

"Ballast, Worthless, Expendable": How Breslau's Schlesisches Museum der Bildenden Künste Disposed of a Painting by Max Liebermann in 1942 and How Deaccessions of Modern Art Played a Role at German Museums during the Nazi Period

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Deaccession: An Old Subject and a New Area of Research in Museum History

It is a somewhat strange term that did not even exist at the time of the events treated in this lecture: deaccession. An "accession" is something new to a collection, an acquisition of a museum, a library, or an archive. The opposite of this is a deaccession, something leaving a collection, an outward transfer, a form of "decollecting," for example by way of sale or exchange. In the museum context, the term *deaccession* was first used in the *New York Times* in a 1972 article by art critic John Canaday. The article dealt with the Museum of Modern Art's clandestine sale of a painting by Odilon Redon; Canaday used the term *de-accession* as a synonym for sold.¹

But how does deaccession conform to the mission of museums to collect and preserve the cultural heritage? Well, in fact, it doesn't. In their September 2004 joint paper on the problem of transferring materials from a collection, the Deutscher Museumsbund (German Museum Association) and the International Council of Museums (ICOM Germany) made it unmistakably clear that "the mission of museums and the organizations responsible for the collections ... is the preservation of the cultural heritage in their collections. Against this backdrop, at issue is maintaining and expanding collections. The objects of museum collections were consciously and finally removed from the economic cycle to make them available to the public and to preserve them for subsequent generations. The transfer of collection materials can accordingly only take place on exceptional basis and under regulated conditions that do not contradict this mission. This fundamental principle applies to all types of museums and all museum areas and is fixed worldwide in the Code of Ethics

1 Gammon 2018, 203.

for Museums of ICOM.”² The Deutscher Museumsbund goes into greater detail in its 2011 publication *Nachhaltiges Sammeln – Ein Leitfaden zum Sammeln und Abgeben von Museumsgut*.³ To sum up, the core message here reads once again: the deaccessioning of museum holdings in the public hand in Germany should only take place in exceptional cases that are well-founded. And yet, the sale of museum holdings in other countries, say, the United States, for example, is an almost daily occurrence.

Until the ratification of the aforementioned Code of Ethics for Museums by the ICOM in 1986, it was quite standard in Germany as well to “deaccession individual works of art or entire subcollections, be it through sale, auction, in exchange, or as gifts.”⁴ For a long time, transferring works out of a collection was considered a legitimate means for profiling and shaping a museum collection along with the acquisition of works; accession and deaccession were seen as two sides of the coin. It has taken until recent years, in the framework of increasing provenance research and the study of institutional history, for individual facets of these subjects, previously neglected, to be examined. For example, Hamburger Kunsthalle (Art Museum of Hamburg) and the Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar (Art History Institute) der Universität Hamburg are currently examining the former holdings of Hamburger Kunsthalle in the cooperative research project “Vergangene Werke” (Past Works). By 2018, “2,468 art works had already been identified as formerly belonging to the Hamburger Kunsthalle. More than a third of these were sold, exchanged, intentionally destroyed, or given away.”⁵

The history of sales and other transfers from museums in Germany has not yet been written. But there is already a wealth of material for just such a history of “de-collecting.” This is shown by looking at the Nazi period alone.

Deaccessions in German Museums during the Nazi Period

The database “Degenerate Art” at the “Degenerate Art” Research Center, Freie Universität Berlin, not only includes those works confiscated by the Nazis as “degenerate”, but also those works that the museums lost in other ways, for example, through “voluntary” transfers along the path of sale or exchange (where the term “voluntary” can only be treated with caution, because for the

2 ICOM–Internationaler Museumsrat 2006.

3 Deutscher Museumsbund e. V. 2011.

4 Haug/Jeuthe 2018, 22.

5 Ibid.

historian it is hardly possible to decide what actually took place of free will under the conditions of the Nazi regime.)⁶ These works are given an inventory number in the database that includes an "E." These data sets are successively collected as soon as cases of loss are uncovered.⁷

Research on the deaccession of modernist art out of museum collections not ordered by the state or other official authorities at German museums during the Nazi period by way of sale or exchange is only just beginning. There has been a series of studies on individual museums or museum directors, but no systematic, overarching study.⁸ But such sales and transactions (which by no means only involved modernist works) took place to quite a significant degree. For example, to take a number pertaining to the city of Cologne, the 1945 report "Der Ausbau der Gemäldegalerie des Wallraf-Richartz-Museums in den Jahren 1933 bis 1944" ("The expansion of the Painting Gallery of the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in the years from 1933 to 1944") recorded that "during the course of the war a total of 630 paintings in storage were sold or given away in exchange."⁹

How can this be explained? Under the law *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums* (Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service) from April 7, 1933 around 35 museum directors had lost their positions, among them Ernst Gosebruch (Essen), Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub (Mannheim), Carl Georg Heise (Lübeck), Ludwig Justi (Berlin), Max Sauerlandt (Hamburg), and Erich Wiese (Breslau). They were replaced with functionaries of the Nazi party or men of like minds who were usually closely affiliated with the nationalist-reactionary *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* (Militant League for German Culture). In many cities, as for example in Breslau, the new directors held so-called *Schreckenskammern der Kunst* (Horror Chambers of Art), which anticipated the later national exhibition "Degenerate Art" from 1937 on a local level.¹⁰ It was usually these individuals, new in their positions, that pushed the sales and exchange deals and used them as a strategy for recasting the collections as they saw fit.

To take one example, Hermann Voss, who was named director of the Wiesbaden's Gemäldegalerie (Painting Gallery) at Nassauisches Landesmuseum (Nassauian State Museum) in 1935 (and later became "Special Commissioner for Linz"), made use of the "possibility of exchanging and

6 Database "Degenerate Art," last accessed January 24, 2020.

7 See "EK" numbers, "Degenerate Art," last accessed January 24, 2020.

8 I already made an attempt along these lines in 2016: Zuschlag 2016, 223–234. See also Hüneke 2016, 121–131.

9 Quoted in Wilmes 2010, 160.

10 See Zuschlag 1995; Zuschlag 2012, 21–31.

selling artworks from the collection" from the very start. "He was helped by the handling of artworks that did not fit into Nazi art policy and were stigmatized as 'degenerate.' Thematically speaking, he agreed with this policy fully, so that he tried to use the purging of the collections of contemporary artworks for his own projects."¹¹ But not only the realized deaccessions are of interest: the attempted sales and exchanges are also worth investigation. For example, in Mannheim: in the archive of the Kunsthalle, several documents show that the museum had made efforts towards selling or exchanging several paintings between 1933 and 1937 and engaged in correspondence with various art dealers on this matter, including Abels (Köln), Gurlitt (Hamburg) and Nierendorf (Berlin) and several private individuals interested in purchasing the works. Beside the work *Rabbiner/Die Prise* (Rabbi/The Pinch) by Marc Chagall, especially at issue was the painting *Zwei Mädchen/Mutter und Tochter* (Two Girls/Mother and Daughter) by the painter Jankel Adler, also of Jewish descent, two paintings that were central to the exhibition *Kulturbolschewistische Bilder* (Cultural Bolshevik Images) in 1933. But no deal was made, both paintings were confiscated in 1937 and included in the exhibition "Degenerate Art"; the Chagall is today again in a public collection at Kunstmuseum Basel (Museum of Fine Arts Basel), Adler's painting is now part of a private collection.¹²

The most famous sale of a modernist work of art from a museum during the Nazi period was made by Klaus Graf von Baudissin. In 1933, Baudissin, a member of the Nazi Party since 1932 and who joined the SS in 1935, organized the exhibition *Novembergeist – Kunst im Dienste der Zersetzung* (Novembergeist – Art in the Service of Disintegration) at Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (State Gallery Stuttgart), where he served as interim director. In 1934, he was named director at Essen's Museum Folkwang, where he established a "chamber of horrors" within the permanent exhibition of the collection. On October 2, 1935, the Berlin art dealer Ferdinand Möller turned to Museum Folkwang to communicate the interest of an "American collector" in acquiring the painting *Improvisation 28* (Abb. 3.2) by Wassily Kandinsky.¹³ Baudissin declined the offer, saying that the painting belonged to the old Osthaus holdings, but nonetheless sent a photograph to Berlin, unsolicited. In July 1936, the sale took place: Möller purchased the painting for 9,000 RM and sold it in turn to Rudolf Bauer, who was acquiring works of the European avant-garde in commission for the New York

11 Forster/Merz 2012, 95.

12 For more on the Chagall painting, see Zuschlag 2009, 401–426. For a recent take on the confiscations at Kunsthalle Mannheim, see Kollhöfer/Listl/Lorenz 2019.

13 For more on the following, see Vogt 1983, 118–120; Lüttichau 2010, 205–208; Schöddert 2010, 70; Laufer 2012, 135–138; Wilmes 2012, 67.

museum founder Solomon R. Guggenheim. With the sale of the Kandinsky, the "threshold of inhibition was broken" in Essen.¹⁴ As early as 1934, Baudissin had tried to sell Manet's painting *Der Sänger Jean Baptiste Faure als Hamlet* (The Singer Jean Baptiste Faure as Hamlet) by Manet, a Gosebruch acquisition from 1927. But a planned sale to Basel did not come to pass. In late 1936, another planned action attracted great media interest: Gauguin's painting *Barbarische Erzählungen* (Barbaric Tales) from the collection in Essen was to be exchanged for Hans Holbein's *Familienbildnis* (Family Portrait) and several drawings by the artist at Kunstmuseum Basel.¹⁵ But this planned deal was also not realized.

If the previously discussed sales and exchanges were intended to get rid of works by artists who were defamed as "degenerate" or otherwise disapproved of, the Karlsruhe cases point in a different direction. The director of Badische Kunsthalle (Baden Art Hall) Kurt Martin, a proponent of modernist art who was critical of the Nazi regime, exchanged in the "years 1935 and 1936 several paintings with provocative subject matter for paintings by the same artists with subject matter that was less provocative."¹⁶ For example, in the case of Karl Hofer he personally exchanged his *Selbstbildnis mit Dämonen* (Self-Portrait with Demons) for the painting *Weg nach Lugano* (Road to Lugano), in the hope that a landscape such as this one would go unchallenged. But this hope proved deceptive: the painting was confiscated in 1937 and is today part of a private collection.¹⁷ Kurt Martin was the successor to the Nazi painter and Hans Thoma student Hans Adolf Bühler, who was named director of the Badische Landeskunstschule (Baden State School of Art) in Karlsruhe in 1932, and after the Nazis came to power additionally took over the management of the Kunsthalle and soon held the defamatory exhibition *Regierungskunst 1918–1933* (The Art of Government 1918–1933). In 1934, he sold the painting *Mädchen auf Landstraße/Gasse in Asgardstrand* (Girl on a Country Road/Lane

14 Lüttichau 2010, 207.

15 For more on this see a notice in *Kunst- und Antiquitätenrundschau* 45.1 (1937), 20: "The management of Essen's Folkwangmuseum, which already sold a painting from the former Sammlung Osthaus, has received an unusual request from Switzerland whether the museum would be willing to dispose of other paintings from the Sammlung Osthaus, consisting primarily of French impressionists. Apart from the unusual viewpoint, which confuses a museum with an art dealer, the museum management in Essen takes the understandable position that while a sale is out of the question, but an exchange for museum holdings of the same quality might be thinkable. Since the Swiss request was focused on *Contes barbares*, one of Gauguin's major works, the museum management is prepared to suggest trading *Contes barbares* for Holbein's family portrait along with several drawings by the same master from the holdings of the Basel art collection."

16 Rosebrock 2011. My thanks to the author for providing her manuscript.

17 See Köller 2009, 385–400.

in Asgardstrand) by Edvard Munch to a private collector in Basel (who later donated it to Kunstmuseum Basel in 1978) and two paintings by Karl Hofer and Hans Purrmann in exchange for a nineteenth century landscape. Interesting here, the sale of the Munch painting was heavily criticized domestically and abroad – Bühler had sold the painting for just a third of the purchasing price in 1929/30, and this was a main reason for Bühler's removal from his positions as director of the Landeskunstschule and the Kunsthalle.¹⁸

Deaccessions of Works by Max Liebermann

Max Liebermann is a special case.¹⁹ In May 1933, he resigned from all public offices, including his honorary presidency of the Preussische Akademie der Künste (Prussian Academy of Arts), and retreated from the public eye until his death in 1935. Stylistically speaking, his works were not necessarily the art that the Nazis defamed. They weren't pilloried at the exhibition "Degenerate Art" in Munich or at any of the other stations of the travelling exhibition, and in 1937 "only" four paintings, one drawing, and four prints were subject to confiscation. All the same, the Nazis tried to repress the memory of the Jewish artist, equally famous and undesirable. For example, at a conference of museum directors on August 2, 1937 the Education Minister ordered that it was time to "Take down the Liebermanns." Afterward, the museums in Breslau, Chemnitz, Dortmund, Düsseldorf, Halle, Hamburg (where the Kunsthalle had already exchanged a painting by Max Liebermann for a painting from the eighteenth century in 1936), Cologne, Leipzig, Oldenburg, and Stuttgart got rid of at least 35 Liebermanns, largely through exchange, but in several cases by way of sale. In the following, one case in Breslau will be discussed in more detail.

For Example, in Breslau

Muzeum Narodowe we Wrocławiu (National Museum in Wrocław), located on the banks of the Oder, houses one of Poland's most important art collections. The building was erected in a neo-Renaissance style from 1883 to 1886

18 See Zuschlag 1995, 85 with note 49; Rosebrock 2012, 60.

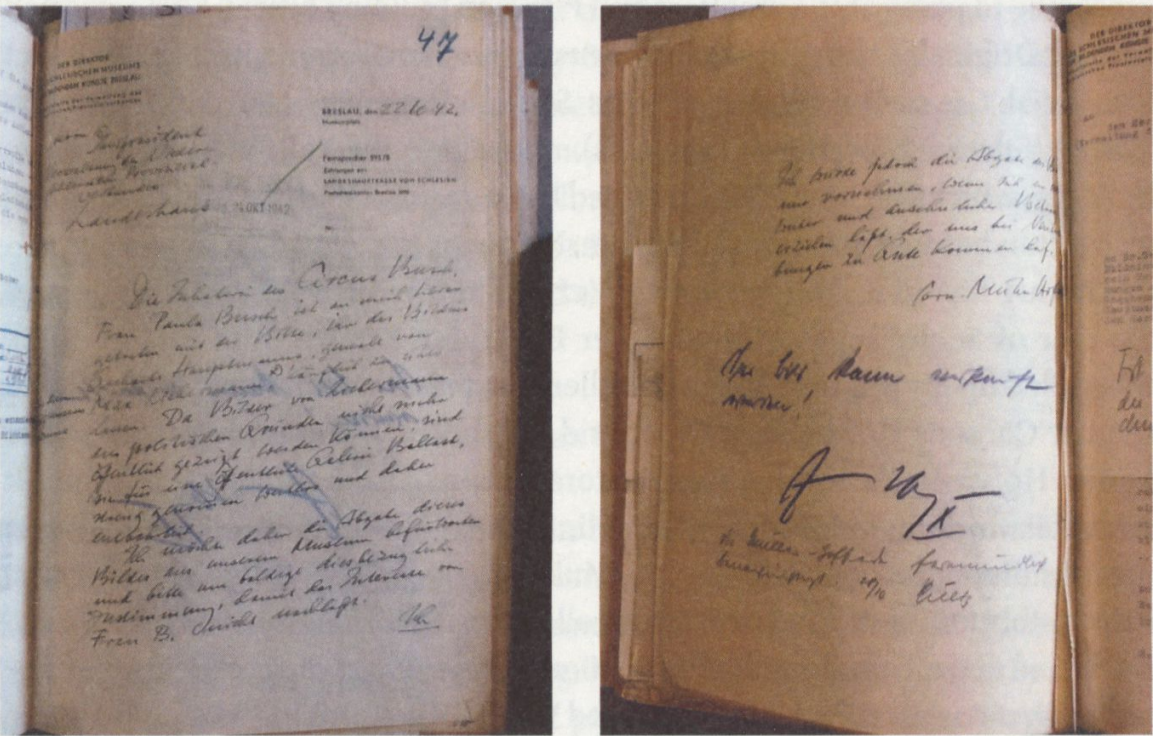
19 For more on the following, see Neysters/Ricke/Lake 1988, 126; Buberl 1999, 24f.; Hüneke 2004, 79–86; Hüneke/Schneider 2005; Haug 2009, 39; Jeuthe 2010, 3–21; Wilmes 2010, 157–162; Jeuthe, 2011, 123–134; Grafarend-Gohmert 2012, 226f.; Köller 2012, 237–245 and 342–344.

according to plans of the architect and Prussian building official Karl Friedrich Endell. Originally the seat of the Preussische Provinzialregierung (Prussian Provincial Government), in 1948 the Schlesiſches Museum der Bildenden Künſte (Silesian Museum of Fine Arts) moved into the building, since its own building, which had opened in 1879, had been destroyed in the war. In 1970, the institution became a national museum, Muzeum Narodowe.

The art historian and Rembrandt expert Cornelius Müller Hofstede was director of Schlesiſches Museums der Bildenden Künſte from 1936 until he was called up for war duty in 1944. Müller Hofstede was a nephew of the Dutch scholar Cornelis Hofstede de Groot and the father of the art historian Justus Müller Hofstede. He received his doctorate in 1924 from Adolph Goldschmidt and after working in Munich and Berlin arrived at the museum in Breslau in 1934. As director of the Schlesiſches Museum, Cornelius Müller Hofstede also responsible for registering Jewish art collections in Silesia, where he was "decisively and actively pushed the 'liquidation' [*Verwertung*] of art collections once in Jewish ownership."²⁰ After the Second World War, Cornelius Müller Hofstede worked at Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum in Braunschweig. From 1957 to 1963 he was director of Berlin's Gemäldegalerie (Painting Gallery) in Dahlem.

In search of traces of the "Degenerate Art" campaign, I found a letter at the State Archives in Wroclaw dated October 22, 1942 from museum director Cornelius Müller Hofstede to his superior, Oberpräsident des Niederschlesiſchen Provinzialverbandes (Chief President of the Lower Silesian Provincial Association), to which the museum then belonged (*figs. 3.3 a/b*). Here, Müller Hofstede writes: "The owner of Circus Busch, Mrs. Paula Busch, has approached me with the request of allowing her to purchase the portrait of Gerhart Hauptmann, painted by Max Liebermann. Since paintings by Liebermann can no longer be shown for political reasons, they are ballast for a public gallery, strictly speaking worthless and thus expendable. I would like to support the removal of this painting from our museum and request permission to do so as soon as possible so that the interest of Mrs. B does not wane. I would, however, only allow painting to go if a tidy and proper sum can be obtained that can help us with new acquisitions."

The letter has two handwritten annotations with different signatures: "The painting can be sold!" and "Dr. Müller-Hofstede was informed by telephone." To cut to the chase: after several months of price negotiations via letter, the sale actually took place. On February 27, 1943, Paula Busch paid 7,000 RM for the painting.



Figs. 3.3 a/b Brief von Cornelius Müller Hofstede an den Oberpräsidenten des Niederschlesischen Provinzialverbandes vom 22. Oktober 1942 / Letter from Cornelius Müller Hofstede to Oberpräsident des Niederschlesischen Provinzialverbandes, October 22, 1942. Archivum Państwowe we Wrocławiu (Staatsarchiv Breslau), Wydział Samorządowy Prowincji Śląskiej, sygn. 10A, Blatt 47, recto und verso

According to the 1926 catalogue of holdings, Max Liebermann's *Bildnis des Dichters Gerhart Hauptmann* (Portrait of the Writer Gerhart Hauptmann) (Abb. 3.1) had been part of the collection at Breslau's museum since 1913.²¹ According to the catalogue entry, it was signed in the upper right and dated (19)11. Gerhart Hauptmann was from Lower Silesia and closely tied to the city of Breslau in terms of his biography. Born in Obersalzbrunn, just seventy kilometers southwest of Breslau, Hauptmann attended school in Breslau, and later registered at the Königliche Kunst- und Gewerbeschule (Royal School of Arts and Crafts). In 1912, the year of his fiftieth birthday, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, which was perhaps the occasion for the acquisition of this portrait by the museum or the Museumsverein (Museum Association).

Who was this woman who decided in the fourth year of the Second World War to purchase a painting from Breslau's museum for several thousand

21 See Schlesisches Museum der Bildenden Künste Breslau 1926, no. 1122. See also Eberle 1996, 1912/42. The second version of Liebermann's Hauptmann portrait from 1912 is part of the collection at Kunsthalle Hamburg.

Reichsmark?²² Paula Busch, born in the Danish city of Odense in 1886, was the daughter of Constance and Paul Busch, who founded Circus Busch in 1884. At the express wish of her father, Paula Busch was not to become a circus artist. She completed secondary education in Cologne and studied literary history, art history, and philosophy in Cologne, Heidelberg, and Berlin. Already during her studies, she wrote novels and *Manegenstücke* (Manège play), and quite successfully, publishing over the course of her life a total of 29 *Manegenstücke* over 20 novels and short stories and more. In 1911, she eloped to London, broke off her studies and gave birth to a daughter in 1913, Constanze Micaela. She then soon afterward began working in her father's circus. In 1917 she became co-owner and co-director of the circus, which then had four fixed venues in Berlin, Hamburg, Breslau and Vienna. In 1927, her father died, and Paula became the sole owner of the circus and a *grande dame* of the European circus world. After her divorce in 1924, she began a relationship with a woman from Breslau. On May 1, 1933, she became a member of the Nazi Party, she was also a member of the Reichsschrifttumskammer (Reich Chamber of Literature). She was not able to prevent the demolition of the Berlin circus building in 1937, because it was in the way of Albert Speer's plans for Reichshauptstadt *Germania* (Reich Capital *Germania*) but she did receive significant compensation and also support from the state in planning a new circus building. In fact, Paula Busch was not only able to win over not just the architect Albert Speer, who had been named general director in charge of redesigning the German capital in 1937, but Hermann Göring himself for the project building a new venue for Circus Busch. The Second World War blocked the execution of the Speer's megalomaniacal plans. Paula Busch lived until her death in 1973 with her girlfriend. Her only daughter died already in 1969; her only grandchild lives in Sweden today.

In the files of the Schlesisches Museum der Bildenden Künste, today's National Museum, the sale of the Liebermann painting is clearly traceable.²³ On September 18, 1942 Paula Busch wrote to Cornelius Müller Hofstede, that she was struck by a portrait of Gerhart Hauptmann during a visit to the museum. "Since I sincerely admire Gerhart Hauptmann, I would be very happy to own a portrait of our writer prince, even if it was painted by Liebermann" (*fig. 3.4*). Busch asked whether "there was a possibility to become the owner of the portrait." After the museum director was given green light by his superiors, price negotiations began in writing, which ended with Müller Hofstede confirming

22 For more on the following, see Winkler 1998; Haerdle 2010, 122–136.

23 The sources quoted in the following can be found in the files of Schlesisches Museum der Bildenden Künste, archive of the Muzeum Narodowe Wrocław, MNWr, GD, II/145 (51).



Fig. 3.4
Brief von Paula Busch an Cornelius
Müller Hofstede vom 18. September 1942 /
Letter from Paula Busch to Cornelius
Müller Hofstede, September 18, 1942.
Muzeum Narodowe we Wrocławiu
(Nationalmuseum Breslau), Bibliothek
und Archiv, Akte II/145 (51), Blatt 182

to Paula Busch on November 27, 1942 that the portrait had been sold to her for 7,000 Reichsmark. But Paula Busch only paid the sum three months later, on February 27, 1943, the “acceptance sheet” of the museum dates from March 12, 1943. The further fate of the painting is unknown. Paula Busch had asked if she could leave the painting at the museum at her own risk, to save it from war damage. This wish was granted. The files from Breslau’s museum do not show whether Paula Busch ever picked up the painting. At any event, it is no longer in the museum’s holdings. In the museum’s inventory book, there is only the written annotation “sold to Paula Busch (Circus Busch) Nov. 27, 1942,”²⁴ in the *catalogue raisonné* of the paintings of Max Liebermann it is noted as “disappeared since 1945.” It is to be feared that Paula Busch had to leave the painting behind in 1945 when she fled Breslau and that it burned there. At least there is no indication that the painting ever arrived in Berlin. This is confirmed by Gisela Winkler, who published a book about Zirkus Busch in 1998 and runs Zirkusarchiv Winkler with her husband.

Gisela Winkler wrote to me in an email on August 19, 2019: “Unfortunately, we have no information at all about this Liebermann painting. But it can be assumed that it remained in Breslau or Mühlatschütz when Paula Busch had

24 The accession books from Schlesisches Museum with new acquisitions from 1903 to 1945 are located at Marburg’s Herder Institute for Historical Research on East Central Europe.

to start her trek westwards. The circus building was destroyed just after the end of the war by arson. Whether the painting was found there upon the arrival of the Red Army is unclear. Another possibility is that Paula Busch kept it in the winter quarters of Circus Busch in Mühlatschütz. She remained in Warmbrunn until July 1945, when she was forced to leave. In Berlin, there is a Busch archive, but unfortunately its operator Martin Schaaff died a few years ago. As he communicated to us, he also did not know anything about the location of the painting. The archive is no longer accessible and I know of no one who could have information on the painting."²⁵

Summary

How should we evaluate the deaccessions of modernist art during the Nazi period, in particular the Breslau case? First of all, we can conclude that the removal of museum holdings by way of sales and exchange was already a common and widespread practice before 1933. For example, Hamburger Kunsthalle handed over a total of 26 paintings by sale or exchange to the art dealer Karl Haberstock between 1924 and 1931.²⁶ After the National Socialists came to power, and even more so after the confiscations of "degenerate art," many requests from art dealers, gallerists, and also private individuals received by German museums show that they hoped for market-fresh material for clients or their own collections.²⁷ They used the Nazi campaign against modernist art for their own ends. And the museum staff? Each individual case would have to be investigated, but the likely motivation of somebody like Kurt Martin in Karlsruhe, who replaced paintings with provocative subject matter with supposedly "harmless" subjects by the same artist, is probably more or less the exception.²⁸ Most museum staff were close to Nazi ideology and used the transactions to "purge" the collections in the interests of the powerholders and official cultural policy. The sale of the Liebermann painting by Cornelius Müller Hofstede in Breslau can also certainly be interpreted in this way. At any event, the words cited above from a letter to his superior, that Liebermann's works are "ballast for a public gallery, strictly speaking worthless and thus expendable" point in this direction. All the same, in isolated cases the wish to

25 My thanks to Gisela Winkler for allowing me to quote her email.

26 See Haug 2008, 46.

27 See Hoffmann 2017, 157.

28 A comparative case concerning Paul Ortwin Rave is documented by Annegret Janda and Jörn Grabowski in Grabowski/Janda 1992, 7f.

save the sold or exchanged works from state hands might have played a role. At any event, some of the requests went too far in the eyes of several museum directors. For example, the director of Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim Walter Passarge, who, as mentioned above, had always been open to a sale of a painting like Chagall's *Rabbiner*, wrote to his superior, the Mayor of Mannheim, on July 14, 1939: "Re: Exchange of Paintings": "Since recently several requests from art dealers have arrived pertaining to the exchange of paintings from the holdings of the Kunsthalle, I request written confirmation of the already spoken order that the management of the Kunsthalle is not empowered to negotiate the exchange of artworks."²⁹ The mayor provided confirmation on July 22, 1939.

29 Stadtarchiv Mannheim (State Archive Mannheim), Bestand Kunsthalle (Inventory Art Hall), "Veräußerung/Umtausch von Kunstwerken 1925–1950" (Sale/Exchange of Works of Arts 1925–1950).