him in the installation of the Blue Four's next major exhibition at the California Palace of the Legion of Honor from 8 to 22 April. While setting up the show Rivera must have seen Kandinsky's *In the Bright Oval*, which, to Scheyer's immense satisfaction, was sold during or shortly after the exhibition. In a brief handwritten note dated 29 April 1931 Galka conveyed the good news to Kandinsky, whose hopes of success on the West Coast were fading. Two watercolours, eight or ten lithographs, and three oil paintings, among them *In the Bright Oval*, had been acquired: 'In the bright oval (oil) sold. [...] This time the success is yours [underlining by Galka]'. One of the buyers referred to in this note to Kandinsky was Diego Rivera, with whom she agreed to hold a show of the Blue Four in Mexico City, which took place that November.

Writing more calmly and at greater length on the latest events and sales (letter of 26 June 1931 to Kandinsky), Galka included a list specifying the prices and sellers, as established in her representation agreement. It mentions *In the Bright Oval*, together with the sum of 2,000 Deutschmarks and the name Mack. This is probably the first of the many works that Charlotte Mack, a discreet philanthropist, purchased from Galka in the spring and summer of 1931 after they met, possibly through Diego Rivera. Mack assembled the largest collection of works by the Blue Four in San Francisco.[6]

Galka continued to expand her sphere of influence and presented the Blue Four in Chicago in April 1932. The exhibition featured recently sold works lent by their owners: *In the Bright Oval*, from the collection of C. Mack, and *Omega 5 (Traps)* (as 'Still Life'), from the collection of M. Eaton, both now in Madrid. Scheyer also included pieces from her own private collection, as specified in the credits, and Feininger's *The Lady in Mauve*, which, unlike other works on the list, is not accompanied by a reference to a collection and may therefore be assumed to be still owned by the artist.

In October 1932, Galka travelled to Europe again with the support of the Oakland Art Gallery to acquire more works by the Blue Four. During the months she spent there until July 1933, the foundations of her own world and that of the group began to crumble. Hitler rose to power in January 1933, Klee lost his job as a lecturer at the Staatliche Kunstakademie in Dusseldorf, and soon all of them were banned from teaching, exhibiting, and even painting in Germany. In May 1933, she returned to the United States, followed by 250 works. In Hollywood Harry Braxton's gallery, which had hosted the successful shows of 1930, had gone bankrupt.

6
From 17 March to 9 September 2018 the SFMOMA hosted the exhibition *Paul Klee, Galka Scheyer, and the Blue Four* featuring works gifted to the museum by Charlotte Mack.

New strategies

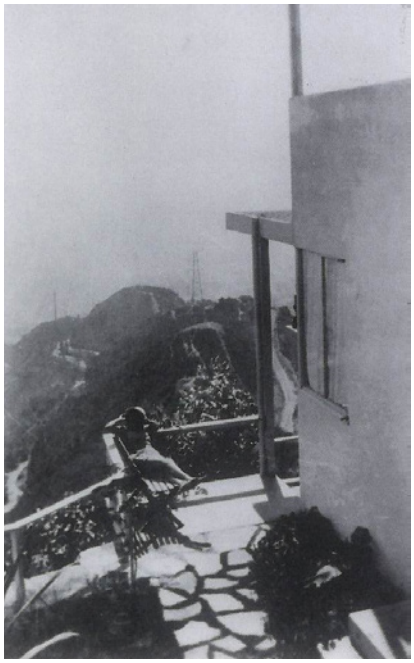


fig. 8
Galka Scheyer on the terrace of her house designed by Richard Neutra, around 1934 Norton Simon Museum, The Blue Four Galka Scheyer Archive, Pasadena

One of Scheyer's disadvantages when competing with gallery owners is that she never had her own commercial premises. Instead she would invite potential buyers to her successive homes. After returning from Europe in 1933, she purchased a plot of land in Hollywood Hills with the money she had earned during the prosperous years and commissioned Richard Neutra, one of the most important practitioners of modern American architecture,[7] to design a simple, modern house for her [fig. 8]. She moved into it in 1934 and succeeded in turning the access road into a tribute to the Blue Four, as it was named Blue Heights Drive. She also had a guest apartment built for the Blue Four and other great artists in her home-cum-gallery, though she was only visited by Feininger when he was invited to teach at Mills College (Oakland) in 1936.

As competition grew, Scheyer sought to increase the visibility of the Blue Four's works in new spaces, such as the Hollywood studios. She rented out works for film sets, despite the misgivings of Feininger and Kandinsky, and lent them for concerts and other cultural and social events. That is how musician and artist John Cage came to see a Jawlensky

7
The character in Ayn Rand's novel *The Fountainhead*, published in 1943, is based on him.

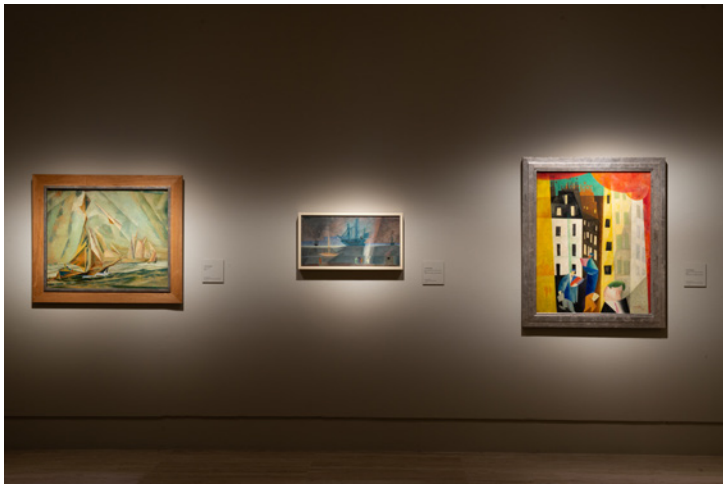


fig. 9
View of *German Expressionism in Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza's Collection*, showing Feininger's *Magic River (Dream across the River)* [centre] and *Architecture II (The Man from Potin)* [to the right]

fig. 10
Mills College label on the back of *Architecture II*

painting at a concert. After he met Galka and expressed his enthusiasm about the artist, she agreed to sell him a recent work by Jawlensky, *Meditation* of 1934, for 25 dollars, in instalments. Scheyer had found herself a new ambassador and in 1939 she helped Cage organise exhibitions of the group's work in Tacoma and Seattle.

The situation in Europe was worsening and Scheyer's family, who had been helping her financially, were no longer able to do so. The group were no better off, as in 1937 many of their works were among German public collections that were confiscated and 45 were featured in the Degenerate Art exhibition that opened in Munich in July. By then Feininger was in the United States, where, as he told one of his children, unlike in Germany, 'imagination in art and abstraction are not an utter crime'.[8]

In America Feininger helped organise a new exhibition at Mills College, where he again taught courses in the summer of 1937. The show included a work he had painted that year, *Magic River (Dream across the River)* (Thyssen-Bornemisza Collections), as well as *Architecture II (The Man from Potin),* of 1921 (Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza), both of which are displayed on the same wall in the exhibition *German Expressionism in Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza's Collection* [fig. 9]. *Architecture II* still bears the label of Mills College on the reverse [fig. 10] with the name of Nierendorf, the gallery

8
Letter from Feininger to his son Lux, 31 May 1937. Quoted from Peter Vergo: *Twentieth-century German Painting: The Thyssen Bornemisza Collection*. London, Sotheby's Publications, 1992, p. 82.

owner of German descent who began representing Feininger in the United States, putting an end to Galka's exclusive arrangement. In 1938, the Oakland Art Gallery dispensed with Scheyer's services owing to her disagreement with its director and a shift in interest towards Californian artists. Feininger asked Galka to give back the works on consignment, and she also lost her status as exclusive representative of Klee and Kandinsky once her contract expired. She nevertheless carried on corresponding with them frequently and affectionately.

Following these changes, Scheyer devoted her efforts to other causes, such as showing *Guernica* on the West Coast in 1939, designing educational and art programmes for prestigious primary schools, and collaborating with the Walt Disney studios by teaching the employees classes on children's art. Oskar Fischinger, who was then filming *Fantasia*, even proposed she organise a Kandinsky exhibition at the studios as the artist was in tune with the abstract musical accompaniments and colours they were working with.

Klee died in 1940, followed by her beloved Jawlensky in 1941. In 1944, with two members of the group now absent, Galka collaborated with Curt Valentin on organising what would be her last project related to the Blue Four, an exhibition at the Buchholz Gallery in New York that November. Kandinsky passed away on 13 December 1944, and Galka died of cancer exactly a year later. ●

Quappi, much more than *Frau* Beckmann

Leticia de Cos Martín

Max Beckmann
***Quappi in Pink Jumper*, 1932–34**
(detail)
[+ info]

Quappi, much more than *Frau* Beckmann

Leticia de Cos Martín

fig. 1
Max Beckmann
***Quappi in Pink Jumper*, 1932–34**
Oil on canvas, 105 × 73 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid
[+ info]

'Oh my darling, how much I love you. What an astonishing force you unleash in me. Do it now [...]. For me you are something I am unable and unwilling to express... I could, but I don't want to. I will paint it'.[1]

During our preparations for the exhibition *Beckmann. Exile Figures* that opened at the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza in the autumn of 2018, we examined some of the recent studies published on Beckmann in order to update the information we had on the four works the museum owns by this artist, considered a leading name in German twentieth-century art. This article focuses on the delightful portrait of *Quappi in Pink Jumper*, 1932–34 [fig. 1], a painting acquired by Baron Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza in 1969 from the German gallery owner Roman Norbert Ketterer and now on display in the exhibition *German Expressionism in Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza's Collection*.

1
Beckmann 1993–1996, vol. 1, letter 304, June 1925, p. 313 [the underlining is the artist's own].

fig. 2
Quappi with her pet dogs Chilly and Majong, 1937

fig. 3
Quappi shortly before travelling to the United States, 1947

Before going on to analyse 'our' portrait of Quappi it is appropriate to recall a number of key facts about the artist. Max Beckmann (Leipzig, 1884–New York, 1950) is a prominent figure in the history of Western art, albeit something of a loner, defined by many historians as an outsider. Beckmann remained on the fringes of the art trends of his time (Expressionism, Cubism, Surrealism) throughout practically his entire career. He had firsthand experience of the various movements in Berlin and Paris (he lived and worked in both capitals), and his dealers kept him abreast of what was going on in New York. Yet none of the art styles he discovered tied in with his own conception of painting; besides, as a determined individualist he had no wish to belong to a group. Beckmann believed that painting should serve to express the ultimate truths of human existence: 'I am seeking for the *bridge* which leads from the *visible to the invisible*.'[2] This, coupled with the circumstances of his life – a succession of unexpected events and setbacks forced him to start practically all over again from scratch several times – explains why his oeuvre has an absolutely personal and unmistakeable style and why his compositions have been described as visual hieroglyphics on account of their complexity. Beckmann's modernity stems more from this highly personal conception of painting than from formal aspects.

2
In 'On My Painting', a lecture given in London in connection with the exhibition of *20th Century German Art* at the Burlington Galleries, 21 July 1938. See Beckmann 2003, p. 229.

Max Beckmann, who had already enjoyed a period of professional before the Great War, again achieved recognition as a painter both in and outside Germany during the 1920s and early 1930s, though his situation radically changed following the rise to power of National Socialism in 1933. The Nazi government gave orders for him to be immediately dismissed from his teaching post at the Frankfurt Städelschule. The artist's ensuing move to Berlin has been interpreted as an initial exile within Germany before he was forced into permanent exile in July 1937, when the Nazis included his work in the Degenerate Art exhibition. At this point Beckmann and Quappi left Germany, not realising that the artist would never return to his country of birth. The couple hurriedly fled to Amsterdam, where a few relatives lived. As the city was close to Germany, they were visited by the artist's son Peter Beckmann and other friends, whose special permits allowed them a certain amount of freedom to cross the border. The outbreak of the Second World War, triggered by the events of the summer of 1939, caught the couple holidaying on the Dutch coast and weighing up whether France or the United States was the best option for a permanent move. Unable to return to Paris, they remained trapped in Holland for ten long years before finally departing for the United States in the summer of 1947, where Beckmann spent the last three years of his life.[3]

3
For a full biography of the artist see the catalogue *Beckmann. Exile Figures*, pp. 181–207 (Llorens 2018).

From Mathilde Kaulbach to Quappi

fig. 4
Friedrich August von Kaulbach
***Portrait of Frieda Scotta*, 1901**
Whereabouts unknown

4
Marie-Louise von Motesiczky was one of the leading female Austrian painters of the twentieth century. Her oeuvre includes more than 300 paintings, especially portraits, self-portraits, and still lifes, as well as several hundred drawings. She started out in Vienna and furthered her training and worked in Berlin, Frankfurt, and Paris. She was a pupil of Beckmann's and remained a close friend of his for the rest of her life. When the Nazis rose to power she was forced to emigrate to the United Kingdom.

It appears to have been Countess Henriette von Motesiczky (1882–1978) who began calling Mathilde Kaulbach Quappi during the year Mathilde lived with the family in Vienna while taking singing classes. The nickname Quappi derives from a corruption of the surname Kaulbach that recalls Kaulquappe, a German word for tadpole. Thereafter Mathilde would be known to her relatives and friends by this sonorous, affectionate nickname. Quappi (1904–1986) was the youngest of the three daughters of the painter Friedrich August von Kaulbach (1850–1920), a portraitist of the Bavarian court who hailed from a family of artists; a notable relative was her uncle Wilhelm von Kaulbach, who came to direct the Munich Academy of Arts, like Friedrich himself. August's second wife was Danish: Frieda Scotta (née Schytte), a famous concert violinist in her day [fig. 4]. Quappi inherited her mother's musical sensibility and received her first violin classes at just four. Her stay in Vienna with the aristocratic Motesiczkys influenced not only the young German girl's name but also her professional career and personal life, as it was during that year, 1924, that Quappi and Beckmann met in the mansion owned by her hosts on the outskirts of the Austrian capital.

Beckmann had been living in Frankfurt since he was discharged from the German army (he had enlisted as a volunteer) following a nervous breakdown in 1915. He moved in with his friends Ugi (1879–1957) and Friedel Battenberg, who generously made their studio and home available to him. He gradually carved out a place for himself in Frankfurt's society. He began frequenting the weekly meetings hosted by Heinrich Simon (1880–1941), heir and editor-in-chief of the German newspaper *Frankfurter Zeitung*, for local artists, intellectuals, and politicians. Indeed, it was at one of these luncheons that Beckmann met Georg Swarzenski (1876–1957) and Fritz Wichert (1878–1951), directors of the Städel and its Kunstschule respectively, who later offered him a teaching post at the Städel School of Arts and Crafts (October 1925). These lunches were regularly attended by the host's wife, Irma Simon, who often travelled to her native Vienna. In 1920, Beckmann accompanied her and was introduced to her circle of friends in the Austrian capital. Among them were Henriette von Motesiczky and her daughter Marie-Louise (1906–1996).[4] Quappi moved in with the Von Motesiczky family in the autumn of 1923 and the two girls soon became firm friends.

fig. 5
Max with the three Kaulbach sisters, 1925

fig. 6
Max Beckmann and Mathilde Kaulbach sitting on a chaise longue with another woman (possibly Marie-Louise von Motesiczky)

In the spring of 1924, Beckmann announced he would be visiting his Austrian friends, and that was when the artist and Mathilde met. Quappi tells in her memoirs that before her Austrian sojourn she had often dreamt of an unknown but protective male figure and when she heard and saw Beckmann she immediately recognised him as the man of her dreams. Marie-Louise owned a woodcut by Beckmann entitled *Self-Portrait* which had drawn Quappi's attention even before their first encounter.[5]

In a letter dated late November 1924, Beckman wrote to '[...] the painter Marie Louise von Mo...te...ky, Piz, and the singer Hildegard von Kaulbach, whom they call Quapp...'[6] Although they do not bear an exact date, some of Beckmann's first letters written to Quappi in the spring of 1925 still survive. In them he already refers to her as his girlfriend: 'That is how I feel your love and that is how I love you. My little one, up until now you were a stranger to me in this world'.[7]

5
Beckmann 2018, p. 9.

6
Letter to Marie-Louise von Motesiczky and Quappi, late November 1924. In Beckmann 1993–1996, vol. 1, p. 261.

7
Letter to Quappi (undated). In Beckmann 1993–1996, vol. 1, p. 265.

fig. 7
Villa Kaulbach in Munich, where Quappi spent her childhood and their wedding was held

A year after they met (the day he was discharged from a Viennese clinic after being treated for breaking his left hand), Beckmann asked Quappi, 20 years his junior, to marry him. The wedding took place in Munich on 1 September 1925 at the impressive Villa Kaulbach [fig. 7]. That afternoon the couple set off on their long honeymoon, visiting Rome and Naples and later Viareggio.

Quappi was Beckmann's second wife: in 1906 he had married Minna Tube (1881–1964), a former classmate at Weimar, who bore him a son, Peter Beckmann (1908–1990), in 1908.[8] In 1915, when Beckmann returned from the front, the couple decided to part ways professionally and personally, albeit remaining on very good terms and in permanent contact. The artist continued to paint portraits of Minna even after he married Quappi.[9] They also kept up regular correspondence until the death of Beckmann, who attached great importance to his first wife's opinions and advice on his art.[10] On a personal level, Beckmann seems to have confided in Minna about his state of mind and health – impressions that he did not always

8
Peter Beckmann earned a PhD in medicine at Berlin in 1935. During the war he was a medical officer with the Luftwaffe. From 1943 onwards, he directed several clinics in Bavaria, becoming specialised in cardiology and rehabilitation therapies. He also devoted himself to his father's works, as both administrator and author of publications on Beckmann, and as a founding member of the Max Beckmann Gesellschaft in 1953. His publications include: *Max Beckmann* (1955); *Max Beckmann. Sichtbares und Unsichtbares* (1965); and *Schwarz auf Weiss. Max Beckmann. Wege zur Wirklichkeit* (1977).

9
Letter to Minna Beckmann-Tube, 25 August 1928. In Beckmann 1993–1996, vol. 2, p. 123: 'Of course, I too am willing to meet up with you in Nuremburg, though I think it would be nicer for us both if it were in Paris. [...] I've told you thousands of times how seriously I take our friendship. We can carry on helping and strengthening each other: free of all conventionalism. Be my good, dear big boy and come [...] Behave and don't torment me any more with your silence or refusals, be yourself truly, like last time. Do say yes... my dear, I beg you, please [...]'.

10
According to Lilly von Schnitzler, one of Beckmann's requirements for marrying Quappi was to be able to carry on seeing his first wife. Copeland 1997, p. 327.

fig. 8
The couple posing in swimsuits on the beach, 25 September 1928

share with Quappi.[11] The letters Beckmann wrote to his first wife from the United States are strikingly frequent and expressive, and evidence how he opens up his heart to her. The painter expected both of his wives to devote themselves fully to him, as he felt that in a marriage it was enough for one of the spouses to be an artist.[12] It is significant that after they married Quappi only played the violin in private, for relatives and friends,[13] and on special occasions (such as at the Rathbones' home on Christmas Day 1947[14]), and that Beckmann never portrayed her with a violin, though he did depict her beside other musical instruments.

'With you beside me I will be able to create very beautiful things that are necessary to humans, like Mozart's music'.[15]

Beckmann longed to find a partner and meeting Quappi seems to have been a revealing experience for him: 'Perhaps you are the only true friend I have in this world and I, yours [...] Perhaps you don't have the slightest idea of what you mean to me. I will tell you. You are my last hope of making any sense of this life it has befallen us to live, whose absurdity and insanity nobody sees as clearly as we do. A sense which we would banally call "fortune" or harmony. I have got to know many people and many women, yet until now I have not found a single woman with whom I believed it was possible to live, even if I was very much in love. [...] Only with one woman

11
In a letter dated 28 August 1926, Minna Beckmann-Tube tells Günther Frank she saw Max Beckmann before he left for Paris and ended up 'feeling sorry for him': 'Today he has written that afterwards he had a complete breakdown'. Tellingly, Beckmann does not mention this emotional tension in the letters he sends to Quappi. In Beckmann 1993–1996, vol. 2, p. 319.

12
'If you wish to have a career [...] I will give you freedom, but then we won't be able to stay together. [...] I need all or nothing from you'. In Beckmann 1999, p. 12.

13
Diary, 16 December 1947: 'In the afternoon, Q. played the violin at Zunia's house'. In Beckmann 1965, p. 105.

14
Diary, 25 December 1947: 'Quappi played the violin'. In Beckmann 1965, p. 106.

15
Letter to Quappi, end of May 1925. In Beckmann 1993-1996, vol. 1, p. 284.

fig. 9
Quappi by a car, about 1930

can I find the last and most genuine harmonies of the world (if they really exist, that is)'.[16] 'Oh, my darling, sweet little Quappi, come and rescue me from painting soon. Once again it wants to swallow me up'.[17] Quappi was essential to Max for the rest of his life – not only because she played the perfect part of the 'artist's wife' who takes care of household affairs, deals with 'paperwork', and ensures the creator has peace of mind[18] (she even cleaned his palettes and brushes for him),[19] but because Beckmann considered her to be his equal: 'What you write about the self-portrait is fabulously correct. You are not only adorable and full of infinite charm, no, you are clever too, little Quappi!'[20] She undoubtedly made essential contributions to their discussions on painting, topical questions, and especially the major issues of mankind.[21] After they married, Beckmann often called her Cynthia in allusion to Artemis, who was associated with the moon.[22]

Quappi's role during the years of exile in Holland and the United States was equally decisive: 'Well, do you think that I could have endured this without Quappi? She is an angel sent to me so that I can accomplish my work'.[23] Mayen Beckmann, the painter's granddaughter, stated during the opening of

16
Letter to Quappi, 16 June 1925. In *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 306, 307, and 308.

17
Letter to Quappi, 9 October 1925. In *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 22.

18
Quappi had a driving licence – which was unusual at the time – and her own car in Frankfurt, which she used to chauffeur Beckmann to and from the studio. It was the same in New York.

19
'When we lived in Europe, I used to clean his palettes and brushes for him. He showed me how he wanted me to do it in his Frankfurt studio'. In Beckmann 1980, p. 146.

20
Letter to Quappi, 26 May 1925. In Beckmann 1993–1996, vol. 1, p. 277.

21
Diary, 25 January 1948: 'Last night I read Weininger and had a long talk with Quappi on death, morality, and immortality'. Beckmann 1965, p. 108.

22
The female name Cinthya or Cynthia originated in Ancient Greece and its mythology. It comes from the Greek word *Kynthia*, meaning from *Kynthos* (Cynthus), a mountain on Delos. Its meaning is 'from Mount Cynthus, goddess of the moon'; this epithet was applied to the moon goddess Artemis, who according to legend was born on that mountain. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cynthia, accessed September 2018.

23
In Pillep 1990, p. 61.

the Beckmann exhibition in 2018 that Quappi, a girl who had been raised 'like a princess', managed to overcome adversities and act bravely during the years of great hardship the couple spent in Amsterdam, enduring severe material and financial shortages and living in semi-hiding. Equally notable was her support during the first months when Beckmann was teaching in Saint Louis, as Quappi accompanied him and acted as an interpreter until the artist was proficient enough to give his classes in English:[24] 'I regularly accompanied Max to class, because he had asked me to be his interpreter, which was a true honour for me. In general Max was not very interested in teaching in words and preferred to help the students solve their problems with a brush or charcoal in his hand and to make corrections directly on the canvas they were talking about. When he wished to express a specific idea in words or considered it necessary to answer a question, it was my job to convey or clarify his opinion'.[25] Quappi dealt with all the correspondence in English, which increased greatly when the couple arrived in the United States. And we also have her to thank for the few existing images of Beckmann in movement as she filmed him during their travels and while he was working.[26]

After Max died in 1950, Quappi devoted the rest of her life to supervising and taking care of the painter's artistic legacy, acting with determination when required.[27] Though perhaps she was not always guided by objective criteria, as it was recently pointed out that certain passages were omitted from the artist's diaries of 1940–50 when they were published, most likely because Quappi possibly considered them too personal and unsuitable for publication. Quappi made very good decisions too, such as in 1975 when she gifted the *Argonauts* triptych to the National Gallery in Washington together with other works by the artist with the condition that she would not have to part with them until her death. During the 36 years that separated Quappi's death from her husband's, she kept the artist's ashes in an urn beside the triptych.[28]

24
Diary, 27 February 1950. In Beckmann 1965, p. 205.

25
Beckmann 2018, p. 55.

26
Diary, 14 September 1944. In Beckmann 1965, p. 25.

27
Quappi Beckmann poured her anger into her diary in a heated mix of English and German on 22 May 1953: '*City Night* was not accepted for loan at the City Art Museum St. Louis, "because it is *full* of symbols (like Phallus) and it would shock the public!" This what Buster [Morton D.] May told me yesterday. Oh God—how is this possible. The bed posts—the ladder (etc?) people of today read the Freud-explanation of those symbols in painting. . . ! I was furious and sad. These idiots with their brains poisoned by that damned Freud. Nothing of this is true in the painting! ! My God—how stupid and dirty they are!!!' In Rewald 2016, p. 126.

28
Ibid., p. 132.

The Thyssen *Quappi*

fig. 10
Max Beckmann
***Quappi in Grey*, 1948**
Oil on canvas, 108.5 × 79 cm
Private collection

'Goodness, what beautiful portraits I will make of you. But for me to do that, you must be with me fully'.[29]

In 1983 Quappi commented on the Thyssen portrait: 'Sometimes a garment inspired Max Beckmann to do a portrait of me... For this painting it was a pink jumper interwoven with steel-grey and metal thread and a matching hat. I fully remember that he painted the portrait in Frankfurt. I bought the jumper and hat in a shop near the Frankfurter Hof hotel and he immediately painted the picture'.[30] Beckmann was a sybarite who was fascinated by luxury hotels, expensive cigars, and elegant, smartly dressed women. 'My darling, what lovely outfits I am going to buy you. There are marvellous ones here... you will dress very sophisticatedly'.[31] On another occasion he commented: 'Q. has been to the hairdresser's, so beautiful! [...]. One feels so much better with nice things'.[32] Beckmann often bought his wife clothing and accessories during his frequent travels. 'Max brought me back a pretty suit and a chunky silver bracelet with amethysts, a piece signed by Spratlin, a famous Mexican silversmith'.[33] And during the trip they both made to Chicago the artist wrote in his diary: 'While outside it was freezing cold and windy, we went to buy nice things for Quappi from department stores and lingerie shops'.[34]

Quappi appears in as many as 55 compositions including individual and group portraits and drawings. Many of them were given the title of the name or colour of one of the garments she was wearing, such as *Quappi with White Fur* (1937), *Quappi in Blue and Grey* (1944), *Quappi in a Green Blouse* (1946), and *Quappi in Grey* [fig. 10], the last picture the artist painted of his wife. According to Perr T. Rathbone,[35] she did not actually sit for any of them, even though it seems as though she did.

29
Beckmann 1993–1996, vol. 1, letter 289, 2 June 1925, p. 289.

30
Beckmann 2018, p. 83.

31
Beckmann 1993-1996, vol. 1, letter 280, 23 May 1925, p. 271; *Diary*, 18 March 1944: 'As gifts I've brought Armagnac, a tie, and taffeta for Quappi, with some flowers'. In Beckmann 1965, p. 21.

32
Diary, 28 June 1949. In Beckmann 1965, p. 174.

33
Beckmann 2018, p. 79.

34
Diary, 17 January 1948. In Beckmann 1965, p. 111.

35
Rathbone 1964, p. 80.

fig. 11
Mathilde Beckmann standing with a cigarette in her hand in front of a self-portrait of Beckmann with crossed arms
Tate Archive

fig. 12
Max Beckmann
***Quappi smoking in an Armchair*, 1927**
Charcoal and white chalk, 423 × 533 mm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett

Elegance, a certain shyness, and a natural grace are characteristics of Mathilde's image and personality. A good example of this combination of psychological and physical traits is the portrait in the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza where there is not only a formal similarity between the image and the model but also a clear wish on the artist's part to convey her personality. Mathilde is portrayed three-quarter length sporting the abovementioned dusky pink V-necked jumper and a tobacco-brown skirt. A headdress made of the same fabric as the jumper and a two-strand necklace of large beads (probably glass paste, a new material the Art Deco movement brought to jewellery) complete her outfit. Quappi is presented to the viewer as the prototypical modern woman that emerged in the 1920s: a woman who feels free, sports a garçon-style haircut and comfortable clothing, wears a new type of jewellery, and, like men, enjoys smoking in public. A charcoal drawing of 1927 [fig. 12] shows her in a similar attitude but in an even more carefree and worldly pose.

fig. 13
Max Beckmann sitting on an armchair

fig. 14
Mathilde Q. Beckmann
***Max and Mathilde Beckmann at the Dining Table in their Living Room Table, Rokin 85*, 1937**
Pencil, watercolour, and Indian ink on paper, 24.3 × 32 cm
Private collection

The composition of Quappi in Pink Jumper revolves around the figure seated on a deep-buttoned blue armchair.[36] The background, resembling a backdrop, is patterned wallpaper a very similar colour to the subject's jumper.

The initial execution date, 1932, indicates that the portrait was painted in Frankfurt at the Steinhausenstrasse number 7, the couple's home until 15 April 1933, when, as mentioned previously, Beckmann was dismissed from his job at the Städel school. This circumstance was a setback for the painter, then at the height of his career. At the time he enjoyed great renown in Germany and also in Paris, where he had already had one-man shows at the Galerie de la Renaissance in 1931 and at the Galerie Bing in 1932. At the beginning of 1933, Ludwig Justi, the director of the Nationalgalerie, had opened a room hung exclusively with works by Beckmann at the Kronprinzenpalais – a major privilege for a living artist – though it was closed in early July on the orders of the recently

36
I have not been able to confirm whether this is the same armchair of which Beckmann was so fond that he even took it to America, as Neumann recalls in 'Confessions of an Art Dealer', quoted in Rewald 2016, p. 10: 'The big room was completely empty except for a tattered old black plush fauteuil, which was so dear to Beckmann that he even dragged it to America some twenty years later'.

fig. 15
Detail of the signature and date of the painting

fig. 16
Photograph of the state of *Self-Portrait with Horn* in 1937 before the artist retouched it
Photo, Marc Vaux in Max Beckmann cat. *The World as a Stage*, Kunsthalle Bremen and Museum Barnerini, Potsdam, 2018, p. 31

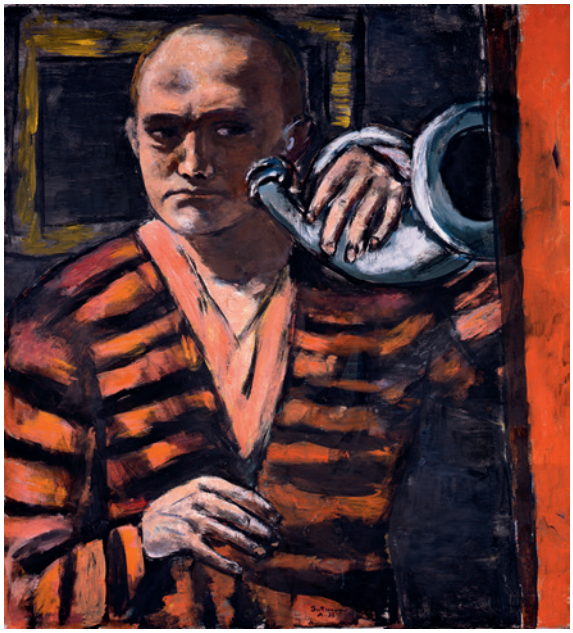


fig. 17
Max Beckmann
***Self-Portrait with Horn*, 1938**
Oil on canvas, 110 × 101 cm
Neue Galerie, New York,
and private collection

appointed Nazi government. Fearing reprisals, the couple decided to move to Berlin, confident that the big city would provide them with a certain amount of anonymity and allow them to lead a more peaceful life and go more unnoticed than in Frankfurt, where Beckmann was very well known. It was then, in 1934, that the artist retouched this painting and changed the initial date – still recognisable – writing the new figure on top of it [fig. 14]. Although restorers' studies are not conclusive in this respect, according to testimonies of the period Beckmann may have transformed the smile Quappi originally wore into a more restrained gesture with closed lips to reflect the worries that must have plagued the couple in such uncertain times. Leaving Frankfurt caused Beckmann great sadness as it had always been his favourite city. This was not, however, the only instance of such a change. His own smile has evidently been modified in the *Self-Portrait with Horn* of 1938[37] [figs. 16 and 17].

37
While he was painting his "*Self-Portrait with* the *Horn*" in 1938, there appeared a dreamy, entranced *smile* which delighted me when I saw it in his studio; alas, one day he had changed his mien on the canvas almost to one of bitterness'. In Lackner 1969.

fig. 18
Max Beckmann
***Quappi in Pink and Purple*, 1931**
Oil on canvas, 110 × 70 cm
Whereabouts unknown

In a lecture delivered on 9 May 2009 as part of the *Portraits of Women* series,[38] Guillermo Solana recalled that *Quappi in Pink Jumper* was known for a time as *Die Amerikanerin* (*The American Woman*).[39] This is how Beckmann refers to his wife in a letter of 13 March 1950 to his son Peter.[40] It was probably because in havoc-stricken Europe Quappi seemed to Beckmann to represent the image of American actresses and singers – free, sure of themselves, resolute, and independent; women who do not hesitate to gaze straight at us, unafraid to seem arrogant, and smoke unhurriedly, taking delight in the sensuality of the gesture. This type of woman is found in the works of many of Beckmann's contemporaries [figs. 19–23], among them, naturally, Picasso and Matisse. Although Beckmann did not identify with any of these artists and certainly did not aim to be like them, he could not help taking an interest in their successes and artistic ideas.[41] As Didier Ottinger notes, Beckmann had established himself in Paris with the intention of carving out a place for himself on the local art scene so that his art could be compared with that of the other great twentieth-century artists who had made Paris synonymous with modern art.[42] This attention to, and knowledge of, the oeuvre of Matisse and Picasso can be traced in many of his paintings, which have an undeniably French air. A good example is the Thyssen portrait of Quappi. Matisse's influence is visible, for example, in the colours of the background decoration and in the use of pronounced contours to delimit the various areas of colour. These black outlines recall those of Matisse, and although Beckmann's are more blurred, they are handled with the same mastery. As Paloma Alarcó points out,[43] black is very important in Beckmann's oeuvre, both in the abovementioned contours and in the elongated black patches that often appear beside figures. It is not known what they are: door spaces, perhaps?

38
The lecture is available online at https://www.museothyssen.org/actividades/ciclo-conferencias-retratos-mujer-coleccion-thyssen-bornemisza.

39
In Nemitz 1948, pl. p. 52 (as 'Portrait of an American Woman').

40
Beckmann 1993–1996, vol. 3, letter 982, p. 314.

41
Diary, 6 January 1950. In Beckmann 1965, p. 202. He visited the Metropolitan Museum and wrote in his diary 'Beckmann beside Klee and Picasso'.

42
Ottinger 2002, p. 17.

43
See https://www.museothyssen.org/coleccion/artistas/beckmann-max/quappi-sueter-rosa.

fig. 19
Pablo Picasso
***Young Woman holding a Cigarette*, 1901**
Oil on canvas, 73.7 × 51.1 cm
The Barnes Foundation, Philadelphia

fig. 20
Henri Matisse
***Portrait of Greta Moll*, 1908**
Oil on canvas, 93 × 73.5 cm
National Gallery, London

fig. 21
Kees van Dongen
***Portrait of a Woman with a Cigarette (Kiki de Montparnasse)*, c. 1922–24**
Watercolour on paper, 495 × 354 mm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid
[+ info]

fig. 22
Herbert von Reyl-Hanisch
***Portrait of the Artist's Mother*, 1930**

fig. 23
Rita Angus
***Self-Portrait*, c. 1937**
Oil on canvas mounted on panel, 49 × 40 cm
Dunedin Public Art Gallery

fig. 24
Max Beckmann
***Self-Portrait in Tuxedo*, 1927**
Oil on canvas, 139.5 × 95.6 cm
Harvard Art Museums/Busch-Reisinger, Museum, Harvard, Association Fund

fig. 25
Max and Quappi at the opening of the artist's retrospective at the City Art Museum of Saint Louis, 1948

Windows? Corridors? They are found, for example, in *Quappi in Pink and Purple*, 1931 [fig. 18] and in *Self-Portrait in Tuxedo*, 1927 [fig. 24]. Tomàs Llorens holds that this device helps draw the figure away from the background and project it forwards.[44] Quappi stated in her memoirs that black was very characteristic of Beckmann's painting and that he commented that he sometimes mixed it with Prussian blue and sometimes with other colours, depending on the desired tone.[45] With respect to Picasso we find similarities in the type of woman, her gesture, the arrangement of the composition, and also in the deformation of the figure's anatomy. Our Quappi's left arm is shorter than her right one and she has excessively long fingers that accentuate her elegance. These three masters of painting have something else in common that is easy to overlook because it is so evident: none of them abandoned figurative painting, despite their modernity.

Mathilde Beckmann died of a lung infection at the age of 82 in Jacksonville (Florida) on 31 March 1986.[46] Her ashes and those of Beckmann – which, as stated earlier, she had kept – were mixed and scattered over the Atlantic Ocean. ●

44
Llorens 2018, p. 52.

45
Beckmann 1980, p. 145.

46
See https://www.nytimes.com/1986/04/04/obituaries/mathilde-beckmann.html

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