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Dag Hammarskjöld and Modern Art:
An Inquiry into the Aesthetic Values of the Second Secretary-General of the United Nations

by

Shantala M. DuGay

Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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Date

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First Reader

May 10, 2016

Date

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Second Reader

*Dedicated to the memory of my grandparents,
Richard and Joy Dodson*

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	ii
Preface	iv
List of Illustrations	vi
Introduction	1
Chapter I Dag Hammarskjöld's Life and Character	9
Chapter II Dag Hammarskjöld and The Museum of Modern Art	25
Chapter III Dag Hammarskjöld's Private Collection	45
Modern Works	47
Modern Artists	55
Dag Hammarskjöld Museum at Backåkra	69
Conclusion	72
Bibliography	75
Appendices	83
Illustrations	89

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PREFACE

The genesis for this thesis occurred on my first visit to the United Nations headquarters in 2011 as a guest at the commemoration of Rwanda's Genocide Memorial Day. During my visit, I was allowed access to only a small area but was surprised by the many museum-quality works of art I found. I wondered if even more artistic gems lay behind the walls, outside of my view. Upon commencing the Masters Program in Art History at Hunter College, I began asking professors if they knew anything about art at the UN, but I did not encounter anyone with information or contacts. So in the true spirit of discovery, my research was prompted from nothing but a curious mind. My first step was to take a UN Guided Tour, during which my hunch was confirmed – its halls and rooms constituted a treasure trove of art. As I looked more closely at individual objects that interested me, a common denominator presented itself – in one way or another, Dag Hammarskjöld was involved with each one. Until that point, like many New Yorkers, I only associated his name with the unpronounceable Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza on 47th Street near the UN. Upon taking a closer at his biography, I decided that Hammarskjöld and his involvement with the art world would be the topic of my thesis. I quickly realized, however, that tackling a comprehensive study of his art world activities was also too large in scope for a master's thesis paper. The task of narrowing down my topic was difficult because many fruitful areas of research on this subject abound. I am confident, however, that having chosen to focus on modern art that curated for his office at the UN and acquired for his private collection, that I am providing the greatest value to scholarship of Hammarskjöld's legacy with regard to his aesthetic values.

Throughout this study, the question often arose—especially in debates with myself—whether an examination dedicated to the aesthetic activities of a singular international politician

were justified, and whether his private collection was relevant to any historic understanding. The more I delved into the evidence, the more I found that the answer was a resounding *Yes!* I discovered this enthusiastic response mirrored Hammarskjöld's own passionate integration of aesthetics into all facets of his life. Perhaps Barbara Hepworth's (unpublished) tribute to Hammarskjöld expresses this sentiment more eloquently:

[Hammarskjöld] was a man of immense compassion and courage, a visionary who integrated the 'rights of man' with an aesthetic comprehension of the creativity of man. Both in his presence and within the Secretariat there was a reality created of what life should be – the love for mankind which embraces all the arts of which man is capable brought into a state of active work for the preservation of peace and creative endeavor.¹

My sincere wish is that my endeavor will inspire admiration for Hammarskjöld's exceptional intellect and integrity, and serve as a meaningful contribution to his enduring legacy.

¹ Barbara Hepworth, *Barbara Hepworth: Writings and Conversations*, ed. Sophie Bowness (London: Tate Publishing, 2015), 148.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. *Residence of the Late UN Secretary-General in New York*. Photo published in Betty Pepis, “Scandinavian Import,” *New York Times Magazine*, August 1, 1954, 30.

Figure 2. Hammarskjöld family coat of arms. Sten Söderberg, *Hammarskjöld: A Pictorial Biography* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962), 30.

Figure 3. Dag Hammarskjöld’s bookplate. Roger Lipsey Collection.

Figure 4. Clara E. Sipprell, *Dag Hammarskjöld in His Apartment at the United Nations*, 1954. Amon Carter Museum of American Art, Fort Worth, Texas. Purchase through gift of The Dorothea Leonhardt Fund of the Communities Foundation of Texas. [Hammarskjöld stands in front of *Gourds* (1916) by Henri Matisse.]

Figure 5. Dag Hammarskjöld, *Mount Everest*, photo published in *National Geographic* (January 1961).

Figure 6. Pablo Picasso, *Still Life with Mandolin and Galette*, 1924. Oil and sand on canvas, 38.5 x 51.5 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Jacques and Natasha Gelman Collection, 1998.

Figure 7. United Nations, New York, Photo #372768, *The Secretary-General of the United Nations*, March 1, 1954. [Painting shown: Pablo Picasso, *Still Life with Mandolin and Galette*, 1924.]

Figure 8. United Nations, New York, Photo #49861, *Suite of the Secretary-General of the United Nations Headquarters*, September 1, 1961. [Painting shown: Pablo Picasso, *Still Life with Mandolin and Galette*, 1924.]

Figure 9. Fritz Glarner, *Relational Painting*, 1947-48. Oil on canvas 42 1/8 x 42 1/4 in. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Purchase.

Figure 10. United Nations, New York, Photo #372767, *The Secretary-General of the United Nations*, 01 March 1954. [Hammarskjöld stands in front of *Relational Painting*, 1947-48, by Fritz Glarner.]

Figure 11. Fritz Glarner, *Relational Painting Nr. 61*, 1953. Oil on canvas, 61.2 x 44.1 in. Collection unknown.

Figure 12. United Nations, New York, Photo #119110, *Foreign Minister of Italy Visits U.N. Secretary General*, 01 April 1959. [Hammarskjöld stands in front of unidentified circle painting by Fritz Glarner.]

Figure 13. United Nations, New York, Photo #409915, *Australia's New Permanent Representative to UN Presents Credentials*, 23 July 1959. [Hammar skjöld stands in front of unidentified circle painting by Fritz Glarner.]

Figure 14. Fritz Glarner, *Relational Painting Nr. 90*, 1962. Oil on canvas, 11 ft. 4 in x 22 ft. Dag Hammar skjöld Library at the United Nations, New York. Gift from the Ford Foundation.

Figure 15. Fernand Léger, *Woman Combing her Hair (Femme à la Toilette)*, 1925. Oil on canvas, 25.6 x 21.3 in. Private collection.

Figure 16. United Nations, New York, Photo #56222, *Portrait of the Secretary-General*, 1 March 1954. [Hammar skjöld stands in front of Fernand Léger's *Femme à la toilette* (1925).]

Figure 17. United Nations, New York, Photo #64575, *Premier Fidel Castro Visits United Nations*, 22 April 1959. [Painting shown: Fernand Léger's *Femme à la toilette* (1925).]

Figure 18. Juan Gris, *Guitar and Pipe*, 1913. Oil and charcoal on canvas, 25.5 x 19.75 in. Dallas Museum of Art, The Eugene and Margaret McDermott Art Fund, Inc.

Figure 19. Henri Matisse, *Gourds (Les colonquites)*, 1916. Oil on canvas, 25 5/8 x 31 7/8 in. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Mrs. Simon Guggenheim Fund.

Figure 20. Roger de La Fresnaye, *Still Life with Bottle, Pipe and Pot of Tobacco*, 1913-14. Oil on canvas. Virginia Museum of Fine Art, Richmond, Virginia. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon.

Figure 21. United Nations, New York Photo #161237. *Spanish Foreign Minister Visits United Nations Headquarters*. 17 April 1956. [Painting displayed: Roger de La Fresnaye's painting, *Still Life with Bottle, Pipe and Pot of Tobacco*, (1913-14).]

Figure 22. United Nations, New York Photo #49854. *Suite of the Secretary-General at the United Nations Headquarters*. 1 September 1961. [Painting displayed: Roger de La Fresnaye's painting, *Still Life with Bottle, Pipe and Pot of Tobacco*, (1913-14).]

Figure 23. Georges Rouault, *Landscape with Figures (Vesper)*, c. 1948. Oil on canvas, 21 3/8 x 27 1/2 in. Collection unknown.

Figure 24. Peter Blume, *The Boat*, 1929. Oil on canvas, 20 1/8 x 24 1/8 in. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Mrs. Sam A. Lewisohn.

Figure 25. United Nations, New York, Photo #49920, *The Secretary-General's Office at UN Headquarters*, 01 September 1954. [Paintings displayed: Lyonel Feinginer (left) and Peter Blume (right).]

Figure 26. Lyonel Feinginer, *Viaduct*, 1920. Oil on canvas, 39 3/4 x 33 3/4 in. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Acquired through the Lillie P. Bliss Bequest.

Figure 27. Jean Hélion, *Composition*, 1936. Oil on canvas, 39 ¼ x 31 7/8 in. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of the Advisory Committee.

Figure 28. United Nations, New York, Photo #123839, *Premier of the Republic of the Congo at UN*, 24 July 1960. [Patrice Lumumba and Dag Hammarskjöld stand in front of Jean Hélion's *Composition* (1936).]

Figure 29. Georges Braque, *Beach at Dieppe (Barques au sec)*, 1928. Oil on canvas, 10 ¾ x 18 1/8 in (27 x 46 cm). Collection unknown.

Figure 30. Alan Reynolds, *Composition July*, 1952. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Purchase.

Figure 31. John Kane, *Homestead*, c. 1929. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller.

Figure 32. Nils Nilsson, *Vinterlandskap*, c. early to mid-1930s. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. The Dag Hammarskjöld Museum at Backåkra, Sweden.

Figure 33. Carl Kylberg, *Ljusets återkomst (The Return of Light)*, c. 1940. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. The Dag Hammarskjöld Museum at Backåkra, Sweden.

Figure 34. Leander Engström, *Järnväg längs fjällsjö (Railway along a mountain lake)*, 1915-18. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. The Dag Hammarskjöld Museum at Backåkra, Sweden.

Figure 35. Leander Engström, *Från Lappland (From Lapland)*, 1940. Watercolor, dimensions unknown. The Dag Hammarskjöld Museum at Backåkra, Sweden.

Figure 36. Carl Wargh, *Långa bron (Long bridge)*, c. 1930. Oil on canvas, Dimensions unknown. The Dag Hammarskjöld Museum at Backåkra, Sweden.

Figure 37. Helge Linden, *Landskap och byggander (Landscape with buildings)*, c. 1950. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. The Dag Hammarskjöld Museum at Backåkra, Sweden.

Figure 38. Albert Engström, *Portrait of Knud Rasmussen*, c. 1920. Etching, dimensions unknown. The Dag Hammarskjöld Museum at Backåkra, Sweden.

Figure 39. Muirhead Bone, *Portrait of Joseph Conrad*, 1923. Etching, dimensions unknown, series of 89. The Dag Hammarskjöld Museum at Backåkra, Sweden.

Figure 40. Axel Fridell, *Mr. Simmons (Tidningsläsaren) (Newspaper reader)*, 1933. Etching, dimensions unknown. The Dag Hammarskjöld Museum at Backåkra, Sweden.

Figure 41. Henry Kingsbury, *Linnaeus in his Lapland Dress*, c. 1805. Print, dimensions unknown. The Dag Hammarskjöld Museum at Backåkra, Sweden.

Figure 42. Pablo Picasso, *Seated Nude and Sketches (Horse, Bull, Bullfighter...)*, plate X from *Le Chef- d'oeuvre inconnu*, 1928. Print, Plate: 7 5/8 x 10 15/16" (19.4 x 27.8 cm); page: 13 x 9 15/16" (33 x 25.2 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. The Louis E. Stern Collection.

Figure 43. Georges Braque, *Pichet noir et citrons*, 1952. Color etching printed by Maeght, no. 1004, edition of 200.

Figure 44. Henri Matisse, *Étude pour Saint Dominique*, 1951. Lithograph, edition of 100, 19 5/8 x 12 3/4" (49 x 32.5 cm).

Figure 45. Bruno Liljefors, *Svanar (Swans)*, 1922. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. The Dag Hammarskjöld Museum at Backåkra, Sweden.

Figure 46. Detail of *Svanar (Swans)*, 1922, showing dedication and artist signature.

Figure 47. Detail of *Svanar (Swans)*, 1922, showing swans.

Figure 48. Barbara Hepworth, *Group (Three views of a young girl)*, 1950. Oil and pencil on paper, 18 x 14 in. The Dag Hammarskjöld Museum at Backåkra, Sweden.

Figure 49. Barbara Hepworth, *Single Form*, 1937-38. Sandalwood, H: 45". The Dag Hammarskjöld Museum at Backåkra, Sweden.

Figure 50. Barbara Hepworth, *Sea Form*, 1959. Oil and pencil on paper, dimensions unknown. The Dag Hammarskjöld Museum at Backåkra, Sweden.

Figure 51. Barbara Hepworth, *Incised Form (Granite)*, 1960. Oil and pencil on paper, 19 1/2 x 16 in. The Dag Hammarskjöld Museum at Backåkra, Sweden.

Figure 52. Barbara Hepworth, *Hollow Form (Chirunga III)*, 1960. Lignum vitae, H: 30". The Dag Hammarskjöld Museum at Backåkra, Sweden.

Figure 53. Barbara Hepworth, *Single Form (Memorial)*, 1961. Bronze, H: 12' 3". The Greater London Council in Battersea Park.

Figure 54. Barbara Hepworth, *Single Form*, 1961-64. Bronze, H: 21' (6.4m). The United Nations, New York. Gift of the Jacob and Hilda Blaustein Foundation as a memorial to Dag Hammarskjöld.

Figure 55. United Nations, New York, Photo #347386 (detail). *The Residence of the Late United Nation Secretary-General in New York City [Stained glass gift from Bo Beskow as seen*

in the window next to Dag Hammarskjöld's desk] Glass, created c. 1957, dimensions unknown. The stained glass is in the collection of The Dag Hammarskjöld Museum at Backåkra, Sweden.

Figure 56. United Nations, New York, Photo #65998, *Meditation Room of the United Nations Headquarters*. Fresco mural by Bo Beskow, completed 1957, 9 x 6.5 ft.

Figure 57. United Nations, New York, Photo #192457 (detail), *Residence of the Late UN Secretary-General in New York [Study for Meditation Room fresco mural at the United Nations, as seen hanging on the wall across from Dag Hammarskjöld's desk]*. Unknown medium and size, c. 1957.

Figure 58. Bo Beskow, *Composition for a Concave Wall*, 1961. Oil on canvas mounted on wall, 26 x 14 ft. The Dag Hammarskjöld Library, United Nations, New York. Gift of The Ford Foundation.

INTRODUCTION

Dag Hammarskjöld had a pure and exact perception of aesthetic principles, as exact as it was over ethical and moral principles. I believe they were, to him, one and the same thing...

Barbara Hepworth

Dag Hammarskjöld's (1905-1961) consummate ability and dedication to his role as Secretary-General of the United Nations is preeminent, but his wholly developed love and cultivation of the arts is little known. His remarkable life reflected eighteenth-century German poet and aesthetician Friedrich von Schiller's (1759-1805) belief that the perfect expression of humanity resides in a soul whose "senses and reason, duty and inclination, are in harmony."² Hammarskjöld expertly integrated the redemptive power of art, a core tenet of German Romanticism, into his parallel life amongst the seemingly antithetic realpolitik world of diplomacy and international affairs.³ By providing a new historical perspective of his aesthetic values and focusing on the role that modern art played in his career and personal life, this inquiry reveals novel insights into Hammarskjöld's character that lead to a deeper understanding of the lasting effect that his singular talents made on the United Nations (UN) and world history. With these outcomes in mind, this study presents original research and previously unpublished information that breaks new ground in the Secretary-General's dynamic legacy and forges a place for him in art history as a patron and collector of modern art. An unprecedented examination of the modern art that Hammarskjöld personally curated for his office suite at the UN headquarters in New York and a pioneering analysis of his private art collection documents and supports this claim.

² Lesley Sharpe, *Friedrich Schiller: Drama, Thought and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 137. As quoted from *Schillers Werke: Nationalausgabe* Bd. 20, 288.

³ The link between the Hammarskjöld and German romanticism will be expanded upon in Chapter I: 18-19.

Often referred to as “Mr. UN,” Hammarskjöld was a symbol of the organization’s pursuit of world peace, and his sudden death in 1961 while on a peacekeeping mission in the Congo shook the international community and occasioned world mourning. At the peak of the Cold War, Hammarskjöld embodied the spirit of liberal internationalism that was put to the test by increasingly hostile circumstances in the global arena.⁴ As the world’s top diplomat, Hammarskjöld acted as a beacon of light guiding the UN, or as he called it, “one of the greatest experiments of mankind of this era,” toward safety and success.⁵ Despite Hammarskjöld’s impact on world politics, his most recent biographer has written, “his thought and example have not yet found a lasting place in our collective memory.”⁶ Today, Hammarskjöld is remembered mostly by diplomats, international civil servants, and fellow Swedes; his accomplishments and once far-flung reputation lost to a world that once mourned him.

Notwithstanding Hammarskjöld’s remarkable devotion to international politics and world order, his character was more complex and sensitive than the controlled public persona he portrayed. Above all, he was a truly a modern man who valued innovation and progress, but balanced these traits by maintaining deep roots in his inherited cultural and moral values.⁷ As a

⁴ The term “liberal internationalism” defined here as “a generally optimistic approach based upon the belief that independent societies and autonomous individuals can through greater interaction and cooperation evolve towards common purposes, chief among these being peace and prosperity.” Fred Halliday, “Three Concepts of Internationalism,” in *International Affairs*, Vol. 64, No. 2 (Spring 1988), 192.

⁵ Letter from Dag Hammarskjöld to Pär Lagerkvist, January 31, 1958. As quoted in Roger Lipsey, *Hammarskjöld: A Life* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2013), 133.

⁶ Lipsey, *Hammarskjöld*, xiv.

⁷ C.G. Jung, *Modern Man in Search of a Soul* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1933), 196-7. Jung writes, “The man we call modern...who is aware of the immediate present, is by no means the average man. He is rather the man who stands upon a peak, or at the very edge of the world, the abyss of the future before him, above him the heavens, and below him the whole of mankind with a history that disappears in primeval mists....There are few who live up to the name, for they must be conscious to a superlative degree....He alone is modern who is fully conscious of the present....The values and strivings of those past worlds no longer interest him save from the historical standpoint. Indeed, he is completely modern only when he has come to the very edge of the world, leaving behind him all that has been discarded and outgrown, and acknowledging that he stands before the void out of which all things may grow.”

part of this inheritance, Hammarskjöld placed great value on aesthetic activities, which he pursued in a variety of roles: intellectual, mystic, poet, translator, mountain climber, photographer, and modern art collector. Through these aesthetic pursuits in conjunction with his modern intuition, Hammarskjöld kept his grounding in traditional values while maintaining harmony with forward thinking action on an international scale. Furthermore, his aesthetic principles played an instrumental role in his legacy as the most influential Secretary-General in the history of the United Nations.

Given his stature as an important world figure, a substantial bibliography exists on Hammarskjöld that ranges from short newspaper clippings to lengthy biographies. Three biographies written in differing styles by authors who knew Hammarskjöld from a short distance provided a strong foundation for this thesis. Sten Söderberg's *Hammarskjöld: A Pictorial Biography* (1962), the first biography to appear after Hammarskjöld's death in 1961, gives a much-needed Swedish perspective on Hammarskjöld's life that sheds light on the important nuances of his upbringing and early career. As a journalist and friend of the Hammarskjöld family, Söderberg's interpretive biography is grounded in research and interviews with the Secretary-General's friends, coworkers, and family in Sweden that reveals the roots of Hammarskjöld's character. Emery Kelen's biography, *Hammarskjöld* (1966), offers a psychological portrait that borders on character sketch. This stylistic choice may have been on account of his being a caricature artist (in addition to his position as head of television production in the UN's Information Office). Kelen's book provides valuable observations of events that he witnessed and firsthand accounts that he obtained from interviews with UN staff. In many ways, this publication was a gesture of admiration and affection that Kelen wished to give on behalf of the UN staff who not only mourned the death of a revered statesman, but also

felt the deep loss of their boss and leader. The more formal, standard biography written by Brian Urquhart, *Hammar skjöld* (1972), focuses on Hammar skjöld's years at the UN. Urquhart's account is often weighed down by political technicalities, but nonetheless he masterfully balances the dry details of the Secretary-General's job with anecdotes and analyses that point to Hammar skjöld's warmer side.⁸

While this thesis relies heavily on the extensive research and insights of the aforementioned writers—and many others—relevant information has been strenuously extrapolated from their publications and built upon to construct a more in-depth look at a rarely considered aspect of Hammar skjöld's character – his aesthetic values related to modern art. Granted, most writers recognized the influence of Hammar skjöld's singular aesthetics, but this impact was more often than not treated with a passing mention. However, two scholars and Hammar skjöld's closest friend, whose publications engage the sphere of Hammar skjöld's aesthetic values, greatly inspired and ultimately drove this paper to consider areas that have not been researched in-depth.

The most recent extensively researched interpretative biography on the Secretary-General, *Hammar skjöld: A Life* (2013) by art historian and author Roger Lipsey, weaves fascinating morsels of aesthetic insight that begged for further study. Lipsey first researched Hammar skjöld for an earlier book, *An Art of Our Own: The Spiritual in Twentieth Century Art* (1988), which includes a chapter dedicated to the uniqueness of the Secretary-General's sensibilities towards art, framed in the context of Hammar skjöld's creation of the Room of Quiet

⁸ Brian Urquhart worked at the UN since its inception in 1945, and served on Hammar skjöld's team of advisors. Hammar skjöld's name is spelled without the diaeresis in his book title because it was standard practice at the UN to drop all diacritical marks.

(or Meditation Room) at the UN.⁹ Lipsey himself confirmed that the subject of this thesis was original and worthy of scholarly pursuit.¹⁰

Manuel Fröhlich, a specialist of Hammarskjöld's political career, presented a paper in 2001, "A Fully Integrated Vision: Politics and the Arts in the Dag Hammarskjöld—Barbara Hepworth Correspondence," that brought to light the friendship between the Secretary-General and the British sculptor.¹¹ In addition to publishing the entire correspondence, Fröhlich's study reveals the extent of Hammarskjöld's commitment to modern art and the role it played in his work and society at large. The significance of Fröhlich's contribution is further discussed in Chapter III.

Although not a scholar, Bo Beskow was the Secretary-General's closest friend, and his book, *Dag Hammarskjöld: Strictly Personal - A Portrait* (1969), provides enormous insight into Hammarskjöld's warm side that was unknown to his political colleagues. As an artist, Beskow cannot help but discuss art and aesthetics—a topic on which he often deliberated with his friend—and the many anecdotes and details his book offers are crucial to developing a deeper understanding of Hammarskjöld's values and taste. Furthermore, Beskow's observation that Hammarskjöld "kept an admirable balance between the poet and the statesman – letting the one help the other" informed the overall claim of this paper that Hammarskjöld's aesthetic values were highly relevant to his extraordinary professional accomplishments.¹²

⁹ Roger Lipsey, "Enlightened Patronage" in *An Art of Our Own: The Spiritual in the Twentieth Century Art* (Boston and Shaftesbury: Shambhala, 1989).

¹⁰ Email correspondence between Roger Lipsey and the author, September 12, 2014.

¹¹ Dr. Manuel Fröhlich is a professor of international relations and foreign policy at the University of Trier, Germany, as of October 2015. He previously taught at the University of Jena.

¹² Bo Beskow, *Dag Hammarskjöld: Strictly Personal – A Portrait* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1969): 140.

Most importantly, Hammarskjöld's own voice informs this thesis. Through interviews, speeches, and articles, Hammarskjöld's carefully crafted words testify to his multifaceted professional talents and extracurricular interests. In particular, Hammarskjöld's posthumously published diary, *Vägmärken* (1963) (translated into English as *Markings* in 1964), grants readers entry into one of the most fascinating minds of the twentieth century. Despite the richness of these resources, I still found previously un-translated and unpublished materials in Hammarskjöld's archives at the National Library of Sweden that reinforce the novelty of this inquiry.

Chapter I presents necessary biographical information about Hammarskjöld that demonstrates aspects of his character that spurred his interest in art, setting the stage to discuss sources of his aesthetic values, including select details of Hammarskjöld's youth and career that illustrate his extraordinary and important place in history. Subsequently, a brief exploration into Hammarskjöld's personal beliefs and motivations underscores the claims that will be made throughout this paper. Finally, a study of the activities that he pursued as counterpoints to his public life locates us in the realm of aesthetics and presents an in-depth look at how he integrated romantic tendencies with modern perspectives.¹³ While not a comprehensive biography, this portion of the paper synthesizes information relevant to the study, presenting new sources and analyses that aid in further understanding the development and complexity of his aesthetic principles.

Chapter II examines the relationship that Hammarskjöld maintained with The Museum of Modern Art in New York (MoMA) during his service as Secretary-General, and how this

¹³ Throughout this paper, "romantic" is understood as a the aesthetic style that encourages the individual, emphasizes originality, imagination, emotion, introspection, and the wish for achieving full humanity through expressiveness. By "modern" I refer to the social trend during the first half of the Twentieth century that encouraged the collective group, rationality, science, and universality.

connection confirms his extensive knowledge of modern art. A brief historical overview of the UN's headquarters in New York provides context for its condition upon Hammarskjöld's arrival, and how he furthered the architectural aims and beautification of the new buildings and grounds. This chapter discusses how MoMA's admiration of Hammarskjöld led to his insightful remarks given at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the museum, and his role as originating Honorary Chair of MoMA's International Council. Most importantly, this chapter analyzes several of the paintings curated by Hammarskjöld for display at the United Nations, and how they exhibited his specific sensibilities for art.

Chapter III conducts a heretofore-unexamined study of Hammarskjöld's private art collection, focusing on a select group of modern works. Analyzing the function and exploring the narrative of the objects in his private collection, I present Hammarskjöld's identity and views of art in a new perspective. This portion of the study is divided into two parts: thematic groups of objects and works by unique artists in the collection. The thematic groups are modern Swedish landscapes, portraits of accomplished men, and graphic works by modern masters of the Paris Avant-garde. The unique artists discussed are Sweden's master of animal painting, Bruno Liljefors (1860-1939), one of Britain's foremost modern sculptors, Barbara Hepworth (1903-1975), and Swedish modern artist Bo Beskow (1906-1988). A discussion on the significance of each work or group of objects reveals how they functioned in Hammarskjöld's collection both during and after his lifetime. Particular attention is given to his friendships with Barbara Hepworth and Bo Beskow, two modern artists who Hammarskjöld collected as symbols of their creative accomplishments and the personal fondness he felt toward them. Lastly, consideration is

given to the mission and function of the Dag Hammarskjöld Museum that maintains the collection, and whether it achieves its purpose.¹⁴

The conclusion emphasizes that this study is an important, if only preliminary, step toward placing Hammarskjöld in a significant position in the history of art. A review of the claims of this paper, and recommended areas for future research and applications of his legacy that have not yet been addressed will demonstrate that scholarship on the subject is still far from complete. Overall, this thesis confirms that Hammarskjöld maintains a unique position as a politician who valued modern art, and drew upon aesthetics to fortify his duty as servant of world peace.

¹⁴ The Dag Hammarskjöld Museum is also called Backåkra, located on the southern coast of Sweden in the region of Skåne. The museum is closed as of the printing of this paper, but access to the hundred-acre property is allowed.

CHAPTER I

Dag Hammarskjöld's Life and Character

If I had had Dag's brains, I would have gone far!

Hjalmar Hammarskjöld, Dag's father

Dag Hjalmar Agne Carl Hammarskjöld was born on July 29, 1905 in Jonköping, Sweden, the youngest of four sons born to Hjalmar Hammarskjöld and Agnes (née Almqvist). Dag's father was a distinguished politician, intellectual, and "head of one of the oldest family associations in Sweden [that was] formed in 1611" who most notably served as Prime Minister of Sweden during the First World War, and thereafter as *Landshövding* (governor) of Uppsala County.¹⁵ Furthermore, Hjalmar was an accomplished international mediator, a member of the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague (1904-1946), and a member of the Swedish Academy (elected to Chair no. 17 in 1918).¹⁶ Dag's mother differed from his father in many ways, having a "radically democratic view of fellow humans" and "a childlike openness toward life, [and] an anti-rationalism with warm under-currents of feeling."¹⁷ These qualities complemented the more reserved, conservative character of her husband. The vastly different personalities of his parents challenged Hammarskjöld during his younger years with finding balance within himself between regimented, selfless duty and emotional, creative freedom.

¹⁵ Ibid., 22.

¹⁶ Ibid., 25; and Svenska Akademien (Swedish Academy), "Hammarskjöld, Hjalmar," <http://www.svenskaakademien.se/en/svenska-akademien/ledamotsregister/hammarskjold-hjalmar> (accessed March 6, 2016).

¹⁷ Wilder Foote, ed., *Servant of Peace: A Selection of Statements of Dag Hammarskjöld* (New York and Evanston: Harper & Row, 1962), 70.

Hammar skjöld spent most of his youth and educational years in Uppsala, home to the oldest university in Scandinavia. As the family of the governor of Uppsala, the Hammar skjölds lived in Vasa Castle, a grand structure overlooking the city, which must have been a fanciful playground for Dag. Decades later he remembered his childhood home fondly in “Castle Hill,” an essay he completed near the end of his life in which he accounts for the comings and goings of the university town residents and describes with remarkable detail his scientific observations about the passing of the seasons as observed from his year-round residence.¹⁸ This environment made for a captivating and privileged youth, surrounded by distinguished professors and intellectuals at Uppsala University, domestic and international politicians, high ranking clergymen, and prominent artists. As a student, Hammar skjöld worked hard and succeeded with ease. He completed his bachelor degree at the young age of nineteen with focuses in literature, philosophy, French, and economics, and pursued his higher education in law and economics. In 1933, Hammar skjöld completed his Doctor of Philosophy degree in economics at Stockholm University while simultaneously serving as the Secretary of the Unemployment Commission. He earned wide respect with the publication of his doctoral dissertation, titled “Konjunktursprindningen” (“The Spread of the Business Cycle”), and gained a reputation as an up-and-coming great mind of the Swedish government. Thereafter, Hammar skjöld enjoyed rapid, successive promotions, and during the Second World War he simultaneously held the positions of Permanent Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Finance and Chairman of the Bank of Sweden. In 1945 his career shifted to international politics when he became special envoy and financial advisor at the Swedish Foreign Ministry, where he again achieved swift advancement up to his final post in the Swedish government as Cabinet Minister without portfolio.

¹⁸ Dag Hammar skjöld, “Castle Hill” (Uppsala: The Dag Hammar skjöld Foundation, 2000). First published in the Swedish Tourist Association’s yearbook, *Svenska Turistöreningens Årsskrift*, 1962.

From 1946-47 Hammarskjöld held appointments that exposed him to a wide array of aesthetic interests. In particular, Hammarskjöld's tenure in Paris as the Chief Swedish delegate to the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) and Sweden's delegate to the Paris Conference in 1947 "when the Marshall Plan machinery was established" provided ample opportunities.¹⁹ While living in Paris he enjoyed the thriving art scene and often traveled to the countryside with colleagues to take in French history and culture, of which he already had extensive knowledge. As one member of the Swedish delegation to the OEEC recalled, "[Hammarskjöld] knew everything about old churches and cathedrals," demonstrating that he valued culture and architecture beyond superficial interest.²⁰

Hammarskjöld's involvement with the United Nations began in 1946 when he served as Vice-Chairman of the Swedish delegation, and in 1952 when he returned as Chairman of the delegation. His nomination for Secretary-General in early 1953 came as a surprise to many, especially Hammarskjöld. He believed the first call he received from the press on March 31 was a prank, informing the journalist "it was not yet April Fool's Day."²¹ Later, upon receiving an official notification of his nomination, he reflected on the burden that accompanied the post, but decided to not "refuse the task imposed upon [him]."²² According to his friend Bo Beskow, Hammarskjöld changed overnight after he accepted, becoming more mature and aware that he was "suddenly able to use and develop the whole range of his unique qualities."²³ In his own

¹⁹ Andrew Wellington Cordier Papers, Box 123, "Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations (Biographical Not)." Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York.

²⁰ Söderberg, *Hammarskjöld*, 52.

²¹ Urquhart, *Hammarskjöld*, 13.

²² Telegram reply to "President [of the] Security Council, United Nations, New York City" on April 1, 1953. Andrew Wellington Cordier Papers, Box 123, "Hammarskjöld, Dag – Appointment as Secretary-General."

²³ Beskow, *Dag Hammarskjöld*, 14.

journal, Hammarskjöld wrote at the time, “To be free, to be able to rise and leave everything—without looking back. To say yes—.”²⁴ Hammarskjöld was ready to plunge into an obscure destiny fully aware that he would impact, and likely create history.

On April 10, 1953 Hammarskjöld was sworn in as Secretary-General of the United Nations. Hammarskjöld’s achievements in this role went beyond the day-to-day management of administrative problems of the UN; he used his office to resolve international conflicts, establish new operating procedures, and ultimately drive the organization to a more substantial position of influence in the world. Hammarskjöld’s great legacy in the field of international politics resulted from his balance of sharp analytical thinking and creative problem solving. On September 18, 1961 his legacy was cut short when he was killed in a plane crash near Ndola in present-day Zambia (then Rhodesia) while on a peacekeeping mission to resolve the Congo crisis, a situation that occupied the last two years of his career. While the plane crash was officially ruled an accident, the circumstances and evidence are mysterious, causing many to believe that Hammarskjöld was assassinated because he was a “dangerous man.” To this point, one of Hammarskjöld’s biographers who worked with him at the UN articulated that “he was indeed a dangerous man as all pure souls are dangerous, iconoclastic and upsetting.”²⁵ In December 1961, Hammarskjöld was posthumously awarded the Nobel Peace Prize “in gratitude for all he did, for what he achieved, for what he fought for: to create peace and goodwill among nations and men.”²⁶

²⁴ Hammarskjöld, *Markings*, 91.

²⁵ Emery Kelen, *Hammarskjöld* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1966), 24.

²⁶ “The Nobel Peace Prize 1961 - Presentation Speech,” *Nobelprize.org* (Nobel Media AB 2014) http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1961/press.html (accessed February 27, 2016). This was the last time the prize was permitted to be posthumously awarded.

Hammar skjöld's Beliefs and Values

Hammar skjöld's drive to serve humanity came from a fascinating mélange of family traditions, an extraordinary education, and the influence of many great historic and contemporary thinkers. Upon his election as Secretary-General of the United Nations, the world political stage knew little of him, and even less about his personal beliefs and values. When he arrived in New York the day before he was sworn in as Secretary-General, Hammar skjöld clearly stated to the press that "the private man should disappear and the international public servant take his place."²⁷ What historians and scholars know of his personal life mostly came after his death through tributes, biographies, and the publication of Hammar skjöld's diary, *Markings*. However, Hammar skjöld did provide a few insightful glimpses into his character during his lifetime. The most personal statement he ever publicly made regarding his philosophy and beliefs came in 1954 when he appeared on a popular radio program, "This I Believe." What he said is worth quoting at length:

The world in which I grew up was dominated by principles and ideals of a time far from ours and, as it may seem, far removed from the problems facing a man of the middle of the twentieth century. However, my way has not meant a departure from those ideals. On the contrary, I have been led to an understanding of their validity also for our world of today. Thus, a never abandoned effort frankly and squarely to build up a personal belief in the light of experience and honest thinking has led me to recognize and endorse, unreservedly, those very beliefs which once were handed down to me.

From generations of soldiers and government officials on my father's side I inherited a belief that no life was more satisfactory than one of selfless service to your country—or humanity. This service required likewise the courage to stand up unflinchingly for your convictions.

From scholars and clergymen on my mother's side I inherited a belief that, in the very radical sense of the Gospels, all men were equals as children of God, and should be met and treated by us as our masters in God.

Faith is a state of the mind and the soul. The language of religion is a set of formulas which register a basic spiritual experience. I was late in understanding what this meant. When I finally reached that point, the beliefs in which I was once brought up were recognized by me as mine in their own right and by my free choice. I feel that I can endorse those convictions without

²⁷ Lipsey, *Hammar skjöld*, 12.

any compromise with the demands of that intellectual honesty which is the very key to maturity of mind.²⁸

These carefully chosen words (Hammarskjöld was *always* very precise with his language) point to two resounding influences on his personal values: Christianity and the philosophy of Henri Bergson.

Hammarskjöld's faith seems to stem from his mother, whom he devotedly accompanied to church every Sunday until her death in 1941, and blossomed through his close friendship with the Archbishop of the Church of Sweden, Nathan Söderblom (1866-1931), and his family.²⁹ Söderblom had been a professor of religion at Uppsala University for over a decade before his appointment as Archbishop of Uppsala and primate of the Church of Sweden in 1914, and he joined Hjalmar Hammarskjöld as a member of the Swedish Academy in 1921.³⁰ As the first church leader to espouse the ideals of internationalism, Söderblom "wanted most passionately to create a common Christian platform for peace."³¹ This perspective prompted Söderblom to organize the 1925 Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work (also known as The Stockholm Conference 1925), an initiative for peace and international understanding that "brought together...six hundred delegates from thirty-seven nations."³² The event was a resounding success that led to Söderblom to be awarded the 1930 Nobel Peace Prize.

²⁸ Dag Hammarskjöld, "Old Creeds in a New World," written for Edward R. Murrow's radio program *This I Believe*, November 1953. The transcript and recording of Hammarskjöld giving this talk is available at <http://thisibelieve.org/essay/16608/> (accessed February 20, 2016).

²⁹ Hammarskjöld's mother and Nathan Söderblom were often referred to as "the twins" because they shared the same birthday. Hammarskjöld also had a warm friendship with Söderblom's wife, Anna, and he visited her prior to his departure for New York to become the new Secretary-General of the UN. Lipsey, *Hammarskjöld*, 38 and 41.

³⁰ Eric J. Sharpe, *Nathan Söderblom and the Study of Religion* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), xvi.

³¹ "Nathan Söderblom – Facts," *Nobelprize.org* (Nobel Media AB 2014), http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1930/soderblom-facts.html (accessed February 28, 2016).

³² Lipsey, *Hammarskjöld*, 39.

Hammarskjöld participated as a French translator at the conference, and at the young age of twenty, an international conference of that magnitude no doubt encouraged his values of working towards effective communication and reconciliation. Years later, in August 1954, he traveled to Illinois to address the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches. When his host offered to inform him of the council's history, Hammarskjöld replied, "Oh, I know all about that! I was brought up under Söderblom."³³ In his speech to the council he proclaimed that "The Churches are guardians of and spokesmen for the deepest beliefs and the loftiest dreams of man."³⁴ This comment suggests that Hammarskjöld optimistically viewed churches, or more specifically religion, as fertile ground for the development of ideas for the improvement of mankind. Furthermore, as shall be proven in the analysis of his speech at The Museum of Modern Art in Chapter II, Hammarskjöld understood that artists of the past worked in the service of the church to inspire mankind to hold God in greater faith.

The internationally prominent theologian and humanitarian, Albert Schweitzer (1875-1965), was another Lutheran influence on Hammarskjöld's personal values. Best known for his philosophy of "reverence for life," Schweitzer put his beliefs into practice as a missionary and surgeon in Africa. Biographer Sten Söderberg provides an astute analysis of an article Hammarskjöld published in 1951 in the Swedish newspaper *Tiden* that pointed to his adoption of Schweitzer's philosophy:

[Hammarskjöld] had a scale of moral values that did not fit into the frame of any of the [political] parties as then constituted. For his own reasons he had adopted the philosophy whose chief exponent is Albert Schweitzer. This means having roots deep in the traditions of European culture, and it means accepting what Schweitzer called 'reverence for life.' This maxim Hammarskjöld took as his own.³⁵

³³ Lipsey, *Hammarskjöld*, 40.

³⁴ Foote, ed., *Servant of Peace*, 56.

³⁵ Söderberg, *Hammarskjöld*, 49-50.

Söderberg further claims that it was the “greater social view represented by internationalism” that Hammarskjöld shared with Schweitzer which gave him the “courage to accept the task of world public servant.”³⁶

While Hammarskjöld would hold the lessons and traditions of his Christian heritage close to his heart, he did not attend church regularly after his mother’s death, forging an independent spiritual path that followed the examples of many medieval mystics whom he greatly enjoyed reading. To guide his path to unity with God, he designated Meister Eckhart (1260-1328), Jan van Ruysbroeck (1293/4-1381), and Thomas à Kempis (1380-1471), whose writings he repeatedly turned to in times of questioning. But with maturity Hammarskjöld discovered that he could expand on his understanding of God outside of Christianity, and embraced the lessons and grace that a pluralistic view of God provided him.

Beyond religious ethics, French philosopher Henri Bergson (1859-1941), whose concepts of multiplicity, creativity and morality were highly influential in Europe, greatly affected Hammarskjöld’s motivations for public service. In the early 1900s, Nathan Söderblom, who “saw in Bergson’s work an affinity with the prophetic, eschatological consciousness,” introduced Bergson’s writings to the curriculum at Uppsala University.³⁷ Söderblom was a longtime proponent of Bergson’s writings and was instrumental in Bergson being awarded the 1927 Nobel Prize in Literature (presented in 1928). In addition to studying Bergson at Uppsala University, Hammarskjöld likely participated in reading and discussing Bergson with his father in the summer of 1927 ahead of the Swedish Academy’s vote, which allowed an intimate familiarity with Bergson’s concepts of multiplicity, creative evolution, *élan vital* (vital impulse), and

³⁶ Ibid, 50.

³⁷ Sharpe, *Nathan Söderblom*, 124.

sources of morality.³⁸ Furthermore, given the ubiquity of Bergson's ideas at the time, Hammarskjöld and his father were probably aware of the philosopher's actions in the realm of international politics, and involvement with the creation of the League of Nations—the precursor to the United Nations.³⁹ Bergson's influence on political theory was far-reaching, and his concepts impacted Hammarskjöld's approach to international problems, as proven by his direct reference to Bergson's most acclaimed work, *Creative Evolution*:

Working at the edge of the development of human society is to work on the brink of the unknown. Much of what is done will one day prove to have been of little avail. That is no excuse for the failure to act in accordance with our best understanding, in recognition of its limits but with faith in the ultimate result of the creative evolution in which it is our privilege to cooperate.⁴⁰

These remarks provide further insight into Hammarskjöld's remarkable awareness of history – how it is made, and his “privileged” role in creating it.

Returning to Hammarskjöld's aforementioned personal testimonial, elements of Bergson's concept of creative evolution can be detected, in particular that “the notion of life mixes together two opposite senses, which must be differentiated and then led into a genuine unity.”⁴¹ Hammarskjöld's own struggle for genuine unity within himself is evident in his posthumously published journal, *Markings*, which he described as “a sort of *white book* concerning my negotiations with myself—and with God.”⁴² In this format, Hammarskjöld expresses his most personal creative impulses as poetry and aphorisms, demonstrating again that

³⁸ The three concepts attributed here to Henri Bergson are drawn from his most celebrated works: the article entitled “Introduction to Metaphysics” (1903) that was published again later in the collection of works *The Creative Mind* (1934), *Creative Evolution* (1907), and *Two Sources of Morality and Religion* (1932). Leonard Lawlor and Valentine Moulard Leonard, “Henri Bergson”, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2013 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/bergson/> (accessed February 25, 2016).

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Lipsey, *Hammarskjöld*, 384. As quoted from an address given at the University of Chicago, Illinois, May 1, 1960.

⁴¹ Leonard Lawlor and Valentine Moulard Leonard, “Henri Bergson”, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2013 Edition), Edward N. Zalta, ed., <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/bergson/> (accessed February 25, 2016).

⁴² Hammarskjöld, *Markings*, v.

he was influenced by the importance that Bergson placed on creativity as necessary for the continuity of life.

Overall, Hammarskjöld's values reflected the principles of twentieth-century humanism, a trend that ran parallel with liberal internationalism (previously defined). Some of the principles broadly associated with twentieth-century humanism are a revulsion against war, a belief in democracy and open government, and, most importantly, the idea that human problems can only be solved by humans. The overarching spirit of the time was one of optimism, the core substance of which was freedom. The pursuit of freedom traces back to the Enlightenment, and Immanuel Kant's advocacy for human autonomy and freethinking. Kant's thinking spurred a chain reaction in philosophy and political theory that remains relevant to this today. This link is important because it connects Hammarskjöld's humanism to German Romanticism. Twentieth-century humanists did not have as clearly defined aesthetic values as the German Romantics, but the philosophy of Schiller, the Schlegel brothers, and Friedrich von Schelling in particular (which was motivated in many ways in response to Kant) pervades the principles of twentieth-century humanism.⁴³ Therefore, in relation only to art, Hammarskjöld can be considered a romanticist because he believed that aesthetic activities provided an outlet for the human spirit to soar and best express its achievements. He also espoused the romantic tenet that human progress and world peace are convictions worth fighting and even dying for.⁴⁴ Furthermore, he connected these beliefs to his personal life by striving to balance the orderly and analytical side of his

⁴³ Schiller is usually associated with German classicism and the Age of Goethe, but I have included him here with other German romanticists because his thinking inspired the Schlegel brothers and Schelling to take his theories of aesthetics even further.

⁴⁴ Isaiah Berlin, *The Roots of Romanticism* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press 1999), 10. Berlin asserts that one of the values "to which [Romantics] attached the highest importance" was a "readiness to sacrifice one's life to some inner light, dedication to some ideal for which it is worth sacrificing all that one is, for which it is worth both living and dying."

professional life with works of art—whether poetry, music, or visual arts—that ignited his closely-guarded emotional and spiritual side.⁴⁵

Counterpoints to a Life of Civil Service

Hammar skjöld's lifelong status as a bachelor is a biographical fact that aroused speculation both during his lifetime and after his death. Some suspected he was secretly a homosexual, but no proof existed, and Hammar skjöld chose to ignore the occasional rumors. Others who knew him and his family well figured that attachment to his mother was the reason he never married, as he was in many ways considered a "stay-at-home daughter."⁴⁶ Of this status, one of his oldest friends remarked, "The fantastic thing is that at the same time he could be a boy with the others, pass exams as brilliantly as he did and make a great career."⁴⁷

It would seem that Hammar skjöld chose celibacy, dedicating himself instead to a greater purpose in life through his career.⁴⁸ Yet, as many diary entries demonstrate, he found this path difficult and was "especially aware of the loneliness such a life entailed."⁴⁹ The best example of his struggle is found in an entry dated on this birthday in 1958, "Did'st Thou give me this inescapable loneliness so that it would be easier for me to give Thee all?"⁵⁰ The following year

⁴⁵ This balance references again Schiller's ideas about a "beautiful soul" found on page 1.

⁴⁶ Söderberg, *Hammar skjöld*, 29.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Another aspect of Jung's idea of modern man can again be considered here: "The man whom we can with justice call "modern" is solitary. He is so of necessity and at all times, for every step towards a fuller consciousness of the present removes him further from his original "*participation mystique*" with the mass of men—from submersion in a common unconsciousness." *Modern Man in Search of a Soul*, 197.

⁴⁹ Bernhard Erling, *A Reader's Guide to Dag Hammar skjöld's Waymarks* (St. Peter, Minnesota: Privately published, 1999), 249. Available online at www.dhf.uu.se.

⁵⁰ Hammar skjöld, *Markings*, 166.

Hammar skjöld composed a haiku that refers to his celibacy, and how people misunderstood his choice:

Because it did not find a mate,
They called the unicorn
A pervert.⁵¹

His use of the word “pervert” shows how frustrated—and possibly offended—he was with rumors of him being a homosexual. We may never have satisfactory answers for this aspect of his biography, and it is not the purpose of this paper to speculate over a topic already dealt with in greater detail by at least four biographers who knew him. Regardless of Hammar skjöld’s reasons to remain single, this choice created an enormous amount of tension in his life for which he sought relief. When Hammar skjöld was not channeling his abundant energy into his job, he sought to “counterpoint...[his] enormously exposed and published life”⁵² by pursuing pleasures he found in nature and the arts.

Hammar skjöld often inserted nature metaphors into press conferences, reflecting his recreational pastime of mountaineering. Escaping to the mountains in Lapland, a rugged region in northern Sweden, had long been a way for him to recharge after long hours and weeks of work in Stockholm. At his first press conference upon landing in New York, Hammar skjöld compared his new role as Secretary-General to mountaineering,

The qualities it requires are just those which I feel we all need today: perseverance and patience, a firm grip on realities, careful but imaginative planning, a clear awareness of the dangers but also of the fact that fate is what we make it and that the safest climber is he who never questions his ability to overcome all difficulties.⁵³

A mutual love of mountaineering must have been what prompted Nepalese Sherpa Tenzing Norgay (1914-1986), one of the first two climbers to reach the summit of Mount Everest in May

⁵¹ Erling, *A Reader’s Guide to Dag Hammar skjöld’s Waymarks*, 248.

⁵² Beskow, *Dag Hammar skjöld*, 32.

⁵³ Urquhart, *Hammar skjöld*, 16.

1953, to present Hammarskjöld with a climbing pick inscribed, “So you may climb to even greater heights.”⁵⁴ Hammarskjöld proudly displayed Sherpa Tenzing’s gift above the fireplace in his New York apartment (Figure 1). A few years later, Hammarskjöld used his family coat of arms featuring two crossed climbing picks (Figure 2) as a source of inspiration for bookplates he had designed for his rapidly growing personal library (Figure 3). This emblem was a conscious design choice, honoring his family’s heritage and reflecting his own independent values.

Hammarskjöld’s affinity for nature is most evident in the twenty-two albums of his photographs archived at the National Library of Sweden that depict for the most part mountains, flora, trees, lakes and seascapes. The dates included in the first two albums indicated he seriously began to pursue this hobby around 1938-39. These years correspond with the visit of the internationally renowned American photographer, Clara E. Sipprell, who traveled to Sweden in 1938 for her “last major photographic expedition” that included an image of Hammarskjöld’s father as part of a series of approximately “fifty of [Sweden’s] great ones.”⁵⁵ Sipprell’s pictorial style evidently inspired Hammarskjöld’s photographic eye, and his admiration for her work later prompted him to hire her for a personal portrait in 1954 (Figure 4). Hammarskjöld’s early albums contain mostly photos from his mountains treks and visits to fishing villages on Sweden’s west coast. These images are amongst some of his most beautiful compositions, and serve as first-hand representations of Hammarskjöld’s discerning eye. While Hammarskjöld clearly preferred nature as his photographic subject, he also dabbled in portraits of his close friends and snapshots of his many travel destinations as an official. No matter the subject, he presented his subjects from a “romantic perspective,” as defined in *Photography Annual*’s 1958

⁵⁴ Betty Pepis, “Scandinavian Import,” *New York Times Magazine*, August 1, 1954, 30.

⁵⁵ Mary Kennedy McCabe, *Clara Sipprell: Pictorial Photographer* (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 1990), 61.

article, “The Romantic Camera,” which states, “the romantic camera is any camera in the hands of a romanticist—one who seeks harmony and beauty in his subject, and treats it imaginatively.”⁵⁶ A more in-depth study of his photography is beyond the scope of this thesis, but would likely reveal more precisely how closely he adhered to this idea of a “romantic camera.” I can attest, however, that the photos I examined at the National Library of Sweden certainly point to Hammarskjöld’s conscious efforts to capture harmony and beauty with his lens.

Hammar skjöld’s passion for photography was widely known, and he twice accepted requests to publish articles on the subject. His first article, “Kameran har lärt mig att se” (“The camera has taught me to see”), was published in the 1958 issue of Swedish photography magazine, *Foto*, and makes a few interesting points about the importance of aesthetics and creativity to him. First, Hammar skjöld explains that photography is an activity that is “self-fulfilling, [both] technically and aesthetically,” and that photographers are ultimately driven by inner creative ambitions.⁵⁷ He emphasizes learning to see through the frame of a camera, “memorizing lines, light, [finding] balance between the details and the whole.”⁵⁸ Hammar skjöld stresses the importance of learning to see via the medium of photography when he stated, “It is better to teach oneself to see, than to have one’s vision fixed by others,” validating that an individual’s perspective and personal experience is inherently unique.⁵⁹ These statements echo the beliefs of great Romantic philosophers such as the Schlegel brothers and Schelling who argued that art was a self-fulfilling activity that gave decisive authority to the individual.

⁵⁶ Dag Hammar skjöld Collection, L 179: 209. Kungliga Biblioteket (National Library of Sweden), Stockholm. The magazine was found in his apartment with a slip of paper marking the page of this article.

⁵⁷ Dag Hammar skjöld, “Kameran har lärt mig att se,” *Foto*, Nr.12 (1958), 20. Translated from the original Swedish by Victoria Gardezi and the author: “självförverkligande, tekniskt och estetiskt.”

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

Hammar skjöld aligns himself with these great thinkers, and concludes his “photographer’s statement” of sorts by considering what the future of photography might hold:

I have not mourned the loss of much that characterized yesterday’s photography. Sometimes in modern photography one is struck by an image that can be seen as “l’art pour l’art,” and there is a subtlety that can seem to extend beyond the natural limits of photography. Although such trends may not prove viable, they are still beneficial for sharpening the eye and opening paths to more emotional nuances of images with stronger presence.⁶⁰

Hammar skjöld’s statement and reference to “l’art pour l’art,” demonstrates his familiarity with one of the central themes of the nineteenth-century Aesthetic Movement which argued that art need not have any didactic purpose; it need only be beautiful. This should not, however, be interpreted as Hammar skjöld agreeing with the philosophy of the Aesthetic Movement. I believe, rather, that he is arguing that “l’art pour l’art” brings opportunities for deeper engagement with art and the intrinsic value of creativity on a purely sensual level.⁶¹

The second article Hammar skjöld published, “A New Look at Everest,” appeared in the January 1961 issue of *National Geographic*. The article’s text focuses less on aesthetic principles and more on the spiritual ambiance he perceived at the foothills of the Himalayas, and the excitement of trying to get the shot that he wanted with limited time while flying in an unpressurized plane lent to him by the King of Nepal. Hammar skjöld’s photos of Mount Everest are striking, especially the article’s title page photo (Figure 5). Furthermore, the photos were

⁶⁰ Dag Hammar skjöld, “Kameran har lärt mig att se,” *Foto*, No. 12 (1958), 20-23. Dag Hammar skjöld Archives, National Library of Sweden. Translation from the original Swedish by Victoria Gardezi and the author: “Jag har inte sört förlusten av mycket som karaktäriserade gårdagens fotografi. Ibland slås man i modern fotografi av någonting som ter sig såsom ”l’art pour l’art”, en subtilitet som kan förefalla att gå utöver fotografins naturliga gränser. Även om sådana experiment icke skulle visa sig livskraftiga, kan de dock ha sin nytta genom att skärpa blicken och öppna vägar till känsligare nyansering av bilder med starkare eget berättigande.”

⁶¹ While an excerpt of this article was translated into English in Kai Falkman, ed., *To Speak for the World: Speeches and statements by Dag Hammar skjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations 1953-1961* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2005), 221-223, this section was not included. As such, to my knowledge, this is the first time it has been translated and cited in a study on Hammar skjöld.

unprecedented because access to airspace around the mountain was heavily restricted at the time.⁶²

While Hammarskjöld loved nature and photography, those interests were relatively easy escapes for him. His brilliant mind needed an intellectual counterpoint to the banal day-to-day duties and technical reports generated at the UN; he found this refuge in literature, poetry and translation. In late 1954, Hammarskjöld's activity in these areas increased when he was elected to the Swedish Academy, replacing his father in Chair no. 17.⁶³ The burden of his post at the UN never detracted from his commitment to the Swedish Academy, and he actively participated in the annual selection of a Nobel Laureate in Literature. He set aside time each day to read, and when he found a text particularly captivating he would undertake its Swedish translation. Hammarskjöld's translating activities, however, were not purely recreational. He first translated Saint-John Perse's poem, *Chronique* (1959), from French to Swedish to accompany his recommendation of the poet to the Swedish Academy, which ultimately led to awarding Perse the 1960 Nobel Prize in Literature. Hammarskjöld's translation of *Chronique* was later published in Sweden. Subsequently, he translated American author Djuna Barnes' play, *The Anitiphon* (1958), in collaboration with his friend Karl Ragnar Gierow, Director of the Royal Dramatic Theater (and fellow member of the Swedish Academy). The Swedish Royal Dramatic Theater opened their production of the translated play on February 17, 1961.⁶⁴ At the time of his death, Hammarskjöld was working on a Swedish translation of Martin Buber's famous philosophical publication on existence, *Ich und Du* (1923, translated in 1937 into English as *I and Thou*) and

⁶² Dag Hammarskjöld, "A New Look at Everest," *National Geographic*, Vol. 119, No. 1 (January 1961), 86-93.

⁶³ Urquhart, *Hammarskjöld*, 30. This was an unprecedented situation, that a son be elected to take his father's seat.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 40.

twelve pages of his translation were found in the wreckage of the plane crash he was killed in.⁶⁵

Buber and other authors greatly trusted Hammarskjöld's skills; as a result, they gave him full authorization to translate their works. Moreover, he developed warm friendships with each of them.

Hammar skjöld's deep appreciation for the visual arts is the least considered feature of his character. Perhaps his many other accomplishments and characteristics have overshadowed this important facet of his identity or, I believe, Hammar skjöld's sensitivity to the arts was so wholly integrated into his personality that it has remained a part of the mystery that surrounds him. Still, his aesthetic values, as affirmed by his patronage and collecting of art, were vital bearings of his character and legacy. Thus warranting the groundbreaking inquiry in the following chapters.

⁶⁵ Kelen, *Hammar skjöld*, 131.

CHAPTER II

Dag Hammarskjöld and The Museum of Modern Art

Modern art has forged keys to a perfection which it has not itself reached. Shouldering courageously the problems of modern man...

Dag Hammarskjöld

Art and international politics were intertwined to a historical degree in the early to mid-twentieth century; an intersection that materialized through the use of the visual arts as a propaganda tool for nations to promote war and peace during these highly contentious decades. As a result, artists felt compelled to innovate and assert their independence to an even greater degree than previous centuries to guard their freedom from standardization. While struggling to recover from two world wars, many nations made a concerted effort to move the arts under the umbrella of government as a way to preserve cultural heritage and promote national policies. Agencies such as the Arts Council of Great Britain were created, and France's Charles de Gaulle established a Minister of Culture post, all of which managed a nation's image in the world. As new nations on the continents of Asia and Africa formed, they also prioritized the ideas of safeguarding cultural patrimony and advancing national identity. Leaders of these young nations felt a strong need to define their individuality in a rapidly expanding global arena. As a result, the international exchange of ideas and culture reached new heights in the first few decades of the twentieth century, and the formation of the United Nations and UNESCO provided an arena for nations to make artistic and architectural contributions that showcased their cultural heritage.

UNESCO quickly found a home in Paris, and a fascinating study of its place in art history can be found in Christopher E. M. Pearson's book, *Designing UNESCO: Art, Architecture and International Politics at Mid-Century* (2010). The story of how the United Nations Secretariat

found its permanent home in New York is just as captivating, but a historical study that provides a comprehensive look at the aesthetics of the UN headquarters has yet to be written. For this reason, this study provides a brief introduction to important aspects of the UN's physical and visual history prior to Hammarskjöld's arrival in April 1953.

Through vision and planning, international and local players established the home of the United Nations in New York City. The first Secretary-General, Trygve Lie (1896-1968), believed from the outset that the UN should establish its headquarters in New York, advocating that the nascent world organization ought to be “set up at the undisputed economic and political crossroads of our changing world.”⁶⁶ Through a gift of \$8.5 million from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the United Nations purchased the land at Turtle Bay on Manhattan's east side in December 1946. In Rockefeller's offer letter he concluded, “If the property can be useful to you in meeting the great responsibilities entrusted to you by the peoples of the world, it will be a source of infinite satisfaction to me and my family.”⁶⁷ Subsequently, the United States government furnished the organization with a \$65 million interest-free loan to construct the three-building complex designed by an elite team of international engineers and architects.⁶⁸ At the recommendation of officials in New York City and the U.S. government, the UN appointed Wallace K. Harrison, a well-known New York architect, as the project's Director of Planning.⁶⁹ Furthermore, Harrison's knowledge of art—and friendships with modern artists and patrons—

⁶⁶ Trygve Lie, *In the Cause of Peace* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1954), 114.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 115. The Board of Design Consultants consisted of: G. A. Soilleux (Australia), Gaston Brunfaut (Belgium), Oscar Niemeyer (Brazil), Ernest Cormier (Canada), Ssu-ch'eng Liang (China), Charles E. Le Corbusier (France), Howard Robertson (Great Britain), Sven Markelius (Sweden), N. D. Bassov ([former] U.S.S.R.), and Julio Vilamajó (Uruguay).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 115.

proved beneficial to those choosing décor for the UN buildings, and his experience with outfitting other large scale buildings with art (e.g., Rockefeller Center) made him an important advisor to Secretary-General Lie. As Lie recalls in his memoir,

As an international structure, it had long since been agreed that the art and design of the Member nations be incorporated into the building's interior.... This international participation idea soon won broad support, and many...welcomed the opportunity to assist in decorating and furnishing the [buildings and grounds].⁷⁰

Lie also explains that the enthusiasm of UN member nations necessitated forming a Board of Art Advisers to establish processes for the acceptance of gifts, and placement of art throughout the building complex.⁷¹

Initially, the acquisition process was slow, and the committee struggled to garner enough gifts to fill the stark walls and halls of the United Nations' headquarters. Harrison quickly realized that he needed to intervene and facilitate filling the void, and called on his friends for help. One outstanding example of Harrison's initiative is seen flanking the walls of the General Assembly hall where two large-scale murals designed by Fernand Léger are installed. Through Harrison's personal friendship with Léger—and with the generosity of their mutual friend and patron, Nelson A. Rockefeller—the murals were completed with funds outside of the UN's construction budget.⁷² Harrison's wholehearted dedication to the success of the UN project is evidenced in his remarks to the planning committee, "The world hopes for a symbol of peace. We have given them a workshop for peace."⁷³

⁷⁰ Ibid., 120-121.

⁷¹ Ibid., 121.

⁷² Victoria Newhouse, *Wallace K. Harrison, Architect* (New York: Rizzoli, 1989), 142.

⁷³ Lie, *In the Cause of Peace*, 117.

On January 1, 1951 the United Nations relocated its operations to its permanent home. Photos documenting the spaces during the first few years are barren of decoration, save for a flag or occasional map. Secretary-General Lie faced more pressing international problems that took precedence over advancing the work of the Board of Art Advisers. Thus, when Hammarskjöld arrived in April 1953 to relieve Lie of “the most impossible job on this earth,”⁷⁴ the vast, empty spaces must have come as a shock compared to the palatial and ornately decorated rooms of the government buildings in Stockholm. Fortunately, the bleak environment rapidly transformed under the guidance of Hammarskjöld as Secretary-General.

The Museum of Modern Art Impressed by Hammarskjöld

In addition to the beautification of the UN’s public spaces, Hammarskjöld prioritized decorating his office suite on the 38th floor. In January 1954 Harrison arranged for a loan of paintings from The Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) to fill the empty walls.⁷⁵ The Secretary-General’s Chief-of-Staff, Andrew W. Cordier, accompanied Hammarskjöld on his first visit to the museum to make his selections. Cordier recalls that “after about an hour of canvassing their collections, the Director of the Museum drew [him] aside and asked whether Mr. Hammarskjöld was the Director of the Swedish Royal Museum.”⁷⁶ Cordier informed him that Hammarskjöld was not and asked why he thought so, to which the director replied, “Well, we have never had anyone come to this museum who is so familiar with the lives and the contributions of the artists represented here, or who has made such perceptive comments on individual pictures.”⁷⁷ The

⁷⁴ Urquhart, *Hammarskjöld*, 15. As quoted from UN Film Archives.

⁷⁵ Urquhart, *Hammarskjöld*, 42.

⁷⁶ René d’Harnoncourt Papers, Biographical note. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

director was likely René d'Harnoncourt, who would later remark on their initial meeting, "[Hammarskjöld] participated actively and enthusiastically in the selection of [works of art loaned from our Collection] and showed great knowledge of modern painting."⁷⁸ The Secretary-General's knowledge of modern art and eloquence in discussing it made a lasting impression on d'Harnoncourt and others at MoMA.

Hammar skjöld's initiative demonstrates his sensitivity to the presence of art in his environment, and his desire to surround himself with works that would please him both aesthetically and intellectually. Remarking on this aspect of Hammar skjöld's character, d'Harnoncourt said, "His aesthetic judgment was independent and very sensitive. His concern with the placing of each picture on the walls of his office revealed his love and respect for works of art."⁷⁹ Hammar skjöld's private collection, discussed at length in Chapter III, attests to his sensitivity to his surroundings; however, the works borrowed from MoMA also illuminate this side of his character. Even so, after careful consideration I conclude that Hammar skjöld exercised thoughtful restraint in his choice of works because he was conscious of their function as silent communicators of his humanism on the walls of his office. As such, the content of his selections were diplomatic, meaning universal in theme and appealing to a multicultural audience. In other words, I believe that Hammar skjöld was challenged to find a balance between honoring his more encompassing appreciation for the artistic accomplishments and integrity of modern artists while keeping the subject matter inclusive for a diverse audience. As many modern artists dealt with themes of universality through purely abstract forms or scenes of

⁷⁷ Andrew W. Cordier, "Motivations and Methods of Dag Hammar skjöld," in *Paths to World Order*, Andrew W. Cordier and Kenneth L. Maxwell, eds. (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1967), 9.

⁷⁸ René d'Harnoncourt Papers, V.21. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

everyday life, MoMA's collection contained an abundance of paintings that would fit the bill. Figures rarely appeared in the paintings Hammarskjöld chose, and all of the works applied abstraction to some degree. His speech delivered for the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of The Museum of Modern Art provides a clear understanding of the importance Hammarskjöld placed on modern art and further reveals his romantic belief that aesthetic activities were essential to man and society achieving their full potential.

The Museum of Modern Art's experience of witnessing Hammarskjöld's knowledge of and astute observations about modern art prompted their invitation to him to speak at its twenty-fifth anniversary celebration on October 19, 1954. Joining Hammarskjöld in offering remarks commemorating the occasion were President Eisenhower (via recorded message), New York City Mayor Robert F. Wagner, and esteemed art expert, Paul J. Sachs. Hammarskjöld began his speech by admitting that it might seem strange that he take an active part in the celebration, but he quickly proved his worthiness by eloquently communicating MoMA's mission and its correlation to the United Nations' goals.⁸⁰ He went on to deftly clarify that MoMA is a museum for "modern" art because it houses "art which reflects the inner problems of our generation and is created in the hope of meeting some basic needs." Furthermore, while Hammarskjöld admitted that modern art is not necessarily reflective of mankind's progress per se, he maintained that "two qualities are shared in common by modern art and the scientific sphere: one is the courage

⁸⁰ This was not the first time a Secretary-General was invited to speak at MoMA; Hammarskjöld's predecessor, Trygve Lie, gave the dedication speech at the opening of the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Sculpture Garden on TBD. Lie's remarks, however, was not nearly as eloquent as Hammarskjöld's in drawing parallels between modern art and international affairs. Press Release Archives, "Remarks by Trygve Lie, First Secretary General of UN, at Opening of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Sculpture Garden," April 28, 1953. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/1712/releases/MOMA_1953_0042_40.pdf?2010 (accessed January 8, 2016).

of an unprejudiced search for the basic elements of experience. The other is perseverance in the fight for mastery of those elements.”⁸¹

Further expanding upon these two qualities, he explained that courage marked the difference between modern art and past art because artists of the past were limited by clearly defined religious parameters. According to Hammarskjöld, modern artists must search for “an essential expression of the spiritual situation of our generation” which was “based on a reevaluation of all values.”⁸² On the other hand, Hammarskjöld claimed that modern artists shared “perseverance in the fight for mastery” with artists of the past.⁸³ He believed this quality was a “romantic conviction [that]...makes Piero della Francesca and Rembrandt, Cézanne and Braque, members of one great fraternity.”⁸⁴ To further emphasize the importance of artists in society and the world, Hammarskjöld quoted André Malraux, “The victory of an artist over his servitude joins the victory of art itself over the fate of man.”⁸⁵

Hammarckjöld’s speech proves yet again that he embraced the tenet of Romanticism that art was essential to the human spirit and progress. He alludes to this philosophy later in the speech, “Art gives more to life than it takes from it. True art does not depend on the reality about which it tells. Its message lies in the new reality which it creates by the way in which it reflects

⁸¹ Press Release Archives, “Address by Dag Hammarckjöld,” 2.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid. Hammarckjöld uses the term “romantic” here to refer to the *idée mère* of Romanticism that gives centrality to the imagination that resulted in the elevation the artist over everyone else.

⁸⁵ Ibid. The source of quote could not be located in Malraux’s *The Voices of Silence*, so this quote may have been taken from the author’s most famous novel, *La Condition Humaine (Man’s Fate)* (1933). However, Malraux explains in *The Voices of Silence* that man’s destiny is to die and that “the art of all has this in common, that it expresses a defense against fatality.” André Malraux, *The Voices of Silence*, trans. Stuart Gilbert (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1953), 630-631.

experience. In our minds, we, all of us, sometimes chisel beauty out of the stone of matter.⁸⁶

Hammarskjöld further praised modern artists for their effort to “isolate beauty from the impurity of life...” and acknowledged a debt he felt was owed to modern art because the movement “teaches us to see by forcing us to use our senses, our intellect and our sensibility to follow it on its road of exploration.” He believed that progress depended on man learning to be “seers and explorers.”⁸⁷

To conclude his remarks, Hammarskjöld used thoughtful rhetoric to emphasize an analogy he perceived between the United Nations and modern art:

In modern international politics...we have to approach our task in the spirit which animates the modern artist. We have to tackle our problems without the armour of inherited convictions or set formulas, but only with our bare hands and all the honesty we can muster. And we have to do so with an unbreakable will to master the inert matter of patterns created by history and sociological conditions.⁸⁸

This proclamation refers to the creativity that Hammarskjöld felt was necessary to the success of the United Nations, and that he and his colleagues who practiced the art of diplomacy must have courage and perseverance to accomplish the goal of lasting world peace. Since this speech was given early on in Hammarskjöld’s service as Secretary-General, the audience could not judge whether this philosophy had resulted in successful resolutions at the United Nations. Looking back, however, Hammarskjöld’s creative solutions to the world’s problems, perhaps inspired by or in concert with the modern artist’s approach were admired.⁸⁹

Furthermore, the sentiment Hammarskjöld expressed, and the parallels that he drew between modern art and international politics, may have contributed in part to the forming of the

⁸⁶ Ibid., 2-3.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 3.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 3.

⁸⁹ Hammarskjöld’s overarching success as Secretary-General of the United Nations supports Friedrich von Schiller’s assertion that an “aesthetic education” is necessary for moral action in politics.

International Council at The Museum of Modern Art two years later in 1956. The founding mission of the International Council was to organize “a...program of art exhibition exchange so that American cultural achievements can be better known abroad and the art of other nations brought here to enrich our own knowledge and cultural resources.” The Council also aimed to promote cross-cultural understanding in all areas of the visual arts that they felt “is conducive to a peaceful and productive world.” Due to his official position at the UN, Hammarskjöld could not actively participate in the International Council, but he agreed to be an Honorary Member and remained so until his death in 1961.⁹⁰

Paintings Loaned by The Museum of Modern Art

Always fleeing,
Always waiting.
Prepared—when shall I confront my—
Images, images—secretly related.
Creating or destroying, in life, in dream,
In art.

Dag Hammarskjöld, *Markings*

The Museum of Modern Art lent at least thirteen paintings to the United Nations during Hammarskjöld’s eight and a half years as Secretary-General to decorate his office suite on the 38th floor of the Secretariat building (Appendix A).⁹¹ The analysis conducted in this study of several of the works chosen by Hammarskjöld further demonstrates his aesthetic values as expressed in the parameters of his public persona. Moreover, René d’Harnoncourt suggests the works curated by Hammarskjöld reveal that “his concern for [modern art] went far beyond

⁹⁰ Press Release Archives, “Nationwide Group Formed to Aid International Art Exchange,” December 16, 1956; and International Council and International Programs Records, I.B.764, The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

⁹¹ It cannot be stated with certainty that the list in Appendix A is conclusive as it was pieced together from various source materials and archives. More information about the methodology used is provided in the document.

aesthetic pleasure. [Hammar skjöld] saw in it a noble manifestation of the essence and substance of modern man's spirit and aspiration."⁹² D'Harnoncourt's perceptive observation points again to Hammar skjöld's aesthetic values rooted in Romanticism, and his belief that aesthetics provide balance to the exceedingly rational and analytical sphere of work at the United Nations.⁹³

Hammar skjöld must have been thrilled to have access to works by the most famous and internationally recognized avant-garde painter, Pablo Picasso, whose painting, *Still Life with Mandolin and Galette* (1924) (Figure 6), was periodically displayed in the Secretary-General's large conference room. Hammar skjöld seemed to have preferred Picasso's synthetic cubist work, as demonstrated by the staging of the painting in UN photos (Figures 7-8); the placement seems to grant agency to the painting as a participant in the events that unfolded at the UN. In addition to selecting this work for aesthetic pleasure, Hammar skjöld drew a parallel between the pioneering vision of Picasso and the avant-garde nature of the work at the United Nations. In an interview in the summer of 1953, Hammar skjöld expressed his hope that the masses would embrace the UN as they had embraced Picasso, "The day will come...when men will see the UN and what it means clearly.... Everything will be alright...when people, just people, stop thinking of the United Nations as a weird Picasso abstraction, and see it as a drawing they made themselves."⁹⁴ This statement closely resembles Henri Bergson's claim that "great painters are people who possess a certain vision of things that has or will become the vision of all people."⁹⁵

⁹² René d'Harnoncourt Papers, V.21. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

⁹³ Here I draw upon the philosophy of Schiller in *On the Aesthetic Education of Man* as explained in: Paul Guyer, "18th Century German Aesthetics", The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Spring 2014 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/aesthetics-18th-german/> (accessed April 17, 2016).

⁹⁴ A.M. Rosenthal, "Dag Hammar skjöld Sizes Up His U.N. Job," *New York Times Magazine* (August 16, 1953), 47.

⁹⁵ Henri Bergson, "The Perception of Change" in *The Creative Mind* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1946), 159. Publication of a lecture given at Oxford University in 1911.

Hammar skjöld was astutely aware of the dynamic role that the UN was trying to play in the world, but that the organization could not achieve its mission if the people viewed it as an abstract idea. He believed that, just as an abstract work of art requires participation on behalf of the viewer, the UN's success was likewise contingent upon being activated by people's belief.

While Picasso's *Still Life with Mandolin and Galette* retained a predominant place at the UN, the works of one artist stand out as mainstays on the 38th floor of the Secretariat: Fritz Glarner (Swiss, 1899-1972). Three paintings by Glarner appear in photos taken over the course of Hammar skjöld's tenure, but only one is known to have been in MoMA's collection, *Relational Painting* (1947-48) (Figure 9). The work was included in Hammar skjöld's initial selection of paintings, and a UN photo documents the Secretary-General standing in front of the painting in March 1954 (Figure 10). According to a list compiled by Alfred H. Barr, *Relational Painting* was still on loan to the UN as of September 1961.⁹⁶ In 1955, a larger painting by Glarner was featured in the Swiss cultural magazine, *Du*, which hung in Hammar skjöld's office next to windows overlooking Manhattan.⁹⁷ While not specifically named in the magazine, a later study identifies the work as Glarner's *Relational Painting Nr. 61* (1953) (Figure 11).⁹⁸ Interestingly, although *Du* magazine indicates MoMA lent the painting, the institution has no record of the work ever having been in their collection.⁹⁹ A third painting appearing in two UN photos (Figures 12 and 13) is a circular composition, several versions of which the artist created and usually titled *Tondo* with a sequential subtitle. The work's title could not be determined

⁹⁶ Alfred H. Barr, Jr. Papers, 9a.41. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

⁹⁷ Arnold Kübler, "Die Stadt New York – Photographien von Emil Schultess," *Du, Schweizerische Monatsschrift*, no. 7 (July 1955): 22-24.

⁹⁸ Margit Staber, *Fritz Glarner: Monograph on one of the leading exponents of Concrete Art* (Zürich: ABC Verlag, 1976).

⁹⁹ Email correspondence between the author and the Painting and Sculpture Study Center at MoMA, January 19, 2016.

because MoMA has no record of it ever having been in the collection, nor does it appear in the monograph of Glarner's oeuvre.¹⁰⁰ As a result, the source of these two loans is unknown. It is plausible, however, that Glarner lent the works directly to the Secretary-General as he lived and worked in New York at the time.

The resemblance of Glarner's style to the late works of Piet Mondrian is no coincidence; the two artists were close friends from the time that Mondrian arrived in New York in October 1940.¹⁰¹ Glarner found a friend and teacher in Mondrian, and their "reciprocal exchange of ideas encouraged Glarner to limit his own picture language uncompromisingly to elementary means."¹⁰² Glarner developed a style under the tutelage of Mondrian that was later described by MoMA as an "elaborate, carefully calculated composition built up of rectangles. Each rectangle is subdivided by lines slightly on the bias—about five degrees off the right angle. The result is a brilliant, active counterpoint of minor within major."¹⁰³ Glarner provided further insight into his work in a *New York Times Magazine* interview:

Line, slant, color, no longer assigned to dress up a particular form-symbol are each free to act by their true identity. I'm trying to bring about a purer, closer understanding between form and space, which are equivalents. They are like all the other dualities I see in life—night and day, good and evil—and have a moment of blending one into the other. As one liberates form and determines and controls space, the slant suggests this inner movement.¹⁰⁴

Glarner's paintings always use the same primary colors, but by adjusting the size of shapes and the placement of angles, each painting expresses a unique image, like a complex mental puzzle

¹⁰⁰ Staber, *Fritz Glarner*. Staber created a catalogue of works, including some without images.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 7 and 17. Glarner and his wife moved from Switzerland to New York in the summer of 1936.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰³ Museum Collection Files, Fritz Glarner, *Relational Painting*, 1947-48. Department of Painting and Sculpture, The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

¹⁰⁴ Clipping from *The New York Times Magazine* (January 21, 1951): 16-17, Museum Collection Files, Fritz Glarner, *Relational Painting*, 1947-48. Department of Painting and Sculpture, The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

encoded by the artist. Perhaps Hammarskjöld appreciated the way Glarner's paintings appear deceptively simple and easy, but upon deeper examination, a viewer realizes the extensive thought and effort that went into the artist's decisions. Hammarskjöld may have identified with the plight of the artist, relating his daily work at the UN as a similar, dynamic puzzle—with one “color” requiring more attention one day, and the “size of a form” given priority another day. The possible solutions seem infinite, and just as it was up to Glarner to delineate harmony in his compositions, it was likewise up to Hammarskjöld to execute the right balance of diplomatic action in his job. Of Glarner's paintings one of Hammarskjöld's biographers, Emery Kelen, considers whether the Secretary-General “must have shared Kierkegaard's thought that ‘all wisdom of life is abstraction,’ or Plato's that ‘God always geometrizes.’”¹⁰⁵ Whether or not Hammarskjöld had these great philosophers' words in mind, he certainly appreciated the constant intellectual challenge that Glarner's abstract paintings provided; moreover, the works physically demonstrated chaos transformed into order.

Perhaps Glarner's eternal search for order—a search that Hammarskjöld could relate to—led to the artist's commission for a large-scale mural for the lobby of the UN library (Figure 14). Hammarskjöld was greatly involved in the design and construction of the library building, and possibly recommended that the architects approach Glarner about a work for the space. Sadly, Hammarskjöld died only a few weeks prior to the library's completion in October 1961, and the Ford Foundation (who financed the project) requested that the building be named the Dag Hammarskjöld Library to honor the Secretary-General's memory. Further scholarship of Glarner's United Nations mural could potentially reveal the extent of Hammarskjöld's involvement with its design, however, the scope of this paper does not allow for this inquiry.

¹⁰⁵ Kelen, *Hammarskjöld*, 143.

Fernand Léger's *Femme à la Toilette (Woman Combing her Hair)* (1925) (Figure 15) was also a favorite of Hammarskjöld's, appearing in at least two official UN photos, including one with Fidel Castro (Figures 16 & 17). Again, like Picasso's *Still Life with Mandolin and Galette*, the painting acted as a witness to particularly interesting events at the UN. Hammarskjöld's choice of Léger's painting seems obvious considering the artist also designed the two murals that flank the General Assembly hall at the UN Headquarters.

Juan Gris is another a modern master whose abstract still life painting, *Guitar and Pipe* (1913) (Figure 18), Hammarskjöld chose to hang in his office suite. While *Guitar and Pipe* is a relatively small work, art historian James Thrall Soby pointed out in his 1958 *Juan Gris* exhibition catalog for MoMA that the painting demonstrated how "Gris, like Picasso and Braque, began to enrich the color and forms of his paintings, [progressing] from analytical to what is commonly called synthetic cubism."¹⁰⁶ Unfortunately, no photos could be found of Gris' painting installed in Hammarskjöld's offices, but the aesthetic qualities of the work matched and complemented the other canvases hanging with it.

MoMA also loaned the Secretary-General Henri Matisse's *Gourds (Les colonquites)* (1916) (Figure 19). While no official UN photos exhibit the work in situ, a 1954 portrait photo of Hammarskjöld taken by Clara E. Sipprell shows the Secretary-General standing in front of *Gourds* (Figure 4). Painted in 1916, *Gourds* anticipated the Paris avant-garde's "return to the object"¹⁰⁷ with this masterful presentation of still life objects against a "pure black [background]

¹⁰⁶ James Thrall Soby, *Juan Gris* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1958), 22.

¹⁰⁷ Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Matisse: His Art and His Public* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1951), 191.

that has a particularly stunning luminous quality.”¹⁰⁸ Hammarskjöld had profound admiration for Matisse that is further explored in the study of his private collection.

Hammarskjöld later selected another still life from the same period for his office, *Still Life with Bottle, Pipe and Pot of Tobacco* by Roger de La Fresnaye (1913-14) (Figure 20). The work appears in the Secretary-General’s office in 1955 (Figure 21) and 1961 (Figure 22). La Fresnaye’s painterly style was not particularly groundbreaking, but his oeuvre is on trend for his time and place. Nonetheless, he achieved international fame for his masterpiece, *The Conquest of the Air* (1913), also owned by MoMA and described by the institution as “one of the monuments of twentieth-century French art.”¹⁰⁹ *Still-Life with Bottle, Pipe and Pot of Tobacco* was painted around the same time, and was part of a series of still-life works in which “his vision transformed plebeian objects of everyday use into lyrical arrangements of distinction and grace.”¹¹⁰ La Fresnaye’s modern aesthetic and his particular use of deep-toned colors coordinated well with the Swedish furniture and overall modern aesthetic of the Secretary-General’s office.

Two paintings that Hammarskjöld chose from MoMA’s collection stray from abstraction into figuration, and even realism in their form and content. The first, *Landscape with Figures (Vesper)* (c. 1948) by Georges Rouault (Figure 23), depicts a village scene with people walking along a path. Upon further investigation, the scene contains Judeo-Christian undertones (like many of Rouault’s works), and is categorized as a *Paysage biblique* in the catalogue raisonné of

¹⁰⁸ Gaston Diehl, *Henri Matisse* (Paris: Éditions Pierre Tisné, 1954), 141. Translated from the original French by the author: “le noir pur, ciel et sol, prennent une valeur lumineuse particulièrement bouleversante.”

¹⁰⁹ Museum Collection Files, Roger de La Fresnaye, *The Conquest of the Air*. Department of Painting and Sculpture, The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

¹¹⁰ Germain Seligman, *Roger de La Fresnaye* (Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphical Society Ltd., 1969), 36.

his paintings prepared by Isabelle Rouault.¹¹¹ While Hammarskjöld considered Rouault a “modern master,” he likely exchanged this painting because it did not reflect the UN’s multi-religious secular nature. The other figurative painting, *The Boat* (1929) (Figure 24) by American artist Peter Blume, depicts a white steam fishing boat on a river or harbor in an industrial area. A raft-like structure in front of the boat depicts four black figures engaged in various activities. Alfred H. Barr, Jr. labeled Blume’s work as “American Realism and Social Comment,” and the social commentary makes this work a surprising choice for the Secretary-General.¹¹² Subject matter aside, the bright colors and clean lines employed by Blume likely appealed to Hammarskjöld for these formal qualities give the work a cheery first impression, even if a misleading one that draws the viewer in to present a more serious social issue.

The reception room located outside Hammarskjöld’s office captured in a UN photo (Figure 25) shows that Blume’s *The Boat* hung on a wall adjacent to the slightly larger painting by Lyonel Feininger, *Viaduct* (1920) (Figure 26). Feininger’s modern romantic style that showcases man’s achievement alongside an expression the omnipresence of the divine in *Viaduct* must have appealed to Hammarskjöld’s more personal taste in art—as discussed further in the study of his private collection (see Chapter III). While American by birth, Feininger spent most of his youth and career in Germany, and his style of painting draws inspiration from one of the most accomplished Romantic German painters, Caspar David Friedrich.¹¹³ The small figure at the bottom of Feininger’s canvas stands in darkness and appears tiny in comparison to the

¹¹¹ Bernard Dorival and Isabelle Rouault, *Rouault: l’oeuvre peint* (Monte Carlo: Éditions André Sauret, 1988), 232. Catalogue raisonné entry #2342.

¹¹² Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Painting and Sculpture in The Museum of Modern Art, 1929-1961* (New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 1977), 244-45.

¹¹³ Robert Rosenblum, *Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition: Friedrich to Rothko* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), 156.

towering structures surrounding it. A cursory look suggests the figure stands overwhelmed by the scale of the viaduct, but further examination reveals a white light from an unseen source illuminating the figure amongst the shadows, suggesting the figure is standing as master of the viaduct's creation. The bright light in the sky fades to varying shades of blue—the color that “Germanic artists...associated with spiritual experience”¹¹⁴ which gives the composition a luminous, serene aura. The radiance emanating from this painting recalls a thought that Hammarskjöld wrote in his diary in 1950, “God does not die on the day when we cease to believe in a personal deity, but we die on the day when our lives cease to be illumined by the steady radiance, renewed daily, of a wonder, the source of which is beyond all reason.”¹¹⁵ Hammarskjöld likely recognized the mystical quality of the painting, as Feininger acknowledged the quality “has always kept me spellbound.”¹¹⁶ Additionally, the artist was “devoted to the creation of a space in which universal forces, absolute and free, manifest the reality of their ordered being.”¹¹⁷ This devotion is remarkably similar to the role that Hammarskjöld saw himself playing as Secretary-General of the UN.

The final painting this study considers, Jean Hélion's *Composition* (1936) (Figure 27), was installed at the UN in late May 1959 where it remained for nearly three years.¹¹⁸ With this painting, Hammarskjöld introduced a different style of abstraction to his offices that stood apart from the others. Hélion wrote that *Composition* was created at a time when he “began

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 158.

¹¹⁵ Hammarskjöld, *Markings*, 56.

¹¹⁶ Dorothy C. Miller, ed., *Lyonel Feininger : Marsden Hartley* (New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 1944), 18.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 17.

¹¹⁸ Exhibition History, Museum Collection Files, Jean Hélion, *Composition*. Department of Painting and Sculpture, The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

composing...with complete volumes, which was supposed to be a great ‘sin’ for the puritans of Abstract Art.”¹¹⁹ Generally, Héliion did not follow any aesthetic trend, and later told an interviewer, “I can’t stand orthodoxies.... Form has its own sort of wisdom, and it won’t put up with rules.”¹²⁰

Looking back at the Secretary-General’s speech at MoMA, Héliion’s stance reflects the “courage of an unprejudiced search for the basic elements of experience” that Hammarskjöld spoke of with such conviction.¹²¹ Courage was a characteristic no one would deny attributing to Héliion, as the artist pursued his own search for “harmony or balance,”¹²² and made a daring escape from a German POW camp in the Second World War. Héliion’s painting, therefore, provides a compelling backdrop for the first meeting in July 1960 between Hammarskjöld and the Prime Minister of the recently independent Congo, Patrice Lumumba (Figure 28).¹²³ Lumumba was brutally killed six months after his visit to the UN, and Hammarskjöld—as the symbol of the UN—received a good deal of the blame for it. Their fates were in many ways intertwined; Hammarskjöld was killed later that same year while still trying to resolve the Congo crisis.

There are additionally at least three works known to have been lent by MoMA to the United Nations that have not been examined here in detail, but appear in Appendix A and are illustrated in Figures 29-31. All in all, the paintings lent by MoMA gave Hammarskjöld great

¹¹⁹ Artist’s Questionnaire, Museum Collection Files, Jean Héliion, *Composition*. Department of Painting and Sculpture, The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

¹²⁰ Dan Hofstadter, “The Art World: Jean Héliion,” *The New Yorker*, January 6, 1986, 66-67.

¹²¹ Press Release Archives, “Address by Dag Hammarskjöld,” 2.

¹²² Hofstadter, “Jean Héliion,” 67.

¹²³ Urquhart, *Hammarskjöld*, 390. Here the term “Congo” is used to refer to the region that, at the time, was still in dispute over a central government.

pleasure and inspired him to seek creative solutions at the UN that led to pioneering international policies.¹²⁴ One colleague recalled how “the pictures in his office...made meetings there a particular pleasure.”¹²⁵ Another remembered an instance when Hammarskjöld “rushed out of a meeting, gazed for a while at an abstract painting in his office and sighed, ‘Now I am refreshed.’ Then returned to the meeting.”¹²⁶ More than any other politician, Hammarskjöld understood the connection of artists to the dreams of mankind, and that artists were the visual spokespeople for the problems of modernity. The paintings from MoMA’s collection were but one way that he sought to improve the aesthetic quality of the UN’s headquarters, giving modern artists a “voice” at the world organization and showcasing their contributions to humanity. Hammarskjöld understood that modern art, and abstraction in particular, exemplified putting ideology and theory into practice—an approach he sought to emulate as Secretary-General of the UN.

¹²⁴ Two examples of his pioneering policies are the creation of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), first deployed to secure and end the Suez Crisis in 1956, and the establishment for a system of Special Representatives of the Secretary-General that he deployed as his eyes and ears on the ground in hostile locations.

¹²⁵ Brian Urquhart, “Dag Hammarskjöld: A Leader in the Field of Culture” in *Development Dialogue* (2001:1): 15-16.

¹²⁶ Kelen, *Hammarskjöld*, 143.

CHAPTER III

Dag Hammarskjöld's Private Collection

Our incurable instinct to acquire—to assimilate in the crudest sense of the word—provides the medium for much of our aesthetic experience.

Dag Hammarskjöld, *Markings*

Every strong work of art, like man himself, is complex, and carries different potentialities. To assemble the pictures according to the taste and understanding of one person, and thus bring to light one direction, is the principal value of a private collection.¹²⁷

Jean Héliou

The private art collection of an individual often articulates and extends his or her identity. During the owner's lifetime, the collection mirrors a conscious—or unconscious—expression of self, providing a tangible outlet for abstract memories, emotions, and desires. Each object in a collection narrates the relationship between materiality and meaning for the individual, and beyond the individual, for the audience who engages with it. Upon death, this narrative transforms into a conveyance of history, leaving behind traces of the possessor's most personal experiences. Ultimately, an individual's collection marks a physical nexus for the consideration of all narratives relating to that person's identity. For this pioneering study I looked to twenty-first-century American poet and aesthete Susan Stewart, whose concepts regarding the relation between language and the system of objects set forth in her book *On Longing* (1993) offers a framework in which to analyze Dag Hammarskjöld's collection.¹²⁸ Furthermore, this study adopts Stewart's approach to narrative "as a structure of desire...that both invents and

¹²⁷ Jean Héliou, "The Evolution of Abstract Art as Shown in the Gallery of Living Art," in *Museum of Living Art* (New York: G. Grady Press, 1937), 20.

¹²⁸ Susan Stewart is the Avalon Foundation University Professor of the Humanities: Professor of English, at Princeton University. A poet and critic, she teaches the history of poetry, poetics, and issues in aesthetics.

distances its object and thereby inscribes again and again the gap between signifier and signified that is the place of generation for the symbolic.”¹²⁹

Dag Hammarskjöld’s private collection is neither large in scale, nor concentrated in theme. He deliberately chose each object for his collection, and this discernment results in each work carrying a unique narrative value. He was conscious of each object’s significance, both for himself in his lifetime and as historical markers to his singularity. Therefore, this study approaches Hammarskjöld’s collection by establishing a framework of three categories of function for objects: heirlooms, souvenirs, and symbols. Objects that function as heirlooms, whether literally or figuratively, narrate Hammarskjöld’s connection to his past and a rich inheritance of traditions that signify his origins. Objects that function as souvenirs have multifaceted significance, often acting as manifestations of memories, or encapsulating moments of profound emotion. Objects that function as symbols represent manifestations of Hammarskjöld’s most profound values and desires. As shall be demonstrated, many works in Hammarskjöld’s collection serve multiple functions, and often these functions transformed—sometimes during his lifetime, and certainly after his death.

Since this study of Hammarskjöld’s collection is without precedence, the primary research materials I obtained in Sweden have been strenuously pieced together to construct a meaningful understanding of his collecting inclinations and how each object’s narrative is relevant to his identity. Some limitations were, of course, necessary to adhere to the scope of a master’s thesis. For this reason, and because of the relation of his aesthetic values to the art he borrowed from MoMA, I opted to focus on modern art in his collection.¹³⁰ A list of the selected works of art considered in this study is found in Appendix B, although the list is further limited

¹²⁹ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), ix.

to objects that are clearly documented in the three collection inventory lists that I procured.¹³¹ Upon intricate and lengthy inspection of this selective list, classifications appeared within the collection, and as such I have divided this chapter into two parts. The first part considers thematic groups; the second part presents three unique artists. This chapter ends with a critical examination of the history and intended purpose of the Dag Hammarskjöld Museum at Backåkra, where Hammarskjöld's collection is kept.

PART ONE – WORKS

In the study of Hammarskjöld's collection, three distinct thematic classifications of art works present themselves: modern Swedish landscapes, portraits of accomplished men, and graphic works by modern masters of the Parisian Avant-garde. Comprised of fifteen paintings, the group of modern Swedish landscapes functions as a collective expression of Hammarskjöld's deep affection for nature and his fatherland. Hammarskjöld also possessed a number of portraits of accomplished men who represent for him a league of gentlemen whom he greatly admired, and looked to for inspiration in the forging of his legacy. These portraits provide fascinating narratives about Hammarskjöld's family and cultural inheritance. The group of three graphic works in Hammarskjöld's collection by modern masters of the Parisian Avant-garde, Pablo Picasso, Georges Braque, and Henri Matisse, point to his in-depth knowledge of modern art. Hammarskjöld's desire to own works by these masters signifies his appreciation for their "unprejudiced search for the basic elements of experience" and their poignant expressions of the complex issues of modernity.¹³²

¹³¹ More information regarding the methodology used can be found in Appendix B. Hammarskjöld's collection contains many objects from other periods and cultures that have been excluded from this study.

¹³² Press Release Archives, "Address by Dag Hammarskjöld," 2.

Modern Swedish Landscapes

The extrahuman in the experience of the greatness of Nature. This does not allow itself to be reduced to an expression of our human reactions, nor can we share in it by expressing them. Unless we each find a way to chime in as one note in the organic whole, we shall only observe ourselves observing the interplay of its thousand components in a harmony outside our experience of it as harmony.
Landscape: only your immediate experience of the detail can provide the soil in your soul where the beauty of the whole can grow.

Dag Hammarskjöld, *Markings*

For Hammarskjöld, nature represented the sacred and sublime. Moreover, Hammarskjöld's native Swedish culture experienced an extended trajectory of Romanticism's valuation of landscape paintings that elevated the genre to a prominent position.¹³³ Therefore, unsurprisingly, modern Swedish landscape paintings constitute the majority of Hammarskjöld's collection, and serve as the most compelling testament of his romantic aesthetics values.¹³⁴ Consequently, rather than evaluating each work individually—although it must be said that many of the painters in his collection are accomplished and interesting in their own right—I am grouping Hammarskjöld's landscape paintings together because as a group they constitute a powerful narrative about the possessor (See Appendix B and Figures 32-37). Furthermore, while some individual paintings may have come into his possession as heirlooms from his parents, Hammarskjöld purchased many of them, and thus the group can be considered souvenirs that mark his experiences with nature.¹³⁵

¹³³ Donald Myers, ed., *150 Years of Swedish Art: Highlights from the Swedish National Collections in Stockholm (Moderna Museet and Nationalmuseum)* (St. Peter, MN: Hillstrom Museum of Art, Gustavus Adolphus College, 2012), 11. Modern-style painting that rejected Romantic tendencies didn't take hold in Sweden until the 1920s.

¹³⁴ Romantic thinkers typically subscribed to a hierarchy of aesthetics that placed superiority, among visual arts, of painting over sculpture and architecture. Furthermore, within the art of painting, landscapes were given top hierarchy as expressions of nature.

¹³⁵ Receipts of purchase were found for many works that are indicated in Appendix B. Dag Hammarskjöld Archives, Kungliga Biblioteket (National Library of Sweden), Stockholm. L179: 29-30, DH Private Financial records.

Henri Bergson's drawing of a parallel between nature as experienced and nature as depicted in paintings provides support for a deeper understanding of Hammarskjöld's preference for landscapes. In his lecture, "The Perception of Change," Bergson states, "What is the aim of art if not to show us, in nature and in the mind, outside of us and within us, things which do not explicitly strike our senses and our consciousness?"¹³⁶ Bergson further expounds on this thought by considering the role of the artist in the creation of this exterior and interior expression,

Shall it be said that [artists] have not seen but created, that they have given us products of their imagination, that we adopt their inventions because we like them and that we get pleasure from looking at nature through the image the great painters have traced for us?... If we reflect deeply upon what we feel when we look at a [great painting], we shall find that, if we accept them and admire them, it is because we had already perceived something of what they show us. But we had perceived without seeing. It was, for us, a brilliant and vanishing vision, lost in a crowd of those visions.... The painter has isolated it; he has fixed it so well on the canvas that henceforth we shall not be able to help seeing in reality what he himself saw.¹³⁷

The fact that all of Hammarskjöld's landscape paintings are by Swedish artists—presumably of Sweden—signifies that they function as souvenirs that narrate a longing for his native country. This longing had many layers of meaning that transformed the narrative of this group of objects in his collection at different periods of his life. During his years living and working in Sweden, Hammarskjöld's landscape paintings were emotional souvenirs of places and memories far from the daily grind of his job where he longed to return in order to revisit the "native land" of himself and God. After his election as Secretary-General and relocation to New York City, Hammarskjöld's landscapes were hung in his apartment at 73 East Seventy-Third Street in the Upper East Side of Manhattan. This move effectively transformed the landscapes into overt representations of Sweden, and as such they became literal souvenirs of his fatherland. With his death, the narrative created by Hammarskjöld's group of landscape paintings again

¹³⁶ Bergson, "The Perception of Change," 159.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 160.

transformed to signify a core Swedish characteristic of his identity – a reverence for the beauty and drama of nature.

Portraits

Hammar skjöld's collection contains several portraits of important men who had cultural or intellectual meaning for him. During his lifetime, he cherished these objects as heirlooms, both literally and figuratively, that direct us to a narrative of origins and tradition. A group of portraits by Swedish artist and writer Albert Engström (1869-1940) were certainly inherited from his father, with whom Engström was fellow member of the Swedish Academy. One etching by Engström has been identified as famed Danish explorer, Knud Rasmussen (1879-1933) (Figure 38), whose accomplishments were certainly known throughout Scandinavia, and who Hjalmar Hammar skjöld may have known personally from the time he served as Swedish Ambassador to Denmark.¹³⁸ Hammar skjöld's collection contains several other unidentified works by Albert Engström, of which at least two may be pencil sketches of his father lent to the 1941 retrospective exhibition of Engström's work in Stockholm.¹³⁹ Additionally, Hjalmar Hammar skjöld lent the exhibition a pencil sketch of professor Adolf Gotthard Noreen, also a member of the Swedish Academy, which could be one of the unidentified works by Engström in his collection (See Appendix B).¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Hjalmar Hammar skjöld served as Swedish Ambassador to Denmark from 1906-07. "Hammar skjöld, Hjalmar," Svenska Akademien, <http://www.svenskaakademien.se/en/svenska-akademien/ledamotsregister/hammarskjold-hjalmar> (accessed March 6, 2016).

¹³⁹ Nationalmuseum, *Albert Engström: Minnesutställning* (Stockholm: Alb. Bonniers Boktryckeri, 1941), 80. Catalogue entry nos. 624 and 625.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. Catalogue entry no. 632.

A drypoint etching by British artist Muirhead Bone (1876-1953), *Portrait of Joseph Conrad* (1923) (Figure 39), serves as a souvenir of one of Hammarskjöld's favorite novelists. Hammarskjöld owned first edition copies of Joseph Conrad works in his extensive book collection.¹⁴¹ According to biographer Roger Lipsey, Conrad was "a presiding spirit in [Hammarskjöld's] life, [who] pointed toward a passion for observation and deep humanism without illusions."¹⁴² Conrad's literary genius made a profound impression on Hammarskjöld during his university years. The personal inscription found in his original edition of *Lord Jim* suggests Hammarskjöld received it while studying at Cambridge in the fall of 1927.¹⁴³ Conrad's portrait may have been an heirloom from Hammarskjöld's father, but more likely it was either a gift from a close friend familiar with his admiration for the author, or that Hammarskjöld purchased it to keep one of his literary idols close in spirit. Whichever the case, the portrait of Joseph Conrad acts as an intellectual heirloom that alludes to the importance of the literary tradition he inherited and sought to preserve through his activities as a member of the Swedish Academy.

Hammarskjöld's collection also contains an etching by Axel Fridell (1894-1953), a Swedish artist of historic repute for his superior draftsmanship. Hammarskjöld purchased the etching by Fridell, titled *Mr. Simmons (Tidningsläsaren) (Newspaper reader)* (1933) (Figure 40) in May 1952. Although the man portrayed is of no consequence, the work has great value because of the artist's exemplary artistic ability.¹⁴⁴ *Mr. Simmons* is considered one of Fridell's

¹⁴¹ Urquhart, *Hammarskjöld*, 38.

¹⁴² Lipsey, *Hammarskjöld*, 389.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁴⁴ Mr. Simmons was a young man staying in the same guesthouse where Fridell was living in London in 1933. Nationalmuseum, Axel Fridell (Trelleborg: Skogs Boktryckeri AB, 1987), 41.

most famous works, and has been compared in style to James McNeill Whistler's genre scene paintings and portraits. Arguably, the ambiguity of the man's identity makes *Mr. Simmons* a compelling work, which translates to a universal representation of modern man. Fridell's etching is a work that represents Swedish cultural achievement, and in Hammarskjöld's possession it becomes an *objet de luxe* that symbolizes his elevated social status.

One final portrait to consider is a nineteenth-century print of world-renown Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778), *Linnaeus in his Lapland Dress* (c. 1805) (Figure 41). According to a matching work in The British Museum's collection, Henry Kingsbury produced the print in 1805—although their edition does not have color, whereas Hammarskjöld's print appears to have been colored by hand after printing. The print contains the title of the image and further indicates that it is "From an original picture in the possession of Dr. Thornton." Linnaeus' legacy in science stems from his development of modern methods of taxonomy, and his achievements are a special source of pride for Swedes. Hammarskjöld greatly admired Linnaeus, as evidenced in the Presidential Address he gave at the Annual Meeting of the Swedish Academy in December 1957 titled "The Linnaeus Tradition and Our Time." Hammarskjöld refers to Linnaeus as "a shining prince of the land of summer" whose pioneering spirit had been "simplified in popular imagination and fiction, and turned into figures embodying what we have wished to view as essential features of Swedish character."¹⁴⁵ Hammarskjöld also identified with Linnaeus' religious leanings that found their source in nature. In the same speech, Hammarskjöld's words may well reflect his own experience:

Wonderment at nature's proof of the Lord's omnipotence had made young Linnaeus write this comment on his first experience of the midnight sun: 'Oh Lord, Thy verdicts are incomprehensible.' Later, when his eye... was directed towards the world of men, this wonderment was turned into fatalistic mysticism.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Foote, *Servant of Peace*, 151.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 154.

Notably, the portrait of Linnaeus depicts him in traditional Lapland dress, expressing a reverence for the cultural heritage unique to that region of Sweden. Hammarskjöld shared Linnaeus' fondness for the geography and culture of the Lapland region, a shared affinity that assumed spiritual significance to each of them. Therefore, the portrait, *Linnaeus in his Lapland Dress*, acts as an heirloom of inherited culture, intellectual accomplishments, a pioneering spirit, and a reverence for nature as the "secret council chamber of God."¹⁴⁷

Paris Avant-garde

Hammar skjöld's acquired graphic works of art by three different Paris-based modern masters whom he admired: Pablo Picasso, Georges Braque, and Henri Matisse. While these works may have functioned in some ways as souvenirs during Hammar skjöld's lifetime, their primary function was—and is—to act as metaphors for the remarkable achievements of these great artists, in art and society.

An image of the graphic work by Picasso in Hammar skjöld's collection was not available. However, inventory lists indicate that the work is an "illustration from Balzac's *Le chef-d'oeuvre inconnu*" and depicts "people with animal heads," suggesting the print might be an edition made of *Seated Nude and Sketches (Horse, Bull, Bullfighter...)*, Plate X from the illustrated book *Le Chef- d'oeuvre inconnu* (1928) (Figure 42). Without knowing the identity of the work for certain, postulation on the content of the image is not possible. However, a narrative interpretation of Hammar skjöld's ownership of the work can be considered. If the work's image is indeed associated with Honoré de Balzac's short story, *Le chef-d'oeuvre inconnu* (1831), this fact would indicate that Hammar skjöld's emotional or intellectual connection to the literary work

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 152.

relates to “Balzac’s declaration of aesthetic faith...and his most fervent plea for the cause of art and the artist.”¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, “Picasso’s twelve etchings for *Le chef-d’oeuvre inconnu*...deal with the novel’s deeper meaning...[and] adds a modern dimension to this old theme and one particularly dear to Picasso, which is the relationship between the spectator and the spectacle, the observer and the observed.”¹⁴⁹ For these reasons, Hammarskjöld’s choice to collect this work signifies on the one hand his agreement with Balzac’s “aesthetic faith,” and on the other hand his understanding of the meaningful imagery of Picasso’s interpretation.

Hammarskjöld also acquired a lithograph reproduction of Georges Braque’s *Pichet noir et citrons* (1952) (Figure 43). Also in this instance, the subject matter of the image is not as significant as its value to Hammarskjöld as an example of Braque’s creative expression, an artist he held in the highest esteem. Hammarskjöld’s confirms his affection for the artist and his work in a letter he wrote to Braque in December 1956 wherein he invites him to create a mural for the UN meditation room—a project near to Hammarskjöld’s heart. In his capacity as Secretary-General, he wrote:

...if you were to accept, it would mean that a dream which we have been having for years would come true. The pleasure of the architect and the Secretary-General would, I am sure, be matched by the satisfaction of all those who have learned to admire you and feel that for the home of the United Nations only the perfect is good.¹⁵⁰

Braque declined the invitation, likely due to the travel required by the project that may have been too demanding given that Braque was in his mid-seventies at the time. The commission went instead to Hammarskjöld’s friend, Bo Beskow, and will be addressed later in this chapter.

¹⁴⁸ Sebastian Goeppert, Herma Goeppert-Frank, and Patrick Cramer, *Pablo Picasso, The Illustrated Books: Catalogue Raisonné* (Geneva: Patrick Cramer, 1983), 60.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Letter from Dag Hammarskjöld to Georges Braque, December 11, 1956. Dag Hammarskjöld Archives, Kungliga Biblioteket (National Library of Sweden), Stockholm. L179: 1.

Despite Braque's rejection of the offer, Hammarskjöld's esteem for him was in no way diminished, and the lithograph of *Pichet noir et citrons* serves as a manifestation of the modern artistic spirit that Hammarskjöld saw in Braque's oeuvre.

Hammarskjöld also owned a lithograph by Henri Matisse, *Étude pour Saint Dominique* (1951) (Figure 44), depicting the torso portion of the large figure of Saint Dominique that the artist painted for the Chapel of the Rosary at Vence. In Hammarskjöld's lifetime, this work of art functioned as both a souvenir and a symbol. As a souvenir, the object contains multiple layers of nostalgia and memories. The work conjures nostalgia for the cultural inheritance of the Christian faith of Hammarskjöld's youth and memories of the numerous churches and cathedrals he visited in France. While no evidence was found that proves Hammarskjöld visited the Chapel of the Rosary at Vence, it is entirely plausible that during his travels he saw the creation that Matisse regarded as his "culminating masterpiece."¹⁵¹ With his acquisition of Matisse's study for the powerful, reductive image of Saint Dominique, Hammarskjöld seeks to authenticate an experience of pure spiritual expression. Furthermore, Hammarskjöld's decision to hang *Étude pour Saint Dominique* on the wall next to his desk in his New York apartment reveals the importance of Matisse's work. He seems to have wanted the work close to him in a place where he spent much of his time. No matter what *Étude pour Saint Dominique* symbolized for Hammarskjöld during his lifetime, the lithograph functions now as a symbol of the creative and spiritual ideology he admired in the modern master's art.

PART TWO – ARTISTS

Three modern artists in Hammarskjöld's art collection defy thematic categorization, and therefore require in-depth analyses as individual works with regard to their function within the

¹⁵¹ John Elderfield, *The Drawings of Henri Matisse* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1984), 17.

collection. The works that Hammarskjöld owned by Bruno Liljefors (1860-1939), Barbara Hepworth (1903-1975), and Bo Beskow (1906-1989) provide the most intimate narrative of his aesthetic values. The elevated status of these artists also results in their works acting collectively as a sort of triangular nucleus of the collection, with each artist representing different facets of Hammarskjöld's character. As is demonstrated, the painting by Bruno Liljefors functions as an anchor of the collection, grounding Hammarskjöld in his inherited tradition. Barbara Hepworth's five works operate as beacons leading the collection into modernity while Bo Beskow's works function as souvenirs of Hammarskjöld's closest friend and aesthetic collaborator.

Bruno Liljefors

Hammarckjöld's father bequeathed to him *Svanar* (*Swans*) (1922) (Figure 45) by Bruno Liljefors, Sweden's most famous animal painter. This painting functions as both a literal and cultural heirloom. As a literal heirloom the painting narrates a blood relation to one of Sweden's great intellectual figures, a relationship that communicates Hammarckjöld's membership in a prestigious society. The painting's dedication to Hjalmar Hammarckjöld in the lower left hand corner, "Till Landshöfding Hammarckjöld / (illegible) / Bruno Liljefors 1922" ("For Governor Hammarckjöld / (illegible) / Bruno Liljefors, 1922") (Figure 46), alludes to direct contact between the artist and politician. Moreover, Hammarckjöld may have attended the presentation of the painting to his father.

Given the artist's stature as a national treasure, *Svanar* also functions as an heirloom that narrates cultural patrimony.¹⁵² Among artists in Sweden in the late nineteenth century, Liljefors

¹⁵² Kirk Varnedoe, *Northern Light: Nordic Art at the Turn of the Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 166. "In 1896 Prins Eugen of Sweden arranged for a trust fund to allow the artist to work without financial worry."

held a special position because of his unique innovation in the genre of animal and nature painting “by approaching his motifs as an ecologist, with the goal of depicting both the animal and its living environment.”¹⁵³ Furthermore, Liljefors disregarded public and commercial trends, desiring “to show the natural order of the world beyond human control” and place “emphasis on the moody harmony of the creature and nature.”¹⁵⁴ With these motivations in mind, Liljefors’ oeuvre is analogous to prominent changing notions of society and individuality at the turn of the twentieth century.

Moreover, *Svanar* is unique in Hammarskjöld’s collection because of the realistic and atmospheric style—a style that propelled the artist to fame by “Nietzschean aesthetes in Stockholm [who]...bowed their heads in respect for ‘our great artist, our artist of genius’.”¹⁵⁵ Younger artists who sought to usher Swedish art into twentieth century later rejected this style. With this in mind, *Svanar* recalls the opening words of Hammarskjöld’s aforementioned 1954 testimonial, “The world in which I grew up was dominated by principles and ideals of a time far from ours and, as it may seem, far removed from the problems facing a man of the middle of the twentieth century. However, my way has not meant a departure from those ideals.”¹⁵⁶ Hammarskjöld’s words allude to his pride for cultural traditions, and Liljefors’ painting physically manifests this inheritance.

Liljefors’ work also functions symbolically in Hammarskjöld’s collection if the two swans (Figure 47) are interpreted to represent his parents. Swans typically choose a mate for life;

¹⁵³ Myers, ed., *150 Years of Swedish Art*, 18.

¹⁵⁴ Varnedoe, *Northern Light*, 34.

¹⁵⁵ Bo Lindwall, “Foreword” in *Bruno Liljefors: The Peerless Eye* (Citadel Park, Kingston upon Hull, England: The Allen Publishing Company, Ltd., 1987), 7.

¹⁵⁶ Dag Hammarskjöld, “Old Creeds in a New World,” November 1953.

as a result, images of swans often symbolize love and devotion. Art historian Kirk Varnedoe points out that as Liljefors integrated animals more forcefully into his paintings, the artist was “following his theory that the animal is a kind of self-portrait made by nature” that become “constructs of an ideal.”¹⁵⁷ Considering this perspective, the painting becomes a reliquary of sorts for the memory of his parents’ marriage, which their devoted son honored by displaying a symbol of in his living room in New York City as an anchor for his collection of art.

Barbara Hepworth

If *Svanar* is considered the anchor of Hammarskjöld’s collection, the group of five works by Barbara Hepworth (Figures 48-52) are considered beacons leading the collection into modernity because they reflect the shift in taste that occurred in the last years of his life toward totally abstract art.¹⁵⁸ Hepworth’s works function in the collection as symbols that represent the friendship that they developed in the last years of his life, and of their shared ideology regarding art and society.

In 2001, Manuel Fröhlich published an impressive academic study, “A Fully Integrated Vision: Politics and the Arts in the Dag Hammarskjöld-Barbara Hepworth Correspondence,” about the friendship between Hammarskjöld and Hepworth. The article was included in a special edition of *Development Dialogue*, a journal published by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, in commemoration of the forty-year anniversary of the Secretary-General’s death. Fröhlich’s paper provides crucial information regarding how five of the artist’s works entered Hammarskjöld’s private collection. Furthermore, the publication of the correspondence accompanying Fröhlich’s

¹⁵⁷ Varnedoe, *Northern Light*, 34.

¹⁵⁸ Referring back to Chapter II where the constant presence of abstract paintings by Fritz Glarner at the UN invigorated his own abstract and analytical thinking: 37-40.

paper reveal the genuine interest and warmth that he felt for artists, and Hepworth's letters make known the degree to which his work at the UN was an inspiration to modern artists. On account of this artist's impact on Hammarskjöld's influence in the art world, this study considers each work that he acquired from Hepworth in chronological order in conjunction with their exchange of letters.

Hepworth's work was introduced to Hammarskjöld by his close colleague and director of the London UN Information Center, George Ivan Smith, and J. R. M. Brumwell, an advertising director who was friends with Hepworth. Impressed by the many paintings the Secretary-General had chosen from MoMA's collection to hang on his office walls, Brumwell offered to find him "a suitable piece of contemporary British sculpture" that would further enhance the décor. Brumwell suggested a work by Barbara Hepworth could "stand up to the Picasso" hanging in his office, and forwarded Hammarskjöld a signed copy of a book on her work along with the catalog from her exhibition at the Martha Jackson Gallery.¹⁵⁹ Written on December 25, 1956, Hammarskjöld's first letter to Hepworth thanked her for the book and expressed his "great pleasure of receiving [her] offer of one of the works belonging to [her] as a loan to [his] office at the United Nations."¹⁶⁰ On January 5, 1957, Hammarskjöld and George Ivan Smith visited the "Barbara Hepworth, Carvings and Drawings, 1937-1954" exhibition at the Martha Jackson Gallery. Hammarskjöld purchased a work on paper titled *Group (Three views of a girl)* (1950) (Figure 48), from the show and was drawn to "the perfect work for his office....the carving *Single Form*. The simplicity and beauty of line and balance are quite wonderful. The size of the

¹⁵⁹ Manuel Fröhlich, "A Fully Integrated Vision: Politics and the Arts in the Dag Hammarskjöld--Barbara Hepworth Correspondence" in *Development Dialogue* (2001:1), 19.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 44.

carving and the colour of the wood could not be better.”¹⁶¹ Thus Hepworth loaned *Single Form* (1937-38) (Figure 49) to the United Nations for installation in the Secretary-General’s office.

Hammar skjöld finally met Hepworth on a visit to London in April 1958. This first meeting seems to have inspired Hammar skjöld to see *Single Form* in a new light, as evidenced by a poem he composed in his diary titled “Single Form”:

The breaking wave
And the muscle as it contracts
Obey the same law.

An austere line
Gathers the body’s play of strength
In a bold balance.

Shall my soul meet
This curve, as a bend in the road
On her way to form? ¹⁶²

The two did not meet again until October 1959 when Hepworth returned to New York for an exhibition at Galerie Chalette. Hammar skjöld organized a dinner party for Hepworth at his apartment, providing a more relaxed and intimate environment that allowed them to discover their shared views on art and society. The very next day, Hepworth wrote to him,

Meeting you has impelled within me a tremendous reassessment of values...and this re-valuation contains within itself the innate strength to correct and confirm my my ideas and go forward with greater vitality....

You have the fully integrated ‘vision’ which demonstrates the naturalness and beauty of the spirit of man which all of us, in varying degrees are striving to obtain by the unity of mind and imagination.¹⁶³

This encounter also prompted Hepworth to offer Hammar skjöld *Single Form* as a gift for him to keep because, in her mind, it already belonged to him in essence.¹⁶⁴ Hammar skjöld accepted the

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 19. In a letter from George Ivan Smith to J. R. M. Brumwell on January 6, 1957.

¹⁶² Hammar skjöld, *Markings*, 171. Entry dated 1958.

¹⁶³ Fröhlich, “A Fully Integrated Vision,” 46. Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Dag Hammar skjöld, October 16, 1959.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

gift, and visited Hepworth again on the final day of her exhibition at Galerie Chalette. On this occasion, he purchased another work on paper for his collection, *Sea Form* (1959) (Figure 50).¹⁶⁵

Thereafter, letters between them express a greater degree of warmth and mutual affection. In November 1959 Hammarskjöld wrote to Hepworth about what *Single Form* symbolized for him:

I see [your gift] is a manifestation of your feeling of solidarity with what we try to do and as such *Single Form* will always be before our eyes here as an encouragement and with its message of friendship. I feel that its pure, strong integrity makes it singularly well fitted for that purpose. Thank you!¹⁶⁶

The following year, during a time when Hammarskjöld was dealing with the Congo crisis, he wrote to Hepworth that “*Single Form* stands as a sentinel, representing the integrity both of the artist and of this operation.”¹⁶⁷

Hammar skjöld and Hepworth would not meet again in person until May 31, 1961 at her gallery show at Gimpel Fils in London. Hammar skjöld wrote to her a few days later that “it was a sunny moment, full of impressions of perfect beauty, but beauty used as a road to some very fundamental experiences and, if I may say so, expressions of faith.”¹⁶⁸ Hammar skjöld purchased a painting at the exhibition, *Incised Form (Granite)* (1960) (Figure 51). When the painting arrived in New York in early July, he took the opportunity to reaffirm his admiration to Hepworth, “I do not know if one can say that a work of art cleans your soul and straightens out your will. But if that can be said—and understood—I would say it about your painting.”¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ Dag Hammar skjöld Collection, L 179:60-61. Kungliga Biblioteket (National Library of Sweden), Stockholm. The original receipt of purchase of *Sea Form* from Galerie Chalette can be found here.

¹⁶⁶ Fröhlich, “A Fully Integrated Vision,” 50. Letter from Dag Hammar skjöld to Barbara Hepworth, November 4, 1959.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 52. Letter from Dag Hammar skjöld to Barbara Hepworth, October 15, 1960.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 54. Letter from Dag Hammar skjöld to Barbara Hepworth, June 3, 1961.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 54. Letter from Dag Hammar skjöld to Barbara Hepworth, July 7, 1961.

At the Gimpel Fils exhibition, Hammarskjöld saw for the first time the sculpture that Hepworth had carved especially for him, *Hollow Form (Chirunga III)* (1960) (Figure 52). The sculpture was, according to her, an “‘homage’ to the great work [he was] doing for the world and the truth of the ideas which inspire [him].”¹⁷⁰ The subtitle, “Churinga III” is derived from “ritual objects associated with the initiation amongst Australian Aborigines. Significantly, a Churinga refers to both the concept of individual identity within the society and, specifically, the flat oval stone or wood sacred objects in which it is embodied.”¹⁷¹ Shortly after receiving the sculpture in New York, and only a week before he was killed in Africa, Hammarskjöld wrote to Hepworth:

I have now had [*Hollow Form*] before me a couple of weeks, living with it in all shades of light, both physically and mentally, and this is the report: it is a strong and exacting companion, but at the same time one of deep quiet and timeless perspective in inner space. You may react at the word exacting, but a work of great art sets its own standard of integrity and remains a continuous reminder of what should be achieved in everything.¹⁷²

Like most of the world, Hepworth was devastated by Hammarskjöld’s death, and she channeled her feelings into her art. Writing in her autobiography, Hepworth explains “when I heard of his death, and in order to assuage my grief, I immediately made a large new version of *Single Form* just for myself. It was 10 ft. 6 in. high.” The statue she created in her moment of grief, *Single Form (Memorial)* (1961) (Figure 53) ultimately served as a model for a much larger scale work for the United Nations. On June 11, 1964, *Single Form* (1961-64) (Figure 54) was unveiled in front of the UN Secretariat building in New York City. Hepworth’s short but

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 55. Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Dag Hammarskjöld, July 10, 1961.

¹⁷¹ Matthew Gale, “‘Single Form (September)’”, Dame Barbara Hepworth: Catalogue entry,” *Tate* (March 1998). <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/hepworth-single-form-september-t03143> (accessed February 23, 2016).

¹⁷² . Fröhlich, “A Fully Integrated Vision,” 56. Letter from Dag Hammarskjöld to Barbara Hepworth, September 11, 1961.

meaningful remarks speak to both their friendship and the profundity of Hammarskjöld's aesthetic values:

Dag Hammarskjöld spoke to me often about the evolution of the 'Single Form' in relation to compassion, and to courage and to our creativity. When I heard of his death, and sharing my grief with countless thousands of people, my only thought was to carry out his wishes.

Dag Hammarskjöld had a pure and exact perception of aesthetic principles, as exact as it was over ethical and moral principles. I believe they were, to him, one and the same thing, and he asked of each of us the best we could give.

The United Nations is our conscience. If it succeeds it is our success. If it fails it is our failure. Throughout my work on the 'Single Form' I have kept in mind Dag Hammarskjöld's ideas of human and aesthetic ideology and I have tried to perfect a symbol that would reflect the nobility of his life, and at the same time give us a motive and symbol of both continuity and solidarity for the future.¹⁷³

In addition to these words by Hepworth and the overall sentiment expressed in her sculpture, the artist left a hidden inscription done by her hand in the rim of the circle, "To the Glory of God and the memory of Dag Hammarskjöld. Ndola 17-9-61" seemingly with the deeply personal intention that he would see her message from the heavens.¹⁷⁴

Bo Beskow

Hammarskjöld's collection contains a few works of art by Swedish artist Bo Beskow (see Appendix B and Figures 55 and 57). These works function as symbols of their deeply meaningful friendship, and the artistic collaborations that resulted from their relationship—primarily the murals in the UN Meditation Room and the penthouse of the UN Library. Furthermore, their trusting friendship is evidenced by Hammarskjöld leaving Beskow in charge of gathering his most valuable objects for historic preservation.

Outside of Sweden, very little is known or written about Bo Beskow, but his name was known in artist circles and he was well connected in the international art scene. In Sweden, he is

¹⁷³ Barbara Hepworth, *Barbara Hepworth: A Pictorial Autobiography* (New York: Praeger, 1970), 96.

¹⁷⁴ Lipsey, "Enlightened Patronage," 458.

most remembered for his public murals, modern stained glass designs executed for the Skara Cathedral, and portraits.¹⁷⁵ Confident and likeable, Beskow was a proficient networker—a skill he likely learned as a result of the fame and contacts established by his parents. Beskow’s mother was renowned Swedish writer and illustrator, Elsa Beskow (1874-1953), and his father, Natanael Beskow (1865-1953), was well known in Sweden as an artist, preacher, writer, and political activist.¹⁷⁶

The friendship between Hammarskjöld and Beskow began in November 1952 when, shortly after returning to Stockholm from the United Nations General Assembly in New York, Hammarskjöld telephoned Beskow for a portrait commission.¹⁷⁷ As Sweden’s Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs at the time, Hammarskjöld likely commissioned the portrait for the national portrait collection of distinguished officials. After their initial meeting, Beskow agreed to the commission and Hammarskjöld began sitting for the painting in March 1953. In his personal memoir of Hammarskjöld, Beskow recalls that the small talk he engaged in with his subject evolved into a “growing respect for his great knowledge and sound judgment of art, theatre, music, ballet, literature, and politics.”¹⁷⁸ The two became fast friends, and a great level of trust was quickly established between them. It was during this time that Hammarskjöld learned with disbelief of his nomination for the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations, and on the day that his election was confirmed, Hammarskjöld still arrived promptly for his appointment with Beskow. At that sitting, however, Beskow left the painting aside and the two drank sherry

¹⁷⁵ Ann-Marie Sälde, *Bo Beskow glasmålningar i Skara domkyrka (Bo Beskow’s Stained Glass Windows in the Skara Cathedral)* (Uddevalla: Bohusläningens Boktryckeri, 1988), 104.

¹⁷⁶ “F Natanael Beskow,” *Svensk Biografiskt Lexicon*, Riksarkivet (National Archives of Sweden), <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/SBL/Presentation.aspx?id=18135> (accessed February 16, 2016).

¹⁷⁷ Beskow, *Dag Hammarskjöld*, 11.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

and discussed Hammarskjöld's decision about the appointment. After two hours, Beskow drove Hammarskjöld to the Foreign Office to announce his acceptance of the post. The artist recalled driving home "feeling that the sky was a bit higher."¹⁷⁹

When Hammarskjöld returned to Sweden in the summer of 1953, he accepted Beskow's invitation to join him at his holiday home in the southern coastal region of Skåne. On this visit Hammarskjöld discovered an old farmhouse and surrounding land called Backåkra, meaning "hilly acres," that provided him with views of the unbroken horizon that he loved.¹⁸⁰ With Beskow's help, Hammarskjöld bought the property—along with certain nature preservation stipulations attached to the purchase. Hammarskjöld further entrusted Beskow with supervising the renovation of Backåkra, which Hammarskjöld intended to use on holidays until he could return more often after his term at the UN expired. Tragically, he never saw Backåkra fully restored. In addition to the happy summer days the new friends spent together in 1953, later that year, the deaths of their respective fathers further deepened their bond. As Beskow expressed so poignantly, he understood "Dag's feeling of being free to be himself," and he attributed their lasting friendship to having met at this turning point in Hammarskjöld's life.¹⁸¹

In July 1955, Hammarskjöld returned to Backåkra to spend a long summer holiday in the Swedish sun with his friend, and to celebrate his fiftieth birthday in peace. Art was surely a topic of their conversations, and the following year Hammarskjöld wrote to Beskow,

I often think of your stained glass windows and your preoccupation with the eternal problems of the space of the canvas. I hope I will still have enough patience, humility and stillness left when one day I shall be allowed to return to a life along the same lines. Then, maybe, I should be able to say in the right way something of what should be said.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 14.

¹⁸⁰ Beskow, *Dag Hammarskjöld*, 129 and 122.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 15.

¹⁸² Ibid., 60.

At some point during their friendship, Beskow gave Hammarskjöld a small abstract stained glass work (Figure 55) that he kept on the windowsill by his desk in the office of his New York City apartment as a constant reminder of the happy memories they shared.

Hammarskjöld's close understanding of Beskow's work likely led to the invitation to create a mural for the Meditation Room in 1957. As previously noted, Georges Braque declined the invitation to design the mural, leading Hammarskjöld to seek out another artist who could "articulate [his] spiritual and aesthetic concerns with compelling sparseness."¹⁸³ Hammarskjöld must have felt that he could accomplish this mission in close collaboration with Beskow, and it was said that the ordering of the mural was conducted by "a few questions and quick nod," suggesting the two friends had already spoken at length about the project.¹⁸⁴ The Secretary-General had a clear vision for the Meditation Room, which is still viewed as Hammarskjöld's enduring creation at the UN. Beskow's mural is but one element of the entire aesthetic experience that Hammarskjöld designed (Figure 56). Hammarskjöld specified that the room contain no symbols, as a gesture towards universality. The main components of the room are a solid block of iron ore illuminated by a shaft of light, which Hammarskjöld explained are "simple things which speak to us all with the same language."¹⁸⁵ Beskow presented Hammarskjöld with a gift of the painting he made as a study for the Meditation Room (Figure 57). It was hung on the wall opposite his desk at home where it served as a constant reminder of

¹⁸³ Lipsey, "Enlightened Patronage," 446-47.

¹⁸⁴ Kelen, *Hammarskjöld*, 115.

¹⁸⁵ Pamphlet about "A Room of Quiet" with text written by Dag Hammarskjöld. Andrew Wellington Cordier Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York. V.3.1: Administrative Matters, Box 84.

the artistic accomplishment of his close friend, and as a symbol of the room that “gave to the glass house its soul.”¹⁸⁶

In February 1958 Beskow’s wife, Greta, gave birth to a daughter who was christened Hammarskjöld’s godchild. Upon learning of the birth, Hammarskjöld sent a telegram to his friends that read, “The happy arrival of Maria Sputnik is greeted with enthusiasm by all your friends at UN. Hope we have arranged for a better world the moment she is old enough to understand what it is all about. Dag.”¹⁸⁷ Hammarskjöld assumed the role of Maria’s godfather with pride, and enjoyed spending time with the Beskow family again in the summer of 1959 at their houses in Skåne. On one of these occasions, Hammarskjöld drew a picture with crayons for his goddaughter depicting how he remembered his childhood summers. Beskow published the drawing in his memoir of Hammarskjöld and pointed out that the flag was “no doubt the UN flag—a rather nice anachronism—probably to remind Maria that she was born ‘under this sign.’”¹⁸⁸ This gesture testifies of Hammarskjöld’s warm human side that he shared only with his close friends—and also perhaps served as a reminder for himself of the motivations for his dedication to “arrange for a better world” for future generations.

Hammarskjöld’s and Beskow’s friendship led to beneficial introductions to other friends. While in New York in 1957 for the completion of the Meditation Room mural, Beskow introduced Hammarskjöld to John Steinbeck, with whom the artist had maintained a close friendship since they met in the waiting room of a publisher’s office in 1936. Hammarskjöld would thereafter develop his own friendship with the author, and was instrumental in Steinbeck

¹⁸⁶ Kelen, *Hammarskjöld*, 117.

¹⁸⁷ Telegram from Dag Hammarskjöld to Mr. and Mrs. Beskow, March 1, 1958. Dag Hammarskjöld Archives, Kungliga Biblioteket (National Library of Sweden), Stockholm. L179: 59, DH Private Financial records, 1958.

¹⁸⁸ Beskow, *Dag Hammarskjöld*, 154-55.

winning the 1962 Nobel Prize in Literature. In 1960, Hammarskjöld introduced Beskow to the poet Saint-John Perse (Alexis Léger), who had been impressed with Beskow's fantastical sketches inspired by Perse's poem, *Chronique*. Perse seemed intent on using Beskow's illustrations for a deluxe edition of the epic poem, but no evidence could be found that the project came to fruition.¹⁸⁹

Beskow's final visit to Hammarskjöld in New York was in the summer of 1961, just a few months prior to Hammarskjöld's death. Beskow had been invited to create another mural at the UN, this time for the Library building that was in the final stages of construction.

Hammarskjöld occupied himself with the design and execution of the library at every stage, and given his long-standing relationship with lead architect Wallace K. Harrison, everyone involved received the Secretary-General's aesthetic input with high regard. After seeing the space for the mural in the Library's penthouse, Hammarskjöld instructed the architects to write to Beskow with his feedback for the creation of the mural, "The room is evidently somewhat smaller than he had originally visualized, and he believes that a sense of depth, such as you achieved in the Meditation Room mural, would enhance your painting and its location in the room."¹⁹⁰

Hammarskjöld did not live to see the completion of Beskow's large-scale mural in vivid colors, but he surely would have approved of his friend's artistic vision for the space (Figure 58).

Upon his death, Hammarskjöld required one final act of stewardship from Beskow with regard to Backåkra. In his will, Beskow was assigned "to decide what pieces of art and furniture should be brought [to Backåkra] from his home in New York or elsewhere"¹⁹¹ for the

¹⁸⁹ Beskow, *Dag Hammarskjöld*, 172.

¹⁹⁰ Letter from Michael M. Harris, architect at Harrison & Abramovitz, to Bo Beskow on August 22, 1961. Andrew Wellington Cordier Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York. V.3.2: Dag Hammarskjöld Library, Box 87.

¹⁹¹ Beskow, *Dag Hammarskjöld*, 134.

establishment of a museum in Hammarskjöld's name. Today, this group of objects is the result of Beskow's effort "to keep [Hammarskjöld's] collection of beloved things intact."¹⁹² While it was Beskow's responsibility to select items for historical preservation at Backåkra, his grief prevented him from involving himself further in the project, as he explained in his memoir, "Others have had the hard task of choosing and arranging his *objets d'art*. I have not seen the result, and I do not want to see it. It can never give an idea of Dag's home—it must be a museum of curiosa for paying tourists to gape at."¹⁹³ Even though Beskow involved himself no further with the creation of the Dag Hammarskjöld Museum at Backåkra, he continued to advocate for the legacy of his friend. The memoir Beskow published about his friendship with Hammarskjöld provides a treasure trove of anecdotal information regarding the "strictly personal" side of the Secretary-General, and the artist remained involved with various other projects and scholarship that contributed to the awareness of his friend's great accomplishments.

PART THREE – THE DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD MUSEUM AT BACKÅKRA

The everlastingness of things—an ironic commentary upon your claims to ownership.

Dag Hammarskjöld, *Markings*

In his will, Hammarskjöld left his farmhouse and surrounding land at Backåkra to the Svenska Turistföreningen (Swedish Tourist Association), an organization that was founded in 1885 in Uppsala to promote the discovery of the nature and cultural heritage of Sweden.¹⁹⁴ It was Hammarskjöld's intention that the house become a sort of museum and gathering place. More

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 134-5.

¹⁹⁴ Hammarskjöld served on the Board of Directors of the Swedish Tourist Association, as his father did before him.

specifically, Backåkra is reserved for use by members of the Swedish Academy for two months in the summer, and for “meetings of associations formed to promote the preservation of nature, of culture, or for meetings arranged on the initiative of the United Nations or any person with the object of furthering its aim.”¹⁹⁵

At Backåkra, the house and collection of objects that Beskow designated for historical preservation are preserved as The Dag Hammarskjöld Museum to articulate his identity and promote an understanding of his legacy. Unfortunately, as of 2013, the Dag Hammarskjöld Museum at Backåkra has been closed to the public due to the lack of visitors and funds to maintain the property.¹⁹⁶ As a result, Hammarskjöld’s private collection has been placed in storage and therefore was not available for viewing for the purposes of this study. The hundred acres of property remains open to the public as part of the “freedom to roam” policies in Sweden, and Backåkra remains a popular venue for the quintessential Swedish summer solstice celebration, “midsommer.” The meditation circle made of stones during Hammarskjöld’s residency on the land provides visitors with sweeping views over the Baltic Sea, and a large stone in the center inscribed with “PAX” stands firm as a reminder of the servant of peace who bequeathed this place of sanctity to the world.

I recommend that the guardians of Hammarskjöld’s collection expand their efforts to safeguard the objects with better care and consideration for their historical importance. If a new foundation is indeed being established—as was alluded to during my visit to Stockholm—to resolve the quagmire that is Backåkra, I would advise they create a committee of experts on Hammarskjöld’s biography and art curators who would be qualified to interpret his collection in

¹⁹⁵ Kelen, *Hammarskjöld*, 191.

¹⁹⁶ In 2012 the museum registered only 1,200 visitors. Conversation with Bengt Lind, property manager for the Swedish Tourist Association which owns the house and land at Backåkra.

a meaningful way. Just as Hammarskjöld pursued every task with exacting intention, he chose these objects to embody meaningful parts of his closely guarded identity. The agency he gave to Beskow to gather his collection for preservation was the act of a man who possessed a keen awareness of his own mortality, which seems to have prompted him to curate his legacy. As long as his collection remains in storage, any complete narration of his history remains impossible. My final recommendation would be to deposit the collection on long-term loan to the Nationalmuseum or the National Archives of Sweden in Stockholm. Either of these options would provide a suitable temporary solution until a permanent one can be found that conserves the valuable works of art both as masterpieces in their own right, and as symbols for one of Sweden's most beloved national figures.

CONCLUSION

A poem is like a deed in that it is to be judged as a manifestation of the personality of its maker. This in no way ignores its beauty as measured by aesthetic standards of perfection, but also considers its authenticity as measured by its congruence with an inner life.

Dag Hammarskjöld, *Markings*

My overall motivation in writing this paper was a desire to construct a meaningful inquiry into Hammarskjöld's aesthetic values specifically in relation to modern art. By creating a new perspective on Dag Hammarskjöld's historical legacy as Secretary-General of the United Nations that accounts for the importance of aesthetics values both to him personally and in relation to the creative solutions he developed as a servant of peace, this study forges a place for him in art history. Modern art, in particular, reflected for him "the inner problems of our generation and is created in the hope of meeting some basic needs."¹⁹⁷ Moreover, modern artists inspired Hammarskjöld in his quest to advance world peace through innovative policies at the UN. Hammarskjöld considered modern artists as spokespeople for the accomplishments and failures of the time, and he endeavored to emulate "the spirit which animates the modern artist...to find new forms, starting often from nothing."¹⁹⁸

Hammarskjöld's political brilliance was born from his ability to cohere opposing forces into harmony, very much like the modern artist sought to bring harmony to a canvas, or "release" a sculpture from a block of wood. The same intuition that guided modern artists guided Hammarskjöld, and as such he felt an affinity with the artist's role in society. This connection was the characteristic that set him apart from other politicians, and made him deserving of a legacy in art history that has been demonstrated in this thesis.

¹⁹⁷ Press Release Archives, "Address by Dag Hammarskjöld," 2.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

Hammarskjöld's involvement in the development of an aesthetic tone at the UN was extensive, and went beyond the works The Museum of Modern Art loaned him for his office. The relationship that he fostered with the museum and the works of art he borrowed from their collection attest to his genuine knowledge of modern art and his commitment to its role in society. As established in this study, many of the MoMA paintings he curated acted as symbols of his life's work and values. From modern masters, such as Picasso and Matisse, to lesser-known artists with distinct points of view, such as Lyonel Feininger and Fritz Glarner, Hammarskjöld viewed modern art as "a noble manifestation of the essence and substance of modern man's spirit and aspiration."¹⁹⁹

Hammarskjöld endorsed the humanist belief in the potential of man, and the Romanticist principle that the arts were the ultimate expression of man's spirit and achievements. However, given the burden of Hammarskjöld's job, he faced considerable challenges to his belief in the goodness of mankind. In an attempt to shield himself from a deteriorating view of the world, he grounded himself in his deep faith and warm friendships, while surrounding himself with modern art that symbolized these links to humanity. He especially kept the works of his friends Barbara Hepworth and Bo Beskow close to him as reminders of the qualities of humanity that were worth fighting for so vehemently. As such, Hammarskjöld's private collection provides unique historical insight into the values that served as the foundation for his professional achievements. Unfortunately, at this moment his insightful collection sits in storage, forgotten to the world.

This study can serve as a launching pad for additional academic explorations into Hammarskjöld's art world activities, which are wide-ranging. This inquiry focuses on modern art, consequently neglecting other areas of aesthetics and art that could further reveal various aspects of Hammarskjöld's remarkable sensitivity to the world around him. For instance, a

¹⁹⁹ René d'Harnoncourt Papers, V.21. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

comprehensive history of the application of his aesthetic principles to the UN buildings might further reveal his desire to create an ambiance that reflected the aims of the world organization. Additionally, a more complete study of Hammarskjöld's private collection of art may lead to new revelations about his identity.

To conclude I return to Hammarskjöld's diary, in which an entry from 1950 seems to foreshadow his tragic destiny, "Let everything be consumed by the fire in the hope that something of value may be left which can be riddled out of the ashes."²⁰⁰ There is still much to be "riddled out of the ashes," and this study confirms undeniable riches are yet to be discovered.

²⁰⁰ Hammarskjöld, *Markings*, 45.

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF WORKS LOANED FROM THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART TO THE OFFICE OF DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD, SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS FROM 1953-1961

1. Peter Blume, *The Boat*, 1929 (Figure 24)
2. Georges Braque, *Beach at Dieppe (Barques au sec)*, 1928 (Figure 29)
3. Jean Hélion, *Composition*, 1936 (Figure 27)
4. Lyonel Feininger, *Viaduct*, 1920 (Figure 26)
5. Fritz Glarner, *Relational Painting*, 1947-48 (Figure 9)
6. Juan Gris, *Guitar and Pipe*, 1913 (Figure 18)
7. John Kane, *Homestead*, 1929 (Figure 31)
8. Roger de La Fresnaye, *Still Life*, 1913-14 (Figure 20)
9. Fernand Léger, *Woman Combing her Hair (Femme à la Toilette)*, 1925 (Figure 15)
10. Henri Matisse, *Gourds (Les colonquintes)*, 1916 (Figure 19)
11. Pablo Picasso, *Still Life with Cake (Still Life with Mandolin and Galette)*, 1924. (Figure 6)
12. Alan Reynolds, *Composition July*, 1952 (Figure 30)
13. Georges Rouault, *Landscape with Figures (Vesper)*, c. 1948 (Figure 23)

Methodology:

Bo Beskow's book on Hammarskjöld provided the starting point of this list. The book provides Beskow's lists of works that were first borrowed in January 1954. The remainder of the list was found by scouring the UN's online database of photos, MoMA's archives and museum publications, and numerous bibliographies of Hammarskjöld. Sources containing information about work are listed below. Not all MoMA's loans appear in UN photos, and a few photos display only a small portion of the work, making identification impossible. For this reason, the list contents are inconclusive.

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APPENDIX B

SELECT WORKS OF ART FROM DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD'S PRIVATE COLLECTION

SWEDISH LANDSCAPES

Nils Nilsson, *Vinterlandskap*, c. 1935. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Purchased by Hammarskjöld from Svensk-Franska Konstgalleriet in Stockholm on November 11, 1937. (Figure 32)

Carl Kylberg, *Ljusets återkomst (The Return of Light)*, c. 1930. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. (Figure 33)

Carl Kylberg, *Landskap*, c. 1930. Watercolor, dimensions unknown. (no image)

Leander Engström, *Järnväg längs fjällsjö (Railway along a mountain lake)*, 1915-18. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. (Figure 34)

Leander Engström, *Från Lappland (From Lapland)*, 1920. Watercolor, dimensions unknown. Purchased by DH from Svensk-Franska Konstgalleriet in Stockholm on December 15, 1945. (Figure 35)

Carl Wargh, *Långa bron (Long bridge)*, c. 1940. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. (Figure 36)

Helge Linden, *Landskap och byggander (Landscape with buildings)*, c. 1940. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. (Figure 37)

Carl Wilhelmson, *Berglandskap (Mountain landscape)*, date unknown. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. (no image)

Hugo Zuhr, *Från Fjället (From the Mountain)*, date unknown. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. (no image)

Karl Fredrik Hill, *Landskap*, date unknown. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. (no image)

Helmer Osslund, *Landskap*, date unknown. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. (no image)²⁰¹

²⁰¹ The painting by Helmer Osslund is only listed in the 1961 estate inventory. It may have subsequently been given to another Hammarskjöld family member.

Einar Jolin, *Stockholm från Stadhusornet* (*Stockholm from City Hall Tower*), 1953. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. (no image)

Sven Jonson, *Nattlig promenad* (*Night Stroll*), c. 1940. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Purchased by Hammarskjöld in Stockholm on November 13, 1943. (no image)

Sven Jonson, *Människor i landskap* (*Landscape with figures*), 1936. Lithograph, dimensions unknown. (no image)

Waldemar Lorentzon, *Solnedgångstimma* (*Sunset Sounds*), 1943. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Purchased by Hammarskjöld July 26, 1943 in Halmstad. (no image)

PORTRAITS OF ACCOMPLISHED MEN

Albert Engström, *Knud Rasmussen*, c. 1920. Etching, dimensions unknown. (Figure 38)

Albert Engström, various sketches, one or more of Hjalmar Hammarskjöld. (no images)

Muirhead Bone, *Joseph Conrad*, 1923. Drypoint etching, dimensions unknown. (Figure 39)

Axel Fridell, *Mr. Simmons* (*Tidningsläsaren*) (*Newspaper reader*), 1933. Drypoint etching, dimensions unknown. Purchased by Hammarskjöld from H. Bukowskis Konsthandel in Stockholm on May 19, 1952. (Figure 40)

Henry Kingsbury, *Linnaeus in his Lapland Dress*, c. 1805. Mezzotint with etching, hand-colored after printing, dimensions unknown. (Figure 41)

MODERN MASTERS OF THE PARISIAN AVANT-GARDE

Pablo Picasso, *Figures with animal heads from Le chef-d'oeuvre inconnu*, c. 1927. Etching, dimensions unknown. (Figure 42)

Georges Braque, *Pichet noir et citrons*, 1952. Color etching, 37.5 x 45 cm. Printed by Maeght, no. 1004, edition of 200, (Figure 43)

Henri Matisse, *Étude pour Saint Dominique*, 1951, lithograph. (Figure 44)

BRUNO LILJEFORS

Bruno Liljefors, *Svanar* (*Swans*), 1922. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. (Figures 45-47)

BARBARA HEPWORTH

Barbara Hepworth, *Group (Three views of a young girl)*, 1950. Oil and pencil on paper, 18 x 14 in. Purchased by Hammarskjöld from Martha Jackson Gallery, New York on January 5, 1957. (Figure 48)

Barbara Hepworth, *Single Form*, 1937-38. Sandalwood, H: 45 in. Gift from the artist.²⁰² (Figure 49)

Barbara Hepworth, *Sea Form*, 1959. Oil and pencil on paper, dimensions unknown. Purchased by Hammarskjöld from Galerie Chalette, New York on October 17, 1959. (Figure 50)

Barbara Hepworth, *Incised Form (Granite)*, 1960. Oil and pencil on paper, 19 ½ x 16 in. Purchased by Hammarskjöld from Gimpel Fils, London on May 31, 1961. (Figure 51)

Barbara Hepworth, *Hollow Form (Chirunga III)*, 1960. Lignum vitae, H: 30 in. Gift from the artist, May 1961.²⁰³ (Figure 52)

BO BESKOW

Bo Beskow, *Stained glass*, c. 1940-60. Dimensions unknown. Gift from the artist. (Figure 55)

Bo Beskow, *Study for United Nations Mediation Room*, c. 1957. Medium and dimensions unknown. Gift from the artist. (Figure 57)

Bo Beskow, *Orientaler*. Date unknown. Watercolor, dimensions unknown. Gift from the artist. (no image)

Bo Beskow, *Träsnitt (Woodcut)*, 1958. Gift from the artist. (no image)

²⁰² *Single Form* was originally placed in Hammarskjöld's office at the United Nations on loan. In a letter from Barbara Hepworth to Dag Hammarskjöld on October 16, 1959, she offers the sculpture as a gift if he wants it. In a subsequent letter on October 26, 1959, she effectively gives the sculpture to him as a gift. Manuel Fröhlich, "A Fully Integrated Vision" in *Development Dialogue* (2001:1), 46 and 50.

²⁰³ In a letter from Barbara Hepworth to Dag Hammarskjöld on October 16, 1959, Hepworth expresses her intention to "carve [him] a special object just for handling, a more personal sculpture done after my experiences here." Manuel Fröhlich, "A Fully Integrated Vision" in *Development Dialogue* (2001:1), 46.

Methodology:

The works listed here were selected from three inventory lists of the collection:

1. 1961 inventory of estate items designated for Backåkra, the house and property given to the Svenska Turistföreningen (Swedish Tourist Association)
2. 1987 inventory report and appraisal prepared by Gunnar Johanson-Thor for the Svenska Turistföreningen (Swedish Hiking Association), given to the author by the property manager, Bengt Lind
3. May 2015 inventory conducted by Bengt Lind, property manager at the Svenska Turistföreningen (Swedish Hiking Association)

Sources:

Dag Hammarskjöld Collection. Kungliga Biblioteket (National Library of Sweden), Stockholm.

Fröhlich, Manuel. "A Fully Integrated Vision: Politics and the Arts in the Dag Hammarskjöld-Barbara Hepworth Correspondence" in *Development Dialogue*, 2001: 1. 17-43.

Meeting on June 9, 2015 with Lind Bengt, Property Manager for Svenska Turistföreningen (Swedish Tourist Association), Stockholm.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 1
Residence of the Late UN Secretary-General in New York.
Photo published in Betty Pepis,
“Scandinavian Import,” *New York Times Magazine*, August 1, 1954, 30.



Figure 2
Hammarskjöld family coat of arms.
Sten Söderberg, *Hammarskjöld: A Pictorial Biography*
(London: Thames and Hudson, 1962), 30.

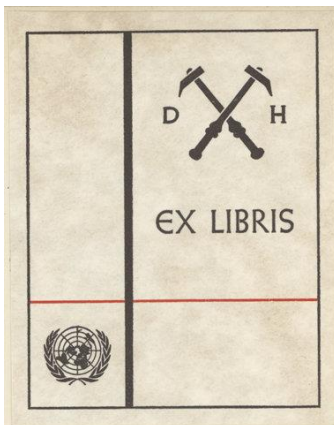


Figure 3
Dag Hammarskjöld's bookplate.
Roger Lipsey Collection.



Figure 4
 Clara E. Sipprell (American, 1885-1975)
Dag Hammarskjöld in His Apartment at the United Nations
 1954
 Gelatin silver print
 8 15/16 x 6 15/16"
 Amon Carter Museum of American Art, Fort Worth, Texas. P1984.1.141



Figure 5
 Dag Hammarskjöld
Mount Everest
 National Geographic (*January 1961*).
 Photo



Figure 6
 Pablo Picasso (Spanish, 1881-1973)
Still Life with Mandolin and Galette
 1924
 Oil and sand on canvas
 38 ½ x 51 ½" (97.8 x 130.8 cm)
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
 Jacques and Natasha Gelman Collection, 1998.
 Accession number: 1999.363.65
 © 2016 Estate of Pablo Picasso / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



Figure 7
 United Nations, New York, Photo # 372768
The Secretary-General of the United Nations [Dag Hammarskjöld seated in front of Pablo Picasso's *Still Life with Mandolin and Galette* (1924)]
 01 March 1954
<http://www.unmultimedia.org/s/photo/detail/372/0372768.html>



Figure 8
 United Nations, New York, Photo # 49861
Suite of the Secretary-General of the United Nations Headquarters [Hanging on the wall is Pablo Picasso's *Still Life with Mandolin and Galette* (1924)]
 01 September 1961
<http://www.unmultimedia.org/s/photo/detail/498/0049861.html>

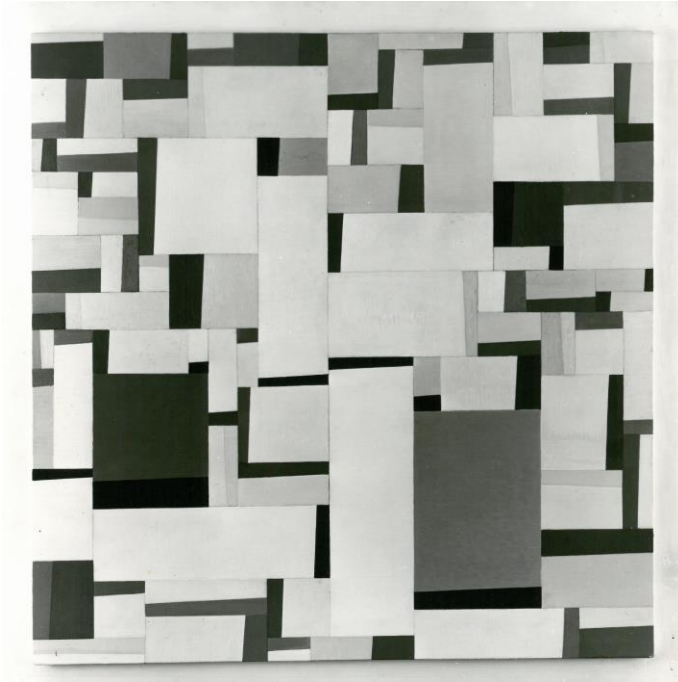


Figure 9
 Fritz Glarner (American, born
 Switzerland, 1899-1972)
Relational Painting
 1947-48
 Oil on canvas
 43 1/8 x 42 1/4" (109.5 x 107.3 cm)
 The Museum of Modern Art, New
 York. Purchase.
 Accession number: 52.1949



Figure 10
 United Nations, New York, Photo #
 372767
*The Secretary-General of the United
 Nations* [Dag Hammarskjöld standing
 in front of Fritz Glarner's *Relational
 Painting* (1947-48)]
 01 March 1954
[http://www.unmultimedia.org/s/photo
 /detail/372/0372767.html](http://www.unmultimedia.org/s/photo/detail/372/0372767.html)



Figure 11
 Fritz Glarner (American, born Switzerland, 1899-1972)
Relational Painting No. 61
 1953, Oil on canvas
 61.2 x 44.1 in (155.5 x 112 cm)
 Collection Unknown
 Provenance:
 Rudolf and Leonore Blum, Zumikon, Switzerland



Figure 12
United Nations, New York, Photo # 119110
Foreign Minister of Italy Visits U.N. Secretary-General
01 April 1959
<http://www.unmultimedia.org/s/photo/detail/119/0119110.html>



Figure 13
United Nations, New York, Photo # 409915
Australia's New Permanent Representative to UN Presents Credentials
23 July 1959
<http://www.unmultimedia.org/s/photo/detail/409/0409915.html>



Figure 14
United Nations, New York, Photo # 55747
Gift of the Ford Foundation to the United Nations [Fritz Glarner's Relational Painting Nr. 90 (1961)]
01 August 1985
Fritz Glarner (American, born Switzerland, 1899-1972)
1962, Oil on canvas.
24 x 11 ft.
Dag Hammarskjöld Library at the United Nations, New York.



Figure 15
 Fernand Léger (French, 1881-1955)
Femme à la Toilette (Woman Combing Her Hair)
 1925
 Oil on canvas
 25.6 x 21.3" (65 x 54 cm)
 Private Collection
 (Deaccessioned by MoMA in 1959)



Figure 16
 United Nations, New York, Photo # 56222
Portrait of the Secretary-General
 1 March 1954
<http://www.unmultimedia.org/s/photo/detail/562/0056222.html>



Figure 17
 United Nations, New York, Photo # 64575
Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba Visits United Nations
 22 April 1959
<http://www.unmultimedia.org/s/photo/detail/645/0064575.html>



Figure 18
 Juan Gris (Spanish, 1887-1927)
Guitar and Pipe
 1913
 Oil and charcoal on canvas
 25 ½ x 19 ¾" (64.77 x 50.17 cm)
 Dallas Museum of Art, The Eugene and
 Margaret McDermott Art Fund, Inc.
 Accession number: 1998.219.McD
 (Deaccessioned by MoMA in 1968)

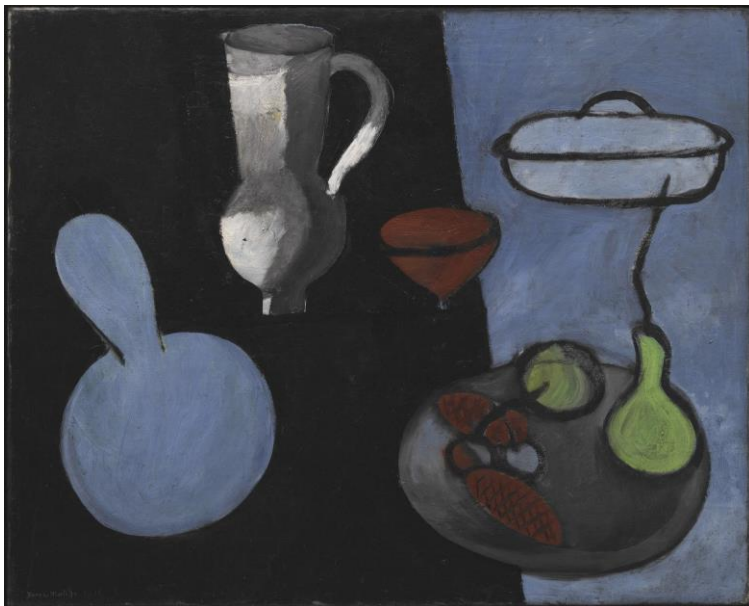


Figure 19
 Henri Matisse (French, 1869-
 1954)
Gourds (Les coloquintes)
 1915-16 (dated on painting 1916)
 Oil on canvas
 25 5/8 x 31 7/8" (65.1 x 80.9 cm)
 The Museum of Modern Art, New
 York
 Mrs. Simon Guggenheim Fund
 Accession number: 119.1935



Figure 20
 Roger de La Fresnaye (French, 1885-1925)
Still Life with Bottle, Pipe and Pot of Tobacco
 1913-14
 Oil on canvas
 28 3/4 x 36 1/4" (73.03 x 92.08 cm)
 Virginia Museum of Fine Art, Richmond, VA
 Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon
 Accession number: 83.29
 © 1996-2014 Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond



Figure 21
 United Nations, New York, Photo # 161237
Spanish Foreign Minister Visits United Nations Headquarters [On the wall: Roger de La Fresnaye, *Still Life with Bottle, Pipe and Pot of Tobacco* (1913-14)]
 17 April 1956
<http://www.unmultimedia.org/s/photo/detail/161/0161237.html>



Figure 22
 United Nations, New York, Photo # 49854
Suite of the Secretary-General at the United Nations Headquarters [On the wall: Roger de La Fresnaye's *Still Life with Bottle, Pipe and Pot of Tobacco* (1913-14). Sculpture: Barbara Hepworth, *Hollow Form (Chirunga III)* (1960)]
 1 September 1961
<http://www.unmultimedia.org/s/photo/detail/498/0049854.html>



Figure 23
 Georges Rouault (French, 1871-1958)
Landscape with Figures (Vesper)
 c. 1948
 Oil on canvas
 21 3/8 x 27 1/2" (54 x 70 cm)
 Collection unknown.
 (Deaccessioned by MoMA in 2005).



Figure 24
 Peter Blume (American, 1906-1992)
The Boat
 1929, Oil on canvas.
 20 1/8 x 24 1/8" (51.1 x 61.3 cm)
 The Museum of Modern Art, New York
 Gift of the Mrs. Sam A. Lewisohn
 Accession number: 39.1952
 © The Educational Alliance, Inc./Estate of Peter Blume/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY



Figure 25
 United Nations, New York, Photo # 49920
The Secretary-General's Office at UN Headquarters
 01 September 1954
<http://www.unmultimedia.org/s/photo/detail/499/0049920.html>



Figure 26
Lyonel Feininger (American, 1871-1956)
Viaduct
1920
Oil on canvas
39 3/4 x 33 3/4" (100.9 x 85.7 cm)
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
Acquired through the Lillie P. Bliss Bequest
Accession number: 259.1944



Figure 27
Jean Hélion (French, 1904-1987)
Composition
Paris, 1936
Oil on canvas
39 1/4 x 31 7/8" (99.7 x 80.9 cm)
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
Gift of the Advisory Committee
Accession number: 76.1936



Figure 28
United Nations, New York, Photo # 123839
Premier of the Republic of the Congo at UN [Standing with Dag Hammarskjöld in front of Jean Hélion's Composition (1936)]
24 July 1960
<http://www.unmultimedia.org/s/photo/detail/123/0123839.html>



Figure 29
Georges Braque (French, 1882-1963)
Beach at Dieppe (or Barques au sec)
1928
Oil on canvas
10 3/4 x 18 1/8" (27 x 46 cm)
Collection unknown
(Deaccessioned by MoMA in 1970)



Figure 30
Alan Reynolds (British, 1926-2014)
Composition July
1952
Oil on composition board
30 x 40 3/4" (76.2 x 121.3 cm)
Museum of Modern Art, New York
Purchase
Accession number: 188.1952

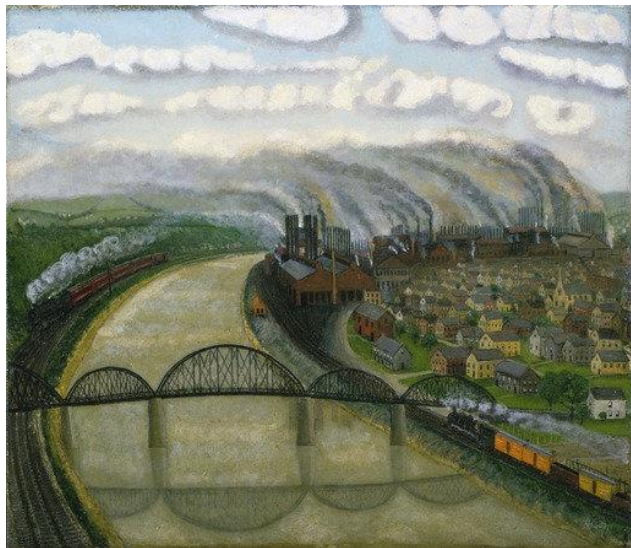


Figure 31
John Kane (American, born Scotland. 1860-1934)
Homestead
c. 1929
Oil on canvas.
24 x 27" (61 x 68.6 cm)
The Museum of Modern Art, New York.
Gift of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller.
Accession number: 90.1935



Figure 32
Nils Nilsson (Swedish, 1878-1952)
Landskap
c. Early to mid-1930s.
Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown.
Purchased by DH from the Svensk-Franska
Konstgalleriet in Stockholm on November
11, 1937.
Dag Hammarskjöld Museum, Backåkra,
Sweden.
Photo courtesy of the Swedish Tourist
Association.



Figure 33
Carl Kylberg (Swedish, 1878-1952)
Ljusets återkomst (The Return of Light)
c. 1930
Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown.
Dag Hammarskjöld Museum,
Backåkra, Sweden.
Photo courtesy of the Swedish Tourist
Association.



Figure 34
Leander Engström (Swedish, 1886-1927)
*Järnväg längs fjällsjö (Railway along a
mountain lake)*
1915-18
Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown.
Dag Hammarskjöld Museum, Backåkra,
Sweden.
Photo from the Andrew Wellington Cordier
Papers. Rare Book and Manuscript Library.
Columbia University, New York.



Figure 35
 Leander Engström (Swedish, 1886-1927)
Laplandsmotiv (Lapland landscape)
 c. 1920
 Watercolor, dimensions unknown.
 Dag Hammarskjöld Museum, Backåkra,
 Sweden.
 Photo courtesy of the Swedish Tourist
 Association.



Figure 36
 Carl Wargh (Finnish, 1895-1937)
Långa bron (Long bridge)
 c. 1930
 Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown.
 Dag Hammarskjöld Museum, Backåkra,
 Sweden.



Figure 37
 Helge Linden (Swedish, 1897-1961)
*Landskap och byggander (Landscape with
 buildings)*
 c. 1950
 Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown.
 Dag Hammarskjöld Museum, Backåkra,
 Sweden.
 Photo courtesy of the Swedish Tourist
 Association.



Figure 38
 Albert Engström (Swedish, 1869-1940)
Knud Rasmusson
 c. 1920
 Etching, dimensions unknown.
 Dag Hammarskjöld Museum, Backåkra, Sweden



Figure 39
 Muirhead Bone (British, 1876-1953)
Portrait of Joseph Conrad
 1923
 Drypoint etching, dimensions unknown,
 series of 89.
 Dag Hammarskjöld Museum, Backåkra,
 Sweden. Photo courtesy of the Swedish
 Tourist Association.

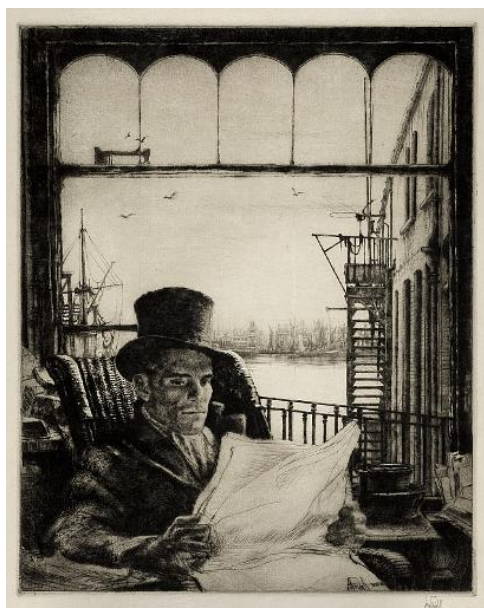


Figure 40
 Axel Fridell (Swedish, 1894-1953)
Mr. Simmons (Tidningsläsaren) (Newspaper reader)
 1933
 Drypoint etching, dimensions unknown.
 Image used from edition owned by
 Modernamuseet, Stockholm.



Figure 41
Henry Kingsbury
Linnaeus in Lapland Dress
1805
Hand-colored print, dimensions unknown.
Dag Hammarskjöld Museum, Backåkra, Sweden. Photo
courtesy of the Swedish Tourist Association.



Figure 42
Pablo Picasso (Spanish, 1881-1973)
Seated Nude and Sketches (Horses, Bull, Bullfighter, ...), plate X from the illustrated book *Le Chef-d'oeuvre inconnu*
1928
Etching
Plate: 7 5/8 x 10 15/16" (19.4 x 27.8 cm);
page: 13 x 9 15/16" (33 x 25.2 cm)
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
The Louis E. Stern Collection
Accession number: 967.1964.10
© Estate of Pablo Picasso / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



Figure 43
Georges Braque (French, 1882-1963)
Pichet noir et citrons
1952, Color etching.
37.5 x 45 cm.
Printed by Maeght, no. 1004, edition of 200.



Figure 44
 Henri Matisse (French, 1869-1954)
Étude pour Saint Dominique
 1950-51
 Lithograph, edition of 100
 19 5/8 x 12 3/4" (49 x 32.5 cm)
 No. 657 in Margeurite Duthuit-Matisse and Claude Duthuit,
Henri Matisse: Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre grave
 (Paris: Claude Duthuit, 1983), 214-15.



Figure 45
 Bruno Liljefors (Swedish, 1860-1939)
Svanar (Swans)
 1922
 Oil on canvas
 Dag Hammarskjöld Museum, Backåkra,
 Sweden.
 Photo courtesy of the Swedish Tourist
 Association.

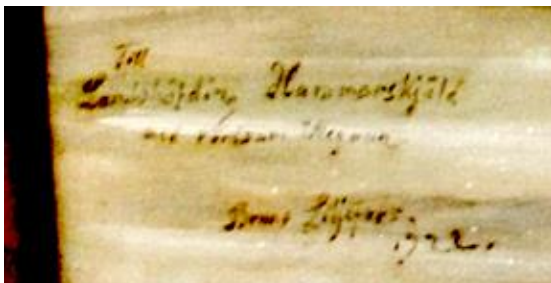


Figure 46. Detail of dedication on lower left corner of *Svanar (Swans)* (1922)



Figure 47. Detail of *Svanar (Swans)* (1922)

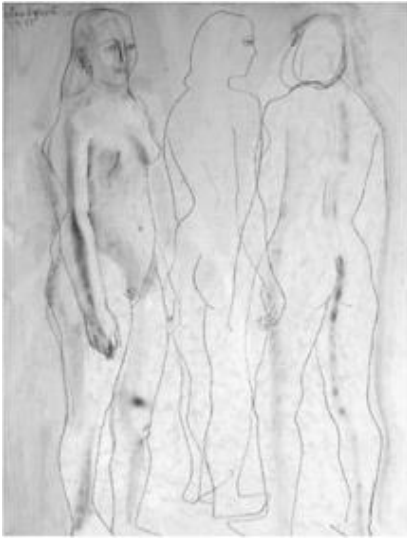


Figure 48

Barbara Hepworth (British, 1903-1975)

Group (Three views of a young girl)

1950, Oil and pencil on paper.

18 x 14 in.

Purchased by Hammarskjöld from Martha Jackson

Gallery, New York on January 5, 1957.

Dag Hammarskjöld Museum, Backåkra, Sweden.

Image courtesy of the Swedish Tourist Association.

Hepworth © Bowness



Figure 49

Barbara Hepworth (British, 1903-1975)

Single Form

1937-38, Sandalwood

H: 45 in.

Gift of the artist.

Dag Hammarskjöld Museum, Backåkra, Sweden.

Catalogue raisonné: J.P. Hodin, *Barbara Hepworth* (1961),

No. BH 103

Image courtesy of the Swedish Tourist Association.

Hepworth © Bowness



Figure 50
Barbara Hepworth (British, 1903-1975)
Sea Form
1959
Oil and pencil on paper, dimensions unknown.
Purchased from Galerie Chalette, New York on October 17, 1959.
Dag Hammarskjöld Museum, Backåkra, Sweden.
Image courtesy of the Swedish Tourist Association
Hepworth © Bowness



Figure 51
Barbara Hepworth (British, 1903-1975)
Incised Form (Granite)
1960, Oil and pencil on paper
19 ½ x 16" (49.5 x 40.6 cm)
Purchased by Hammarskjöld from Gimpel Fils, London on May 31, 1961.
Dag Hammarskjöld Museum, Backåkra, Sweden.
Image courtesy of the Swedish Tourist Association.
Catalogue raisonné: Alan Wilkinson, *The Drawings of Barbara Hepworth* (2015), No. 117.
Hepworth © Bowness



Figure 52
Barbara Hepworth (British, 1903-1975)
Hollow Form (Chirunga III)
1960
Lignum vitae
H: 30"
Gift from the artist.
Dag Hammarskjöld Museum, Backåkra, Sweden.
Hepworth © Bowness



Figure 53
 Barbara Hepworth (British, 1903-1975)
Single form (Memorial)
 1961-2
 Bronze
 H: 12 ft. 3 in.
 Edition of two: Jacob Blaustein, USA; The
 Greater London Council in Battersea Park
 Hepworth © Bowness



Figure 54
 United Nations, New York, Photo #214890
*Sculpture Unveiled at United Nations
 Headquarters Honours Dag Hammarskjöld*
 (Barbara Hepworth, *Single Form*, 1962-63)
 1961-4 (photo dated 11 June 1964)
 Bronze
 H: 21' (6.4 m)
 United Nations Headquarters, New York
 Gift of the Jacob and Hilda Blaustein Foundation
 as a memorial to Dag Hammarskjöld.
 Hepworth © Bowness



Figure 55
 United Nations, New York, Photo #347386
 (detail)
The Residence of the Late United Nation Secretary-General in New York City
(Stained glass gift from Bo Beskow as seen in the window next to Dag Hammarskjöld's desk)
 c. 1957, dimensions unknown.
 Gift from the artist.
 Dag Hammarskjöld Museum, Backåkra, Sweden



Figure 56
 United Nations, New York, Photo #65998
Meditation Room of the United Nations Headquarters.
 Fresco mural by Bo Beskow, 1957. 9' x 6.5'.

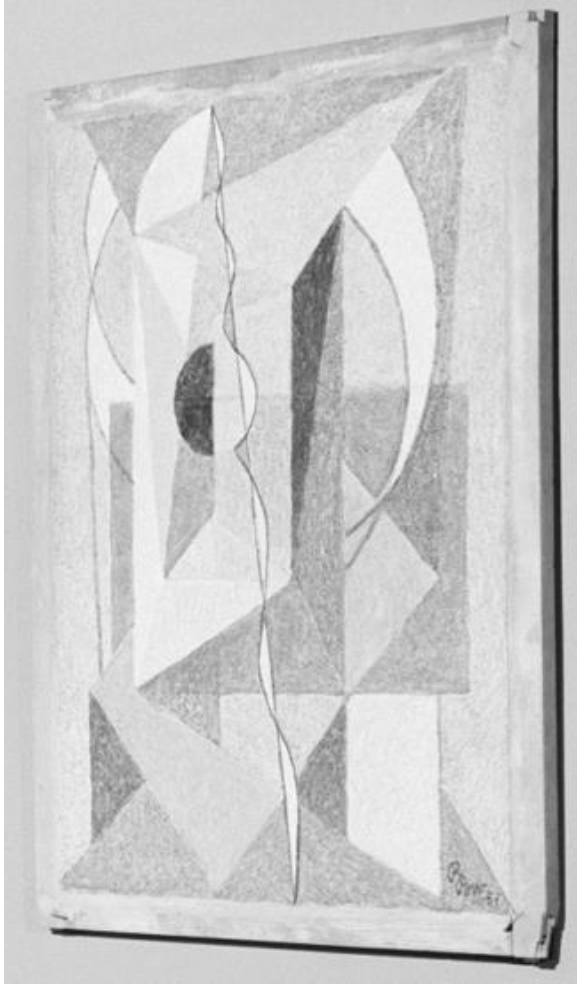


Figure 57
United Nations, New York, Photo #192457
(detail)
*Residence of the Late UN Secretary-General
in New York (Study for Meditation Room
fresco mural at the United Nations, as seen
hanging on the wall across from Dag
Hammarhjöld's desk)*
c. 1957, dimensions unknown.
Gift from the artist.
Dag Hammarhjöld Museum, Backåkra,
Sweden.



Figure 58
Bo Beskow
Composition for a Concave Wall
1961, Oil on canvas mounted to
the wall.
26' x 14'
The Dag Hammarhjöld Library,
United Nations, New York.