

**EMIL NOLDE**  
**1867–1956**  
**THE ARTIST**  
**DURING THE**  
**NAZI REGIME**

*Nolde.*

Nolde Stiftung Seebüll



# **EMIL NOLDE – A GERMAN LEGEND THE ARTIST DURING THE NAZI REGIME**

Emil Nolde was not just one of the most important representatives of Expressionism; the painter also had a keen instinct for staging his own heroic life story. After 1945 Nolde was considered to be a victim of the National Socialists, who had pronounced his work ‘degenerate’ and imposed a ‘painting ban’ on him. There are well-founded doubts about this portrayal, and not just new ones. For quite some time it has been evident that Nolde was anti-Semitic, and that he had publicly confessed his sympathies with National Socialism.

Yet how can one explain the origin of the broadly disseminated legend, which had singlehandedly placed the persecuted artist in the centre of public awareness? For several years historian Dr. Bernhard Fulda (University of Cambridge) and art historian Professor Dr. Aya Soika (Bard College, Berlin) have been researching Nolde, and notably with full access to the complete archive of the Stiftung Seebüll Ada und Emil Nolde (Seebüll Foundation Ada and Emil Nolde). The current state of the research was presented in depth in 2019, in the exhibition *Emil Nolde – A German Legend. The Artist during the Nazi Regime* in the ‘Neue Galerie’ in Hamburger Bahnhof, Berlin, and in the two volumes of the accompanying catalogue.

The Stiftung Seebüll Ada und Emil Nolde would like to publicly share these new insights into the attitude and intentions of Ada and Emil Nolde in the National Socialist era. To this end we are publishing an updated Nolde biography, which is based on the catalogue, and the catalogue foreword (with the omission of the exhibition context and acknowledgements) by Dr. Christian Ring, the director of the Stiftung Seebüll Ada und Emil Nolde, which sketches the origins of the post-war legend and lays out the current stance of the Foundation.



Emil Nolde in Munich, January/February 1937

# EMIL NOLDE

## 1867–1956

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**1867** — Emil Nolde is born Hans Emil Hansen on 7 August, the fourth son of a farmer, Niels Hansen, and his wife, Hanna Christine, in the village of Nolde near Tønder, in the German-Danish border zone on territory which was at that time German. The church register mistakenly records his birthday as 20 August. The local dialect is Low Danish, but High German is spoken in school.

**1884–1888** — Despite his father's objections, Emil Hansen completes an apprenticeship as a wood sculptor and draughtsman at the Sauermann furniture factory and wood-carving school in Flensburg.

**1888/89** — During his journeyman years Emil Hansen works as a wood carver in furniture factories in Munich and Karlsruhe, where he also attends the school of applied arts, and secretly takes figure-drawing classes.

**1890** — Hansen finds employment in a Berlin furniture factory, where he works until his father's death at the end of December 1891.

**1892–1897** — Hansen becomes a technical instructor for commercial drawing and model building at the Industrial and Commercial Museum in St. Gallen. He establishes a lifelong friendship with his drawing pupil Hans Fehr, who is embarking on a career as a legal historian, and produces his first landscape watercolours and drawings. In 1894, he begins a series depicting mountain peaks as grotesque mythical figures and has large editions of these printed and sold as 'Mountain Postcards'. This financial success secures him an income during his first years as a freelance artist after he is dismissed from his job in St. Gallen.

**1898** — Hansen is rejected by the Munich Academy of Fine Arts under Franz von Stuck. He attends the private painting schools of Friedrich Fehr in Munich and of Adolph Hölzel in Dachau.

**1899** — Travels to Paris, where he studies independently in the Louvre and attends the private Académie Julian.

**Autumn 1900** — Rents a studio in Copenhagen; produces his first series of religious paintings.

**1901/02** — Hansen spends the summer in the fishing village Lildstrand on Jutland's north coast. There he creates fantastical drawings with beachcombers, sleepwalkers and supernatural beings. He begins a lively correspondence with the young Danish actress Ada Vilstrup, the daughter of a pastor.

**1902** — On 25 February he marries Ada (Adamine Frederikke) Vilstrup (born 20 September 1879). In the course of the marriage he drops the name Hansen, and adopts the name Nolde after his birthplace. He and Ada move from Copenhagen to Berlin. The first volume of Nolde's memoirs ends with this chapter in his life (*Das eigene Leben* (My Own Life), 1931).

**1903–1905** — The Noldes spend winters in Berlin, and summers on the island of Als in the Baltic. Their financial straits are dire. The artist works in a little wooden studio hut on the beach. On 22 September 1904 his name is officially changed to Nolde. After Ada's health breaks down, Fehr gives financial assistance to the couple so they can spend six months in Italy in 1904/05. In the autumn of 1905 Nolde produces the series of etchings *Fantasies*. He has his first exhibition in Berlin in September 1905 at the art salon of Paul Cassirer, whom he later vilifies as a Jew.

**1906–1908** — In February 1906, Nolde joins the artists' association Brücke, which he wants to rename 'Young German Artists' Association'. After leaving the group in November 1907, Nolde makes several unsuccessful attempts to start a group of his own, meeting with his admired role model, Edvard Munch, among others. In 1908 he becomes a member of the Berlin Secession. He visits his friend Hans Fehr in Cospeda near Jena, where he discovers his enjoyment of the watercolour technique. In the autumn of 1908, he travels to Sweden.

**1909** — Produces the religious paintings *The Last Supper*, *Pentecost* and *Derision* during the summer months in the fishing village of Ruttebüll.

**1910** — Large exhibitions take place in Hamburg, Essen, Jena and Hagen. Nolde produces paintings of Hamburg harbour. He travels to Brussels, and visits James Ensor in Ostende. In Berlin, they move to Tauentzienstrasse 8 (where they will stay until 1929). After a confrontation with Max Liebermann, Nolde is expelled – against Liebermann's vote – from the Berlin Secession; he later reinterprets this expulsion in anti-Semitic terms. He joins the New Secession (but leaves it in late 1911).

**1911** — The Hamburg art collector Gustav Schiefler, an acquaintance since 1906, publishes the catalogue raisonné of Nolde's prints. At the Völkerkunde-museum in Berlin Nolde produces a great number of studies, which he turns into many paintings over the following years.

**1911/12** — Nolde creates his most important work, the nine-part painting *The Life of Christ*. His religious pictures bring him a great deal of public attention – boundless admiration but also harsh criticism.

**1913** — Max Sauerlandt's purchase of two Nolde paintings (*Flower Garden with Figures* and *The Last Supper*) for the Städtisches Museum in Halle provokes a public debate about the role of modern art in the museum.

**1913/14** — In October the Noldes leave for the 'German protectorate' of German New Guinea, travelling through Moscow, Siberia, Korea, Japan and China. As unofficial participants in the 'Medical-demographic German New Guinea expedition', they are permitted access to the colonial infrastructure there. Particularly after war breaks out in August 1914, the return trip becomes an adventure as they make their way through the Suez Canal, and then across France and Switzerland to Germany. They display enthusiasm for the world war. The second volume of Nolde's memoirs ends with the year 1914 (*Jahre der Kämpfe* (Years of Struggle), 1934). A separate volume of memoirs is devoted to the South Sea journey (*Welt und Heimat* (World and Home), 1936/1965).

**1915** — On Als he produces eighty-eight works, including paintings from sketches he had done in the South Seas, and pictures based on religious motifs such as *Burial*.

**1916** — Begins spending summers in Utenwarf farmhouse on the North Sea coast (and does so until 1926).

**1919** — Membership in the Berlin Arbeitsrat für Kunst (Workers' Council for Art). On Hallig Hooge, Nolde creates a series of fantastical watercolours, which are related in format and motif to his later 'Unpainted Pictures'.

**1920** — After the plebiscite in the border zone, Utenwarf becomes Danish, making Nolde a Danish citizen; he remains so for the rest of his life.

**1921** — Max Sauerlandt's first monograph *Emil Nolde* is published, with Nolde's active collaboration. He undertakes trips to London, Plymouth, Paris, Toulouse, Barcelona, Granada, Madrid and Toledo. The religious paintings are exhibited at St. Katherine's in Lübeck in August.

**1924** — Travels to Venice, Florence, Zurich and Vienna.

**1925** — Nolde works on an elaborate engineering plan to drain the marshes in the area around Utenwarf, but it is rejected by the authorities.

**1926/27** — Gives up Utenwarf because of the change in the landscape. Buys Seebüll terp, which lies a few kilometres to the south (in Germany). Begins building his residence and studio there in 1927, based on his own designs. Lays out a flower garden. Erects the studio first, followed by the residential house. Completes construction in 1937 by adding another floor – the Painting Gallery – above the so-called workshop.

**1927** — Nolde's sixtieth birthday celebrations include a comprehensive anniversary exhibition in Dresden that later travels to Hamburg, Kiel, Essen and Wiesbaden. Receives an honorary doctorate from the University of Kiel. A commemorative publication is released with contributions from friends and promoters. Also published this year are Max Sauerlandt's edition of Nolde's correspondence, and Gustav Schiefeler's second volume of the catalogue raisonné of prints.

**1929** — The Nationalgalerie in Berlin purchases *The Sinner* (1926). Construction of a house in Berlin-Dahlem according to plans by Ludwig Mies van der Rohe; this fails for financial reasons. Move within Berlin to Bayernallee 10 in Charlottenburg.

**1930** — Nolde's public letter on the independence of the Nationalgalerie's acquisition policy and his defence of Ludwig Justi's job performance. Summer/autumn: sojourn on Sylt; meets and befriends the Jewish sculptor Margarete Turgel, with whom he resumes contact after 1945. Works on the manuscript of *Das eigene Leben*.

**1931** — Ada and Emil Nolde attend Paul Schultze-Naumburg's lecture *Kampf um die Kunst* (The Struggle for Art). Nolde becomes a member of the Prussian Academy of Arts. Publication of the first volume of his autobiography *Das eigene Leben*. Nolde's self-narrative about how he developed into an artist in the years 1867 to 1902 outlines a story noticeably different from the biographies of German Impressionists. He emphasises his farm background and adopts many narrative formulas from his admirers. Nolde includes small watercolours in copies of a special edition. Today these are considered the start of the series of works that would later become famous as the 'Unpainted Pictures'. Nolde initially calls them 'small colour drawings' and 'little sheets'; they then become 'painting ideas', 'designs for paintings' and 'sketches for paintings', until finally the label 'Unpainted Pictures' prevails. This term initially refers to their function as possible preliminary sketches for paintings. Later Nolde and the administrators of his estate create the narrative that they were produced in secret solely during the period of persecution from 1938 to 1945.

**1932** — Heated debates ensue about the travelling exhibition *Neuere deutsche Kunst* (Oslo, Bergen, Stavanger, Malmö, Copenhagen and Cologne); Nolde takes a position in Museum der Gegenwart, describing German Impressionism as 'hybrid art'.

The last free Reichstag elections of 31 July end with strong gains for the National Socialist party. With 37.3% of the votes, it is by far the strongest party in the Reichstag but does not attain an absolute majority. The National Socialists

reach almost 65% in the district of Südtondern, and over 85% in Neukirchen – to which Nolde's Seebüll belongs.

**1933** — The Noldes react enthusiastically when the National Socialists take over the government, hoping that Adolf Hitler will name Nolde a state artist. In April Nolde writes a letter to Max Sauerlandt, in which he urges that a distinction be made in the art world between 'Jewish and German art, as well as between German-French mixtures, and pure German art'. The emphasis on 'Nordic' and 'German', which becomes a leitmotif in positive reviews about Nolde from 1933 on, instigates derisive attacks from nationalist-reactionary art critics. The biblical figure paintings are especially targeted. Besides his increasingly accentuated anti-Semitism, Nolde reacts to this by producing no further religious oil paintings after 1934. Increasingly taking the place of religious motifs are those from the world of Nordic mythology, something that has always fascinated him. In May, Nolde's membership application to the nationalistic Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (Militant League for German Culture) is rejected, and almost simultaneously he declines to resign from the Prussian Academy of Arts, although this resignation had been suggested to him (as happens again in 1937). The painter becomes a major point of contention in the bitter debates, which reach their height in early summer, over the role of Expressionism in the National Socialist state. The exhibition *30 deutsche Künstler* (30 German Artists) in the Galerie Ferdinand Möller, organised by the Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund or NSDStB (National Socialist German Students' League) and including two paintings by Nolde, is banned; it opens a little while later, however, without the participation of the NSDStB. During these months, Nolde works on a plan the exact details of which have not been preserved; it was to be a territorial solution to the so-called 'Jewish question', envisioning an expulsion of the Jews. Nolde denounces the painter Max Pechstein as a Jew to a ministerial official – probably to disqualify him as a candidate for the directorship of the Vereinigte Staatsschulen für freie und angewandte Kunst (Unified State Schools for Fine and Applied Art) in Berlin – and is not prepared to retract this false assertion. With assistance from employees of the Nationalgalerie, Nolde's painting *Ripe Sunflowers* (1932) and two flower watercolours are placed in the Munich apartment of NSDAP international press officer Ernst ('Putzi') Hanfstaengl, and two flower watercolours are also sent to Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels; these indirect measures are aimed at winning Hitler over to Nolde's art but both initiatives are unsuccessful. On 9 November Nolde is Heinrich Himmler's guest of honour in the tenth anniversary commemoration of 'Hitler's coup' in Munich. On 15 November the Noldes take part in the celebrations for the opening of the Reichskulturkammer (Reich Chamber of Culture) at the Berlin Philharmonie.

**1934** — Successful exhibition of watercolours at the Galerie Möller in Berlin (with subsequent showings in Düren, Hamburg and Hanover). Nolde spends six weeks in hospital recovering from a thrombosis, followed by phlebitis. This is followed by an extended stay at a spa in Bad Kissingen. In August he co-signs the *Aufruf der Kulturschaffenden* (Call to Artists), reinforcing his support for Hitler's role as leader, as do Ernst Barlach, Wilhelm Furtwängler, Erich Heckel and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, among others. The next month Nolde, as a Danish citizen, joins the Nationalsozialistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft Nord-schleswig (National Socialist Workers' Party of Northern Schleswig), which is co-opted a year later by the newly founded Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei Nord-schleswig (NSDAP-N) (National Socialist German Workers' Party of Northern Schleswig). In November Nolde publishes the second volume of his autobiography, *Jahre der Kämpfe*, covering the years 1902 to 1914. Contemporaries note the similarity of the title with Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Particular attention is paid to the description of his conflict – reinterpreted in anti-Semitic terms – with Max Liebermann and the Berlin Secession. In an advertising leaflet from the Rembrandt-Verlag, Nolde is praised as a champion 'against the repressive dictatorship of the Jewish art market and the dominance of frenchified-impressionistic circles'.

**1935/36** — Nearly all of Nolde's prints are acquired by the Folkwang Museumsverein in Essen: 455 pieces in total. This takes place with the approval of the director Klaus Graf von Baudissin, a National Socialist loyalist. In the summer of 1937, Baudissin is assigned to act on behalf of the education ministry and accompany the 'commission for works of degenerate German art ("Entartete Kunst") since 1910' on its visits to museums.

In December 1935 Nolde is operated on for gastrointestinal cancer in Hamburg-Eppendorf, where he remains an inpatient until March 1936. Subsequently he travels to Switzerland to convalesce. During the second half of the year, Nolde works on the third volume of his memoirs, covering the period from 1913 to 1926 (to be published in 1965 under the title *Welt und Heimat*), and prepares to publish his correspondence with his longtime friend, Hans Fehr.

**1937/38** — Visits one of his collectors in Munich, Friedrich Döhlemann, banker and treasurer of the Haus der Deutschen Kunst (House of German Art), in February 1937. Takes a guided tour of the Haus der Deutschen Kunst, and then vacations in Garmisch-Partenkirchen. Nolde's seventieth birthday is celebrated with exhibitions at Günther Franke (Munich), Ferdinand Möller (Berlin), and Rudolf Probst (Mannheim). The success of these exhibitions makes the artist feel positive and leads to numerous sales.

From German museums, 1052 works by Nolde are confiscated, including the 455 pieces acquired two years earlier by the Folkwang Museum.

In July the propaganda exhibition *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art) opens in Munich, with thirty-three paintings by Nolde. His paintings are pilloried as 'Verfallskunst' (dissolute art). Shortly thereafter, the modern department in Berlin's Kronprinzenpalais (Crown Prince Palace) is closed permanently. The grand celebrations for Nolde's seventieth birthday in Seebüll are cancelled; the large anniversary retrospective at Rudolf Probst's in Mannheim closes prematurely. When it is suggested (as happened previously in May 1933) that Nolde resign from the Prussian Academy of Art, he again successfully refuses, pointing out that he is a party member.

Starting in summer 1937, Nolde begins writing a series of letters to Nazi officials, including Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs Bernhard Rust, and Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels. His aim with these letters, in which he characterises himself as a herald of the 'global importance of National Socialism' and describes his art as 'German, strong, austere and profound', is to try to achieve the return of the paintings confiscated from his private collection. Nolde's friend, the lawyer Hans Fehr, points out Nolde's status as a foreigner to Secretary of State Ernst von Weizsäcker at the foreign office. The law regarding 'the seizure of the products of degenerate art' of 31 May 1938 makes it possible for Nolde, as a Danish citizen, to reclaim the works confiscated from his private property for the Munich exhibition.

In 1938 Nolde paints *Gaut the Red*, based on one of his small watercolours; it is the first of three Viking paintings he produces that summer. From late 1938 onwards, none of his paintings are included in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition, which continues travelling widely in its modified form. On 6 December 1938 Nolde sends an anti-Semitic position statement to NSDAP Reich press officer Otto Dietrich, to bring about a correction in the press; shortly before this he had been listed in a daily newspaper together with Jewish cultural figures in an article entitled 'The Enemy in our own Country – Jews as Cultural Bolsheviks'. On 8 December a short press directive regarding Nolde is issued stating that he is 'no Jew', and is even a 'Pg' (short for *Parteigenosse*: party member).

**1939** — In spring the Noldes go to Castle Schönhausen in North Berlin, where the 'degenerate' art is stored. There, Ada reads aloud from her husband's memoirs to prove his loyalty to the Nazis. In May Ada's brother, the Copenhagen art dealer Aage Vilstrup, is able to acquire, for foreign exchange, eleven of the Nolde paintings confiscated from museums. Another seven are sold abroad by the Ministry of Propaganda, which auctions them at the Galerie Fischer in Lucerne in June 1939; Hans Fehr purchases *The Sinner*. The Noldes react

enthusiastically to the start of the Second World War. Nolde immediately stores ninety-one paintings at a farm near the mouth of the Elbe, fearing they might be damaged in the war.

**1940** — For quite some time, Nolde has been writing notes on small slips of paper to record his thoughts about the artistic world, God and global events. He now begins assigning dates to these aphorisms – the ‘Worte am Rande’ (Words in the Margin). In this year he achieves the highest income of his career from sales of his work. He writes a letter to Hitler (that has not been preserved), in which he again emphasises his agreement with the regime. It is not clear whether the letter was sent, or if it reached Hitler; no reaction from the Reich Chancellery is known. Due to the increasing number of aerial attacks on Berlin, for the first time the couple spends part of the winter in Seebüll. In December, based on a ‘decree concerning the sales of inferior works of art’, the Reichskunstkammer (Reich Chamber of Fine Arts) demands that Nolde submit recent works.

**1941** — In February, nearly a hundred works of art are confiscated from his gallerist in Düsseldorf, Alex Vömel, including twenty-one of Nolde’s paintings that had been sent there on commission. After Himmler’s deputy, Reinhard Heydrich, complains to the Ministry of Propaganda about Nolde’s large income, Nolde’s expulsion from the Reichskunstkammer is decided internally – just weeks before the artist, in June 1941, submits a selection of four paintings and eighteen watercolours to the ‘Ausschuß zur Begutachtung minderwertiger Kunsterzeugnisse’ (‘Committee for the Evaluation of Inferior Works of Art’). In June Nolde starts storing many other paintings with acquaintances, fearing aerial attacks and official confiscations.

On 23 August Nolde is notified of his expulsion. The official reason is artistic unreliability. Internally, however, Nolde’s high income is criticised (around 80,000 RM for the 1940 tax year). As a result he is prohibited from any professional or secondary activity in the field of the fine arts, which means a ban on the sale, exhibition and publication of his work. He also loses his right to obtain increasingly scarce painting materials. Friends help him obtain paint and canvases from this point on. Nolde is worried that this expulsion amounts to a painting ban. On 20 November the Reich Chamber of Visual Art informs Nolde that the works submitted for inspection are now confiscated – they have been missing since that time – and reminds him of his duty in future to surrender works to the Chamber before ‘presenting them to the public’. In the opinion of Nolde’s legal advisor Hans Fehr, this means that the ‘painting ban’ of the earlier letter has been revoked (letter of 17 March 1942). From 1942 until 1944 Nolde produces eleven flower paintings and one figure painting.

Towards the end of the year the Noldes self-publish around fifty typed manuscripts of the memoirs of their travels to the South Seas (*Welt und Heimat*), which they distribute among friends.

**1942** — The painter Dieter Hohly from Stuttgart is one of approximately forty young front-line soldiers to whom the Noldes regularly send newsletters. In early February Hohly spends a week at Seebüll, where he helps produce the typescript for Nolde's memoir of his South Seas voyage. He subsequently writes an extensive report about his visit, along with numerous sketches including a detailed reproduction of the hanging in the 'Painting Gallery' in Seebüll. That spring the Noldes travel to Vienna with a selection of watercolours, in an attempt to have the occupational ban lifted by meeting with Governor Baldur von Schirach. The meeting does not occur, but von Schirach promises to advocate for Nolde's art. Ada must spend several months in hospital in Eppendorf. The couple's correspondence during two periods of hospitalisation, each lasting several months, provides insight – both in this year and in 1943 – into their ideology and increasing anti-Semitism.

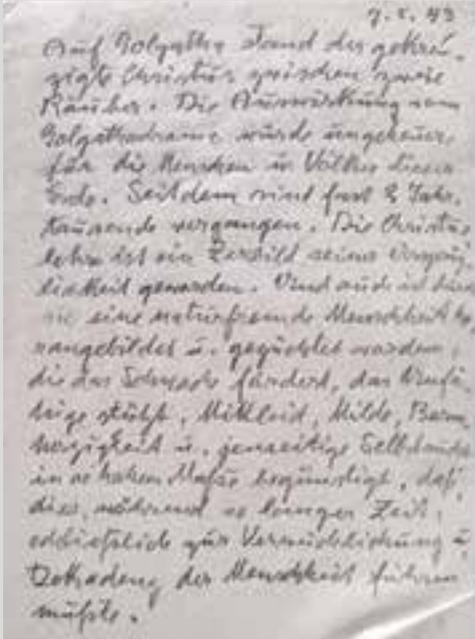
**1943** — In March Nolde entrusts Ilse Göring-Diels, wife of former Gestapo chief Rudolf Diels, and sister-in-law and niece to Hermann Göring, with five paintings, including *Twilight Hour at the Harbour* (1924), *Sea and White Clouds* (1937), and *Burning Castle* (1940), as well as six watercolours. These are to be hung in the Diels' villa in Berlin-Dahlem, in the hopes of gaining Hermann Göring's approval of Nolde's art. One year later the three paintings mentioned are brought to Mauterndorf Castle, Hermann Göring's Austrian residence. They have been missing since the end of the war. The works that remain in Dahlem are destroyed in an air raid in the autumn of 1944.

Ada is in Eppendorf hospital again from April to June. There, she begins translating *Das eigene Leben* into Danish. After the announcement of the discovery of mass graves near Katyn, where Polish officers have been shot and buried by the Soviet NKVD, National Socialist war propaganda reaches its anti-Semitic peak, from April onward.

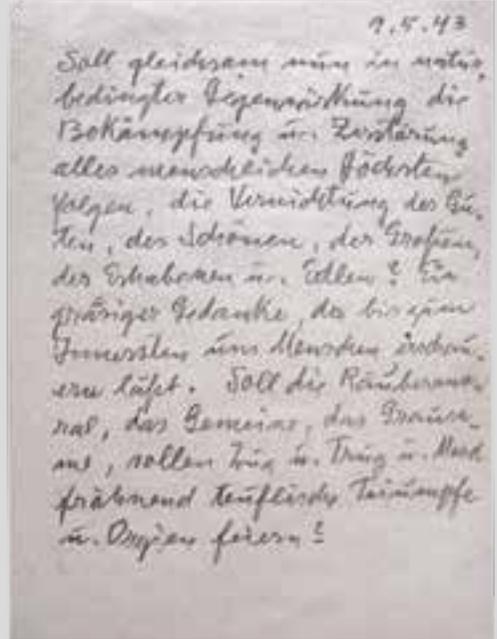
This is also reflected in Nolde's aphorisms, which the artist wants to have published later – together with some of his 'Unpainted Pictures'. After Easter he sends a letter to Ada, enclosing four of the little slips of paper he uses for his aphorisms, in which he inscribes himself into the great process of world and religious history. Nolde's long-standing self-stylisation as a misunderstood champion in the struggle against the Jews culminates in them. They are the climax of his anti-Semitic remarks. On another of these little notes from May, he reveals his perception of the World War as a 'Jewish war'.

## NOLDE'S SELF-REFLECTIONS AFTER EASTER 1943

Enclosed in a letter to Ada Nolde dated 15 May 1943



**7.5.43** On Golgotha the crucified Christ stood between two robbers. The impact of the Golgotha drama on the peoples and nations of the earth was immense. Since then nearly two thousand years have passed. Christ's teachings have become but a warped picture of what they were originally. And the unnatural mankind that evolved and was cultivated through them nurtured weakness, supported incapacity, and favoured sympathy, gentleness, compassion and otherworldly selfishness to such a degree and for so long that it was bound to result in the softening and decadence of mankind.



**9.5.43** Is nature now striking back, as it were, and all that is humanly highest being defied and destroyed and the good, the beautiful, the great, the sublime and the noble annihilated? A ghastly thought that must strike dread into the hearts of us men! Are the laws of the jungle, are baseness, cruelty, deceit and murder now to celebrate their diabolical triumphs and orgies?

12.5.43  
Es erstand in Deutschland –  
dem Herzen Europas – wiederum  
eine Gegenbewegung, rufend  
nach Willen u. Kraft, sich kühnlich  
nied gegen Dekadenz u. Schwä-  
che, sich rüstend zum Kampf ge-  
gen Bolschewismus, Judentum  
u. Plutokratismus, ein mit  
heroischem Mut u. Idealismus  
auf Leben u. Tod geführter Kampf  
für Deutschland, für Europa u.  
für unsere ganze Erdenscholle.

**12.5.43** But what has arisen in Germany – in the heart of Europe – is a counter-movement that is summoning the will and the power to resist decadence and weakness, that is arming itself for the battle against Bolshevism, Jewry and plutocracy, that with heroic valour and idealism is fighting a life-and-death battle for Germany, for Europe, for the whole earth.

14.5.43  
In dieser während bewegter großer  
Zeit bin ich Bauerzuzünger als Vor-  
kämpfer u. Symbol mit meinem Kör-  
per, meiner Kraft u. meinem Wis-  
sen hineingelassen u. bin von dreien  
Regierungsmächten inproletiert, ver-  
folgt, geächtet worden. – Ich darf  
bekennend wohl weder das eine noch  
das andere sagen u. muß vielmehr  
dabei sein es zu haben wie es ist,  
denn in den Wissenschaften u. der  
Kunst würde es sonst das höchste be-  
wunderbare Bekannte u. Schöne mit  
Lachen, Spott oder Gegenwille über-  
gangen.

**14.5.43** The son of a peasant with ability, power and will, I was born into this tumultuous time as a precursor and symbol, and disregarded, persecuted and scorned by three regimes in succession. I may acknowledge neither the one nor the other and perhaps should be glad it is thus, for the deepest insights and discoveries both in the sciences and in art have always been greeted with laughter, derision or opposition, as they still are now.

## NOLDE'S COMMENTS ON THE JEWISH WAR, 25 MAY 1943

Enclosed in a letter to Ada Nolde dated 27 May 1943

25.5.43  
Einen raffinierten in teuflischer  
Kluger angelegten in. geführten  
Krieg als den gegenwärtigen hat es  
noch nie gegeben - Ein Handvoll  
Fäden hinter den Regierungen in  
Banken ihrer Weltmacht gebat-  
ten adernungelud mitged firmen-  
tieren in. schüren diesen weltum-  
spannenden grausamen Krieg, in die  
Vollen für sich in. ihres Rases nicht  
mit sich, über Feind, auch über Fein-  
de in. selber wollen sie verdrängend  
überwinden. Die ganzen großen  
Kampfer stürzten Menschenmassen  
lassen sich einrichten, Kämpfer  
gegeneinander, Freund in. Feind,  
für die jüdischen weltbeherrschungs-  
"Ideale".  
Kauf diese Feindschaft in. allge-  
meinen Volkstum, beendete in. den Krieg.

**25.5.43** Never has a war been instigated and fought with more sophisticated and diabolical cunning than has the present one. This ghastly, all-encompassing war was whipped up and bankrolled by a handful of smirking Jews, safely hidden from view behind the great governments and banks of this world, for what they want for themselves and for their race is to destroy and conquer not just us, as their foes, but even their friends and accomplices. The dull, harmless masses have for the most part allowed themselves to become ensnared and are now fighting each other, friend and foe alike, all for the 'ideals' of Jewish world domination. If this insight ever becomes common knowledge, it will end the war.

Just before a devastating air strike on Hamburg, Ada is released from hospital and returns to Seebüll. Unlike many of Nolde's artist colleagues whose studios are bombed out in the cities, during the Second World War Nolde is able to continuously work as an artist in remote Seebüll – despite his occupational ban and shortages of materials.

**1944** — In February Nolde, citing his party membership, turns to the newly appointed director of the Berlin Vereinigte Staatsschulen, Otto von Kursell, and futilely requests his help in getting the professional ban lifted. On 15 February, bombs destroy Nolde's live-in studio in Berlin; around 3,000 prints, water-colours and drawings go up in flames, as well as works in his possession by Paul Klee, Wassily Kandinsky, Oskar Kokoschka, Lyonel Feininger and Ernst Josephson, among others.

**1945** — Until shortly before the war's end, Nolde hopes for the 'Endsieg' (final victory). In contrast, the aphorisms he composes from this spring onward, and which he sometimes backdates, show his subsequent attempts to distance himself from Hitler and the Nazi dictatorship. From a note about his 'Words in the Margin' it can be seen that after May he destroys numerous papers with thoughts about politics and world events.

During the summer, British officers visit Seebüll and show interest in Nolde's art. The Noldes ask Joachim von Lepel (1913–1962), until recently stationed at the front, to join them as their assistant; he agrees.

**1946–1955** — On 13 August 1946, the Kiel Denazification Committee exonerates Nolde, despite his party membership, and interprets the National Socialists' rejection of Nolde's art as a 'renunciation of the regime'. According to first drafts from the 1930s, the future foundation is established definitively in a last will and testament. Ada Nolde dies on 2 November 1946. On 22 February 1948, Nolde marries Jolanthe Erdmann (9 October 1921–13 June 2010), then twenty-six, and the daughter of Nolde's friend, the composer and pianist Eduard Erdmann. After the war's end, Nolde continues to work on his memoirs, including writing the last chapter of his fourth volume of memoirs, which appears in 1967 entitled *Reisen, Ächtung, Befreiung* (Travels, Ostracism, Liberation). His handwritten rough drafts illustrate the development and dramatisation of his narrative of persecution and victimisation. For example, the visit of an art-loving Gestapo official in the winter of 1940/41 – thus before the imposition of the occupational ban – is recast as a Gestapo inspection visit. For his 'Unpainted Pictures', Nolde invents the story that they were 'secretly' produced during the 'painting ban' in a 'small, half-hidden room'. There are hardly any objections to the widely disseminated and exaggerated depiction of Nolde as a 'victim' of the National

Socialist dictatorship. Only Adolf Behne calls the painter a ‘degenerate “degenerate”’ on the occasion of Nolde’s eightieth birthday in 1947. In the following years, Nolde receives numerous awards and honours, including the Stefan-Lochner medal from the City of Cologne (1949), and the Print Prize from the 26th Venice Biennale (1952). In 1952 Nolde is one of the first recipients of the newly established ‘Order *Pour le Mérite* for Sciences and Arts’. His work is exhibited several times at the Venice Biennale (1950, 1952, 1956), and in Kassel at documenta 1 (1955).

**1956/57** — Emil Nolde dies on 13 April 1956 in Seebüll. The Stiftung Seebüll Ada und Emil Nolde provided for in his will is recognised as a legal German foundation on 12 June 1956. In accordance with Nolde’s will, his long-term confidant Joachim von Lepel is named as the director.

The Foundation’s mission is to administer Emil Nolde’s extensive Seebüll estate in the way the artist would have wanted, as well as to preserve his work for posterity, and to impart knowledge of it around the world. The first annual exhibition at the Nolde house opens in 1957.

**1958** — At the Foundation’s initiative, a Nolde monograph by art historian Werner Haftmann is published. In the publication *Emil Nolde*, Haftmann also popularises the story of the supposedly secret production of the ‘Unpainted Pictures’. Various crudely anti-Semitic passages are deleted from the reprint of *Jahre der Kämpfe*, which is published this year.

**1961** — The small ‘Unpainted Pictures’ are increasingly exhibited in Germany and abroad, and attract great interest from public and media – due in part to the narrative framework of the supposed ‘painting ban’.

**1963** — Haftmann presents the illustrated volume *Ungemalte Bilder* (Unpainted Pictures), in which he combines forty of the small-format watercolours in the highest printing quality with seventy selected ‘Words in the Margin’, and deepens the narrative of the recalcitrant artist who ultimately turned away from the National Socialists. As with the 1958 monograph, this book also helps promulgate the narrative of the ‘persecuted artist’.

**1965/67** — In the publication of Nolde’s memoir of his trip to the South Seas, *Welt und Heimat* (1965), and his portrayal of the years of National Socialism, *Reisen, Ächtung, Befreiung*, which appears in 1967 on the hundredth anniversary of the artist’s birth, the foundation’s director at that time, Martin Urban (1913–2002, director from 1963–1992) and publisher Karl Gutbrod of DuMont Schauberg make a series of changes in the content, ‘to eliminate certain passages which, due to historical developments, today appear outdated or out of place’.

## THE PREAMBLE TO THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF ADA AND EMIL NOLDE, OPENED IN 1956



### Testament

All European cities and metropolitan areas have their museums full of thousands and thousands of artworks from ancient and more recent times, for the beholders to see, to learn – to experience the sublime. For these many people this has its great beauty and also the disadvantage of an over-abundance of offerings and of fatigue. Every museum visitor will have experienced this. Quite the contrary to this, on our little estate in pastorally simple nature, the people of our homeland on the one hand, and on the other hand the – metaphorically speaking – seeking, spiritual wanderer from every country, should find a special place where they may be given a little happiness and artistic-spiritual relaxation.

**1967** — Haftmann becomes the director of the Neue Nationalgalerie in Berlin. To mark the hundredth anniversary celebrations in Seebüll, Walter Jens, Professor of Rhetoric in Tübingen and – in his role as a writer – a leading moral voice in the Federal Republic, gives a testimonial lecture which is published by the foundation itself, and is reissued and reworked by Jens on various occasions. Jens castigates Nolde's 'antithetical, crude ideology' and his 'ideals of racial purity', and rejects his self-description as a painter 'who was supposed to have been a brilliant visionary, and nothing else'. In view of this hyper-Germanness, he claims, it is an 'act of piety' to 'protect [the artist] from the most dangerous intervention: from self-interpretation'. For Nolde had disproved his words with his art; therefore, according to Jens, one must, with Nolde, bring 'both sides into the light': 'Naivety and refinement, conservatism and modernity, flights of fancy and compositional deliberation, the vision and the calculation of antitheses, gestural references and correspondences among angles'. It is therefore necessary, he says, to say farewell to 'the fascistically falsified – to the all-too "Nolde-esque" Nolde'. Jens' lecture serves the Foundation as a welcome excuse to protect Nolde from Nolde.

**1968** — The novel *Deutschstunde* (The German Lesson) by Siegfried Lenz that appears in the autumn becomes a bestseller; this is soon translated into more than twenty languages, followed by a film version in 1971. It tells the fictional story of a painting ban supervised during National Socialism by the village policeman who – although the painter is a friend of his – convinces his son to spy on the artist in order to catch him doing forbidden work. The painter Max Ludwig Nansen (inspired by Nolde's original name Hansen) is clearly based on Haftmann's portrayal of Nolde, and the fictional locations are just as clearly inspired by Nolde's residences. Many of the paintings described in the novel may be found in Haftmann's book, and the 'Invisible Pictures' in *Deutschstunde* are Lenz's appropriation of the 'Unpainted Pictures'. Many readers transcribe Nansen into Nolde and read the novel as a Nolde biography – which was not intended by Lenz. Thus Nolde's victim myth – also cultivated by the Stiftung Seebüll Ada und Emil Nolde – is strengthened, and comes to occupy a special place in the cultural memory of the Federal Republic of Germany.

**2019** — The exhibition *Emil Nolde – A German Legend. The Artist during the Nazi Regime* in the Neue Nationalgalerie Berlin deciphers Nolde, his relationship to National Socialism and the history of the Foundation. It postulates the legend's final demise, and marks the historicisation of Nolde's eventful biography, and of his Foundation's history. Thereby it also marks a new beginning, in order to freely shape – without myths and legends – the Foundation's future as a centre for Nolde research, without claiming a prerogative of interpretation.

**CHRISTIAN RING,  
DIRECTOR OF THE STIFTUNG SEEBÜLL  
ADA UND EMIL NOLDE**

## **THE CURRENT STATE OF THE RESEARCH ON EMIL NOLDE DURING NATIONAL SOCIALISM**

On 7 August 2017, on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Emil Nolde's birth, *Bild* magazine published an article entitled 'Emil Nolde Was a Nazi, but His Art Was "Degenerate"'. This perfectly summed up the interim results of recent research into the topic of Emil Nolde in his time. As late as 2013, one of the questions posed at a Nolde conference in Halle an der Saale was: 'Why is it so difficult for us to say that Emil Nolde was really a staunch National Socialist?'<sup>1</sup> The answer is partly grounded in the fact that public perception of the Nazi dictatorship was, and still is, strongly tied to moral categorisation. There were culprits, followers and victims, and Nolde easily allowed himself to be shoehorned into the victims' group, thanks to the 'Degenerate Art' campaign. Emil Nolde owes much to Adolf Hitler's reactionary taste in art – something that is true of the status of all contemporary art from that period, which, as Peter-Klaus Schuster pointed out as early as 1999, was "'rescued" by National Socialist iconoclasm itself'. This permitted 'Modernism itself to be counted among the factors resistant to Hitler, and it is precisely because of this that Modernism was able to function in a leading role with a seemingly limitless impact during the reconstruction of Germany after World War II. Unencumbered, it embodied a better Germany. [...] Nothing vanquished Hitler as vividly as the comeback of the art he hated so much'.<sup>2</sup> And in 2017 Berthold Hinz explained: 'Even the fact of being a Nazi and, at the same time, considered "degenerate" (as was the case with Emil Nolde) seems to reveal an insoluble contradiction. Yet, what was to the artist a barely negotiable, paradoxical personal matter – and hence, a subjective

one – remains so for his interpreters to this day. Objectively, however, it possesses the stringent rationality of authority and is a good lesson on how National Socialist policies on culture and art functioned as instances of “regulation”, so to speak.<sup>3</sup>

Over time, the view of Emil Nolde and his relationship to National Socialism has changed and become more precise, particularly thanks to the scholarly work of Aya Soika and Bernhard Fulda.<sup>4</sup> In recent years, the art historian, the historian and the author (who is also the director of the Stiftung Seebüll Ada und Emil Nolde) have had a number of conversations, which have ultimately led them to initiate a research project on the topic of ‘Nolde and National Socialism’. Even though there are a series of essays devoted to the subject, a comprehensive and distinct picture of Emil Nolde and his perceptions, ideas and attitude during and after the National Socialist dictatorship was still lacking.<sup>5</sup> There was no compilation of previous insights, or of further, more probing research. Inevitably tied to that was an investigation into the history of the reception of Nolde’s work, especially after 1945. From the start, it was clear to all of the participants – including the authors of the study, as well as the directors and trustees of the Stiftung Seebüll Ada und Emil Nolde – that this project had to be carried out independently of the Foundation. Obviously, it was also necessary for both researchers to have unlimited access to the Foundation’s archive in Seebüll, with its more than 25,000 documents. In addition, it was agreed that the research had to be open-ended, and the Nolde Foundation would have no influence over the content.<sup>6</sup>

The project began in April 2013 and by autumn of that year it became clear that the topic was a controversial one. The weekly newspaper *Die Zeit* devoted a full-page article to Emil Nolde, which stated: ‘His art was decried in the “Third Reich”, his paintings were confiscated, he was forbidden to paint. And yet, Emil Nolde remained an ardent Nazi.’<sup>7</sup>

The report referred to a newly surfaced, six-page document dated 6 December 1938, in which Nolde wholeheartedly commits himself to the National Socialist regime, and which contains an abundance of disgusting anti-Semitism.<sup>8</sup> In 2014, as part of the Nolde retrospective at the Städel Museum in Frankfurt am Main, the initial results of the research

were published. They untangled the legend of the so-called 'painting ban', tracing it back to a prosaic professional ban,<sup>9</sup> and also proved that Nolde remained an adherent of the National Socialist regime until the collapse of the 'Third Reich'. The sentence repeatedly cited as evidence appeared in Werner Haftmann's 1963 book on the 'Unpainted Pictures': 'It was not until the Nazis dropped one mask after the next, until the public no longer shied away from its moral turpitude, until Nolde was forced to acknowledge that the persecution he endured was only a tiny fraction of a gigantic terrorist apparatus targeting the independent spirit and the dignity of human beings, that he rejected it'.<sup>10</sup> This sentence, however, is demonstrably false. Emil Nolde had not renounced National Socialism by the end of the Second World War. The very foundation of the Nolde legend tottered, and the directors and trustees began the process of historicising both Emil Nolde and the history of the Stiftung Seebüll Ada und Emil Nolde and in so doing bid farewell to the widespread myths. The first step was to open up the research to new results and adopt *sine ira et studio* an enlightened perspective that was as objective as possible and was based on original sources and research results.

For the Berlin exhibition *Emil Nolde – A German Legend. The Artist during the Nazi Regime* and the accompanying publications, Aya Soika and Bernhard Fulda read and evaluated a cornucopia of documents in the Foundation's archives, as well as other material in public archives and private estates around the world. They presented a multi-layered picture of Emil Nolde as a man and an artist. This image is becoming increasingly distinct, and new facets continue to alter the view of Emil Nolde and the Foundation's own history. In her biography of Emil Nolde, published in early 2013, Kirsten Jüngling shed some critical light on the history of the Foundation. She had been denied access to the Seebüll archives. Nevertheless, the material in other archives exposed an illuminating picture: 'It was about presenting Emil Nolde as a victim of National Socialist persecution. One obviously did not trust the persuasive impact of his paintings. One – meaning, the Stiftung Seebüll Ada und Emil Nolde – did one's utmost immediately after his death to obtain sole authority over interpretations of Nolde'.<sup>11</sup>

In his 1967 address commemorating the hundredth anniversary celebrations of Emil Nolde's birthday in Seebüll, Walter Jens legitimised the Foundation's dictum, which was valid up until a few years ago. He claimed that, 'particularly in the Nolde case, the attempt to protect the artist from the most dangerous attack of all – his own interpretation of himself – was more an act of piety than one of brazen indecency'.<sup>12</sup> It 'bade farewell to the German, the fascistically distorted, the all-too-Noldian Nolde'.<sup>13</sup> Walter Jens' speech served to justify the Foundation's attempts to protect Nolde from Nolde.

Today, on the other hand, more than fifty years later, the directors and trustees of the Foundation no longer see any necessity to protect Emil Nolde from himself. His art, which blazed a trail for Expressionism and Modernism, is strong enough to sustain the discussion about his relationship to National Socialism.

In 2016, the year that marked the Foundation's sixtieth anniversary, the Foundation itself undertook a re-evaluation of how Emil Nolde had been depicted as a person. It was deemed necessary to admit that there had been errors of judgement in the past. Myth-building had been encouraged, while not enough of Emil Nolde's biography had been told. Today, the Foundation believes that it is especially obliged to explain these misjudgements, to make sources available for discussion and to offer opportunities for freely assessing the information and putting it into context. To create a basis for this, in the same year the Foundation hired an archivist to carry out the task of evaluating all of the documents left behind by Ada and Emil Nolde until at least 2022. The ongoing goal is to digitalise them and to make them accessible online.

We are grateful that the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, as well as the Wüstenrot Stiftung, have made this project possible. The Foundation will do everything in its power to combine the new knowledge resulting from the research with the outstanding artwork, for the purpose of presenting Emil Nolde, the person, authentically and distinctly, so that his extensive oeuvre can be exhibited in an informative manner that is in step with the times. Among other things, the new information and even the Foundation's critique of itself found their way into the 2017 film

*Emil Nolde – Maler und Mythos* (Emil Nolde – Painter and Myth). In October of the same year, the Foundation and the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* co-organised a conference entitled 'Emil Nolde in His Time: In National Socialism', and the lectures given parallel to the exhibition were published.<sup>14</sup> The Foundation supports a holistic observation of Emil Nolde's life and work, as well as a critical exploration of them, while at the same time taking into consideration both the historical context and Nolde's own personal one.

The time has come to show the whole picture: the magnificent work of a great artist, and a person with a multi-layered biography. 'Not until Nolde's personality is accepted in all of its crude contradictions can one [...] really do justice to his art', wrote Florian Illies in 2008.<sup>15</sup>

Emil Nolde and his art are ambassadors for Schleswig-Holstein in Germany and for Germany in the world. He and his work are a part of the history of Schleswig-Holstein and Germany during the National Socialist regime. He and his Foundation are also part of the history of post-war Germany and its efforts to suppress the incriminating aspects of it for a wide variety of reasons. Taken together, all of these facets make Emil Nolde's life, his body of work and the reception of it today an important part of twentieth-century German history. Only by examining all of the aspects will it be possible to come close to a historically correct portrait. Individuals must make their own final – and perhaps moral – judgement of the man and his art.

It took a long time for the Nolde Foundation to open up. In the past, it used its role as the administrator of the estate to control access to the archives. After the Seebüll archives have been assessed and digitalised, the original sources will be available for examination, making it possible for people to do their own research and ask their own questions. Today, the Foundation stands for open discourse and debate on how to interpret the original sources or evaluate Nolde's life; as Uwe Danker states, 'All of this nurtures science, which is never without presuppositions and will always be controversial'.<sup>16</sup> The Foundation is very deliberately surrendering the remains of its historical authority and putting itself on the same footing as other scholars. The exhibition *Emil Nolde – A German*

*Legend. The Artist during the Nazi Regime* and its accompanying two-volume publication also formally document a step toward historicising Nolde and the story of the Foundation, in order to shape the Foundation's future free from myths and legends.

The founding director, Joachim von Lepel, wrote in 1961: 'The range of this oeuvre is so large, both in terms of themes and painting styles, that there is always something new to discover in it. [...] They are creations of strong intensity, living lives of their own. Of course, we are not always ready to accept this at any time. We will probably never learn the last secret, let alone be able to explain it'.<sup>17</sup> With the exhibition *Emil Nolde – A German Legend. The Artist during the Nazi Regime* and its companion publications, we are perhaps coming closer to Emil Nolde's 'last secret' as an artist and a person than we have ever been before.

The exhibition and its two companion publications, the *Volume of Essays and Illustrations* and *Chronicle and Documents*, represent important milestones on the path to understanding Emil Nolde, his art, its reception and the history of the Foundation. How will new information about the old artist alter the perception of his work?<sup>18</sup> The readers of the books and the visitors to the show are heartily invited to pursue the question for themselves and to discover their own answers.

**1** Conference 'Emil Nolde und Max Sauerlandt. Aspekte einer Freundschaft', 14/15 February 2013, Stiftung Moritzburg, Halle (Saale). Question posed to Isgard Kracht by Olaf Peters during the conference. Quoted in: Aya Soika, 'Emil Nolde im Netzwerk der Moderne', in: *Kunstchronik*, no. 66, 2013, pp. 304–309, here p. 308.

— **2** Peter-Klaus Schuster, 'Die doppelte "Rettung" der modernen Kunst durch die Nationalsozialisten', in: Eugen Blume and Dieter Scholz (eds.), *Überbrückt. Ästhetische Moderne und Nationalsozialismus*, Cologne 1999, pp. 40–47, here p. 45.

— **3** Berthold Hinz, 'Das Nolde-Dilemma im Rahmen der "Gleichschaltung" der bildenden Künste 1933–1937', in: Christian Ring (ed.), *Emil Nolde in seiner Zeit. Im Nationalsozialismus*, Tagungsband zum Symposium held by the Stiftung Seebüll Ada und Emil Nolde in cooperation with the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 26/27 October 2017 at the Freie Akademie der Künste, Hamburg, Munich 2019, pp. 82–109, here p. 83. — **4** See the essays on this group of themes published by the authors since 2014: Bernhard Fulda and Aya Soika, "'Deutscher bis ins tiefste Geheimnis seines Geblüts". Emil Nolde und die nationalsozialistische Diktatur',

in: Felix Krämer (ed.), *Emil Nolde. Retrospective*, exh. cat. Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main, Munich 2014, pp. 45–55; ‘Emil Nolde and the National-Socialist Dictatorship’, in: Olaf Peters (ed.), *Degenerate Art. The Attack on Modern Art in Nazi Germany, 1937*, exh. cat. Neue Galerie, New York, Munich 2014, pp. 184–193; Bernhard Fulda, ‘“Hinter jedem Busch lauert Verkenning und Neid.” Emil Noldes Reaktion auf den Sieg der Traditionalisten’, in: Wolfgang Ruppert (ed.), *Künstler im Nationalsozialismus. Die ‘Deutsche Kunst’, die Kunstpolitik und die Berliner Kunst-hochschule*, Cologne et al. 2015, pp. 260–285; Bernhard Fulda, ‘Myth-Making in Hitler’s Shadow. The Transfiguration of Emil Nolde after 1945’, in: Jan Rüger and Nikolaus Wachsmann (eds.), *Rewriting German History. Festschrift for Richard J. Evans*, Basingstoke 2015, pp. 177–194; Bernhard Fulda, ‘Emil Noldes Berufsverbot: Eine Spurensuche’, in: Anja Tiedemann (ed.), *Die Kammer schreibt schon wieder! Das Reglement für den Handel mit moderner Kunst im Nationalsozialismus (Schriften der Forschungsstelle ‘Entartete Kunst’, vol. 10)*, Berlin 2016, pp. 127–145; Bernhard Fulda, ‘Emil Nolde in seiner Zeit. Der “historische Nolde” und der “Künstler Nolde”’, in: *Emil Nolde in seiner Zeit* (see note 3), pp. 184–205. Also in planning is an extensive biographical study by Bernhard Fulda. As with the essays mentioned above, this study is made possible by grants from the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung and the Gerda Henkel Stiftung. Aya Soika, ‘Emil Nolde, Die Sünderin (Christus und die Sünderin), 1926’, in: Dieter Scholz and Maria Obenaus (eds.), *Die schwarzen Jahre. Geschichten einer Sammlung 1933 bis 1945*, exh. cat. Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, pp. 71–75; Aya Soika, ‘Ein Künstler reagiert. Emil Nolde und die Ausstellung *Twentieth Century German Art*’, in: Lucy Wasensteiner and Martin Faas (eds.), *London 1938. Defending ‘Degenerate’ Art. Mit Kandinsky, Liebermann und Nolde gegen Hitler*, exh. cat. The Wiener Library for the Study of the Holocaust & Genocide, London; Liebermann-Villa, Berlin, Wädenswil 2018, pp. 201–207; Aya Soika, ‘Emil Noldes Südsee-Aquarelle im kolonialen Kontext’, in: Marco L. Petersen (ed.), *Sønderjylland-Schleswig Kolonial. Eine Spurensuche (University of Southern Denmark Studies in History and Social Sciences, vol. 569)*, Odense 2018, chap. 15, pp. 277–304; Aya Soika, ‘Emil Nolde und die Ausstellung “Entartete Kunst”’, in: *Emil Nolde in seiner Zeit* (see note 3), pp. 30–53. — 5 Many essays about Nolde’s National Socialist sympathies have been published since the early 1990s, without, however, the opportunity to thoroughly examine the contents of the archives at the Nolde Stiftung Seebüll. See: Sönnich Volquardsen, ‘Es ist an der Zeit, Fragen zu stellen. Zum 125. Geburtstag von Emil Nolde’, in: Nordfriisk Instituut (ed.), *Nordfriesland*, no. 97, March 1992, pp. 17–19; Monika Hecker, ‘Ein Leben an der Grenze. Emil Nolde und die NSDAP’, in: Nordfriisk Instituut (ed.), *Nordfriesland*, no. 110, June 1995, pp. 9–15; Peter Vergo, ‘Emil Nolde. Myth and Reality’, in: *Emil Nolde*, exh. cat. Whitechapel Gallery, London 1996, pp. 38–65; *Emil Nolde und die Sammlung Sprengel 1937 bis 1956. Geschichte einer Freundschaft*, exh. cat. Sprengel Museum, Hannover 1999 (including Markus Heinzelmann, ‘“Wir werden uns bereithalten und warten auf Ihren Ruf.” Die Beziehung der Familien Sprengel und Nolde in den Jahren 1941 bis 1945’, pp. 12–35;

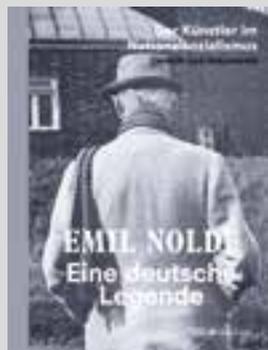
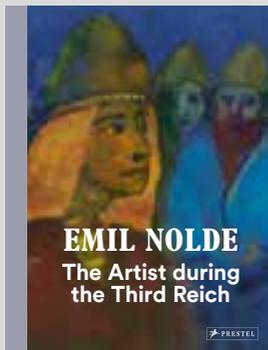
Ulrich Krempel, 'Zur Geschichte der Sammlung Sprengel, 1937 bis 1945', pp. 36–91); Uwe Danker, "'Vorkämpfer des Deutschtums" oder "entarteter Künstler"? Nachdenken über Emil Nolde in der NS-Zeit', in: *Demokratische Geschichte*, 14, 2001, pp. 149–188; Urs Langwiler, "'Meine Kunst ist deutsch, stark, herb, innig." Emil Nolde als Vertreter der deutschen Avantgarde im "Dritten Reich"', in: *Georges Bloch-Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität Zürich*, 2002/03, pp. 334–343; James A. van Dyke, 'Something New on Nolde, National Socialism, and the SS', in: *Kunstchronik*, 65:5, May 2012, pp. 265–270; Isgart Kracht, 'Ansichten eines Unpolitischen? Emil Noldes Verhältnis zum Nationalsozialismus', in: *Emil Nolde. Farben heiß und heilig*, exh. cat. Stiftung Moritzburg – Kunstmuseum des Landes Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle 2013, pp. 193–198; Kirsten Jüngling, *Emil Nolde. Die Farben sind meine Noten*, Berlin 2013. — **6** A small portion of the mostly unpublished correspondence will be made available in the second volume accompanying the exhibition: Bernhard Fulda, Christian Ring and Aya Soika for the Nationalgalerie der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin and the Nolde Stiftung Seebüll (eds.), *Emil Nolde – eine deutsche Legende. Der Künstler im Nationalsozialismus. Chronik und Dokumente*, Munich 2019. — **7** Stefan Koldehoff, 'Noldes Bekenntnis', in: *Die Zeit*, 10 October 2013. — **8** See exh. cat. Berlin 2019, vol. 2 (see note 6), doc. 48. — **9** Exh. cat. Frankfurt am Main 2014 (see note 4). See *ibid.*: Fulda/Soika, pp. 45–55. — **10** Werner Haftmann, *Emil Nolde. Ungemalte Bilder. Aquarelle und 'Worte am Rande'*, ed. Stiftung Seebüll Ada und Emil Nolde, Cologne 1963 (2nd, abridged ed., Cologne 1971), p. 15. — **11** Jüngling 2013 (see note 5), p. 291. — **12** Walter Jens, *Der Hundertjährige. Festvortrag zur Feier des 100. Geburtstages von Emil Nolde am 7. August 1967 in Seebüll*, Seebüll 1967, n.p. — **13** *Ibid.* — **14** 'Emil Nolde in seiner Zeit. Im Nationalsozialismus' (see note 3). — **15** Florian Illies, 'Das liest die Kanzlerin', in: *Die Zeit*, 31 July 2008. — **16** Uwe Danker, 'Noldes ideologische Heimat? Schleswig-Holstein und der Nationalsozialismus', in: *Emil Nolde in seiner Zeit* (see note 3), pp. 156–169, here p. 157. — **17** Joachim von Lepel, 'Emil Nolde', in: *Emil Nolde – Wilhelm Lehmbruck. Meister der Plastik des 20. Jahrhunderts*, exh. cat. Kunst- und Kunstgewerbeverein e. V., Reuchlinhaus, Pforzheim 1961, pp. 6–9, here p. 8. — **18** For more on the reception from today's point of view, please see the address by Jürgen Kaube, *Sehen, was gemalt wurde – Wissen, was getan wurde. Zum 150. Geburtstag von Emil Nolde am 7. August 2017*, Seebüll 2018.

The expanded and updated overview of Emil Nolde's biographical data, as well as the text by Christian Ring, both have their origins in the catalogue for the 2019 exhibition in Berlin: *Emil Nolde – Eine deutsche Legende. Der Künstler im Nationalsozialismus*. (published in English as *Emil Nolde – The Artist during the Third Reich*), edited by Bernhard Fulda, Christian Ring and Aya Soika, exh. cat. Neue Nationalgalerie Berlin, Munich 2019 (Prestel Verlag).

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**EXH. CAT. BERLIN 2019, VOL. 2** — *Emil Nolde – Eine deutsche Legende. Der Künstler im Nationalsozialismus. Chronik und Dokumente* (German only), edited by Bernhard Fulda, Christian Ring and Aya Soika for the Nationalgalerie der Staatliche Museen zu Berlin and the Nolde Stiftung Seebüll, Munich 2019.



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