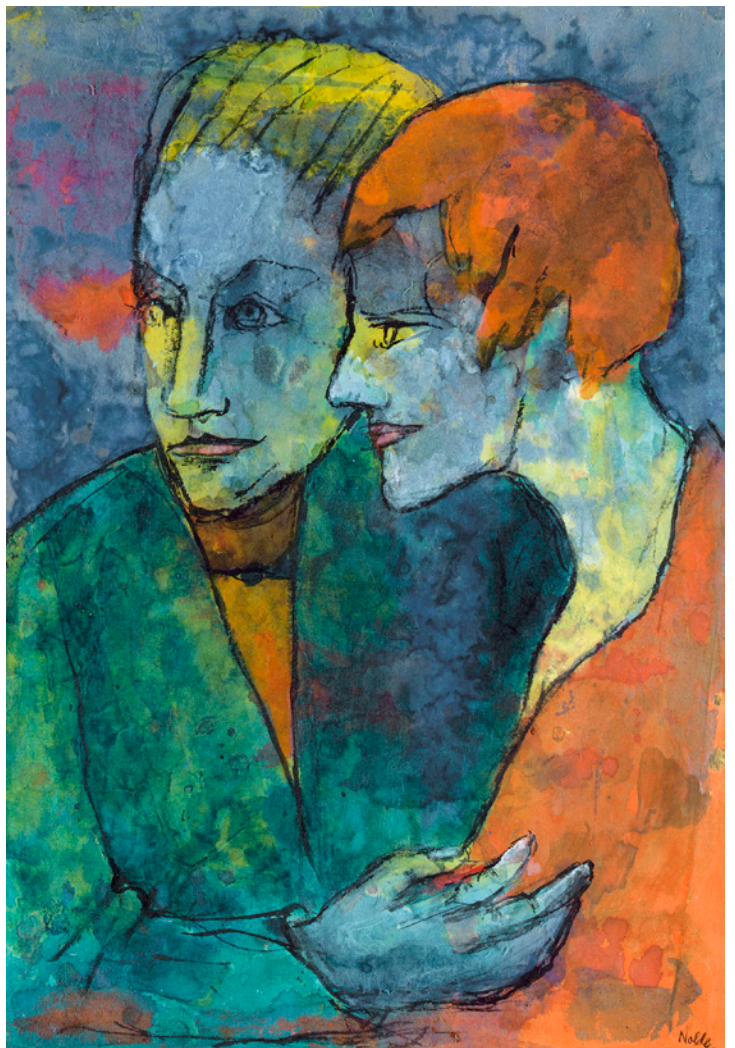


# Resonance Chamber.

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

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Nadine Engel



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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



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

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.

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.<sup>1</sup>

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.

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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> In his copy of the catalogue, the Baron marked two privately-owned works by Karl Schmidt-Rottluff.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> 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.

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

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The foundations for the Thyssen family's collecting endeavours were laid by Hans Heinrich's grandfather, August Thyssen (1842–1926).<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> 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,<sup>15</sup> 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".<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> 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],<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> In 1963, Ernst Henke sought the offices of Franz Brandt, 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.<sup>20</sup> Ultimately, however, the Baron opted for an exclusively personal membership, even when Henke continued his attempts to include Thyssensche Gas- und Wasserwerke GmbH.<sup>21</sup>

**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 Brandt to Ernst Henke, 22.1. and 13.5.1963.

**21**

Ibid., Franz Brandt 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

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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”.<sup>22</sup> “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”.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> 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 Schiffsbau-Gesellschaft, 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



**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.

MUSEUM FOLKWANG  
 ESSEN

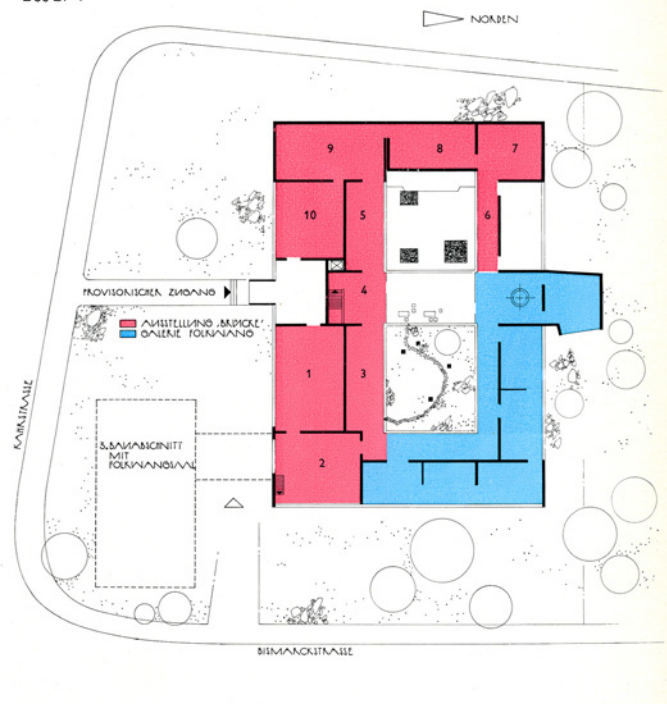


fig. 5  
**Floor plan of gallery wing in**  
**Museum Folkwang at the time of**  
**the exhibition *Brücke 1905–1913,***  
***eine Künstlergemeinschaft des***  
***Expressionismus*, October –**  
**December 1958**

Collection, in which Hans Heinrich took part with his wife at the time, Fiona Campbell-Walter [see fig. 2].<sup>28</sup> 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].<sup>29</sup> This distribution may have been retained in early 1960 and might have been how the Thyssens saw the masterpieces from the Museum

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**



**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 Hochtin: "Folkwang Museum, Essen", in *L'Œil*, 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.

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.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> At the same time, a new catalogue of the collection was published already emphasising the Folkwang's focus on the works of Christian Rohlf, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner and Emil Nolde.<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup>

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

## “Already a legend”<sup>36</sup>. Emil Nolde, Ernst Henke and Museum Folkwang

By 1961, Essen had already been “Nolde City” for some time.<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> 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).<sup>40</sup> Indeed, Henke’s Nolde collection must have been quite significant by that stage, as he was already opening it up to young artists.<sup>41</sup> 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].<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup> Two separate exhibition sections were devoted to this group entitled “Heads” and “Fantasies”.<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup>

## 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.<sup>46</sup> The first acquisitions from Ketterer occurred in 1952 when two works by Christian Rohlf's which had been confiscated from the Folkwang in 1937 were repurchased.<sup>47</sup> 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."<sup>48</sup> 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 Rohlf's, *Acrobats*, c. 1916, Museum Folkwang, Essen, inv. no. G 224, and Christian Rohlf's, *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.

**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 Rohlf, *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.

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.<sup>49</sup> Not only did Horstmann live in Essen from 1928 to 1937, where he was already collecting modern art,<sup>50</sup> he also played quite a significant role as middleman in the sale of "degenerate" works in the postwar period.<sup>51</sup> After 1949, he sold three works that had come from the Museum Folkwang Collection, by Heckel, Nolde and Rohlf respectively, back to Heinz Köhn within a short space of time and for a profit.<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup> 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"<sup>54</sup> of German Expressionism. The above explanations will have made clear just how strongly Museum Folkwang resonated in that process. ●