

# Hiding the Works 1933: Eric Isenburger's *Salzburg*<sup>1</sup>

Gregory Hahn, Karolina Hyży



Fig. 1. Eric Isenburger. \*1902 Frankfurt am Main, New York, †1994. *Salzburg*, 1931/32. Oil on canvas, 80×65 cm. Private collection Berlin. © Shmuel Elen. Photo: Christoph Petras, art-repro Berlin.

Eric Isenburger's cityscape of Salzburg (fig. 1) predates his long friendship with gallerist Wolfgang Gurlitt and the beginning of his years as refugee – perhaps by only a matter of months. Until recently, when it was acquired at auction, the painting's whereabouts were unknown. It is unrecorded in Isenburger's own hand-written inventory. It is also not among the hundreds of drawings, paintings and etchings that Isenburger, either in collaboration or cahoots with Wolfgang Gurlitt, reported as missing, stolen, confiscated or otherwise lost;<sup>2</sup> and there are no references to it in correspondence, interviews or reviews other than the one cited here in translation. Moreover, the physical examination that the acquisition made possible, including x-rays, has coaxed no clues from the canvas, stretcher or gilded frame about its origin. The painting is signed atop the glaze at the bottom left; in the two surviving photographic prints it is not signed at all.

Isenburger trained originally as a graphic artist at Frankfurt's *Kunstgewerbeschule* in the early 1920s and pursued his goal to become a painter on his own. The influence of printmaking, in particular his experimental treatment of canvases as though they were plates for monotypes lying flat on a work table, is especially discernible in his cityscape of Salzburg. Backgrounds are laid down and wiped, rubbed and dabbed; compositional elements are highlighted or nuanced using the tips of brush handles, palette knives, razor blades and finer tools. The silhouette of Salzburg's old town emerges from a background of shades of blue and black. The lines on the canvas, which correspond to the inner edges of the stretcher bars beneath them and form a type of frame within a frame, are the results of wiping the painting's various layers outwards. Such lines could not occur on the unyielding surface of a plate.<sup>3</sup> In some places, especially behind the tops of the tallest towers, it is easy to see how the buildings were painted over them. The vantage point for the unknown sketches is today an overgrown path along the old *Basteiweg* on the *Kapuzinerberg* – high, but not too high, above the right bank of the Salzach (fig. 2). Running through the painting's center at a diagonal, the three arcs of the *Mozartsteg*, a footbridge inaugurated in 1903, are scraped out down to the surface of the canvas, as are the roofs and building outlines in the foreground and distance. The Salzach is here a turbulent stream with swirling eddies.



Fig. 2. Salzburg – View from the Kapuzinerberg with Mozartsteg (ca. 1903-1908), photographer and publisher unknown. Authors' collection.

Great architectural liberties are taken including omissions, distortions and the interplay of forms in a very selective palette of colors. The painting frames Salzburg Cathedral on the left and the Franciscan Church on the right while remaining sufficiently true to life for the skyline between them to be named in its parts: the Carillon tower, the outlined tip of the copula of the church of St. Peter's Abbey, the two towers of the Cathedral with the Cathedral's gable and the ghost of the Abbey's baroque tower behind, finally the spire of St. Michael's. There is no awe-inspiring *Hohensalzburg* against a backdrop of snow-capped mountain peaks. There are instead only the traces of a very personal engagement with the city by someone who was not just simply passing through – someone who, to paraphrase Hugo von Hofmannsthal's famous essay on the Salzburg Festival, has walked across the bridge into the very heart of Europe.

By style and technique, *Salzburg* dates from 1931 at the earliest – the year in which Isenburger and his wife, Jula (Elenbogen), a Polish-born dancer, concluded their two years as newlywed bohemians in the attics of Vienna and moved to Berlin where Jula began her association with Margarete Wallmann's Dance Group. In August 1931 and 1932 (fig. 3), she appeared at the Salzburg Festival as a member of the corps de ballet and in one case as soloist in various Wallmann choreographies. Assuming that Eric was with her in Salzburg, it is likely that the painting's sketches were made during one of these sojourns.



December 1932 is the latest time frame for the painting's completion. *Salzburg* was quite likely among those many paintings that caught Wolfgang Gurlitt's eye in private viewings in the Isenburgers' apartment and studio at Paulsbornerstrasse 77 in Berlin-Halensee. Gurlitt had discovered him in October that same year.

Fig. 3. Scene from Felix Emmel's *Das jüngste Gericht* [*The Last Judgement*]. Jula Isenburger kneeling in foreground. Margarete Wallmann Dance Group, corps de ballet, 1931 [sic 1932]. Salzburg Festival Archive GP 48654 © Photo Ellinger, courtesy of the Salzburg Festival Archive.

## “Salzburg” in the *Galerie Gurlitt* in Berlin

In January 1933, *Salzburg* was shown for the first time in Isenburger’s high-profile exhibition at the *Galerie Gurlitt* in Berlin – and it was still on the wall with all of his other paintings when Hitler became Chancellor. No primary sources exist from this exhibition other than prints of three photographs.<sup>4</sup> One shows a single gallery wall with seven paintings in a symmetrical arrangement with small, illegible tags. The others are full-frame prints of two paintings with tags that can be read easily. “Salzburg” was number 1 and “Portrait of Frances Cowles” was number 13 in the hanging order (figs. 4 and 5). Cowles, an actress, appears in Isenburger’s *Refugee’s Address Book* – a primary source of exceptional importance that records the movements of 29 paintings and many important people in a world in flux.<sup>5</sup>



Fig. 4. *Salzburg*, *Galerie Gurlitt* Nr. 1 (1933). Isenburger Collection. Courtesy of the German National Library, German Exile Archive 1933-1945, Frankfurt am Main. © Shmuel Elen. Photo: Bruno Schuch/Berlin



Fig. 5. *Portrait of Frances Cowles*, Galerie Gurlitt Nr. 13 (1933). Isenburger Collection. Courtesy of the German National Library, German Exile Archive 1933-1945, Frankfurt am Main. © Shmuel Elen. Photo: Bruno Schuch/Berlin. Sold by Stair Galleries in Hudson, New York, on 21 April 2007 (lot number 285).

The exhibition rocketed Isenburger to short-lived stardom and provoked the ire of his Nazi enemies who were suddenly free to do as they wished after Hitler became Chancellor. Gurlitt, who served as a witness in Isenburger's post-war claims against Germany, described two distinct forces that had targeted him: politically active circles and envious national socialist-oriented artist colleagues vehemently set on getting rid of him.<sup>6</sup> The specific threat that forced Eric and Jula to drop everything and flee to Paris at Gurlitt's urging on 31 March 1933, the day before the nationwide boycott of Jewish businesses, remains unclear. In an interview carried out in English by renowned exile scholar John M. Spalek (New York, 1986), Isenburger recalled a passage (in German) from painter and *S. A. Sturmbannführer* Otto Andreas Schreiber's attack in the Nazi press. "There you see who gets the full-year gallery contracts: a Jewish painter, Erich Isenburger, who's well-off enough to frame all of his paintings in gold and put on a fireworks display of pictures."<sup>7</sup> Clearly, Schreiber was among the second group of enemies. But what about the ambiguous first group? Eric's brother, Herbert, claimed that Eric had told him in 1932 that "he belonged to an organization which was openly fighting the Hitler movement" and that that was the reason

for their flight.<sup>8</sup> If true, this might explain why so prominent a Nazi opponent in New York exile as Berlin's Albert Grzesinski is included so conspicuously in bold, dark purple handwriting in Isenburger's *Refugee's Address Book*. The events in Berlin, Gurlitt writes, "resulted not only in his [Isenburger's] losing everything he owned, but that afterwards my gallery, as the business place of the artist's agent, was raided in order to confiscate everything by the painter that could be found there."<sup>9</sup>

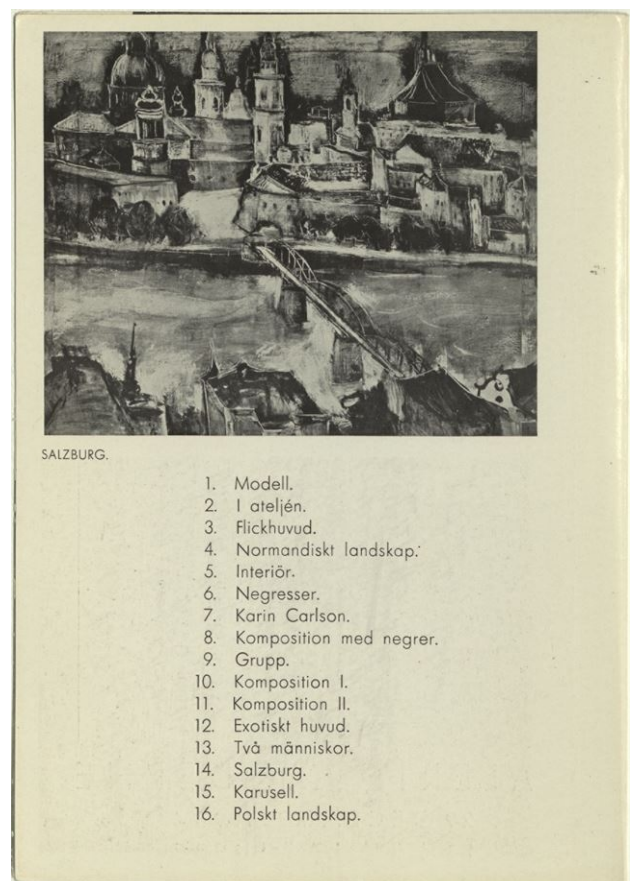
But Isenburger did not lose "everything he owned" as Gurlitt claimed. The paintings exhibited in Berlin were not confiscated, but rather shipped outside of Germany. At least three are known to have traveled to Paris early on where they were exhibited with French titles at the 1933 *Salon des Tuileries* and in the special show presented at the *Salon d'Automne* by the *Comité Français Pour la Protection des intellectuels juifs Persécutés*.<sup>10</sup> In June of 1934, three paintings appeared with English titles in the *Exhibition of German-Jewish Artists' Work* in London<sup>11</sup> – most probably shipped there from Paris and returned to Paris afterwards. A third European capital emerges in John Spalek's Isenburger interview. „The best paintings, the ones that were exhibited at Gurlitt", as Isenburger explained, had all been shipped to Stockholm and, once there, he "did not let them come back to Germany."<sup>12</sup> Today, several of them on their original stretchers, including *Salzburg*, carry the inbound Swedish customs stamp and the date "7 December 1934" (fig. 6). They had been hidden away at an unknown location for nearly two years after the end of the Berlin exhibition.

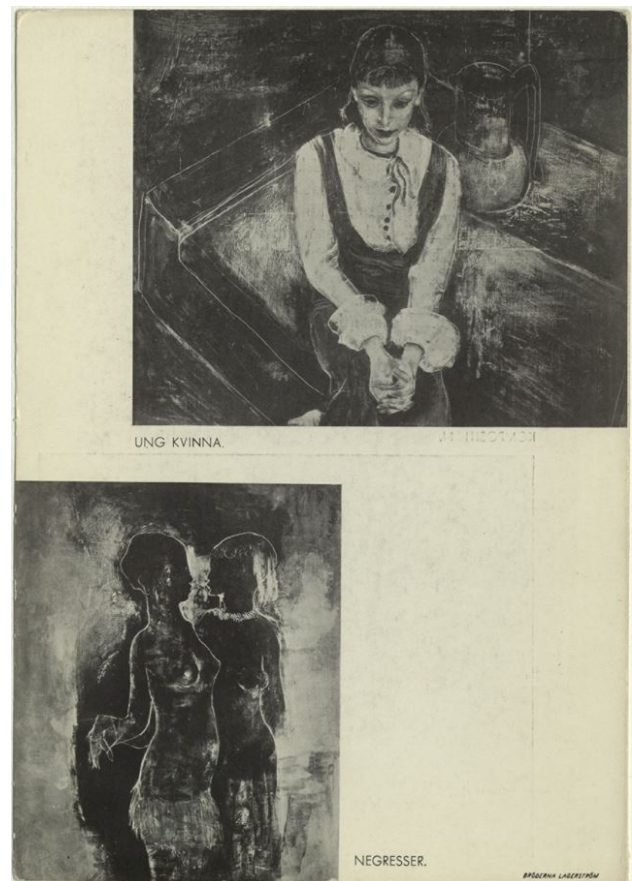
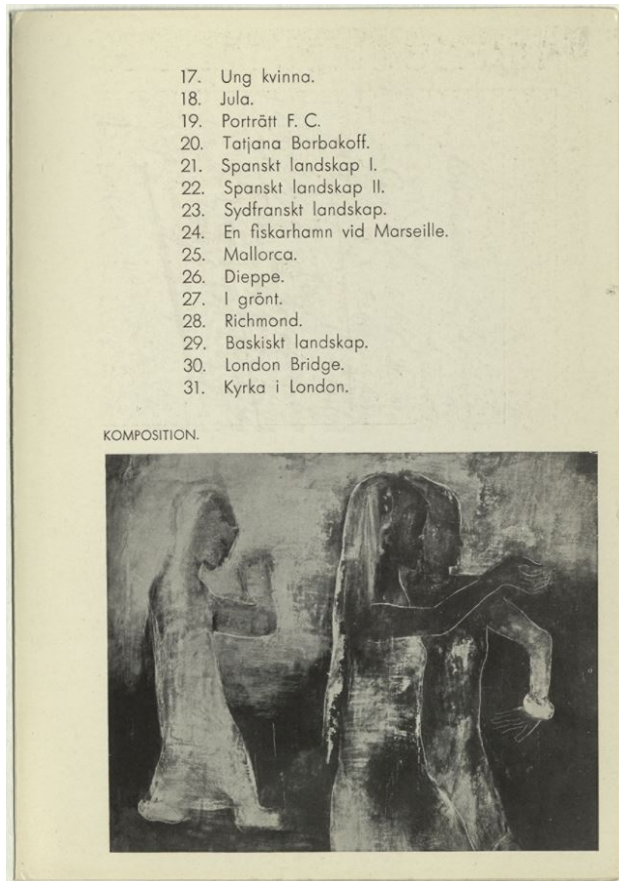


Fig. 6. "Stockholms Tullpackhus 07 Dec 1934", inbound customs stamp on the stretcher of Isenburger's *Salzburg*.

## “Salzburg” in the *Galerie Moderne* in Stockholm

Three weeks after the customs stamp date, *Salzburg* next turns up in Isenburger’s first exhibition in the *Galerie Moderne* in Stockholm (figs. 7-10). It is painting number 14 in the Swedish catalog. Even though the original names of the paintings are unknown (since there is no such catalog for the Gurlitt exhibition), it is possible to at least begin reconstructing Isenburger’s exhibition at the Galerie Gurlitt by bracketing off those works known to have been painted afterwards. These are paintings number 20 to 31 in the Swedish catalog. With the exception of painting number 7, the portrait of Swedish actress and director Karin Carlson, paintings 1 through 19 stem from Isenburger’s 1933 show in Berlin. This group includes the paintings from the Paris and London exhibitions which were apparently sent to Stockholm from Paris.





Figs. 7-10. *Galerie Moderne* exhibition catalog 1934-1935. Isenburger Collection. Courtesy of the German National Library, German Exile Archive 1933-1945, Frankfurt am Main.

Stockholm-based photographer and photojournalist Anna Riwkin, herself a former dancer, along with her brothers Josef and Aminodov helped the Isenburgers gain a foothold in Stockholm. The Isenburgers had met Riwkin in Paris in the summer of 1933. Sixteen of Riwkin's photographs of dancers were included in *La Danse et le mouvement: Exposition internationale de photographie* in Paris (November 1933 – January 1934).<sup>13</sup> Eric and Jula were no strangers to Riwkin's camera (figs. 11 and 12).

But what and where in Stockholm was the *Galerie Moderne*? It appears to have escaped art history.





Fig. 11. "Thank you, Channa! Yours, Eric Isenburger. Stockholm 1934". *Konstnären Eric Isenburger*  
© Anna Riwkin 1934, FM 1981 032 1017. Courtesy of the Moderna Museet Stockholm.



Fig. 12. "I can't get enough of your photos. Jula Isenburger". *Dansösen och koreografen Jula Isenburger*  
© Anna Riwkin 1933, FM 1981 032 1026. Courtesy of the Moderna Museet Stockholm.

## A Brief History of the *Galerie Moderne*

On 30 May 1928, architect Sven Wallander, writer Einar Rosenborg, Britt Jolin (née von Zweigbergk, the first wife of the painter Einar Jolin) along with attorney and chess aficionado Folke Rogard and his first wife Greta Marie-Louise Rogard (née Santesson) founded the "*Galleri Svensk Konst AB*".<sup>14</sup> Its address was Sturegatan 26 in Stockholm – a space that had been vacated by the *Svensk-franska konstgalleriet*.<sup>15</sup> Three months after it was founded, the *Galleri Svensk Konst AB* changed its name to "*AB Galleri Modern*".<sup>16</sup> When an art critic for the *Svenska Dagbladet* quipped in a review of the gallery's first show that the "*Galerie Moderne or Galleri Modern as one calls it in Swedish [Galerie Moderne eller Galleri Modern, som man försvenskat namnet]* made a successful start with its opening on Saturday," it was impossible to have anticipated that the innocent-sounding similarity would soon mark a legal distinction.<sup>17</sup>

The *Galleri Modern* entered into a rental agreement with the Royal Dramatic Theater [*Kungliga Dramatiska Teatern AB*] on the Nybroplan in July of 1930,<sup>18</sup> renovated a

substantial amount of ground floor and basement space within two months and celebrated its first vernissage at this new location on 24 September (fig. 13). The location could not have been more central and, since it was also open during intermissions, the gallery stood to benefit from a very select public.<sup>19</sup> A new chapter began in August 1931 when art historian Margit Risberg<sup>20</sup> joined the company, changed the name back to “*Galleri Svensk Konst AB*” and liquidated the company. Simultaneously, she founded a *new* company at the same location with the fashionably French spelling “*Galerie Moderne AB*” – now with a restaurant and confectionary.<sup>21</sup>



Fig. 13. Royal Dramatic Theater (*Kungliga Dramatiska Teatern*), Stockholm. View from the Nybroplan (ca. 1933-40), photographer unknown. Courtesy of the Royal Dramatic Theater Archive (*Dramaten*).

But the *Galerie Moderne* did not survive long in the Risberg constellation. The new owners appear in the minutes [*protokoll*] of 15 May 1934. These are art historian Signe Schultz<sup>22</sup> and second husband Richard Schultz, Alice Enderlein and husband Bertil Enderlein, and Miss Astrid Schultz.<sup>23</sup> Signe Schultz and Alice Enderlein (both née Brovall) were sisters. Exhibitions ran on a 2-week cycle. Counting from its most celebrated exhibition of works by Fernand Léger in September 1934, exhibitions by Jurgen Wrangel, Bo Beskow, Britta Stenström-Rogberg, Finnish sculptor Jussi Mäntynen and a 3-week collective exhibition by Tord and Kjell Leander-Engström together with Frans Michael Kempe followed in

succession. Eric Isenburger's first Stockholm exhibition – the first exhibition at the *Galerie Moderne* by a German-Jewish refugee– then closed the old year and ushered in the new one of 1935.

Risberg, who stayed on in an unclear managerial role into the spring of 1936,<sup>24</sup> and Louis Hahne (Signe Schultz's son from her first marriage who himself later became a gallerist) are the only persons from the circle of the *Galerie Moderne* recorded in Isenburger's *Refugee's Address Book*. Alice Enderlein appears in the *Galerie Moderne's* minutes as of 1937 under her new name as Baroness Alice Lagerbielke with second husband Baron Magnus Lagerbielke. They were married only a few days after Isenburger's second *Galerie Moderne* show opened (19 December 1936 – 7 January 1937). Lotte Laserstein's portraits of Baroness Alice and her sister Signe Schultz are well-known works. Laserstein exhibited at the *Galerie Moderne* in the winter of 1937-1938.

## Swedish Press Coverage

It was specifically the designation as a “German-Jewish refugee” that the 32-year-old Isenburger worked to counter in Stockholm. In his first press interview ever, published under the title “German Painter's Visit” on 28 December 1934, the day before the *Galerie Moderne* show opened, the *Exhibition of German-Jewish Artists' Work*, in which he and 85 other persecuted German-Jewish artists had been represented, is given only as “a German group exhibition”<sup>25</sup> – which, of course, is not wrong, but it is only partially true.<sup>26</sup>

In preparing his own German translations of the Swedish reviews, Isenburger systematically edited things out. The phrase “a German painter who has been forced to transplant himself to Paris” in a review by Gustaf Näsström became “a German painter who lives in Paris”.<sup>27</sup> There is also a revealing collaborative translation of Ragnar Allberg's column “Konst” from the Swedish journal *Scenen: tidskrift för teatern* showing Isenburger's handwritten changes beginning with striking out the original Swedish description of him as “the German (Jewish?) Paris refugee Erich Isenburger” and replacing it with “the Paris-based”.<sup>28</sup> It was in this taking charge of an identity narrative that some of Isenburger's paintings had already been given French titles on their stretchers in pencil. “*Salzburg*” became “*Vue de la ville Salzbourg*”.

Some Swedish reviews must have been unbearable for Isenburger to read. Adolf Hallman, for example, recognizes that Isenburger's work “is almost a kind of graphics. His paintings are produced using glazes atop the wet surfaces of which he draws figures,” but then likens them to “the marbled or veined serving platters and charcuterie counters made by decorators.”<sup>29</sup> A critic signing with the initials “H. W-n” finds “a freer, more rewarding palette [...] in such paintings as ‘A Fishing Harbor in Marseilles’ [number 24, *En fiskarhamn vid Marseille*], the stylized forest landscape ‘Richmond’ [number 28], the suggestive view of ‘Salzburg’ [number 14] and some very subjective but captivating motifs from London,” but concludes nevertheless by suggesting that “Isenburger wants to evoke a profound and mysterious genius, but this body of work is doomed to sterility.”<sup>30</sup> “If one is to characterize the art of the

German-Parisian painter Erich Isenburger,” Gotthard Johansson writes, “[...] one has to resort to foreign words: *mondant morbid*. A few decades ago, one would have said *fin de siècle* [...]”.<sup>31</sup> There was one critical voice, however, that of Gustaf Näsström, that stood out from all the rest. He welcomed the international air of Isenburger’s work and reflected about the exhibition’s future influence on Swedish painting. Isenburger’s “technical bravura is so captivating that one at first forgets to question what might lie behind this peculiar artistic magic. It entails a communication of a subtle and quite challenging nature [...] An art for art's sake, rootless and often bizarre, but with an undeniable sophistication.”<sup>32</sup>

## **The Journey Continues**

Immediately after the Stockholm exhibition closed, the *Galerie Moderne* sold *Salzburg* to its first owner, the prominent physician, art collector and founder of the Rilton Chess Cup Dr. Tore Rilton. Accompanied by a full provenance, the painting now hangs on an exhibition wall for the third time in its history where it bears silent testimony for all of the persecuted artists of the Nazi era who were forced to hide their own works.

- 1 This is the English version of “Versteckte Kunst 1933: Eric Isenburgers Gemälde Salzburg” as published in the exhibition catalog *Die Reise der Bilder: Hitlers Kulturpolitik, Kunsthandel und Einlagerungen in der NS-Zeit im Salzkammergut*, ed. Hemma Schmutz, Elisabeth Nowak-Thaller, 271-280. LENTOS Kunstmuseum Linz/Hermer Verlag GmbH, München, 2024. This essay extends our 2017 biography of Eric (originally “Erich”) and Jula Isenburger and marks the beginning of a closer investigation of their time in Sweden. See: Hahn, Gregory and Karolina Hyży, “Jenseits des unwiederbringlichen Augenblicks: Bemerkungen zur Lebensgeschichte von Eric und Jula Isenburger”/”Beyond the Irretrievable Moment: Background Notes on Eric and Jula Isenburger” in *Von Frankfurt nach New York: Eric und Jula Isenburger*, ed. Susanne Wartenberg, 19-125. Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2017. For their kind research assistance, we wish to express our gratitude to Ann-Helene Littorin (Stockholm), Caroline Duke (Riksarkivet, Stockholm), Christine Sundberg (Kungliga Dramatiska Theatern, Stockholm), Lukas Ekstål (Bolagsverket, Sundsvall), Mahsa Hatam (Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles), Professor Dr. med. Jürgen Mäurer and Team (Radiologie in Berlin-Mitte), Katrin Kokot and Dr. Jörn Hasenlever (German Exile Archive 1933–1945, Frankfurt am Main), Victoria Morino and Susanne Anders (Salzburg Festival Archive), Priv.-Doz.in Mag.a Dr.in Sabine Veits-Falk, Director, and Mag. Dr. Johannes Hofinger (Stadtarchiv Salzburg), Susanne Gordon (Salzburg), Sheila Low-Beer and Waldek Dynerman (USA).
- 2 See: Hahn, Gregory. “Zeuge, Sachverständiger, Freund: Wolfgang Gurlitt und der Exilmaler Eric Isenburger” in *Wolfgang Gurlitt Zauberprinz Kunsthändler – Sammler*, ed. Hemma Schmutz, Elisabeth Nowak-Thaller, 217-228. LENTOS Kunstmuseum Linz/Hermer Verlag GmbH, München, 2019.
- 3 The left stretcher bar has been shifted inwards by approximately one centimeter at some later stage. The overlapping left side of the canvas was then pulled tight and reattached.
- 4 The Isenburger archival portions IAN (Isenburger Archive Neuburg) and IAO (Isenburger Archive Ossining) have been merged in the Isenburger Collection maintained in the German Exile Archive 1933-1945 at the German National Library in Frankfurt am Main. The Neuburg catalog numbers are maintained here as “IAN” followed by a filing designation. Berlin [Galerie Gurlitt] (no. 1-2) IAN Ph (I) 1932 [*sic* 1933]; Salzburg (no. 1-2) IAN Ph. (I) 1931 (1931/1932); Frances Cowles IAN Ph (I) 1932/4.
- 5 “Refugee’s Address Book” is our internal designation for the earliest and most important primary source in the entire Isenburger Collection – ten pages of chronologically recorded addresses and telephone numbers stretching from Berlin in 1933 to New York in the early 1940s as entered into the following tattered volume: *Philologen-Jahrbuch (Kunzes Kalender) für das höhere Schulwesen Preussens*, Hg. OStR Dr. Simon, Jg. XXXVIII, Schuljahr 1931-32, erster Teil. Breslau: Verlag des Philologen-Jahrbuches (Trewendt & Granier Verlag), 1931. Isenburger Collection, IAN K 1931-0. As Isenburger notes on the volume’s title page, it was first used as a notebook in 1932. It also contains a record of costs for rent, electricity and repairs at Paulsbornerstrasse 77 in Berlin from July 1932 to 12 June 1933 and a handwritten list of 29 paintings labeled in pencil “1932-35 Stockholm, Sweden”.
- 6 For a detailed treatment of the events in Berlin, see: Hahn and Hyży 2017, 63-70.
- 7 Eric Isenburger, *Audio interview by John M. Spalek*. 3 June 1986. Cassette 155. The John M. Spalek Collection. M. E. Grenander Department of Special Collections & Archives at the State University of New York, Albany. Schreiber was a leading figure in the National Socialist German Student Union in Berlin [*NSDStB, Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund*] and contributor to the Nazi press. He is profiled in a list of “Nazi Criminals and Beneficiaries in Art” [*Nazi-verbrecher und Nutznießer in der Kunst*] compiled by the Allies. See: R 9361/V – 137289, Sammlung Berlin Document Center (BDC): Personenbezogene Unterlagen der Reichskulturkammer (RKK), Bundesarchiv Berlin. Efforts to wash him clean posthumously were still underway as recently as May 2019 during the colloquium “*Unbewältigt? Ästhetische Moderne und Nationalsozialismus. Kunst, Kunsthandel, Ausstellungspraxis*” (Berlin, 16-18 May 2019).
- 8 Typescript datable to 1939-1941. Isenburger Collection, IAN P “*Pässe, Papiere, Reiseunterlagen, usw.*” The typescript refers to Herbert and Anne (née Landsman) Isenburger’s visit to Europe during the summer of 1932. Herbert had become a U. S. citizen in May of that year. The typescript is not free of errors and hyperbole and may have been intended to assist Eric’s and Jula’s emigration to the U. S. A. from France.
- 9 Unnotarized statement by Wolfgang Gurlitt, Munich, 5 March 1969 [D9-D10]. *Entschädigungsamt* Berlin. The statement was initially submitted by Gurlitt to Isenburger’s attorney Robert Schlesinger. It is one of two attachments to Schlesinger’s letter to the *Entschädigungsamt* Berlin of 6 April 1962 [D6]. LABO Berlin, Entschädigungs-Akte Reg.-Nr. 262136. Original quotation in German.
- 10 *La jeune femme au divan* was shown at the 11th Salon des Tuileries (20 May – 9 July 1933). *Portrait de femme* and *Portrait Jula* were presented at the Salon d’Automne (1 November – 10 December 1933).
- 11 The paintings exhibited in London were *Lady Sitting*, *Composition* and *Lady Standing*. For more about this exhibition, see fn. 26.

- 12 Eric Isenburger, *Audio Interview by John M. Spalek*.
- 13 Although photographs of Jula are not listed in the exhibition catalog (*Les Archives internationales de la Danse, Paris, 1933*), a single photograph of her does appear in a short Stockholm newspaper article published in March 1934 devoted to Riwkin as the sole Swedish participant in that exhibition. "Dans och Rörelse." *Svenska Dagbladet*, 11 March 1934, 9.
- 14 Corporate charter (*Bolagsordning*) entered into the registry on 9 July 1928. Corporate records for company number 26968. All corporate records cited below are in the holdings of the Swedish National Archives [*Riksarkivet*], Stockholm. All passages from Swedish sources have been translated by the authors.
- 15 Not only paintings travel. Archives do as well. The archives of the *Svensk-franska konstgalleriet* are today at the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles.
- 16 Minutes (*Protokoll*) 25 August 1928. Entered into the registry on 7 September 1928. Corporate records for company number 26968.
- 17 K. A. "En ny modern konstsalong." *Svenska Dagbladet*, 23 September 1928, 16.
- 18 Lease (*Hyreskontrakt*) 10 July 1930. Royal Dramatic Theater [*Kungliga Dramatiska Teatern*] archives, Stockholm.
- 19 "Nord och söder i en Svanesång: Stig Hertzma-Ericsons utställning, den sista i Galleri Modern vid Sturegatan." *Aftonbladet*, 12 September 1930, 8; Z. "Konstvernissage i själve Dramaten. Galleri Modern har flyttat, Jurgen Wrangel förste utställare." *Aftonbladet*, 24 September 1930, 3.
- 20 Obituary. *Svenska Dagbladet*, 11 August 1998, 19.
- 21 Corporate charter (*Bolagsordning*) entered into the registry on 12 October 1932, Corporate records for company number 31500. Exterior photographs by Gustaf Wernersson Cronquist at the *Stockholm Exhibition 1930* show that the name „Galerie Moderne” was already in use prior to its founding as an AB. See: [digitaltmuseum.se/011014982401/galerie-moderne-stockholmsutstallningen-1930](https://digitaltmuseum.se/011014982401/galerie-moderne-stockholmsutstallningen-1930), accessed on 9 January 2024.
- 22 Obituary. *Dagens Nyheter*, 13 October 1960, 23.
- 23 Minutes (*Protokoll*) 15 May 1934. Entered into the registry on 13 July 1934. Corporate records for company number 31500. The commercial inactivity for the first quarter of 1934 is noted in the auditor's report in §5.
- 24 See: Galerie Moderne, Stockholm, Korrespondens med Göteborgs konstförening, 1933-1936. H 186:82. University of Gothenburg Library [*Göteborgs Universitetsbibliotek*].
- 25 "Tysk Målarvisit". *Svenska Dagbladet*, 28 December 1934, 9.
- 26 Indeed, it is this precarious London exhibition held in the Oxford Street showrooms of a commercial paint manufacturer (5-20 June 1934) and not the exhibition entitled *Twentieth Century German Art* at the New Burlington Galleries in London in 1938 that is rightful claimant to the distinction of having been the first presentation of modern German art in Great Britain. See: Hyży, Karolina. 2020. "The Exhibition of German-Jewish Artists' Work at Parsons' Galleries London (1934): The Lost Exhibition." Master's thesis. University of Buckingham. The exhibition, curated by Wiesbaden refugee gallerist Carl Braunschweig and art historian Franz Landsberger, presented works by artists who were at the time in Berlin, elsewhere in Germany, the United Kingdom, Paris, Amsterdam, Luxemburg, Switzerland, Spain and Palestine.
- 27 Gustaf Näsström. "Tysk artist i Galerie Moderne". *Stockholms Tidningen*, 2 January 1935. The source is a clipping in the Isenburger Collection, IAN ZR (I), 1935/1-3. The original Swedish text reads: "en tysk målare, som tvingats omplantera sig i Paris". Isenburger's translation is: "ein deutscher Maler, der in Paris lebt".
- 28 Ragnar Allberg. "Konst: Laurin – Isenburger – Hjortzberg – Emond – Nordberg – Konstronden fortsätter". *Scenen: tidskrift för teatern*, 1935, Nr. 3, 30. The typescript with hand corrections is in the Isenburger Collection, IAN ZR (I) 1935/5. The original Swedish text reads: "den tyske (judiske)? Paris-flyktingen Erich Isenburger". In Isenburger's German version this became: "der in Paris ansässige".
- 29 Adolf Hallman. "Erich Isenburger i Galerie Moderne." *Aftonbladet*, 3 January 1935, 4.
- 30 H. W-n. "Erich Isenburger i Galerie Moderne." Unidentified clipping. Isenburger Collection, IAN ZR (I) "undatiert". Not indexed in the *Svenska dagstidningar* database of the Swedish National Library [*Kungliga Biblioteket*] in Stockholm. The London paintings (all from 1934) are "Richmond" [number 28] "London Bridge" [number 30], "Church in London" [*Kyrka i London*, number 31] and perhaps *I grönt* ["In the Green", number 27]. Their whereabouts are unknown.
- 31 G. J-n. [Gotthard Johansson]. "Erich Isenburger." *Svenska Dagbladet*, 5 January 1935, 10.
- 32 Näsström.