

Introduction

After the death of Maria von Tiesenhausen, Georg Kolbe's granddaughter, a significant and hitherto largely unknown part of his written estate was transferred from Canada to the artist's former residence and studio in Berlin in March 2020, seventy years after the opening of the Georg Kolbe Museum. The surprising quality of its contents, its thematic diversity, and its overwhelming quantity make it an art-historical sensation. The materials that we, as the director and research associate of the museum at that time, examined in the apartment of the deceased granddaughter far exceeded our expectations: hundreds of letters and documents, notes, plans, records, diary-like calendars, photographs, magazines and journals, books, and numerous works of art (figs. 1 and 2). With this rich addition, the Kolbe Estate is now one of the most comprehensive documentations of the biography of a twentieth-century artist.

During his lifetime, Georg Kolbe (1877–1947) was considered one of the most successful German artists of his generation. With participation in numerous international exhibitions, works prominently represented in influential collections as well as in public spaces, an extensive network of artist friendships, and memberships in artists' associations, he was considered an important voice in connection with cultural policy. In the 1910s and 1920s, he decisively and programmatically modernized figurative sculpture. It is important to note that, during his creative period, the artist lived through four different systems of government, which were marked by harsh political disputes, as well as two world wars. His recognition and success grew steadily during the German Empire and the Weimar Republic. Even under the National Socialist regime, he was able to largely maintain his established position, although a younger generation of sculptors had come to the fore. Today, Kolbe's defensive interpretations of his existence as an artist must provoke contradictions: in his fundamental understanding, he considered his artistic work to be free and independent, invulnerable to social influences or political demands on art. Kolbe's formal language developed continuously, without strong breaks, and revolved around the depiction of the human figure. It must always be seen in the context of cultural-political and contemporary historical developments.

The arrival of new material from Canada—but not only that—is challenging us to question previous interpretations of Kolbe's life and work. We now have the opportunity to add some dynamism to what we thought was certain and firmly established.

This publication brings together the research papers that were presented in September 2022 at the Georg Kolbe Museum's conference "Georg Kolbe and National Socialism.



1 Various boxes in Maria von Tiesenhausen's apartment in Vancouver, Canada, 2019



2 Some of the boxes after their arrival from Canada, Georg Kolbe Museum, Berlin, March 2020

Continuities and Breaks in Life, Work, and Reception” and were subsequently expanded upon. For us, as specialists who have been dealing with the life and work of the artist for many years, it was a matter of subjecting the research on Kolbe’s position during National Socialism to a necessary revision. To this end, we made available the newly accessible sources, drawing, of course, on the material already available in the museum and excellently catalogued in recent years, as well as on the basis of existing publications. As

a research institution, the critical and differentiated examination of questions of artistic production, its creation, and its (changing) reception is one of our core themes; the dedication of a monographic museum makes this indispensable. At the same time, this historically evolved task represents an opportunity to keep alive in the present and in the future an engagement with the challenging (art) history of the twentieth century.

Georg Kolbe's Estate and Its History

The estate of Georg Kolbe is characterized by an unexpected, literally eventful history. In his last will and testament, the artist had stipulated that the studio house he had built in the late 1920s, the works of art contained in it, and his written estate should go either to a foundation yet to be established, or to the state and be made accessible to the public. By the time of his death on November 20, 1947, this self-confident gesture had created the necessary conditions for securing his estate—and his posthumous reputation. In 1949, old friends and companions established the Georg Kolbe Foundation, and in 1950 the studio building was opened as a museum.² The first director was Margrit Schwartzkopff, Kolbe's former photographer and office assistant, as well as the executor of his will, who was allowed by the will to live in selected rooms at Sensburger Allee 25. The interpretation of the will led to long disputes over the artistic and material estate between Margrit Schwartzkopff, who represented the foundation, and the family. She served as director until her death in 1969, during which time she ran the institution as a kind of memorial to the late artist, leaving the furnishings of the rooms largely as Kolbe had left them. Schwartzkopff was succeeded as director of the museum by Maria von Tiesenhausen, Georg Kolbe's granddaughter, who was born in 1929. She emigrated to Canada in the 1950s but continued to travel regularly during her directorship between Berlin and her adopted country of Canada, where her husband, Hans Dietrich ("Dietz") von Tiesenhausen, a Second World War naval officer, lived. It is impossible to date exactly when she began taking estate documents from the museum's archives to Canada, but she did so on a large scale and without disclosing which or how many documents were involved. Since there was no inventory of the written estate, it was subsequently impossible to collate what was missing with what existed in the museum's holdings. In 1987, almost a decade after the end of her directorship, von Tiesenhausen published a selection of letters to and from Kolbe.³ For the most part, the selected excerpts came from the estate, which she also supplemented through selected acquisitions. As a close relative, she also had access to other materials remaining in the family; she continued to maintain some of her grandfather's contacts for research purposes, and conducted research in the public archives accessible to her. She also successfully and extensively researched the works of Kolbe that remained in the GDR and the Soviet Union. By 2006, she had successively returned the originals of the letters she had published, along with other documents, to the museum and its director Ursel Berger, who had been working there since 1978, as well as to her research assistants Josephine Gabler and Carolin Jahn—a total of approximately 800 individual documents. The written



3 A glimpse into the estate of Maria von Tiesenhausen

estate, which has been reunited and is preserved in the museum, thus comprises some 3,500 documents, most of which come from the estate, but which the museum had also selectively supplemented through purchases and donations in previous decades.⁴

It could be assumed that Maria von Tiesenhausen kept more material with her. However, the quantity and quality could hardly be determined from Berlin, despite the improvement in the relationship between the museum and von Tiesenhausen, which had been prob-

lematic for decades. Julia Wallner traveled to Canada several times during her directorship and also received the granddaughter at the museum in Berlin.⁵ She was eventually able to convince von Tiesenhausen that the museum was unquestionably the best place to preserve and process the estate. In 2018, after long and sometimes difficult discussions, part of the estate, including a sculpture by Aristide Maillol and a painting by Max Beckmann, as well as works by Georg Kolbe, were transferred to the museum. It was only after von Tiesenhausen's death in 2019 that a comprehensive viewing of the objects and documents was possible, thanks to the Canadian executors of her estate, who had already acted as intermediaries during her lifetime, and to their relationship



4 One of over 100 drawings from the estate of Maria von Tiesenhausen

5 Letter from Max Pechstein to Georg Kolbe, 1920



6 Georg Kolbe's appointment diaries from the estate of Maria von Tiesenhausen



of trust, which was underpinned by previous visits and conversations. Finally, in March 2020, approximately 3,000 additional private and business letters, as well as works of art, photographs of works and photo albums, pocket calendars, appointment and telephone calendars, address books, notes, newspaper clippings on exhibitions, fellow artists, and cultural-political topics from Kolbe's estate, as well as from the holdings of the granddaughter and her parents, were returned to the museum (figs. 3–6).⁶

The Museum as a Place of Reappraisal

Four museum directors, in a not always conflict-free relationship, have worked with their respective teams and networks to ensure that this heritage is preserved and maintained.

Now, for the first time, it is reunited for future generations in its original location and is accessible in its entirety for research, which was a major concern of ours. Its significance for art history extends far beyond the sculptor himself; the estate leads to four continents, and thus into the far-reaching and challenging networks of relationships in the history of art and culture in the twentieth century, of which it is an invaluable witness.⁷

Margrit Schwartzkopff and Maria von Tiesenhausen were too personally involved to be able or willing to deal with the artist in a scholarly and critical manner. In fact, the very history of the museum's founding is itself the story of a continuity in the field of art and cultural policy after 1945 that needs to be critically evaluated. Two of the founders were members of the NSDAP; and after 1950, works from the 1930s and 1940s were also installed in public spaces without criticism or reflection.⁸ Schwartzkopff made it her declared goal to be a "torchbearer" on the path to elevating "the work of Georg Kolbe beyond its ties to a specific time [...] until the knowledge of the significance of this unique work has truly become common knowledge."⁹ Statements of this kind indirectly refer to critical voices that were raised against Kolbe and his role in the cultural-political system of National Socialism, as well as against his artistic conception of man, which was at least formally connectable to National Socialist ideology.¹⁰ Margrit Schwartzkopff and, after her, Maria von Tiesenhausen were able to stylize Kolbe as an artist who, even between 1933 and 1945, was primarily concerned with artistic-formal issues and could therefore not be interpreted politically.¹¹

Art-historical research on the life and work of Georg Kolbe did not begin until 1978 with Ursel Berger. In the decades of her directorship (until 2012), she developed fundamental research—her published findings still form the basis of any discussion of the sculptor today.¹² In addition to extensive biographical and art-historical contextual research, during her time as director of the museum she began compiling a catalogue raisonné of Kolbe's works: an extensive and costly undertaking—especially in the case of sculptures with numerous casts—that has since been continued at the museum by the art historian Thomas Pavel.¹³

Since the 1980s, research has turned to Kolbe's work during National Socialism, a topic that eventually became urgent at that time. In addition to Ursel Berger, Magdalena Bushart, Josephine Gabler, Arie Hartog, and Penelope Curtis have published on this topic in the context of exhibition publications or university theses, thus making important contributions.¹⁴ With the exhibition at the Georg Kolbe Museum and the publication of the major research volume on the work of the art dealer Alfred Flechtheim in 2017, an important chapter on the artist's environment during National Socialism was opened up and further explored in the specific context of sculpture.¹⁵

Revision and Multiple Perspectives

New sources require new research and an update of previous research results; at the same time, they offer the historical opportunity to open up a field of research, also in terms of personnel. With the receipt of the bequest from Canada, it quickly became

clear that numerous documents from the period between 1933 and 1945 had not been previously known and would now allow for more in-depth research. This remains an institutional obligation; after all, questions have remained unanswered and must be asked anew. The reappraisal of National Socialist history can never be complete because it is an ethical and social necessity to remember it.

In recent years, the critical study of artists' biographies during National Socialism and the postwar period has undergone a great development. Exhibitions on Emil Nolde and the continuity of artists' careers after 1945, such as the exhibition on the "Gottbegnadeten-Liste," the list of "divinely gifted" artists, have set new standards and sharpened the view of the art world and its political entanglements in the twentieth century.¹⁶ These projects were often accompanied by the revision of existing archives and allowed external researchers to access and work with the material. An open way of dealing with the material was also fundamental to our approach. After an initial phase of intensive indexing, which included a year of reviewing, sorting, and securing by Elisa Tamaschke, the new archival material was to be made available as quickly as possible and without any restrictions. In order, as the Georg Kolbe Museum, not to claim sole interpretative authority over the documents and the resulting art-historical questions, and in order to build on the expertise in the field of art during National Socialism, in the fall of 2021 we invited a group of renowned art historians to familiarize themselves with the new material and to develop their own research priorities on the basis of existing research. Their insightful results were finally presented at a conference at the museum in September 2022, and can be read in expanded form in this volume.¹⁷

With this project, we were particularly concerned with extending and rejuvenating the circle of scholars working on Georg Kolbe. After all, scholarship only remains justified and vital in its openness if it experiences a constant broadening of horizons through ever new perspectives.

The essays in this volume change our view of Kolbe. He served the NS power elite to a much greater extent than has been recognized in the literature. Many of the essays in this volume show the ambivalence of Kolbe's actions, which is characteristic of every human existence; at the same time, they show for the first time in detail how this ambivalence increasingly developed into opportunism. Thus Georg Kolbe signed the "Aufruf der Kulturschaffenden" (Call of the Cultural Workers), he accepted public commissions and honors, he portrayed Francisco Franco, and he expressed the wish to make a portrait of Adolf Hitler,¹⁸ which was never realized. He was on the "Gottbegnadeten-Liste" and was invited to evening events of the political elite.¹⁹ However, he was not a member of the NSDAP, and at the beginning of National Socialist rule he was apparently widely perceived as a representative of the Weimar Republic; some of his sculptures in public spaces were removed. Unlike Arno Breker and Josef Thorak, who, as representatives of a younger generation of sculptors, clearly benefited from the NS state, Kolbe built on an existing career. He continued to cultivate his friendships with artists defamed as "degenerate," and to appreciate and represent their works on juries; furthermore, contrary to various official pronouncements, he expressed his criticism of the system in private letters. Such an

exemplary list shows how important it is to perceive the shades of gray in order to grasp the complexity of historical facts and human life, instead of creating a black-and-white picture. In this context, it is also important to turn the argumentative “but,” which is often placed between pro and contra and always smacks of a desire to relativize, into an “and.”

This publication does not offer a fixed framework for interpretation, but rather seeks to open up space for a multi-perspective approach. The authors’ analyses provide in-depth and new insights into a subject that is challenging due to its multifaceted nature. Aya Soika places Kolbe for the first time in the cultural-political situation between 1933 and 1945, both in detail and critically. Paula Schwerdtfeger and Ambra Frank examine his participation in exhibitions during this period as well as his strong public presence in Frankfurt am Main to the present day. Christian Fuhrmeister focuses on a particular gala dinner in 1939 and its cultural-political significance in the NS state. Jan Giebel’s overview of Kolbe’s relationship with his art dealers provides new insights into his self-image as a businessman and artist. The in-depth studies by Wolfgang Schöddert, Gesa Vietzen, and Anja Tiedemann of Kolbe’s business relationships with the galleries of Ferdinand Möller, Alfred Flechtheim, and Karl Buchholz provide new and sometimes electrifying insights not only into the topic of Kolbe but also and especially into the galleries that were so crucial to modernism in Germany. Bernhard Maaz, Olaf Peters, and Arie Hartog explore artistic-formal questions of tradition and the ideational content of Kolbe’s formal language. The texts by Christina Irrgang and Magdalena Bushart consider the resonances during Kolbe’s lifetime: on the one hand, the reflection of sculpture in the medium of photography and its medial usability; on the other hand, the written tributes that the artist received on the occasion of milestone birthdays and awards. In their studies, Maike Steinkamp and Dorothea Schöne examine the history of Kolbe’s reception after 1945 in the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, and the United States. With these contributions, research on Georg Kolbe, on the life of an artist under National Socialism, is on entirely new ground.

Prospects

At the same time, further research is necessary. Kolbe’s relationships to his collectors and to his Jewish friends, his international travels, his life between 1943 and 1945 in Hierlsenhagen in Silesia, his relationship to the Allies, the political dimension of his sculptures, which Kolbe certainly intended, the history of ideas of the bodies he designed, his reading experiences, his scope of knowledge of everyday political events, his awareness of and striving for power and success, his reception in the GDR, the institutional history of the Georg Kolbe Museum—all these are research perspectives that need to be deepened and continued. The digital publication of the catalogue raisonné in the coming year will also facilitate a thorough analysis of the development of the form, while at the same time making the history of reception even more tangible through cast editions and exhibition participation. The publication of the conference papers is a beginning of something that we look forward to continuing.

Acknowledgments

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Gérard A. Goodrow undertook the English translations, Sarah Quigley was responsible for the English copyediting, and Şebnem Yavuz did the copyediting of the German texts, as the publication is also appearing in German under the title *Georg Kolbe im Nationalsozialismus. Kontinuitäten und Brüche in Leben, Werk und Rezeption*. We are very grateful to all of them for the precise results. The extremely reliable cooperation with each of them was a great pleasure.

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Elisa Tamaschke
Curator and Head of Project,
Georg Kolbe Museum, Berlin

Julia Wallner
Director, Arp Museum Bahnhof Rolandseck,
Remagen (formerly Director, Georg Kolbe
Museum, Berlin)

Notes

- 1 Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in: idem, *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York 2007), pp. 253–264, here p. 256.
- 2 The foundation is governed by a board of trustees, which in its founding year of 1949 included the following members: Adolf Jannasch, Kurt von Keudell, Hugo Körtzinger, Konrad Lemmer, Hermann Lempere, Max Leube, Erich Ott, Richard Scheibe, Alfred Wolters, Désirée Zimmermann-Klinger, and Margrit Schwartzkopff.
- 3 Maria Baroness von Tiesenhausen (ed.), *Georg Kolbe. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* (Tübingen 1987). In her preface, von Tiesenhausen writes that Kolbe's private correspondence, which was entrusted to her by Margrit Schwartzkopff and her father Kurt von Keudell, was in her possession—the transfer of these documents may very well have concerned the private family letters, but this attempt at an explanation cannot, of course, explain why the extensive correspondence with galleries, collectors, clients, artist friends, political decision-makers, museums, and other cultural institutions and municipal administrations was also in her possession.
- 4 In the course of a project funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) in 2008–10, these documents were catalogued, digitized, and linked to the Kalliope portal. The documents were then transferred in their entirety to the museum's own database, Kolbe Online, where they are accessible together with images and transcriptions. Kolbe's artistic estate in the possession of the Georg Kolbe Museum is also fully accessible via Kolbe Online.
- 5 Julia Wallner was director of the museum from 2013 to 2022.
- 6 It remains an intractable challenge to determine what is no longer part of the estate—whether through wartime loss, a failure to preserve certain documents on the part of Kolbe himself, or the removal of such by Margrit Schwartzkopff or Maria von Tiesenhausen. Indeed, there are conspicuous gaps, the future filling and analysis of which promises further insights.
- 7 The part of the estate that came from Canada in 2020 is referred to as the "Maria von Tiesenhausen Estate" (MvT Estate). De facto it is the partial estate of Georg Kolbe; however, this designation is justified because it was in the possession of Maria von Tiesenhausen, and the museum received it from her estate. It also distinguishes it from the holdings that previously existed in the museum. From Canada, the museum has also received small holdings from the estates of Kurt von Keudell (Kolbe's son-in-law), Margrit Schwartzkopff, and Maria von Tiesenhausen. These holdings are valuable sources for tracing the history of Georg Kolbe's reception in the second half of the twentieth century.
- 8 Kurt von Keudell and Hermann Lempere were both members of the NSDAP. For more on the institutional history of the museum, see also the transcript of the lecture by Elisa Tamaschke, given at the conference "Kunst und Kultur nach dem Nationalsozialismus" (Art and Culture after National Socialism), organized by the Leibniz Centre for Contemporary History Potsdam and the Humboldt University, Berlin, held at the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities on March 13, 2023 (4:10:30–4:28:30 hrs.): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6aYFB-7vr71A&t=30103s> [last accessed July 11, 2023].
- 9 As formulated by Schwartzkopff in a letter to Hermann Reemtsma, January 6, 1948, MvT Estate, GKM, Berlin [translated].
- 10 See the essay by Magdalena Bushart in this volume, pp. 312–330. During his lifetime, Kolbe was challenged on several occasions by critical questions about his relationship to the power elite: see the essays by Aya Soika and Maike Steinkamp in this volume, pp. 82–114 and pp. 334–349.
- 11 See, for example, the copy of a typescript dated January 1948 in the MvT Estate, on which Margrit Schwartzkopff has handwritten: "Zu der Campagne i. Amerika gegen Georg Kolbe" (On the campaign against Kolbe in America). In the following remarks, Kolbe is defended against the accusation that he had aligned himself with the National Socialists.
- 12 Ursel Berger's publications up to 2014 are listed in: Julia Wallner and Marc Wellmann (eds.), *Skulpturenstreit – Texte zur Skulptur und Bildhauerei der Moderne, Festschrift für Ursel Berger* (Berlin 2014), pp. 171–175.
- 13 On the basis of a catalogue raisonné published as a dissertation in the United States in the 1960s—Kurt Eugene von Meier, *Georg Kolbe [1877–1947]*, 2 vols., PhD diss., Princeton University (Ann Arbor 1966)—which was essentially based on the holdings of the Georg Kolbe Museum, Hella Reelfs, supported by the Thyssen Foundation, worked on completing the catalogue raisonné in the 1970s, but was unable to publish it despite her successful research. Her findings were continuously refined and expanded by Ursel Berger during her tenure at the Georg Kolbe Museum in the course of her research on Kolbe.

- 14 See, for example, in addition to Ursel Berger's remarks in: *Georg Kolbe. Leben und Werk, mit dem Katalog der Kolbe-Plastiken im Georg-Kolbe-Museum Berlin* (Berlin 1990); Ursel Berger, "'Einseitig künstlerisch.' Georg Kolbe in der NS-Zeit," 2018, published as a PDF on the website of the Georg Kolbe Museum, currently accessible there in the archive; see: <https://web.archive.org/web/20190508074534/https://www.georg-kolbe-museum.de/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Einseitig-künstlerisch-mit-Bildern-Titel-1.pdf> [last accessed July 11, 2023]; Ursel Berger, "'Ein verdienter Altmeister.' Die Rolle des Bildhauers Georg Kolbe während der Nazizeit," in: Maria Rüger (ed.), *Kunst und Kunstkritik der dreißiger Jahre. 29 Standpunkte zu künstlerischen und ästhetischen Prozessen und Kontroversen* [Fundus-Bücher, vol. 124] (Dresden 1990), pp. 130–140; Ursel Berger, "'Herauf nun, herauf, du großer Mittag.' Georg Kolbes Statue für die Nietzsche-Gedächtnishalle und die gescheiterten Vorläuferprojekte," in: Hans Wilderotter and Michael Dormmann (eds.), *Wege nach Weimar. Auf der Suche nach der Einheit von Kunst und Politik* (Berlin 1999), pp. 177–194; *Sculpture and Power. Figurative Plastik in Deutschland der 30er und 40er Jahre*, ed. Magdalena Bushart et al., exh. cat. Akademie der Künste, Berlin and Städtische Kunsthalle Düsseldorf (Berlin 1983); Josephine Gabler, *Skulptur in Deutschland in den Ausstellungen zwischen 1933 und 1945*, PhD diss., Freie Universität Berlin, 1996, unpublished, accessible in the archive of the GKM; Josephine Gabler, "Georg Kolbe in der NS-Zeit," in: *Georg Kolbe 1877–1947*, exh. cat. Georg-Kolbe-Museum, Berlin and Gerhard-Marcks-Haus, Bremen (Munich 1997), pp. 87–94; Josephine Gabler, "Anpassung im Dissens. Die Bildhauer im Dritten Reich," in: Penelope Curtis (ed.), *Taking Positions. Figurative Sculpture and the Third Reich*, exh. cat. Georg-Kolbe-Museum, Berlin, Gerhard-Marcks-Haus, Bremen and Henry Moore Institute, Leeds (Bremen and Leeds 2001), pp. 42–59; Josephine Gabler, "Vom Menschen zum Monument? Die Plastik in Deutschland zwischen 1933 und 1945," in: Andrea M. Kluxen (ed.), *Aesthetic Problems of Sculpture in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Nuremberg 2001), pp. 229–239; Arie Hartog, *Georg Kolbe. Receptie in Duitsland tussen 1920 en 1950*, PhD diss., Catholic University Nijmegen, 1989, unpublished, accessible in the archive of the GKM; *Taking Positions. Figurative Sculpture and the Third Reich*, exh. cat. Georg-Kolbe-Museum, Berlin, Gerhard-Marcks-Haus, Bremen and Henry Moore Institute, Leeds (Bremen and Leeds 2001); Werner Stockfisch, *Ordnung gegen Chaos. Zum Menschenbild Georg Kolbes*, PhD diss., Humboldt University, Berlin, 1984, unpublished, accessible in the archive of the GKM.
- 15 Ottfried Dascher (ed.), *Sprung in den Raum. Skulpturen bei Alfred Flechtheim* [Quellenstudien zur Kunst, vol. 11] (Wädenswil 2017).
- 16 Emil Nolde – eine deutsche Legende. *Der Künstler im Nationalsozialismus*, Hamburger Bahnhof – Nationalgalerie der Gegenwart, Berlin 2019 (accompanied by a comprehensive catalog); *Die Liste der "Gottbegnadeten." Künstler des Nationalsozialismus in der Bundesrepublik*, Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin 2021 (accompanied by a catalog). Interactively, the complex research on art during the NS era has also repeatedly received important impulses from the results of individual research; see, for example: *Grauzonen. Nürnberger Künstler:innen im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Andrea Dippel, exh. cat. Kunstvilla, Nuremberg (Wien 2022); *vermacht. verfallen. verdrängt. Kunst und Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Christian Fuhrmeister, Monika Hauser-Mair, and Felix Steffan, exh. cat. Städtische Galerie Rosenheim (Petersberg 2017). See also the anthology: Meike Hoffmann and Dieter Scholz (eds.), *Unbewältigt? Ästhetische Moderne und Nationalsozialismus: Kunst, Kunsthandel, Ausstellungspraxis* (Berlin 2020).
- 17 For reactions to the conference, see: Ronald Berg, "Kolbe, der Opportunist," in: *taz*, September 6, 2022; Julius Redzinski, "Form versus Kontext?" in: *Kunstchronik* 76, no. 1, 2023, pp. 5–12.
- 18 Aya Soika elaborates on this issue in her essay in this volume, pp. 82–114.
- 19 For more on the evening events, see the essay by Christian Fuhrmeister in this volume, pp. 152–161.

