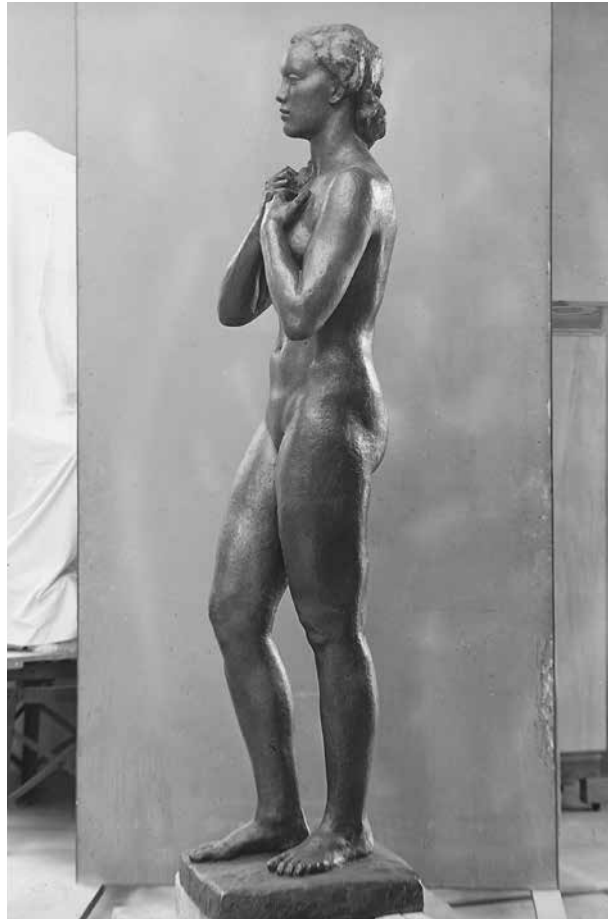


Arie Hartog

What Does the Hüterin Guard?



1 Georg Kolbe, *Die Hüterin* (Guardian), 1938, bronze, h. ca. 210 cm, historical photograph

Georg Kolbe's *Hüterin* (Guardian), a bronze sculpture approximately 210 centimeters high and thus slightly larger than life, was created in 1938 (fig. 1).¹ It was the sculptor's first large figure after the publication of Wilhelm Pinder's monograph on his work.² In terms of reception history, Kolbe was at his zenith.³ The illustration section of the book concludes with a sketch of his *Ring der Statuen* (Ring of Statues), an ambitious project of seven sculptures installed in a circle, which the sculptor had been working on since 1936 and for which three sculptures already existed. The *Hüterin* was the fourth figure in the series, and the only one without hanging arms. With her right hand, she holds her plait, and in the left hand her "secret."

Kolbe's friend and colleague Richard Scheibe (1879–1964) wrote about him in 1931 that in their time, for the first time since antiquity, the image type of the "calmly standing person with hanging arms" had returned.⁴ For this modern conception of sculpture, he referred to Adolf von Hildebrand's (1847–1921) book *Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst* (The Problem of Form in the Visual Arts)⁵ and emphasized the formal aspects in his friend's work. He concluded with a mysterious, convoluted sentence: The standing

figures of Kolbe are “statues of free visual art that affirm the body.”⁶ With this, Scheibe emphasized that, although representation of the human body was at the core of this art, the form freely found for this purpose was at least as important. The peculiar, figurative use of the word “statue” can be explained by the fact that the author wanted to avoid the term “symbol.”⁷ It is not a particular sculpture but rather the entire oeuvre that carries this meaning. Therefore, it is necessary to look at the individual work, because only there does the freedom of the form become visible.

Today’s viewers see above all the object and the image of humanity it contains, as well as a proximity to the racial ideals that dominated the German media after 1933. The fact that Kolbe’s and Scheibe’s “calmly standing persons” corresponded to an earlier attempt to free modern figurative sculpture from claims to content is hardly perceived. The reduction of narrative aspects led to a focus on the depicted bodies, which took on a special significance in the National Socialist environment. If Kolbe’s sculptures are (partially) separated from this in the following, it is not in order to “rescue them hermeneutically.”⁸ They figured into the National Socialist art discourse and were actively placed in this cultural-political environment by both the artist and Margrit Schwartzkopff (1903–1969), Kolbe’s secretary and photographer. The sculptor meticulously followed what was written about him and responded to it by commenting on newspaper clippings and possibly in his sculptures. He was well aware that his work confirmed the illusion of a conflict-free and “racially pure” *Volksgemeinschaft* (national and racial community).

The *Hüterin* is a depiction of an unspoiled human being, and it can be read as a sculpture with which the artist positioned himself in his contemporary environment, referring to both history and the present. During the brief period between 1936 and 1940, when National Socialist art policies and their sculptural preferences were being consolidated, Kolbe was seen as a sculptor of a healthy image of humanity and as someone whose art, even before 1933, corresponded to the ideals that were valid thereafter. However, his work lacked a symbolic and heroic vein directed towards the future. For contemporary art critics, he was a transitional artist.⁹ From an art-historical point of view and classification, the *Hüterin* is one of the sculptor’s most important works, which illustrates his special position.

The Sculpture

The first bronze version of the *Hüterin* was cast in 1938.¹⁰ Kolbe presented it in March 1939 at the spring exhibition of the Prussian Academy of Arts at the Kronprinzenpalais in Berlin together with the bust of Francisco Franco, which had been completed shortly before (fig. 2). He then sent it, along with two other figures from the *Ring der Statuen*—the *Amazone* from 1937 and the new *Auserwählte* (The Chosen) from 1939—to the *Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (Great German Art Exhibition) in Munich. There, the three were prominently displayed in the Sculpture Hall (fig. 7). Bernhard Rust acquired the *Hüterin* for the Reich Ministry of Science, Education and Culture. It cost 18,000 Reichsmarks—a clear



2 Spring exhibition of the Preußische Akademie der Künste, Berlin, March 1939, with three works by Georg Kolbe: *Junges Weib* (Young Woman, 1938), *Die Hüterin* (Guardian, 1938), and in the center the bust of Francisco Franco (1938), historical photograph

indication of the artist's status. In 1952, it was transferred to the Nationalgalerie by the Berlin Magistrate along with the first cast of the *Junges Weib* (Young Woman, 1938), which Adolf Hitler had purchased in 1938 and also handed over to the ministry. In the 1960s, it stood in the colonnade courtyard under the title *Stehende* (Standing Woman) (fig. 3), and in 1988 in the Lustgarten in front of the Altes Museum. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, it was placed in the atrium of the Altes Museum, and in 2010 it was transferred from the Nationalgalerie to the Federal Ministry of Finance as *Fremdbesitz* (third-party ownership).¹¹ At the time of writing, the bronze, executed by the Noack fine art foundry in Berlin, is on permanent loan from the Federal Government to the Kunstgussmuseum in Lauchhammer, together with the *Junges Weib*. A second copy was cast in 1940 and has been part of the *Ring der Statuen* in Frankfurt am Main's Rothschild Park since 1951.

Ursel Berger suspected that the then seventeen-year-old tap dancer Evelyn Künneke was the model for the *Hüterin*.¹² She was unfamiliar with the studio calendar from the estate, which resurfaced in 2020. There, the abbreviation "MD" is found for the time when the figure was being worked on.¹³ Model studies and nature models were important, but Kolbe's sculptures are first and foremost constructions that were created in sculptural realization with and without a nude model. His drawings reveal a preference for curved lines, from which, in the sculpture, an interplay between differently stretched, mostly convex surfaces emerge. The (spatial) composition of the *Hüterin* does not play an important role either in contemporary reception or in art-historical research, but it is worth pointing out several aspects. First, the composition is dominated by an implied striding motif. The



3 Georg Kolbe's *Die Hüterin* (Guardian, 1938), at the time titled *Stehende* (Standing Woman), in the colonnade courtyard in front of the Nationalgalerie, East Berlin, 1960s, historical photograph



4 The unit of measurement on the stomach of Georg Kolbe's *Hüterin* (Guardian, 1938)

right leg is slightly displaced forward. Both soles of the feet touch the pedestal without the pelvis tilting. The sculptor achieved this by extending the right lower leg. The shoulders and hips form almost horizontal axes. Second, the work is constructed in vertical zones that run parallel to the picture plane when viewed from the front, as Hildebrand wrote in 1893. The nipples and pubis, which are only slightly indicated, lie on the same plane. Viewed from the side, the upper body therefore appears to be leaning slightly backward. This detail is important in comparison to other German sculptors who exhibited at Haus der Kunst in Munich between 1937 and 1944.¹⁴ This is not a body with two breasts, but rather the belly, waist, and upper abdomen are a rhythmic sequence of sculptural units determined by a barely visible system of measurements. The fact that the navel is located approximately halfway between the nipples and the pubic region is in keeping with basic anatomical knowledge, but Kolbe divided the intervening volume into four equal parts (fig. 4). The two hollows above and below the navel are sculptural inventions. Following the measure that underlies this order downward, one discovers a small depression on the thigh at exactly the same distance.

Kolbe was concerned neither with a systematic approach that would run through his entire oeuvre, nor with a canon of beauty. The focus was on a comprehensible order within the individual work of art, which, in the case of the *Hüterin*, is marked by a measure that

is maintained. In this way, he took a position in a discussion among sculptors documented by his colleagues Ludwig Kasper (1893–1945) and Gerhard Marcks (1889–1981).¹⁵ They discussed the question of whether and to what extent stereometric order played a role for modern German sculpture. This had little to do with measuring bodies from a eugenic perspective, as practiced by contemporary race theorists. For Kasper, the emphasis on the architecture of the figure followed from Hildebrand's reception; Marcks, on the other hand, remained faithful to nature and sought a balance between stereometry and the natural model. Kolbe placed a different emphasis in this discussion, namely, as Scheibe wrote in 1931, on surfaces, "masses and weights that form the surfaces."¹⁶ A third formal feature of the *Hüterin* shows how freely the artist designed the volumes: he manipulated the cross section of the thighs so that, when viewed from the front, they develop a sculptural force because they literally have more depth.

The fourth formal feature of the *Hüterin* is the shifted triangle formed by the two forearms and the chin turned slightly to the right. The figure is designed frontally, which makes this axis shift an important design element. The fact that small deviations within a strict structure create a lively effect was part of the basic vocabulary in the environment of Kasper, Kolbe, and Marcks, each of whom dealt with archaic sculpture in the mid-1930s: Marcks had visited Greece in 1928, Kolbe and Scheibe in 1931, and Kasper in 1936. It is not improbable, although neither is it obvious, that Kolbe drew on early Greek sculpture in his "simply standing" and striding figures. An indication of this is a fifth subtle setting. Archaic kouroi, for all their frontality and even without pupils, often give the impression of looking down on the viewer—a result of placing the ears slightly higher than natural. Kolbe turned this "trick" around. The ears are positioned lower, so that the woman always seems to be looking over her audience—in other words, not making any reference relating to the viewer.¹⁷

Seen in this light, the *Hüterin* is a statement in the discussion of modern figurative sculpture in Germany in the 1930s and the relationship between perceived nature and developed form, which can be traced back to the middle of the previous decade. The return to Greek archaic sculpture, to minimal motifs of movement, and to frontality emphasized the formal aspects. This position was summarized in 1934 by Werner Haftmann in the journal *Die Kunst der Nation*. He referred to studio discussions and presented a radical reading of Hildebrand's and Hans von Marée's (1837–1887) theories in the direction of an "autonomous sculptural creed" that "also demanded of the viewer a new conception of sculpture in accordance with the structural laws of sculpture."¹⁸

Angle of View

In Frankfurt, the frontal perception of the *Hüterin* is determined by the recess in the center of the *Ring der Statuen*. In Lauchhammer, she now stands at ground level. The sculpture was designed for a pedestal height of roughly forty-five centimeters, so that the horizon for viewers standing in front of it is approximately at the level of the pelvis.



5 Spring exhibition of the Preußische Akademie der Künste, Berlin, March 1939, with three works by Georg Kolbe: *Junges Weib* (Young Woman, 1938), *Die Hüterin* (Guardian, 1938), and in the center the bust of Francisco Franco (1938); to the far left the *Speerträger* (Spear Bearer, 1938) by Ludwig Kasper; published in the *Neueste Zeitung*, Frankfurt am Main, March 20, 1939

From this perspective, all the sculptural features of the figure can be seen, and it develops its greatest presence. This can be proved by the work itself and its composition, and it can be understood thanks to historical photographs that give clues to the artist's intention. In 1939, the Kronprinzenpalais was extended with a skylight hall, which allowed a sophisticated presentation of large sculptures. A photograph of the exhibition at the Academy of Arts (fig. 5) shows the *Junges Weib* and the *Hüterin* next to Kasper's *Speerträger* (Spear Bearer, 1938), which, without the spear, is somewhat smaller than Kolbe's two female figures,¹⁹ making their higher positioning worthy of note. Together with Fritz Klimsch's (1870–1960) *Galatea*, they dominated the space. Since Klimsch and Kolbe were members of the academy, it can be assumed that their wishes regarding the positioning of their works were taken into consideration. Margrit Schwartzkopff's photographs also suggest that the sculptor saw the horizon of vision at the level of the pelvis (fig. 6). At Haus der Kunst, on the other hand, the figure was presented higher, which meant that the aforementioned dimension disappeared from perception. In the Sculpture Hall, the works were always placed against the wall. The format of the pedestals was based on the skirting boards in the room, so that the sculptures (with the exception of the portrait heads) were never at eye level, just like the paintings. Above a certain size, this did not matter anyway, which suggests the building was designed with only huge formats in mind.



6 Georg Kolbe, *Die Hüterin* (Guardian), 1938, plaster, h. ca. 210 cm, historical photograph

There is a remarkable photograph depicting Adolf Hitler walking through the *Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung 1939* with Kolbe's three bronze figures in the background (fig. 7). The "Führer" pays no attention to them. Rather, his gaze seems to be directed at another work in the room: Arno Breker's (1900–1991) *Bereitschaft* (Readiness, 1939; fig. 8). The martial swordsman was positioned to face the door through which the higher party functionaries entered. The photograph of Hitler even suggests eye contact, which is possible because the figure, looking slightly down and almost twice life-size, was positioned lower than the other sculptures in the hall. Breker was represented in the large Sculpture Hall with four works, Kolbe with three. Never before had Breker and Kolbe been so prominently juxtaposed. In the case of *Bereitschaft*, consideration was given to the (theatrical) sculptural composition with its themes of force and purposeful tension. Breker became the darling of those in power. In the case of Kolbe's *Hüterin*, what remained in this context was the title, a motif, a human image, and sturdy legs.

Just as he followed the reception of his works in the press, Kolbe was also well aware of the exhibition conventions in Munich. Above all, he would have been aware of the height of the pedestals and the accompanying reduction of the figure to a distant effect. He would certainly also have known that the discussion of autonomous sculpture and scale that took place in private rooms and studios was irrelevant in this context. Here, he



7 Adolf Hitler visiting the *Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung* 1939 in Munich; in the background, three works by Georg Kolbe: *Die Amazone* (Amazon, 1937), *Die Hüterin* (Guardian, 1938), and *Die Auserwählte* (The Chosen, 1939), historical photograph

was primarily a designer of healthy bodies. After the success of the sale of the *Junges Weib* in 1938, he could speculate that he would find a buyer for at least one of the three female figures he sent in. This means that whoever thinks about the *Hüterin* should situate it in various historical discourses.

One of these discourses surrounding Kolbe's art is that of the "ideal figure." Traditionally, this term refers to a sculptural work that does not saliently refer to a specific person. At the latest since the second half of the nineteenth century and with the widespread availability of photographs, this convention had been mixed, in the case of the nude figure, with popular and propagated notions of beauty, whereby the sculptural work of art itself hardly plays a role. The photographic reproduction becomes its proxy and, in part, a carrier of other content as well. This is clearly illustrated by Franz Kaufmann's photograph from the Munich exhibition, which dominates the reception of the *Hüterin* (fig. 9). The photograph was taken slightly from the side and from below, which makes the entire sculpture appear slimmer. The extension of the lower leg is visible in principle, but it is unlikely that anyone would have perceived this in the media context of the "Third Reich." In the photograph, the figure may correspond to notions of female beauty and a racial ideal,



8 Arno Breker, *Bereitschaft* (Readiness), 1939, plaster, h. ca. 300 cm, historical photograph



9 Georg Kolbe, *Die Hüterin* (Guardian), 1938, bronze, h. ca. 210 cm, historical photograph

but in the actual artwork, at the presentation height intended by the artist, this “ideal” turns out to be determined by pelvic obliquity and leg length discrepancy.

Art-Historical Classifications

Kolbe collected newspaper clippings—about himself, but also about his competitors. Judging by the number of articles preserved in the Georg Kolbe Museum Archive, he put Ernst Barlach (1870–1938), Breker, and Klimsch in this category.²⁰ The calendars that have now resurfaced reveal that, in the second half of the 1930s, he maintained contacts with Kasper and Marcks, with whom he was not in competition in the strict sense. Both sculptors moved on the fringes of the official art business in Germany, while Kolbe was at the

center. They were his interlocutors. The unsurprising fact that Kolbe moved in different contexts becomes visible in the sources.

At the center of the discourse on modern German figurative sculpture was the notion of a sculpture that, as Hildebrand put it, “wants nothing.”²¹ The narrative content of the work of art was to be subordinated to its composition. A central problem was the positioning of the upper extremities, since many gestures carry with them iconographic levels of meaning that had to be suppressed. The “hanging arms” of which Scheibe wrote belong in this context, as do the poses of the joined hands above the head favored by Kasper. In the case of the *Hüterin*, there are striking parallels to the work of Marcks, who preferred poses with the hands on the body; in early 1938, he had created a small work, *Zopfhaltende* (Woman Holding Her Plait, fig. 10), in which his typical combination of everyday observation and tectonics is evident. In contrast to the earlier works from the *Ring* with hanging arms, with his *Hüterin*, Kolbe took a similar motif developed in model studies and worked it into his composition. It is not unlikely that Marcks and Kolbe influenced each other. They saw the sculptural potential of the motif, especially the contrast between the surfaces of the body, which they both treated very differently, the detailed plait, and the fingers as a transition between them.

The other hand of the *Hüterin*, in which she probably carries her secret, is positioned above the breast. This eliminates several common iconographic patterns. She is neither an allegory of nature nor of chastity. The gesture, integrated into a careful triangular composition, is—like the gaze—not directed outward toward activity. The posture is reminiscent of a woman holding a chain pendant. If so, it could perhaps be understood as an allusion or even a response to Aristide Maillol’s (1861–1944) *Venus* from 1928, which exists in versions with and without a pearl necklace (fig. 11). The arms of the *Venus* reach into the space, while Kolbe’s *Hüterin* remains closed, in accordance with Kolbe’s Berlin context, which in turn could be interpreted in a nationalistic sense as a contrast to her French counterpart. The motif cannot be clearly assessed, and this was probably intentional.²² Kolbe was always the sculptor of postures wrapped in sculptures, the expression of which can be traced without being explicit.

An analysis of the figure and its art-historical context suggests that it was a thoroughly composed sculptural work of art that was exhibited at the *Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung* in 1939 and integrated into the prevailing discourses. There, she was seen primarily as a representation of a healthy German woman. The *Hüterin* played a role in the media of the same ilk, and it can be assumed that the figure, slimmed down by the chosen perspective, as it appeared as a photograph in the magazine *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich*, prompted Klaus Wolbert to rename the work *Hüterin (der Art)* (Guardian [of the Race]) in 1982.²³ In doing so, he gave the sculpture a national-racial meaning that it formally does not possess, but confirmed how easy it is to interpret it in this way when the sculptural composition plays no role in perception.

A historical example of this strand of reception is offered by the magazine *Deutsche Leibesucht*, published by a nazified nudist organization of the same name. The *Hüterin* was reproduced there in 1940 along with other nude sculptures from the *Große Deutsche*



10 Gerhard Marcks, *Zopfhaltende* (Woman Holding Her Plait), 1938, bronze, h. 54.5 cm, historical photograph



11 Aristide Maillol, *Venus*, 1928, bronze, h. ca. 175 cm, historical photograph

Kunstaussstellung. It is an example of Wolbert's thesis that there is a shift in the media from nudes to sculpture, and how sculpture is thereby ascribed something exemplary.²⁴ The nude figures exhibited in Munich were praised for their natural unselfconsciousness, austere chastity, and Nordic beauty, which, in contrast to the artistic character of the individual work, was experienced and understood by the entire population.²⁵ This means, incidentally, that the formal qualities of artworks could also be part of the National Socialist horizon of reception. They were just never the focus of attention and thus provided an area in which modernist claims could be asserted. Conversely, Kolbe's *Hüterin* functioned in the sense of "racial grooming"²⁶ as long as no one saw or cared how and where the artist deviated from human anatomy and thus from nature, which, in the National Socialist context, was reinterpreted as racially pure.



12 Gerhard Marcks, *Die Hüterin* (Guardian), 1973, bronze, h. 165 cm, historical photograph

Titles

The woman as *Hüterin*, in the sense of “guardian” of family, faith, home, children, and tradition, is a fixed topos of conservative ideas of society. German racism supplemented this with racial hygiene, and together they resulted in the propagated National Socialist ideal of women. Various art historians have already established that this overloaded ideal and the reality of nude depictions in NS-era sculpture have little to do with each other.²⁷ One well-known example is *Hüterin der Art* by the painter and ideologue Wolfgang Willrich (1897–1948): a pre-1934 painting of a clothed, standing, pregnant blonde woman with her hands on her stomach that belonged to Heinrich Himmler, Reichsführer SS. Wolbert and those who follow his interpretation to this day see the same theme in Kolbe’s *Hüterin* and see what she is guarding between her legs rather than in her left hand.²⁸

Statistically, it would probably be possible to prove that “Hüterin” as the title of a sculpture occurred more frequently in Germany during the “Third Reich” than in the period before or after. The historical value of such a statement remains to be seen. Two sculptures are documented, the one discussed by Kolbe and another one by Georg Türke (1884–1972), who exhibited *Hüterin der heiligen Flamme* (Guardian of the Sacred Flame) in Munich in 1943. From the period after 1945, only one work by Marcks is known (fig. 12), with which he memorialized his daughter Brigitte, who gave up her work to care for her parents. Again, not a progressive image of women, but it shows a spectrum of titles that expands when “Gardienne,” “Gardeuse,” “Hoedster,” “Keeper,” “Opatrovník,” or “Strażniczka” are searched for in neighboring countries.

Hüterin is perhaps an allegorical title, but it does not make the sculpture an allegory. It is a sculptural construction in plaster transferred into bronze, for which one or more women were models. *Hüterin* is certainly a descriptive title, since the person depicted is holding something. The work is in the tradition of modern German figurative sculpture and relates to a discussion going on among various sculptors in Berlin at the time, which was about comprehensible composition. This understanding makes aesthetic qualities visible. This work of art played a role in the publicity of the “Third Reich,” where it served the overriding racist ideals. This is not a contradiction, but rather a historical fact.

The proposal to consider the *Hüterin* as a major work of German sculpture of the second half of the 1930s, and to virtually demand its return to the Nationalgalerie, opens up new perspectives. In this work, the discourses of the time overlap, and an examination of the work reveals directions for future research, for example on the transitions between art history and “visual history,” or on the question of which media—as well as why and how—the artist supplied with photographs. In the case of the *Hüterin*, the subsequent art-historical reception was determined by a photograph published in the art media of the time that did not originate from Kolbe’s studio. In addition, the title was read in a one-sided way and the work itself was ignored. It is therefore worth returning to the fundamentals of art history²⁹ in order to approach the historical complexity by means of an interpretive description.

Notes

- 1 I would like to thank Antje Bräuer (Kunstgussmuseum Lauchhammer), Carolin Jahn, Thomas Pavel, and Elisa Tamaschke (Georg Kolbe Museum) for their comments and information. Since the editors invited only external scholars for this book project, I would like to refer to a recent, fundamental text by a staff member of the Georg Kolbe Museum: Thomas Pavel, “‘Ein wirklich gutes Werk’ für Hannover? Georg Kolbes ‘Menschenpaar’ am Maschsee,” in: *Hannoversche Geschichtsblätter*, no. 74, 2020, pp. 22–50.
- 2 Wilhelm Pinder, *Georg Kolbe. Werke der letzten Jahre, mit Betrachtungen über Kolbes Plastik* (Berlin 1937).
- 3 See: Arie Hartog, *Georg Kolbe. Receptie in Duitsland tussen 1920 en 1950*, PhD diss., Catholic University Nijmegen, 1989, pp. 57–61.
- 4 Richard Scheibe, “Dem Werk Georg Kolbes. Ein Bekenntnis zur Plastik,” in: *Georg Kolbe. 100 Lichtdrucktafeln* (with accompanying remarks by Georg Kolbe and an introduction by Richard Scheibe), ed. Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar Marburg (Marburg 1931), p. 9 [translated].
- 5 Adolf von Hildebrand, *Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst* (Strasbourg 1893).
- 6 Scheibe 1931 (see note 4), p. 10 [translated].
- 7 See: Arie Hartog, “Feldzeichen. Beobachtungen zu Richard Scheibe 1925–1937,” in: *Nympe und Narziss. Der Bildhauer Richard Scheibe (1879–1964)*, ed. Ursel Berger, exh. cat. Georg Kolbe Museum, Berlin, 2004, pp. 103–116.
- 8 See: Helmut Lethen, “Nachwort. Im Freiheitsraum der Kälte,” in: *Verhaltenslehren der Kälte. Lebensversuche zwischen den Kriegen* (Berlin 2022), p. 314.
- 9 See: Josephine Gabler, “Georg Kolbe in der NS-Zeit,” in: *Georg Kolbe 1877–1947*, ed. Ursel Berger, exh. cat. Georg Kolbe Museum, Berlin and Gerhard-Marcks-Haus, Bremen (Munich and New York 1997), pp. 87–94.
- 10 Kolbe had created a (no longer existing) approximately 80 cm high model, which was enlarged in the foundry and subsequently reworked by the artist (GKM Archive, Berlin).
- 11 I would like to thank Dieter Scholz for information on the history of the *Hüterin* in the Nationalgalerie.
- 12 See: Ursel Berger, “Georg Kolbe in der NS-Zeit. Tatsachen und Interpretationen,” 2013, p. 18. The text can be found on the website of the Georg Kolbe Museum: <https://web.archive.org/web/20140901011620/http://www.georg-kolbe-museum.de/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/Georg-Kolbe-in-der-NS-Zeit.pdf>. An illustrated, amended version was published by the Georg Kolbe Museum in 2018: “‘Einseitig künstlerisch.’ Georg Kolbe in der NS-Zeit”, URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20190508074534/https://www.georg-kolbe-museum.de/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Einseitig-künstlerisch-mit-Bildern-Titel-1.pdf> [both sites last accessed March 25, 2023].
- 13 Probably “Modell Daute” (L. Daute). For references to Kolbe and his models in the calendars, I thank Thomas Pavel.
- 14 In the lecture and subsequent discussion, four sculptural traditions to be distinguished in the *Große Deutsche Kunstausstellungen* were discussed in relation to the *Hüterin*.
- 15 See: Werner Haftmann, *Ludwig Kasper* (Berlin 1939), pp. 8–10. For more on Kasper and systems of measurements, see also: Regina Maria Hillert, “Gebaute Figur.” *Studien zu Leben und Werk des Bildhauers Ludwig Kasper (1893–1945)*, PhD diss. University of Saarbrücken, 2012 (Hamburg 2017).
- 16 Scheibe 1931 (see note 4), p. 5 [translated].
- 17 Media-specific references to antiquity in sculpture between 1920 and 1960 would be a worthwhile topic to add to recent research on “classicism” in the history of German art. Cf. Christian Drobe, *Verdächtige Ambivalenz. Klassizismus in der Moderne 1920–1960*, PhD diss. Martin Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg, 2018 (Ilmtal-Weinstraße 2022).
- 18 W[erner] Haftmann, “Grundsätzliches über neue Bildhauerei,” in: *Die Kunst der Nation*, vol. 2, no. 17, 1934, p. 2 [translated].
- 19 See: Hillert 2017 (see note 15), p. 396.
- 20 The part of Kolbe’s estate that came to the Georg Kolbe Museum in 2020 adds two aspects to the large collection of press clippings in the museum’s archive. First, it becomes clear which artists Kolbe considered competitors, and second, how precisely he followed the discussion about modern art in 1933 and 1934.
- 21 See: Arie Hartog, “Einführung. Moderne deutsche figürliche Bildhauerei,” in: idem, *Moderne deutsche figürliche Bildhauerei. Umriss einer Tradition*, PhD diss. Radboud University, 2009 (Pulsnitz 2009), pp. 9–21, here p. 12 [translated].
- 22 In the spirit of Aby Warburg’s “*Pathosformel*,” the lecture also presented the hand posture of a *Nemesis* not as a goddess of revenge and retribution, but rather as a “guardian” and guarantor of measure and order.
- 23 Klaus Wolbert, *Die Nackten und die Toten des “Dritten Reiches”: Folgen einer politischen Geschichte*

- des Körpers in der Plastik des deutschen Faschismus, PhD diss. University of Marburg, 1980 (Gießen 1982), p. 41; idem, *Dogmatische Körper – Perfide Schönheitsdikate. Bedeutungsprofile der programmatischen Aktplastik im Dritten Reich* (Berlin 2018). For a critique of this reinterpretation, see: Berger 2013 (see note 12), pp. 17–18.
- 24** Wolbert 1982 (see note 23), pp. 232–233.
- 25** K. B. [Karl Bückmann], “Von der Kunst zum Leben,” in: *Deutsche Leibesucht. Blätter für naturnahe und ar-teigene Lebensgestaltung*, March 1940, pp. 409–413.
- 26** Peter Fritzsche, *Life and Death in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London 2008), pp. 76–142. The author introduced the term “racial grooming” (p. 89) to describe how German society was deliberately prepared, slowly and steadily, to accept racial doctrine and genetic selection as a matter of course. The recoding of the categories “natural” and “beautiful” into “racial” and “pure,” which was already common in racist circles before 1933, played an important role in this process. For more on the impact of this policy, see: Janosch Steuwer, “Ein Drittes Reich, wie ich es auffasse.” *Politik, Gesellschaft und privates Leben in Tagebüchern 1933–1939*, PhD diss. Ruhr University Bochum, 2015 (Göttingen 2017), pp. 242–352. Kolbe’s reception offers a great deal of material for a differentiated investigation of the functioning of art in the National Socialists’ educational project.
- 27** See: Silke Wenk, “Aufgerichtete weibliche Körper. Zur allegorischen Skulptur im deutschen Faschismus,” in: *Inszenierung der Macht, ästhetische Faszination im Faschismus*, exh. cat. Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst, Berlin (Berlin 1987), pp. 103–118, here p. 118; Birgit Bressa, *Nach-Leben der Antike. Klassische Bilder des Körpers in der NS-Skulptur* Arno Brekers, PhD diss. University of Tübingen, 2001, p. 362.
- 28** Silke Wenk has often pointed out the unreflective sexist reading of depictions of women from the National Socialist era in art history. See, for example: Silke Wenk: “Hin-Weg-Sehen oder: Faschismus, Normalität und Sexismus. Notizen zur Faschismus-Rezeption anlässlich der Kritik der Ausstellung ‘Inszenierung der Macht,’” in: *Erbeutete Sinne. Nachräge zur Berliner Ausstellung ‘Inszenierung der Macht, ästhetische Faszination im Faschismus’* (Berlin 1988), pp. 17–32, here p. 22.
- 29** See: Jaś Elsner, “Art History as Ekphrasis,” in: *Art History*, no. 33, 2010, pp. 4–27.