

Adolf Paul – Farmer, Musician, Author and Dramatist in Between Identities



The author Adolf Paul (1863–1943) moved with ease among the musicians, authors and artists of his day. He corresponded with leading writers in the Nordic countries such as Gustaf Fröding (1860–1911), Knut Hamsun (1859–1952) and August Strindberg (1849–1912), and was a friend of the painters Edvard Munch (1863–1944), Olaf Gulbransson (1873–1958) and Akseli Gallen-Kallela (1865–1931). Paul also achieved some acclaim as a playwright, theatre critic and author in Germany.

It is characteristic of Adolf Paul to be remembered in the Nordic countries specifically because of his friends who rose to fame. When writing of his famous friends, Paul presumably fulfilled the same social need that is served by contemporary media when producing news about the private lives of celebrities, including unembellished details. After the present article, we still need research about Adolf Paul's literary output.¹ We would need the help of researchers of literature and the history of theatre to see the present significance of his works.

¹ Akseli Gallen-Kallela, *Adolf Paul*, 1897, ink on paper, private collection. Photo: Akseli Gallen-Kallela Drawings Collection / The Gallen-Kallela Museum.

Since Adolf Paul obviously does not belong to any national history of literature, he has been studied and evaluated incompletely. It has been said that his destiny to become a forgotten author was a consequence of his cosmopolitan nature, but could it also have been due to issues of ideology and identity and the acceptable treatment of identities at the time? It is also suggested that the reasons why Paul's own artistic output and his role as a cultural actor were forgotten may lie in the themes that he addressed, the ideal of purity in genres of art, the myth of individual creativity, and Paul's later pro-Nazi sympathies.²

My question here is what information can be gained from studying the life and work of Adolf Paul to shed more light on the cultural connections of the 1890s between Berlin and artists in Scandinavia, including Finland. The aim is to place my art-historical inquiries in connection with research in other disciplines and to explore how material related to Adolf Paul clarifies our understanding of art in the 1890s and symbolism in particular.

The life of Adolf Paul

Adolf Georg Wiedersheim-Paul was born in Bromö in Västergötland, Sweden.³ His father Alfred Fredrik Wiede[r]sheim-Paul (1828–1892) was an affluent businessman, who had been a bookkeeper at the Lesjöfors ironworks and the general manager of a glassworks. He sold his share in the works in 1868. Adolf Paul's mother was Hedvig Charlotta Cecilia Blix (?–1900). Together with a Swedish partner and two financial backers, Alfred Fredrik Wiedesheim-Paul subscribed to shares in the Jokioinen Estate company (Jockis gods aktiebolag) in Finland and rented Talsola Manor near Forssa, South-West Finland. In this connection, he changed the spelling of his surname from Wiedesheim-

Paul to Wiedersheim-Paul. Adolf Georg was the second of the family's ten children. He moved to rural Finland with his parents in 1872 at the age of 9 and attended the Turku classical lyceum from 1876 to 1880.⁴ Adolf Paul studied at the Mustiala School of Agriculture from 1880 to 1882, graduating as an agronomist, after which he was a farmer for several years in Ruissalo near Turku, Finland. He first helped his father at Talsola, but then rented Runsala Manor near Turku.⁵

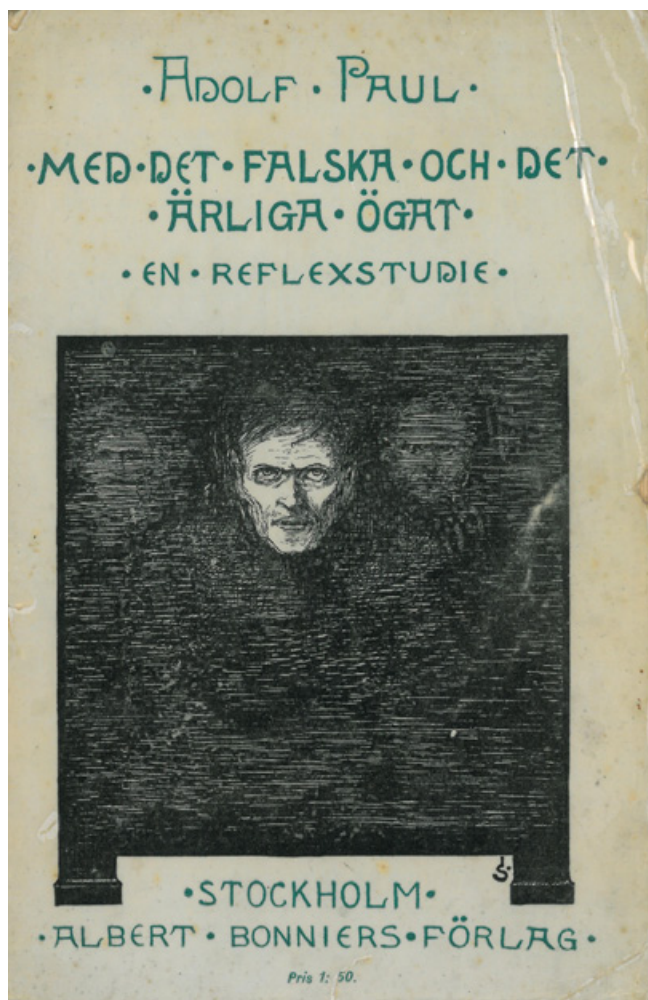
According to Paul himself, he enthusiastically immersed himself in the arts after an encounter with the Finnish artist Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905). He met Edelfelt and his wife Ellan de la Chapelle (1857–1921) at Matku railway station. They were on their way to Ellan's childhood home, and Paul gave them a ride in his horse-drawn carriage, because the available rented carriage was not quite suitable for the couple. He was thrilled by Edelfelt's stories about the art world of Paris.⁶ Paul's father had tried to dampen his son's interest in music and literature, but Paul now plucked up enough courage to travel to Helsinki and enrol at the Helsinki Music Institute in 1886.

Paul studied piano from 1886 to 1889 at the Helsinki Music Institute under several teachers. He became friends with the future composer Jean Sibelius (1865–1957) and Armas Järnefelt (1869–1958), the later composer who was also a conductor of the Royal Swedish Opera and the orchestra of the royal family of Sweden.⁷ The promising young virtuoso pianist and composer Ferruccio Busoni (1866–1924) taught piano in Helsinki from September 1888 until 1890. Busoni was a couple of years younger than Paul. He had come to Finland upon the request of Martin Wegelius (1846–1906), the founder of the Helsinki Music Institute (1882–1924), later Helsinki Conservatory (1924–1939), thereafter Sibelius Academy (1939–). While working in Finland, Busoni became friends with the young

composer Jean Sibelius, whose music he also promoted in Central Europe. Busoni taught Armas Järnefelt, and also Mary Slöör (1868–1947), the later wife of Akseli Gallen-Kallela. In Helsinki, he met his future spouse Gerda Sjöstrand (1862–1956), the daughter of sculptor Carl Eneas Sjöstrand (1828–1906).

In 1890 Busoni won the first Anton Rubinstein music competition in St. Petersburg, and went on to hold master classes in Weimar and to teach in Moscow in 1890. From 1891 to 1894, he taught in the United States, where he also gave concert tours. In 1894 Busoni settled in Berlin, which he left only during the First World War. Busoni is given a role in Adolf Paul's book *Med det falska och det ärliga ögat* (With the Deceitful and the Honest Eye, 1895), which was dedicated to him. There is also correspondence between Busoni and Paul,⁸ which requires further study.

Adolf Paul followed his Italian piano teacher Busoni to Weimar in 1889,⁹ where Busoni held master classes during the summer. Busoni returned to Finland for the autumn term, while Paul remained in Germany. Paul then moved to Berlin where he studied under Karl Klindworth (1830–1916) in 1889–1890. Sibelius and Paul studied music in Berlin from the autumn of 1889 until the spring of 1890, after which Sibelius spent a summer in Loviisa in South Finland. Sibelius then travelled in the autumn of 1890 to Vienna, from where he engaged in correspondence with Adolf Paul, who had moved to Berlin.¹⁰ Paul is known to have given his last concert in Turku with Jean Sibelius, *Quintet in G minor* 11.10.1890, playing the piano part.¹¹ In the early 1890s he began to focus with greater determination on writing. Adolf Paul married Natalie Bremer (1879–1960) from Lübeck, Germany in 1897, and they had five children, one of whom became a writer and three became painters. He lived in Berlin and died there during the Second World War in 1943.



2 The cover of Adolf Paul's novel *Med det falska och det ärliga ögat*. The Gallen-Kallela Museum. Photo: GKM.

The present article focuses on the years before Adolf Paul married, as my starting point for investigating him involves defining Axel Gallén's relationship with symbolism. Matters outside the present time frame will also be mentioned where I feel the context to be of interest and requiring further study. There has recently been interest in the connections between symbolism and nationalism and Paul's links with these themes are worth considering. Adolf Paul's own multinational identity, his observations on nationality (see below) and his favourable attitude towards the Nazis are important factors in this context.

Musical circles

Owing to his own studies in music, Adolf Paul was personally acquainted with the young Finnish musicians and composers of the period, and he wanted to participate in musical life. He is said to have jealously guarded his monopoly of promoting Sibelius, and in fact he helped Sibelius on many occasions, translated into Swedish the German-language songs of Sibelius's op. 50,¹² and influenced Busoni's publications of sheet music.¹³ He also appears to have been actively involved in organizing Robert Kajanus's (1856–1933) orchestra tour abroad in 1900.¹⁴ Adolf Paul has thus far been noted best in musicological studies.¹⁵

Sibelius dedicated to Paul the piano suite *Florestan* (1889),¹⁶ with reference to his and Paul's shared interest in E. T. A. Hofmann. (*Kreisleriana*). Ferruccio Busoni had performed Schumann's work of the same name in Helsinki in December in the previous year.¹⁷

Ferruccio Busoni dedicated the different parts of his composition *Geharnischte Suite* op. 34A (1895/1903) to the members of the so-called Leskovite circle consisting of Sibelius, Adolf Paul, Armas Järnefelt, and the artist Eero Järnefelt (brother of Armas Järnefelt). This situation brings to mind Akseli Gallen-Kallela's painting *The Problem* (later renamed *Symposium*), which also has a circle of three composers and a painter.¹⁸ The group of young artists called themselves the Leskovites with reference to Busoni's dog Lesko, a Newfoundland shepherd. They would meet in Busoni's home, in the cafés of Helsinki and the Restaurant Kämp. Their get-togethers included a great deal of music and improvisation.¹⁹ Adolf Paul often mentioned Armas Järnefelt in his letters,²⁰ especially when Järnefelt was in Berlin. Armas Järnefelt had begun to study the piano in Helsinki in 1887 as the pupil of Carl Schuler (1851–?) and under the direction of Martin Wegelius. I have not yet come across their correspondence, but Adolf Paul wrote several letters to Armas's brother Eero in the 1920s. There is no information on earlier correspondence.

Adolf Paul and Sibelius remained friends and corresponded throughout their lives, as is clearly shown, for example, in Sibelius's diaries.²¹ Adolf Paul's and Jean Sibelius's correspondence concerned practical matters in concrete terms. The correspondence began when Paul moved to Weimar in 1889.²² They discussed the conditions for performing Sibelius's works in Berlin (String Quartet in B Major for a small invited audience), a planned but unrealized performance of *Kullervo* in Berlin,²³ the choice of musicians and individual performances,²⁴ the issue of artists' commitment to expressing nationality or lack thereof,²⁵ music as colours, and the philosophy of Schopenhauer²⁶.



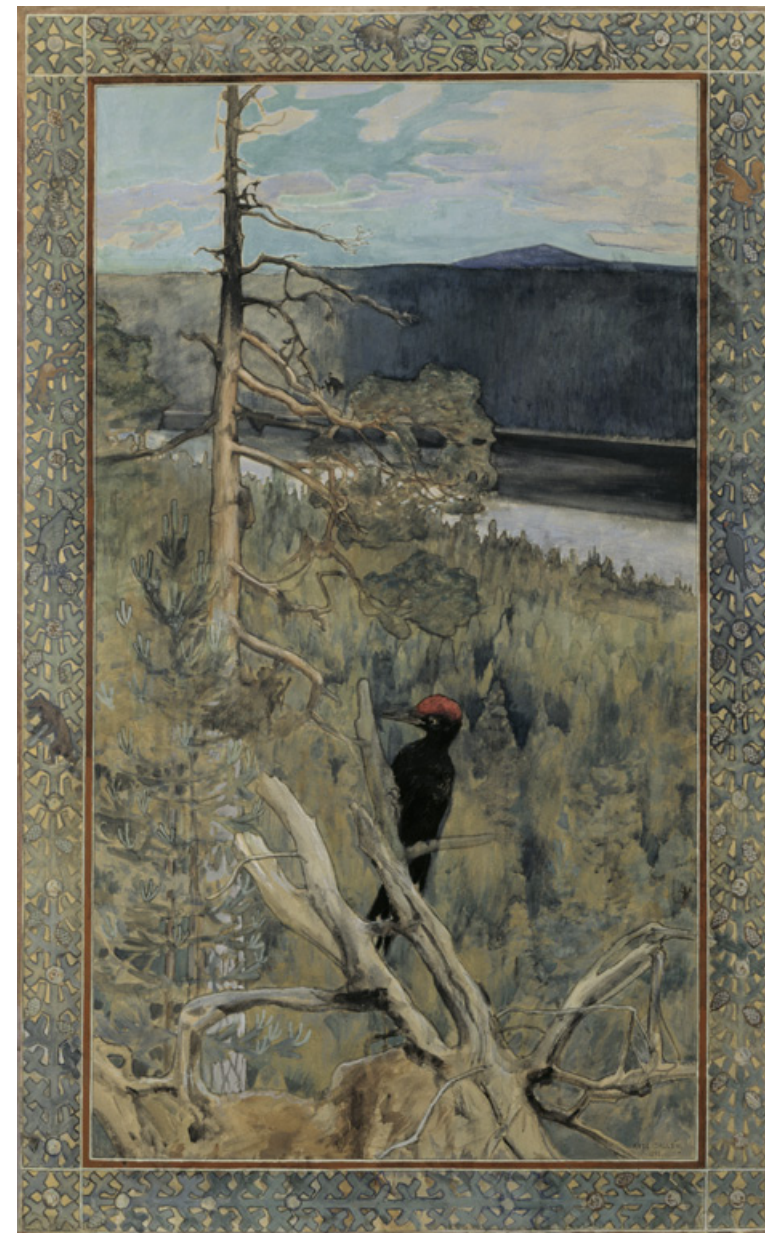
3 Akseli Gallen-Kallela, *Ex libris Tali et Adolf Paul*, 1897, etching, 10x5.5, The Gallen-Kallela Museum. Photo: Jukka Paavola / GKM.

Adolf Paul as an author

Adolf Paul and his friends are a source of fascinating and highly colourful stories that are difficult to verify in retrospect or even prove to be close to the truth. Despite the possible lack of hard facts, they have their appeal. The whole story of Paul's life still remains unwritten.²⁷ In several books, Adolf Paul used his friends and acquaintances as inspiration for his characters, and these patterns can easily be recognized. Although fiction cannot be read as fact, getting to know Adolf Paul's works can at least shed light on the artist's own comprehension of symbolism or concepts of art.

Adolf Paul had his first novel *En bok om en människa* (1891) published in Denmark by the Danish critic Herman Bang (1857–1912), who translated it into Danish and published it in serialized form in *Berlingske Tidende* in 1891. It was published in Sweden in the same year by the Bonnier company. The book introduces the young composer Sillén, easily recognized as Jean Sibelius, to whom the work was also dedicated. Paul's second book *The Ripper* was censored in Finland in 1892 due to its startling description of sexuality, especially in the short story "Oedipus i Norden" [Oedipus of the North] describing a mother-son incest story in Scandinavia. The chapter "Vanitas" is about a homosexual liaison between a schoolboy and a priest in Weimar. The title story is about Jack the Ripper's fictional

4 Akseli Gallen-Kallela, *The Great Black Woodpecker*, 1892-1893, gouache on paper, 144x89, Ateneum Art Museum. Photo: KKA/Pirje Mykkänen. - tilattu



diary. Paul's next novel, *Herr Ludvigs* (1893), was based on the life and business of his father who had died the previous year, and seems to have made Paul *persona non grata* in South-West Finland. *Med det falska och det ärliga ögat: en bok om en människa II* (1895) is a continuation of the debut novel describing the gap between impulse and analytical intellect. The characters of the book have features of members of the *Zum schwarzen Ferkel* circle of Berlin, such as Stanisław Przybyszewski, Dagny Juel and Edvard Munch.²⁸ Just as in reading Strindberg, the characters and events in Paul's writing must not be regarded as direct accounts of his close circle. The words of one are put in the mouth of someone else and the order of events is changed. The third part of the trilogy *Ung-Hans kärleksbrev*, about a tortured young artist falling in love²⁹, came out in 1897 and finally offered something positive to read. Later yet, the novel *Die Madonna mit dem Rosenbusch / Madonnan med rosenbusken* (1903/1904) caused a scandal when depicting the carpenter Klaus unknowingly fathering a baby with his own mother, and later having another baby with this daughter of his. The starting point had been an old legend from Lübeck but nevertheless Paul was attacked in a pamphlet by a group of priests, whom he countered claiming that they could not know about the immorality of the book unless they had carefully read it themselves.

In addition to his 14 novels, Adolf Paul published six collections of short stories, which he often called fairy-tales for adults, obviously referring to the realm of fantasy and dreams as his source of inspiration. It has been known for a long while that Axel Gallén's painting *Conceptio artis* was created in concert with Paul's short story "A Dream", which he published in *Ein Gefallener Prophet / En saga från ödemarken*. I have previously studied the stages of this collaboration in detail with reference to correspondence. The same collection contains a short story with the title

"En saga från Ödemarken" (A Tale from the Wilderness) that can be linked to Akseli Gallen-Kallela's painting *The Great Black Woodpecker*, originally entitled *Ödemark* (Wilderness). His other short stories and their possible connection with paintings by either Gallen-Kallela or other artists still require further research.³⁰

Adolf Paul may have enjoyed his greatest success as a playwright. He wrote at least 23 plays, which to my knowledge have not been studied. *Alte Sünden / Gamla synder* was performed in the Swedish Theatre of Helsinki in 1893, but received negative criticism because of the previously censored collection of short stories by the same author. His play *Kung Kristian den II* (1897) was performed in Helsinki in 1898, and also in Germany and Austria. In Germany it was staged in Hamburg, Dresden and Munich, and in Vienna at the Burgtheater and the Hofburg-Theater. It is still remembered because of the music composed by Jean Sibelius.³¹ His fantasy tales were well received, for example *Die sprache der Vögel* (1912), which is based on an Oriental legend and was performed in the Hofburg-Theater in Vienna. This play also contains a wedding march composed by Sibelius. Stuckenschmidt notes that Paul's plays "Hille Bobbe" and "Der Triumph der Pompadour" were a great success in Germany.³²

Zum schwarzen Ferkel and its circle

In Berlin, Scandinavian bohemians along with some local kindred spirits established themselves in the former "G. Türkes Weinhandlung und Probierstube" at the corner of Unter den Linden and Neue Wilhelmstrasse. Several articles and studies have been written about the circle associated with the tavern known as *Zum schwarzen Ferkel*.³³ It had been a meeting place for E.T.A. Hoffmann (1776–

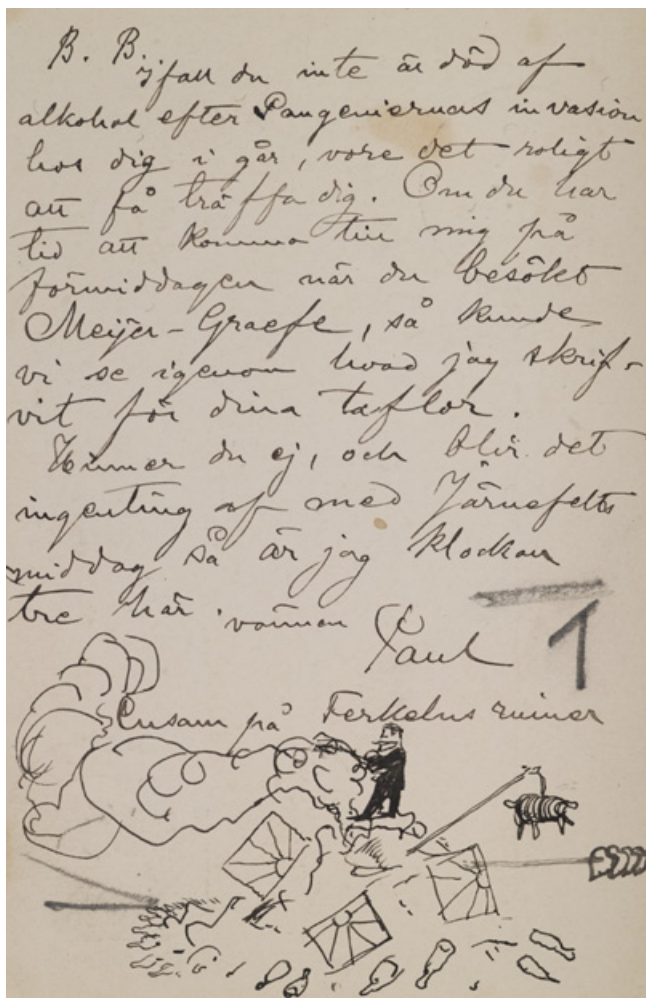
1822), Robert Schumann (1810–1856) and Heinrich Heine (1797–1856) in their own time. The building no longer exists. Paul tells about the origins of the circle:

The Black Piglet was found by accident when walking by a little tavern at the corner of Neue Wilhelmstrasse and Unter den Linden. Three stuffed black wineskins dangled from rusty iron chains over its door. That caught Strindberg's eye. He went in, and as the host was the happy owner of at least nine hundred different sorts of Schnapps, beginning with Swedish punsch and ending in Japanese rice wine, there were no difficulties at all to find a suitable *fluidum* for all possible sentiments.

One could eat and drink there for a reasonable price, in two little rooms to the left and right of the buffet room. There were oysters and lobsters in storage. The keeper was born to host wandering journeyman poets, he accepted without question the new title "Zum schwarzen Ferkel" that Strindberg gave his business, and had a young, beautiful, slender, blonde and lovely wife.

All around, on every wall, piled from the floor up to the ceiling, on the countless shelves there were bottles of the most fantastic shapes and colours. Even the windows were packed so full that we literally saw the sun rise through spirits! Strindberg carried his guitar there the very first evening, satisfied and content with finally having found a corner in Berlin where he could get along well. That is, we had a permanent base, where the general public could not find its way, and in addition to that was absolutely free of music, unless when we ourselves seized the moment.³⁴

Paul finally ended up in discord with almost everyone in the Ferkel circle. This kind of disharmony was common in the circle, where its so-called members would fall out and later return for their own personal reasons, the details of



5 A postcard from Adolf Paul to Axel Gallén 31.1.1895.
The Gallen-Kallela Museum. Photo: Jukka Paavola / GKM.

which are not discussed here. Briefly put, the reasons were mostly ordinary, concerning matters such as money, women and competition over merits and the attention of the public. Even if incoherent, the Ferkel circle left a mark on its members – and led to Pan, one of the most progressive art journals of the period. Of the members of the Ferkel circle, only the writer Holger Drachmann (1846–1908) seems to have remained Adolf Paul’s life-long friend.

Zum Schwarzen Ferkel leads easily to a seemingly endless network of gossip and mutual references. Besides the circle in the tavern, Paul kept in contact with many other fascinating figures, and a survey of them can lead to new material such as correspondence or artworks. Persons outside the Ferkel circle with whom Paul corresponded included, for example, the manufacturer John Da[h]lberg (1856–1936) from Turku (Paul’s patron), the Swedish author Gustaf Fröding, the Norwegian author Knut Hamsun, and the Norwegian artist Olaf Gulbransson.

Writers, authors, critics associated with the Ferkel circle

Ola Hansson

The Swedish writer Ola Hansson and his Baltic-German writer spouse Laura Mohr (pseudonym Marholm) did not exactly belong to the Ferkel circle, for the Ferkel became a base for writers, artists and intellectuals that followed August Strindberg there after he fell out with the Hanssons. The couple moved to Berlin in 1891. Before this, Hansson had written about materialism in fiction in a piece entitled *Materialismen i skönlitteraturen* (1891). Their home near Berlin, at Friedrichshagen by the Müggelsee, became an important meeting place, where also August Strindberg stayed for a while. Other writer friends were Gerhart

Hauptmann (1862–1946), Richard Dehmel (1863–1920), Max Dauthendey (1867–1918) and Bruno Wille (1860–1928).³⁵

A collection of Hansson’s writings on literary criticism was published in 1893 with the title *Tolkare och siare*.³⁶ It includes essays on Arnold Böcklin (1827–1901), Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849), the Russian author Vsevolod Garschin (1855–1888), Max Stirner (1806–1856), Paul Bourget (1852–1935), and the essay “Rembrandt als Erzieher” referred not only to Julius Langbehn’s (1851–1907) book of the same title but also to Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900). Hansson had known Nietzsche at least since 1888, and played an important role in promoting the German philosopher in literary circles in Berlin. Ola Hansson’s essay on Nietzsche (“Nietzsche, seine Persönlichkeit und sein System”) was an important mediator of Nietzschean thought also to Nordic artists. It was first published in German in 1889, and in 1890 in Danish-Norwegian translation. In 1889, Georg Brandes (1842–1927) had written his essay on Nietzsche, “Om aristokratisk radikalisme”, in Danish. Stanislaw Przybyszewski’s (1868–1927) book *Zur Psychologie des Individuums*, bd II: Ola Hansson (Berlin 1892) was about Hansson. The latter had considerable influence in shaping Przybyszewski’s thought.³⁷ Hansson was also familiar with Karl August Tavaststjerna (1860–1898), a Swedish-speaking writer and poet from Finland.

K. A. Tavaststjerna’s letters to Hansson began in 1887, when he was living in Copenhagen. In 1890 Tavaststjerna wrote to Hansson about his own works *Barndomsvänner* (1886, Childhood Friends), *Marin och Genre* (1890) and *Nya vers* (1885, New Verse).³⁸ In *Korta brev från en lång bröllopsresa* (1893, Brief Letters from a Long Honeymoon) Tavaststjerna expressed, in fiction, the moods of his honeymoon and perspectives on contemporary Europe. Tavaststjerna was a friend of Adolf Paul, and he established his

reputation with realistic prose, but can also be connected with decadent literature.³⁹ Axel Gallén and Tavaststjerna began their correspondence in 1887, and they lived in the same neighbourhood in 1890. To my knowledge, there is only one, undated, letter from Paul to Tavaststjerna. It remains to be seen if any letters from Tavaststjerna to Paul exist.

Stanisław Przybyszewski

Adolf Paul came to know Stanisław Przybyszewski, the leading figure of the Ferkel circle apparently through the Friedrichshagen literary circle before Przybyszewski's first noteworthy published work and before August Strindberg came to Berlin. They became central figures of this circle.

The Polish-born Przybyszewski had begun to study architecture in 1889 before going on to medicine. From 1889 until 1893, he studied neurology, the functions of the brain and the nervous system and cognition under Ernst Haeckel (1834–1919), a debated figure at the time. He gained first-hand knowledge of Haeckel's monism and views on neurology. Przybyszewski, who wrote in both German and Polish, became interested in Nietzsche, and also in Satanism.⁴⁰

Paul recalls:

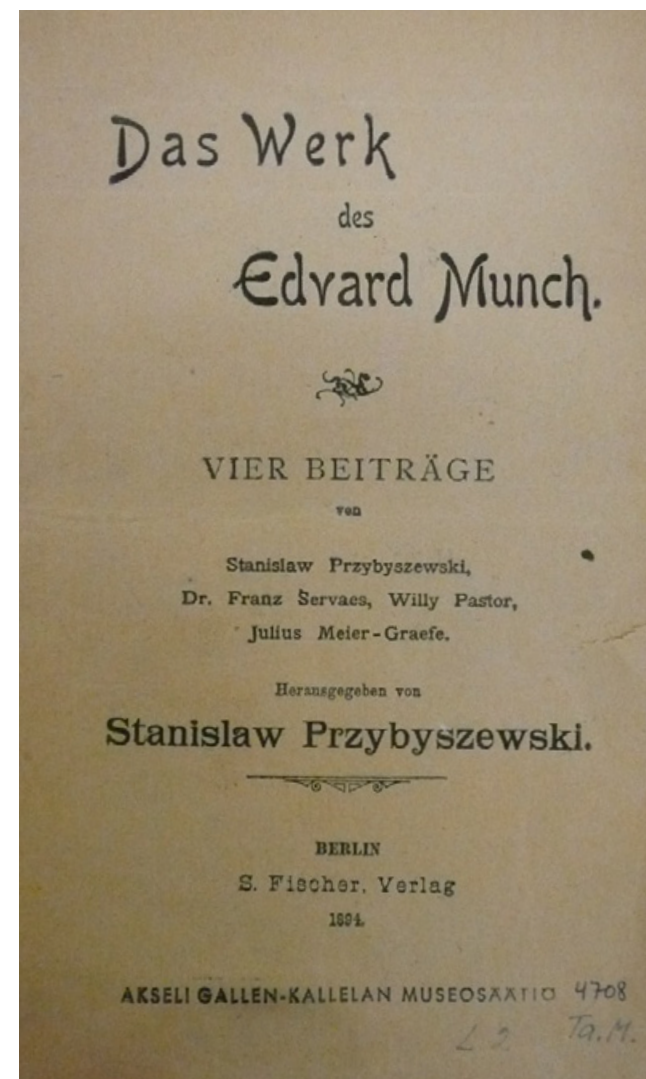
Przybyszewski was a medical student, and he was also involved in politics in between lessons, and was ever full of the most chaotic poetic visions. Still under the influence of Nietzsche – intoxicated by Chopin – surrounded by the secretive martyr glory of a political refugee – all the time in love, but so that love was more an affair of the brain than the heart – more a business of consciousness than of unconscious instincts, he could not fall victim to Strindberg from their very first meeting.⁴¹

Przybyszewski regarded man in dualistic terms, dividing spiritual life into the realms of mind and soul respectively. According to Przybyszewski, old-fashioned naturalistic art

followed the orders of the mind, whereas the new art chose to get to know the soul. The limited human mind cannot fully understand the transcendent soul, but on certain special occasions a human individual can reveal the mysterious secrets of the “naked soul”. The task of the artist is to describe the psychological states that are beyond the control of consciousness. According to Przybyszewski, art should not serve any social or moral purpose, but should instead seek to describe the life of a soul regardless of whether its described states are good, bad, ugly or beautiful. As an author, Przybyszewski was drawn to pathological individuals and characters. Human sexuality was another area where the “naked soul” could be found. Here we can find similarity with the thinking of Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860), Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910) and August Strindberg.⁴²

Przybyszewski's first texts seeking a new conception of art in his book *Zur Psychologie des Individuums* (1892) were on the relationship between Nietzsche and Chopin, and Ola Hansson's short erotic novellas. Przybyszewski then sought to promote the revolution of the new conception of art, calling it “psychological naturalism.”⁴³ He presented a manifesto of his new conception of art in 1894 in an article on the work of Edvard Munch and a collection of essays on Munch published in the same year.⁴⁴

Other works by Przybyszewski that are of interest for studying Berlin symbolism of the late 1890s are *Zur Psychologie des Individuums* (1892), *Totenmesse* (1893), the essay collection *Das Werk des Edvard Munch* (1894), the short story *De Profundis / Pro domo mea* (1895), the poetry collection *Vigilien* (1895), the novel *Homo Sapiens* (1895–1896) on human sexuality consisting of three texts (*Über Bord, Unterwegs, Im Malstrom*), *Die Synagoge des Satan* (1897), and the essay collection *Auf den Wegen der Seele* (1897). The latter was widely noted around Europe. George C. Schoolfield has described the content of these works in a



6 Stanisław Przybyszewski. *Das Werk des Edvard Munch* / GKM

highly analytical and perceptive way, placing Przybyszewski within the framework of European decadence literature.⁴⁵

Przybyszewski later published a book of memoirs referring to the literary circles of Berlin. In this book, written after the falling-out between Paul and Przybyszewski, the latter describes (perhaps unfairly) Paul as a humble cringer, *famulus* and house-slave of Strindberg:

Adolf Paul volunteered to be a footman for Strindberg – when apparently acting for the benefit of Strindberg he in fact served his own interests trying desperately to struggle for some kind of position in German literature.⁴⁶

There is correspondence between Przybyszewski and Paul. It seems that at least some letters from Przybyszewski have been published in German.⁴⁷ Whether the letters from Paul to Przybyszewski still exist is for the time being unknown to me. The character Popoffsky in Strindberg's *Inferno* took Przybyszewski as its model.

August Strindberg

August Strindberg was the literary celebrity of his day and Adolf Paul knew his work and reputation before knowing the author personally. It appears that Paul once sent Strindberg a letter praising the latter's writings as a paragon for his own work.⁴⁸ He also mentioned that he had seen Strindberg once in Stockholm before Strindberg had come to Berlin.⁴⁹ Strindberg's published correspondence contains letters to and from Paul from 1892 onwards, but not from any earlier date.

The Swedish writer moved to Berlin in September/October 1892. He had been invited there several times by the writers Ola Hansson and Laura Marholm (born in Riga of a Danish family) and Adolf Paul. Both Paul and Przybyszewski have described Strindberg's arrival in Berlin and

his first evening at the Hanssons in Friedrichshagen, where the surgeon and gynaecologist Max Asch (1855–1911) was also present.⁵⁰ After his arrival, Strindberg suggested that he and Paul open a photographic studio. After a while, Strindberg moved to the same boarding house (at no. 2 Neue Wilhelmstrasse) near Unter den Linden, where Paul was already staying.

Already in December, the writer escaped from the rich music student Sigrid Lund, whom he had probably seduced and who had paid for his upkeep, going to Weimar with Paul and on the latter's advice. To his misfortune, the Finnish writer K. A. Tavaststjerna was on his honeymoon in Weimar with his newly wedded Swedish wife Gabriella (née Kindstrand, 1868–1946), who went on to have some kind of an affair with Strindberg.⁵¹ Strindberg's affairs are a distinct and complex part of his stay in Berlin and they no doubt have connections with his works, but they are of little interest for investigating the role and activities of Adolf Paul. Strindberg's writings set in Berlin or associated in some way with the city include *Inferno* (1897/1898), *Legender* (1898), *Till Damaskus* (1898–), *Antibarbarus* (1894, published in Swedish in 1906) and *Klostret* (1898).

Paul published a book about his friendship and correspondence with Strindberg a few years after the latter's death (*Strindberg-minnen och brev* in 1915, and a later, enlarged edition *Min Strindbergsbok: Strindbergsminnen och brev* in 1930). Although subjective in nature, Paul's book has provided material for psychological Strindberg studies and permitted diagnoses of Strindberg. In the years 1894–1896, Strindberg experienced his so-called inferno crisis (from August 1894 to the end of 1896), i.e. a series of psychoses. During this time in Paris, he engaged in chemical experiments and alchemy, and was in correspondence with alchemists, occultists and theosophists, aiming at a more



7 The cover of Adolf Paul's *Strindbergs-minnen och brev* / *Min Strindbergsbok*. The Gallen-Kallela Museum. Photo: GKM.

religious orientation and becoming increasingly influenced by the Swedish mystic Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), who was admired by many symbolists. A model began to emerge in his thinking whereby human suffering had its purpose and an ennobling effect. Life was a penitentiary and hell was a state of mind. The forces of providence try to make people recognize this.

Paul tells about the end of his close friendship with Strindberg in *Min Strindbergsbok*. He writes that it was all about a series of misunderstandings. He also says that he did not let Strindberg read his unfinished book (*Blindboken*), because Strindberg had disturbed his writing with his advice previously in Berlin. Paul notes that Strindberg interpreted this so that Paul's book was about Strindberg himself. According to Paul, Strindberg later believed Paul wrote about Strindberg's marriage in his collection of short stories *Ein gefallener Prophet*.⁵² Söderström, however, feels that it is obvious that the text that led to the falling-out between Paul and Strindberg was the Symbolist roman à clef *Mit dem falschen und dem ehrlichen Auge*, which finally came to have the motto "À bas les Misogynes!" Söderström quotes a diary entry by Paul when he was preparing to meet Strindberg at Rügen in the summer of 1893:

I needed almost a year to see Strindberg for what he is and to lose my respect for him! – He can now come – I have closed my books with the bohemian scum – he can step right into my gaping mouth and become the model for my snob genius! [...] I hate this bohemian humbug that has overshadowed me since I was young . But I am glad to have had that schooling with the pack in their bohemian academy in the Ferkel [...] And all this swinishness they offer as evidence of their courage – only to prevent people from seeing their cowardice. A bas la Bohème – A bas les chochons d'epigones!⁵³

Strindberg described Zum schwarzen Ferkel in his posthumously published novel *Klostret* (1898). In research concerning Strindberg it has sometimes been said that due to its autobiographical nature, he did not publish the novel in its original form. New research emphasizes, though, that the autobiographical nature of Strindberg's oeuvre is only a myth.⁵⁴

Painters and sculptors of the Ferkel circle

Edvard Munch

An exhibition of work by Edvard Munch had caused a scandal in Berlin in 1892. Much has already been said about Munch and the Ferkel Circle and therefore I leave this subject to the experts on Munch. With reference to Paul's diaries, Söderström notes that there was a lack of mutual sympathy between Paul and Munch from the very beginning.⁵⁵ In the Munch Museum, there is only one post card from Edvard Munch to Adolf Paul in Helsinki.⁵⁶ The card, however, reveals that there had been other correspondence between them.

Dear Paul!

Greetings from the Ferkel – I have already received a drunken letter from you – please send my greetings to Gallen and thank him for the drawing and his greetings – I know him well by reputation – My address is Kurfürstendam [sic] 121 – if they can give me an offer for a painting it would be good since poverty is in bloom – Strindberg is probably in Brünn – will let you know more – Ferkel greetings – German and others.
Yours E Munch

Paul wrote to Gallén about Munch in his letters, but it is still not clear whether it was he who introduced Gallén to Munch or whether Gallén already knew Munch or the reputation of his work. In a letter to Axel Gallén in 1894, Paul mentions that Edvard Munch sends many greetings and was happy to know that Gallén was coming to Berlin in the autumn. Munch had promised to do his utmost to support Gallén's exhibitions, although Munch himself, according to Paul, had gone through a difficult winter. He mentioned that Munch had seen a sketch by Gallén and asked to send his greetings and to say he found it to be great.⁵⁷ In his letter, Gallén expressed his pleasure over the admiration expressed by Munch and Przybyszewski⁵⁸ and said he was awaiting with interest the reviews of Munch's work,⁵⁹ and was glad that Munch and Przybyszewski liked his art.⁶⁰ Gallén also mentioned having received an article about Munch⁶¹ – I assume this was *Das Werk des Edvard Munch* (1894) edited and partly written by Przybyszewski. (1894). Gallén asked whether Munch's works found buyers.⁶² Paul wrote that Munch had held an exhibition in Stockholm,⁶³ and sent greetings from Munch.⁶⁴ Gallén and Munch had a joint exhibition in Ugo Barroccio's gallery in Unter den Linden in 1895.

Adolf Paul and Axel Gallén (*Akseli Gallen-Kallela from 1907*)

My starting point for studying Adolf Paul was an essay on the artist Akseli Gallen-Kallela's treatment of a subject called *Conceptio artis* (fig. 8).⁶⁵ The subject of *Conceptio artis* was developed together with Adolf Paul, and the stages of the artwork can be easily found in the correspondence. My interest at the time was in the Egyptian motif and its reference to the occult, in addition to possible connections with Emanuel Swedenborg's theory of correspondences.



8 Akseli Gallen-Kallela, *Conceptio artis*, oil on canvas, the original painting later cut in pieces. Photo: GKM.

Paul's correspondence did not help much to specify these matters. However, in the letters we can follow the treatment of a subject that transgressed the boundaries of different art forms. In his letters, Gallén commented and made notes and suggestions to Paul's short stories. For me, it is also of importance whether the well-known literary background of the painting was a possible reason for evaluating the painting as lacking independence and as a superficial adaptation of a given story. In my article, I also considered whether the obvious connection between literature and painting was a later reason for negative evaluations within the paradigm of modernism.

In regard to Gallén, his involvement with naturalism came under question when new movements in art were taking place. We must not forget that the foundation of Gallén's symbolism was already laid in Paris, where he studied at the Académie Julian from 1885. At the same time Maurice Denis (1870–1943), Pierre Bonnard (1867–1947) and Paul Ranson (1864–1909) studied in its so-called Small Atelier. Paul Serusier (1864–1927) came to the Académie Julian in 1886, and became a prominent figure there. Gallen-Kallela's separation from naturalism and realism found support from the contacts introduced by Paul. Even if naturalism and symbolism can in some sense be regarded as almost mutually contradictory, and there was almost a programme against naturalism among symbolists, in Gallén's case the two are alike in their rebellious nature and desire to shock. Both conceptions share a claim for the truthfulness of art – the differences lie in what was considered to be true.

In an undated letter from 1894 Paul wrote to Gallén concerning the painting *The Problem* (now known as *Symposium*, fig.9):

Helsinki

Dear Brother!

I think we have misunderstood the sphinx in your Kajus painting as a symbol of feminine matter. Let it be what it is in the other painting, the wonderful feminine element in our fantasy, to which one gives oneself up with of one's sexual force in all artistic production. In the other painting it gives thus the fully surrendered elevation to its fantasy life only as a consequence of the inner superior vigour of manhood's ability to be intoxicated – and in the Kajus painting internal productivity develops under the intoxication of alcohol. The sphinx, the mother of our spiritual children, comes then for a moment, flying like a strange bird in the miraculous, oversaturated brilliancy of colour - sitting for a moment at our table, ready to fly away again at the very next moment. And it tells and lies, partly as a joke, the most splendid tales, interprets the most wonderful riddles, conjures forth the most adventurous pictures of the future for us, that is the hermaphroditic soul in the whole pastime, only an enchantment of mind that comes and flies away – with alcohol. But never the mother that gives birth to any other children of my fantasy than the fleeting ones. Fog, matter, the fat of the soul, the man of flesh in us that alcohol has been able to arouse, sinks again with alcohol and closes itself to the endless expanses through which the wonderful bird came flying to us and through which it flew away.

Am I right? Was it not that sphinx riddle you wanted to pin down in the painting. To bed now, you devil, so you will get a couple of delightful fantasies from me to entertain yourself. In exchange for what I got from you.⁶⁶

In art-historical writings published in Finland, Adolf Paul has most widely been noted in Salme Sarajas-Korte's book



9 Akseli Gallen-Kallela, *Symposion* (until 1904 *The Problem*), 1894, oil on canvas, 74x100, private collection. Photo: Jari Kuusenaho / Tampere Art Museum.

Vid symbolismens källor.⁶⁷ It is unfortunate that in many studies touching upon Finnish symbolism the difference in source material between Sarajas-Korte's dissertation from 1966 and the later Swedish-language edition from 1981 has not been noted. The letters from Gallen-Kallela to Adolf Paul became known to Sarajas-Korte only after the dissertation, and in consequence, this material is relatively unknown to Finnish-speaking readers. Janne Gallen-Kallela-Sirén has later referred to correspondence between Gallen-Kallela and Paul. His main argument is that the two versions of *The Problem* should be understood as separate works of art of different content and that neither of them should in any way be associated with Nietzschean thought. According to Gallen-Kallela-Sirén, the earlier work in the collection of the Serlachius Art Museum has a Biblical background (Acts 2:2, 2:12–21), while the final version, in a private collection, has a connection with Rubens's *The Four Philosophers* (Palazzo Pitti, Florence).⁶⁸

Sarajas-Korte limits her study to the years 1890–1895, and neither does Gallen-Kallela-Sirén cite any later correspondence. Later correspondence between Gallén and Paul, however, reveals many interesting facts about Gallén's main works. To give a few examples, here are a few previously unpublished observations on Gallen-Kallela's art from the year 1896.

On 21 January 1896, Gallén wrote of his woodblock print *The Defence of the Sampo* and referred to his portrait of Paul, which he felt was good and which he expected to come back from Gothenburg. He considered whether he could display his painting *Conceptio artis* in the exhibition of the Finnish Art Society, for which it had been requested by Dr. J. J. Tikkanen (1857–1930). Gallén said that he was afraid of a new scandal, “for if I display the painting, there will again be a scandal and every ‘educated art buyer’ will turn away in disgust”. He told of a work in progress that

he intended to exhibit in Berlin and which he called *ex orbis terrae* (later known as *Ad astra*) and another painting with the title *Lem[m]inkäinen i Tuonela*. He said Paul could submit, on his behalf, these two and two woodblock prints (*The Defence of the Sampo* and *Flower of Death*) along with the “Champs de Mars boys” for an international art exhibition in Berlin. On 12 February Gallén wrote that because of having to earn his income he could not finish the above-mentioned two works. The correspondence thus suggests that *Ad astra*, dated to 1894 (also by Gallén himself) was not finished before 1896, for which the correspondence also provides evidence. It was customary for Gallén to work several years on his larger paintings. The dating to 1896 is also supported by the history of exhibiting the work, which seems to begin as late as 1912. It would be strange that Gallén did not display it in public for example in his exhibitions in Berlin and Dresden, where he boldly showed all his main symbolist works. On 28 March Gallén wrote of *Portrait of the Artist's Mother*, which he regarded to be one of his best works. On 4 May he wrote of the display of *Conceptio artis* in Turku, “as the inhabitants of Turku have never treated me shamelessly like the people in Helsinki”. On 17 October 1896, Gallén wrote of his work on “an ancient Finnish pietà motif”.

Adolf Paul must be taken into account when considering the reasons why Gallen-Kallela began to make prints. Paul wrote repeatedly about the good sales prospects of prints in Berlin, publications of portfolios of prints and new art magazines in connection with which prints were sold. He introduced Joseph Sattler (1867–1931) to Gallén in his letter of 1.12.1894 as a graphic artist from Alsace.⁶⁹ Sattler later became Gallén's teacher in graphics. Sattler is known for his book illustrations and drawings, and as a graphic artist and engraver. He moved to Berlin in 1894, and held an exhibition in the Kunstgewerbemuseum. In 1895 he

made the cover for the new symbolist magazine *Pan*, which appeared in national and international editions. Sattler was involved with *Pan* until 1915.⁷⁰ He was awarded a prize at the Paris World's Fair of 1900 for his illustration for *Die Nibelungen*. For the study of Gallén, one has to remark that Sattler was famous for his *ex libris*. (It has sometimes been assumed that the impulse for making *ex libris* came to Axel Gallén from Louis Sparre (1863–1964), which may be true insofar as Sparre presumably encouraged Gallén to experiment in this field.)

A study of materials concerning Adolf Paul has led the present author into highly fruitful areas where research in musicology and literature provides further light on the author's original subject of interest, Akseli Gallen-Kallela's symbolist works and their underlying ideas and conception of art. A number of works (*Sibelius as the Composer of En Saga*, *The Great Black Woodpecker / The Wilderness*, *Mäntykoski Rapids*, *The Problem / Symposium*, the different versions of the Lemminkäinen theme, the different versions of Kullervo, and *Skogsrået / Hiisi*) still await a new analysis, but this is not within the scope of the present article.⁷¹ It is not yet time for Adolf Paul to leave the stage.

Themes and ideological context

Adolf Paul not only organized practical matters for his artist friends but also passed on ideas and impulses. For the time being, distinctions between these two roles are incomplete and they would require an extensive and detailed biography of Paul. He introduced influential cultural circles in Finland to the themes and individuals who were talked about in Berlin. He passed on to his friends news and greetings from August Strindberg, Ferruccio Busoni and others. Some of the areas in which Adolf Paul had a disseminating role were

the ideas of the Polish writer Stanisław Przybyszewski, the philosophy of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, and Strindberg's changing conception of man. His letters also point to his desire to combine different genres of the arts, to collaboration, concepts of synaesthesia and interest in depicting the human psyche, a specific area being the description of manifestations of sexuality classed as abnormal. Listed in the following are a few examples. The observations are still diffuse, since the related research has only just begun. At any rate, these themes appear to be of importance to the present author. Without a comprehensive analysis of Paul's oeuvre, it is difficult to judge how clearly he conceptualized these themes in his own work. A challenge of future research will be to formulate his views of these themes.

Propagating Przybyszewski's ideas

In the autumn of 1892, Adolf Paul sent two texts by Przybyszewski to Jean Sibelius, who expressed his thanks and commended them. The material in question was most likely *Zur Psychologie des Individuums*.⁷²

[Writing of Przybyszewski] I have finally found a good friend here. And since this good friend is also a genius and his work will be epoch-making in both the arts and sciences, I must naturally present him to you. I do so by sending you two brochures by him. Keep them and read them several times. If you wish to have more of the same please write to your faithful friend A.P.

Some time after this he introduced Przybyszewski to Axel Gallén. The former was probably mentioned in discussions in late 1893 and early 1894, when the artists met in Helsinki in their so-called Symposium sessions. Paul wrote to Gallén about Przybyszewski on 24 April 1894, immediately upon his return to Berlin, asking Gallén to send a sketch of his sphinx motif (*Conceptio artis*) within a week so that he could show it to Przybyszewski and Otto-Julius Bierbaum

(1865–1910). Przybyszewski is later mentioned in passing in several letters.⁷³ Paul described to Gallén the possibility that Przybyszewski could write a presentation of Gallén for the future Berlin exhibition or for newspapers. Relations between Przybyszewski and Paul, however, cooled within a few years, and Paul no longer rated him as a genius in his reviews. Przybyszewski in turn described Paul as a toady. Their falling-out was presumably associated also with August Strindberg's possible sexual liaison with Dagny Juel (1867–1901), which is said to have lasted for a few weeks, for soon afterwards Juel and Przybyszewski began to see each other, and there were now new tensions between Strindberg and Przybyszewski, the leading figures of the Ferkel circle.⁷⁴

Paul's letters to Axel Gallén illustrate how his opinion of Przybyszewski changed:

Przybyszewski was totally fascinated by the sketch for your painting (Kajus); he will provide all possible propaganda for you if only you will come. Munch, that poor loner, has almost succeeded in making people bow to him. Soon he [Przybyszewski] will publish a brochure about Munch together with four other critics. It is enthusiastically written and interesting and as soon as it is printed I will send it so you can see how one can be understood here." (2.5.1894)

Read the attached essay about Munch but don't believe it. (21.5.1894)

In my opinion, Przybyszewski's publicity for Munch is worthless. It is the speculation of an authority like Jacen's but at the Berlin level, that's all it is. Munch is one of the many steps for P. to climb on, I have seen several previous ones and I warn you about him, and my conscience does not permit me to [bring] you and him together. Hell, I'm up to here with all the humbug and filth that the whole coterie of friends from last year has

sunk to. I close the door definitely to the group, it was a purgatory worth experiencing once, but never again. Apart from you, I have three friends and that is plenty when I think of the whole bunch of false friends that have made me mistrust all mankind. I do not want to write about everything that has happened since your last visit, when you come I might ask to torture you with my disillusionments if have not been able to digest them yet. (24.6.1894)

Eroticism and sexuality

Adolf Paul was offended when his writings had been interpreted as naturalistic and ten years too late in relation to the naturalistic conception of art. The symbolists shared an interest in human psychology and the topical nature of this theme was expressed in many ways in contemporary philosophy – while psychology fervently sought its specific form as a discipline. Sexuality was associated with creative activity; issues of the role of sexuality in the human psyche were pondered and limits of propriety of the manifestations and orientations of sexuality were tested. Stanisław Przybyszewski began his book *Totenmesse* (1893) with the words: "In the beginning there was sex".⁷⁵

In his written works, Paul repeatedly addressed forms of sexuality that were regarded at the time, and partly even now, as unconventional or classified as perverse by society. However, it was a source of anxiety for him if he was suspected of differing from conventional heterosexuality. His final falling-out with August Strindberg was apparently due, at least partly, to the latter's suggestion that Paul was homosexual. Strindberg himself had been impressed by his visit in Berlin to the so-called Wienerbal, a ball for homosexuals, which he mentions in several of his works.⁷⁶

When reading contemporary texts, it must be noted that homosexuality was often unnamed and also referred

to with the terms “contrary sexual emotion”, “misogyny” or “pederasty”.⁷⁷ I will not present any suggestions here about Paul’s sexual identity. Human sexuality was an area that fascinated Paul and his contemporaries as a domain beyond the control of reason and often associated with discussions of artistic creativity. Because this subject was addressed in ways that tested the limits of propriety, the works of the symbolists did not suit the acceptable conception of art without problems. Paul’s written works, however, may reveal how contemporary artists masked their ways of addressing, for example, homosexuality or bisexuality.

Do you think people will acknowledge the purely sensual sexuality of motherly love, which I (in the first place) underline in Oedipus? – And do you think that one likes to have a crime at which one would prefer to shake one’s head, psychologically motivated and studied with the result that it loses its character as a crime? Do you think they want to understand that madness is not madness? Or find themselves being criticized – religion is the sexual urge of the spirit – because it is the formulated desire for eternal life that has been raised to a doctrine – for the masses, for those who are stupid.⁷⁸

Schopenhauer, the philosophy of art and colours

Arthur Schopenhauer’s philosophy was appreciated by his contemporaries and its influence also extended to Finland. Adolf Paul wrote to Sibelius that he didn’t dare ask him to read anything any more, for he would otherwise ask Sibelius to read what Schopenhauer had written about art. Paul assured him that Schopenhauer was not a misogynist and in fact one of the most amusing writers that Paul had ever read. Paul urged Sibelius to begin with the text “Über das Sehen und die Farbe”, which would lead to the feel-



10 Akseli Gallen-Kallela, *Fantasy Landscape*, detail of *Sibelius as composer of En Saga*, 1894, watercolour on paper, 30x24, The Ainola Foundation. Photo: Douglas Sivén / GKM.

ing that one had previously been blind. He said that it was available in libraries.⁷⁹ An evaluation of Schopenhauer's conception of art and comparisons of it with the views of contemporary artist might be to provide a great deal of broader perspective.

In his later recollections of Sibelius, Paul associated colours with Sibelius's conception of colours.⁸⁰ The text on seeing and colours was associated with Paul's own subjects of interest: he often wrote of colours not only in connection with the visual arts but also when describing literature and music. This can be associated not only with contemporary thinking concerning synaesthesia but also with new research on visual perception and the nature of colours and related discussion. Albert Aurier, a theorist of symbolism, regarded the separation of colour from nature to be emblematic of symbolism and colour independent of external reality was an integral aspect of synthetist style. Paul wrote to Gallén that he hoped soon to be able to imbibe some life from the colours of Gallén's works.⁸¹ In Berlin, Paul wrote of a coming visit by the surgeon and writer Carl Ludwig Schleich (1859–1922) to Gallén, whom he urged to speak of Schleich's discoveries with regard to colour:

Schleich will come to see you at one p.m. to look at your painting. Don't forget to talk about his discoveries regarding colour and humour him by wanting to test them. You would do him a favour by doing so. I wrote this in case I won't be able to come and see you earlier.⁸²

Nietzsche and man creating his own ideals

Friedrich Nietzsche's thinking was present in conversations and it is also referred to in Paul's correspondence. For example, in a letter to Sibelius on the issue of nationality, Paul spoke of the concept of the dawn with reference to Nietzsche (Nietzsche, *Morgenröte, Gedanken über der moralischen Vorurtheile*, 1881).

– And it is wrong to think that you could ever let yourself be bound to some once discovered mannerism of seeing or feeling and describing what you have seen and felt.

Someone like Grieg is needed. But your conditions are completely different. – The passion for freedom that is within you will raise you much higher, above everything that nationalism means, to a height from which one sees not only all mankind but also all life, as a large whole, like a single large *Bewegung* [movement], and nothing less. – It is only when you stand on that height, with one foot on Beethoven and the other on Wagner that you can stop climbing – then you can calmly hover up there and tell us who do reach that far a bit more about the dawn of the new day – the dawn light whose nature we sense but do not understand since we do not know our own lives – we do not know why we live and why we wait for a new day. –⁸³

Paul also urged Axel Gallén to study Nietzsche's thinking and to start with the works *Also sprach Zarathustra* and *Götterdämmerung*, the language of which he described as easy.⁸⁴ The ways in which Nietzsche was interpreted and what was found to be fascinating in his thinking must be discussed elsewhere. Along with his texts, Nietzsche's personality and life were also found to be an inspiration. Writing to Gallén, Paul said he admired Nietzsche's ability to distinguish when man is satiated and decadence begins. According to him, only Christ and Nietzsche were able to do this:

And Nietzsche is the other one; he let his reason commit suicide when his work was completed and his spirit is now spread all over the world. He annulled Christ, downgrading him to the valley between himself and Zoroaster, and his works will survive and his kingdom will survive – until the coming of an anti-Nietzsche.⁸⁵

Issues of nationality

Adolf Paul's own multinational background makes his thoughts on nationality interesting even from today's perspective and because the relationship between symbolism and nationalism is still mostly unexplored. Przybyszewski described Paul as “a Swedish writer who absolutely wanted to be Finnish, although he didn't speak a word of Finnish.”⁸⁶ It would be good to analyse Paul's work and correspondence with reference to issues of nationality and to investigate his attitudes to contemporary nationalizing tendencies in art.

Karl Flodin (1858–1925), a critic of the *Nya Pressen* newspaper, wrote that Sibelius had come to a nationalizing tendency in his music, which prompted Paul to write to Sibelius to express his views on nationality in the latter's art:

I can never in my life believe that you imagine that you belong to some orientation – that you would have ‘joined’ as some inventive critics believe they have seen in your *Kullervo* – For me you have always represented individualism and done so to such a full extent that I have wanted to exclude all so-called nationalization in your case. It is self-evident that you understand the poetry of your homeland's nature better than anyone else. And that therefore you appear, to a Finn, to be completely national when you give your stories a Finnish setting, and the Finnish colour is natural.

But the actual depiction – the purely human aspect – is nonetheless the main thing, and you do not have to be born in a different country to give your stories a different setting than the Finnish national one

[...] – For this reason I am glad that I have always seen you in this way – and for this reason I protest that you let some half-blind critic for whom nationality is only a learned phrase paste a costume of national phrases on you, put you in a cage, clip your wing feath-

ers and lull you to sleep with “the murmur of the firs by which your abode stands” [A Finnish saying implying respect for one’s roots] – I am totally convinced that you could create the yet uncomposed music to Peer Gynt just as well as Kullervo. And teach small-minded Grieg *et consortes* that he who wants to describe people and human suffering does not do so with an original (i.e. ‘national’) horn bugle. – Compose for example the death of Aase! [...] The scene from Peer Gynt – unrivalled in all word literature – where the young, poor poet of nature lulls his mother to eternal rest with the stories that she had given him when he was small – where he sends her straight to eternity wreathed in her fantasy – in which he conjures for her dying gaze the things great and fantastic in nature, of which she herself is a child – and brings all the mystical characters of folk tales to her death-bed – this farewell of a great spirit to all that raised and educated him, all that can be summarized in the concept of ‘mother’ – before he goes in exile to distant countries and becomes the world in itself that is known as an individual personality – that scene you could give, and none other, for you yourself are a great spirit and you have your own personality – And you have suffering and passions of your own that entitle you to described those of others. – Perhaps you believe yourself to be a prophet of nationality – despite your origins – and despite the fact that your family has many original personalities in addition to you. – If this is so, then believe it, for you are still dependent on the atmosphere under which you created your last works and because one never knows what one will be tomorrow (unless you’re a philistine).”⁸⁷

A further look at the material

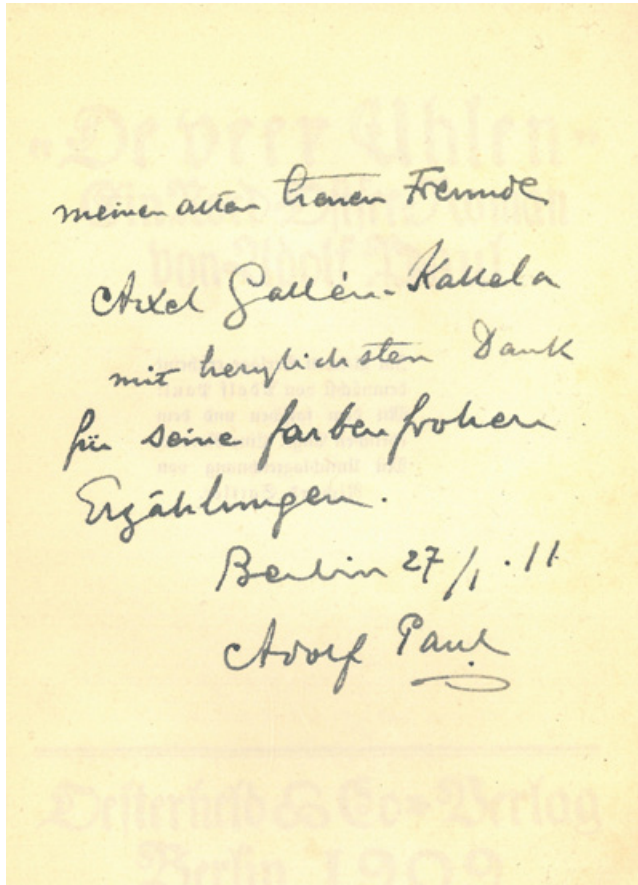
The main body of material concerning Paul is in Uppsala, and the present author has not yet had the opportunity to study it. Göran Söderström often quotes Paul’s diaries, which are kept in the Uppsala University Library, and notes that they contain long explanations of the theories of the Ferkel circle.⁸⁸ These sources may of course be of relevance. Excerpts from Paul’s diaries have been also published in research on Edvard Munch.

I am mostly familiar with the letters between Adolf Paul and Axel Gallén written during the years 1894–1895, when their correspondence was at its liveliest. They also mark the decisive years in the formation of Gallén’s symbolism and the ingredients of his art in the years to come. The known correspondence between Paul and Gallén continues until the year 1908, and often discusses problems of art. Therefore it is of importance to carefully study the whole correspondence. The Gallen-Kallela Museum houses the personal library of Akseli Gallen-Kallela, which includes 16 works by Adolf Paul.

The rarely noted correspondence between Adolf Paul and the amateur pianist, textile manufacturer and later patron of the arts John Da[h]lberg is in the collection of library of Åbo Akademi University. On other letters, see sources below.

It is obvious that Adolf Paul’s published recollections of his contemporaries, letters and diaries have already been important material for research on the composer Jean Sibelius, the artist Akseli Gallen-Kallela and the author August Strindberg. It would appear, however, that not all the aspects have been investigated even in this respect and that important materials may still remain to be studied or identified – an investigation of the whole correspondence between Busoni and Paul would be a welcome addition and

it would also be necessary to see if Sibelius’s letters to Paul have survived in the archive material that still remains to be catalogued. It would be also good to investigate if these materials provide new information on other contemporary artists or themes that were the shared interest of symbolist artists. Adolf Paul has clearly been noted until now as an important source in studies on his “great” friends. Would it now be time to shift focus from the celebrities to Adolf Paul himself and undertake a systematic study of his literary output and biography and their archival sources? Must Paul truly be remembered only as a minion of the “great and the good” or might an analysis of his oeuvre without the shadows cast by celebrity gives us a better understanding of the phenomena of art in the period?



11 The inscription by Adolf Paul in his book *De Veer Uhlen* to Axel Gallén. The Gallén-Kallela Museum. Photo: GKM.

Adolf Paul's written works

Novels (14):

- En bok om en människa: berättelse.* Bonnier, Stockholm 1891.
Some five pages of excerpts published in Harold E. Johnson, *Jean Sibelius* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), 34-39.
Herr Ludvigs: skildring från vestra Finland. Söderström, Helsingfors 1893.
Blindebukk: ei saga um eit barn. Mons Litleré, Bergen 1894. / *Blindbuck: en historia om ett barn.* A. B. Ljus, Stockholm 1907.
Med det falska och det ärliga ögat: en bok om en människa II. Bonnier, Stockholm 1895 / *Mit dem falschen und dem erlichen Auge.* Oesterheld & C:o, Berlin 1909
Ung-Hans kärleksbref: en bok om en människa III Stockholm: Bonnier 1897 / *Jung-Hansens Liebesbriefe.* Georg Müller, München 1911
Die Madonna mit dem Rosenbusch: eine alt-lübische Geschichte. Alfred Janssen, Hamburg 1903 / *Madonnan med rosenbusken: en gammal-lübsk historia.* Ljus, Stockholm 1904
"De veer Uhlen": ein Nord-Ostsee-Roman. Oesterheld & C:o, Berlin 1909 / *Die vier Eulen : Roman.* Kronen-Verlag, Berlin 1916
Dornröschen: Roman. Georg Müller, München 1913
Die Tänzerin Barberina: Roman aus der Zeit Friedrichs des Grossen. Albert Langen, München 1915
Exzellens Unterrock: Roman. Albert Langen, München 1916
Das heilige Donnerwetter: Roman. A. Langen, München 1919
Aus der Chronik des „Schwarzen Ferkels“: phantastische Erzählung. A. Langen, München 1922
Frau Sybrecht und die drei Hübnerdiebe: eine Kriminalgroteske. A. Langen, München 1925
- Collections of short stories (7):
"The Ripper": Uppskäraren. Grönlund, Åbo 1892
Ein gefallener Prophet. Albert Langen 1895 / *En saga från ödemarken och andra berättelser.* Hagelstam, Helsingfors 1895
Oedipus im Norden und andere Erzählungen. Schuster & Loeffler, Berlin 1907
Finnische Erzählungen 1: Wenn die Kosacken kommen: Erzählungen aus Finnland. Georg Müller, München 1915
Finnische Erzählungen 2: Stille Teilhaber: Erzählungen aus Finnland. Georg Müller, München 1916
Der Teufel im Exil: Novellen. A. Langen, München 1925
Krönta och okrönta rebeller: historiska noveller. Albert Bonnier, Stockholm 1931

Plays (23):

- Alte Sünden: spiessbürgerliches Schauspiel in drei Aufzügen und einem Intermezzo.* Verlag des Bibliographischen Bureaus, Berlin 1893.
Den gode vännen: skådespel i en akt. Helsingfors 1894
Mater dolorosa: skådespel. C. & E. Germandts förlagsaktiebl., Stockholm 1897
Karin Månsdotter: skådespel i fem akter. Wahlström & Widstrand, Stockholm 1899
Kung Kristian den andre: skådespel i fem akter. Albert Bonnier, Stockholm 1899
Harpagos: Schauspiel in fünf Akten. Lübeck & Hartmann, Lübeck 1900
Heroische Komödien: Erste Folge: David und Goliath; Der Fall Voltaire; Der Tiger. Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig 1902
Die Doppelgänger-Komödie: in drei Akten. A. Janssen, Hamburg 1903
Die Teufelskirche: Komödie in drei Akten. Schuster & Loeffler, Berlin 1905 / *Djävulskyrkan: komedi i tre akter.* A. B. Ljus, Stockholm 1906 (Finnish translation by Aarne Orjatsalo *Pirunkirkko: 3:mi näytöksinen näytelmä: 4 kuvaelmaa.* M. V. Vuolukka, Pori 1908)
Hille Bobbe: Komödie in drei Akten. Schuster & Loeffler, Berlin 1905
Heroische Komödien: Zweite Folge: Der Klingelbeutel; St. Helena. Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig 1907
Der Triumph der Pompadour: Komödie in drei Akten. Erich Reiss, Berlin 1908
Blauer Dunst: Komödie in fünf Akten. Oesterheld & C:o, Berlin 1909
Wie die Sünde in die Welt kam: ein Legendenspiel in fünf Akten. Erich Reiss, Berlin 1909
Unverkäuflich, 1910
Die Sprache der Vögel: Komödie in vier Akten. Georg Müller, München 1912
Drohnen: Tragikomödie in drei Akten. Georg Müller, München 1913
Der bewusste Jemand: Komödie in 5 Akten. A. Langen, München 1917
Lola Montez: Schauspiel in 3 Akten. A. Langen, München 1917
Von Rechts wegen: Komödie. Langen/Müller, München 1922
Blauer Dunst: Komödie mit Musik in 5 Akten. A. Langen, München 1922

Lobndiener: die Komödie des Helden einer Komödie in fünf Akten.

A. Langen, München 1923

Sturmflut: Schausp. in 3 Akten. Berlin : Bühnenverl. Ahn & Simrock. [um 1933]

Das Schwert Karls des Grossen. Ein westfälisches Bauernstück in fünf Akten. Volkschaft-Verlag für Buch, Bühne und Film, Berlin 1935.

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”Zwei Fennonenhauptlinge: Sibelius / Gallén”. *Deutsch-Nordisches Jahrbuch für Kulturaustausch und Volkskunde 1914*. Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1914, 114-119, 121.

Strindberg-minnen och brev. Åhlén & Åkerlund, Stockholm 1915 / *Strindberg-Erinnerungen und -Briefe.* Albert Langen, München 1915

Aus der Chronik des „Schwarzen Ferkels“: phantastische Erzählung. A. Langen, München 1922

Min Strindbergsbok: Strindbergsminnen och brev. Norstedt & Söner, Stockholm 1930

Profiler: minnen av stora personligheter. Söderströms, Helsingfors 1937 / Fahlerantz, Stockholm 1937.

”Mein Freund Sibelius, I-III.” In *Völkischer Beobachter*, January 22., 28., 29. 1938

Unless otherwise indicated, translations are by the author and Jüri Kokkonen.

- 1 On Adolf Paul’s literary output, see George C. Schoolfield, ed., *A History of Finland’s Literature* (Lincoln & London: The University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 378-380; Esko Aaltonen, ”Kirjailija Adolf Paul Talsolasta” (Forssa: Lounais-Hämeen Kotiseutu- ja Museoyhdistys, 1952); Arne Toftegaard Pedersen, ”Paul, Adolf: Författare, teaterkritiker,” in *Biografisk lexicon för Finland*, accessed February 20th, 2013, www.sls.fi/blf/artikel.php?id=9524; Jarl Pousar, ”Adolf Paul, vår sensationsnaturalist.” (Helsingfors: SLS 2000).
- 2 I would regard Paul’s book *Profiler: Minnen av stora personligheter* [Profiles: Recollections of Great Personalities] (Helsingfors: Söderströms, 1937) as expressing his pro-Nazi attitudes. He was by no means the only one whose judgment of Hitler failed, although this does not justify his Nazi sympathies in any way. Paul died in 1943 and did not witness the fate of Hitler’s Germany. I have not been able to study Paul’s Nazi connections sufficiently to comment on his position regarding Nazism and Fascism.
- 3 The father was German and the mother Swedish; the family roots lead also to Italy and Eastern Europe, among other places. Glenda Dawn Goss, *Sibelius: a composer’s life and the awakening of Finland* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 86, 453. Leo P. Wiedersheim Jr., *The Wiedersheim Family Journal* (2003), accessed on 3 October 2013, at http://www.wiedersheim.com/family/WIEDERSHEIM_JOURNAL_2003.pdf; Göran Söderström, “‘Mästaren’ och ‘husslaven’”. Om förhållandet Strindberg – Adolf Paul,” in *Strindbergiana* 18 (2003), 89.
- 4 In an article on Paul, Esko Aaltonen investigates the local history of Forssa concerning Paul, listing some names of his school-mates. According to him, Paul was also in correspondence with some of them. Esko Aaltonen, ”Kirjailija Adolf Paul Talsolasta.”
- 5 Aaltonen, ”Kirjailija Adolf Paul Talsolasta,” 68-71; Arne Toftegaard Pedersen, ”Paul, Adolf”; Söderström, “‘Mästaren’ och ‘husslaven’,” 89-90; Wiedersheim, 2003.
- 6 Aaltonen, ”Kirjailija Adolf Paul Talsolasta,” 70. The period 1887–1889 given by Aaltonen is in conflict with the fact that Paul already began to study piano at the Helsinki Music Institute in 1886. He had probably taken piano lessons before this in Turku.
- 7 Aaltonen, ”Kirjailija Adolf Paul Talsolasta”. Jarl Pousar, “Adolf Paul, vår sensationsnaturalist.” (Helsingfors: SLS 2000). Söderström, “‘Mästaren’ och ‘husslaven’,” 90. Fabian Dahlström, *Sibelius-akatemia 1882-1982* (Helsinki: [Sibelius-akatemia], 1982), 458. From 1886 to 1888, piano was taught by: Ludwig Dingeldey (Germany, taught by Liszt), 1883-1887; Heinrich Wefing (Germany) 1884–1891 (secondary teacher), Carl Schuler (Saksa, taught by Liszt) 1887–1 February 1888, Ferruccio Busoni 1888–1890, and Richard Faltin in February 1888, when Schuler was released of his duties. Dahlström, *Sibelius-akatemia*, 44. For the time being, it is not clear who of the above actually taught Adolf Paul and from whom he may have taken piano lessons in Turku.
- 8 Tawaststjerna notes the correspondence in the English-language version of his Sibelius biography, see Erik Tawaststjerna, *Sibelius: Volume 3*, 1914-1957, ed. and trans. Robert Layton (London: Faber and Faber, 2008), 212. Professor Tomi Mäkelä has noted the letters in the collection of the Sibelius Museum of Åbo Akademi University in Turku, Tomi Mäkelä, *Jean Sibelius* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011), 156. In letters to other persons, Busoni himself refers to Adolf Paul, see Ferruccio Busoni, *Selected Letters*, trans. & ed. Antony Beaumont (London: Faber and Faber, 1987), 25, 271, 273, but does not mention correspondence with Paul. The letters referred to above reflect Busoni’s distaste for Paul’s recollections of Strindberg, see. Busoni, *Selected Letters*, 271, 273. Paul is not mentioned in Gisella Selden-Goth, *Fünfundzwanzig Busoni-Briefe* (Wien-Leipzig-Zürich: Herbert Reichner Verlag, 1937) or Ferruccio Busoni, *Briefe an seine Frau*, hrsg. von Friedrich Schnapp (Erlenbach – Zürich / Leipzig: Rotapfel-Verlag, 1935). The letters in the latter compilation begin in 1895; Stuckenschmidt mentions that in the summer of 1889 Busoni wrote daily from Weimar to his fiancée Gerda. H[ans] H[einz] Stuckenschmidt, *Ferruccio Busoni: Zeittafel eines Europäers* (Zürich und Freiburg i. Br.: Atlantis Verlag, 1967), 21.
- 9 See Ferruccio Busoni to Henri Petri 18.8.1889 in Busoni, *Selected Letters*, 42. In this letter, Busoni suggests that the performance of the Ring of the Nibelungs in Dresden in late August will be an excellent opportunity to educate Mamma and Paul and to introduce them to Henri Petri and the splendours of Dresden.
- 10 Tawaststjerna, *Jean Sibelius*, 186-235.
- 11 Pousar, “Adolf Paul, vår sensationsnaturalist,” 33. Goss, *Sibelius*, 86.

- 12 See Fabian Dahlström, ed., *Jean Sibelius: tematisch-bibliographisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2003), 228-233. At a later stage, the publisher did not accept Paul's translations of texts by Ernst Josephson for op. 57, see *ibid.*, 260.
- 13 Söderström, "'Mästaren' och 'husslaven,'" 90, note 4.
- 14 Adolf Paul to Robert Kajanus 8.3.1900, 14.4.1900. KK, Coll. 96.4. Of the concerts planned by Paul, the following were held: Copenhagen 12.-13.7., Lübeck 15.7., Hamburg 16.-17.7., Berlin 18.-19.7., Brussels 25.7.1900. The concerts in Wiesbaden, Cologne and Antwerp were not held, but there were concerts in Amsterdam, The Hague and Rotterdam. Matti Vainio, *Nouskaa aattee!* (Helsinki: WSOY, 2002), 363–374.
- 15 See Goss, Sibelius, in particular p. 86-87, 94-96; Mäkelä, *Jean Sibelius*, in particular p. 90-92, 140-142; Erik Tawaststjerna, *Jean Sibelius: Åren 1865-1893* (Helsingfors: Söderströms, 1992).
- 16 Professor Glenda Goss suggests that *Florestan* with its water nymph motif is associated with many other compositions by Sibelius. The motif of the water nymph, the French subtitle *Ballade pour orchestre* and the distinct eroticism of the work link *Florestan* to the ideas of symbolism. Goss, *Sibelius*, 203; regarding *Florestan*, see also 86, 159. Related to this theme in Akseli Gallen-Kallela's oeuvre is the motif *Drowned among the Water Lilies* executed in oils and as a relief in wood.
- 17 Goss, *Sibelius*, 86.
- 18 While working on this painting, Gallen-Kallela called it *Kajustaflan* [The Kajus Painting, with reference to Robert Kajanus (nicknamed Kajus)] but when he displayed it in 1894 he gave it the title *Probleemi* [The Problem]. Contrary to claims by Janne Gallen-Kallela-Sirén, see Janne Gallen-Kallela-Sirén, *Minä palaan jalanjäljilleni: Akseli Gallen-Kallelan elämä ja taide* (Helsinki: Otava, 2001), 193-202, the title of *Kajustaflan* does not refer to an earlier version in the collection of the Serlachius Art Museum. This is clearly indicated by Gallen-Kallela's description in his own words of the frame of the painting and expographic information on the respective versions. In a letter to Robert Kajanus from 16 May 1894, Gallen-Kallela describes the frame of *Kajustaflan*, carved in the Egyptian style, which the version in the collection of the Serlachius Museum does not have. *Symposion* [Symposium] was exhibited until 1904 with the title *Probleemi* [The Problem], and in 1907 for the first time as *Symposion*. The work in the Serlachius Museum's collection is known to have been displayed for the first time in 1924, during the artist's lifetime as *Probleemi, luonnos* [The Problem, a sketch]. While the Platonic connotations of the later title are obvious, it has not been established why the soirées of prominent cultural figures who joined Young Finnish political circles began to be known as symposia. Minna Turtiainen, "We could amuse ourselves by teaching the symbolists Symbolism. The Phases of a Sphinx in the Correspondence of Axel Gallén and the Author Adolf Paul," in *Fill Your Soul! Paths of research into the Art of Akseli Gallen-Kallela* (Espoo: The Gallen-Kallela Museum, 2011), 81-82, 91.
- 19 Ferruccio Busoni to Hans Huber 29.4.1918, cited from Tawaststjerna, *Jean Sibelius*, 101. [Briefe Busonis an Hans Hüber, hrsg. von Edgar Refardt, Zürich and Leipzig, 37. Busonis letters see Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.] Tawaststjerna, *Jean Sibelius*, 100-104. Salmi, "Nuoruusvuodet ja uran alkutaival (1869-1907)," 22-26.
- 20 For example Adolf Paul to Axel Gallén 14.9.1894, 16.11.1894.
- 21 Jean Sibelius, *Dagbok 1909-1944*, utg. av Fabian Dahlström (Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland & Stockholm: Atlantis, 2005).
- 22 The letters from Sibelius to Paul in the period 20.12.1894 – August 1898 (six letters from Paul to Sibelius in this period) do not appear to have survived.
- 23 In editing the critical edition of the works of Jean Sibelius, *Jean Sibelius Works* (JSW), Goss observed that Paul's handwriting can be clearly seen in the manuscript of *Kullervo*, see Jean Sibelius, *Kullervo*, Op. 7. in (JSW) *Complete works, Series 1, Orchestral works, Volume 1.1* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Library and The Sibelius Society of Finland, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2005), 125: Facsimile I/1, 129: Facsimile II/1.
- This discovery by Professor Goss shows that Sibelius himself planned to have this work performed in Germany, which calls for a revision of the former conception of *Kullervo* as pointing the way for vocal music in the Finnish language in particular. Glenda Dawn Goss, "Worttext und Übersetzungen in Sibelius' *Kullervo* Symphonie," in *Autor-Autorisation-Authentizität: Beiträge der Internationalen Fachtagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für germanistische Edition in Verbindung mit der Arbeitsgemeinschaft philosophischer Editionen und der fachgruppe Freie Forschungsinstitute in der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Aachen, 20. bis 23. Februar 2002*, edited by Thomas Bein, Rüdiger Nutt-Kofoth, Bodo Plachta (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2004), 335.
- 24 Jean Sibelius to Adolf Paul 30.12.1890, 19.2.1891, 20.9.1892, 31.10.1892. Adolf Paul to Jean Sibelius 16.2.1891, 10.4.1892.
- 25 Adolf Paul to Jean Sibelius 6.5.1892.
- 26 Adolf Paul to Jean Sibelius after 23.11.1894.
- 27 Biographical details of Paul given briefly in Pedersen, "Paul, Adolf"; Aaltonen, "Kirjalija Adolf Paul Talsolasta"; Pousar, "Adolf Paul, vår sensationsnaturalist."
- 28 Goss, *Sibelius*, 87.
- 29 Nimi viittaa Ola Hanssonin teokseen *Ung-Ofegs visor*, 1892. See Schoolfield, *A History of Finland's Literature*, 379.
- 30 Fairy-tales and fables were a general subject of interest in symbolist circles. Professor Goss points to possible connections between Gallen-Kallela's painting *Sibelius as the Composer of En Saga* with the lynx-hunting scene in Aleksis Kivi's novel *Seven Brothers*, Goss 175-176.
- 31 The great popularity of this play in Finland at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries was related to its allegorical treatment of current political affairs. In Europe and the United States it presented Sibelius to audiences as an orchestra composer and established his contacts with the international music publisher Breitkopf & Härtel. Goss, *Sibelius*, 233-235.
- 32 Stuckenschmidt, *Ferruccio Busoni*, 44.
- 33 Asbjørn Aarseth, "Berlin som kulturmetropol og vinstuen 'Schwarzes Ferkel' – nordmenn i Berlin," in *Skandinavien och Tyskland 1800-1914. Möten och vänskapsband*, (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1998). Göran Söderström, "Zum Schwarzen Ferkel," in *Skandinavien och Tyskland 1800-1914. Möten och vänskapsband*. (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1998); Carla Lathe, *The Group Zum Schwarzen Ferkel: A Study in Early Modernism* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of East Anglia, 1972); Karin Bruns, "Das schwarze Ferkel [Berlin]," in *Handbuch literarisch-kultureller Vereine, Gruppen und Bünde 1825-1933*, ed. Wulf Wülfing et al. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1998); Marek Fiałek, *Die Berliner Künstlerbobème aus dem Schwarzen Ferkel* (Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač), 2007.
- 34 Adolf Paul, *Strindberg-minnen och brev* (Stockholm: Åhlén & Åkerlund, 1915), 52-53.
- 35 Lathe, *The Group Zum Schwarzen Ferkel*, 9-13. Arne Widell, *Ola Hansson i Tyskland* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1979). Inger Månesköld-Öberg, *Att spegla tiden - eller forma den* (Göteborg: Litteraturvetenskapliga institutionen vid Göteborgs universitet, 1984).

- 36 Ola Hansson, *Tolke og Seere: kritiske Essays* (Kristiania: Aschehoug & co.s förlag 1893).
- 37 Widell, *Ola Hansson i Tyskland*, 142-143.
- 38 K. A. Tavaststjerna to Ola Hansson 22.12.1890 (in two letters).
- 39 George C. Schoolfield considers in particular Tavaststjerna's novel *I förbund med döden* (1893, In Alliance with Death) to be a confessional novel in which the author grapples with his personal demons. The work was written during the summer of 1893 at Rügen, where August Strindberg and Adolf Paul also stayed. George C. Schoolfield, *A Baedeker of decadence: charting a literary fashion, 1884-1927* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004), 135-146.
- 40 Schoolfield, *A Baedeker of Decadence*, 118-121. Fiałek, *Die Berliner Künstlerbohème aus dem Schwarzen Ferkel*, 145-200. Lathe, *The Group Zum Schwarzen Ferkel*, 38-39. Przybyszewski also appears as a character in at least 15 novels, see Fiałek 201-218.
- 41 Paul, *Strindberg-minnen och brev*, 96.
- 42 Roman Taborski, "Stanisław Przybyszewski and the New Art," in *Dreamers of Decadence: Symbolist Painters of the 1890's*, ed. Phillippe Jullian (New York: Praeger Publ. 1971).
- 43 Stanisław Przybyszewski, "Psychischer Naturalismus," in *Neue Deutsche Rundschau (Freie Bühne)* 5 (1894), 150-156.
- 44 Stanisław Przybyszewski, *Das Werk des Edvard Munch. Vier Beiträge von Stanisław Przybyszewski, Dr. Frans Servaes, Willy Pastor, Julius Meier-Graefe*. Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1894.
- 45 Schoolfield, *A Baedeker of Decadence*, 119-131. On Przybyszewski's novels including *Homo sapiens* see op. cit. 182-197.
- 46 Przybyszewski, *Erinnerungen an das literarische Berlin* (München: Winkler-Verlag, 1965), 190.
- 47 Stanisław Przybyszewski, *Gesammelte Werke. Bd. 8: Briefe 1879-1927*. Hrsg. und übers. von Aurelia Jaroszewicz. Oldenburg: Igel, 1999.
- 48 Söderström, "'Mästaren' och 'husslaven'," 91-92.
- 49 Paul, *Strindbergminnen och brev*, 33.
- 50 Söderström, "'Mästaren' och 'husslaven,'" 96-97; Lathe, *The Group Zum Schwarzen Ferkel*, 47.
- 51 Söderström, "Strindberg ja Suomi," in *August Strindberg* (Espoo: Gallen-Kallelan Museo, 1991), 48. Also K. A. Tavaststjerna's letters to Birger Mörner mention Strindberg a great deal, but this is not the focus of the present article.
- 52 Paul, *Strindbergminnen och brev*, 192-193.
- 53 Söderström, "'Mästaren' och 'husslaven,'" 109-110.
- 54 Olof Lagercrantz, *August Strindberg*, 1979.
- 55 Söderström, "'Mästaren' och 'husslaven,'" 103, 118 note 24.
- 56 Edvard Munch to Adolf Paul, Munch-museet MM N 2396, 1892-1895. Judging from Strindberg's location in Brün/Brno and Paul's location in Helsinki, the postcard was sent apparently in late 1893. Paul returned to Berlin in May 1894.
- 57 Adolf Paul to Axel Gallén 24.4.1894, 9.5.1894.
- 58 Axel Gallén to Adolf Paul 15.5.1894.
- 59 Axel Gallén to Adolf Paul 9.5.1894.
- 60 Axel Gallén to Adolf Paul 15.5.1894.
- 61 Axel Gallén to Adolf Paul 5.6.1894.
- 62 Axel Gallén to Adolf Paul 15.6.1894.
- 63 Axel Gallén to Adolf Paul 2.10.1894.
- 64 Adolf Paul to Axel Gallén 16.11.1894.
- 65 Minna Turtiainen, "We could amuse ourselves by teaching the symbolists Symbolism. The Phases of a Sphinx in the Correspondence of Axel Gallén and the Author Adolf Paul," in *Fill Your Soul! Paths of research into the Art of Akseli Gallen-Kallela*, trans. Jüri Kokkonen (Espoo: The Gallen-Kallela Museum, 2011).
- 66 Adolf Paul to Axel Gallén, likely in January 1894. Axel Gallén to Carl Dørnberger 15.9.1894: "Last spring I displayed a large number of watercolours in a watercolour exhibition, I was derided in the reviews in our leading newspaper, being told quite frankly that I had gone mad. At the "Finnish artists' exhibition" this autumn I exhibited various things, including a painting of a couple of my friends (the musicians Sibelius and Kajanus) sitting in a tavern in the light of a fire with bottles and glasses. The title of the painting was "The Problem" with myself painted among them. A pair of Isis wings appears before our eyes looking in amazement. Kajanus is sitting and explaining the situation to us. Blood-red clouds are crowding behind my head, spreading out against a deep blue starry sky with a large oppressive planet. A dark fairy-tale forest appears to grow out of Sibelius's hair. A fourth man, who didn't have the strength to follow the conversation has passed out on the table. I had faith in my painting, people just deride me and attacked me in public for having displayed such a painting."
- 67 Salme Sarajas-Korte, *Vid symbolismens källor: den tidiga symbolismen i Finland 1890-1895* (Jakobstad: Jakobstads tryckeri och tidnings AB:s förlag, 1981).
- 68 With reference to correspondence between Paul and Gallen-Kallela, Gallen-Kallela-Sirén suggests that Gallen-Kallela did not get to know Nietzsche's thinking until he had painted the different versions of *The Problem*, see Gallen-Kallela-Sirén, *Minä palaan jalanjäljilleni*, 202-204. Nietzsche is mentioned for the first time in this correspondence in late June 1894 when Gallén asks Paul about translations of Nietzsche's works, see Turtiainen 76, 90. It should be remembered, however, that philosophical influences in particular are largely adopted through other channels than original texts: various summaries, general works, articles, lectures and conversations. In Gallen-Kallela's close circle they could have been passed on, for instance, by the author K. A. Tavaststjerna. Gallen-Kallela-Sirén does not specify what Nietzschean ideas in particular should, in his opinion, be excluded from interpretations of *The Problem*. For example, Nietzsche's distinction between Apollonian and Dionysian art would seem to suit Gallén's works well, as also the ideal of the critical, independent individual – the ideal individual creating his own world view and values. Evaluations of Nietzsche are often influenced by an implicit "Nazi stigma", which is mostly due to the activities of his sister Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche. The Nazis adopted many "Nietzschean" notions through her influence, and the anti-Semitic comments attributed to Friedrich Nietzsche actually came from her.
- I do not regard Rubens's painting as a direct example for Gallen-Kallela's work. Gallen-Kallela visited Florence for the first time in 1898 and his personal library does not contain any books presenting the art of Rubens. It would be interesting to know the sources on which Gallen-Kallela-Sirén bases his assumption that Gallen-Kallela would have known this painting. On the other hand, this parallel opens up interesting interpretations. By the same token and with equal likelihood we could suggest that *The Problem/Symposium* is a comment on Christian Krogh's painting *Med venner rundt bordet i Berlin*, (With Friends Around the Table in Berlin) ca. 1876, oil on metal, 37.5 x 76.9 cm (Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste). The only place where Gallen-Kallela could have seen this painting was Max Klinger's studio, where it was found after Klinger's death in 1920. Information on the expography of the painting by Krogh: personal communication from Øystein Sjøstad to the present author, 6 January 2013 with Oscar Thue, *Christian Krogh* (Aschehoug, 1997) as the source.

- Professor Mäkelä has interpreted Gallen-Kallela's *Problem / Symposion* via Albert Dürer's *Melancholia* and links the subject to Sibelius's *Malinconia* in D minor op. 20. See Tomi Mäkelä, "Jean Sibelius' *Malinconia* d-Moll op. 20 – Finnische Fantasie oder Ballade der Sprachlosigkeit?" in: *Facetten I: Symposien zur Liszt-Rezeption, zu Jean Sibelius und Max Kowalski*, edited by Joachim Brügge, Tützing: Schneider 2014, 24 pages (forthcoming).
- 69 Dieter Distl, "Joseph Sattler – Ein Wegbereiter des Jugendstils," in *Joseph Kaspar Sattler. Ein Wegbereiter d. Jugendstils*, ed. Ludwig Hollweg & Hanns Schultes (Pfaffenhofen: Ludwig, 1988), 29-38.
- 70 Klaus Englert, "Gesicherte Daten," in *Joseph Kaspar Sattler. Ein Wegbereiter d. Jugendstils*, ed. Ludwig Hollweg & Hanns Schultes. (Pfaffenhofen: Ludwig, 1988).
- 71 Professor Mäkelä notes Gallén's interest in musical notation around 1894 and suggests the five golden lines in *Mäntykoski Rapids* (in the year 1895 exhibited under the title *Waldpartie mit Wasserfall / Dekoratives Wandgemälde*) to be understood not only as strings but also as a vertical five-line staff. See Tomi Mäkelä, „Gemalte Musik 1894. *Les Rapides de Mäntykoski* und *Fantasielandschaft* von Akseli Gallen-Kallela zwischen nordischem Horizontalismus und symbolistischem Vertikalismus,“ in: *Musikwissenschaftliche Brückenschläge. Festschrift für Wolfgang Aubagen zum 60. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von Veronika Busch, Kathrin Schlemmer und Clemens Wöllner, Olms: Hildesheim 2013, 301–310 (forthcoming).
- 72 Adolf Paul to Jean Sibelius 30.9.1892. Jean Sibelius to Adolf Paul 31.10.1892. Stanisław Przybyszewski, *Zur Psychologie des Individuums* came out as two booklets, corresponding to Paul's mention of "två broschyrer" in his letter as the form of publication. Przybyszewski had not had any noteworthy publications before this. The other part was on Ola Hansson, who at that stage belonged at least to circle of acquaintances of the Finland-Swedish author K. A. Tavaststjerna. Schoolfield mentions that it was Przybyszewski's unrealized dream to have his five prose poems (*Totenmesse* 1893, *Vigilien* 1894, *Androgyne* 1906, in Polish from 1899 on, *De Profundis* 1895, *Am Meer* 1900 as a part of *Epipsychidion*) published in a single volume (*Pentateuch, oder fünf Bücher von erhabenen und niederen Sachen / Five Books Concerning Matters Exalted and Base*). Schoolfield, *A Baedeker of Decadence*, 121.
- 73 Axel Gallén to Adolf Paul 9.5.1894, 15.5.1894.
- 74 About the relationship of Strindberg and Juel, see Mary Kay Norseng, 12-14.
- 75 About Schwarzen Ferkel and erotics, see Fiałek, *Die Berliner Künstlerbohème aus dem Schwarzen Ferkel*, 77-109.
- 76 Björn Meidal, *The Worlds of August Strindberg* (Stockholm: Max Strom Publishing, 2012), 275-276.
- 77 Söderström, "'Mästaren' och 'husslaven'," 111-116.
- 78 Adolf Paul to Jean Sibelius 15.12.1892.
- 79 Adolf Paul to Jean Sibelius after 23.11.1894.
- 80 "Es existierte bei ihm eine sonderbare Beziehung zwischen Ton und Farbe. Jeder Klang wurde in seinen Gehirn sofort mit einer gewissen Farbennuance identifiziert. Dann stellten sich Melodie, Harmonie und Rhythmus von selbst ein." Adolf Paul, "Mein Freund Sibelius. Persönliche Erinnerungen von Adolf Paul." *Völkischer Beobachten*. 27.1.1938.
- 81 Adolf Paul to Axel Gallén s.d. [18.4.-24.4.1894].
- 82 Adolf Paul to Axel Gallén 28.3.1895.
- 83 Adolf Paul to Jean Sibelius 6.5.1892.
- 84 Adolf Paul to Axel Gallén 9.7.1894.
- 85 Adolf Paul to Axel Gallén 24.6.1894.
- 86 Stanisław Przybyszewski, *Erinnerungen an das literarische Berlin*, 186-187.
- 87 Adolf Paul to Jean Sibelius 6.5.1892. See also Tavaststjerna, *Jean Sibelius*, 211.
- 88 Söderström, "Strindberg ja Suomi," 50.