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Continuity through Mediality Georg Kolbe in the Mirror of Self-Staging and Reproduction Photography

Little research has been done to date on the significance of the medium of photography for the reception of Georg Kolbe's artistic work. The fact that Kolbe endeavored to document his works photographically from the very beginning of his sculptural activity, and that he attached importance to their all-round view, including in photographs, has been emphasized by Ursel Berger in her essay "Wie publiziert man Skulpturen? Die Kolbe-Monographie von 1913" (How Does One Publish Sculptures? The Kolbe Monograph of 1913) in connection with Kolbe's art dealer and publisher Paul Cassirer.¹

Given that this is the beginning of a new field of research, the following considerations can only be an approach to the subject and should be seen as an attempt at a first assessment based on published material and archival documents. However, it should become clear how extensively and deliberately Georg Kolbe used the medium to represent his artistic work; indeed, he continuously had his sculptures, plaster models, sketches, and prints photographed from the beginning of his sculptural career, thus creating his own photographic archive of his artistic work and its genesis.

The art historian Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld (1877–1945), who, as a curator at the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin, focused his research on porcelain and ceramics, photographed Kolbe's objects as early as 1907² and worked for the artist until the mid-1920s. Around 1929,³ Kolbe hired Margrit Schwartzkopff (1903–1969) as an assistant photographer, who also worked as his secretary and photo archivist and, after Kolbe's death in 1947, became his executor as well as co-founder and director of the Georg Kolbe Museum. Kolbe's contact with the art historian Richard Hamann (1879–1961) and his son Richard Hamann-Mac Lean (1908–2000) proved to be a special connection. In 1929, on their initiative in the context of the Preußisches Forschungsinstitut für Kunstgeschichte (Prussian Research Institute for Art History) in Marburg, they began working on a portfolio of photographic views of Kolbe's artistic work, which was published in 1931.⁴ Georg Kolbe's involvement with the media is conspicuous in the context of his entire artistic career, but this Marburg Kolbe Portfolio also forms a prelude to further publications, in the context of which Margrit Schwartzkopff was able to emphasize her (photographic) view of Kolbe's work. The following analysis therefore concentrates on an examination of selected publications in order to trace Kolbe's reference to the medium of photography and the representation he ascribed to it.

Kolbe's attention to the opportunities offered by the photographic reproduction of artistic works could possibly be traced back to Auguste Rodin, whose studio he visited in Meudon in 1909.⁵ Rodin "instrumentalized [...] photography like no other artist before him, as the more than 1,000 photographs in the archives of the Musée Rodin in Paris attest,"⁶ Michael Klant notes, and continues: "Photographs served Rodin to check the play of light and shadow or the intended views of sculptures, to correct works *en chemin*, and even as models for drawings. Up until the 1890s, they were primarily working aids and private documents. From then on, more and more photographs were also published and contributed significantly to his fame."⁷

Visually, the medium was already present for Kolbe in 1887, as evidenced by a picture postcard of his class at the Académie Julian in Paris, which shows the art students



1 Georg Kolbe in his studio, 1940s, historical photograph

surrounded by photographic images hanging on the wall.⁸ Kolbe also surrounded himself with Rodin's photographic postcards, as suggested by a portrait of Rodin with pin marks from the estate holdings recently acquired by the Georg Kolbe Museum⁹ and as corroborated by Ursel Berger's previous research.¹⁰ It should also be noted that Kolbe had himself constantly portrayed at work in the studio by renowned photographers (fig. 1). While a striking portrait by Hugo Erfurth, published in the magazine *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* in 1924,¹¹ shows him in the style of New Objectivity with a black suit and bow tie in front of one of his large female sculptures,¹² *Die Dame* presented him in 1925 in a white smock in his studio (photo: Atelier O. Hartmann, Berlin)¹³—a theme that Kolbe took up several times in connection with his self-image, for example in 1930 in *Vanity Fair* with a whole group of sculptures in his working environment (photo: Atelier Binder, Berlin),¹⁴ in 1939 in the *Völkischer Beobachter* together with the dictator Francisco Franco while modeling the bust created by Kolbe,¹⁵ and in 1943 with his hand on his chin like Rodin's *Thinker* (photo: Georg Tietzsch, Berlin).¹⁶ Not least of all in the genesis of his self-image, it becomes clear how Georg Kolbe moved through political systems and societies: from the German Empire, through the Weimar Republic and the National Socialist regime, to

the country occupied by the victorious powers in the early postwar period. In the same continuity, he published photographic views of his works, for example in illustrated books published by Paul Cassirer (1913),¹⁷ Kurt Wolff (1922),¹⁸ and Rembrandt-Verlag (from 1933 onwards).¹⁹ In this context, the photographs, which oscillate between representation and self-observation, work and body images, are a mirror of this continuity, which must always be seen in relation to the respective political systems and images of society.

1907 – “Schnorr wants to come after Whitsun. He is a good photographer who enjoys his work.”²⁰

Little is known to date about the collaboration between Georg Kolbe and Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld; however, the latter produced photographs of Kolbe's works early on after his studies, which he completed with a thesis on the sculptural interior design of the Salem Minster,²¹ and alongside his subsequent position as curator at the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin. The two collaborated between 1907²² and the mid-1920s. The glass plate negatives and silver gelatin prints of these photos came into the artist's possession. In 1912, Kolbe and Schnorr von Carolsfeld traveled together to Tunis.²³

What is striking about Schnorr von Carolsfeld's 1912 book on porcelain from European factories in the eighteenth century²⁴ is the narrative arrangement of the porcelain figures in relation to one another. For example, in a photograph of the group *Kavalier und Dame* (Cavalier and Lady) from the Wegely porcelain factory in Berlin (1752–57), two figures are shown facing each other, emphasizing not only the individual figures but also the conversational space between them in the photographic image.²⁵ As with the following example, the fact that the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin is listed as the owner suggests that the photograph can be attributed to Schnorr von Carolsfeld.²⁶ In the case of the *Biskuitgruppe nach Bouchers Lanterne magique*, Sèvres (Bisque Group after Boucher's *Lanterne magique*, Sèvres, ca. 1750), it becomes particularly clear how the perspective made visible in the reproduction photograph was chosen in such a way as to visualize for the viewer the process of looking that is inherent in the figurative representation of the scene.²⁷

A look at Schnorr von Carolsfeld's photographic images of Georg Kolbe's artistic work, which are listed in the digital database of the Georg Kolbe Archive, reinforces the observation that Schnorr von Carolsfeld's visual language was dedicated to experiencing the objects as spatially as possible. Various (undated) photographs of the *Porträt Benjamine Kolbe* (1902/03; fig 2)²⁸ reveal how the photographer approached the sculpture in order to capture and convey a visual diversity of the bust, especially its face. A dark background enhances the delicacy of the marble and highlights Schnorr von Carolsfeld's sense of relief structures, light and shadow gradients, and contrasts. The photographer also documented various steps in the artist's work and the effects of the material in the case of a figure such as the *Tänzerin* (Dancer, 1911/12)—as a wax model in front of a neutral background, as a colored plaster model in front of a curtain in the studio, and as a bronze in front



2 Georg Kolbe, *Benjamine Kolbe*, 1902/03, marble, h. 65 cm, historical photograph

of a brick wall in an all-around view, as well as “cropped” by means of retouched color accentuation in a deliberately chosen perspective.²⁹ The juxtaposition of studio photography and *plein-air* photography is evident in a large number of the images made by Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld, which are to be researched in the Kolbe Archive and which, in their quantity, are always convincing in their originality. They suggest a close collaboration between the artist and the photographer, with photographs that may have served Kolbe both for his own study purposes during the progress of a particular work, as well as those that captured the character of a sculpture in pose, expression, gesture, dynamics, course of movement, and materiality in the best possible way in just one view or in a series of shots, for example, for the targeted marketing of the work of art or for its popularization, as in illustrated magazines of the 1920s.³⁰

1929 – “For the realization of our plan to photograph your new works well and thoroughly in the studio, I had reserved the last, not too busy days of the semester.”³¹

In 1929, Richard Hamann-Mac Lean, son of the art historian Richard Hamann, photographed Georg Kolbe's new works in his studio in Berlin. This inspired Richard Hamann,

then the director of the Preußisches Forschungsinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in Marburg, to initiate an original project. With “photographic reproductions in a larger format,” Hamann wanted to encourage Kolbe to create a portfolio of photographic reproductions from all periods of his work.³²

The Kolbe Portfolio was published by the Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar (Department of Art History) of the University of Marburg in the summer of 1931, with the intention of “providing an overview of the artist’s entire oeuvre, but also to deposit documents of the present for future art-historical research.”³³ The edition consists of 100 collotype plates with approximately 180 large-format (32.5 × 45 centimeters) illustrations, including photographs by Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld, Margrit Schwartzkopff (designated as “Atelier Schwartzkopff”), and Richard Hamann-Mac Lean that had been taken since their collaboration in 1929. A preface by Georg Kolbe and an introduction by his artist friend Richard Scheibe with a “Bekenntnis zur Plastik” (Confession of Faith in Sculpture)³⁴ accompany the portfolio, which is bound in half cloth and which was offered for sale for 100 Reichsmarks. As a “luxury edition,”³⁵ the portfolio was offered in a special edition of initially thirty copies signed by Kolbe with an accompanying drawing at a price of 250 Reichsmarks.³⁶ The portfolio was sponsored by Galerie Alfred Flechtheim, where Kolbe had had solo exhibitions in Berlin shortly before, in 1930 and 1931.

The compilation of photographic reproductions includes images from various photographers. On the one hand, Kolbe’s sculptural works are emphasized in their singularity in individual views; on the other hand, series of images appear again and again that emphasize the corporeality of Kolbe’s objects (fig. 3). Here, it is striking that the series by the photographer Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld form a prelude with the *Porträt Benjamine Kolbe*, suggesting that they provided the style for the sequence-emphasized presentation within the portfolio. Later photographs also consciously rely on a narrative sequence of images. Worthy of special mention, for example, are the all-round depiction of the group of figures in *Entwurf für ein Beethovendenkmal* (Model for a Monument to Beethoven, 1926/27),³⁷ which emerges from the background almost as if in a montage, and the sequences of four views each, spanning several sheets, of the *Herabschreitender* (Descending Man, 1928)³⁸ and the *Junge Frau* (Young Woman, 1929),³⁹ which are depicted in frontal, side, and close-up views, respectively. The sculptures *Große Kriechende I* and *II* (Large Crawling Woman I and II, both 1927; figs. 4–6),⁴⁰ photographed in Hamburg’s Stadtpark, are positioned in the portfolio as a pair, one on top of the other and successively on two sheets with alternating perspectives; there is also a third sheet showing the faces of the figures turned towards each other, facing the viewer, and in close-up, respectively.

Since none of the photographic reproductions in the list of illustrations is assigned to the respective photographer, their authorship can only be reconstructed by comparing the images. The Kolbe Portfolio thus already contains forms of representation that point to the later work of Margrit Schwartzkopff. Express praise on Kolbe’s part, however, is only documented towards Richard Hamann[-Mac Lean]: “Your rare empathy with my work combined with your mastery of the camera have made the work so good,” Kolbe



3 Georg Kolbe, *Stehende Frau* (Standing Woman), 1915, plaster, life-size, illustrated in: Georg Kolbe. *100 Lichtdrucktafeln, mit einem Begleitwort von Georg Kolbe und einer Einführung von Richard Scheibe* (Marburg 1931), figs. 18 a, b



4 Georg Kolbe, *Große Kriechende I + II* (Large Crawling Woman I + II), 1927, limestone, larger than life, Stadtpark Hamburg, illustrated in: Georg Kolbe. *100 Lichtdrucktafeln, mit einem Begleitwort von Georg Kolbe und einer Einführung von Richard Scheibe* (Marburg 1931), figs. 73 a, b

wrote to Hamann in June 1931, “from all sides, I already hear the best about the publication; do you think that a material [i.e., financial] success can also be booked?”⁴¹

Although Georg Kolbe’s relationship with Richard Hamann and Richard Hamann-Mac Lean cooled by 1943, and he distanced himself from them, Kolbe recognized the added value of his association with the Preußisches Forschungsinstitut für Kunstgeschichte. For Richard Hamann, who had been appointed to the University of Marburg in 1913 and had systematically built up a photographic plate archive at the institute from the very beginning, had already carried out “several photographic campaigns in collaboration with other art-historical institutions, for example for Franz Stödtner’s ‘Lichtbildverlag’ [...] in Berlin.”⁴² By “recognizing the important role of photography for art history at an early stage,” he was “constantly endeavoring to obtain as many negatives as possible for the specially established plate archive.”⁴³ As early as 1914, he combined theory and practice, offering “photographic art-historical excursions” and producing reproduction photographs with his students, supported by photographic courses.⁴⁴ As Michael H. Sprenger notes, the Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar, with its library, photo collection, and publishing house, which had been founded especially for this purpose in 1922, flourished under Hamann’s leadership. In 1928, the department moved into new premises in the so-called *Jubiläumsbau* (Jubilee Building), which had been erected on the occasion of the university’s 400th



5 Georg Kolbe, *Große Kriechende I + II* (Large Crawling Woman I + II), 1927, limestone, larger than life, Stadtpark Hamburg, illustrated in: Georg Kolbe. *100 Lichtdrucktafeln, mit einem Begleitwort von Georg Kolbe und einer Einführung von Richard Scheibe* (Marburg 1931), figs. 74 a, b



6 Georg Kolbe, *Große Kriechende I + II* (Large Crawling Woman I + II), 1927, limestone, larger than life, Stadtpark Hamburg, illustrated in: Georg Kolbe. *100 Lichtdrucktafeln, mit einem Begleitwort von Georg Kolbe und einer Einführung von Richard Scheibe* (Marburg 1931), figs. 75 a, b

anniversary.⁴⁵ The Preußisches Forschungsinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, for which Hamann had approached Kolbe very early on, namely in 1929, the year it was founded, began its work in 1930. “The tasks of the institute were [...] the collection and systematic compilation of all illustrative material on the subject of art history.”⁴⁶ In retrospect, it is imperative to look at the institute with a critical eye; during the Second World War, it undertook extensive international campaigns to “document German cultural assets left behind” in the course of German occupations or expulsions,⁴⁷ as well as to produce photographic images of art monuments.⁴⁸ Hamann-Mac Lean was heavily involved. “All in all, the photographic campaigns during the war brought an enormous increase in negatives to the photographic archive. [...] In close cooperation with the ‘Kunstschutz’ [Office of Art Protection] and financed by funds granted personally by Adolf Hitler, Richard Hamann and the institute in Marburg took advantage of the opportunity to complete the photographic work they had begun in earlier years.”⁴⁹ “For a long time,” the photographic archive was considered to be “a uniquely rich source for art-historical research and journalism.”⁵⁰

“His target audience was the viewers, not the artists,” says Peter H. Feist of Richard Hamann.⁵¹ Thus, it is not surprising that when, in the fall of 1930, the Photographische Abteilung (Photographic Department) of the Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar, claiming to be the “sole image authority” in possession of photographic reproductions of Kolbe’s

works, sent the artist a letter asking him “not to make photographic reproductions of your works available to other persons,” Kolbe underlined this passage in the letter and commented in handwriting: “rejected.”⁵² A renewed request in 1934 for “exclusive rights” to all new photographs was again rejected by Kolbe.⁵³ Moreover, it was in the interest of the Photo-Abteilung (Photo Department), as the Photographische Abteilung was called from then on, to integrate Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld’s photographs into the holdings of the photographic archive and to “request permission to reproduce them in general,”⁵⁴ even asserting “reproduction rights”⁵⁵ in 1934. To this day, reproductions of Schnorr von Carolsfeld’s photographs can be found in the database of Foto Marburg, which, with some 1.7 million photographic images, is one of the world’s largest image archives of European art and architecture⁵⁶—reproductions such as that of the *Porträt Benjamine Kolbe* (1902/03), which are listed there without any reference to the photographer.⁵⁷ It can be assumed that these are those copies of the “Schnorr plates” that were made there (probably in 1931).⁵⁸

In 1930, Kolbe commented, with obvious justification, that the Photographische Abteilung should not be the “sole image archive” for photographic reproductions of his work: “I need a permanent local photographer for my future works.”⁵⁹ He was referring here to his photographer Margrit Schwartzkopff. For although “the ‘Kolbe business’ [was] flourishing”⁶⁰ through the Marburg publishing house—primarily through the sale of photographic images and “photo cards”⁶¹ (in silver bromide rotary printing), as well as the expansion of the range to more than 500 motifs⁶² in 1931 and the publication of the Kolbe Portfolio, which was “intended to serve the promotion and dissemination of his work,”⁶³ all of which Kolbe greeted with “applause”⁶⁴—he was still aware of the importance of his autonomy when it came to photographic reproductions of his works. Although Kolbe’s goal was to have all of his photographic material bundled in one place in the form of an archive, and he held out the prospect of the Marburg Institute for this purpose, “this does not mean unlimited freedom of exploitation,”⁶⁵ as Curt Valentin, at the time an employee of Galerie Buchholz in Berlin, noted on Kolbe’s behalf in the correspondence. In 1935, Kolbe once again requested that his rights be regulated in the form of a revised contract according to his needs.⁶⁶ Although, or perhaps because, Hamann tried to convince Kolbe that the reproductions of his works would provide a basis for art-historical research,⁶⁷ and Kolbe regularly earned revenue from the sale of postcards through Foto Marburg (until 1942),⁶⁸ he preferred to decide independently about the photographic reproductions of his works and their distribution, and to work together with Margrit Schwartzkopff on the further development of his photographic archive.

1943 – “Miss Schwartzkopff has been working exclusively for me for eleven years and during this time has created a very comprehensive image archive (roughly 1.5 thousand photographs), with which she has become publicly known as a photographer of my works [...].”

“[...] so that all state and party offices, the press, art publishers, followers of my art, etc., continually draw on it and from which my own needs must be constantly supplemented,” Georg Kolbe explained to the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (Reich Authority for the Fine Arts) in February 1943.⁶⁹ The reason for his letter was the directive of January 29, 1943 on the “freeing of labor important to the war effort”⁷⁰ regarding the photographer Margrit Schwartzkopff, who worked for him. In a report to the photographers’ guild, the author (Lesnick) asks “most urgently” that Margrit Schwartzkopff not be enlisted, “so that the sculptor Prof. Kolbe, who is at the forefront of German artists, will not be hindered in his work.”⁷¹ In his letter to the Reichskammer, Kolbe insistently and precisely emphasized Schwartzkopff’s value for his artistic work: Her ongoing photographic work had become an “artistic control” for him; she was familiar with his work “from all sides and from the ground up”; and her photographic work was also “indispensable” for the continued existence of his photographic archive—not least of all because Schwartzkopff had also taken over all office and archive work for him as his secretary.⁷²

So far, little is known about Margrit Schwartzkopff beyond her range of activities with Georg Kolbe. However, by examining her extensive photographic documents, the publications she accompanied, calendar entries, and correspondence about Kolbe’s art, it becomes clear that a large part of her life was dedicated to the work of Georg Kolbe. From time to time, she even ran Kolbe’s household.⁷³ After Kolbe’s death in 1947, she not only took over the administration of the photographic archive, but in 1949 also participated in the establishment of the foundation for the development, preservation, and mediation of Kolbe’s artistic legacy. In 1950, she became director of the Georg Kolbe Museum in the artist’s former residence and studio on Sensburger Allee in Berlin-Westend, a position she held until her death in 1969.⁷⁴

From Kolbe’s extensive photo archive, which Margrit Schwartzkopff fed with her own work from around 1930 to after Kolbe’s death, many of her photographs are now registered in the digital database of the Georg Kolbe Archive. Here, it becomes clear that Schwartzkopff—like Kolbe, who often presented himself in relation to his sculptures and their materials⁷⁵—sought an eye-to-eye relationship with the sculptures she photographed. For example, Schwartzkopff photographed the *Kopf der Tänzerin* (Head of the Dancer, 1911/12/29)⁷⁶ slightly from below, but in the field of vision of the bronze figure. The photographer opened up the body-field of the plaster model *Kauernde* (Crouching Woman, 1917)⁷⁷ through targeted lighting, creating space between the figure and the viewer and illuminating the upward-looking facial field, the shoulder and back sections, and the thighs of the seated woman. While Schwartzkopff’s lighting and choice of background emphasized the stillness and introspection of the aforementioned sculptures, in the case



7 Georg Kolbe, *Frauenhände* (Woman's Hands), 1927, bronze, h. 50.7 cm, historical photograph



8 Georg Kolbe, *Menschenpaar* (Human Couple), 1937, bronze, h. 285 cm, historical photograph

of large-scale works she was also adept at eliciting and accentuating the dynamism of sculpture in reproduction photography. While she photographed both the bronze and plaster versions of *Nacht* (Night, 1926/30)⁷⁸ in this way in various interior and lighting situations, as well as in perspective contexts, croppings, and details, in order to test different degrees of the object's effect in space and thus in the image, she staged the *Frauenhände* (Woman's Hands, 1927; fig. 7)⁷⁹ by emphasizing the materiality and form of the bronze quasi out of the object itself and thus entirely as photography.

Although Margrit Schwartzkopff described herself as a “technical photographer,”⁸⁰ her photographs reveal an attempt to transfer the atmosphere of the objects she photographed into the image, but also to establish relationships with the viewer, the interior space, or the public space surrounding the sculpture. It is thus not surprising that she succeeded in making Kolbe's *Emporsteigendes Menschenpaar* (Ascending Couple, 1931)⁸¹ appear larger and more towering than the trees surrounding them by occasionally placing the sculpture in an elevated position in the outdoor space, or in emphasizing the couple's larger-than-life size with hard shadows in the studio. The deliberate use of relationships and their differentiated effect in interior and outdoor spaces is again evident in her photographs of the *Menschenpaar* (Human Couple, 1937; fig. 8).⁸² In the studio, in relation to



9 Georg Kolbe, *Frauenstatue III* (Statue of a Woman III), 1933/38, bronze or brass, h. 212,5 cm, historical photograph

other sculptures as well as to windows and doors, the plaster sculptures also intrinsically evoke a different reading than those cast in bronze photographed near the banks of the Maschsee in Hannover, although both modes of representation herald the monumental.

Like Kolbe, who has been described as a “skillful synthesist,”⁸³ Schwartzkopff was adept at creating a synthesis of sculptural object and photographic image with her photographs. She seems to have succeeded particularly well in the illustrated book *Georg Kolbe. Werke der letzten Jahre* (Works of the Last Years), which was published in 1937 by Rembrandt-Verlag Berlin exclusively with photographic reproductions by Margrit Schwartzkopff in sixty-four intaglio plates and an accompanying reflection by the art historian Wilhelm Pinder (who supported National Socialist ideology) on the occasion of Kolbe’s sixtieth birthday.⁸⁴ Just as Pinder emphasized that, with each of his works, Kolbe provided a “role model” for society,⁸⁵ in the selection of her photographs Schwartzkopff also consummates the process of incarnation according to the National Socialist ideal of the body. Beyond skillfully arranged sequences, which occasionally create narratives within a group of sculptures or through varying views of individual figures, the volume as such presents a narrative: beginning with a *Selbstbildnis* (Self-Portrait, 1934) by Kolbe and a *Requiem* (1927) for his deceased wife Benjamin⁸⁶ to sculptures such as that of the



10 Georg Kolbe, *Junger Streiter* (Young Fighter), 1935, bronze, h. 225 cm, and *Große Verkündung* (Large Proclamation), 1937, bronze, h. 165 cm, illustrated in: Georg Kolbe. *Werke der letzten Jahre, mit Betrachtungen über Kolbes Plastik von Wilhelm Pinder (mit 64 Tiefdrucktafeln)* (Berlin 1937), pp. 66/67

larger-than-life *Frauenstatue III* (*Große Frauenstatue* [Large Statue of a Woman], 1934; a model can be seen in fig. 9)⁸⁷ and the soldiers' memorial in Stralsund (1934/35),⁸⁸ which visually support an ideal of the body and an image of the Germanic man propagated by National Socialist politics. The shiny surfaces of the bodies of the athletic figures highlighted in the photographic image are reminiscent of the staged images of bodies in the films of Leni Riefenstahl—majestic and solitary, profoundly and purposefully aligned with a concept of identity that is not further defined. Just as Schwartzkopff's photographic images intertwine in sequences, nonverbal dialogues also develop between them, such as on a double page between the *Junger Streiter* (Young Fighter, 1935) and the *Große Verkündung* (Large Proclamation, 1937; both fig. 10).⁸⁹ For the "proclamation" is evident both in Kolbe's sculptural bronzes and—through the choice of cropping and their visual combination—in the composed photographs in the form of intended images/role models.

Photographic technique, the dramaturgical arrangement of images, and communication skills: Schwartzkopff was adept at marketing both Georg Kolbe's art and her own photographic work. In her correspondence as Kolbe's secretary, she explicitly made recommendations and provided references to current publications, such as the 1931 portfolio work or Kolbe's 1933 publication at Rembrandt-Verlag.⁹⁰ She also regularly made appointments with representatives of illustrated magazines and publishers, as well as with press photographers, including the National Socialist propagandist "Presseillustration Hoffmann," as the calendar books of calls made from 1936 to 1941 and the visitor books from 1935



11 Margrit Schwartzkopff in the Georg Kolbe Museum, 1965, historical photograph

to 1938 reveal.⁹¹ Thus, after a visit by the photographer and “Reichsbildberichterstatter” (Reich Photojournalist) Heinrich Hoffmann on April 12, 1937, shortly before Kolbe’s sixtieth birthday, articles with photographs of Hoffmann appeared in the National Socialist press.⁹² One of them shows Kolbe in his usual style, wearing a white smock in his studio, looking at the small white sculpture placed on an elevated table, as if in dialogue with it, in a sensual/contemplative exchange.

A photograph from the newly acquired and cataloged estate holdings shows Margrit Schwartzkopff bent over a table with Kolbe’s photo postcards, which she is in the process of sorting (fig. 11).⁹³ In 1965, it almost seems as if nothing had ever changed for her and as if Georg Kolbe lived on in her reproduction photographs and her view of them.

Notes

- 1 Ursel Berger, "Wie publiziert man Skulpturen? Die Kolbe-Monographie von 1913," in: Rahel Feilchenfeldt and Thomas Raff (eds.), *Ein Fest der Künste. Paul Cassirer. Der Kunsthändler als Verleger* (Munich 2006), pp. 201–213, here pp. 204, 207.
- 2 GKM Archive, Berlin, <https://sammlung.georg-kolbe-museum.de/de/objekte/portraet-benjamin-kolbe/65398?term=Ludwig%20Schnorr%20von%20Carolsfeld&start=12&position=17> [last accessed April 2, 2023].
- 3 There is no record of the exact date that Margrit Schwartzkopff began working for Georg Kolbe. At any rate, it can be traced that, in 1931, she is represented in the Kolbe Portfolio with photographic images (see note 4), and that she must have shot the photographs for this in the context of the production of the work in 1930 at the latest; correspondence in her function as secretary can definitely be traced to 1933; GK Estate, inv. no. GK.477, GKM Archive, Berlin.
- 4 Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar Marburg (ed.), *Georg Kolbe, 100 Lichtdrucktafeln*, with a preface by Georg Kolbe and an introduction by Richard Scheibe (Marburg 1931).
- 5 Kolbe mentions the (decisive) visit to Rodin's studio in Meudon, where he "saw Rodin in person," right at the beginning of his preface to the Kolbe Portfolio; *ibid.*, pp. 5–6 [translated]. For more on this, see also: Berger 2006 (see note 1), p. 205.
- 6 Michael Klant, *Künstler bei der Arbeit, von Fotografen gesehen* (Ostfildern-Ruit 1995), p. 86 [translated].
- 7 *Ibid.*, pp. 86f. [translated]. For more on the importance of the medium of photography for Auguste Rodin and his work, see also: *Licht und Schatten. Rodin. Photographien von Eugène Druet*, exh. cat. Georg Kolbe Museum, Berlin (Berlin 1994) [translated].
- 8 GKM Archive, Berlin.
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 Ursel Berger, "Ausstellen, Sammeln, Publizieren. Zur Wirkung der Rodin-Photographien von Eugène Druet in Deutschland," in: exh. cat. *Licht und Schatten 1994* (see note 7), pp. 22–39, here pp. 28f.
- 11 *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* (Darmstadt 1924), p. 195, collection of press clippings, GKM Archive, Berlin.
- 12 Hugo Erfurth photographed Georg Kolbe once again in 1932, see: https://www.bildindex.de/document/obj05239281?part=0&medium=rba_c007965 [last accessed April 2, 2023].
- 13 *Die Dame*, no. 4, 1924, p. 7, collection of press clippings, GKM Archive, Berlin.
- 14 *Vanity Fair*, 1930, p. 45, collection of press clippings, GKM Archive, Berlin.
- 15 *Völkischer Beobachter*, no. 29, January 29, 1939, p. 3, GKM Archive, Berlin.
- 16 GKM Archive, Berlin.
- 17 *Georg Kolbe. Bildwerke* (Berlin 1913).
- 18 *Georg Kolbe. Plastik und Zeichnung*, with 64 illustrations and a text by Wilhelm R. Valentiner (Munich 1922).
- 19 *Georg Kolbe. Vom Leben der Plastik*, with 90 illustrations and a text by Rudolf G. Binding (Berlin 1933); *Georg Kolbe. Werke der letzten Jahre*, with 64 intaglio plates and a text by Wilhelm Pinder (Berlin 1937); *Georg Kolbe. Zeichnungen*, with 100 illustrations and an introduction by Wilhelm Pinder (Berlin 1942).
- 20 Letter from Georg Kolbe to his friend and patron Hermann Schmitt, May 17, 1907, GK Estate, inv. no. GK.616.6_004, GKM Archive, Berlin, <https://sammlung.georg-kolbe-museum.de/de/korrespondenzen/brief-von-georg-kolbe-an-hermann-schmitt/69801?term=Ludwig%20Schnorr%20von%20Carolsfeld&position=9> [last accessed April 2, 2023].
- 21 Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Der plastische Schmuck im Innern des Münsters zu Salem aus den Jahren 1774–1784 von Johann Georg Dürer und Johann Georg Wieland*, PhD diss., University of Leipzig, 2005 (Berlin 1906).
- 22 See, for example, the photo of *Porträt Benjamine Kolbe* in the GKM Archive, Berlin, <https://sammlung.georg-kolbe-museum.de/de/objekte/portraet-benjamin-kolbe/65396?term=Ludwig%20Schnorr%20von%20Carolsfeld&start=12&position=21> [last accessed April 2, 2023].
- 23 Ursel Berger, *Georg Kolbe. Leben und Werk* (Berlin 1990), p. 176.
- 24 Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Porzellan der europäischen Fabriken des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1912).
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 118, see: <http://archive.org/details/porzellandereuro00schn/page/118/mode/2up?view=theater> [last accessed April 2, 2023].
- 26 Unfortunately, the publication does not indicate which photographs were taken by him.
- 27 *Ibid.*, p. 248, see: <https://archive.org/details/porzellandereuro00schn/page/248/mode/2up?view=theater> [last accessed April 2, 2023].
- 28 GK Estate, inv. nos. GKFo-0008_001, GKFo-0008_002, GKFo-0008_003, GKFo-0008_004,

- GK Fo-0008_005, GKM Archive, Berlin; see, for example: <https://sammlung.georg-kolbe-museum.de/de/objekte/portraet-benjamin-kolbe/65399?term=Ludwig%20Schnorr%20von%20Carolsfeld&start=24&position=24> [last accessed April 2, 2023].
- 29 See, among others: GK Estate, inv. nos. GK Fo-0100_010, GK Fo-0100_011, GK Fo-0100_015, GK Fo-0100_017, GKM Archive, Berlin; for example: <https://sammlung.georg-kolbe-museum.de/index.php/de/objekte/taenzerin-191112-bronze/66520?term=schnorr%20von%20carolsfeld%20t%C3%A4nzerin&position=11> [last accessed April 2, 2023].
 - 30 See the collection of press clippings, GKM Archive, Berlin.
 - 31 Letter from Richard Hamann-Mac Lean to Georg Kolbe, September 16, 1929, GK Estate, inv. no. GK.532, box 17, folder 2, file: Foto Marburg, GKM Archive, Berlin [translated].
 - 32 Letter from Richard Hamann to Georg Kolbe, July 16, 1930, GK Estate, inv. no. GK.532, GKM Archive, Berlin [translated].
 - 33 Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar Marburg 1931 (see note 4) [translated].
 - 34 Ibid.
 - 35 Preußisches Forschungsinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Letter from Richard Hamann to Georg Kolbe, February 25, 1932, GK Estate, inv. no. GK.532, GKM Archive, Berlin.
 - 36 See: Photo-Abteilung des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars (ed.), *Georg Kolbe. Plastik und Zeichnungen. Aufnahmen im Archiv des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars Marburg* (Marburg 1931), unpaginated, GKM Archive, Berlin.
 - 37 Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar Marburg 1931 (see note 4), sheets 61 and 62.
 - 38 Ibid., sheets 78, 79, and 80.
 - 39 Ibid., sheets 85 and 86.
 - 40 Ibid., sheets 73, 74, and 75.
 - 41 Letter from Georg Kolbe to Richard Hamann[-Mac Lean], June 3, 1931, GK Estate, inv. no. GK.532, GKM Archive, Berlin [translated].
 - 42 Judith Tralles, "Die Fotokampagnen des Preußischen Forschungsinstituts für Kunstgeschichte Marburg während des Zweiten Weltkrieges," in: Nikola Doll, Christian Fuhrmeister, and Michael H. Sprenger (eds.), *Kunstgeschichte im Nationalsozialismus. Beiträge zur Geschichte einer Wissenschaft zwischen 1930 und 1950* (Weimar 2005), pp. 263–282, here p. 263 [translated].
 - 43 Michael H. Sprenger, "Das kunstgeschichtliche Seminar und das Preußische Forschungsinstitut der Marburger Universität im Nationalsozialismus," in: Doll/Fuhrmeister/Sprenger 2005 (see note 42), pp. 71–84, here p. 72 [translated].
 - 44 Angela Matyssek, *Kunstgeschichte als fotografische Praxis. Richard Hamann und Foto Marburg* (Berlin 2009), p. 36 [translated].
 - 45 See: Sprenger 2005 (see note 43), p. 72.
 - 46 Tralles 2005 (see note 42), p. 264 [translated].
 - 47 Ibid., pp. 264–265 [translated].
 - 48 Ibid., p. 268.
 - 49 Ibid., p. 276 [translated]; see also: Ruth Heftrig, *Fanatiker der Sachlichkeit. Richard Hamann und die Rezeption der Moderne in der universitären deutschen Kunstgeschichte 1930–1960* (Berlin 2014), pp. 207–209.
 - 50 Peter H. Feist, *Beiträge Richard Hamanns zur Methodik der Kunstgeschichtsschreibung* (Berlin 1980), p. 6 [translated].
 - 51 Ibid., p. 8 [translated].
 - 52 Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar der Universität Marburg, Photographische Abteilung, letter from Schlegel an Georg Kolbe, November 8, 1930, GK Estate, inv. no. GK.532, GKM Archive, Berlin [translated].
 - 53 Photo-Abteilung des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars Marburg, letter from C. Albiker to Kurt [sic] Valentin, January 12, 1934, GK Estate, inv. no. GK.532, GKM Archive, Berlin [translated].
 - 54 See: *ibid.*; letter from Georg Kolbe to Schlegel, November 14, 1930, GK Estate, inv. no. GK.532, GKM Archive, Berlin [translated].
 - 55 Photo-Abteilung des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars Marburg, letter from Albiker to Valentin (see note 53) [translated].
 - 56 See: <https://www.uni-marburg.de/de/fotomarburg/ueberuns/leitbild> [last accessed April 3, 2023].
 - 57 In a letter from the Photo-Abteilung des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars Marburg (from Albiker to Valentin), Kolbe's request to name the photographer is rejected: "We ask to refrain from naming the authors of the photographs taken by Schnorr von Carolsfeld, since it is not customary in our facility to mention specific names"; letter from Albiker to Valentin (see note 53) [translated].
 - 58 Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar der Universität Marburg, Verlag Photographische Abteilung, letter from Richard Hamann to Georg Kolbe, February 19, 1930/[1931], GK Estate, inv. no. GK.532, GKM Archive, Berlin.
 - 59 Letter from Kolbe to Schlegel (see note 54) [translated].
 - 60 Photo-Abteilung des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars Marburg, letter from Schlegel to Georg Kolbe, April

- 23, 1931, GK Estate, inv. no. GK.532, GKM Archive, Berlin.
- 61** Letter from Richard Hamann to Georg Kolbe, February 19, 1930/[1931], GK Estate, inv. no. GK.532, GKM Archive, Berlin.
- 62** Letter from Atelier Georg Kolbe (on behalf of GK) to Schlegel, April 23, 1931, GK Estate, inv. no. GK.532, GKM Archive, Berlin [translated].
- 63** See: Kolbe. Plastik 1931 (see note 36).
- 64** Verlag des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars Marburg, letter from Freyhan to Georg Kolbe, August 28, 1931, GK Estate, inv. no. GK.532, GKM Archive, Berlin [translated].
- 65** Letter to the Foto-Abteilung des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars, November 15, 1934, GK Estate, inv. no. GK.532, GKM Archive, Berlin [translated].
- 66** Undated document, GK Estate, inv. no. GK.532, GKM Archive, Berlin.
- 67** Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar der Universität Marburg, letter from Hamann to Georg Kolbe, April 25, 1938, GK Estate, inv. no. GK.532, GKM Archive, Berlin.
- 68** Cf. correspondences and settlements from the years 1936 to 1942, GK Estate, inv. no. GK.532, GKM Archive, Berlin.
- 69** Continuation of the quote in the heading: letter from Georg Kolbe to the Berlin head office of the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste, August Kranz, February 9, 1943, Berlin State Archives, A Rep. 243-04 no. 4531/MF-Nr. 84 [translated].
- 70** Letter from Lesnick to the photographers' guild, January 29, 1943 (BK/IV B 476), Berlin State Archives (see note 69) [translated].
- 71** Ibid. [translated]
- 72** Letter from Georg Kolbe to August Kranz, February 9, 1943, Berlin State Archives (see note 69) [translated]. From 1937 onwards, Schwartzkopff had worked as a secretary for Kolbe on three days in a permanent position; *ibid.*
- 73** Postcard from Georg Kolbe to Hermann Lempeler, February 15, 1945, GK Estate, inv. no. GK.607.1.10, GKM Archiv, Berlin, <https://sammlung.georg-kolbe-museum.de/de/korrespondenzen/brief-von-georg-kolbe-an-hermann-lempeler/69662?term=Margrit%20Schwartzkopff&start=600&position=611>. After Kolbe's studio was hit by a bomb in 1943, Schwartzkopff accompanied Kolbe to Hierlshagen (until early 1945); see: postcard from Georg Kolbe to Leihner, January 26, 1944, <https://sammlung.georg-kolbe-museum.de/de/korrespondenzen/briefe-von-georg-kolbe-an-leihner/69647?term=Margrit%20Schwartzkopff&start=636&position=637> [both sites last accessed April 3, 2023].
- 74** See: Berger 1990 (see note 23), p. 197.
- 75** For example, Georg Kolbe at work in Hierlshagen in 1944, GKM Archive, Berlin.
- 76** GK Estate, inv. nos. GKFo-0101_003, GKFo-0101_004, GKFo-0101_006, GKM Archiv Berlin, <https://sammlung.georg-kolbe-museum.de/de/objekte/kopf-der-taenzerin-19111229-bronze/66269?term=Margrit%20Schwartzkopff%20Kopf%20der%20T%C3%A4nzerin&position=0> [last accessed April 3, 2023].
- 77** GK Estate, inv. Nos. GKFo-0169_004, GKFo-0169_005, GKFo-0169_006, GKM Archive Berlin, <https://sammlung.georg-kolbe-museum.de/de/objekte/kauernde-1917-gips/66530?term=Margrit%20Schwartzkopff%20Kauernde&position=0> [last accessed April 3, 2023].
- 78** GK Estate, inv. nos. GKFo-0324_002, GKFo-0324_003, GKFo-0324_004, GKFo-0324_007, GKFo-0324_008, GKFo-0324_009, GKFo-0324_010, GKM Archive, Berlin, <https://sammlung.georg-kolbe-museum.de/de/objekte/nacht-192630-gips/67103?term=Margrit%20Schwartzkopff%20Nacht&position=5> [last accessed April 3, 2023].
- 79** GK Estate, inv. nos. GKFo-0342_001, GKFo-0342_002, GKFo-0342_010, GKM Archive, Berlin, <https://sammlung.georg-kolbe-museum.de/de/objekte/frauenhaende-1927-bronze/67209?term=Margrit%20Schwartzkopff%20Frauenh%C3%A4nde&position=1> [last accessed April 3, 2023].
- 80** Margrit Schwartzkopff initially ran her "Atelier für techn. Fotografie" (Studio for Technical Photography) at Yorckstrasse 84D in Berlin-Kreuzberg [see the reverse of the photograph *Kopf der Tänzerin* (1911/12/29), GK Estate, inv. no. GKFo-0101_003, GKM Archive, Berlin], and in the 1940s at Wewerstrasse 8E in Berlin-Spandau [see the reverse of the photograph of a bronze portrait of Leonore von Keudell, 1940, GKM Archive, Berlin].
- 81** GK Estate, inv. nos. GKFo-0404_001, GKFo-0404_002, GKFo-0404_003, GKFo-0404_004, GKM Archive, Berlin, <https://sammlung.georg-kolbe-museum.de/de/objekte/emporstiegendes-menschenpaar-1931-gips/67460?term=Margrit%20Schwartzkopff%20emporstiegendes%20Menschenpaar&position=3> [last accessed April 3, 2023].
- 82** See: GK Estate, inv. Nos. GKFo-0476_001, GKFo-0476_003, GKFo-0476_007, GKFo-0476_008, GKFo-0476_009,

- GK Fo-0476_014, GKM Archive, Berlin, <https://sammlung.georg-kolbe-museum.de/de/objekte/menschenpaar-1937-bronze/67834?term=Margrit%20Schwartzkopff%20Menschenpaar&position=11> [last accessed April 3, 2023].
- 83** “Kolbe, however, proved to be a skillful synthesist who fused elements of various models, which certainly accounted for his continuing success.” Joachim Heusinger von Waldegg, “Bildende Kunst. Plastik,” in: Eberhard Roters (ed.), *Berlin 1910–1933. Die visuellen Künste* (Berlin 1983), pp. 147–180, here p. 151 [translated].
- 84** Pinder 1937 (see note 19).
- 85** *Ibid.*, p. 13 [translated].
- 86** *Ibid.*, pp. 17–19.
- 87** *Ibid.*, pp. 48–51.
- 88** *Ibid.*, pp. 54–55.
- 89** *Ibid.*, pp. 66f. Not all editions present this sequence in the same way. I am thankful to the Georg Kolbe Museum for pointing this out.
- 90** Letter from Margrit Schwartzkopff to Victor Mauser, March 16, 1935, GK Estate, inv. no. GK.231, GKM Archive, Berlin; letter from Margrit Schwartzkopff to J. Müller, May 14, 1935, GK Estate, inv. no. GK.242, GKM Archive, Berlin.
- 91** Calendar books 1936–41 and visitor books 1935–38, MvT Estate, GKM Archive, Berlin.
- 92** *Der Freiheitskampf*, no. 104, April 15, 1937, BArch, archive group NS 5-VI-17638, p. 56. A portrait of Kolbe, also taken during this photo shoot, is printed in an article that calls Kolbe the “re-designer of antiquity,” in: *Bremer Zeitung*, no. 102, April 15, 1937, BArch, archive group NS 5-VI-17638, p. 53 [translated].
- 93** MvT Estate, GKM Archive, Berlin.