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THE ICONOGRAPHY OF MYTHOLOGICAL THEMES IN GERMAN ART C. 1920 - 1950

Volume 1: Text

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A thesis submitted in candidacy for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN, TRINITY COLLEGE
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DEPARTMENT OF THE HISTORY OF ART

OCTOBER 1999

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SUMMARY

The purpose of the dissertation is an iconographical analysis of works on mythological themes during the period of the Third Reich: including the lead up to it in the 1920s, and the immediate aftermath to around 1950. As far as I am aware, there has been no research focusing specifically on the representation of myth in this period. Such analysis as exists normally confines itself to the form the works take. Where iconographical research has been undertaken, it has tended to be monographic. Consequently, it is hoped to add to the knowledge of the period, in particular to how the visual imagery can be understood.

Analysis of the art produced in Germany at the time has generally been divided into two distinct camps: the officially approved art of the National Socialist regime and that created by the so-called 'degenerate' artists: those whose work was rejected by the regime. The accepted artists worked on themes and in styles judged to be traditional while those who met with official disapproval were mostly avant-garde; their very originality of form and content having caused their rejection. While the aims of these respective groups of artists, and the uses to which their art was put, were distinctly different, and while themes from mythology were generally expressed through radically diverging styles, the sources of understanding myth drew on the same pool of sources. In the context of the reservoir of ideas for understanding and interpreting myth in art, the purpose of this dissertation is to explore the types of themes which were selected by artists during this period and, in particular, to examine how they were expressed. As the approach is iconographical, the primary aim is to attempt to analyse the meanings which can be taken from the imagery, particularly given the political and social environment in which the work was produced. Form is considered also, but confined mainly to how this aids accession to meaning.

Chapter 1 identifies some of the most significant theories on myth since the late 18th century. It is not intended to be comprehensive, but to provide a context for reading the imagery of the period which is the focus of the thesis. While a number of texts have explored the theoretical background to the fascist ideology of the Third Reich, as far as I am aware, this has not been carried out with similar breadth as a means of understanding the representation of myth in art carried out by artists generally in the period. At most, some monographic works have considered the influence of some of the theorists.

The second chapter is concerned with avant-garde artists who represented mythological themes. It is devoted to those works which do not exhibit any

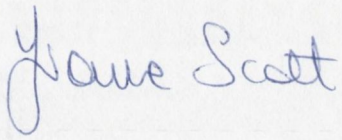
politically-orientated or -induced content; work which would probably have been carried out regardless of Hitler's accession to power. This chapter provides a new perspective on the expression of myth by identifying that *Lebensphilosophie*, the term for the collection of the major vitalist philosophies of the previous hundred or so years, was the most significant unifying influence. This contention is made in the light both of new primary research as well as drawing on relevant existing knowledge. This chapter identifies Paul Klee as the main catalyst for a number of friends, colleagues, and a wider circle of artists, who then sought new means of expressing vitalist philosophies through the medium of myth.

Chapter 3 is the first of two chapters exploring the approach to myth by artists adopted by the Nazi authorities, and focuses on themes from classical myth. While much has been written on the classical *style* of such art, there has been relatively little analysis of iconography. For the first time, the catalogues of the Great German Art Exhibitions have been trawled to ascertain, systematically, the nature and extent of the mythological themes which were selected by artists and juries for representation and exhibition. Of these works, those which were purchased by the state are explored in particular. The imagery is analysed in the context of contemporary reviews in journals and texts devoted to art, as well as National Socialist ideology relating to classical myth.

Opinions are divided as to whether Nordic Myth was of significance in the dogma and on the art of the Third Reich. Chapter 4 explores its role in the ideology of the time, and some of the means of dissemination of the related propaganda. In this context, the nature and extent of art representing themes from Nordic myth are considered, the iconography explored, and the means by which such imagery reached the public. The main sources include documents relating to artists and commissions, published journals and texts of the period, and the catalogues of the Great German Art Exhibitions. As far as I am aware, this is the first time that this subject has been explored.

In the context of the preceding chapters, the work on myth by 'degenerate' artists which exhibits a reaction to the political situation of the time is considered in Chapter 5. The main themes are identified, and the allegorical or symbolic content explored. The readings presented in this and other chapters are based both on existing and primary research in a range of archives in Germany and Switzerland (see acknowledgements), both those devoted to individual artists (such as Klee, Baumeister, and Marcks), and to German artists in general (primarily at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremburg). A number of the images included are relatively unknown and explored here for the first time.

THIS THESIS IS ENTIRELY MY OWN WORK AND HAS NOT PREVIOUSLY BEEN SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN, OR ANY OTHER UNIVERSITY AS AN EXERCISE FOR A DEGREE.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The preparation of a doctoral dissertation is at best a daunting task. One is never really prepared for the scale of the 'monster'. However, it is all made worthwhile by the excitement of discovery and the generosity of the countless individuals it is necessary to pester in the course of research. First of all, I must thank my supervisor Dr. Peter Cherry. His 'open door' policy meant that I was never without a source of support or a sounding board for ideas. His unfailing encouragement kept me going through some of the darker hours, and his guidance and experience proved invaluable.

I treasure the visit to meet the late Dr. Hans Feibusch, who was then the last surviving 'degenerate' artist. He welcomed me at his fascinating studio, where he continued to work. I feel privileged to have experienced his clear memories, dry sense of humour, and gracious hospitality. I am deeply grateful to his grandson Paul Werner who arranged the visit and provided information. I visited also Aljoscha Klee, an excellent artist in his own right, at his home in Bern and he shared with me insights on his grandfather, gleaned from family knowledge.

For access to artwork which is generally inaccessible, special thanks must go to the various individuals who sacrificed their valuable time. Dr. Carola Breker, Düsseldorf, gave me access to her father's sculpture in the garden and to his studio and library of books at their family home. She generously responded to questions on his work. Herr Helmut Schindler, and Dr. Erik Sayler, Oberfinanzdirektion, Munich kindly facilitated access to the collection of Nazi art then stored at their depot. Dr. Robert Buck and Major Dr. Heiner Möllers, Lecturers in Military History, and Brigadier General Dora, Offizierschule der Luftwaffe Kommandeur, Fliegerhorst (formerly Luftkriegschule), Fürstenfeldbruck generously received me at the military airfield, provided me with access to information on the frescoes there, and gave their time to answer numerous questions. My thanks also to OTL Dr. Wolfgang Schmidt, Militärgeschichtlicher Forschungsamt, Potsdam, for further information.

The legendary German and Swiss efficiency was exemplified in the many archives and libraries which I visited and contacted during the course of my dissertation. As the research was conducted over a wide geographical area, this high standard of service was essential to be able to make the most efficient use of time. It was an added bonus that it was coupled with an exception level of helpfulness, and

in many instances curators and librarians went to the trouble of drawing my attention to texts which I might not otherwise have come across. Well beyond the call of duty was the hospitality of Dr. Fiona Healy, Freie Universität, Berlin and Dr. Klaus Junker, Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz, who kindly gave me accommodation at their home in Berlin, and answered my questions over supper in the evening. Frau Felicitas Baumeister-Gutbrod, Willi Baumeister Archiv, Stuttgart, made my visit to the archive a pleasure with her exceptional warmth and graciousness. In addition to facilitating all aspects of my research on her father's work, she invited me regularly to lunch with her and her household in her garden. Arie Hartog, Curator and Martina Rudloff, Director, of the Gerhard Marcks Haus, Bremen made me welcome at the archive. Arie has proven to be not only a wellspring of information and understanding of the artist, but generously gave me the benefit of his exceptional knowledge of the period providing access to his own personal library of rare books. He thoughtfully continues to keep me advised of useful further sources. Dr. Karin von Maur, Director, Archiv Will Grohmann, and Deputy Director, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart not only assisted my research at the archive, but continues to send me the wonderful informative catalogues she prepares for the Staatsgalerie. I would like to thank also Dr. Klaus Pese, Archiv für Bildende Kunst, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg and Dr. Frei, Dr. Baumgartner, and staff, Paul-Klee-Stiftung, Bern, not only for receiving me at their archives (the latter on numerous occasions), but for allowing me to continue before and after closing hours if staff were still at work. Professor Christian Lenz and Frau Christiane Zeiler, Max Beckmann Archiv, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen thoughtfully drew my attention to relevant texts and continued to be of assistance when I returned to Ireland. For the considerable service I was given both at their institutions and subsequently, I extend my grateful thanks also to: Frau Stach and staff, Bundesarchiv, Berlin; Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich; Kunstbibliothek der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin; Kunsthistorisches Institut, Universität Köln; Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich; and Witt Library, Courtauld Institute, London. My thanks also to Dr. Monika Flacke, Curator, Deutscheshistorisches Museum, Berlin and Dr. Jurgen Schilling, Deutsche Akademie in Rome, who sent information promptly on request. Dr. Jonathan Petropoulos, Loyola College, Baltimore, Maryland, and Inez Schlenker made helpful suggestions for which I am grateful.

At home in Dublin, I was dependent on the excellent facilities at Trinity College. Among the many library staff who assisted me in my numerous requests, I

thank in particular the Inter Library Loans Department and must single out Jane Moriarty and Anne-Marie Keoghan. Without their persistence and expertise in locating countless obscure texts this dissertation would have been a much thinner volume. I thank also Brendan Dempsey and Brian McGovern, Photographic Services, Trinity College, for their excellent photographic work. Thanks are extended also to the Goethe Institut Dublin, not only for their library facilities, but also for the provision of important contact addresses and telephone numbers.

For assistance with translations, my grateful thanks go in particular to Dr. Gillian Martin, Department of German Studies, Trinity College, and also to Cathie Hannin, to Christian Schaffer, and to Horst Weber and Suzanne Dockrell, Goethe Institut, Dublin. Thanks also to Christine Underwood, University of Sunderland, for guidance on some texts in French.

The research for this project was made possible by a Studentship awarded by Indecon, and I would like to extend a special thanks to the managing director, Alan Gray for his generosity and support.

My friends and colleagues in Trinity College proved a great source of support, both moral and practical. They regularly drew my attention to useful pieces of information and their continual offers of help, particularly in the last few weeks, was sustaining. I would like to thank in particular Marta Bustillo, Mildred Dunne, Catherine Lawless, Eve MacCauley, Rachel Moss, Aisling O'Donoghue, Brendan Rooney, and Professor Roger Stalley. I would especially like to acknowledge my friends Professor John O'Hagan, who read drafts of my manuscript throughout the course of its preparation, and offered many helpful suggestions, and Catherine Marshall, Curator of the Collection, Irish Museum of Modern Art, for suggesting I undertake my research at Trinity College in the first place.

Finally, I cannot begin to adequately thank my family for their support which was beyond generous, and closer to sacrificial. Our children, Linda and Andrew regularly asked about my progress and compassionately managed to look interested in the face of lengthy replies. My very deepest gratitude is reserved for my husband, Paul. He unfailingly sustained me with kindness and hot dinners, and held the fort during my numerous research-induced absences. It is to him I dedicate this thesis.

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FOREWORD

There are countless approaches to an exploration of art during a period of social and political crisis. The selection of one aspect - an iconographical analysis of works on myth during the period of the Third Reich - represents the rejection of other equally valid ones and so the reasoning behind this choice requires some justification. The answer is relatively simple, however. The existing literature has emphasized the overwhelming significance of classical culture to the self-image of the Third Reich, extending to the visual arts which were given a prominent position in the attendant propaganda. Analyses of the relationship between classicism and the arts have focused on the form and while content has been considered in a general way, there has been little analysis of specific classical themes, particularly mythological ones.

The identification of a specific thematic element, such as myth, out of a complex body of art can be a useful tool in attempting to understand the art of a period by providing a benchmark against which differences and variations become highlighted. However, it means also that many significant aspects of the art of the period, and its implications, are consequently ignored. This is not at all to deny their importance, but by concentrating on one aspect, it is hoped to offer a contribution to an overall understanding. It is recognized, also, that while focusing on myth, this exercise does not raise or respond to all of the significant questions which could have been addressed on the theme, but rather provides a point of departure for continued exploration.

The examination of the selected myths and their applications gave rise to a series of related questions. To what extent did artists not favoured by the Reich express themselves through myth, and what was its nature? Was there any difference between how myth was explored and expressed before and independently of the Third Reich, and that which was placed in its service? Did artists confine themselves to classical themes or did they also incorporate native mythology? What were the sources of understanding of myth which gave rise to its representation in the first place? This final question, in particular, led to the realization that the artists of the period, regardless of their affinities, were ultimately drawing on the same body of sources. Yet there were fundamental differences in the imagery which emerged which was not confined to form, but which extended to the content which is the focus of the thesis. The methodology adopted for this purpose is iconographic. This has a respectable provenance as an art historical means. Like any other

approach, however, it is subject to shortcomings which have been well documented, and it is not intended to rehearse them here. However, to attempt to address some of these, the exploration has been extended to iconology - not simply to establish a two-dimensional relationship of image and symbol, but to take account of the context, both for the artists and for the society in which they operated, in order to attempt to establish the possible readings and potential significance of the art which emerged.

Iconographical exploration of art produced in the twentieth century is arguably more difficult than similar analyses of earlier periods. The reason is that, in the past, structures existed which determined in a more systematic and programmatic way the symbolic and allegorical application of such themes. Such structures, where they continue to exist, no longer determine to the same extent how artists should use such themes or the form in which they should be expressed. The work on myth which is produced tantalizingly combines the familiar with the uncharted. In some cases, as during the period of the Nazi regime, new structures were put in place, with their own iconological programme, thereby prompting new research in order that their conventions can be identified and the relationship with the context which prompted or influenced them understood. Outside such totalitarian structures, where myth continued to be addressed, it could be suggested that it was dissipated and weakened. Equally, however, it could be argued that artists addressed myth because it provided them with a valid and dynamic means of expression, whereas in the past it was a prescribed theme of the academic system and not necessarily the natural or preferred choice of artists.

In this context, the research seeks to answer the following questions: who were the main artists engaged with mythological themes during the period?; what were the sources of their knowledge of myth and its application?; what types of themes did they address and what specific subjects or characters were the most common?; to the extent that they were not simply illustrations, what is the symbolic or allegorical meaning of the myths as they were applied?; to what extent did the application of mythology in art reflect the philosophical, social and political environment in which the works were created?

While the intention of art is to communicate, finding answers to these questions was made challenging in two main respects. In the case of the Modernist artists, in contrast to traditional paternalistic approaches which determined that art should be easily read and convey elevating messages, much of their art was for private purposes, particularly in the wake of official rejection by the Nazi regime. They had the freedom, at least, to express their themes in as personal and idiosyncratic a means as they wished. Some artists preferred not to make their

work explicit, prompting the viewer to explore and engage with the imagery and its levels of interpretations. In the case of the art of the Third Reich, on the contrary, it was intended that the imagery should convey the ideology of the regime. However, there were often conflicting messages and little guidance was given on acceptable themes, their interpretation, and means of expression. During the currency of the Reich, a ban was placed on publishing, in art journals, any analysis of the art. Articles had to confine themselves to description.

While it had not been the original intention of this project, the mythological imagery is explored in two separate categories: that produced by the artists approved by the Third Reich; and that produced by those not approved. Such distinctions have become traditional in the exploration of art of this period, and there is concern that those approved at the time have now become the 'degenerate' artists, irrespective of whether or not they had ability, or willingly participated in the regime. Certainly, in the early years of the currency of the Third Reich, the demarcation was not clearly defined. For example, there was, initially, vociferous support for the recognition of the Expressionist artists as quintessentially German. Also, relationships had existed across the divide which was subsequently imposed: the 'degenerate' Werner Gilles, for instance, was a friend of Josef Pieper whose work was displayed in Nazi exhibitions and journals; Gerhard Marcks studied under Richard Scheibe and admired the work of Georg Kolbe. However, the enforced division between approved and 'degenerate' artists was partially a result of, and subsequently enhanced, the differences in the approaches to subject matter, including myth, respectively, by the two groups of artists at the time. Those disapproved of were mostly 'Modernists', or were identified as such, and consequently isolated, whereas those who were acceptable worked in an apparently more conformist and traditional way. It has been convincingly argued that the Nazi-approved art employed various formal devices which were, in fact, invented by Modernism, and that the art has much in common with the retro-classicism of a number of Post-Modern artists;[1] and it is true that many significant practitioners during the Nazi period produced work which is distinctively different from, say, a nineteenth-century aesthetic. At the time, however, imagery was approved for the timeless messages it was assumed to convey through its classicizing form, and whatever did not conform was identified by the term 'Modernist', an epithet which is applied in this study in the sense it was understood by Hitler, however simplistic. As a result of this distinction, such Modernists were forced to operate outside the unifying ideology, and were compelled into isolated and therefore often independent means of

expression. The work of those accepted by the Reich was either considered to be relatively unimportant and therefore not publicized and remains unknown,[2] or else is accessible now because it was given prominence at the time - either by appearing in approved publications, or being included in collections which were confiscated and held together in depots. Whatever the intentions of the artists, the use of their art by the National Socialists indicates that such work was seen to embody their ideals. Despite these distinctions, one of the major findings of the research was that the most significant body of influence both on representation of myth, and the ideology on which so much of it was based, derived from a common source in the vitalist philosophies which emerged in Germany from the late eighteenth century and which were the focus of a revival in the early twentieth century. What is remarkable however, is that despite this common source, there was such divergence in the way it was interpreted in the art or, at least, in the way it was exploited by the Nazi Regime.

[1] Taylor, Brandon (1990).
[2] Similarly, 'Modernist' work not considered particularly ground-breaking remains relatively unknown also.

CHAPTER 1

MYTHOLOGICAL THOUGHT IN GERMANY: SOURCES FOR TWENTIETH CENTURY IMAGERY

Can we illuminate a new event with a fiction from the old mythology? ...

the happy artistry...is to relate a new event to an old one, so that the new, dressed in the old, takes on worthy wealth, status, and charm from it.

Herder: *On Contemporary Uses of Mythology* (1767)

Introduction

The iconographical basis of mythological imagery in twentieth century German art is founded on the legacy of German writers and theorists since the late eighteenth century when there was a resurgence of interest in myth. From the time of the emergence of these thinkers, the influence on succeeding generations, not only of writers but also of painters, sculptors, and composers was substantial. This legacy continued well into the twentieth century and was ultimately responsible for providing many artists of the period explored in this dissertation with the basis for their knowledge, understanding and perspective on myth, and a foundation from which they could explore and develop their own particular interpretations. This chapter traces the emergence and development of some of the key ideas passed down over time since the eighteenth century. It is not intended as a comprehensive exploration of mythical thinking and expression over the period but to provide a context within which the artists discussed in the following chapters can be considered.

While an interest in mythological themes in German art can be traced back at least to the Renaissance influences on such artists as Dürer and Cranach,[1] the textual

[1]It has been argued by Erwin Panofsky that this was more in response to the challenge proffered by the Italian Renaissance than an obsession directly with the Mediterranean cultures of Greece and

emerges most fully - in terms of its ultimate impact on twentieth century thought and imagery - among the Romantic poets and philosophers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Largely in reaction to the rationalism of the Enlightenment, together with a nationalistic longing for a unified German spirit, and the patriotism sparked by the Napoleonic invasions, a desire was kindled at the time to discover a mythological provenance appropriate to and representative of contemporary Germany. This situation was mirrored in the twentieth century in the wake of Germany's humiliating defeat in the First World War. In the eighteenth century, with the writings of Johann Winckelmann, the art of Anton Raffael Mengs, and the formalization of a classical education under the direction of Wilhelm von Humboldt, the much vaunted German obsession with classicism observed by Butler[2] can be seen to emerge; and an interest in the myths of Mediterranean culture concurrently gained a wider currency. At the same time, the nationalistic leanings of the brothers Grimm emerged in a reevaluation of early German culture, particularly its ancient historical and mythological legacy.

The overlapping literary and academic circles at Jena, Weimar and Heidelberg which fostered the mythological theories and philosophies of Herder, Goethe, the Schlegel brothers, Novalis, and the Grimms eventually found their progeny in the cultural expression of a diverse range of figures in the proceeding generations including Bachofen, Nietzsche, Wagner, Klages and, more ominously, Chamberlain, Günther and Rosenberg. These exerted an important influence, directly and indirectly on the artists considered in this thesis. This body of thinking was, of course, not the only source shaping their response to myth. However, as this and later chapters will reveal, a number of the artists either had copies of some of the texts referred to or were otherwise directly familiar with them.[3] Most significantly, it is intended to illustrate that despite the differences of approach and ideology among artists expressing mythological themes during the second quarter of the twentieth century, they came from a common ancestry of ideas.

Visual sources were, of course, also of critical importance as a means both of familiarizing artists with the most popular myths, and in providing a frame of reference for their methods of representation. However, the sources in painting and sculpture were so extensive both temporally and geographically, that it would be

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Rome, as seems to have been the case in the eighteenth century. See 'Albrecht Dürer and Classical Antiquity' in Panofsky, Erwin (1987), pp.277-329.

[2] Butler, E.M. (1935).

[3] Schools and universities provided important forums for the dissemination of ideas, through education and interaction with staff and other students. In addition to the collections in the personal libraries of a selection of artists, evidence of familiarity with particular writers or artists is given in the letters and diaries of various artists discussed in the thesis.

impractical to attempt to summarize these, and many of them would be familiar to art historians in any case. For contextual purposes, however, a selection is included of some of the most important preceding German artists working in myth, that is, those who are referred to most frequently by the artists of the period which is the focus of this dissertation. Otherwise, specific visual sources are discussed only as they become directly relevant in the main body of the thesis.

The Emergence of Theories of Myth in the Eighteenth Century

During the second half of the eighteenth century an appreciation of mythology, both Greek and Germanic, began to emerge despite the scathing attitude of the Enlightenment towards myths and folktales. This renewed interest arose from a combination of related factors. The widespread desire for the identification of recognizable national characteristics together with a disenchantment with the contemporary world led the Romantics in particular to seek a unifying, mystical and heroic ideal. There was general disagreement, however, about the type of myth which would be representative of 'Germanness', and Hans Belting explains this was linked to the long-standing divisions regarding how German culture should be expressed: whether through Mediterranean forms (identified with international and with Catholic influences) or through Gothic forms (representing what was seen as more quintessentially German and associated with Protestant/Lutheran thinking).[4] Such debates were mirrored in the twentieth century under the Nazi regime with arguments as to whether Expressionism should be considered a German or an international (and therefore be rejected) art form, and - among archaeologists - between the defenders of early Germanic prehistory and the supporters of classical culture (see Chapter 4).

In terms of mythological interests in the eighteenth century, appreciation of classical myth came out of a reverence for classical culture; the choice of classicism as a focus of obsession rather than other cultures, such as Judaism or that of the Goths is discussed by Suzanne Marchand.[5] In summary, she explains it as due to the influence of Wolf, Humboldt and Schleiermacher who supported the conviction that classical antiquity was the proper basis of *Bildung*, and also that Greek statuary had

[4]For a full discussion of the nature and unfolding of these divisions from the Reformation to the twentieth century, see Belting, Hans (1998).
[5]Marchand, Suzanne L. (1996), p.5.

an iconic power which other, less widely appreciated cultures, did not have in Germany at that time. At the same time, the Grimm brothers were exploring and recording their native myths and folklore, as a means of recovering and preserving a national folk culture. In addition to the patriotism provoked by the French invasion, the Romantic interest in mythology, particularly national myth, was partly engendered by the growing international popularity of what was termed in Germany as *Vorgeschichte* or *Altertumskunde* - the historical study of early local culture including myth and legend. Various associations sprang up around the country to promote this interest; for example Goethe, the Humboldt brothers and the brothers Grimm joined the Association of Thuringia and Saxony for the Study of Our Ancient Past and the Preservation of its Monuments which was founded in 1819.[6]

Winckelmann, Myth and the Classical Aesthetic

The veneration of classical culture was given its aesthetic expression by Johann Winckelmann (1717-68) who famously extolled the "noble simplicity and calm grandeur of Greek art" in his treatises *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Masterpieces in Painting and Sculpture* (1755),[7] and *History of Ancient Art* (1764).[8] While he was not the first to write an aesthetic analysis of Greek art his enthusiastic style and colourful life (and death) attracted a wide and influential readership which included such major figures as Kant, Herder, Lessing, Schiller, Goethe and Humboldt who, according to Marchand, referred to him with reverence.[9] The first three of these, in particular, followed Winckelmann's preference for sculpture to painting; sculpture, for him, was the medium most suited for the exaltation of the human body. The means evidently was considered vitally important for conveying the content; according to Kant, only in such pure sculpture could elevated moral, universal ideas be represented. Winckelmann was thus a critical influence on the aesthetic philosophy of the late eighteenth century which extolled Greek art as both the symbol and embodiment of pure, uncorrupted humanity.[10] Winckelmann's almost excessive adulation for the *Apollo Belvedere* in particular was widely influential on a range of artists who liberally quoted its

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[6]Marchand, Suzanne L. (1996), p.164.
[7]*Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst.*
[8]*Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums.*
[9]Marchand, Suzanne L. (1996), p.8.
[10]Marchand, Suzanne L. (1996), pp.15-16.

distinctive pose particularly in portraiture,[11] a practice repeated in the 1930s in certain works by Arno Breker (see Chapter 3).

Winckelmann's interest in classical form possibly derived originally from a thematic influence, i.e. the Academy standards which placed history painting - which included themes from myth - at the top of the hierarchy of subjects addressed by artists. His concern that the expression of such themes should be in terms of the serenity and purity of Greek classicism is seen as in part a defence against confusion of form or immoderation of expression. His influence on the emergence of an international Neo-classical idiom, where form and content were complementary, was not confined to a contemporary response to his writings but ultimately defined the standards of art approved by the Academies for the proceeding century. Winckelmann's ideals emerged among a range of German classicist sculptors including Johann Gottfried Schadow (1764-1850) (plate 1.1), Ludwig von Schwanthaler (1802-48), Reinhold Begas (1831-1911), Gustav Eberlein (1831-1911) and Adolf von Hildebrand (1847-1921) (plate 1.2), all of whom addressed mythological themes with appropriate emotional restraint. While Winckelmann's contribution is recognized mainly in terms of the reappraisal of classical form, he was of critical importance also in the iconographical interpretation of Greek and Roman art. He established a significant principle in identifying that most of the art was 'ideal' in *content*, primarily representing mythological themes rather than subjects from ancient history. Interestingly, too, his devotion to a Greek idiom had a nationalistic dimension; at a time when Franco-Roman classicism was predominant, he presented an approach to understanding and appreciating antiquity independent of the Neo-classicism developed in France and other countries. His desire to develop an essentially German critical approach was influential on Herder's perception of the German philosophical and artistic potential.

Even into the twentieth century, art students were exposed to the aesthetic philosophy of Winckelmann, as pointed out by Buenger in relation to Max Beckmann as a student at Weimar.[12] Ultimately, however, the classical ideal of form and content proposed by Winckelmann, would provide the basis for the Nazi aesthetic. As Rosenberg put it, somewhat esoterically:

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[11] Among the best known examples are Antonio Canova's full-length portrait of *Napoleon as Mars*, Apsley House, London (1806); and Sir Joshua Reynolds' *Commodore Augustus Keppel*, National Maritime Museum, London (1752).

[12] Buenger, Barbara Copeland, (1997), p.5.

> For the past two hundred years we have struggled over an interpretation of the Greek world. From Winckelmann by way of German Classicism up to Preller and Voss came the adoration of light, of what is open to the world, of what can be clearly seen.[13]

Myth and Völkischness

Winckelmann's praise for the idealized Greek form stimulated an interest in the mythology of that culture, but it was Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) who provided the intellectual basis for its reinterpretation. Herder was probably the first influential thinker to liberate myth both from the Christian context, where it was seen as the manifestation of pagan and barbaric religions, and the rationalist view of it as little more than storytelling. His impact on eighteenth century philosophical thought both on myth and related nationalism, as well as on later theorists, including Rosenberg, was extensive. He was an important catalyst in various aspects of interpreting and understanding myth.[14] Herder's ideas were particularly influential on several Romantic writers such as Novalis, his friend, Goethe, various philosophers including Fichte (who developed the nationalist aspect) and, most important for the development of mythical thinking, the Schlegel brothers, Schelling, and the Grimm brothers (who in turn influenced Hitler's beloved Wagner). All of these were important sources for the interpretation of myth in art and thought in the twentieth century.

Herder developed a relativist approach which involved considering mythology and the arts in the context of their own time rather than from the benchmark of current thinking or achievement. His exploration of individual folk cultures led him to believe in the unique nature of a *Volk*, which in his view was distinguished by its own peculiar spirit or *Völksgeist*, and while he did not claim that one *Völksgeist* was superior to another, as did the Nazis, he did believe that humanity was not one, but a collection of various different nationalities or *Volks*. The first impulse for Nordic or *völkisch* enthusiasm in Germany is accredited,

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[13]Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.12. The reference is presumably to Ludwig Preller who compiled the widely-used handbooks of mythology *Griechische Mythologie* (1854) and *Römische Mythologie* (1858), and to J.H. Voss, author of the two-volume *Mythologische Briefe* (1794). The latter appears to be a strange text for Rosenberg to include given its rationalist approach, i.e. that myth was lacking in meaning, was born of ignorance, and belonged mainly to a poetic realm - which seems contrary to his own position.

[14] As a student both of Kant and of Hamann at the university in Konigsberg, his own philosophy could be described as a synthesis of the two apparently opposing viewpoints which his teachers advocated, of rational Enlightenment and the more intuitive *Sturm und Drang* respectively.

therefore, to Herder,[15] and it was his apparent confirmation of racial differentiation which is seen as eventually providing Rosenberg, Hitler and others with a theoretical basis for their racial theories.

The link of folkishness and myth evolved from Herder's view that myth was as indispensable as religion, history and literature to the understanding of a culture. The national spirit, or *Völksgeist* was, he asserted, expressed in its language and in the manifestation of language, through poetry and myth. He stated repeatedly, and influentially, the view that every nation ought to have its own mythology and he inferred that in order to fulfil ones humanity, it had to be through the nation to which one was bound by common history, language, and culture, including myth.[16] Herder's understanding of the nature and role of myth in society was important for the development of the Romantic school's appreciation of it as embodying a kind of primal wisdom and power, present not only in 'high' religion or art, but also in more primitive, folk, forms.[17] This latter aspect paved the way for the Grimm brothers, and ultimately for the folktale approach to myth evident in much of Paul Klee's work. Herder's admiration for the *Edda* was based on his view that poetry, as manifest in such texts, was the earliest verbal expression of mankind - its mother tongue - and to him it appeared in its greatest purity and power in the so-called uncivilized periods of every nation. This perspective was important in validating the significance of early Teutonic mythical sources of art in Nazi Germany in the face of Hitler's preference for classical Mediterranean sources (see Chapter 4). Herder was opposed to the dominance of Greek myth which he felt was too narrow a focus and was concerned to retrieve ancient German folk songs, Norse poetry and the associated mythology, such as the *Edda*. His interest in the culture of different *Volk* groupings was not confined to particular geographic areas.[18] However he had a particular enthusiasm for the literary and mythic legacy of India, for its civilization which he saw as the source of mankind, its religions and languages, and this ultimately led to the awareness of the Aryan which was to be so important in the mythologizing of the Nordic race in the nineteenth and, most significantly for this dissertation, the first half of the twentieth century. The awareness of eastern mythology which he fostered was important, ultimately, too, on some of the themes addressed by such artists as Klee, Beckmann, and Baumeister.

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[15] Hermand, Jost (1971), p.109

[16] Pois, Robert (1971).

[17] Feldman, Burton, and Robert D. Richardson (1972).

[18] His *Volkslieder* (1778), for example, includes German, French, Italian, Spanish, Lithuanian, Estonian, Medieval Latin, Old Norse, Greek, Danish, Eskimo, and Inca folk poems.

Herder's theories extended to explaining the purpose of myths. He understood mythical tales in emblematic terms; rather than being taken literally, they represented a language of enigmatic symbols which had to be deciphered in order that their true meaning could be revealed. Myths, he argued, represent the projection of fears and hopes into images that are drawn from and reflect human circumstances.[19] In discussing the origins of myth, Herder saw myth and poetry as the original creative expressions of a people and the two are inextricably interlinked in his theories. Poetry, as expressed through local folksongs, reveals "the nature and customs of the people! their science and letters, their games and dances, their music and mythology!"[20] Thus he adopted the term 'mythopoesis' to refer to the originating or making of myths. His description of the conditions under which such myths emerge is important for the development of Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy (out of the Spirit of Music)*. He felt that the more savage (i.e. vital, freedom-loving) a people is, the more savage (alive, free, sensuous, and lyrically active) its songs must be. From this can be derived the basis of Nietzsche's idea of the Dionysian as a necessary condition for creativity, and ultimately for the demonic and chthonic elements in the art of the nineteenth and twentieth century. An important aspect of Herder's understanding of the origination of myths is that he sees it as always the result of communal poetizing and does not sanction individual mythmaking. This is an aspect which was apparently overlooked or ignored by Rosenberg in the development of his idiosyncratic mythologizing. However, Rosenberg presumably felt his *Mythus* exemplified the (communal) spirit of the German *Volk*, rather than being his own (individual) invention.

Herder advocated the symbolic use of myth in the contemporary world:

> the happy artistry...is to relate a new event to an old one, so that the new, dressed in the old, takes on worthy wealth, status, and charm from it.[21]

Whatever about the charm, the appropriation of established myth by the Nazi regime, and its expression in art, to prop up their invented one, had much to do with giving it status. Herder, however, asserted the necessity to develop ones own authentic myths, not simply imitate the ancient world:

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[19]Wetzels, Walter, D., editor (1973), p.10.
[20]Herder, from 'Excerpt from a Correspondence on Ossian and the Songs of Ancient Peoples' (1773), quoted in Feldman, Burton, and Robert D. Richardson (1972), p.230.
[21]Herder, from 'On Contemporary Uses of Mythology' (1767), quoted in Feldman, Burton, and Robert D. Richardson (1972), p.232.

> we can use mythology for the cultivation of our inventive powers, in order to approach the ancients in spirit rather than through imitation.[22]

It is evident from the foregoing that Herder was of seminal importance in the thinking of myth, addressing so many of the issues on which mythical thought was subsequently based. Paul Klee, who was so influential on other artists, owned texts by Herder.[23] Rosenberg looked to Herder also, liberally invoking him, and implicating him in the Nazi *völkisch* mythus of the Nordic racial soul.[24]

Goethe and the Spirit of Myth

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) is widely acknowledged as the first to put into practice what Herder invoked in theory. However, apart from the theory, there was no mythopoetic tradition from which to develop his own work, and in this sense Goethe had to work in isolation. He thus succeeded in transforming the way that mythology could be expressed in contemporary writing and became the wellspring for subsequent mythical expression including that by Hölderlin and Novalis and, later, Wagner and Nietzsche. Broadly, his contribution to mythological expression has three aspects to it; first, his own versions of particular myths such as those devoted to Iphigenia, Nausicaa, Achilleis, Helena, for example; second, his views on the way myth should be interpreted - articulated through his collaborator Karl Philip Moritz (1756-93); and third, the parallels he drew between myth and scientific interests, such as in his botanical studies involving a search for the original, prototypical forms. The latter was of crucial importance to the work of Klee and colleagues such as Marcks, and admirers and followers such as Baumeister, who developed their own distinctive idiom, as explained in Chapter 2.

In terms of the first aspect, Goethe's early work reflects Herder's advocacy of a primal, dynamic expression of myth and works such as the poem *Prometheus* are seen to display the called-for creative striving. A number of artists in the twentieth century were stimulated by Goethe's challenging poem (see Chapter 5). However, unlike Herder, Goethe saw Greek myth as pre-eminent, inspired by Winckelmann's praise for the idealized Greek form. In his various works on mythological themes,

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[22] Herder, from 'On Contemporary Uses of Mythology' (1767) quoted in Feldman, Burton, and Robert D. Richardson (1972), p.230.

[23] Copies of texts by Herder which were owned by Klee included: Herder's *ausgewählte Werke*, Stuttgart; *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*, Stuttgart & Tubingen (1828); and *Volkslieder*, Munich (1911). These are held at the Paul-Klee-Stiftung in Bern

[24] Rosenberg, Alfred (1935), pp. 682, 690, 691; and Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), pp.162, 393, 431, 436-38.

however, Goethe sought to manifest its inner spirit rather than simply imitate the form. He strove to retrieve the primal energy and vitality of myth in a way that Nietzsche would later categorize as Dionysian. After his Italian journey in the mid 1780s, Goethe's approach became more restrained as he focused on converting epic themes of tragedy to a modern sensibility without losing their ancient, pagan spirit, as for example in his *Iphigenia in Tauris* (1787). This theme was the subject of at least three paintings by Anselm Feuerbach (1829-1880) carried out in the 1860s and '70s. *Iphigenia* of 1871 (plate 1.3) alludes to the first line of Goethe's play (Seeking the land of Greece with all my soul) and represents the longing for reattainment of the mythological past. It is testament not only to the continued importance of Goethe, and to the ongoing significance of the ideal of ancient Greece, but also to a dissatisfaction with contemporary life which gave rise to the longing in the first place.

With respect to the second aspect of Goethe's approach to myth, he makes an important contribution to the concept of myth as symbol and form, but he specifically denies it an allegorical function. His ideas were articulated by his friend and collaborator Moritz in an essay entitled *Treatise on the Gods (Götterlehre)* (1792). Moritz explains that:

> Now since at the same time a clue to the most ancient lost histories lies hidden in the mythological poems - and since these are not empty dreamshow or simple play of wit expanding into air, but remain important and serious through their inner interweaving with the most ancient events - it is all the more worthwhile to keep these mythologic poems from being dissolved into mere allegory.[25]

Moritz stresses the importance of taking myths ("these lovely poems") as they are and uses the analogy of sculpture to illustrate the point. Just as a sculpture representing Jupiter, by Phidias, embodies what Jupiter himself signifies, i.e. the upper air, the image does not represent something else outside Jupiter. He points out that a true work of art is complete in itself and exists for its own sake, "its worth lies within itself". [26] Moritz and Goethe are of the view that the mythological poem presents the gods not as moral essences; the primary principle which they embody is power, exemplified in an enduring youthful force. Man by contrast is a mere

[25]Feldman, Burton, and Robert D. Richardson (1972), p.265.
[26]Feldman, Burton, and Robert D. Richardson (1972), p.265.

plaything who will be elevated or rejected according to whim, and punished not so much for wrongdoing as for encroaching on their prerogatives.

> The gods, interpreted thus, are explained as representing the forces of Nature; luxurious and wanton and beyond morality.[27]

This is an important departure from the Christian idea of a deity who is interpreted as having the good of mankind at heart and whose actions, while inexplicable, are accepted as ultimately for the best. Goethe's view, which interprets nature as, on the one hand ordered and cyclical, also therefore acknowledges the irrational. This, too, leads the way not only for Nietzsche's ideas, but also for the relatively dark view of myth exemplified in much nineteenth century imagery, in the work of Arnold Böcklin and Franz von Stuck. It also provides a context for works by Klee, such as *Apollo and Daphne* (discussed in Chapter 2), and his Dionysian imagery (Chapter 5).

Myth and Nationalism

While Goethe exemplified Herder's ideals in his creative writing, Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) developed the political and nationalistic potential of Herder's concept of *Volk*. Fichte's philosophy was originally based on that of his mentor, Kant, who was hostile to nationalism, regarding himself as a world citizen. However, after the Prussian defeat by Napoleon at Jena in 1806 and the humiliating Peace of Tilsit of 1807, Fichte became a staunch German nationalist.[28] Basing his approach on that of Herder, he went further, claiming the supremacy of Germans over other peoples. In 1807 and 1808, he delivered his *Addresses to the German Nation (Reden an die deutsche Nation)* in which he glorified what he viewed as the superior German mind which he accredited with creativeness, superior culture, and uniqueness. On this basis, the Germans therefore had the right to fight "over-alienization" (*Überfremdung)* - a term which would be adopted by Goebbels more than a century later. What was particularly significant in Fichte's writing was that he resolved the traditional problem of defining what was meant by 'German' by identifying it less in terms of territory - a problematic concept as a unified state did not as yet exist - but rather in terms of the Romantic values of intuition and folk-spirit[29] with the concept of the German *Volk* as a unifying force. Rosenberg

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[27] Feldman, Burton, and Robert D. Richardson (1972), p.266.
[28] Matlitz, Horst von (1973), p.223.
[29] Pois, Robert (1971).

acknowledged the contributions both of Fichte and Herder in the development of German nationalism and what he termed the "mythos of the Volk soul and honour".[30]

Mythopoesis

The Jena Circle

Fichte exerted his influence both through his writings and through direct contact with other philosophers and writers at Jena where he was professor of philosophy during the 1790s. This small university town in central Germany became one of the major intellectual centres of the time, and was home to the Romantic circle of the Schlegel brothers - August Wilhelm and Friedrich Schlegel[31] - Novalis, Schiller, and Schelling. August Schlegel held the chair of literature at the university. However, it was his younger brother Friedrich, the brilliant student of the classicist Heyne, who articulated most effectively the Romantic philosophical programme[32] and who evolved the concept of the "new mythology" which introduced myth to literary criticism. The writer Novalis (pseudonym for Baron Friedrich von Hardenberg) studied philosophy and other subjects at Jena,[33] while Schiller was professor of history and aesthetics there from 1789. When Fichte was dismissed in 1799 from his post at Jena for presenting views interpreted as anti-Christian, Schelling was his successor. Before the turn of the century both Friedrich Schlegel and Fichte had left Jena for Berlin where they came into contact with Schleiermacher.[34]

Friedrich Schlegel is recognized as a central figure of the emergent Romantic school at the turn of the century in terms of codifying their aspirations, and he was one of the most significant writers on the theory of myth of the time. He was influenced by various writers and thinkers. In addition to Herder and Fichte, these included Schiller, Goethe, Kant, Schleiermacher, Leibniz and Spinoza.[35] Under the

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[30] Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.393.

[31] Friedrich Schlegel seems to have been the most philosophically-minded of the Romantic circle. He first went to Jena in 1796 and through him the intellectual connection between Romantic criticism and Fichtean philosophy was soon established.

[32] Through his periodical *Athenaeum* which he began in 1798 with his brother.

[33] He is mentioned as having attended Herder's lectures. At Jena he was particularly influenced by Goethe, Schiller and especially Fichte. See Behler, Ernst and Roman Struc, editors (1968).

[34] As Fichte could not return to Jena because of the charge of atheism, and Schleiermacher was tied there by his Lutheran duties, Berlin became a second important centre of Romanticism.

[35] Klimkeit, Hans J. (1987).

influence of his classical education,[36] Schlegel was initially drawn to Winckelmann's ideals. However, he soon diverted from the aesthetic of noble serenity to embrace the sensuous Dionysian aspect of Greek myth which he saw as the source of the dynamic art of the future.[37] Schiller was of influence here in expressing his concern that artistic expression had lost its naivety in the sense of an easiness with nature; it was confined by 'finite' classicism and it was necessary in the modern age to go beyond this in order to fulfil the 'higher' contemporary striving for the 'infinite'.

Schlegel called for a new means of expression which would be appropriate to the modern age, coining the phrase 'new mythology' or 'neomythology' to describe his all-embracing vision. In 1799 in Jena, he famously recorded the influential phrase which would continue to excite a response in the twentieth century:

> Every age which is an age has its own mythology. - The goal of all art is to delineate it.[38]

His endorsement of myth as the means of expressing art, poetry and literature was based on his assumption that, at the primal beginnings of humanity, myth represented a unity of art and belief, and it was hoped through myth to find a way to return to this primal unity. His ideas emerge in various writings for the *Athenäum*, the journal he founded with his brother. However, they came to maturity in his primary text dealing with myth, the essay 'Lecture on Mythology' in the collection *Dialogue on Poetry* (1799-1800). This essay marks a turning point in Schlegel's thinking and he proposes a means of expression that is both objective and symbolic,[39] a neomythology which, like a religion, will have a unifying function. He asserts that contemporary poetry requires a focal point, such as mythology was for the ancients, and he sought to infuse myths into the spirit of the time in a desire to create a new mythical age comparable to the ancient prototypes.[40] Thus his mythology for the new age was proposed as an organic whole, reflecting the complex structure of the cosmos, and comprising both the rational and the mythic, an ideal expressed in such phrases as "Not only poetry but mythology is the approach to the sun."[41] As Behler and Struc put it, the essence of the neomythology consisted of the transformation and

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[36] He studied at Göttingen, in 1890, under the classicist Heyne.
[37] Feldman, Burton, and Robert D. Richardson (1972).
[38] Wetzels, Walter, D., editor (1973).
[39] For a discussion of his transition from a subjective and ironic approach to the objective and symbolic, see the introduction in Behler, Ernst and Roman Struc, editors (1968).
[40] Wetzels, Walter, D., editor (1973), p.10.
[41] Wetzels, Walter, D., editor (1973), p.43.

transfiguration of the objective world.[42] Schlegel's approach is evangelical both in its intentions and its language; he refers to the:

> Golden Age which is to come
> Then the empty chatter would stop and man would become conscious of what he is: he should understand the earth and the sun.
>
> That is what I mean by the new mythology. [43]

This golden age is evoked in Schinkel's bright, airy, idealized images of an ordered and harmonious classical world such as his *View of the Flower of Greece of 1826* (plate 1.4). Hans von Marées, decades later in 1879-85, responded also to this evocation in his painting The *Golden Age I* (plate 1.5). The still, idealized nudes follow Winckelmann's idea of form, but Marées typically presents his images in a type of chiaroscuro learned from Delacroix. His imagery contrasts with Schinkel's optimistic vision; Marées' are overridden with a dark longing and a brooding sense of paradise lost which relates to the later developments in mythical thought, as will be seen.

It is unsurprising that Novalis referred to Friedrich Schlegel as the "apostle of our time" and as the "St. Paul of the new Religion". This homage is carried through in his writing which puts into practice the neomythological approach called for by Schlegel and Schiller. The Romantic mythopoesis is exemplified in Novalis' most famous work, *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (1802). The story, set in medieval Germany, tells of the searchings of the hero for a magical blue flower, symbol of the striving for initiation into the mysteries of the mythical world. Ultimately, the work is concerned with the true meaning and purpose of poetry which the central character learns from a wise master-poet through a complex and symbolic myth. This myth, around which the story revolves, is comprised of the old, traditional and the new mythology advocated by Schlegel. Embracing a range of interwoven Greek, Indian and Nordic mythological characters, it explores the interrelated realms of the spirit, of mental and physical reality, and the forces of impulse and blind necessity. In the style of the work, the influence of fairy tales (*Märchen)* is evident, and along with the Grimms, paves the way for this element in some twentieth century representations of myth, such as in the work of Klee. For Novalis, this form of

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[42]Behler, Ernst and Roman Struc, editors (1968), p.28.
[43] Behler, Ernst and Roman Struc, editors (1968), p.88.

mythological literature represented the most effective means of expressing contemporary poetry and forms the basis of the 'magic idealism' of his work.

Writers such as Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805) and Friedrich Hölderlin (1770-1843) were important in promoting the notion of the classical world not only as morally elevated but also as virtually a paradise. Schiller associated Greece with the love of beauty both physical and moral and, imbuing beauty with goodness and divinity, exemplified in his phrase "Nothing but the Beautiful is divine"[44] - a romantic ideal dangerously exploited in National Socialist aesthetics.[45] Schiller's poem, *The Gods of Greece (Die Gotter Griechenlands),* published in 1788 in the literary journal *The German Mercury* (*Der Teutschen Merkur*), contrasted the ancient world of the Greek deities with contemporary life. In looking back to the past as an ideal in contrast to a disappointment with the contemporary world, he anticipated the type of disillusion expressed by Nietzsche, Wagner, and Hitler. Hölderlin, equally, venerated the gods of the myths, but rather than looking back, sought to revitalize them in the present through a new mythopoetic form of expression. Like Schlegel, he sought a new mythology of relevance to the contemporary world. His most famous works on myth, *Hyperion* and *Empedokles* are not optimistic, however; both deal with the tragedy of failed hopes. In the twentieth century, the lyricism of his work attracted artists such as Gerhard Marcks and Werner Gilles whose own work reflects Hölderlin's poetic view of the ancient world (see Chapters 2 and 5), an influence acknowledged in Marcks' dedicatory woodcut *To Hölderlin* of 1933 (plate 1.6).

The Heidelberg Circle

Like Fichte, Joseph Görres (1776-1848) is credited with advancing a nationalist ethos in Germany. In evolving a patriotic approach to myth, he contributed along with Jakob Grimm to the nationalist-oriented branch of Romanticism,[46] one of the main sources from which Nazi ideology claimed its origins.[47] Like many significant writers and artists of the period, Görres became intensely nationalistic in response to the Napoleonic occupation of Germany. A direction for his patriotic ardour

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[44] Marchand, Suzanne L. (1996), p.4.

[45] It was used as justification for the territorial expansion to provide 'living room' for Germans. According to Hans Grimm in his text, *Volk ohne Raum* (*Folk without Space*), published in Munich in 1928: "..the German needs room around him, the sun above him and freedom within himself to grow to beauty and goodness". Cited in Glaser, Hermann (1978), p.64.

[46] Hermand, Jost (1992).

developed when, as a lecturer on German literature and history at the University of Heidelberg (1806-8), he joined the Heidelberg circle which included Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, the compilers of a substantial collection of German folksongs.[48] Görres similarly published collections of old German folk material: *Die teutschen Volksbücher* in 1807 and *Altteutsche Volks- und Meisterlieder* in 1817, and his interest in Teutonic myth led him to edit *Lohengrin* in 1813. Görres, in common with other Romantics, was interested in developing a deeper spirituality for Germany through myth in order to revitalize it in the face of what was seen as the stultifying pedantry of rationalist Enlightenment thinking. His ideas found their way into the art of the time through his correspondence with the influential artist Peter Cornelius, (discussed below). Görres felt however that it was necessary to turn to India which he identified as the root of all religion and myth, to find the purest and least degraded forms. The most significant text in this vein is his *Mythic History of the Asiatic World* (*Mythengeschichte der asiatischen Welt*) published in 1810, a somewhat mystical rather than objective treatise. Görres was, nonetheless, one of a number of writers on myth at this time to promote eastern/Aryan culture, thereby providing a basis both for the Indo-Germanic Aryanism propounded by the Nazis,[49] but also opening up the possibilities of exotic sources of myth and mysticism for a range of artists including Klee, Beckmann and Baumeister.

As a professor of philology and ancient history also at the University of Heidelberg, Friedrich Creuzer (1771-1858) came under the influence of Görres. He built on Görres' identification of India as the source of all myth and religion, but did so in an academic way in contrast to the rather mystical or eccentric approach common among Romantic theorists. Creuzer produced some of the most controversial studies on mythology of the period. His contribution began in the area of symbolism, and he also studied the Dionysian cult and its relationship with the east. The most polemical response to his work was triggered, however, by the publication of his *Symbolism and Mythology of the Ancients, Especially the Greeks* (*Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen)* in 1810. The

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[47]Ritchie, J.M. (1983). Also, as Hermand points out, Görres was cited during the Nazi era as one of the 'prophets' who predicted the dictatorship of Germany by an Austrian. Hermand, Jost (1988), p.142.

[48] Arnim, Achim von, and Clemens Brentano, *Des Knabens Wunderhorn*, Munich and Leipzig (1806-8). Paul Klee had an 1808 copy of this which is still preserved in his library at the Paul-Klee-Stiftung, the archive in Bern dedicated to his work.

[49]Görres is cited also to add credibility to other aspects of Nazi mythologizing, such as the myths linked to or explained by gender polarity, and the "mythic strength" of national ideas which supposedly emerged from the Protestant moral ethic. See Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), pp.13, 307.

ideas which brought about such a strong reaction[50] were, first, his emphasis on India as a universal source for all myth, and from which the 'higher' Greek religion emanated. Second, his distinction of symbol from myth attracted a strong outcry because he identified symbol as the original expression or manifestation of divinity, with myth following on from it - thereby displacing myth from the primary position of revealing religious truth which other mythologists gave it.[51]

The criticisms were many and included K.O. Müller's argument that some myths are identical with symbols, while Schelling contended that Creuzer reduced myth to 'mere' allegory. It appears, however, that much of the disagreement simply came down to how concepts were labelled - what Creuzer termed symbol was the same as what others termed myth. For him symbols equate with that which is symbolized, i.e. equals the essential idea or truth, whereas myth represents or communicates its meaning. In terms of the symbol and myth distinctions, Creuzer paralleled aspects of what Goethe and Moritz were advancing about the role of symbol/myth and allegory. While such arguments may have been of limited direct interest to artists in the twentieth century, such debates were important in broadening awareness both of the significance of myth and also how it could be used in text and image, beyond the limitations of narrative.

The most famous members of the Heidelberg Circle, and the most directly influential on twentieth century German art on myth, are probably the Grimm brothers, Jacob (1785-1863) and Wilhelm (1786-1859), who are most widely known for their collections of fairy tales. However, their contribution to mythology centres on their systematic exploring and recording of local folklore and stories of native mythology, building on the example not only of Herder, but of the Heidelberg group with which they were associated in its promotion of folk literature and history.[52] The first important work in this field by the brothers was Wilhelm's *Old Danish*

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[50]His theories were rebutted by, among others, C.A. Lobeck in his *Aglaophamus* (1829), by K.O. Müller, and by J.H. Voss, the noted translator of Homer. See Feldman, Burton and Robert D. Richardson (1972).

[51] According to Creuzer, "Symbols had been cast aside by the endless babble of old stories [i.e. myths], and these masters now set symbols up again in their old dignity: the symbol that was primarily born from sculpture but which, bodied forth through words, through meaningful syllables, through the totality and compact vitality of its essence, could interpret the unity and inexpressibility of religion in a way legend could not." Creuzer, Friedrich. *Symbolism and Mythology of Ancient Peoples*, [Book 1, Chap.VI], reproduced in Feldman, Burton and Robert D. Richardson (1972), p.391-92; and "In symbol a universal concept takes on earthly garment, and steps meaningfully before the eye of the soul as an image. In myth the pregnant soul expresses its presentiments or knowledge in a living word. It is also an image but of the kind that, in a way different from symbol, goes through the ear to attain inner meaning." p.396. Creuzer, Friedrich. *Symbolism and Mythology of Ancient Peoples,* [Book 1, Chap.III]. Reproduced in Feldman, Burton and Robert D. Richardson (1972), p.396.

[52] The group produced a journal, to which the Grimms contributed, which promoted folk literature and history.

Heroic Songs, Ballads, and Folktales (*Altdänische Heldenlieder, Balladen und Märchen*, 1811) following in the manner of Arnim and Brentano. The survival of the songs and folktales over such a long period of time convinced Wilhelm of the quality and significance of the material, as he conveyed in a letter to Goethe accompanying a copy of the text.[53] Wilhelm went on to specialize in folk literature and German myth, an interest which his brother Jacob shared, and which complemented his pioneering philological studies. In 1812-15, the brothers embarked on their first joint publishing venture producing their *Children's Fairy Tales* (*Kinder- und Haus-Märchen*) followed by their *Edda* (1815) and the *German Sagas* (*Deutsche Sagen*) (1816-18). This was a period of debate on the place and value of Germanic folklore and myth and the Grimms were vociferous in their defence of the *Edda* and *Niebelungenlied* as authentic expressions of folk culture. This endorsement was important in establishing the role of Teutonic myth in the Nazi period when works by the Grimm brothers were prescribed reading for children. While their work has been described as scholarly and representing the foundation of folklore studies, Schlegel was inclined to dismiss some of their interests as trivial, preferring what he considered the higher and more noble forms of myth - such as the *Edda* and *Nibelungen* sagas - which it was believed came later in the evolution of mythology. They felt, however, that the earlier the root or form of the myth, the greater its superiority because it was assumed to be purer and more perfect.[54] By focusing on native myth, their approach differed from Herder's more international interests, but it was in keeping with his assertion that every nation must have its own mythic expression. Jacob Grimm developed this point in the preface to the second edition of *Teutonic Mythology*:

> One may fairly say, that to deny the reality of this mythology is as much as to impugn the high antiquity of our language: to every nation a belief in gods was as necessary as language. [55]

The Grimms did not however advocate ignoring the folk culture of other regions, but sought to isolate and identify that which was specifically German, even to the extent of separating it out from Nordic myth. For example, Wilhelm believed that the

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[53]Wilhelm Grimm to Goethe, Cassel (18.6.1811). *Briefe an Goethe*, p.88. Cited in Blumenberg, Hans (1985), p.646.
[54] See preface to Grimm, Jacob (1883).
[55] Grimm, Jacob (1883), p.vi.

origin and growth of the *Nibelungenlied* was of German origin, rejecting the thesis that it arose in Scandinavia.[56]

In focusing on their native culture, the brothers were keen to challenge the notion of German myth as part of a barbaric culture, asserting that it was not inferior to classical myth, and that it was, in fact, the Roman incursions and Christian infiltration which hindered the fulfilment of German mythology - an interesting alternative to the common accusation that the so-called German barbarians destroyed and inhibited other cultures. They felt however that despite the destructive potential of such incursions, the German mythic tradition lived on in folklore, superstitions and local customs, such as the fertility festivals of May and harvest time celebrated in the art approved by the Third Reich (see Chapter 4):

> In festivals and games comes out the bright joyous side of the olden times;[57]

In his patriotic desire to identify a native German myth as part of a national culture, Jacob Grimm's comments inadvertently provided fuel for Nazi ideology. He wrote, for example:

> Every nation seems instigated by nature to isolate itself, to keep itself untouched by foreign ingredients.

and

> An undisturbed development of all its own energies and inmost impulses proceeds from this source, and our oldest language, poetry and legend seem to take no other course. [58]

His view of Christianity as disruptive to the faith of their forefathers was adopted also by elements in the Third Reich keen to displace the power of the church.[59] Jakob Grimm criticized the tendency to seek a Greek or Roman source in the various characters and customs related to German folklore - such as witches and Walpurgis night. However, Wilhelm postulated a common origin in an 'Urmythus' for those epics that seemed to share common content and themes, thus giving credibility and provenance to certain of the Germanic myths. Similarly, Alfred Rosenberg and

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[56] Peppard, Murray B. (1971).
[57] Grimm, Jacob (1883), p.xvii.
[58] Grimm, Jacob (1883), p.xxiv.
[59] Lehmann-Haupt, Hellmut (1954).

others drew analogies between the writings of Homer and the Teutonic sagas, presumably to elevate the common perception of the latter (discussed further in Chapter 4).[60] Another area where the work of the Grimm brothers was seized upon for Nazi propaganda was their pioneering research on runes. Runic symbols were adopted by the National Socialist regime in various contexts to apply a sense of antiquity to their adopted motifs, such as the SS lightning-flash symbol (see Chapter 4).

The revival of Germanic myth fuelled by the incipient nationalism in the post-Napoleonic era and assisted by the researches of mythologists, was manifested in the literature as Friedrich Schlegel observed,[61] and extended also to the visual arts which illustrated it. In 1817, a copy of the *Nibelungenlied* was published with images by Peter Cornelius (1783-1819), including the title-page (plate 1.7), the first German artist to illustrate the theme.[62] These works had been executed over a number of years during his period in Rome where he came into contact with the Nazarenes. Like them, he believed that it was imperative to develop a national approach to art, and he shared their aversion to academic classicism, preferring instead the work of Raphael. Cornelius struggled to establish a new national art in his illustrations for the story of the Nibelungen; his nationalism sparked by the Napoleonic wars and a desire to rediscover and illustrate what he felt was the quintessential German character. He responded to Schlegel's ideas on the public role of art and, in addition to publishing his illustrations, he revived fresco painting for this purpose, a development which was to continue to be important particularly during the Nazi era, as will be shown. His ideas were expressed in correspondence with Joseph Görres the fervent nationalist and mythographer, discussed above. Cornelius, as director of the Academy of Fine Arts at Düsseldorf and, later, Munich, was influential. He was given important state commissions and was in a position to secure similarly prestigious work for other artists; such as the decoration of the royal residence in Munich of Ludwig II of Bavaria which he obtained for Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld (1794-1872), begun in 1827. Initially, the subject was to be an Odyssean cycle, but Ludwig subsequently changed the theme of the project to a Germanic scheme: the Nibelungen cycle. While this was for patriotic reasons, Ludwig's nationalism centred around himself and the highly symbolic programme was designed to emphasize the divine origin of the monarchy, expressed through the narrative. A change of style is evident during the course of the designs. Earlier

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[60] Rosenberg, Alfred (1982).
[61] He wrote to his brother: "In der deutschen Literatur ist jetzt ein wahres Treibjagen nach dem Altdeutschen". Cited in Schulte-Wülwer, Ulrich (1980), p.30.
[62] Schulte-Wülwer, Ulrich (1980), p.36.

compositions concentrate on harmonies which related to Raphael via Cornelius. However, in the 1830s, a more dramatic style emerges focusing on climactic moments in order to arrest the viewer's attention, appeal to emotions, and heighten a sense of reality of experience, as for example the *The Battle on the Steps*, of 1848 (plate 1.8). It was intended that such experience would be to the edification of the public: on Sundays and holidays, for a fee, the public could view the state rooms of the new wing of the Residence.[63] Schnorr emulated the work of Cornelius in style and approach, adopting his linear manner and medieval architectural framework. As will be shown in Chapter 4, both of these artists were to be influential on Albert Burkart's Nibelungen-cycle (1939-40) for Göring's state-of-the-art military airfield and flying school at Fürstenfeldbruck, on the outskirts of Munich.

While Cornelius and Schnorr were instrumental in establishing a heroic interpretation of the sagas, the artist who arguably most effectively captured the fairy-tale magic of the Nordic forests was Moritz von Schwind (1804-1871). He was influenced by both Cornelius (who was his teacher in Munich) and Schnorr, evident particularly in the clear lines and anatomy of his figures. However, their Neo-classicism is far removed from the narrative fantasy and realistic detail of Schwind's work which demonstrates his fascination with the writing of Arnim, Brentano, the brothers Grimm as well as Ludwig Tieck.[64] *In the Forest (The Boy's Magic Horn) (Am Wald (Das Knaben Wunderhorn))* of c.1848 (plate 1.9), one of his best known works, refers both to the collection of folk songs by Arnim and Brentano, and to the mood of the Grimm brothers' fairytales.[65] While the boy is at home in the forest, the ominous mood has been commented on.[66] The dark opening behind his head, his effeminate appearance, his abandoned pose[67] in contact with the earth, the characteristic fruitfulness of the forest, and the snake-like roots of the oak tree reaching in the murky stream, have been associated with the dark and regenerative forces of mother earth, reflecting the increasing awareness of such ideas during the nineteenth century, as considered in the next section.

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[63] Nowald, Inken (1978).

[64] Tieck focused on the romantic concept of the forest in his novel *Waldeinsamkeit* (loosely translated meaning *Forest Solitariness*), published in 1841. There was a great deal of literature and poetry on the sense of mystery of the forest at this time. It was seen also as a particular characteristic of the German landscape and therefore had nationalistic connotations.

[65] An etched version (1845) of a lost drawing by Schwind was used to illustrate a book of poetry which included forest themes: Buddeus, J., editor. *Deutsche Dichtungen mit Randzeichnungen deutscher Künstler* (1845-46).

[66] Buberl, Brigitte (1990).

[67] This has been related to Titian's *Danaë* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. See Buberl, Brigitte (1990).

Dichotomy in Myth

Among the characteristics of Romantic neomythology was a tendency, among some of the writers, such as Friedrich Schlegel and Creuzer, to replace an initial interest in Winkelmann's classical ideal with a focus on the Dionysian chthonic drives. This dichotomy emerges in the research of Karl Otfried Müller (1797-1840);[68] through exploring the religion of pre-Homeric societies (the agrarian *Pelasgian* period) in Greece, he developed the view that the gods they chose to worship would have been appropriate to their agricultural economy, probably centred around a single deity such as Demeter, alongside other characters associated with the cycles of nature, such as Persephone and Dionysus.[69] Later, in the 'heroic' period, Müller observed that the Homeric gods - appropriate to the needs of leaders and warriors - were introduced into Greek social systems, but operated in tandem with the cults of Dionysus and Demeter who were associated with mystical processes such as rebirth and resurrection.[70] In comparing the practices of different societies, Müller identified, in the Greek worship of Nature, a dichotomy in the types of gods involved; those:

> ... associated on one side with the Supreme God [i.e. Zeus], who are personifications of certain of his energies; powerful deities who carry the influence of light over the earth, and destroy the opposing powers of darkness and confusion: as *Athena*, born from the head of her father, in the height of the heavens; and *Apollo*, the pure and shining god of a worship belonging to other races, but who even in his original form was a god of light. On the other side are deities, allied with the earth and dwelling in her dark recesses; and as all life appears not only to spring from the earth, but to return to that

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[68] K.O. Müller was important in giving the study of myth a respectability it had not previously enjoyed. An eminent and scholarly classicist - he was adjunct professor of Ancient Literature at Gottingen (1819-1839) - he used mythology as an archaeological tool along with philology in exploring the history of classical cultures.

[69] In this respect, it is interesting to note how some of the National Socialist paintings which are directed at rural societies incorporate appropriate gods also, but at the same time giving them a heroic persona (see Chapters 3 and 4).

[70] Müller, K.O. *Introduction to a Scientific System of Mythology.* London: (1844) and *A History of the Literature of Ancient Greece*. London (1840). See Feldman, Burton, and Robert D. Richardson (1972).

> whence it sprung, these deities are for the most part also connected with death: as Hermes who brings up the treasures of fruitfulness from the depth of the earth, and the child, now lost and now recovered by her mother Demeter, *Cora* the goddess both of flourishing and of decaying Nature.[71]

This type of dichotomy was developed in the following generations of writers on myth.

Bachofen and 'Mother-Right'

During the nineteenth century, the term 'mythos' (or mythus) came into use to refer to the elementary drives and archaic characteristics, associated with Dionysus and Demeter, which were, as Wetzels puts it, not only beyond good and evil, but beyond reason.[72] The basic urges characterized by mythos referred to timeless and irrefutable impulses which embodied a sacred power. J.J. Bachofen (1815-1887), who had studied under Müller at Göttingen, explored its manifestation in the concept of the 'mother right' while Nietzsche expressed it through the figure of Zarathustra and the notion of the 'Will to Power'. Such messianic urges, while they had, according to Müller, originally emerged in pre-heroic *Pelasgian* society, provided a basis for the Germanic heroic paradigm and the associated racial mythology expressed initially by Wagner and Chamberlain and later developed by Rosenberg.[73]

Bachofen's influence on twentieth century art was to a large extent a consequence of his adoption by the Vitalist movement which emerged in the early years of the century in Munich, and on the revival of interest in his work in the mid-1920s. His best known theories evolved from an exploration of ancient mythology in his text, *Mother-Right* (*Das Mutterrecht,* 1861).[74] He recognized and described two orders of 'mother right' - matrilineal descent and matriarchal rule - which, he proposed, developed out of a state of unregulated promiscuity (described as 'Hetaerismus'[75]) as a result of the difficulties of establishing paternity in such societies. The first he referred to as the 'hetaerist-aphroditic' and was associated

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[71] Cited in Feldman, Burton, and Robert D. Richardson (1972), pp.424-425.

[72] Wetzels, Walter, D., editor (1973).

[73] To clarify, Rosenberg certainly did not subscribe to the idea of maternal power implicit in the concept of 'mother right'; he was however susceptible to the related ideals of a primeval nature-based power, interpreted in his blood and soil mythos.

[74] Subtitled: *Eine Untersuchung über die Gynaikokratie der alten Welt nach ihrer religiösen und rechtlichen Natur.*

[75] Hetaerae, in ancient Greece, were prostitutes and courtesans, many of whom were trained as musicians or dancers, and hired to entertain at dinner parties. Howatson, M.C. and Ian Chilvers (1993), p.268.

with primitive, nomadic societies whose subsistence depended on hunting and foraging. The second he saw as based on settled agricultural society, and associated it with the earth goddess, known under various names including Ceres, Demeter, and Gaea. The premarital 'hetaerist-aphroditic' state was governed by the natural law of sex motivated by lust, and without the recognition of the relationship between sexual activity and conception. The classical goddess who was symbolic of this way of life was Aphrodite. The vegetal symbol for the Greeks and Romans had been the wild, rank vegetation of swamps - in contrast with the ordered vegetation of the planted field. The reference to the swamp in German culture at the time was an allusion to this uncultivated period; for example Klee's painting *Swamp Legend* (1919) suggests, in its title, an awareness of Bachofen's theories. For Bachofen, the woman and mother represented the nonrational historical impulses, and it was her function, through these forces, to exercise a uniting influence; man by contrast represented the progressive and rational forces and, therefore, exercised a dividing or individualistic influence over the development of mankind. Klee's imagery, because of his interest in nature, focused on the former, and as will be discussed in Chapter 2, was explored in terms of the natural cycles of birth and death.

Bachofen's interest in the pre-historical world is seen as symptomatic of his disenchantment with modern Wilhelmine society. Its narrow social mores and focus on making money contrasted with his idealized view of the ancient world, the vestiges of which he felt could still be found in primitive cultures. In antiquity, he felt, there was a wholeness - when the sensual and the ethical were in harmony, and when nature and instinct determined behaviour and relationships. In looking to the past, Bachofen's approach was more proselytizing than historical:

> ... the supreme aim of archaeology ... I believe, consists in communicating the sublimely beautiful ideas of the past to an age that is very much in need of regeneration.[76]

Bachofen's interest for the Vitalists was premised also on his conception of Italy. Not only was he convinced that traces of the early societies were to be found there - vestiges of Dionysian religions and of early Demetrian religious cults - but he also visualized Italy as the very embodiment of nature myth, as harmoniously comprised of a female earth with male life forces, in the form of rivers and streams, flowing through. Bachofen was one of a group of contemporaries, including Jacob

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[76] See Foreword, *An Essay on Ancient Mortuary Symbolism* (1859), reproduced in Bachofen, J.J. (1992), p.23.

Burckhardt, Friedrich Nietzsche, and the painter Arnold Böcklin who shared a longing for a more harmonious existence, where there was a return to nature. Bachofen's evocation of prehistoric matriarchal cultures, Burckhardt's descriptions of princes and artists of Renaissance Italy,[77] and Böcklin's "dream-like mythological and symbolic canvases" have been described as manifestations of this longing.[78] Böcklin's representations of the mythical past certainly tended more towards the dark sexuality associated with Bachofen's chthonic mothers than the cool, bright exercises more commonly associated with classical Academicism, a characteristic disapproved of by Julius Meier-Graefe who described him as a sinister phenomenon, a kind of evil magician who threatened a more idealized representation of visible reality.[79] As a generalization, women were shown not as submissive and decorative, but either as dangerously seductive or determinedly noncompliant. They inhabited a Dionysian underworld of centaurs, satyrs and mermen, where sirens and mermaids lured men to their deaths or worse, instruments of their downfall. Typical examples are *Nymph on Pan's Shoulders* (1874) (plate 1.10), and *Calm Sea* (1886-87) (plate 1.11). Death was a recurring motif also, and linked to fertility and sexuality; it was therefore generally associated with women, some of whom were powerful and even aggressive, such as Cleopatra (with her asp) or Medusa (beheaded). Böcklin was not alone in such characterizations. Franz von Stuck, Klee's teacher in Munich, represented devouring female sexuality in *The Kiss of the Sphinx* (1895) (plate 1.12), or deadly irrationality in *Orestes and the Erinnyes*[80] (1905) (plate 1.13).

In the 1920s and 1930s, according to Gossman, Bachofen was exploited in a fascist direction, by Manfred Schröter and Alfred Bäumler.[81] Some aspects of Bachofen's theories were relevant in Nazi Germany; while a decidedly paternalistic society was promoted by the Regime, represented by a linear, classicizing (traditionally understood as rationalist) style of art, the foundations were, conversely based on a supposedly intuitive, unifying ideology. However, much of what Bachofen had to offer was antithetical to Nazi ideology, aesthetic and historical

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[77] His books were used as guides by visitors to Italy, including such artists as Klee who used the *Cicerone* on his Rome visit in 1901. Klee was objective, however, and the comments in his diary show that he did not automatically agree with Burckhardt's views on various works. See Paul Klee (1988), entries 290, 293, 299, 335, and 394.

[78] Gossman, Lionel (1984), p.156.

[79] Julius Meier-Graefe. *Der Fall Böcklin und die Lehre von den Einheiten.* Stuttgart (1905).

[80] The Erinnyes or Eumenides were personifications of Demeter, whose role was to punish all trespassers against matriarchal law. See Walker, Barbara G. (1988), p.282. In the case of Orestes, their fury was excited by his murder of his mother. According to Bachofen, matricide was the worst possible offence in matriarchal societies.

[81] Alfred Bäumler was a professor of philology in Berlin. In 1937, he was appointed Director of the Nazi Institute for Political Pedagogy. He wrote a lengthy introductory essay to an edition of selected texts by Bachofen, written by Manfred Schröter, entitled *Der Mythus von Orient und Occident* (1926).

perspective - such as his positive view of the Etruscans whose 'matriarchal' culture persisted through the subsequent phases in Rome which had tried to suppress it.[82] Rosenberg, in fact, saw the renaissance of Bachofen's theories not as the antidote to, but as symptomatic of, the problems of the age:

> According to Bäumler, it was Görres who first attributed a universal polarity in history to the tension between the masculine and feminine principles. Bachofen it was, however, who developed and fully formulated this idea, which, in this present era of disintegration of all forms and figures, is celebrating its rebirth.[83]

Similarly he felt Böcklin and Burckhardt failed to create a renaissance of the classical past in what was, for Rosenberg, a mythless age.[84]

Nietzsche's Apollonian/Dionysian Dichotomy

Bachofen had befriended Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) during his early days at Basle and there is a perception that, in a sense, the two theorists were opposites; in Gossman's view, the former seemed to advocate a regression into the religious myth and symbolism of the past, while Nietzsche recommended a striving forward to a more heroic form of myth.[85] This dichotomy was explored, he points out, by a number of commentators including Thomas Mann who, in a review of a publication of selected writings by Bachofen, enunciated the view that modern man had to chose between the Bachofenian regression through descent into the dark aspects of myth and the unconscious, or advance to the Nietzschean ideal of progress, through heroic transcendence over irrational fears.[86] This seems to be the interpretation which was absorbed by the National Socialists. However, Nietzsche has been strongly associated also with the dark forces of the Dionysian underworld.

Nietzsche was one of the most influential writers on myth in terms of his impact on twentieth century artists. His point of departure, in common with his erstwhile friends, the composer Richard Wagner and the philosopher Arthur

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[82] The Etruscan people were denigrated by Rosenberg as a 'near Eastern' people, who took pleasure in torture and slaughter and lacked any creative gifts. See Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.32.
[83] Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.13.
[84] Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.183. Hitler was apparently less scrupulous than Rosenberg in his taste in art; the first picture he bought was, it seems, a drawing by Böcklin. Petropoulos, Jonathan (1996), p.182.
[85] Gossman, Lionel (1984).
[86] Manfred Schröter, *Der Mythus von Orient und Occident* (1926), cited in Gossman, Lionel (1984).

Schopenhauer,[87] was disillusionment with contemporary Western culture whose values he felt were superficial compared with those of ancient Greece. His attack on contemporary principles and the set of ideals he proposed to replace them were articulated in a number of philosophical concepts; among the most noteworthy of these are the Apollonian/Dionysian dichotomy as the source of creativity, the will to power, the *Übermensch* (superman/overman), the death of God, and the eternal recurrence.

Nietzsche's importance to twentieth century visual art was extensive and his influence on Modern artists widely recognized, including many of those branded 'degenerate', some of whom are discussed in Chapters 2 and 5 of this dissertation.[88] It is well known that Nietzsche's influence in the twentieth century included also the regime of the Third Reich. It is difficult to assess what genuine sway Nietzsche's philosophy exerted on the thinking of Hitler and his followers, but it is known that he was adopted as an example of German intellectual genius and cited, albeit selectively and often incorrectly or inappropriately, in support of aspects of their convictions including their racist views. The admiration for Nietzsche was reflected in imagery dedicated to him, such as Georg Kolbe's sculpture of *Zarathustra* (1933), Johann Godron's painting of the same theme shown at the 1938 Great German Art Exhibition (*Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* - GDK) which was selected for illustration in the catalogue (plate 1.14), and Josef Thorak's portrait *Bust of Nietzsche* (1944) (plate 1.15). There was much however that the party did not take on board; their ideological certainties for example were in contradiction to Nietzsche's 'perspectivism', the view that there are no truths but only interpretations.

One of Nietzsche's most important works, and probably the most relevant to the subject of this dissertation is *The Birth of Tragedy (Out of the Spirit of Music)*, published in 1872.[89] It was dedicated to Richard Wagner and served to promote the Wagnerian cause - that an expressive outlet is needed to counter the suffering and absurdity of everyday life, just as the Greeks had found theirs through the great tragedians. Given the perceived failure of Christianity to offer a viable solution, the only hope was seen to be the rebirth of the Greek tragic tradition by way of the music-dramas of Wagner. His music, for Nietzsche, was the embodiment of

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[87] Arthur Schopenhauer's text *The World as Will and Idea* (1818) was influential on Nietzsche's formulation of a dualistic philosophy. Schopenhauer expounded an atheistic and pessimistic view of human nature. The central principle was the primacy of an irrational will producing an ever-frustrated cycle of desire. The only escape was aesthetic contemplation or absorption into nothingness.

[88] Gordon, Donald E. (1987).

[89] Greek tragic drama had its origin in music via the chorus. The genre of drama developed as actors were introduced to the performance.

Schopenhauer's philosophy; when describing to Erwin Rohde[90] his friendship with Wagner, he is cited as saying it was "like taking a practical course in Schopenhauerian philosophy".[91] Nietzsche in fact gave the text two alternative titles: *The Birth of Tragedy* (in the first edition: *The Birth of Tragedy out of the Spirit of Music*), and *Hellenism and Pessimism.* As explained by Young, these indicate its two central theses in both of which the distinction between the 'Apollonian' and the 'Dionysian' plays a crucial role. The first, the 'Birth of Tragedy' thesis, asserts that the genre of Greek tragedy came into being through the union of Apollonian and Dionysian elements. It expired through the elimination of the Dionysian from Greek drama at the hands of Euripides writing under the influence of Socrates.[92] The second, the 'Hellenism and pessimism' thesis, asserts that although "[T]he Greeks knew and felt the fears and horror of existence",[93] they were able to survive through their art which combined the Apollonian and Dionysian elements. Nietzsche saw art in pragmatic terms - of providing a service to the practical task of living; art can in his view achieve this only when a "fraternal bond" is established between the two deities and:

> Dionysus speaks the language of Apollo, but Apollo finally speaks the language of Dionysus, and thus is attained the supreme goal of tragedy and of art in general.[94]

The fundamental purpose of the text, however, was not to assert the greatness of Greek tragedy, but to proclaim the reemergence, in the work of Wagner, of the greatness first exemplified in the works of Sophocles and Aeschylus. Although contemporary culture had become 'Socratic' - devoid of the Dionysian - there was hope for its regeneration through the music due to emanate from the newly established theatre at Bayreuth.

The Apollonian/Dionysian dichotomy was used by Nietzsche in different but related senses. Early in the text he identified the Apollonian with the dream world, with the Dionysian equivalent being intoxication. While the dream world is described as a beautiful illusion, Apollonian consciousness relates to the world that is

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[90]Rohde was a friend of Nietzsche. His most famous work was *Psyche, The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality Among the Greeks*, London and New York (1925). Originally published in German in 1893.

[91]Cited in Young, Julian (1992), p.26.

[92]The point being made is that Euripides, one of trio of great Attic tragedians, used happy endings and was therefore considered a weaker writer by many critics than the other two, Aeschylus and Sophocles.

[93] Nietzsche, Friedrich (1993), p.22.

consciously perceived through the 'rational' faculty of the mind, that recognizes the ethical and social consequences of actions and which, in opposition to the barbaric, is the fundamental force in the forming of civilization. Civilization is effected by the fragmentation of society into individuals - Apollo:

> ... seeks to pacify individuals by drawing boundaries between them,[95] and by repeatedly calling them to mind as the most sacred universal laws in his demands for self-knowledge and moderation.[96]

Despite the leaning towards an Apollonian aesthetic in their art, this individualizing tendency is contrary to the Nazi concept of subversion of the individual to the general good. However, in keeping with their ideals of representation was Nietzsche's assertion that:

> This same joyful necessity of dream experiences was also expressed by the Greeks in the figure of Apollo: Apollo, the deity of all plastic forces, ...[97]

Certainly, the sculpture of artists approved by the Reich - in particular such favourites as Breker and Thorak (see Chapter 3) - conformed to an Apollonian concept.

The Dionysian counterpart of the Apollonian dream is intoxication, associated with the condition of rapture, ecstasy, and frenzy; a state of literal or metaphorical drunkenness in which the 'sobriety' of rational Apollonian consciousness is overcome. Dionysian reality is not individual (as is the case with the Apollonian) but collective, comprising what Nietzsche terms a "primordial Oneness".[98] The influence on man is akin to the effect on the rest of nature, all are subject to the awakening of "Dionysiac urges".

> Under the influence of the narcotic potion hymned by all primitive men and peoples, or in the powerful approach of spring, joyfully penetrating the whole of nature, those Dionysiac urges are awakened, and as they grow more intense, subjectivity becomes a complete forgetting of the self.[99]

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[94]Nietzsche, Friedrich (1993), p.104.
[95]What he terms *principium individuationis*, as opposed to the 'primal unity' of the Dionysian.
[96]Nietzsche, Friedrich (1993), p.50.
[97]Nietzsche, Friedrich (1993), p.16.
[98]Nietzsche, Friedrich (1993), p.18.

A significant aspect of Dionysian consciousness, however, is Nietzsche's identification of its dual nature - a dimension of the release of the wild forces of nature and impetuosity is a "terrible 'witches brew' of lust and cruelty".[100] These two aspects indicate what Nietzsche termed the massive chasm separating the Dionysian Greeks from the Dionysian barbarians, a significant concept in the context of Alfred Rosenberg's racial dichotomy, discussed below, and also in the context of representations of Dionysus by artists approved by the Third Reich (considered in Chapter 3).

In terms of the translation of these concepts into art, Nietzsche proposes that music is the Dionysian art form, while sculpture is the Apollonian, basing this largely on his admiration both for the Dionysian and for the music of Wagner, which certainly embodies a level of drama and emotion which removes it from any obvious association with the Apollonian. What is, of course, paradoxical is that while the Nazi ideology and its official aesthetic embraced the Apollonian and rejected the Dionysian, Hitler also passionately admired Wagner - a reflection of the selective use of Nietzsche's work. Hitler also conveniently ignored Nietzsche's subsequent condemnation of Wagner and his music as the epitome of decadent and menacing tendencies.

Nietzsche's theory proposed that the Apollonian was a defence against Dionysian pessimism, that its role was to veil the terror of life by producing in art a radiant glorification of the phenomenal world.[101] This, in fact, would explain something of National Socialist visual preferences, as a desire for a barrier against the perceived degeneracy of life; the tragedy was that it was used as an excuse for racism. Modernism was problematic in the Third Reich partly because it was prepared to illustrate the down side of life, rather than providing a visual panacea.

Wagner and Germanic Myth

Richard Wagner (1813-1883) is, in a sense, a pivotal figure in terms of the discussion here. He derived the connection of myth and art from the Romantics and in turn was one of the most significant sources of mythic ideals for the Third Reich. Through his operas, he promoted Nordic myth, and it could be argued that in this area of mythology, his perspective was the only one which Hitler - who expressed a preference for the classical rather than the ancient German world - was prepared to

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[99]Nietzsche, Friedrich (1993), p.17.
[100]Nietzsche, Friedrich (1993), p.20.
[101]Nietzsche, Friedrich (1993), Chapter 16.

entertain with any conviction. In common with the Romantic writers, Wagner felt that art had to be drawn from the *Volk*; to be truly ennobling, it had to rise from the people. His understanding of *Volk* was a community in which individualism was sacrificed for the common necessity[102] - his preaching of the dissolving of 'unit-man' into the general masses is paralleled in Hitler's exhortations (see Chapter 3). However, in Wagner's view, contemporary attempts to develop a new myth should not rely on classical mythology,[103] an opinion which was unlikely to have impressed Hitler though he would have been receptive to Wagner's idea that it should rather be recreated on a modern and national basis. Wagner sought to establish in myth the equivalent of what Goethe hoped to achieve in botany: the recognition and establishment of the Ur- or Stem-sagas from which men would be able to understand their characteristic ceaseless strain towards boundless goals.[104]

Wagner did, however, maintain that the greatest artistic expression of mythic truth was exemplified in Greek tragedy partly because it reflected, in his view, the replacement of the communality of the 'Grecian Nature-State' with the more individually-oriented 'Political State'[105] which was, for him, a tragic development.[106] More importantly, however, for Wagner Greek tragedy embodied the total art work (*gesamtkunstwerk*) involving music, dance, speech and gesture and it was on this model that he developed his own approach to opera. He was influenced in this also by Schlegel's idea of a universalizing and all-embracing mythopoesis to the extent that, in addition to writing operas, Wagner also wrote essays enunciating his belief in this vital interrelationship of art forms. Three works in particular are of importance: *Art and Revolution*, *The Art-Work of the Future*, and *Opera and Drama*,[107] each of which was written during the early period of his exile around 1849-50.

Wagner responded also to the Romantic aspiration for a public and popular form of mythmaking. His ambition to create a mythic artform which was revolutionary and reflected his ardent nationalism was fulfilled in his *Ring of the Nibelungs* which he wrote during his enforced exile following his involvement in the Revolution of 1848 and Dresden Revolution of 1849. His interest in his native mythology began earlier; he is known, for example, to have read the Grimm brothers' *Teutonic Mythology* in 1843, and it continued after his return to Germany

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[102] "The 'Folk' is the epitome of all those men *who feel a common and collective Want.*" Wagner, Richard (1892), I. 'The Art Work of the Future', p.75.

[103] "We have thus quite other work to do, than to tinker at the resuscitation of old Greece. Indeed, the foolish restoration of a sham Greek mode of art has been attempted already,...". Wagner, Richard (1892), I. 'Art and Revolution', p.54.

[104] Wagner, Richard (1892), VII. 'The Nibelungen', p.262.

[105] In effect, a transfer from a 'maternal' to a 'paternal' state, using Bachofen's terminology.

[106] Wagner, Richard (1892), I. 'The Art Work of the Future', p.166.

from Paris when he wrote that his "... favourite study had been that of ancient German lore" relating it to a nostalgic longing for his native home prompted by exile.[108] The performance of the *Ring* in 1876 represented one of the first major expressions of the new German unification. From such creations, Wagner was identified by Nietzsche as the consummate artist of the mass democratic era, an observation which recognized his role as the first to take mythic art from its ivory tower and to place it in the popular domain.

Wagner's interpretation of myth is of particular significance, especially in the light of its influence on Nazi Germany. In common with certain of the Nazi theorists, as will be discussed in Chapter 4, Wagner hoped to regenerate the nation through its myths.[109] Like Hitler, he was averse to a historical, scholarly approach, and sought to create operas which embodied an emotional and intuitive expression of myth, seeking to preserve its power rather than deconstruct it with rational explanations. He drew, however, on a combination of sources - both the more historically defined Medieval texts such as the *Nibelungenlied*, and the earlier, more primitive versions such as the *Edda*.[110] In his operatic translations of these myths, Wagner was one of the first to acknowledge the pessimism of Nordic mythology and to address the ultimate tragedy, the *Götterdämmerung* - the so-called twilight or death of the gods. He gloried in the idea of a sacrificial death which for him was necessary in order to revert to the primordial universal condition. In his essay *The Art Work of the Future* he wrote:

> The last completest renunciation of his [man's] personal egoism, the demonstration of his full ascension into Universalism, a man can only show us by his *Death* and that not by his accidental, but by his *necessary* death, the logical sequel to his actions, the last fulfilment of his being.[111]

As Chapter 4 demonstrates, such a perspective chillingly anticipates the heroic sacrifices which Hitler demanded from the German youth.

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[107]Wagner, Richard (1892).
[108]Wagner, Richard (1892), I. 'A Communication to My Friends', pp.357. Cited also in Goldman, Albert and Evert Sprinchorn, editors (1964), p.264.
[109] Despite his longing for home when he was in exile, the actuality of modern Germany could not satisfy his longing, and he expressed the need to "...get down to its root", to sink himself "... into the primal element of home, that meets us in the legends of a past which attracts us the more warmly as the present repels us with its hostile chill." Cited in Goldman, Albert and Evert Sprinchorn, editors (1964), p.264.
[110] Wagner said: "My studies thus carried me, through the legends of the Middle Ages, right down to their foundation in the old-Germanic Mythos,...". Wagner, Richard (1892), I. 'A Communication to My Friends', p.357.
[111]Wagner, Richard (1892), I. 'The Art Work of the Future', p.199.

Wagner's choice of myths to translate into opera is explained to a certain extent in his essays. Lohengrin, for example, he saw as the "genuine poem of the Folk" and exemplified his assertion that true art came from the people.[112] Perhaps to justify his choice of Teutonic myths, he relates them thematically to classical equivalents or prototypes such as the story of Zeus and Semele for Lohengrin, and the yearnings of Ulysses for his wife, Penelope, while engaged in sojourns with Calypso and Circe are paralleled with the experiences of Tannhäuser.[113] The most significant of the parallels, however, in terms of its influence on the mythological ideology of the Third Reich is the reference to Siegfried as God of Light or Sun-god, a clear allusion to Apollo. Siegfried is identified not only as the epitome of Germanic heroism, but also as the embodiment of power as the winner of the Nibelung's Hoard, "the epitome of earthly power". [114] Wagner explores the roles of good and evil, relating them to natural cycles and developing the idea of the sun as a symbol of light and day, and embodying the notions of warmth, friendliness and - leading from such positive imagery - good; the opposite, he explains, is therefore darkness, night, cold, joylessness, hostility, fear - and evil.[115] The notion is embodied in the sun-god Apollo and his Teutonic counterpart, Siegfried, who are enlisted to enact the victory of good over evil, paralleled for Wagner by night giving way to day (and for Rosenberg in Aryan racial supremacy). It is symbolized in Siegfried's battle with the Dragon, or Apollo's fight against Python, a motif which was to be exploited by a number of artists favoured by the Third Reich including Arno Breker, Willi Meller and Adolf Wamper (see Chapter 3). Wagner explains Siegfried's death in such terms also:

> Yet as Day succumbs to Night again, as Summer in the end must yield to Winter, Siegfried too is slain at last: so the god became man, and as a mortal man he fills our soul with fresh and stronger sympathy; for a sacrifice to his deed of blessing us, he wakes the moral motive of Revenge.[116]

The inevitability of death, and its place in eternal cycles was of central interest to Klee, a great admirer of Wagner, as Chapter 2 demonstrates. Wagner may not have been the first to articulate these ideas, but he was one of the most influential, and this interpretation becomes evident in the imagery of a number of artists as will be

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[112] Goldman, Albert and Evert Sprinchorn (1964), pp.83-85.
[113] Wagner, Richard (1892), I. 'A Communication to my Friends', pp.333-335.
[114] Wagner, Richard (1892),VII. 'The Nibelungen', p.263.
[115] Wagner, Richard (1892), VII. 'Origin and Evolution of the Nibelungen-myth', p.274.
[116] Wagner, Richard (1892), VII. 'Origin and Evolution of the Nibelungen-myth', p.275.

shown. For Wagner, Wotan/Zeus embodied all of such natural cycles, and therefore symbolized life itself:

> The quintessence of this constant motion, thus of Life, at last in "*Wuotan*" (Zeus) found expression as the chiefest God, the Father and Pervader of the All.[117]

Pagan Neomythology: Foundation for a Racial Mythos

The dichotomy identified by Bachofen and Nietzsche, and exemplified in Wagner's music, between the rational forces of light and the irrational ones of darkness, was reflected in an increasing interest in racially-oriented neo-pagan cults which tended to interpret racial difference in simplistic dualistic terms, identifying the (supposedly superior) Germanic with the sun and Olympian deities in contrast to other races, particularly the Jews. Wagner's writings and music provided the basis of one of numerous cults to emerge during the nineteenth century, and despite Nietzsche's association of his music with the Dionysian, Wagnerism with its mecca at Bayreuth, was identified with the (rational, Apollonian) Aryan. Leopold von Schröder, wrote of this phenomenon in his text *Fulfilment of the Aryan Mystery at Bayreuth (Die Vollendung des arischen Mysteriums in Bayreuth)* published in Munich in 1911:

> After a separation of more than five thousand years, the Aryan tribes can meet together for the first time in a designated place to contemplate the ancient mysteries fulfilled in a new form. Thanks to Wagner, Bayreuth has become the center of all the Aryan peoples, and this very fact guarantees an astonishing supremacy to Germany and the Germans.[118]

This folkish neopaganism, fuelled by German nationalism, sought a renaissance of the 'true' ancient Teutonic religions. The related sun-worship - from which National Socialism took its swastika sun-symbol - was given credence by the writings of the German Sanskrit scholar and comparative mythologist Friedrich Max Müller (1823-1900). His well-known essay 'Comparative Mythology' (1856) paved the way for a subsequent discipline of the history of religions. His researches led him to the conclusion that Aryan mythology was based on the sun, and its daily cycle, with emphasis on the dawn. Müller was a significant influence on the development of

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[117] Wagner, Richard (1892), VII. 'Origin and Evolution of the Nibelungen-myth', p.275.
[118] Cited in Poliakov, Léon (1974), p.313.

the concept of a dichotomy among European peoples between the Aryan and Semitic cultures identifiable through philological studies. Philology, as the archaeology of language, was critically important in tracing the roots of cultures and led to the idea of the 'Indo-European' or Aryan society and, at the same time, the revival of cults oriented to sun worship was identified exclusively with Aryans. Müller built on the work of researchers such as Jakob Grimm who had explored Germanic folklore for vestiges of Teutonic gods and spirits in order to understand the evolution of races, their languages, religions and mythologies. Coupled with the contemporaneous interest in Darwinism and biological evolution, the notion developed of differences between Indo-European and Semitic people based on biological inheritance and evolution. Thus mythological, religious and linguistic differences were seen to be biologically caused, and anti-Semitism was given a scientific basis, to be exploited by followers of folkish mysticism.

Various cults dedicated to sun worship emerged in the late nineteenth century and persevered until the Nazi period. One of the best documented neopagan cults was that established by Eugen Diederichs (1867-1930) at Jena.[119] As a prominent publisher, he was significant in conveying relevant material to the public, and he was avid to resurrect what he felt was the essence of German culture. His range of publications included the work of mystics such as Meister Eckhardt and Jacob Böhme, Nordic folklore and myth, and a variety of texts devoted to theosophy and nature religion. These were not regarded as the work of cranks, either; as Noll points out, the Eugen Diederichs Verlag was accepted in intellectual circles and was highly respected.[120] According to Stark, Diederichs wanted to create a new religion, a new mythos for the spiritual reawakening of the Germanic peoples. He was anti-Christian and sought the return to the nature religion he associated with the pre-Christian Teutonic people and proposed replacing the focus on God with the vital life-force of the cosmos, with the sun as its centre.[121] By the 1890s, sun symbolism was increasingly evident among folkish groups and the swastika, the ancient Indian symbol of continual regeneration, was common on flags and insignia. The theosophist Madame Blavatsky, who was avidly read by Beckmann, and allegedly familiar also to Klee (via Kandinsky), adopted the swastika as part of her personal crest. Ultimately it was embraced by the National Socialists, and during the 1930s they appropriated the summer solstice as a national holiday.[122]

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[119] Mosse, George L., editor (1966).
[120] Noll, Richard (1996).
[121] Stark, Gary (1981).
[122] Noll, Richard (1996).

Lebensphilosophie and Myth

Lebensphilosophie, loosely translated meaning 'philosophy of life', was the ideological basis of the Vitalist movement which emerged in the early years of the twentieth century, and was the single most important source of ideas behind the representation of myth in the first half of the century. Essentially, it was a reexamination and reinterpretation of mythology in terms of nature and the cosmos. It had its roots, therefore, in Romantic neomythology together with Goethe's writings on philosophy and on natural science, and embraced the theories both of Bachofen and of Nietzsche, as well as a number of related mythographers such as Erwin Rohde (who wrote *Psyche, The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks,* first published 1893)[123] and Walter Otto (author of *Dionysus. Myth and Cult,* first published 1933).[124] The movement emerged in Wilhelmine Germany and greater Central Europe after 1870, and was grounded in the preference for intuition over reason, asserting the transcendence of direct, lived experience over rationalizing or intellectual activity. It sought to fulfil the Nietzschean fantasy of the creation of the 'new man' in the new order of a revitalized society as the root of reform movements, and this aspect has been identified by a number of historians as one of the mystical prefascist sources of National Socialism.[125]

Ludwig Klages and the Pan-Vitalist Movement

One of the most important groups of the Vitalist movement was the *Cosmic Circle* (*kosmische Runde*) which met between 1897 and 1903 whose members included Ludwig Klages and, intermittently, the poet Stefan George. The group met to read and discuss mythology, cultural history and literature and their favourite writers included Nietzsche and Bachofen. Klages introduced Bachofen's *Mutterrecht* to the group in 1899, and this provided the basis for invocations and rites involving the worship of the Great Mother Earth (*Erdmutter*) or *Magna Mater.* In embodying the forces both of life and death, she represented a mythologizing of the forces of nature. The group consequently venerated in particular Bachofen's first, hetaeristic phase, and admired the following maternal era, but virtually ignored the latter part of his

[123] Rohde, Erwin (1925).
[124] Otto, Walter (1965).
[125] See Baeumler, Alfred (1966); and Noll, Richard (1996).

theory where he accepted as inevitable the subsequent paternalist civilization based on reason and law. They preferred Bachofen's imaginative conception of a remote past when people lived in instinctive harmony with nature, a period of unconditional surrender to the chthonic spirits of the earth.[126]

Klages' apparent anti-Semitism led to a division in the group and George left to form his own cultic circle, the *Georgekreis*. It has been suggested that Klages did not object to the Jewish people, per se, but to the intellectualism and materialism with which he associated them, and to the Judeo-Christian ethos of monotheism, all of which he felt was antithetical to the pantheistic and polytheistic universe of *Lebensphilosophie*.[127] Klages and another member of the circle, Alfred Schuler, combined the doctrines of the *Erdmutter* cult and hetaerism with those of Vitalistic ideas of evolutionary biology. On this basis they developed a brand of folkish paganism which consecrated the mystical ideas of a pure blood race. Noll explains that eventually, they linked up with Diederichs and his Sera circle and with the German Youth Movement, participating in various neopagan rituals including sun worship. Not all who were interested in such nature-based rituals were anti-Semitic, however. Paul and Lily Klee[128] and their friend, Will Grohmann were among many who went to Ascona for a type of spiritual regeneration and communing with nature.[129]

Klages' brand of mystical mythology is exemplified in his best-known text, *Vom kosmogonischen Eros,* which draws on Hesiod's *Theogony*.[130] It describes the 'cosmogonic Eros' as the life-force in its pristine purity - a spiritual equivalent to the Ur-form and life principle explored by Goethe in terms of plants - with which the soul should aspire a consummate union. This could be achieved only through liberation from the shackles of human will and from the tyranny of reason. Like Nietzsche, Klages identified ecstatic, primordial existence as inspired by Eros and personified by Dionysus.

In a thesis which bears resemblances to Apolline and Dionysiac principles, Klages differentiated between human and animal life, each of which he saw as present in varying combinations in the human character, and accounting for differences in personality. Human life, for Klages, was characterized by spirit

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[126] Wiedmann, August, K. (1995).
[127] Wiedmann, August, K. (1995).
[128] There are various references in their letters to visiting Ascona. See for example Klee, Paul (1979), pp. 936, 1279.
[129] The commune at Ascona was established around the turn of the century by a group of vegetarians who called it The Mountain of Truth. Designed as a place to commune with nature and worship the sun, it was essentially apolitical. Green, M. (1986).
[130] Klages, Ludwig (1988), pp.35-36.

(*Geist*), referring to man's capacity to think and to will in a life-destructive impulse to transcend the animal condition, while animal life comprises both body (*Leib*) and soul (*Seele*), the latter finding expression in the process of contemplation and in the impulse to form images. According to Klages, the processes of *Leib* and *Seele* combined are characterized by spontaneous creativity and the urge to return to nature in the quest for what he termed 'eternal life'. It is interesting to note that while Hitler referred regularly in his speeches to *Seele* - as a rallying call for the German people as a unified mass - the imagery he chose to represent this was not the more relevant Expressionist one - but the antique form, which is traditionally associated with rationality, as discussed in Chapter 3.

The idea of returning to ones spiritual and emotional origins, to primal conditions, was seen by the movement as essential to artistic creativity. This notion impinged on the psychoanalytical theories of Carl Jung, who is thought to have known Klages, and was certainly involved with panvitalism. Jung promoted the idea of regression as nature's way of healing, as a redemptive and revitalizing initiation into the mystery of life.[131] Klages went even further than Jung in consecrating man's regressive return to origins which he saw as necessary to sustain Germany's surging sense of life. Both Klages and Jung, like Sigmund Freud and others, looked for mythic prototypes paradigmatic of the human situation. While Freud had found his in the idea of the *Urvater* or original father figure, Klages and Jung discovered, in addition to the *Urmutter* and her retinue of chthonic spirits, Orpheus who was important in symbolizing both descent and return. This influence is reflected in the interest among artists in depicting the theme of Orpheus and Euridice, discussed in particular in Chapters 2 and 5.[132]

In reality, it could be argued that Klages' outlook was incompatible with the tough masculinity demanded by the Nazi movement. However, Rosenberg interpreted Klages' philosophy as a more assertive and deeper version of what he termed the "sentimental 'return to nature' " of the eighteenth century, stating that:

> Its demands, in fact, call for a basis in a race-soul in order to provide an organic substructure for the whole concept.[133]

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[131] Noll, Robert (1996).

[132] These discuss, for example, an exhibition in Hannover in 1950 exploring classical mythological themes in art over the previous quarter century. Orpheus was the single most commonly represented character from myth.

[133] Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), pp.75-76.

However, Rosenberg argued that reason and purpose are not necessarily inimical to the soul, claiming that:

> in contrast to peoples of the Semitic type, the attitudes of soul, will and reason of the Nordics, toward the universe were essentially in harmony,

and that primitive man was not, in fact, particularly heroic. He argued, however, against aspects of Klages' philosophy, highlighting the "new body-soul doctrine" which was "stimulated by the intoxicated poetic imaginings of Bachofen" and that only the earthbound man of instinct is close to nature. He proposed instead that:

> The peoples who began with the sun and light mythos and developed it further are consequently linked to the visible creator and protector of everything organic. Only from the sun-impregnated soul arise Aphrodite and Demeter, Isis and Astarte.
>
> The sun myth of the Aryan is not only transcendental but also a universal law of nature and biology.[134]

Racist Theories of Myth

Myth and Racial Doctrines

Around the turn of the century, a number of theorists, excited by a nationalist neopaganism, carried the torch in their own pro-Aryan anti-Semitic blood-and-soil philosophies. Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855-1927), Wagner's son-in-law, was one of the most virulent and influential on the development of a National Socialist ideology. His *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century (Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1899),[135] a manifesto of his racial philosophy had, according to Mosse, a deep impact.[136] With its triumphalist Aryan message, it was the virtual bible of the folkish movement and was very influential on Hitler, whose adulation of Chamberlain[137] was heightened by the connection with the semi-mythical Wagner. Field highlights the confluence, in this text, of the major

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[134] Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.77.
[135] Chamberlain, Houston Stewart (1910).
[136] Mosse, George L. (1966).
[137] Hitler allegedly made a pilgrimage to Bayreuth to kiss the hand of the dying Chamberlain. See Noll, Robert (1996).

elements of German racism, including the notion of the supremacy of the Aryan race, anti-Semitism, the mystical concept of race, and related eugenic doctrines. His thesis was, essentially, that the vitality of Germanic peoples in countries surrounding Germany, such as France, Russia and Britain, had become racially exhausted by miscegenation and, for Chamberlain, the purest remaining elements of the Aryan race were to be found in Germany. He asserted that myth was a crucial dimension to the national identity of the Germanic people. As Field sums up:

> Above all he joined the Teutonic myth, German nationalism, and cultural idealism.[138]

In the post-First World War period, racism provided a scapegoat for the humiliation of defeat and consequently grew in popularity. As Lehmann-Haupt points out, Hans F.K. Günther (1891-1968) emerged as "the prophet of the new cult"[139] and proved immensely influential on the views both of Rosenberg and of Hitler. The aspect of particular interest to this dissertation is the relationship he proposed between art, myth and race. In *Rassenkunde des Deutschen Volkes*, Günther explored the physical traits of the various races, linking them to character which in classical culture was manifest in the demeanour of the gods of the heroic sagas (*Heldensagen*) and their appearance in classical sculpture. As he put it:

> The heroic sagas of the Greeks (Hellenes) directly mirror the type of the Nordic race.[140]

He went on to refer to the migrations which he claimed brought the people who founded the culture of classical antiquity from Greece to Germany. In support of this he referred to the common elements in the two mythologies, such as Hades and Hel, the underworld in Greek and Nordic myth respectively. He summarizes his main argument:

> The upper strata of Greek opinion then: the faith in the gods of Homer, Greek science/knowledge and philosophy, Greek art, all plainly indicate the Nordic nature of the creative level of the people of Greece. The forms and myths of the gods have preserved those heroic characteristics, which are

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[138] Field, Geoffrey (1981), p.223.
[139] Lehmann-Haupt, Hellmut (1954), p.37.
[140] "Die Heldensagen der Griechen (Hellenen) spiegeln deutlich die Art der nordischen Rasse wieder". Günther, Hans F.K. (1923), p.288.

> typified in the Nordic race. The blond blue-eyed Athene is valiantly armed like the German Valkuries, the life of gods preserves the characteristics of the Greek heroic age.[141]

Of particular relevance to the development of a representative style and type of subject for art in the Third Reich is Günther's text *Rasse und Stil* in which he attempted to prove that the style of a work of art was determined by the race of the artist. [142] He thus linked the sculpture of classical antiquity with what he considered to be a superior people; this provided a basis for the excessive concern in the Nazi period with formal considerations and the consequent dictatorial art doctrines which controlled the creation and presentation of art discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

Myth and National Socialist Ideology: Alfred Rosenberg's Mythos

While the foregoing was significant in providing a context for the development of mythical thought in Germany, the published writing of Alfred Rosenberg[143] (1893-1946) was of particular significance in the context of this dissertation as not only did his work emerge during, rather than preceding, the focus period, it was important both in shaping the ideology of the Third Reich and was also widely disseminated in its own right. Therefore it had the potential to be particularly influential on the content, as well as the form, of visual imagery. While Rosenberg wrote various

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[141] "Die Oberschicht der griechischen Anschauungen aber: der Götterglaube eines Homer, die griechische Wissenschaft und Philosophie, die greichische Kunst, zeigen das nordische Wesen der schöpferischen Menschenschicht Griechenlands deutlich an. Die Göttergestalten und die Göttersage haben jene heldischen Züge bewahrt, die für die nordische Rasse bezeichnend sind. Die blonde, blauäugige Athene ist streitbar bewaffnet wie die germanischen Walküren, das Leben der Götter bewahrt die Züge des griechischen Heldenzeitalters." Günther, Hans F.K. (1923), p.289.

[142] Günther, Hans F.K. (1926).

[143] Rosenberg met Hitler in 1920 and joined the National Socialist German Workers' Party (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* - NSDAP). In the following year he became editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the recently-acquired official newspaper of the NSDAP, a publication noted for its virulently anti-Semitic viewpoint. For the next twenty-five years until his execution in 1946, Rosenberg was actively involved in the development of the ideology of the Nazi movement and with its implementation through various organisations and positions. In 1924 while Hitler was imprisoned following the Beer-Hall Putsch, he placed Rosenberg temporarily at the head of the Nazi Party. In 1926, Rosenberg founded the German People's Publishing House and published a monthly magazine entitled *The World Struggle*. In 1929, Rosenberg founded the Combat League for German Culture (*Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*), an organisation devoted to promoting a native, *völkisch* cultural expression and combating supposedly undesirable influences, namely Jews, Communists, modernists, feminists and blacks. See Steinweis, Alan E. (1993). In 1930, Rosenberg became editor of the *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte* a monthly magazine devoted to propaganda for Nazi ideology and, when the Nazis assumed power in 1933, he was made head of the NSDAP's Foreign Policy Office (*Aussenpolitisches Amt*), whose agents were involved in intrigue abroad. In this role, he controlled a network of foreign branches and also administered the German Academic Exchange Service.

texts, the most important for the discussion here is *The Mythos of the 20th Century* first published in 1930.[144] Subtitled *An Evaluation of the Spiritual-Intellectual Confrontations of our Age (Eine Wertung der seelisch-geistigen Gestaltenkampfe unserer Zeit)* the text justifies its anti-Semitic doctrine on the basis of the myth of a pure Aryan blood which, it was claimed, was endangered by infiltration from non-Aryans. In this work, the *mythos* aspect is a complex and often inconsistent conglomeration of Greek and Nordic mythology, with references also to eastern characters and sources, presented both as a universal spiritual truth and, paradoxically, as a quasi-scientific proof of the purity of the Aryan race and degeneracy of the Jewish people.

Rosenberg's dream of a renaissance for Germany founded on a nationalistic, folkish mythos included a strong advocation for a representative art. During the early years of the Regime, this led to conflict with Goebbels the Propaganda Minister, and also with the National Socialist Student Alliance (*Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund*); the latter in particular favoured the inclusion of Expressionism as part of a recognized German art. Ultimately, however, Hitler condemned Expressionism as degenerate, his own preference being for a pseudo-classical style owing something to nineteenth-century Biedermeyer sentimentality. Rosenberg survived the dispute and was awarded a new office in January 1934 as head of the Office for Supervision of the Total Intellectual and Ideological Schooling and Education of the NSDAP (*Amt für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP).* This position involved the training of all Nazi party members in National Socialist ideology.[145] Later he was made editor of the prominent art journal, *Die Kunst in Dritten/Deutschen Reich,* ensuring he retained a high profile in that area. He was involved also in the tussle to take control of the area of Germanic prehistory, including the mythical past, as Chapter 4 outlines. In the following years, some of Rosenberg's key proposals in strategic political matters were ignored, such as his opposition to the ill-fated German-Soviet alliance. However, when the pact was broken by Germany in 1941, Rosenberg was made Reich Minister for the Eastern Occupied Territories.

While some commentators point out that Rosenberg's importance while significant in the 1920s, waned during the 1930s, before improving again in the 1940s, it should be remembered that at no stage was he without some position in the

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[144] First published as: Alfred Rosenberg. *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts, Eine Wertung der seelisch-geistigen Gestaltenkampfe unserer Zeit*. München: Hoheneichen Verlag (1930).
[145]Snyder, Louis L. (1995).

Party hierarchy, however nominal in terms of actual influence, and always remained within Hitler's inner circle. Thus while he may at times have been unable to influence strategic political decisions, and he did not succeed in challenging Goebbels' powerful position in cultural matters, his texts continued to be published and presented to the public as essential sources for Nazi ideology. Klaus Junker describes him as "one of the most influential Nazi ideologists".[146] Consequently the importance of Rosenberg's writings should not be underestimated as a source for those artists wishing to appeal to, or at least not to arouse the animosity of, the Regime.

The most central of these writings was his magnum opus, *Mythus des XX. Jahrhunderts* which took eight years to write and was completed in 1925. First published in 1930, the book became a best seller, second only to *Mein Kampf*.[147] By December 1936, it seems 500,000 copies had been sold, rising to a million copies by 1944. According to Snyder who asserts the importance of this text: "... in the Third Reich, the *Mythus* was regarded as a kind of National Socialist bible".[148] It has, however, been alleged that while the book was widely sold, it was not read. Shirer quotes Baldur von Schirach, the Reich Youth Leader, as saying that Rosenberg was "a man who sold more copies of a book no one ever read than any other author".[149] This is a difficult assertion to substantiate given its wide circulation. Further, it appears to be made largely on the basis of the claim made by various Nazis leaders during the Nuremberg trials that they had not read Rosenberg's writings. Given their presumable desire to distance themselves from any connection with such a damning, racist text, such denials could perhaps be taken with a pinch of salt. Elsewhere in his text, Shirer states that Hitler made *Mythus* required reading in the Nazi state,[150] and it was certainly consulted by the artist Gerhard Marcks, though he was not impressed.[151]

The *Mythus of the Twentieth Century* attempts to provide a complete Nazi ideology. Drawing on the myth and religion of several cultures, but primarily Greek and Teutonic, it provides a complicated series of arguments asserting the purity of the Aryan race and the danger to that purity posed by other races. The defence of the notion of protection of such purity is based on an assumption of superiority which, it is claimed, is manifested among Aryan Teutons in all that is

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[146] Junker, Klaus (1998), p.287.
[147] The edition in German consulted for this dissertation, dated 1935, states that a total of 313,000 had been printed.
[148] Snyder, Louis L. (1995), p.300.
[149] Shirer, William L. (1991), p.188.
[150] Shirer, William L. (1991).
[151] He described it, in a letter, as "diese Scheiße". Marcks, Gerhard (1995), p.27.

good in society - creativity, health, nobility of character, and a sense of civic order. Rosenberg contrived a history of the cultural superiority of the Aryan people which gave them credit for various great epochs in the civilization of the eastern and western world from India to Western Europe, including those of Ancient Greece and Rome. The subsequent destruction and decay of such civilizations is blamed on the influx of "dark levantine forces" who supposedly weakened the pure race and led to its downfall. The Aryan survivors in each case continued to migrate, establishing great civilizations as they went, and ultimately settled in northern Europe, primarily in the territories encompassed by modern-day Germany and Scandinavia. Rosenberg's theory proposed that, for contemporary Nordics, there existed an 'eleventh-hour' situation where the last bastion of pure Aryan people was on the verge of being irrevocably sullied by miscegenation, the implication being that urgent and decisive action was needed.

The use of mythology in this text had several purposes. It provided a quasi-religious or cultic dimension which was particularly judicious in terms of affording an alternative belief system for an ideology which was fundamentally anti-Christian. By appropriating the mythology of an ancient, widely known and respected culture as Germany's own, it potentially lent to a hysterical and far-fetched viewpoint an authenticity and respectability it would otherwise have difficulty in claiming. At the same time, Rosenberg played up to Hitler's adulation of classical culture, satisfying his own predilections by espousing it with Teutonic myth. Finally, the pantheon of characters from Greek myth in particular provided, under Rosenberg's manipulation, exemplars of the Aryan and the non-Aryan - respectively representing the forces of light and of darkness: drawing on racial neopagan doctrines, he characterized the Aryans as exemplified by the god of light, Apollo (synonymous with the Teutonic Siegfried), while non-Aryans represented by the chthonic gods, the so-called originary gods associated with the essential forces of fertility and death, and personified by Dionysus and the earth goddesses.

Influence on Art of the Philosophies of Myth

The purpose in relating the philosophies of myth outlined in this chapter was two-fold. First, it was intended to demonstrate the continuum of ideas which led both to the ideology of the Third Reich and was illustrated in the work of accepted artists, and also evolved to a philosophical view of the world from which Modernist artists

developed some of their most significant ideas. Second, various of the philosophers had a direct influence both on artists and patrons who were familiar with their work. The chapters which follow elucidate how some of these ideas were put into practice in the art work of the period from c.1920 to 1950, and how they provided a basis from which artists could explore and represent their own or their national philosophies. In particular, it is intended to demonstrate that, despite a common heritage and contrary to inferences that National Socialism was the inevitable culmination of an ideological legacy, the visual imagery shows little predetermination in the way that artists chose to express their responses.

CHAPTER 2

MODERNISM, MYTH AND *LEBENSPHILOSOPHIE*

The mythology of every people is an expression
of the particular mode in which they view nature;

[Herder: *Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, book VIII, chapter 2]

Introduction

The nature-based philosophies encompassed under the rubric of *Lebensphilosophie*, as discussed in Chapter 1, combined to form the single most important source for mythological themes in the first half of the twentieth century. *Lebensphilosophie* exerted its influence on art well before the emergence of the fascist appropriation of myth as a basis for a political ideology, and it continued to be important into the period of the Third Reich (1933-1945). This chapter sets out to illustrate how *Lebensphilosophie* influenced the content in work on myth in the period amongst a number of German artists who were categorized by the Nazi regime as 'degenerate', that is, those who officially failed to meet the criteria in the production of art considered acceptable by the state. The extent to which *Lebensphilosophie* affected the art of the Third Reich is considered in later chapters.

The key ideas of *Lebensphilosophie* can be summarized as a fascination with the natural world and a desire to comprehend it at a macro and micro level - under the idea that the entire cosmos is subject to a comprehensive interdependent system which governs every element from the largest star to the smallest microscopic creature as explored and explained in such popular[1] texts as Alexander von Humboldt's *Cosmos*.[2] The desire to understand the cosmos was not limited to the physical structure, nor was it satisfied simply with supposing that there was a metaphysical existence beyond the phenomenal world; the aspiration, from the

[1] Copies were owned by Paul Klee, Willi Baumeister, Max Beckmann, and Gerhard Marcks.
[2] Humboldt, Alexander von (1997, first published 1845-62).

period of the Romantics, was to attain an appreciation of the very secrets of the universe; to understand - as Goethe put it, speaking through Faust - the innermost force that sustains the very universe. Within the cosmological structure, certain ideas in particular were explored by theorists and artists - for example, the cycles of the seasons, and of birth and death, the nature of the life principle, the archetypal structure of organisms, and their origins. Because research and meditation on the natural order encompassed the physical and metaphysical dimensions, mythology was important in providing a mediation between the two realms and offering, largely through its symbolic and allegorical function, a means of understanding and coming to terms with human experience. Mythology was a particularly appropriate medium because it was generally understood that its original function was as a means for primitive man to understand his environment, and thus it was seen to provide a link for modern man to his own human origins.

The representations of mythology considered in this chapter were mostly carried out during a period of extreme upheaval and crisis. While it is reasonable to suppose that acts of creativity generally reflect the environment in which they are produced, there is a danger of imposing associated and consequential readings on the imagery which emerges in times of such change and devastation, and to assume that the art produced during the period of the Third Reich always contains politicized iconography. While it is evident that artists were not working in a vacuum, and that certain aspects of their work represented their direct responses to political circumstances, much of the imagery reflected their other interests. This chapter is concerned with the work on myth which was largely independent of the political environment - painting and sculpture which artists were likely to have produced even in the absence of Hitler's regime.

While the representation of mythological themes in art has a long and well established tradition, which many artists were content to continue,[3] those discussed in this chapter were interested in challenging established means of expression, not only in form but also in content. Their knowledge of myth, the modes of its depiction, and the range of interpretation was based, in many cases, in a classical education at a *Gymnasium*, and an art training at an Academy, and for the most part classical themes predominate. Some of them were, however, prepared to extend the exploration of myth to absorb influences from a wider range of cultures, such as

[3] See for instance the works on myth shown at the annual Munich Art Exhibition *(Münchner Kunstausstellung),* some of which were illustrated in the catalogue.

Mesopotamia,[4] Egypt,[5] and the Far East,[6] in addition to the more familiar ones of the Mediterranean and northern Europe, and also to consider the very earliest prehistorical indications of mythological belief. Unlike the artists whose work is the focus of this chapter, those who were approved by Hitler mostly worked in a traditional format, where finish and anatomical realism were all-important. The imagery, whatever the original intention of the artists, was often placed at the service of the state and used for propaganda purposes, and is the focus, therefore, of separate chapters in this dissertation. This chapter is devoted to artists whose work generally ran counter to that approved by the Third Reich, and to how they considered mythological themes. It focuses on imagery which is not obviously politicized while Chapter 5 looks at how such artists reacted to the political situation and used alternative approaches to myth as a means of representation, or used those outlined here, but in a subversive or oppositional way.

A number of generalizations can be made. The most important is that, as virtually all of the artists included in this chapter were branded 'degenerate', they operated outside a controlling ideology and thus tended as a general rule to explore their themes in a more independent and inventive way than was true for most of the officially approved artists.[7] Given the fact that in some instances artists were not only forbidden to teach and to exhibit, but even to produce art, the very act of its continued creation can, of course, be read as a challenge and in times of suppression it is not always easy to distinguish when artists are making subtle gestures of opposition simply in their choice of subject and form of depiction, quite apart from the content. Undoubtedly, therefore, some of the works discussed in this chapter could be considered, just as appropriately, in Chapter 5.

The number of artists who were identified as 'degenerate' appears to have been small in comparison to the total number of artists operating in the state. While it is difficult to establish exact numbers, a general picture can be gained from the relative numbers exhibited at the 'Degenerate' Art and the Great German Art

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[4] This was important in the work of Willi Baumeister, but is not especially evident among other artists.

[5] Paul Klee visited there in 1928.

[6] Some knowledge of eastern mysticism is evident in the work or various artists, largely through their theosophical interests.

[7] This does not mean that they were never influenced by other artists, or that artists approved by the Reich were never original or creative. Nor does it mean that 'degenerate' artists were always opposed by choice to the regime of the Third Reich, or that those who were patronized by it were always supportive of it. Carl Hofer, for example, wrote in 1934, in a letter to Ziegler "Of what good is the pure and significant will of the Führer, the only great personality, when everything ... is going to be twisted in its opposite by satellites." Gillen, Eckhart (1997), p.68. He separated from his Jewish wife in 1934, divorcing her in 1938, though it may have been for purely personal reasons. In mixed marriages with Jews, divorce was encouraged in the Third Reich.

Exhibition (*Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* - GDK) of 1937, the year of its inception; just 109 artists, mostly German,[8] were represented in the former in 1937, compared with 558 in the GDK of that year.[9] Many of those who appeared in the Degenerate Art show are recognized as among the most significant artists of the twentieth century - their very originality meant their work was contrary to the traditional, nostalgic imagery beloved of Hitler. Thus, while the official exhibitions catered for masses of artists, most of whom were working in derivative ways and about whom it is feasible to make valid generalizations; this is less easy with the Modernists. Having said that, what is evident among the Modernists is the generally common interest in aspects of *Lebensphilosophie* as outlined in Chapter 1. This interest provides a unifying element across the work considered in this chapter. While some monographic texts have identified the influence of certain thinkers of the genre on individual German artists of the period, there does not appear to have been a study of the nature and extent of the influence on the representation of myth in a general sense. While the artists discussed here did not belong to an identifiable movement, and they worked largely independently, there was nonetheless a network of associations and friendships which provided the opportunity for ideas to be discussed and spread.

Paul Klee (1879-1940) was one of the first Modern artists to articulate *Lebensphilosophie* ideas in his work. Through his influence as an artist, and his teaching at the Bauhaus, his ideas were disseminated to, and taken up by, other artists who used similar ideas, but with their own variations. Klee and Max Ernst (1891-1976) knew one another at least since their involvement in the Blue Rider movement.[10] Klee was important in Ernst's evaluation both of content and means of expression.[11] Willi Baumeister (1889-1955) was a great admirer of Klee,[12] as is evident from diaries and letters, and from other documents as will be shown. Werner Gilles (1894-1961) and Edgar Ende (1901-65) were students at the Bauhaus, and are known to have admired and/or been influenced by Klee.[13] Gerhard Marcks

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[8] The artists were mostly born or living/working in Germany. Of the total, 88 were born in Germany, while 18 were born in other European countries: Austria (3), Switzerland (4), Poland (1), Netherlands (2), France (1), Lithuania (1), Hungary (1), Russia (4), Spain (1). The country of birth is unidentified for the remaining three. These figures are compiled from the biographies of artists provided in Barron, Stephanie, editor (1991).

[9] It is acknowledged however that every year more and more artists were rejected as 'degenerate', though whether the final toll exceeded the numbers who avoided this designation is not clear.

[10] Ernst is recorded as having visited Klee in Munich in 1919. Haftmann, Werner (1984).

[11] Haftmann, Werner (1984).

[12] He and Oscar Schlemmer were the most vociferous of the students of the Stuttgart Academy calling for Klee to be appointed successor to Adolf Hoelzel, the Director, who retired in 1919.

[13] In Edgar Ende's autobiographical notes, in the section devoted to his life during the 1920s, he states, confirming the importance of the mythical world of Klee which affected him increasingly

(1889-1981) worked with Klee, and also with Oscar Schlemmer who became a friend, and there is likely to have been some reciprocation of ideas, despite Marcks' disaffection over the increasingly tectonic and abstract approach to form promoted by the Bauhaus. Marcks and Gilles struck up a lasting friendship so no doubt there were fruitful discussions. Gilles and Marcks got to known Gustav Wolff (1886-1934), also. Gilles met Ernst Wilhelm Nay (1902-68) in 1933 when they both showed work at an exhibition the Galerie Flechtheim in Berlin. The spread and influence of *Lebensphilosophie* and its translation into mythological imagery, did not, of course, necessarily emanate entirely from Klee - the various writers and thinkers would have been known to the artists independently of the Bauhaus and its wider circle - but he was arguably the single most important catalyst. At the very least, he would have been instrumental in creating an enabling environment at the school for considering these ideas which the various artists could explore and interpret in their independent ways. A selection of mythological images by Klee are, therefore, considered in the first instance, in order to set out his means of interpreting *Lebensphilosophie*, and then relevant works by some of the other artists are explored to demonstrate their approaches to similar themes and sources.

In order to depart from an entirely text-determined framework of discussion, a theme from myth is considered in some detail: that of death-related myths, focusing particularly on Orpheus, one the most prevalent themes of the period. Finally, as so many of the works are considered fairly briefly, two works by Klee - *Wandering Soul* (1934) and *Metamorphose* (1935) - are discussed in some depth, as case studies. The reason for their selection is three-fold: they provide an opportunity to consider two images which, between them, address many of the issues and sources discussed in the chapter and therefore represent a summary of its main points; the relative depth of their analysis provides an alternative view to the more general nature of the main body of the discussion; the works explored are virtually unknown, have not been previously researched and therefore represent an original addition to the understanding of this topic. In summary, then, this chapter seeks to do two things: to explore the representation of myth in art occurring independently of Hitler's regime, and to demonstrate the significance of *Lebensphilosophie* in the iconography of myth.

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deeply: "Auf alle religiös mythische Kunst reagierte ich sofort. Nolde habe ich erst von seinem religiösen Bildern her begriffen. Die mythische Welt Paul Klees had mich immer tief berührt." Typed autobiographical notes, Munich (7.11.1948). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, ABK file Edgar Ende: ZR ABK 497.

Sources of Familiarity with Myth

Before considering the types of themes explored, the means of expression, and the ideas conveyed, it is useful to briefly digress to consider the sources of awareness of myth among artists. Probably the most important contribution to their knowledge was the general appreciation of classical culture in Germany since, in particular, the eighteenth century. The, at times, almost obsessive nature of the admiration for classical culture has been the subject of research.[14] This had a number of significant dimensions including the introduction of classical education in schools, known as *Gymnasien*, and the importation of classical sculpture, for public display, whose themes were largely devoted to mythological subjects. Considering first the significance of classical education, this conferred status and became necessary for entry to certain professions. The curriculum comprised the learning of Greek and Latin, and familiarization with a range of classical mythological texts, including Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad*,[15] and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. These provided for many artists a knowledge of a range of Greek and Roman myths which they could apply in their art. Among the artists who attended a *Gymnasium* were Klee, Ernst, Marcks,[16] Hans Feibusch (1898-1998) and Wolff, while Rudolph Schlichter (1890-1955) spent some time at a Latin school. The copies of the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* used in school by Klee and by Marcks are still held at the respective archives devoted to their work.[17] Marcks' fascination with themes from classical myth developed early, in his school days, as evidenced by his caricature drawings of *Hector and Acas* (plate 2.1) and *Paris and Menelaos* (plate 2.2), which have not been published before.[18] It is of interest that he felt these were significant enough to keep.

Awareness of Teutonic myth generally came most forcibly from the operas of Wagner. However, there had also been a general revival of interest in the Eddas and Nibelungen myths spurred by post-Napoleonic nationalism in the nineteenth century

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[14] Butler, E.M. (1935); Marchand, Suzanne L. (1996).

[15] Hans Feibusch, believed to have been the last surviving artist included in the 'Degenerate' Art exhibition of 1937, confirmed in an interview with me (9.10.1996) that these texts formed part of the curriculum.

[16] Ernst went on to study Greek and Latin, along with philosophy, at Bonn - though these studies were, apparently, neglected for art.

[17] Paul-Klee-Stiftung, Bern; Gerhard Marcks-Haus, Bremen.

and there were countless publications reproducing or retelling the stories, often accompanied by illustrations and sometimes in a format accessible to children, thereby ensuring familiarity from an early age. An appreciation of early German culture came also from the study of *The Germania* by Tacitus in the *Gymnasien.* While this text was received as social history, it described a society with its own myths and gods and Tacitus, significantly, makes reference to the nature-based aspect of their beliefs:

> The grove is the centre of their whole religion. It is regarded as the cradle of the race and the dwelling-place of the supreme god to whom all things are subject and obedient.[19]

Even for those who did not experience a classical education directly, its existence and status ensured that there was a general awareness of myth and of the early cultures in which myth played a central social and religious role; often passed on by word of mouth, related by family, friends and teachers. Schwengers points out that Gilles' appreciation of Mediterranean culture came from his schooling when he became acquainted with classical authors.[20] While Baumeister, for example, did not have a classical education, he was introduced to mythology as a child. According to his daughter, Felicitas, his maternal grandmother, Louise Schuler, told him the stories of the ancient sagas when he was very young and these made a great impression on him.[21] He also, it seems, learned something of mythology in school, though the details of what was relayed to him are not clear. It seems that Klee's knowledge of Germanic myth also came partly through the school system.[22]

The interest in myth among artists is evident in the books they owned. Myth was explored often in conjunction with other areas of interest, also signalled through their reading. Klee's extensive collection of books included novels and poetry, classical texts, philosophical and esoteric treatises, books on art and archaeology, mythology, fairy tales, and folksongs. (See Appendix 1). Among the books retained in his library, and the authors and texts mentioned in letters and diaries, are many of those referred to in Chapter 1 who explored the purpose of myth or

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[18] I am grateful to Hartog, curator of the Gerhard Marcks archive in Bremen for bringing these to my attention.
[19] Tacitus, 39 [12-15] (trans.H. Mattingly, 1948, revised 1970), p.134.
[20] Schwengers, Marlis (1985).
[21] I am grateful to Felicitas Baumeister for communicating this information to me. Letter (16.9.1997).
[22] In an interview with Klee's grandson, Aljoscha (9.5.1997), he confirmed this as a likely source of the artist's knowledge of Germanic myth.

recounted mythical tales. Goethe, for example, featured significantly in Klee's reading, and he owned also a number of texts by Herder, Hölderlin, Humboldt, and Novalis, as well as by mystical writers such as Klages and George.[23] Baumeister's interests were similarly broad as testified by the selection of titles from his library presented in Appendix 2. He owned a number of texts which brought him into contact with several of the mythological theorists discussed, including Goethe, Herder, Bachofen, Humboldt, Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche. His fascination with antiquity and prehistory, so important in his mythological works, is indicated by his books also; as well as classical texts, he owned books exploring ancient social, metaphysical, and natural phenomena, including publications by Walter Otto, and by Leopold Ziegler. Max Beckmann (1884-1950) also had an extensive library; a full list of texts has been published[24] and this reveals a marked interest in philosophy and esoteric material. He is noted, in particular, for his fascination with theosophy and mysticism; he possessed volumes of esoteric writings by Helena Blavatsky which he reputedly read in detail,[25] as well as books on or by Rudolf Steiner, Count Keyserling, and Maurice Maeterlinck. Beckman's interest in antiquity, mythology, and related subjects is evident from classical texts[26] as well as works by Goethe, Hölderlin, Humboldt, Novalis, and Schopenhauer. Among the books collected by Gerhard Marcks (Appendix 3), what is particularly noticeable is his fascination with the culture and art of ancient Greece, a reverence which was manifest in his art both in his choice of subjects and means of representation. His letters reveal, in addition, an awareness of a range of classical writers, and also of many of the theorists referred to in Chapter 1.[27]

Travel was important also in providing an opportunity for artists to have first-hand exposure to relevant cultural environments and specific works of art depicting myths. The locations they chose to visit are revealing of their individual interests. Many of them followed the beaten track to Italy, facilitated by the availability of special residences for visiting German artists, at the Villa Massimo in Rome, and the Villa Romana in Florence, the very existence of which conveyed the importance of the culture of Italy to aspiring artists. Some were financially assisted in their travel

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[23] Other mystical writers whose books Klee owned included Maurice Maeterlinck, Jacob Böhme, and Meister Eckhardt.

[24] Beckmann, Peter and Joachim Schaffer, editors (1992).

[25] Belting, Hans (1989).

[26] He owned book by Marcus Arelius, Apollonios Rhodos, Boethius, Herodotus of Halicarnassus, Homer, Plato, and Plutarch of Chaironeia. Beckmann, Peter and Joachim Schaffer, editors (1992).

[27] Classical writers include Aristophanes, Aristoteles, Euripides, Heraklitus, Ovid, and Plato. Theorists mentioned include Goethe, Hölderlin, Schiller, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, George, Klages, and Rosenberg. In addition, relevant philosophers and mystics are referred to including Lao Tse and Maester Eckhardt. See Marcks, Gerhard (1995).

by stipendiums such as the Rome prize (see Appendix 4). Klee's visit to Italy at the turn of the century included a stay at the Villa Massimo, and his exposure to classical and later art is well documented both in his letters and diaries[28] and in research on Klee.[29] Marcks went to Naples in 1925 and returned to Italy when he was awarded a scholarship in 1934 to the Villa Massimo in Rome, despite his forced dismissal from his role as an instructor at the Arts and Crafts school at Halle-Giebichenstein in 1933.[30] Gilles made several trips to Italy, which became his spiritual home, one of which was financed by winning the Prix de Rome in 1931. He based himself mainly in Ischia which, sited on the Mediterranean, represented for him a metaphorical birth-place for *Greek* myth, as well as manifesting the most lyrical of natural landscapes. Gustav Wolff went to Italy also - to Rome in 1903. There, he studied sculpture with his mother's cousin Arthur Volkmann, who belonged to the circle of Hildebrand and Marées, and this influence may account for the monumental classicism of his work. Wolff and Carl Hofer went to Florence together in 1904. Beckmann visited Italy also, on the strength of a stipend to the Villa Romana. Despite the importance of Greek culture to artists, relatively few of them travelled there. Marcks, however, went on a Villa Romana fellowship to Greece in 1928 and this was to have a significant impact both on the style and content of his work. He was acquainted with the archaeologist Herbert Koch who was engaged in the reconstruction of the Hephaistion (then known as the 'Theseus Temple') at the Agora in Athens and he was given the opportunity to closely study Classical and Hellenic sculpture. He was even commissioned to carry out drawings suggesting figural arrangements for the reconstruction of the east frieze (plate 2.3).[31] However, he was exposed also to archaic works whose style particularly enamoured him.[32] To him, they were comparable to those of the Gothic period in German sculpture, in that both were unfavourably and unfairly compared with the 'high' art of the later Classical and Renaissance periods respectively.[33] Greece was especially significant in influencing Marcks' thematic choices; almost all of his mythological work relates to Greek subjects. While Klee did not visit Greece, his fascination

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[28] See Klee, Felix, editor (1979); and Klee, Paul (1988).
[29] See, for example, Franciscono, Marcel (1974).
[30] Frenzel, Ursula von, editor (1988).
[31] Koch commissioned these drawings and they were reproduced in his text *Studies on the Theseus Temple in Athens* (*Studien zum Theseustempel in Athen*) published in 1955.
[32] He described himself as an admirer of Greece up to the pre-classical period: "...unbedingter Griechenland verehrer (bis 450 v. Chr.)". See Blaum, Rudolf, et. al. (1993), p.97.
[33] "I believe this art is related to the classical time as the Gothic is to the Renaissance, i.e. not at all. To describe it as a forerunner is rubbish. The methods are tectonic and linear, the intensity is therefore not less." Letter from Marcks to the painter Johannes Driesch (5.8.1928), discussing a recent trip to Munich. Cited in Frenzel, Ursula von, editor (1988), p.58.

with antiquity and its myths brought him to the ancient culture of Egypt.[34] He was interested also in ancient European cultures; less well explored by Klee scholars has been the significance of his month-long stay in the Carnac region of France in 1928 where he explored the megalithic remains, discussed later in this chapter.[35]

In addition to the travel of artists to sites of antiquities in their original settings, there was the availability of ancient artefacts, particularly classical, through importation and public display. This practice, particularly from the nineteenth century on, was a feature of a desire to emulate the cultural kudos enjoyed in England and France as a result of their extensive collections. Among the most important acquisitions - and certainly the most spectacular - were the sculptural schemes from Pergamon, known as the Pergamon and Telephus friezes, depicting respectively the battle of the gods and giants, and the story of Herakles' son Telephus, legendary founder of Pergamon. While excavated in the nineteenth century and brought to Germany, the sculptures were not finally housed at Berlin's Altes Museum and opened to the public until 1930. There was understandably extensive media coverage at the time, and the reception by artists and writers was enthusiastic.[36] Some museums also displayed artefacts from other ancient civilizations, providing awareness of, and relevant imagery depicting, their myth and cult, such as the enormous, awe-inspiring Babylonian Ishtar Gate which is also located in the Pergamon museum in Berlin.

In addition, many major cities in Germany had collections of antiquities[37] - the most important were located at the principal art centres of Berlin, Munich and Dresden - and these were employed by the academies of art as a teaching resource. To supplement the service provided by these collections, or where originals were unobtainable or too costly, plaster casts were acquired and made accessible to students; collections still exist in many cities such as Munich, Berlin, Bern, and others. Demand was sufficient to warrant the existence of specialist companies which issued detailed catalogues of their extensive range of products. August-Gerber GmbH, for example, a Cologne-based firm, offered a range of over one-thousand casts and copies of antique statuary, most of which portrayed figures from classical myth.[38]

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[34] See Gerlach-Laxner, Uta and Ellen Schwinzer, editors (1997).
[35] See Scott, Yvonne (1998).
[36] Kunze, Mark (1991).
[37] Wohlleben, Joachim (1992).
[38] The catalogue of 1910, entitled *Reproduktionen Klassischer Bildwerke aus der Kunstanstalt August Gerber GmbH*, listed a total of over 3,000 items including, in addition to the classical pieces, casts and copies of many works from the Middle Ages and Renaissance, comprising mainly mythological and religious themes and portrait busts. August-Gerber GmbH (1910).

Finally, the art tradition in Germany provided a context in which artists could become familiar with mythological themes. The renewed interest in classicism fuelled by Winckelmann, the central place of myth in the teaching of the academies and in the display of fine art in museums, the explorations made by major influential German artists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries some of which were referred to in Chapter 1, all provided a wellspring from which twentieth-century artists could learn about mythological themes and the range of their purpose and interpretation, and develop their own means of representation.

The Representation of *Lebensphilosophie*

Paul Klee and Lebensphilosophie

Paul Klee's interest in both myth and nature was evident in his work at an early stage. He identified with Goethe's pioneering exploration of nature as has been observed.[39] Of particular relevance here, however, is the extent to which Klee responded to the link Goethe made between nature and myth; a relationship which provided the basis for many, and possibly most, of Klee's works on myth. Feldman and Richardson observe that Goethe saw myths not as depicting moral truth, but the truth of nature as a totality of striving creativities, and that Moritz, who as mentioned collaborated with Goethe in the essay *Götterlehre* (1792), was prepared to divorce myth from history but not from nature.[40] Klee's image *Metamorphose*, which is the subject of the case study below, exemplifies Goethe's contention that movement in plants demonstrates the 'life principle' or creativity. He applied the title *Metamorphosis* to his examination of the morphology of plants,[41] what he described as "...the theory of form, formation and transformation of organic natures."[42] Such transformation (or metamorphosis) - the activity of growth and reproduction - represented "...the process by which one and the same organ makes its appearance in multi-farious forms."[43] The movement which he detected in plants (of for example

[39] See for example Hofmann, Werner (1953); Haftmann, Werner (1954); Lichtenstern, Christa (1992).
[40] Feldman, Burton and Robert D. Richardson (1972), p.263.
[41] J.W. von Goethe. *Versuch über die Metamorphose der Pflanzen*. Stuttgart (1831). For a commentary on Goethe's writings see Arber, Agnes (1950). An English translation is provided in Mueller, Bertha (1989).
[42] Mueller, Bertha (1989), p.88.
[43] Mueller, Bertha (1989), p.31.

the tendency to form spiral elements)[44] revealed for Goethe their 'life principle' and was, therefore, the key to creativity in his view.

The Romantic era theorists generally have been identified as relevant in providing a rich source of ideas for Klee.[45] Aichele, for example,[46] believes the influence of Novalis emerges in Klee's *Flower Myth* of 1918 (plate 2.4). As he points out, it is a visual pun depicting a female torso as a landscape. He relates Novalis' mystical blue flower, which became the emblem of Romantic longing, to the bloom with blue leaves in the navel area of the figure, about to be inseminated by the phallic bird swooping down towards it with a comical sense of purpose.[47] Aichele proposes that the image is not confined to fertility but, in invoking Novalis through the symbol of the blue flower, suggests also the cycles of decay and death. To Novalis, death was not a dreadful finality, but a desirable state in which one could experience the ultimate fulfilment of love, a notion expressed as the poetic idea of *Liebestod*.[48] Klee's interest in Novalis is indicated by the extensive collection of his writings which he owned (see Appendix 1). In *Flower Myth*, Aichele proposes, the notion of *Liebestod* mirrors the cycles of nature enacted in the landscape, symbolized in this painting by the female body. While no particular myth is indicated by the title, Aichele identifies the figure with Venus. Although he does not make reference to a cosmological dimension, this is indicated by the moon and sun which form the breasts of the figure; what this appears to suggest is that humanity (at least the female half) and the landscape are subject to the overall functioning of the cosmos, and that this carries the timeless truth associated with myth. The cycle of fecundity and decay was also symbolized by Klee using various other nature myths such as that of Pomona, Roman divinity of fruit trees. Pomona's choice of lovers identified her role not only in terms of plant and fruit growth, but related her to the process of metamorphosis and to the cycle of the seasons.[49] Klee addressed this theme in his

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[44] Goethe's first treatise on this subject was entitled 'The Spiral Tendency', published in 1831; a further essay 'On the Spiral Tendency in Plants' was published posthumously in 1833. Both are reproduced in Mueller, Bertha (1989).

[45] See Grohmann, Will (1954); Burnett, David (1977); Ringbom, Sixten (1977); Glaesemer, Jurgen (1987).

[46] Aichele, K. Porter (1989).

[47] Klee may have been playing, here, on German (and Italian) slang. The term '*vögeln*' meaning 'to bird', is vulgar slang understood to mean 'to screw'. The Italian word for bird, *uccello*, has similar connotations and may have been noted by Klee when in Italy.

[48] In the case of Novalis, this is thought to have been prompted by the premature death from tuberculosis of his beloved teenaged fiancée.

[49] Pomona's lovers included Sylvanus, the god of fields and forests, and the more well known Vertumnus, god of seasons and plant growth, who changed into various shapes in order to woo her. He finally succeeded when he metamorphosed into a blooming youth. Described in texts by various classical authors, Pomona is most widely known from Ovid's *Metamorphoses.* See Bell, Robert E.L. (1991).

work *Pomona Overripe - Easily Inclined* (*Pomona überreif - leicht geneigt*) of 1938 but in entirely emblematic form (plate 2.5). The title is a play both on the mythical figure and the fruit named after her. The adjective 'overripe' transparently draws attention both to decay and immanent death, and the consequent production of seeds and new life, while the extended title hints at an easy sexuality. The image comprises the glowing red of a ripe fruit, with the dots and comma-shaped motifs indicative of seeds, the latter beginning to sprout. The predominant emblem is a pair of tangential curves, a boldly calligraphed symbol which recurs, appropriately, framing the skull-like face in Klee's drawing of the same year, *Figure out of Hades*. The symbol appears to be a version of the yin-yang sign[50] which represents the mutual dependency and creative complementarity of opposites (such as male and female) in the universe. Such dualities were the focus of exploration by Bachofen and Nietzsche, and later by Klages.

Bachofen and Nietzsche were to prove as important as the Romantic theorists in influencing Modernist approaches to representing mythological themes. Bachofen, in exploring the originary gods (Gaia, Dionysus) developed his concepts of the role of the Mother or Earth Goddess as explained in Chapter 1, while Nietzsche's most significant contribution in terms of the artists discussed here was to emphasize the polarity broadly in terms of instinct and reason and their role in creative endeavour. Klee does not appear to refer to Bachofen in his letters or diaries, and there is no record of his owning copies of any of his texts. However, Bachofen's ideas were widely known and enjoyed a revival in the late 1920s as has been noted.[51] Klee could have read about Bachofen's theories in his wife's copy of Klages' *Vom kosmogonischen Eros*, which is held in the Klee library at the Paul-Klee-Stiftung (see Appendix 1). This text includes a section on Bachofen's theories as a source for Klages' text. Klee must have known of Bachofen's hypotheses, at the very least in a general way, and there are numerous examples in his imagery which indicate an awareness of the general principles. In particular, the likelihood of Bachofen as a stimulant of ideas for Klee is exhibited in various works exploring sexuality, fertility, and social behaviour, sometimes in the context of a mythological theme. Klee does not provide a descriptive representation of his ideas, however, but tends to use them as a point of departure. A particularly apt example is the small range of works carried out by Klee which include the term 'hetaera' in their title,

[50] The widely known yin and yang symbol is from Chinese philosophy and represents the mutual dependence of opposites. According to the philosophy, yin represents the negative, the female, darkness, the earth, passivity, while yang stands for the positive, the male, brightness, the sky, and activity. This is comparable to the polarities discussed by Klages and others.

suggesting familiarity with this first stage of social development in Bachofen's theory. While he may have known the word from another source, it is not particularly common elsewhere in literature on classical myth and culture. Four works altogether fall into this category, two of which were carried out in 1926, and two in 1940.[52] 'Hetaera' means 'companion' and was the Greek term for a prostitute or courtesan.[53] Bachofen, picking up on the sexual role adopted the term, as explained, to describe an era of unrestricted promiscuity in a primitive, unregulated social and agricultural system, a period described as characterized by wild vegetation and swamps in contrast to the subsequent settled agricultural society personified by the Mother Goddess Gaia/Demeter. *Hetaera on her Bed* of 1926 (plate 2.6) shows a stylized reclining female figure. She is clearly not designed for the erotic pleasure of the viewer, unlike the fertility goddesses of the Nazis (see Chapter 4). However, her seductive pose (note the coquettishly raised left foot) indicates her purpose. Her form comprises of parallel lines, a device which recurs around this time in Klee's oeuvre. As will be explained more fully in relation other works by Klee, such as a *Garden for Orpheus* (see below) carried out in the same year, this kind of stratification became a symbol in his work for the layered structure in the depths of the earth and thus the sexuality of the hetaera is related to nature and its yield; her veined hands extend like diagrams of the structures of leaves.[54] It is suggestive also of the temporal aspect of the layering of the earth, explained in relation to *Wandering Soul* discussed later, in the case studies. Hence the antiquity of hetaerae, or of hetaerism, is inferred. *Hetaerae (Decline)* (plate 2.7) carried out in 1940, the year of Klee's death, while very different in style, elaborates on the theme of nature. The image shows darkly outlined eyes against a background of vegetation. On the right, facial features seem to stare out from the earth which is dotted with seeds and sprouting plants, the loose handling of the paint suggestive of unregulated growth and decay.

Klee made a number of works on the theme of Aphrodite, or Venus her Roman counterpart; in all, seventeen works are identifiably of the goddess according to the titles which include either of these names. While these could have been derived from any number of sources, their interpretation in some cases is in keeping

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[51] Rudloff points out that the Alfred Kroner Verlag published an abridged version of *Mutterrecht und Urreligion* in 1927. See Rudloff, Martina (1988), p.98.

[52] These are: *Hetaera*, 1926/055; *Hetaera on her Bed* (*Hetaere auf Ihrem Lager*), 1926/057; *Hetaerae, Decline* (*Hetaeren, Verfall*), 1940/011; and *Madam G. of the Executive Committee of Hetaerae* (*Madam G. von dem Vorstand der Hetaeren*), 1940/311.

[53] These were professional sexual entertainers, and formed, it seems, the only relatively independent class of women to be found in classical Athens. See Just, Roger (1989).

with Bachofen's theories. In *The Vessel of Aphrodite* known also as *Ceramic/ Erotic/Religious* (*die Gefässe der Aphrodite*, oder *Keramisch/erotisch/religiös*) (plate 2.8), Klee indicates the beauty of the goddess by the voluptuousness of her figure and narrow waist. However, unlike traditional representations of the theme, her physical appearance is not the focus of the image. Rather he stresses her sexuality by the receptiveness of her 'pose', the arrow pointedly aimed at an opening in her body, and her potential fertility by her comparison to the similarly-shaped ceramic vessels in the background, hinting at her role as receptacle. Unlike the chaste, demure Venuses which were promoted by the Nazi Regime more than a decade later, Klee's Venus is less like an Olympian deity than a Bachanalian Maenad in her gesture of abandon, and effectively relates to Bachofen's hetaeristic-aphroditic phase.

Klee's application of the type of concepts which have been associated with Bachofen, however, has typically been less in terms of a phase of the development of society, but to emphasize the female principle in nature. While the notion of the earth as female had a provenance which long predates Bachofen, his theory of the early maternal and matrilineal societies placed an unprecedented emphasis on the nature of the female, at least, what was understood of it. Despite the fact that his thesis arrived ultimately at a third and final phase of development, patrilineal society, he was most commonly associated with theories which were seen to imbue the female and the feminine with a mystical power. Klee's exploration of the idea of fecundity included imagery of the earth goddess Gaia or Demeter who personified Bachofen's second or mature phase of matrilineal society. In common with the Hetaera works, Klee's *Half-Length Portrait of Gaia* (plate 2.9) is not designed to provoke an erotic response from the viewer and, in fact this aspect is played down by the matronliness of her bearing. Rather, in a somewhat humorous way, he chose to symbolize the reproductive function her character infers. In common with his other work on *Gaia*, a drawing,[55] the features of her face are composed of male and female genitalia reduced to simplified symbolic forms.[56] *Nymph in a Vegetable Garden* (1939, plate 2.10), relates to this period also of Bachofen's theory, the title suggestive of organized cultivation. This is born out by the style of the work comprising areas of colour contained by outlines. The reclining pose, heart-shaped lips, and pea-like forms in this case point to a sexual and reproductive role.

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[54] Such motifs are recurrent in Klee's work, particularly in the 1920s, up to around 1930, and have been related to Klee's interest in Goethe's botanical theories. See Lichtenstern, Christa (1992).
[55] See also *Drawing of Gaia* (1939.334), Felix Klee Collection, Bern.
[56] Picasso is known to have similarly represented sculpted portraits of Marie-Thérèse Walther.

It is known that Klee was familiar with Nietzsche's writing, and he makes reference to him in his diaries[57] and letters.[58] According to Grohmann,[59] he was familiar also with the theorist Irwin Rohde, who was an erstwhile close friend of Nietzsche's, and whose most famous text *Psyche, The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks,* first published in 1893, explored the Dionysian cult.[60] While Bachofen's theories focused on an exploration of the supposedly darker, feminine, chthonic aspects of nature, Nietzsche balanced these primeval energies against the rationality of Apollonian forces, a polarity which as mentioned was taken up by many artists during the twentieth century. In one of Klee's most famous works, *Ad Parnassum* of 1932 (plate 2.11), this duality is expressed also. In this case it is the creativity of music,[61] a passion of Klee's,[62] which is inferred by the combination of the Apollonian and Dionysian realms. Parnassus, the locus of Apollo and his muses, is shown as a geometric, pointed form comparable to the appearance on music manuscript of the rising and falling scales which occur in certain pieces of Mozart's work. Kagan explains that Mozart's music demonstrated the principles of counterpoint which were fundamental to elements of Klee's teaching of art at the Bauhaus.[63] Hoppe-Sailer considers in detail how the form determines the meaning of the image exploring the principles of structure in art and how they are manifest in the use of line, colour and perspective.[64] He also considers the relationship of natural and architectural form analysing the open 'doorway', at base of the image, as indicating a way or direction to Parnassus, an interpretation which had previously, in fact, been offered by Grohmann.[65] The sloping line attached to the doorway is read by Kagan as symbolizing the conductor's baton, hence the relationship between the means (baton/doorway) and the objective (music/mountain).

In interpreting the role of the doorway in *Ad Parnassum*, it is of relevance to consider the way in which such motifs are generally applied by Klee in his work. Doorways and entrances frequently occur in garden images, such as *A Garden for*

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[57] Klee, Paul (1988), entries 68 and 415.
[58] Klee, Paul (1979), pp.304, 424, 873.
[59] Will Grohmann, in a speech opening an exhibition of work by Paul Klee in 1935, listed Rohde among important influences. The transcript is held at the Paul-Klee-Stiftung, Bern.
[60] Rohde, Erwin (1925).
[61] Kagan believes the title is a reference to the landmark eighteenth-century treatise on music theory, the *Gradus ad Parnassum* of Johann Josef Fux. Kagan, Andrew (1983).
[62] Klee grew up in a music-oriented household; his father was a professor of music and his mother was a singer. His wife was a pianist and he played the violin, often in public. His interest was such that at one stage, he was faced with the decision of whether to become a professional musician or an artist. It is widely recognized that music features in an extensive range of works by Klee.
[63] See Kagan, Andrew (1983), and Spiller, Jurg (1978a).
[64] Hoppe-Sailer, Richard (1993).

Orpheus discussed below (plate 2.12), *Gate in the Garden* (1926) (plate 2.13), and *Doorway to the Depth* (1936, Kunstmuseum Bern). As explained below, apertures can be read as entrances to the underworld, the nether world of Dionysus and the eponymous bacchanalian fertility rites. Such an interpretation would be relevant in the context also of *Ad Parnassum*. If the mountain with its gradient and peak is taken as the process and product of creativity - as proposed by Kagan and by Hoppe-Sailer - then its locus between the symbols of Apollo (the sun floating in the sky) and Dionysus (the doorway to the underworld) appropriately reflects Nietzsche's concept of creativity propounded in *The Birth of Tragedy (Out of the Spirit of Music)*.

Ludwig Klages founder of the so-called 'Cosmic circle' drew on Nietzschean dualities in developing his own Vitalist philosophies. Klee's work shows an awareness of this sphere of philosophy, probably introduced to him by his wife, Lily, who was especially interested in such esoteric theories and owned, as mentioned, a copy of Klages' *Vom kosmogonischen Eros.*[66] Klee and Lily were in the habit of discussing with each other what they had read, and this may have familiarized him with Klages' thinking.[67] Klages had founded his Seminar for Characterology (*Seminar für Ausdruckskunde*) at the University of Munich in 1905 - the year before Klee and Lily settled in that city - and, as mentioned, he became the principal exponent of the Vitalist movement which swept Germany from just before the turn of the century. Klee's interest in Klages was testified by Grohmann who, in his opening speech for Klee's exhibition at the Kunsthalle in Bern in 1935, made reference to the influences on the artist's own philosophy (*Seelenlehre*) which included Klages.[68]

This interest is reflected in a painting, entitled *Eros* (plate 2.14), carried out in 1923, the year following the publication date of their copy of *Cosmogonic Eros* (*Vom kosmogonischen Eros).*[69] Temkin's reading of this painting, while it does not make the connection with Klages, is compatible with *Lebensphilosophie:*

> The title *Eros* 1923 ... communicates this on the one hand in the general sense of a creative power of love and on the other in a specific reference to

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[65] Grohmann, Will (1987).

[66] This text was evidently of some interest; a cutting for the newspaper *Das Unterhaltungsblatt* (no.124, 29.5.1927) describing Klages' philosophy can be found tucked into the pages of the book.

[67] Aljoscha, Klee's grandson, confirmed to me in an interview (9.5.1997) that Paul and Lily Klee were both interested in the spiritual and were inclined to discuss with each other what they had read.

[68] "Ludwig Klages seine Leib-Seele-Einheit und seine Theorie vom Geist als Widersacher der Seele konzipiert." Extract reproduced in Kersten, W. (1994), p.56.

> the Greek creation myth according to which Eros is born out of night and Chaos.[70]

Klages' reference to Eros in the context of cosmogony - the origins of the cosmos - which provides the title of his book, is derived from the place of Eros in the creation described by Hesiod, as he indicates:

> As in the teachings of the genesis of the gods by the Orphics, Hesiod's Chaos likewise precedes the spawning of Eros.[71]

Klee's image, with its subtly interwoven bands of dark and light, is in fact suggestive of what Hesiod had to say on the creation of the gods in the *Theogony*.[72] Following the emergence of Eros, "the most handsome among the immortal gods, dissolver of flesh, who overcomes the reason and purpose in the breasts of all gods and all man",[73] he tells us:

> Out of the Chasm [i.e. Chaos] came Erebos [darkness] and dark Night, and from Night in turn came Bright Air and Day, whom she bore in shared intimacy with Erebos. [*Theogony*, 123-25].

It is not clear whether Klee was familiar with Hesiod's writing. While Klee may have known it from his classical education and general fascination with antiquity and its literature, there is no record of Hesiod among Klee's collection of books held at the Paul-Klee-Stiftung, and he does not appear to mention him in letters or diaries. The imagery of Eros in the context of the polarity of dark and light may, however, have come directly from Klages. Klages wrote of the various polarizations described by Nietzsche and, in somewhat esoteric language, referred to the dichotomies of organization and disorganization, and of light and darkness:

> And what is understood in worldly terms as the emergence of the Cosmos, that is the organized Universe, from the still disorganized Chaos, what is

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[69] Cosmogony refers to the origin of the cosmos which Klages interprets in a mythological and mystical way.
[70] Temkin, Ann (1987), p.69.
[71] "In den Götterentstehungslehren der Orphiker wie ebenso des Hesiod geht der Ausgeburt des Eros das Chaos voran." Klages, Ludwig (1988, first published 1922), p.70.
[72] Originally written in the late eighth century BC. The version consulted here is Hesiod, *Theogony* (trans. M.L. West, 1988).

> understood in spiritual terms: in the pregnant dark of the Dionysian hurley-burley, the light of Eros-Phanes[74] flares up.[75]

Christian Geelhaar, writing on Klee's *Eros,* also relates it to creations myths though he does not identify a textual source for them. However, he does link the colour of the image to Goethe's theories:

> For the meaning of the content of the work it is only necessary to recall the cosmogonic role of Eros in the ancient Creation-myths. In Chaos light and darkness were not yet separate. As Goethe wrote in the introduction to his Theory of Colour: 'For the birth of colour, light and darkness, clear and obscure, or if one wants to use a more general formula, light and not-light, were required.' It was Eros, whose will to formation, to separation, relation and order, attacked the unformed, amorphous material and saw that it became the Cosmos.[76]

The "will to formation" which results in Klee's ordered and geometric triangular structure and its relation to Eros was commented on in the artist's Bauhaus teaching notes:

> The triangle came into being when a point entered into a relation of tension with a line and, following the command of its Eros, discharged this tension.[77]

Eros, in this context, does not have the personification or the consequent narratives which developed in later legends where he was popularized as the childish god of romance; at this point, Eros has only a metaphysical significance representing the force of attraction which compels beings to come together. However, he personifies not only love, but the very beginning of life and, together with Thanatos, the death

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[73] This description of Eros gives rise to Klages' adoption of him as a symbol of the soul (Seele), as opposed to the will (Geist), as described in Chapter 1.
[74] The reference to Phanes indicates the Orphics, which provided another source for Klages. This text describes how the black-winged Night - a goddess of whom even Zeus stood in awe - was courted by the Wind and laid a silver egg in the womb of Darkness; and that Eros, whom some call Phanes, was hatched from this egg and set the Universe in motion. See, for example, Graves, Robert (1992), p.30.
[75] "Und was nun, welthaft gefaßt, der Hervorgang des Kosmos, das ist des gegliederten Alls, aus dem noch ungegliederten Chaos ist, das heißt, seelisch gefaßt: im schwangeren Dunkel des dionysischen Wirbels zuckt die Leuchte des Eros-Phanes auf:...". Klages, Ludwig (1988, first published 1922), p.71.
[76] Geelhaar, Christian (1973), p.56.
[77] Spiller, Jurg (1978a), p.113.

principle, represents the cycle of nature which underpins Klee's mythology of creativity.

In the same year, Klee continued to be interested in the cosmic themes of *Lebensphilosophie* and he produced the detailed drawing entitled *Cosmic Flora* (plate 2.15). It is notable that the term *Flora* was adopted in the title, rather than the alternative (which he sometimes used) *Blümen* (flowers), thereby intimating both a scientific and mythical dimension to nature, a combination that Klee would not have found contradictory. Like *Eros*, this work is composed of structured layers. However, in *Cosmic Flora* there is a relatively more tangible and less mystical quality drawing attention to the strata which comprise the structure of the cosmos. In addition to the metaphysical dimensions of Klages' cosmogony, Klee may therefore have had in mind Humboldt's *Kosmos*, a copy of which he owned, which describes the physical universe, based on the definition applied by Pythagoras of "...the word Cosmos to designate the order that reigns in the universe...".[78] The layers or levels in which this work is constructed continue even into the upper strata of the planets, suggestive of the regions of space; Humboldt explains the ancient concept of the Ouranos (the inner, sub-lunary region), the Cosmos (which includes the stars and planets), and Olympus (the exterior region beyond the Cosmos - presumably that occupied by the gods).[79] Like Goethe, Humboldt explored the function of animation in plants and how it manifested the "vital forces" of nature. He outlined the way in which it reveals itself including movement in the vegetable world:

> "... incessantly animated by the most varied currents, either rotating, ascending and descending, ramifying, and ever changing their direction, as manifested ... in the hairs of phanerogamic[80] land plants;"[81]

This might explain the all-pervasive hairy surfaces which soften the profiles in the image. The relationship between the reproductive and cyclical characteristics of the plant domain and that of humans is indicated by the sexual symbolism of the vulvate motifs which appear in the upper right and left of the image. What elevates the work beyond the diagrammatic is the fantastical nature of the plant-life, and, more importantly, the appearance of the sun and moon in the centre of the upper register,

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[78] Humboldt, Alexander von (1997, first published 1845-62), p.69.
[79] Humboldt, Alexander von (1997, first published 1845-62), p.70.
[80] Plants with stamens and pistils, i.e. flowering plants.
[81] Humboldt, Alexander von (1997, first published 1845-62), p.341.

symbolizing the philosophy of the cosmic, all-embracing quality of the natural and metaphysical worlds.

The Romantic View of Myth and Nature: Some Responses

The concept of metamorphosis, with its separate sources in Goethe and Ovid, was translated by Klee into a contemporary myth of nature. Ernst was one of a number of Surrealist painters who explored the theme of Narcissus, one of the best-known transformation myths, in such terms. *The Nymph Echo* (1936, plate 2.16), one of two works on the theme,[82] addresses the wood nymph whose love for Narcissus was unrequited. The painting evokes the predatory character of nature in a primeval forest, metaphor for the origins and processes of life,[83] a reflection of a demonic perception of nature.[84] Referring to the forests as 'her', Ernst described such forests, which recur in his imagery at this time, in the following terms:

> They are, it seems, savage and impenetrable, black and russet, extravagant, secular, swarming, diametrical, negligent, ferocious, fervent, and lovable, with neither yesterday nor tomorrow. From one island to another, over volcanoes, they play cards with incomplete decks. Nude, they wager only their majesty and their mystery.[85]

Willi Baumeister, an admirer of Klee, also explored Goethean ideals and applied them in his work, relating them to myth.[86] He was introduced to the idea of metamorphosis by Klee as he explained in discussing the relationship of materials, form and content in his work:

> The sand-ground used earlier [i.e. in paintings], and other similar roughened grounds reappeared, in addition to soft forms of line, comparable to vegetable life. Stimuli from Paul Klee led me to metamorphoses, to the transformations of form. Not that I was stimulated by microscopic models from nature, rather the forms of my imagery emerged independently, whilst remaining related to forms of nature. In this way, I achieved a freedom of invention of form

[82] The other, painted in the same year in a similar style is in a private collection in Paris.
[83] Chadwick, Whitney (1980).
[84] Haftmann, Werner (1984).
[85] Ernst, Max (1961), p.13.
[86] Lichtenstern, Christa (1992).

> which, at the same time, contains the rigorous construction of the Absolute and the unimaginable life.[87]

Among the works by Baumeister which draw their inspiration from Goethe's ideas is the *Eidos* series which comprises almost a hundred works on or related to the theme (plate 2.17). This series takes for its title the ancient Greek term, referred to by Plato, for the essential spirit of a plant or organism and it is generally recognized that the series is related to Goethe's botanical theory of the *Urpflanze* or *Urphänom.*[88] While Chametsky explains the word 'Eidos' as relating to physical form[89] - the archetypal form (*Urform* or *Urbild*) - it appears that Baumeister used it at a more metaphysical level, in keeping with the tendency among several of the Bauhaus artists with whom he was acquainted at the time the series of works was carried out. This term from ancient Greek philosophy and myth was known to some of these artists, which may have been the original source of Baumeister's familiarity with it (perhaps through his friendship with Oscar Schlemmer, or appreciation of the work of Klee).[90] As Sybil Moholy-Nagy explained in the introduction to Klee's *Pedagogical Sketchbook*,[91] it was known as early as the time of Plato who " ... spoke of the Eidos as the inner essence of an object as distinguished from the apparent outer form".[92] Baumeister sought to express this concept in the images which comprise an arrangement of what appear to be freely floating organic objects in a suspension of liquid or gases. The forms have been likened to amoebas,[93] seeming to have the capacity to change shape or divide without losing their integrity; many display a nucleus-like circle implying a central function programming their

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[87] "Der früher verwendete Sandgrund und andere ähnliche aufgerauhte Gründe traten wieder auf, dazu weiche Formen der Linien, die dem vegetabilen Leben vergleichbar waren. Anregungen von Paul Klee führten mich zu Metamorphosen, zu Form verwandlungen. Nicht daß mich mikroskopische Natur-Vorbilder anregten, sondern meine Bildformen entstanden selbständig, waren aber Naturformen verwandt. So gelangte ich in eine Freiheit der Formerfindung, die zugleich den strengen Aufbau des Absoluten enthält und das unfassbare Leben." Willi Baumeister, undated manuscript, Archiv Baumeister, Stuttgart (c.1946).

[88] See, for example, Boehm, Gottfried (1995). Several of the works are entitled *Urpflanzlich*. In German, the prefix 'Ur' generally refers to prehistory and the earliest origins. Thus *Urpflanze* can be taken to mean the most primitive plants, and *Urphänom* to mean a phenomenon relating to earliest times. However, Goethe used the term to means a prototype or archetype from which all else is a variation.

[89] Chametsky, Peter (1991).

[90] Baumeister knew many of the Bauhaus artists as a well-known photograph testifies. Taken around 1922/3 at the Bauhaus, this shows him in an informal group of fifteen friends. See Boehm, Gottfried (1995), p.195.

[91] First published in 1925 as one of a series of Bauhaus books edited by Walter Gropius and László Moholy-Nagy

[92] Klee, Paul (1968, first published 1925). From Eidos comes the term Eidolon (plural Eidola), or spectre, which provided the idea for a range of works carried out by Klee in the year or two before his death in 1940 (see below in the section on Orphic mythology).

existence. Some of the forms are translucent, shown as no more than a faint outline, while others are more substantial, given three-dimensionality by subtle tonal modelling. The traditional 'four elements' in nature, comprising earth, air, fire and water, are inferred also by the use of texture and colour. Some of the forms have been identified as phallic[94] and, together with the palette-shaped organisms, convey the concepts of natural and artistic creativity, as for example, *Eidos with Sequence IV* (1940, plate 2.18).

In a letter to Heinz Rasch in 1942, Baumeister referred to his search for a prototypical elemental structure which would provide the key to an " ... original and lost perspective of nature,"[95] but not only in scientific or purely physical terms. From an esoteric perspective, the idea of the *Eidos*, applied in this way, suggests a common element or spirit. It is not clear whether Baumeister intended this potentially unifying concept of commonality to operate as a counter to the Nazi ideal of racial differentiation. While National Socialist ideology asserted a common spirit among Aryans, it did not acknowledge its existence across the human species.

Baumeister's appreciation of Goethe's writing is evident from his collection of works by this author (see Appendix 2), including a copy of *Writings on Nature* (*Schriften über die Natur*). He also owned Walther's *Goethe as Seer and Researcher of Nature* (*Goethe als Seher und Erforscher der Natur*) which analyses Goethe's quest to understand nature, both scientifically and philosophically.[96] A programme of Baumeister's interest in Goethe is revealed in the design for a fresco (plates 2.19a, 2.19b, 2.19c) to decorate the staircase of the laboratory building of Kurt Herberts' paint factory.[97] As explained both by Lichtenstern[98] and Chametsky,[99] the series of images making up the designs emphasizes the central significance of Goethe's researches into natural science, and its implications for art. The significance of classical culture is illustrated, in the section of the fresco design on the subject of 'Man as Creator', with a representation of Aristotle[100] as the source of modern natural science, and therefore a forerunner of Goethe. The representation is based not on ancient wall painting, as might have been expected, but on the linear designs

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[93] Boehm, Gottfried (1995).
[94] Grohmann, Will (1965).
[95] Letter from Willi Baumeister to Heinz Rasch (20.6.1942). Cited in Conzen-Meairs, Ina (1990), p.161.
[96] Walther, Johannes (1930).
[97] Baumeister worked for Dr. Kurt Herberts as a means to earn an income when he lost his teaching post.
[98] Lichtenstern, Christa (1992).
[99] Chametsky, Peter (1991).
[100] He is shown before the bust of his teacher, Plato, in a traditional composition known from various artists including Rembrandt. These often show him contemplating the bust of Homer, however, whose writing he taught.

of antique vase painting. However, this was also an important means of representing themes from mythology, comprising legendary figures profiled in black, usually on a red or yellow ground.

Aristotle, in his *Physica* examined the constituent elements of things that exist by 'nature' - which was defined by him as an innate compulsion to movement. This provided the basis for Goethe's theory of the metamorphosis of plants which was to prove so vital to Klee in his representations of natural and artistic creation, and restated in Baumeister's fresco. In the context of such influences, Baumeister conveyed his ideas on art in his text, *The Unknown in Art* (*Das Unbekannte in der Kunst*) which sets out his philosophy of creativity. He introduces the chapter entitled *The Organism and the Absolute* (*Der Organismus und das Absolute*) with the following statement in which he raised the activity of growth in nature to a metaphysical level:

> The Organic is twofold: The Absolute is a part of the Organic. Metamorphosis is a part of the Organic.
> The Absolute appears in the idealities of the sphere, and in all exact, crystalline bodies and thus in the straight line, in the right angle, in the precise facet, in law-governed structures and in proportion and number. By contrast, the transformation of form appears in dispersion or modulation, it is the eternal adaptation of basic forms through Life.
> (The 'Urpflanze' of Goethe is according to Schiller not a visible notion, but an idea[101] an absolute form. Goethe devoted himself later to metamorphosis.)[102]

As the metaphysical equivalent of the *Urpflanze*, the *Eidos*, then, goes beyond a purely physical idea of a basic plant form representing, instead, the spiritual essence of organic form. For Baumeister, Klee was influential in representing and disseminating these ideas, as he asserts in the same chapter of *Unbekannte*:

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[101] Goethe stated that his *Urpflanze* did not exist in reality, but was a concept. For him, plants that exist are variations and modifications of the archetype or *Urpflanze*.

[102] "Das Organische ist zweifach: Das Absolute ist ein Teil des Organischen. Die Metamorphose ist ein Teil des Organischen. Das Absolute erscheint in den Idealitäten der Kugel und in allen exakten, kristallinen Körpern und damit in der Geraden, im rechten Winkel, in der exakten Fläche, in gesetzmäßigen Strukturen und in Maß und Zahl. Die Formverwandlung dagegen erscheint in Dispersion oder Modulation, es ist die ewige Abwandlung der Grundformen durch das leben.
(Die 'Urpflanze' von Goethe ist laut Schiller keine Anschauung, sondern eine Idee, eine absolute Form. Goethe wandte sich später der Metamorphose zu.)". Baumeister, Willi (1988, first published 1947), p.55.

> An example of a major synthesis of the Absolute and Metamorphosis is Paul Klee, in whose work both elemental forces combine to form the Organic.[103]

Gerhard Marcks, a colleague of Klee's at the Bauhaus at Weimar from 1920-25, expressed an interest also in earth-based mythologies, deriving from various theorists including Goethe and also Bachofen who is discussed in the next section, as demonstrated in his first mythological work, *Kneeling Antaeus (Kniender Antäus)* of 1926 (plate 2.20). Antaeus, the son of Poseidon and Gaia, deities of sea and earth respectively, was a giant whose strength derived from his mother through direct physical contact with the earth.[104] He is most widely known from depictions which show him engaged in a wrestling match with Herakles who deliberately lifted Antaeus from the ground, thus removing the source of his strength, and bringing about his death. Hartog has drawn attention to the role of Antaeus in literature, at least since the Romantic era, as a symbol of unity with the earth, a significant motif of the importance of contact with the landscape and with nature.[105] To illustrate, he quotes from Goethe:

> I recognized the earth on which I stood; like a sleeper, I was newly infused by a spirit, I stand like Antaeus in soul. [106]

and:

> And let us go out to where we belong, in a field, where steaming from the earth every next gift of nature and blowing through the heavens all blessings of stars envelop us; where we, like the earth-born giant, strengthened by the touch of our mother, soared upwards ...[107]

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[103] "Ein Beispiel für eine große Synthese von Absolutem und Metamorphose ist Paul Klee, in dessen Werk sich die beiden Urkräfte zum 'Organischen' verbinden." Baumeister, Willi (1988, first published 1947), p.60.

[104] This bears a close resemblance to elements of the story of Gilgamesh and Enkidu, as explained later in this chapter in relation to a series by Willi Baumeister.

[105] Hartog, Arie (1993), p.97.

[106] "Ich fühlte gleich den Boden, wo ich stand; Wie mich, den Schläfer, frisch ein Geist durchglühte, so steh ich ein Antäus an Gemüte." Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Faust II*, 7075-7077. Cited in Hartog, Arie (1993), p.97.

[107] "Und frisch hinaus, da wo wir hingehören, ins Feld, wo aus der Erde dampfend jede nächste Wohltat der Natur und durch die Himmel wehend alle Segen der Gestirne einhüllend uns umwittern; wo wir, dem erdgeborenen Riesen gleich, von der Berührung unsrer Mutter kräftiger uns in die Höhe reißen...". Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Egmont V*. Cited in Hartog, Arie (1993), p.97.

Marcks was familiar with Goethe, as is evident in his letters,[108] and Hartog suggests that *Kneeling Antaeus* is representative of Marcks' exploration of the idea of origins and sources which was emerging in his work at this time and which similarly may have been prompted by Goethe. As he explains, this development was in parallel with Marcks' daily experience at the Bauhaus where he ran the pottery design workshop, creating forms literally from the earth's clay. It may have been at the Bauhaus, in the company of artists interested in exploring mystical and philosophical ideas (Klee, Schlemmer, Itten, Kandinsky) that such considerations were triggered. While the theme is based in classical mythology, Marcks' interpretation is not confined to the narrative. Hartog points out that the rather Expressionistic loose modelling of the figure, in contrast to other work by the artist which is typified by its linearity, is used as a device to emphasize that the character stemmed from the earth; in this case, a quintessentially (in its origins at any rate) German stylistic approach is appropriately applied to a classical theme. The artist does not characterize Antaeus as a giant, but shows instead an embattled, kneeling youth. This posture, referred to in the title, together with the mythical content, Hartog maintains, provides a powerful symbol combining the challenges of human existence and the strength of life exemplified by the earth. While the scale of the work does not indicate a gigantic figure (44.5 cm. high), the posture is not one of defeat - the set of the shoulders, tilt of the head, and closed fists indicate, rather, endurance.

While Goethe was significant in identifying the relationship between myth and nature, Hölderlin with his lyrical style provided for artists such as Marcks and Gilles, a means of its expression. Marcks commented in a letter to his wife, in 1928, of the peace and harmony of his life, associating it with his reading of Hölderlin:

> My life here proceeds peacefully and harmonically, I read Hölderlin ...[109]

One of his most famous texts, *Hyperion*, was known to Marcks; it describes how the protagonist of the story went to Germany following the Greek war of independence but, disaffected, he returned to Greece and remained there living the life of a hermit and surrounded by nature which effected the cure for his spirit. Marcks identified personally with Hyperion whose disillusionment with war had certain parallels with the artist's own experience in the wake of his service during the First World War, but more particularly because he was a symbol both of union with nature, and also of his

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[108] See Frenzel, Ursula, editor (1988); and Marcks, Gerhard (1995).
[109] Letter to Marcks' wife, Halle (3.7.1928). Reproduced in part in Frenzel, Ursula, editor (1988), p.57.

beloved Greece.[110] Marcks was inspired to dedicate a woodcut to Hölderlin, as mentioned in Chapter 1 (plate1.6); this shows Perseus standing patiently beside his mount, paralleling the sense of anticipation for the reemergence of the gods conveyed in Hölderlin's text. In particular, Marcks' gentle, poetic style accords with that of the writer.

Marcks found in Greece a lost paradise and some of his work on myth appears to be more about trying to find a form which would reinvent antiquity in a contemporary idiom, to make the past relevant to the present - but often without any apparent desire to convey a message by applying the myth for symbolic or allegorical purposes. Similarly, Marcks' friend Gilles, seemed to find in the Mediterranean an escape from a depressingly poor childhood and penurious adulthood. It provided for him the Arcadia described by Hölderlin, as he commented in a letter:

> The towns lie far away and the men are farmers, shepherds and fishermen and are surely of Greek origin ... and the people are as peaceful with us as those depicted by Hölderlin.[111]

When passing through Naples on route to Ischia, Gilles was exposed also to the idealized imagery of Hans von Marées whose frescoes include idyllic scenes of classical nudes in arcadian settings.[112] Among the artists central to this discussion, Marées was one of the most admired of the nineteenth century German painters, and Gilles wrote to his friend Josef Pieper of his pride in front of von Marées frescoes in Naples.[113] Hölderlin's lyricism and Marées' figuration is reflected in Gilles' *Apollo and Marsyas* of 1942 (plate 2.21). In this image, the two figures with their timeless nonchalance mirror those in the background of Marées *The Golden Age I* (plate 1.5); and Apollo, coincidently, adopts the pose of Marcks' *Perseus* in the woodcut. Gilles places his figures, however, in what appears to be a modern setting, a 1940s living-room, as though responding to Schlegel, Goethe and Hölderlin in their exhortation to create a myth for the contemporary world.

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[110] Marcks' familiarity with Hölderlin emerges in various media. For example, in a letter to Schlemmer he paraphrases Hyperion's famous speech admonishing Germans, but rephrased by Marcks to praise the Greeks. Letter from Marcks to Oskar Schlemmer, Halle (23.5.1928). Reproduced in Frenzel, Ursula, editor (1988), p.56.

[111] "Die Städte liegen weit weg und die Manner sind Bauern, Hirten und Fischer und sind sicher von griechischer Herkunft ... und die Menschen sind so friedlich wie uns bei Hölderlin erscheinen." Letter from Werner Gilles to Fritz Perretti (26.7.1936). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, ABK Gilles.

[112] In 1873, Marées was commissioned to decorate the newly established Stazione Zoologica in Naples. Adolf von Hildebrand, his pupil, collaborated in the project, painting the *trompe l'oeil* architectural decoration.

[113] Letter from Werner Gilles to Josef Pieper (29.1.1932).

Representing the Chthonic: Responses to Bachofen and Nietzsche

Besides the influence of Romantic theorists, a response to the writings of Bachofen and of Nietzsche have been discerned in the work of artists of the period. Chadwick has identified the significance of these theorists in the mythological imagery of the Surrealist artists, including Ernst. For these artists, the female principal governed creation, expressed in various works by Ernst (including his works on *The Nymph Echo* discussed above), and his exploration of the theme of Oedipus, she points out, is "haunted by the matriarchal possibilities in the myth".[114] The influence of Bachofen has been observed, also, in the departure from traditional approaches to the representation of the female nude. Images of Venus/Aphrodite, for instance, were generally presented less as objects of beauty in the classical sense (as continued to be the case among the traditionalist followers of National Socialism), and more as voluptuous symbols of fecundity Compared with Klee's female deities, however, Marcks' *Thuringer Venus* (1930, plate 2.22) appears closer to anatomical reality. Yet she does not conform, either, to traditional notions of classical form - at least as understood either by Winckelmann (see Chapter 1) or by Schultze-Naumburg (see Chapter 3). While Rudloff maintains that, following the artist's first journey to Greece, *Thuringer Venus* embodies the "fruit of the meeting with the Mediterranean world" in her "harmonic classicism",[115] and the gesture with her hair quotes from antique traditions,[116] Venus departs from the traditional notion of idealized beauty that is normally conveyed by the term 'classical' and her bulky physique, earthiness, and lack of refinement give her a somewhat rustic quality. What is classical, nonetheless, is her monumentality; the sense of self-containment and stillness which is, in fact, enhanced by her stolid build and in this respect, she is in the tradition of the large figures of Picasso's so-called classical period. It has been suggested that rather than an ideal type, she represents the godliness in everyone,[117] though it could be argued that, on the contrary, she represents the human dimension in deities. In any case, Marcks evidently identified his model for the sculpture with the goddess; it appears that the sitter was a woman from Halle in Thuringen with whom Marcks was

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[114] Chadwick, Whitney (1980), p.33.
[115] Rudloff, Martina (1989), p.148.
[116] The iconography of representations of Aphrodite included a type showing her with arms raised holding locks of hair. Examples are found at the Staatliche Antikensammlung, Munich and, in Rome, at the Palazzo Colonna and the Museo Nazionale. *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (1984), volume II.
[117] Rudloff, Martina (1989).

enamoured.[118] Like Müller's *Franconian Venus* (see Chapter 3), *Thuringian Venus* is localized thus one is led to assume that she illustrates an indigenous type and therefore should be realistic to some degree. She has been identified as having dual aspects, embodying, in addition to her realism, the vital life element (*"vitale Lebenselement"*) of German philosophy.[119] Her abundant figure conveys her latent fecundity symbolized by the fruit she holds out in her hand, and she seductively draws attention to her long hair.[120] There are obvious connotations of Eve also. In common with the interpretations of Venus by approved artists who, considerately for the viewer, avert their eyes, hers are as sightless as an ancient statue's. Where she differs from the Venuses of Nazi artists is that she is not confined by any of the more common fantasy roles: neither the pure, distant, cold ideal; nor saccharine coyness; nor erotic abandonment (see Chapter 3). The fruit she holds identifies her also as the prizewinner of the contest judged by Paris; though Paris (again in contrast to Nazi-approved renditions) is redundant in an image which celebrates the feminine principle of creativity. The same model appears to have been used for *Pomona* (1932, plate 2.23). However here she is enthroned and has a timeless and monumental bearing which negates any potential for realism. Rudloff emphasizes the importance to Marcks of the theories of Bachofen who, during the 1920s, was undergoing a revival,[121] and of Ludwig Klages who during the same period was publishing his views on the spiritual necessity for humanity to reconnect with its origins.[122]

Baumeister's exploration of the theme of Gyges has been related in part to his interest in Goethe who prompted the idea of a search for origins, and Gyges is an apt subject, representing a point of departure in recorded history.[123] However, aspects of the artist's interpretation bring it into the realm also of Bachofenian theory.[124] The

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[118] Blaum, Rudolf, et. al. (1993).

[119] Blaum, Rudolf, et. al. (1993), p.35.

[120] Some years later, in a letter, Marcks referred to a comment made to him by a Hungarian sculptor that long hair is the greatest weapon in women's arsenal: "lange Haare sind das grösste Waffe in weibliches Arsenal!". The sculpture suggests he may have subscribed to this idea at the time. Unpublished letter (10.1.1972), Gerhard Marcks-Haus, Bremen.

[121] Contemporaneous texts which were published during the 1920s include: C.A. Bernoulli. *J. J. Bachofen und das Natursymbol, Ein Würdigungsversuch.* Basel: Benno Schwabe (1924); Schröter, Manfred, editor. Introduction by Alfred Bäumler. *Der Mythos von Orient und Occident. Ein Metaphysik der alten Welt. Aus den Werken von J.J. Bachofen.* Munich: Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung (1926); and Marx, Rudolf, editor. *Johann Jacob Bachofen. Mutterrecht und Urreligion. Ein auswahl.* Leipzig: Alfred Kröner-Verlag (1927).

[122] Rudloff, Martina (1988); and Rudloff, Martina, editor (1989).

[123] Conzen-Meairs, Ina (1987) points out that the story of Gyges is an early topic in Herodotus' *Histories*, the first known history text (5th century BC). Herodotus. *Histories* (trans. George Rawlinson, 1996).

[124] Baumeister owned a copy of Bachofen's text *Mutterrecht und Urreligion* published in 1926. See Appendix 2.

story of Gyges was recorded by Herodotus in his *Histories*, a copy of which Baumeister owned,[125] and combines myth with history. A king of Lydia in the seventh century BC, Gyges founded a dynasty by killing the king Candaules (*Kandaules*). Herodotus records that Gyges, a body guard, was the favourite officer of the king who was so proud of his wife's beauty that he insisted on Gyges hiding and observing her naked. Reluctantly, Gyges complied. However, the queen, discerning Gyges' presence, summoned him and gave him the choice either of submitting to execution or alternatively to kill her husband and assume control of the kingdom with her as his consort. He chose the latter and, according to Plato's version, in the *Republic*, succeeded with the use of a magic ring. Baumeister carried out the series of drawings on the theme in 1943 and it comprises ten numbered drawings together with a title page, plus twenty associated sketches. In *Gyges after Herodotos VI* (*Gyges nach Herodot VI*) (plate 2.24), Baumeister shows the 'hero' Gyges (distinguishable by the sun-shaped head, a symbol used often by the artist to signify heroic figures) standing to the left, while king Candaule in the centre stands fragmented, an ominous portent of his coming fate.[126] The queen is the focus of the image, a bright aura surrounds her body, as she is displayed on a pedestal. Her voluptuous figure and vase-shaped body indicate unambiguously her sexuality and function as receptacle, characteristics emphasized by her facelessness. Lest one should imagine that she has been allocated a traditional, subservient role of sexual object, the inference is rather that this is the source of her power. In the next image in the series, *Gyges after Herodotus VII* (plate 2.25), the queen raises a claw-like arm in a position used repeatedly by Baumeister to signify authority. Conzen-Meairs proposes that the queen's power is manifested in her position of choice between the two men, and her authority in ordering one to destroy the other.[127] In placing a woman in a situation of power, Baumeister interprets the theme in a manner congruent with perceptions of matrilineal society.

Chametsky makes reference to the Gyges series also, but refers to it as "...illustrating the Greek myth drawn from Herodotus of the big-limbed Hecatoncheire (hundred-handed monster) Gyges..".[128] In fact, this Gyges - another character in Greek myth - comes not from Herodotus but from Hesiod's *Theogony*,[129]

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[125] Herodots. *Geschichts Werk des Herodotos von Halikarnassos* (trans. Theodor Braun, 1927).

[126] This device may have been influenced by Klee; physical fragmentation or dismemberment of this type was, in fact, used by Klee in many of his late works. For example, *Metamorphosis of the Fragment* (1937.190) infers in its title both growth and disintegration.

[127] Conzen-Meairs, Ina (1989).

[128] Chametsky, Peter (1991).

[129] "And again there were born of Earth and Heaven three more sons, mighty and stern, not to be spoken of, Kottos, Briareos, and Gyges, overbearing children. A hundred arms sprang from their

and he is described as a chthonic figure emerging in the earliest creation myths, an offspring of Gaia and Uranus (Earth and Air). However, in addition to Herodotus, Baumeister had a copy of Hesiod's writings and may well have been aware of this alternative Gyges, which might explain Chametsky's assumption. In his search for origins, then, it would be interesting to consider that Baumeister explored not only the earliest figure recorded in history, but one of the earliest in myth also. Hesiod's Gyges, as progeny of the Earth, conforms also to a Bachofenian reading.

Baumeister's Gilgamesh series, outlined later in this chapter, explores one of the most important Sumerian mythological sagas. This complex legend incorporates a number of crucial sub-plots which provide an opportunity for exploring issues relevant to dimensions of *Lebensphilosophie*. Of particular relevance here is the confrontation of Gilgamesh with Ishtar, the Babylonian goddess of war and fertility. Ishtar, in her role in this myth, could have been interpreted as a negative figure, a capricious and powerful goddess who has taken a position of opposition to the 'hero'. However, Baumeister is interested in her as the 'Great Goddess', the manifestation of Bachofen's 'mother right' and he focuses on her awesome power and female physical attributes. In *Gilgamesh Illustration XXXIII* (plate 2.26), her sexual attributes predominate, and she is multi-breasted like a Diana of Ephesos. However, she is presented not as a beautiful and seductive woman, but as a powerful colossus towering over an abject Gilgamesh. She personifies the awesome power of nature, a stark contrast to the meek and subservient goddesses of abundance favoured by the Nazi regime (see Chapters 3 and 4).

Ernst Nay responded to similar stimuli, expressed through myth in his most famous cycle, the Hecate paintings. While initially, in the 1920s, he experienced difficulty in coming to terms with Klee's imagery,[130] it is evident from documents that subsequently Klee was a major influence on his conception of myth and nature.[131] In the context of this influence, Nay refers also to Goethe, and to the search for an understanding of the universe (from the atom to the planetary system). In a letter to his friend Carl Heise in 1935, he made significant comments about his interpretation of nature in his work:

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shoulders - unshapen hulks - and fifty heads grew from the shoulders of each of them upon their stalwart bodies. And strength boundless and powerful was upon their mighty form." Hesiod. *Theogony*, 148-54 (trans, M.L. West, 1988), p.7.

[130] E.W. Nay, autobiographical notes (9.12.1958), reproduced in part in *E.W. Nay. A Retrospective* (1991), pp.25-38.

[131] In an unpublished document dated September 1967, he refers to Klee twice as one of the three artists significant in the liberation of creative processes (the other two being Malevich and Kandinsky). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, ABK file Ernst Nay.

> Man is a part of nature, not the master of nature. The relationship with mythical primordial nature lets us know the true reality of nature.[132]

Among artists mentioned as important in the development of his vision, Klee is cited in terms of reflection ("In Klee als Reflexion.") suggesting his role in the content or meaning of images. Later in the letter Nay stressed the central importance of reflection, a process which revealed for him the great significance of the mythical relationship (i.e. with nature) as the point of departure. Twenty years later, this approach remained significant to him. In a short type-written statement, in 1955, Nay referred to the mythicalization of nature ("... der Mythisierung der Natur ...") and used terminology reminiscent of Klee's ideas and imagery.[133] While evidently strongly influenced by Klee, Nay developed his own means of expression. The Hecate pictures were carried out between 1945 and 1948 and explore the forces of nature expressed by the chthonic themes in myth. *Daughter of Hecate I* (1945, plate 2.27) typifies the style of this period. Strong colour and decisive angles contrive to convey a sense of power, while the dynamic arrangement of forms and dramatic brushwork strive for a balance between chaos and order. Hecate was a significant choice of representative for this body of works. She was associated with the underworld, an attendant of Persephone, and a ruler over the souls of the dead. Despite this, she was described by Hesiod as a source of many blessings: wealth, victory, wisdom and so on, a metaphor for the abundance of nature. Because of her connection with the night, she was often referred to as a moon goddess and consequently confused with Artemis and Diana. Haftmann explains that *Daughter of Hecate I* was painted towards the end of 1945 and that the dark glow of the forms suggested to Nay the title of the image and, ultimately, the entire series. The idea, therefore, was not to depict Hecate herself so much as to adopt her as a symbol of the range of myths and related themes carried out over this period, and their underlying nature. Haftmann points out the orgiastic, daemonic world which this series explores and its contrast to the Apollonian aspect of Nietzsche's dichotomy.[134] *Prometheus I* (1948, plate 2.28) in the series is relevant given the role of this mythical character as a creator, and bringer of light to humanity. *Metamorphosis*

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[132] "Der Mensch ein Stück der Natur, nicht der Herr der Natur. Die Bindung an das mythische Urwesen lässt uns die wahre Realität der Natur erkennen." Letter to Carl Heise (1.2.1935). Copy consulted at Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, ABK file Ernst Nay.

[133] For example: "Die Kunstler haben die Chance Sterne zu sein. Sterne am Firmament, Sterne auf der Erde" and "...jeder Punkt im Universum Mittelpunkt ist ...", referring to use of stars in Klee's imagery, and to his conception of the point as the start of creativity, outlined in his Bauhaus teaching notes. Typewritten note by E.W. Nay (3.1.1955). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, ABK file Ernst Nay.

(1950, plate 2.29), which conveys the sense of dynamic movement identified by Goethe as representing the life principal, is particularly germane to the theme given its implication both of nature and myth.

Beckmann was, initially, one of the most ardent admirers of Nietzsche's ideas,[135] though the extent to which the philosopher influenced the content of his work has been open to debate; the ambiguity of his work has led to largely conjectural analysis of his iconography. While Nietzsche's Vitalism has been proposed as a general influence on Beckmann's work, Fischer argues that Beckmann became ultimately disenchanted with Nietzsche.[136] However, whether this caused the artist to reject his theories altogether has not been determined and analyses of his paintings on myth frequently suggest Nietzsche's influence. Kessler ascribes to Nietzsche's Apollonian/Dionysian dichotomy the contrast in *Departure* (plate 2.30), discussed in greater length in Chapter 5, between the violence and pessimism of the outer wings, and the calm optimism of the main central panel.[137] There are potential pitfalls, however, in assuming opposites automatically reflect this philosophical construct. Kessler interprets the outer wings both in terms of the decadence of society *and* as representing the Nietzschean. Fischer identifies a contradiction in this interpretation on the basis that Nietzsche read the *absence* of the Dionysian - the instinctive urges of nature - as the source of social dysfunction, and the obsession with money and appearance. Nietzsche acknowledged, however, that there were also destructive, barbaric aspects of the Dionysian (see Chapter 1) and perhaps this is what emerges here - though this has not been verified. Nietzsche is referred to as a potential source also for Beckmann's triptych *The Argonauts* (1949-50, plate 2.31), discussed also in Chapter 5. He points out that the wings depict the artist on the left, and a chorus of singers on the right reflecting Nietzsche's identification of music with Apollo, and the plastic arts with Dionysus. Supporting Schiff's contention is the fact that the original title of the work was *The Artists*, suggesting that the nature of the role of artists, as identified by Nietzsche, was the focus of Beckmann's imagery.

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[134] Haftmann, Werner (1960).
[135] See for example Gordon, Donald E. (1987).
[136] Fischer, Friedhelm Wilhelm (1972).
[137] Kessler, Charles S. (1970).

Themes of Death and Resurrection

Orpheus

The theme of Orpheus was one of the most prevalent of mythological subjects in art during the period around the Third Reich. In 1950, an exhibition was mounted in Hannover reviewing the representation of classical myths during the previous thirty or so years.[138] This exhibition is explored further in Chapter 5, but it is of interest to note that of the 150 works shown, Orpheus was the single most common theme accounting for around twenty of the exhibits. The interpretation of Orpheus had several dimensions; one of the most important for artists was his personification of the creative urge, a role which had been applied at least since the eighteenth century. As Willson explains, Schlegel's call for a new mythology had posed to the Jena circle the challenge that:

> ... every writer of stature had to become an Orpheus and quicken the objective world about him through the power of his own subjective creativity, while running the risk of the fate of Pygmalion - or of Orpheus himself.[139]

Herder, considering contemporary interest in myth in the context of the evolution of its application, also saw the Orpheus theme as a metaphor. Initially, he posited, in primitive cultures, myth was used in part to explain the mysteries of nature, but later it was put to more philosophical purposes. He explained that the Greeks absorbed fables from different cultures and used these myths "to explain the wonders of the Earth":

> However spurious and new-modified our hymns of the ancient Orpheus may be; still they are imitations of that lively devotion and reverence of Nature, to which all nations in the first stage of civilization are prone.[140]

However, in time, he points out, myths were employed for "more human themes for the use of man" adding:

> "...but how is the Orphic hymn to Nature refined and ennobled, merely by the Grecian words and images".

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[138] Hentzen, Alfred, curator (1950).
[139] Willson, A. Leslie (1971), p.46.
[140] J.G. Herder. 'Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind'. Cited in Feldman, Burton and Robert D. Richardson (1972), p.234.

Herder did not identify which aspects of the Orphic myths he understood as relating to nature, or later how it was turned to humanistic philosophy. There are a number of sources and variations of the legends surrounding the character of Orpheus which provide a basis for the development of allegories. However, certain characteristics are typically exploited in imagery based on Orpheus, and it is useful to identify these in exploring the iconography of the use of the theme in art.

As a musician and poet, Orpheus was associated with harmony and creativity, and the quest for self expression, and functioned therefore as a metaphor for artists themselves. He was seen also to combine both Dionysian and Apollonian characteristics. Like Apollo, he was attributed with the invention of the lyre, and is associated with the Apollonian leaning towards music; Ovid described him as "the poet Apollo loved".[141] Yet Orpheus was seen also as a counterpart of Dionysus by descending to the underworld - though the fact that he returned linked him with the upper world of Apollo also. His loss of Euridice, and subsequent rejection of the Thracian women[142] led to his being furiously torn apart by the them. The impassioned butchery of this occurrence linked him with Dionysian excesses and frenzy. Ovid describes the event:

> All their weapons would have been rendered harmless by the charm of Orpheus' songs, but clamorous shouting, Phrygian flutes with curving horns, tambourines, the beating of breasts, and Bacchic howlings, drowned the music of the lyre.[143]

Bacchus (Dionysus) was described by Ovid as "distressed at losing the poet who had sung his mysteries".[144] Thus Orpheus' artistic production was related both to Apollo and Dionysus and he was thus seen to embody the combined requirements for creativity.

Orpheus's descent to the underworld, to rescue Euridice, and his return to the upper world rendered him a symbol both of death and subsequent Christ-like resurrection or rebirth.[145] He was important therefore for those interested in the notion of the transmigration of souls, and particularly relevant for artists exploring or

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[141] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XI, [8], (trans. Mary M. Innes, 1955), p.246.
[142] In some versions, their anger is due to his interest in their husbands in the wake of his vow not to replace Euridice with another woman. The Thracian women are sometimes described as Maenads.
[143] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XI, [15-20], (trans. Mary M. Innes, 1955), p.246.
[144] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XI, [68], (trans. Mary M. Innes, 1955), p.248.
[145] Bernstock, Judith (1991).

experiencing bereavement, as well as those fearing or facing death. The descent into the depths of the underworld was seen also to be analogous with depression and recovery, and he was therefore an important example to artists of the possibility of plumbing the depths of emotional experience and surviving, and of the cathartic properties of art. The dismemberment of Orpheus, at the hands of the Thracian women, served as a metaphor for emotional, as well as physical, disintegration and fragmentation; the rather bizarre survival of Orpheus's head, which floated down the river and continued to sing, was a symbol of mental and emotional survival, and the continuity of creativity in the face of intolerable opposition. Bernstock summarizes the core of these ideas:

> Orpheus's descent into the underworld and return, his bodily dismemberment but spiritual immortality through his song exemplify the cycle of life and provide hope of overcoming mortal transience.[146]

From the nineteenth century, a cultic interest in the idea of the transmigration of souls led to a revival of interest in the theme of Orpheus, and he continued to be important in the twentieth century.

In at least two works, Klee explored the theme of Orpheus in the context, respectively of nature and music. His interest in Orpheus is particularly relevant given his own musical background, as mentioned. He would also have been familiar with, or at least known of, the music room dedicated to Orpheus in the home of his teacher in Munich, Franz von Stuck (plate 2.32). It is evident, from a notation in his diaries and an accompanying sketch that Klee visited the Stuck villa.[147] While Klee's emblematic, almost abstract, representations are very different in appearance from those of Stuck, the cosmological references and sense of mystery in the extraordinary room must surely have interested him. The relationship of Orpheus, creativity and death was explored by Klee in *A Garden for Orpheus* (plate 2.12). This drawing was carried out in 1926, one of two works on the theme of Orpheus to commemorate the death of his friend Rainer Maria Rilke.[148] Klee had copies of a wide range of publications by Rilke including one of his most famous works, a collection of poems entitled *Sonnets to Orpheus*,[149] written as a memorial to a young

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[146] Bernstock, Judith (1991), p.xxv.
[147] Entry 98 (4.4.1900). Klee visited Franz von Stuck, professor at the Munich Academy of Fine Arts, at his villa to show his portfolio. Stuck accepted him as a pupil. Klee, Paul (1988).
[148] Bernstock, Judith (1991).
[149] The copy owned by Klee was: Rainer Maria Rilke. *Die Sonette an Orpheus.* Leipzig (1923).

friend who had died tragically. [150] *A Garden for Orpheus* depicts a landscape, devoid of human presence, composed of finely drawn parallel lines which are constructed in layers suggesting the substrata beneath the earth revealed as though by archaeological excavation. A deep tunnel indicates the entrance to the underworld,[151] locus not only of Orpheus in search of Euridice, but then also of Rilke. A hexagram in the sky exhibits Klee's familiarity with eastern symbolism. This emblem is based on the Sri Yantra, the ancient fertility symbol of Indian myth, which appears in a number of images by Klee.[152] The Sri Yantra is composed of two overlaid triangles representing the perpetual union between Kali (or Sri) indicated by the downward pointing one, symbol of female creativity, and Shiva (or Yoni), indicated by the upward pointing triangle of male creativity. This "starry union", to use the words of Rilke in his poetry,[153] was supposed to maintain life in the universe, according to its interpretation by the Swiss philosopher, Carl Jung. The ordered structure of the landscape is in keeping with such cosmic references. The doorway to the underworld is, as mentioned, a regular feature of Klee's garden imagery, drawing on the ancient tomb symbolism of megalithic cultures, discussed later with respect to *Wandering Soul*. The suggestion that death is a doorway to a new level of life is manifest in the nature of the garden as Klee understands it - plants decay into the earth where their seeds produce the next generation. *A Garden for Orpheus*, therefore, links the ideas of death, sexuality, and fertility as critical elements in the ordered functioning of the cosmos, key elements in Romantic thought as mentioned in relation to *Flower Myth* discussed earlier.

Three years later in 1929, Klee carried out his other work on the theme of *Orpheus* (plate 2.33). This work verges on the abstract; the undulating curved vertical forms have a slow harmonic rhythm, but are divided into staccato horizontal bars, suggestive of the keys of a piano. The tonal variations and colour harmonies are a visual counterpart of those in music. The layered effect of the parallel lines has been associated, in other paintings, with the stratification of the earth, thus the notion of descent/ascent either physically or musically in terms of scales or layers, is

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[150] Klee's collection of other texts by Rilke included the following: *Das Stunden-Buch*, Leipzig (1913); *Der Neuen Gedichte anderer Teil*, Leipzig (1920); *Duineser Elegien*, Leipzig (1923); *Brief aus den Jahren 1902 bis 1906*, Leipzig (1930); *Briefe aus den Jahren 1906-1907*, Leipzig (1930); *Späte Gedichte*, Leipzig (1934); *Neue Gedichte*, Leipzig (1935); *Brief aus Muzot 1921 bis 1926*, Leipzig (1936); *Briefe aus den Jahren 1914-1921*, Leipzig (1937).

[151] Other works support the view that the entrance relates to the underworld, and that it is a symbol also of fertility and growth. The drawing *Daemon before an Entrance* (Paul-Klee-Stiftung) carried out also in 1926 and in the same style shows a similarly layered doorway, guarded by a daemon of the underworld. A tadpole-like form with lengthy tail at the top of the doorway appears about to enter.

[152] See, for example, DeLamater, Peg (1984).

[153] "... sternische Verbindung...". Rilke, Rainer Maria (1992), p.36 [part 1, Sonnet 11, line 12].

intimated. The dedication of two works to the poet indicates something of the closeness of the friends who, for a short while, shared accommodation. In 1915, Klee wrote in his diary of Rilke "his sensibility is very close to mine...", though he went on to comment that he felt his own explorations went much deeper. It is nonetheless of interest to note that Klee kept a newspaper cutting which sets out something of Rilke's sensibility, and which is still to be found folded into the pages of one of his copies of Rilke's poetry, *Der Neuen Gedichte anderer Teil* (1920).[154] The article is entitled 'To a young woman. A letter from Rainer Maria Rilke' (*An ein junges Mädchen. Ein Brief von Rainer Maria Rilke*), and inscribed with the date 20th November 1904, though the cutting itself is not identified or dated. In this Rilke expresses his belief that:

> It is so natural for me to understand girls and women; the deepest experience of the creator is feminine - in conceiving and giving birth to experience.[155]

Similarly, Klee's drawing *Feminine-Creative* (*Weiblich-Schöpferisch*) of 1940 (plate 2.34) affirms his association of the female, nature and creativity; the female figure in the image gives birth to a flower. The garden in *A Garden for Orpheus*, as the locus of nature, is also therefore the realm of creativity.

While Klee was familiar with Ovid, there is no sense of narrative or illustration in his approach to representing the theme of Orpheus. Other artists, however, took a much more illustrative approach. Gerhard Marcks, for example, had been working on the theme, producing delicate pencil drawings of scenes from the story as told in Ovid. Grohmann made reference to them in an article published in 1937,[156] hoping to mitigate the devastating personal and economic effects of Marcks' inclusion in the 'Degenerate' Art exhibition of that year. Grohmann drew attention to the fact that in the artist's studio there was a folder of drawings, on the Orpheus theme, which had never been shown to the public. The holdings of the Gerhard Marcks-Stiftung in Bremen include preliminary sketches on this subject which show that it had been explored by Marcks since the early 1920s, during his time at the Bauhaus in Weimar, leading eventually to the more finished pencil drawings which were carried out during the years from 1927 to 1935.[157] Grohmann pointed out also that these had never been published, and called upon a publisher to

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[154] Paul-Klee-Stiftung, Bern.
[155] "Es ist so naturlich für mich, Mädchen und Frauen zu verstehen; das tiefste Erleben des Schaffenden ist weiblich -: denn es ist empfangendes und gebäudendes Erleben."
[156] Grohmann, Will (1937).
[157] Rudloff, Martina (1980).

seize the opportunity,[158] though given the political climate, it is unsurprising that there was no immediate response. However, ten years later, Marcks converted the collection of drawings into a series of ten woodcuts, published together with the relevant verses from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as the title-page shows (plate 2.35).

Rudloff, a friend and correspondent of Marcks during his latter years, and current director of the Gerhard Marcks-Stiftung, points out the importance for Marcks of Orpheus as a symbol of creativity; and it is relevant that the various drawings and woodcuts make use of, or provide designs for, the compositions of various other pieces. The composition of the sculpture *Psyche* (plate 2.36) is repeated in that for Euridice in *Orpheus, Euridice and Hermes* (Leaf VI, plate 2.37). Psyche is an apt prototype as a personification of the soul whose legend (Cupid and Psyche) has similarities with that of Orpheus and Euridice.[159] While Euridice has closed eyes, presumably to signify that she had died, she is otherwise closely modelled on Psyche - including the arrangement of the garments and the intriguing positioning of the hands which pluck anxiously at her sleeve. Marcks uses light and shade effectively both for atmospheric effect and visual interest, and also to segregate the living and the dead figures. Euridice is shown as both dark and light - her fate as yet undecided - while Hermes is dark and a moon hangs over his head to symbolize the night and death. Orpheus, by contrast, shines like Apollo and is crowned with his laurel, signifying that he does not belong in the underworld. Similarly, the youth represented in *Ver Sacrum* (plate 2.38), a sculpture carried out in 1943, to commemorate his son who was killed in the war, is depicted as Orpheus in his Apollonian persona. It is based on the kouros type figures, many of which were designed to be grave markers, such as the one in the Munich Glyptothek (plate 2.39) which was known to Marcks.[160] He depicts a youth with closed eyes (like Euridice in the woodcut), heroically crowned with the laurel of Apollo, about to enter the underworld, the implication being that his death is not a finality.

Among the students at the Bauhaus where Marcks taught was Werner Gilles who became a close friend. Gilles, also addressed the theme of Orpheus in series form though, as Hentzen[161] points out, they each tended to focus on different aspects of the story.[162] Although he was a student of Feininger, Gilles was an admirer of the work

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[158] Grohmann, Will (1937).
[159] Bell, Robert E.L. (1991).
[160] This illustration (plate 2.39) is from a postcard found in the pages of a book owned by Marcks entitled *Griechische Tempel.* See Appendix 3.
[161] Hentzen, Alfred (1960).
[162] Marcks explored the events before Orpheus was torn apart by Maenads; Gilles focused much of his imagery on the symbolism of the head of Orpheus (i.e. after the dismemberment).

of Klee who joined the Bauhaus in 1921, and elements of his style and content can be detected in the work of Gilles, though more as influences than slavish imitation.[163] Like Klee, Gilles was stimulated to address the theme of Orpheus in response to Rilke's collection of poems *A Sonnet for Orpheus,* though rather than commemorate a death, it was to celebrate his friendship with a musician, the pianist Hans Alexander Kaul.[164] Gilles' interest in mythological themes was stimulated by a study trip to Ischia, funded by the Prix de Rome stipendium awarded in 1931 (see Appendix 4). According to Hentzen, Gilles often referred to discovering, in Ischia, the home of Orpheus. He did not mean this literally, but as a metaphor for the exposure to a culture he associated with ancient myth, and to a landscape which he found lyrical. Gilles' work is widely acknowledged as an amalgam of the tragic and the lyrical and therefore appropriate for the representation of the theme of Orpheus.[165] In 1947 he produced his first Orpheus cycle which comprised ten aquarelle paintings relating to, but not directly illustrating, scenes described by Ovid. He was evidently taken by this subject and two years later completed a second cycle, initially of eleven images in aquarelle, entitled *Lament over the Head of Orpheus* (*Klage um Haupt des Orpheus*), followed by a further four in various media including oil and gouache. Over the subsequent years, he continued to revisit the theme. Gilles, like the other artists discussed here, was interested in Orpheus not only as a symbol of creativity, but also as a means of exploring the idea of death.[166] Schwengers suggests that his interest reflected an attempt to cope, as an artist, with the threat to his creative productivity.[167] However, Hentzen points out that, in the series *Lament over the Head of Orpheus* as well as *From a Tibetan Book of the Dead*, for Gilles:

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[163] In an obituary for Werner Gilles (died 22.6.1961), Friedrich Ahlers-Hestermann refers to the early influence of Chagall, Klee and Picasso. Manuscript, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. ABK Werner Gilles: file no.ZR ABK 1366.

[164] Schwengers, Marlis (1985).

[165] This is the general view expressed in the various obituaries following his death, and critiques of the commemorative exhibition the following year in Berlin. See for example Otto Brues, 'Trauer um einen orphischen Meister', *Mittag*, nr.143 (24.6.1961); and Feuilleton, 'Botschaften des Orpheus', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, no.149 (2.7.1962).

[166] In 1950 he produced a series of images entitled 'From a Tibetan Death-Book', which responded to the Tibetan Death-Book published in 1935 together with a psychoanalytical commentary by Carl Jung.

[167] Schwengers, Marlis (1985).

> ...death is everywhere present in symbol and form, not as an enemy, but reconciled in the harmony of pure tones of colour, out of a deep faith, to which higher consciousness all beings were born.[168]

This relationship of death and creativity emerged in the context of a prodigious curiosity about, and exploration of, a wide range of prevalent spiritual and philosophical ideas as indicated by his friend Knauer, commenting after Gilles' death:

> One has often been surprised at the Gillesian mythologemes, as if they were an anacronism in a demythologized world. But even if one leaves aside the stimuli of Rilke's *A Sonnet for Orpheus*, and also the Nietzschean concept of the Dionysian and Apollonian, which played such an important role for him, Gilles surprised us with his astonishing knowledge of religious historical research and discoveries of the twentieth century: Walter F. Otto, Frobenius, Kerényi, the newly-appreciated Bachofen, the Sinologist Richard Wilhelm can be named as being familiar to him and as an example of the growing insight at that time in the apparently irrational world of myth, fairytale, and saga.[169]

Nietzsche's influence can, perhaps, be detected in the relatively early work, *Apollo and Marsyas* of 1942 (plate 2.21) mentioned above. This painting refers to the myth of the competition based on the polarity between the musical instruments associated with each of Apollo and Dionysus (Marsyas, a Satyr, was one of his followers). However, in contrast to the most common representation of the theme which shows Apollo flaying alive his defeated opponent, the prize for his success, Gilles shows them standing genially together in a domestic interior, indicating the union necessary for creativity. The mythical characters are identifiable by their respective colouring;

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[168] "...der Tod is überall gegenwärtig in Zeichen und Formen, aber nicht als Feind, sondern versöhnt in der Harmonie des reinen Klangs der Farben, die aus einem tiefen Glauben an den höheren Sinn allen Seins geboren ist." Hentzen, Alfred (1960), p.15.

[169] "Man hat sich oft über die Gillesschen Mythologeme gewundert, als seien sie ein Anachronismus in einer entmythologisierten Welt. Aber sieht man einmal von der Anregungen durch Rilkes *Sonnette an Orpheus* ab, auch von der Nietzscheschen Begriffen des Dionysischen und Apollonischen, die eine so große Rolle für ihn spielten, so überraschte Gilles uns mit seiner erstaunlichen Kenntnis der religiös historischen Forschungen und Entdeckungen der 20er Jahre: Walter F. Otto, Frobenius, Kerényi, der neugeschätzte Bachofen, der Sinologe Richard Wilhelm seien nur genannt als ihm wohlvertraut und als Beispiel der gerade in jener Zeit wachsenden Einsicht in die scheinbar so irrationale Welt das Mythos, des Märchens, der Sage." Georg Nicholaus Knauer, extract from transcript of opening speech of Gilles Exhibition, Berlin Academy of Art (24.6.1962), p.7. Manuscript, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. ABK Werner Gilles,

the pale skinned Apollo looking on while the darker Marsyas plays his instrument. Dionysian elements have been identified in images from the Orpheus cycles. For example, in *Flight from the Daemon* (*Flucht vor dem Dämon*), (plate 2.40), a title which is reminiscent of Klee's *Flight before Hades* (plate 2.41) considered in Chapter 5, the 'Urmutter' has been described as fleeing from the Dionysian daemon on the right.[170] The term 'Urmutter' refers to the originary or primal mother or earth goddess and she is a central character in this, second, series, taking responsibility for the protection of the head of Orpheus. This interpretation of the story bears little relation to Ovid's and appears to have come from Gilles' own imagination, an original development of Bachofen's maternal goddess.

As in Klee's work, Gilles creates a relationship between the world of the living on the surface of the earth, and that of the dead, by providing apertures; doorways to the underworld set into the landscape. In this way too, the laws of nature are seen to govern the relationship of life and death. An apt example is a later work entitled *Entrance to the Underworld* (1953) illustrated in a newspaper article (Appendix 5) on a retrospective exhibition of Gilles' work in Cologne in 1967.[171] A trapdoor in the ground opens to reveal a dark interior. Similarly, *Ravine with Entrance to the Underworld (Schlucht mit Eingang zur Underwelt)* (plate 2.42) depicts a fruitful landscape featuring a dark entrance cut into the rock.

Other Death Myths

The interest in exploring death, fear of its finality, curiosity about its implications, and its metaphorical possibilities, was expressed through other myths also, though these were primarily other themes of the underworld such as Charon, the Styx, Hades, and chthonic myths. It was a recurring subject in Klee's work, gaining momentum in the final years of his life before his death in 1940 of the sclerodoma which had been diagnosed five years earlier. The interest in such themes has been linked both to his declining health and to the political environment, a debate discussed further in Chapter 5. To summarize the issues, it has been asserted by some critics that the remission of Klee's illness until late 1939 would have mitigated a focus on his own mortality; while others argue that he had little interest in politics and led an isolated life away from such external concerns. Most argue in favour, however, of one or the other explanation for an intensification of focus on underworld myth during the last five years or so of his life. By 1940, it was evident

[170] See Bauer, H. and A. Jannasch (1968).
[171] Andre, Jo, 'Mythologie des südlichen Mittag. Die Kölner Retrospektive auf Werner Gilles', *Echo der Zeit*, no.34 (20.8.1967).

to Klee that death was imminent, and some of the imagery reflects his attempts to come to terms with this reality. This is indicated by the Eidola series of twenty-seven drawings, all of which were also carried out in the year of his death. Kramer has made reference to the meaning of 'eidolon', in Greek, as the residue of the dead making its way to the underworld.[172] The series reveals that, at times, the prospect of death appears to have filled Klee with fear giving rise to such intense works as *Flight before Hades* mentioned above (plate 2.40). *Dark Voyage* (plate 2.43) and *Invalid in a Boat* (plate 2.44) of the same year, refer to the journey of the soul across the Styx, ferried by Charon. The title of a drawing of the previous year, *Difficult Landing* suggests something of the arduous nature of his illness. At times he seemed to accept the inevitable and to find consolation in mythological literature. In January 1940, a few months before his death, Klee wrote to his friend Will Grohmann:

> Lately, I have rather indulged myself in tragedy. I have now had the pleasure of reading three translations of the *Oresteia* one after the other, in fact, play by play, scene by scene, with the intention of finding the right one somewhere in between.
> Naturally, I haven't come accidently to this tragic track; many of my pictures point that way and say: it is about time.[173]

The issue of death forms an important sub-plot also in the story of Gilgamesh, the most important character of the mythological sagas of Sumeria. The Gilgamesh cycle was significant in the work of Baumeister who explored the theme for a number of years from 1943 in an extensive series comprising sixty-four images, together with a further one hundred and forty-four related drawings. The sixty-four 'core' works correspond with specific sections of text which are noted on the reverse. As this series is understood to have emerged in response to Baumeister's experience of the Nazi regime, and was certainly carried out during a period of 'inner exile', it is primarily discussed in Chapter 5. However, it is of relevance to briefly consider here the elements of the story concerned with death, some of which bear strong similarities with particular characters and events in European myth. Consequently, aspects of the Gilgamesh legend conform with the interest among artists of this period in myths expressive of *Lebensphilosophie* and in Orphic myths, and Baumeister's interest in the theme can be understood in these terms. The story relates that the prince Gilgamesh, a combination of god and human, was given to

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[172] Kramer, Kathryn (1993).
[173] Gutbrod, Karl, editor (1968), p.84.

despotic behaviour. In order to control him, the gods created a human in his image, Enkidu, to spar with him, presumably to provide a channel for his violent energy. It has been suggested that Gilgamesh can be seen as a counterpart of Hercules;[174] in a legend comparable to the story of Hercules and Antaeus, Enkidu was fashioned out of clay, thus the earth was, for him also, the source of his creation. Unlike Hercules and Antaeus, however, Gilgamesh and Enkidu subsequently become friends, and the legend addresses the bereavement and consequent intense grief suffered by Gilgamesh when Enkidu dies and goes to the nether world of Nergal. Gilgamesh, like Orpheus, then attempts to challenge the finality of death, but his mission is comparably futile.

Baumeister's knowledge of the story of Gilgamesh came from two main sources; he used a translated version of the text published by Burckhardt,[175] as well as an excerpted version in his copy of Christian Zervos' book on Mesopotamian art.[176] The latter carried a range of relevant reproductions of Sumerian art work including cylinder seals and these evidently made a deep impression on him as he used some of the illustrations in his book *Das Unbekannte in der Kunst* (plate 2.45). It is evident in his imagery that aspects of the style have been adapted selectively and appropriately in his own art. However, he does not copy them nor, in his representations of elements drawn from the texts describing the myth of Gilgamesh, does he opt for a descriptive, imitative approach.[177] What he has drawn on are the simplified, almost abstract forms, the formal frontality of many of the early figures, the stone and earth textures, and the fragmentation of design which occurs in certain works, such as *Scene from Gilgamesh* (1948, plate 2.46). The glyphic configurations in his work draw also on the cuneiform texts which operate at three levels: first, for those who can decipher them, they are carriers of meaning conveying historical and mythological narrative, and details of religious dogma; second, the script functions also as a range of exotic and mystical symbols, particularly for those ignorant of the language and alphabet; and, third, the

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[174] Graves refers to Gilgamesh as "the Babylonian Heracles". He suggests that the Gilgamesh legend probably reached Greece via Phoenicia, and draws comparison between elements of their respective stories. Graves, Robert (1992), p.153 [41.3], and p.451 [118.2]. However, the comparisons may be relatively superficial - Heracles succeeds in overcoming death, unlike Gilgamesh who fails to recover Enkidu.

[175] The version he used was published in 1916 by Insel Verlag. My thanks to Felicitas Baumeister for drawing my attention to this source.

[176] Zervos, Christian (1935).

[177] It was, in fact, a basic tenet of his approach to art to avoid imitation as he stated in his text *Das Unbekannte in der Kunst*, begun in 1943, the same year he commenced work on the Gyges and Gilgamesh cycles. He quoted Karl Ziegler, who was, according to Felicitas Baumeister, important to her father's conception of art and of myth. Ziegler, in a text entitled *Tradition* (*Überlieferung*), placed

decorative quality of the graphology operates at an aesthetic level. The suggestion of mythological and mystical content is of paramount interest to him:

> My illustrations are close to the ancient reliefs on the cyclopean walls, to the cuneiform script, the hieroglyphs, the sign writing, the rites and ceremonies, which maintain their mystery, like the great, faraway god whose name is never pronounced but only paraphrased.[178]

Conzen-Meairs proposes that Baumeister's aim in exploring an alternative means of representation via a mythos and its emblematic signs is in order to find in prehistory significant evidence of an archetypal constant which continued to retain its validity in the present.[179] This idea is effectively contained in a variation of the last scene from the Gilgamesh series, *Gilgamesh LXIV (Variant)* (plate 2.47) where death overtakes the hero who, unable to avoid it, submits to the eternal cycle of nature. He lies fragmented on the ground under a canopy formed by a collage cut-out of a photograph of cuneiform script. Leaning over him is a column decorated with another photographic detail, this time of the famous illustration of Goethe's *Urpflanze* which Baumeister had included in his *Unbekannte* (plate 2.48) as the symbol of the elementary and archetypal ideal. In corresponding it with an early form of script, it is emblematic not only of natural but also human creativity.

Case Studies: Two Works on Myth by Paul Klee

Case Study: Metamorphose

In discussing the significance of Goethe earlier in the chapter, his theory of metamorphosis in nature was briefly explained as referring to the transformation of organisms which occurs with growth. Growth involves movement, and movement for Goethe demonstrated the very principle of life. Klee, a great admirer of Goethe,

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the notion of 'Ahmung' before 'Nachahmung', the former referring to the measure or benchmark and the latter the imitation. Baumeister, Willi (1988, first published 1947), p.20.

[178] "Meine Illustrationen gelangten in die Nähe der alten Reliefs an den zyklopischen Mauern, sie gelangten in die Nähe der Keilschrift und Hieroglyphen, an die Symbolzeichen, an die Riten und Weihen, die ihre Geheimnisse bewahren, gleich dem fernen und hohen Gott, dessen Name nie genannt, sondern nur umschrieben wird." Cited in Grohmann, Will (1963), p.172; and Grohmann, Will (1965), p.170.

[179] Conzen-Meairs, Ina (1990).

undertook a number of works whose titles include the term 'metamorphosis'[180] and at least one of these incorporates a myth recounted by Ovid - the virtually unknown *Metamorphose* (plate 2.47) of 1935.[181] It is worth exploring this piece in some detail, in terms both of its iconography and its directly related form, because it is representative of the interests and concerns which are evident in a wide number of Klee's images and effectively articulates the artist's response to Goethe's writings explored in this case through the triad of myth, philosophy, and botanical theory.[182] This work demonstrates also the originality of aspects of Klee's interpretation using as a benchmark the framework devised by Lichtenstern in her research.[183]

As the illustration shows, this small work is composed of a series of coloured lines in an almost abstract arrangement. Not surprisingly, the single published attempt to analyse the work found difficulty in identifying its meaning, though it was observed that the forms suggested "... a reclining human figure which is in the process of metamorphising [sic] into a type of flora".[184] A clue to understanding the work is revealed, however, by the title which suggests, in addition to Goethe's writings, the much more widely known collection of myths by Ovid. The orange circle in the upper left, indicative of the sun together with the metamorphosing figure lead one to the theme of Apollo and Daphne. This was confirmed by the entry in Klee's oeuvre catalogue (Appendix 6) which provides the full title: *Metamorphose (in der Art von Daphne), (Metamorphosis (in the Manner of Daphne)).* There are various scenes in the narrative which have, in the past, been selected for illustration: Apollo's chase after the reluctant Daphne; the climactic moment of transformation; or subsequently when Daphne stands as a tree. Traditional employment of the theme over the centuries included the use of Daphne as a metaphor for virtue (in resisting Apollo's advances), to one of intransigence (an example of female arrogance in the rejection of a worthy suitor).[185] Christian meanings have been applied also - the union of Apollo and Daphne (the latter in the form of a laurel

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[180] Numerous works incorporate the idea of metamorphosis as a dimension of nature. However eleven works include this term in their title, carried out between 1915 and 1940. See unpublished concordance of titles of Klee's works, Paul-Klee-Stiftung, Bern.

[181] This work is part of the Bewley Bequest (1969) at the Hugh Lane Municipal Gallery of Art, Dublin. It is included in Klee's handwritten oeuvre catalogue with the registration number 1935.104 (p4). However, its appearance and present whereabouts was not known to the Paul-Klee-Stiftung, and has consequently been excluded from Klee scholarship. The only knowledge of its appearance was from a sketch made of it by Will Grohmann in the 1950s when he was engaged in writing on Klee. This is held at the Archiv Will Grohmann, Stuttgart.

[182] For further discussion of the relationship between Goethe's morphology and Klee's imagery, see Haftmann, Werner (1954).

[183] Lichtenstern, Christa (1992).

[184] Mayes, Elizabeth and Paula Murphy, editors (1993), p.246.

crown) representing the conjunction of divine and profane love. Among the twentieth century representations of this theme Lichtenstern, identifies three approaches to form and content. First, what she describes as a latent classical tendency involving the representation of Daphne as a nude, exemplified in the work by Henry Laurens in the late 1940s.[186] Second, the surrealistic/fantastic revival of the pursuit motif in a psychoanalytical approach where Daphne manifests a tension combined of fear and sexuality, as in André Masson's *Apollo and Daphne* (plate 2.50) of 1933.[187] The third classification involves the event of the actual metamorphosis, focusing on the process of change.[188] Klee's interpretation clearly does not fall into the first category - it is quite evidently not a classical nude - nor is it essentially a psychoanalytical reading of the theme of pursuit as suggested by the second; the linear representation suggests nothing of repressed fears and conflicts as are indicated, for example, in the work of Masson. As the title suggests, *Metamorphose* is most closely identifiable with the third approach, but it is not confined only to the *process* of change; it is suggestive also of the consequences of the transformation and could therefore, arguably, constitute a fourth category. To support this, it is of interest to consider Klee's source of knowledge of the story of Apollo and Daphne. His diary confirms that he was familiar with Ovid, the most widely-known textual source of the story and Klee specifically refers to the *Metamorphoses*, a copy of which he acquired "...in an old two-volume edition from the German Artists' Library in Rome".[189] This copy is to be found in his personal collection of books at the archive at Bern and, in fact, bears the stamp of the original library (plate 2.51).[190] What is of particular interest is that this version is somewhat different from the many available which relate how, at the height of Apollo's pursuit, Daphne desperately calls upon her father, the river Peneus, to save her and she is transformed into a tree.[191] In Klee's edition, however, Daphne also calls upon her mother, Gaia, the Earth Goddess:

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[185] There has been a number of texts devoted to or including the allegorical use of the theme of Apollo and Daphne. The most comprehensive are Stechow, Wolfgang (1965), and Giraud, Yves F.-A. (1968).

[186] This group includes works by Rene Sintenis, Fritz Klimsch, and Gerhard Marcks.

[187] Included in this category are pieces by Julio González and Alfred Kubin.

[188] Ossip Zadkine and Emil Cimiotti are given as representative of this approach. The works cited as examples were all carried out after Klee's *Metamorphose.*

[189] Entry 601. "Gelesen: ...Ovid, Metamorphose, aus einer alten Doublette der deutschen Künstler-bibliothek zu Rom." Klee, Paul (1988), p.204.

[190] Ovidius Naso, Publius. *Verwandlung* (trans. August von Rode,1816).

[191] See, for example, Ovid, *Metamorphosis* (trans. Mary M. Innes, 1955).

> Or you, O Earth, where I was liked too much, *open up*, or devour through metamorphosis this beauty, which causes one [i.e. Apollo] to offend me. [543-550].[192]

Klee's interpretation of the theme corresponds with the version of Ovid's text which he had acquired. As the image shows, the brown lines indicate that in response to Daphne's request the earth has indeed opened up and Daphne's feet and hands are placed as though braced against an aperture, an opening into the earth below. This corresponds also with the recognition of Gaia as Daphne's mother evident in the relevant entries in various lexicons and encyclopedias of mythology, including some which were in use in Germany in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. [193] These describe how, in some versions, the earth opened up and swallowed her leaving a laurel tree in her place. Thus Klee goes beyond the *process* of transformation to the implications in terms of the potential for new life (the new tree), as well as of death (absorption into the earth).

To appreciate the implication of Klee's unprecedented approach to the theme, it is of interest to consider the style in which Klee expresses his idea, as he habitually used form symbolically and it provides clues to the understanding of the work. The image is comprised of a series of lines - even the sun is conveyed in a linear rather than planar way - and a sprinkling of dots, an explanation for which can be found in Klee's extensive notes, compiled for teaching purposes, which include a diagram of dots of various dimensions (plate 2.52).[194] This indicates that the dots refer to 'things' that are scattered and sown, i.e. seeds, with all of their connotations of nature and growth which, in turn, relates to the purpose in using a linear arrangement for other elements in the image. The significance of linear forms is revealed in Klee's essay, *Creative Credo* [195] where it is explained that he identified four essential forms in representation:

> The formal elements of graphic art are dot, line, plane, and volume - the last three are charged with energy of various kinds. While a dot is static - it is

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[192] My italics. "Oder Du, o Erde, wo ich zu sehr gefiel, thue dich auf, oder vertilge durch Verwandlung diese Schönheit, welche macht, daß man mich beleidiget."
[193] See for example: Smith, William, editor (1844); Roscher, W.H. editor (1884-86); Kroll, William, editor (1901). Roscher is known to have been a source for Klages in his writing. See Klages, Ludwig (1988, first published 1922), p.222.
[194] Spiller, Jurg, editor (1978b), p.283.
[195] Klee, Paul (1920).

> the 'dead centre', the line is the first dynamic act. Thus movement is central to creativity.[196]

Klee's picture is composed of the first two elements - the dot, or "dead centre"[197] (i.e. kernel or seed), and the line, which represented the dynamic movement so crucial not only to Klee's concept of creativity, but also, as mentioned, to Goethe's. The potential both for death and rebirth, conveyed by the opening of the earth to receive Daphne, is confirmed both by the means of new life indicated by the seeds, and the 'life principle' or dynamic for life manifest in movement and symbolized by the linear elements.

A central role for Gaia is inferred in *Metamorphose*. Daphne, as her daughter, and on the point of entering the earth, is represented therefore as a counterpart of Persephone, another daughter of the Earth Goddess who similarly fulfilled the interest, since antiquity, in nature/vegetation myths. Both characters are associated with disappearance into the ground and with eventual new growth - the laurel tree in the case of Daphne, the coming of spring fertility for Persephone. Daphne, therefore, in Klee's interpretation can similarly be understood in terms of the cycles of the seasons, of death and decay, and birth and growth. Further, in selecting a theme which encompasses the realm of Apollo and also the underworld, the Nietzschean dichotomy is implied. Thus Klee's adoption of a metamorphosis theme from Ovid is not simply a depiction of a rather fantastical change from human to plant form as part of a narrative, but an original and unprecedented representation of ideas of cyclicality and creativity.

Case Study: Wandering Soul

When Grohmann, at the speech opening the Klee exhibition mentioned above, referred to the influences on Klee's own philosophy (*Seelenlehre*), he revealed that they included:

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[196] Klee, Paul (1920), p.183.

[197] The dot or point was a motif of considerable importance and meaning in Klee's iconography. It represented the start not only of creativity (drawing beginning with the point of the pencil or brush in contact with the page), but of all creation. He said, for example, in his teaching notes for the Bauhaus: "When central importance is given to a point: this is the cosmogenetic moment. To this occurrence corresponds the idea of every sort of beginning (e.g. procreation) or better still, the concept of the egg." Spiller, Jurg (1978b), p.4.

> ... Ludwig Klages who conceived his body-soul-unity and his theory of the spirit as adversary to the soul, ...[198]

This concept, as explained in Chapter 1, essentially differentiated between the intellectual drives of the spirit or intellect (*Geist*), and the impulsive, creative ones of the soul (*Seele*). Klee's awareness of Klages is reflected in his little-known work, *Wandering Soul* (*irrende Seele* - known also as *Anima Erante*[199]) (plate 2.53), carried out in 1934,[200] which draws on prehistoric mythology, or at least what is understood of it from megalithic remains. In *Vom kosmogonischen Eros* Klages also makes reference to the wandering soul (*der schweifen Seele*) in danger of being driven "... from distance to distance, from transformation to transformation",[201] which foreshadowed Klee's own situation of rejection and exile at the time (see Chapter 5). *Wandering Soul* appears to be an almost abstract arrangement of concentric shapes scratched, sgraffito-like, in a reddish ground,[202] suggesting a labyrinthine underworld in which the spirit might wander. Klee's work is never without reference to the visual world, however, and the apparently abstract pattern of curved lines arranged to create a maze of narrow conduits recalls the carved designs at European megalithic passage graves and menhirs. Klee was familiar with the imagery of many archaeological sites, as his library indicates, and references to the trabeated architecture of early tomb entrances abound in his work. The overall form of *Wandering Soul* suggests a particular awareness of the stone carvings found in the Morbihan/Carnac region in Brittany. Klee spent a month there in 1928 with Lily and their son Felix. It is evident from Klee's records that he travelled extensively in the area,[203] visiting the megalithic sites, and his interest was sufficiently piqued for

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[198] Kersten, W. (1994), p.56.

[199] Klee's title was *irrende Seele*. However, when the owner of the painting, Charles Bewley, had his inventory of paintings drawn up, he was living in Rome, and the titles of paintings were recorded in Italian. When he bequeathed Klee's work to the Hugh Lane Municipal Gallery in Dublin, it was under the Italian title.

[200] This work is one of over 9,000 documented by the Paul-Klee-Stiftung in Bern. However, as its present whereabouts had not been established, the appearance of the work was unknown (apart from a pencil sketch of it by Will Grohmann, held at the Archiv Will Grohmann, Stuttgart) and had not been explored by scholars of Klee. Scott, Yvonne (1998).

[201] Klages, Ludwig (1988, first published 1922), p.158.

[202] The technique used here is an example of Klee's experimentation with materials. In the entry to his oeuvre catalogue, he describes it as 'roten Wachsgrund' (red wax ground) and it appears to be a mixture of wax and gouache. Grohmann noted the technique on a sketch he made of the image as an *aide memoire* when researching for his monographs on Klee. He described it '... wie mit Nadel in braunroten Grund gekratzt' (as though scratched with a needle in a brown-red ground). My thanks to Dr. Karin von Maur, director of the Archiv Will Grohmann in Stuttgart for access to the drawing, and assistance with the notation.

[203] Klee's records indicate that they arrived at Vannes on 27th July and departed for Paris on 26th August. While there he visited Vannes, Concarneau, Beg Meil, Quimper, Auray, Quiberon, Carnac,

him to acquire two books which painstakingly detail some of the recent excavations.[204] This experience seems to emerge in *Wandering Soul* in a number of ways - technical, formal and iconographical. The scratched technique of the image paraphrases the incised stone surfaces of the megalithic stonemasons. In Klee's work however, he uses the technique almost like sixteenth century engraving, to create a three dimensional effect, giving the illusion of shallow relief so that the viewer observes, as if from a bird's-eye view, superimposed layers or strata not unlike a contour map. Indeed, it has strong parallels with the 'stepped' approach of the archaeological excavations in the area at the time as is evident from a photograph from one of Klee's books on Carnac (plate 2.54). Klee's forms are close also to typical carvings in the region, particularly those at Gavrinis (see, for example, plates 2.55 and 2.56), and also to a particular orthostat (stone slab) at Les Pierres Plates in Locmariaquer (plate 2.57). A comparison indicates that Klee appears to have been attracted not only by the concentric aspect of the designs but also by the repeated mounds and loops characteristic of the Gavrinis imagery. The meaning of such motifs, as they occur in megalithic passage graves in Brittany, has long been debated by archaeologists, and was discussed by the authors of the books Klee read in terms of the purpose of the sites.[205] Passage graves typically comprise an elongated tunnel leading to the centre of the tomb, and archaeologists had long recognized the likelihood of an association with the idea of the womb, especially given the practice of placing the body of the deceased in a foetal position. In the words of an early twentieth century archaeologist who recognized the embryo symbolism: "death returns to the womb of the maternal earth who must then restore it [i.e. death] to life."[206] This cyclical approach to life and death, fertility and, by extension, sexuality, was one which, as has been indicated, appealed to Klee; such connections form a symbolic leit-motif in his work.[207]

The association of death with fertility and sexuality was understood to be embodied in some cultures in the form of the Earth or Mother Goddess and, by the end of the nineteenth century, archaeologists were mooting this explanation of

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La Trinité sur Mer, Locmariaquer, and the island of Belle Île around which he travelled, taking in le Palais. Klee, Paul (1979), p.1078-79

[204] Rouzic, Z. Le, and M. and Mme. St.-J. Péquart (1923); and Rouzic, Z. Le (1924). These two are among the books which were listed by Jurg Spiller, during the 1960s, as belonging to Klee and still in his wife's possession. The present whereabouts of these volumes is not known. Manuscript held at Paul-Klee-Stiftung, Bern.

[205] Péquart, M., and Mme St.-J. and Z. Le Rouzic (1927).

[206] "On a proposé á cet égard diverses conjectures: 1. Assimilation du mort au fœtus (attitude embryonnaire symbolique): le mort rentre dans le sein de la terre maternelle qui doit lui restituer la vie....". Déchelette, J. (1908), p.473.

[207] For a discussion of the relationship of death, sexuality and fertility of the garden see Aichele, K. Porter (1989).

carvings at French megalithic sites including those in Brittany.[208] The solar symbols which are a feature of the sites were also understood in relevant terms, as symbols of fecundity.[209] Klee's appreciation of solar symbolism would have derived from a general awareness of the popular neo-pagan cults of sun worship such as that at Ascona which, as mentioned in Chapter 1, was visited by the Klees. A more specific source suggested by Knott was the theosophist writings of Madame Blavatsky, to which it seems Klee was exposed through his association with Kandinsky.[210] Grohmann has referred also to Klee's use of such symbolism which he asserted, closely paraphrasing Helena Blavatsky, "was the seat of divine light and prophetic inspiration, as well as a symbol of birth and reincarnation".[211]

The predominant symbolic forms which appear in *Wandering Soul* can be read in terms of reproductive and nurturing functions - in particular the phallic-shaped motif in the upper central part of the image on the 'highest' of the overlapping strata, and the vulvate opening which appears below it at the 'lowest' plane. These elements bear a striking resemblance to similar forms at Gavrinis (see for example plates 2.55 and 2.56) which in recent texts have been interpreted, somewhat controversially, in explicitly sexual terms;[212] while it is not certain whether such readings would have been available in texts which Klee could have known, he was nonetheless familiar with such types of interpretation and could have made the connection himself. The twin circular forms to the left of Klee's painting are suggestive of those on the Les Pierres Plates orthostat (plate 2.57). While G.-H. Luquet saw these as representing eyes,[213] more recent analysis has suggested that they represent breasts and a rib cage and indicate the transformation from life to death.[214] Pairs of circular forms were a regular occurrence in neolithic imagery at various sites in Europe and early this century were generally interpreted as eyes, as

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[208] See the essays in Goodison, Lucy and Christine Morris (1998), particularly that by Elizabeth Shee Twohig on the subject of Mother Goddesses in north west Europe during the megalithic period. See also Luquet, G.-H. (1909) and (1910), Déchelette, J. (1912), and Péquart, M., and Mme St.-J. and Z. Le Rouzic (1927).

[209] "Pour tous les primitifs, le soleil est symbole de puissance, principe de fecondité, source d'abondance." Péquart, M. and Mme St.-J. and Z. Le Rouzic (1927), p.60.

[210] Knott, Robert (1978-79).

[211] Grohmann, Will (1987), p.39. This paraphrases Blavatsky's own words: "... the navel was regarded as 'the circle of the sun,' the seat of internal divine light...". Blavatsky, Helena (1988, first published 1877), p.xxxix. Grohmann is referring here to Klee's painting *Omphalo-Centric Lecture* (1939) which, according to Knott, Robert (1978-79), illustrates Klee's knowledge of Blavatsky's teachings.

[212] See for example Gimbutas, M. (1989), p.225. The controversy over Gimbutas' work arises not at the sexual interpretation, but at the implication from the tone of the content that such readings are factually correct rather than reasonable supposition, given the absence of documentation from the period.

[213] Luquet, G.-H. (1909) and (1910).

[214] Thomas, J. and C. Tilley (1993), discussed in Shee Twohig, Elizabeth (1998).

part of the female nude (suggesting the Mother Goddess), or as sun symbols which, as mentioned, were identified with fecundity.[215]

Whatever the archaeologists' explanations, for Klee a circular form with concentric rings, like the cross-section of the trunk or branch of a tree, had additional personal meanings representing both growth and the passage of time. In the notes he compiled for teaching purposes, this motif is used to indicate growth in plants,[216] and also the rhythms and structures of time ranging from seconds to millennia:

> Different time cycles on the basis of combined divisions within the circle. Growth through space and time (genetically from the inside out).[217]

He recognized that the cycles of growth and decay over time lead to the laying down and petrification of the subterranean strata which form the "...geological periods and so on down to aeons".[218] It was in the course of one such geological period, during the archaeological Neothilic age that the decorated tombs at Morbihan were produced which, in turn, provided for Klee the basis for his layered image and provided an appropriate context in the earliest myths for meditation on the journey of the soul.

[215] See Déchelette, J. (1908), pp.594-602.
[216] Spiller, Jurg (1978a), p.23.
[217] Spiller, Jurg (1978b), p.268.
[218] Spiller, Jurg (1978b), p.268.

CHAPTER 3

CLASSICAL MYTHOLOGY IN THE ART OF THE THIRD REICH

What kind of Greek imagination is responsible for the elevation of strong yeomen soldiers into Herculi, heroes, demigods; ... for incarnating so creatively in poetic bodies,...

Herder: *On Contemporary Uses of Mythology* (1767).

Introduction

The significance of classical myth in the visual arts during the period of the Third Reich derived primarily from its association with classical civilization which had been appropriated as a basis for defining a national German culture, but also from its long-established elevated position particularly in Academic art. Hitler gave his official approval to works which reflected traditional social and cultural values both in form and content and, as will be discussed, mythological subjects fell within this ambit. In the ideology of the Third Reich, classical mythology was an essential part of the wider culture which was adopted as a basis for an invented German history, as explained in Chapter 1 with respect to Rosenberg's theories. Classical culture had five aspects in particular which made it of service to the regime. In the first place it was multi-dimensional, embracing art, architecture, literature, politics, and religion, and therefore offered a ready-made blueprint for a new society to replace the existing supposedly flawed (through infiltration by non Aryans) one. Second, the implicit qualities of classical society coincided with those which were coveted by the Third Reich - loyalty, manliness, heroism, for example - and it has been argued that there was a deliberate intention to emulate the characteristics of ancient Sparta.[1] Third, classical culture had widely recognizable visual characteristics and therefore could be readily identified and identified with. By comparison, early German civilization

[1] Westington, Mars (1944).

did not have such a recognizable and comprehensive visual culture, though aspects were incorporated.[2] Fourth, classical culture commanded international recognition and respect. By appropriating it as their own and taking credit for its inception, National Socialism sought to promote both national pride and international admiration for German civilization and thereby to annul a perceived reputation as uncultured and barbaric. Finally, classicism provided an ideal physical type - preserved effectively in antique sculpture of mythological deities - which was identified as comparable to the Aryan German (the paleness of the marble conveniently approximating Nordic blondness). This 'pure' ideal type provided a foil against which other physical types could be unfavourably compared. The supposed need to protect the classical purity, allegedly embodied in the Aryan, from external forces and influences was used as an excuse for racist policies. Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf*:

> The Hellenic ideal of culture should also remain preserved for us in its exemplary beauty. We must not allow the greater racial community to be torn asunder by the differences of the individual peoples. The struggle that rages today is for very great aims. A culture combining millenniums and embracing Hellenism and Germanism is fighting for its existence.[3]

The implication of the foregoing is that ultimately Hitler claimed an imperative to protect German society, symbolized in what he considered to be Aryan/Hellenic culture and exemplified by the beauty of Greek classical art. Mythology was a central element of this culture and, while it has been asserted that classical mythology predominated in the visual expression of the ideology of the Third Reich,[4] it is evident that Nordic mythology was also of considerable importance as Chapter 4 demonstrates. Both were put to the service of the regime to create a folkish (*völkisch)* myth and, as Hermand explains, this exploitation was a manoeuvre of ideological propaganda which was seen as necessary in a time of political crisis:

> ...a maneuver [sic] designed and directed by the rulers using the folkish myth to bring an anxious and restless people under its yolk.[5]

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[2] Gothic script was used for virtually all publications, for example.
[3]Hitler, Adolf (1997), pp.384-5.
[4]See Hinz, Berthold (1979); and Kramer, Kathryn (1993).
[5] Hermand, Jost (1971), p.106.

Germany, it seems, was ripe for such mythological propaganda. It was not, of course, alone in a tendency to be responsive to cult representations which, Hermand argues, are latently inherent in societies in general as the expression of unresolved dissensions, and which may be evoked in the event of crisis. Given appropriate conditions, he proposes, mythicalization can take root in any state desiring to establish a national and unifying identity, and it has the potential also to provide a basis for a controlling fascist ideology.[6] Where there is a perception that an identifiable or unified cultural past is lacking, ideologists may seek therefore to create one, as was the case in Germany, and it was based on a combination of classical and Teutonic mythology. While the two mythologies have much in common in their origins, themes and early functions, and in early twentieth century Germany there were those who saw the two forms of myth and their respective cultures as irrevocably intertwined, they nonetheless developed a distinct set of characteristics and conjured up in the imagination rather different cultural origins. Also, there was a degree of vying among proponents of either culture and, as a general rule, the forums for displaying the two types of myth tended to be mutually independent: while there was some overlap, generally themes from classical myth were displayed at the annual Great German Art Exhibition (*Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* - GDK) shown at the House of German Art (*Haus der Deutschen Kunst* - HdDK) and were illustrated in art journals, while Nordic myth appeared in frescoes at military camps and factories, and was used to illustrate narrative texts and social history journals. Consequently, it makes sense to treat them separately here: while the next chapter is devoted to exploring the function and visual expression of Germanic myth, this one focuses on the means by which classical mythology was explored by those artists approved by the regime.

The discussion which follows is in four parts. First the context for the expression of classical mythological themes is explored in terms of the nature of official approval for such subject matter, the sources of knowledge for such themes, and the relationship of form and content. Second, the general parameters of the thematic interests both of artists and the Nazi authorities is considered in terms of the focus and content of the German Day of Art celebrations and, more particularly, the scope and relative popularity of the subjects from classical myth displayed at the GDKs. The works selected for display at the GDKs, and those subsequently purchased by the state, are particularly significant in identifying and illustrating the concerns of the regime. The predominant doctrine underlying the images based on classical mythology tends to be the reinforcement of the gender roles assigned by the

[6] Hermand, Jost (1971).

ideology; sections three and four are therefore dedicated, respectively, to exploring the iconography of images focused on female and male deities and to demonstrate how the visualization of both genders was in the service of the regime.

The Context of Mythical Imagery in Nazi Germany

Official Approval of Classical Culture and Myth

Hitler's reverence for classical culture has been widely recognized at least since the 1930s. A cartoon which appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* in 1936 and captioned 'The Speaker's Platform' (plate 3.1) depicts a diminutive Hitler ranting from the vantage point of the knee of an enormous, thuggish ancient Roman soldier, acknowledging and lampooning the Führer's metaphorical platform in classical antiquity.[7] It was evident in Hitler's writings and speeches which voiced his admiration both for the spirit and civilization in general and also for its visual manifestation in architecture and sculpture. In common with German thinkers and philosophers of the past (see Chapter 1), Hitler saw in the classical world, particularly that of Greece, the antidote to the materialism and degeneracy of the modern world. As Grosshans points out, the classical era demonstrated for Hitler the unity of image and thought - a means by which the material and the spiritual could be unified.[8] In an address, in 1938, Hitler said that:

> the art of Greece is not merely a formal reproduction of the Greek mode of life, of the landscapes and inhabitants of Greece; no, it is a proclamation of the Greek body and of the essential Greek spirit.[9]

While he focused primarily on the form rather than the specific subjects which were addressed, content was nonetheless of critical importance and the form itself carried meaning for Hitler and the Nazi theorists, an issue which will be returned to. The importance of the Greek spirit and its manifestation in the form and content of art was indicated in a published text, by Hitler, in the series *Here Speaks the New*

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[7] *Los Angeles Times*(15.9.1936). Reproduced in McClatchie, Stanley (1937), unpaginated.
[8] Grosshans, Henry (1983), p.82.
[9] Baynes, Norman H. (1942), p.598.

Germany[10] subtitled *German Art as the Proudest Defence of the German Folk.*[11] In this, he expressed his desire to achieve an artistic Renaissance *(kunstlerisch Renaissance)* of the Aryan people, an accomplishment which he saw as dependent on a reaffirmation of a classical spirit in art.[12] Perhaps taking his cue from Rosenberg, Hitler expressed his approval of classical culture in the highest possible terms: by taking credit for it on behalf of the German people, attributing its very existence to their supposed ancestors, the pure Aryan race. Thus, for Hitler, the intention was not so much to appropriate another culture, but to revive what he claimed was their own once-great civilisation. The migration of people from the south to the north meant that in modern day Nazi Germany it was understood that certain characteristics associated with the earlier civilization continued to be embodied in the people.[13] The opening scenes from Leni Riefenstahl's film *Olympia*: *Celebration of the People - Celebration of Beauty*[14] to commemorate the Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936, reflect this view; the runners carrying the Olympic flame from Greece to Germany re-enacted metaphorically the historical Aryan migrations and were represented specifically to draw parallels between the two cultures, or rather to identify them as parts of a single culture (see plate 3.2). According to Konrad Heidon, Hitler asserted that:

> The idea of beauty of the ancient peoples will be eternal as long as men of the same nature, because of the same origin, inhabit the earth... Every politically heroic people seeks in its art the bridge to a no less heroic past. The Greeks and Romans, then, become so close to the Germans because they must all seek their roots in one and the same basic race, and here the immortal achievements of the ancient peoples exert again and again their attractive effect upon their racially related descendants.[15]

The art of contemporary Nazi Germany, it was held, should not attempt to be revolutionary, but should reflect just such origins. Hitler posited to Otto Strasser in 1930 that:

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[10] Hitler, Adolf (1933).
[11] *Die deutsche Kunst als stolzeste Verteidigung des deutsches Volkes.*
[12] "Aus Zweck und Material wurden nun Formen gefunden und entwickelt, die in der Ästhetik vieler Maschinen, z.B. mehr griechischen Geist atmen als Neugebiet hat als Neuland die geistigen Denkmäler eines ebenso modernen wie ästhetisch befriedigenden Schaffens aufzuweisen." Hitler, Adolf (1933), p.13.
[13] Grosshans, Henry (1983), p.83.
[14] *Olympia: Fest der Völker - Fest der Schönheit.*

> There is no such thing as a Revolution in art: there is only one eternal art - the Greek-Nordic art, ...[16]

In spite of the strength of support for classical culture and the desire to infuse art with its spirit, there appears to have been little direct or specific guidance as to how this should be achieved, particularly in terms of content, even in official texts directed to the arts.[17] One of the earliest documents, published in March 1933 by the Führer's Council, was the five-point manifesto titled 'What German Artists Expect from the New Government.' [18] This asserted that there should be only one guideline, "... a philosophy drawn from a passionate national and state consciousness anchored in the realities of blood and history!" and that this art should serve the *Völkisch* community.[19] No guidelines of how this could be manifest were given. This lack continued during the period, early in the Third Reich, when Rosenberg and Goebbels were competing for control of arts policy. As Brenner has pointed out, in his programmatic speech of 22nd February 1934, Rosenberg announced his rather negative principle of selection as the means of regulating the party's cultural and art policy: "We have no thought of proclaiming any dogma of art ... the future direction of creative activity will follow from the critique of opposing currents".[20] In other words, acceptable art was art that was not Modernist. By 1937, there appears to have been little improvement in the position. The *Reichskulturkammer* (RKK), the government organization answerable to Goebbel's Ministry which represented all practising artists, produced a handbook for members,[21] written by the secretary general, Hans Hinkel; but this contained no direction on suitable thematic material through which artists might express themselves, despite the consequences facing those who failed to satisfy the regime. Some texts did, however, provide indirect guidance. For instance, Schultze-Naumburg's *Nordic Beauty, Your Ideal in Life and in Art* (*Nordische-Schönheit, Ihr Wunschbild im Leben und in der Kunst*) used antique and Renaissance representations of figures from Greek and Roman mythology as exemplars for artists to follow, as discussed below.[22]

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[15] Heiden, Konrad (1944), volume 2, p.363.
[16] Baynes, Norman H. (1942), p.567.
[17] This view is supported by Guenther who advocates that there was very little, at the time, to indicate what true modern German art ought to be and how it should differ from that which was so strongly condemned. See Guenther (1991), p.34.
[18] The five points are reproduced in Hinz, Berthold (1979), pp.27-28.
[19] Hinz, Berthold (1979), p.27.
[20] Quoted in Brenner, Hildegard (1962), p.419.
[21] Hinkel, Hans (1937).
[22] Schulze-Naumburg, Paul (1937).

Official commissions appear, also, to have been generally unspecific in terms of content though this view is based on access to relatively limited documentation. Josef Thorak, for example, was appointed to carry out a series of sculptures for the *Märzfeld* at Nuremberg. Adam suggests the location was named after Mars,[23] the Roman god of war, and - as this might suggest - it was designed to be a major parade and exhibition ground. Others, however, refer to it as the March ground. For the main stand, Thorak designed a crowning group (*Bekrönungsgruppe*) comprising a goddess of war/victory flanked by two male figures with a sword and shield respectively, and by two further men leading horses (plate 3.3). Neither the contract nor the related correspondence on file states anything about the conception of the work.[24] However, it appears that Hitler had an involvement in its ultimate appearance; an invoice from Thorak to the Party association administering the commission[25] makes reference to the model which was "inspected, corrected and approved by the Führer".[26] Similarly, Hitler was involved in the Wagner monument undertaken by Emil Hipp, which is discussed in the next chapter. The work represents Wagnerian mythological themes, but the surviving documentation (see Chapter 4) makes no reference to conception or content and it may have been such lack of guidance which led to Hitler's alleged disappointment with the design,[27] though ultimately he appears to have accepted it because the monument went ahead. A work apparently more to Hitler's taste was Arno Breker's *Prometheus* (plate 3.4) commissioned for the garden of the Reichs Ministry for Enlightenment and Propaganda (*Reichsministeriums für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda).* However, it seems that for this commission, too, no framework for content or motif was given, according to a contemporaneous article in *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich*[28] though,

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[23] Adam, Peter (1992).

[24]Bundesarchiv Berlin: RKK 2400, box 0350, file 13. There was, however, a brief comment on the conception of one of the other works for the Märzfeld, *The Victory of Work* (*Sieg der Arbeit*). Flanking the central figure of the *Genius of Work*, Thorak designed two figures which he described as the spirit and the embodiment of work: "die zwei weiteren Figuren verkörpern die Arbeit und zwar die eine Seite die geistige, die andere Seite die körperliche Arbeit". Paragraph c), letter from Thorak to Herrn Stadtrat Professor Brugmann, at the Rathaus in Nürnberg, where the Reichsparteitage was based (28.8.1937).

[25]Invoice (11.1.1938), to the Zweckverband Reichsparteitag Nürnberg.

[26]The first item on the invoice reads: "Vorentwürfe für das Märzfeld Nürnberg, Bekrönungs-entwurf, Entwürfe in verschiedenen Grössen und verschiedenem Material (Gips, Wachs, Holz), von dem Führer besichtigt, korrigiert und genehmigt."

[27]According to Davidson, Hitler was only half-satisfied with the plan but accepted it on the advice of Arno Breker. See Davidson, Mortimer (1978), p.449. Davidson does not give his source for this and was unable to respond to my written request for details.

[28] "Eine inhaltliche oder motivische Abgrenzung war nicht gegeben." 'Künstler Schaffen...' (1938), p.94.

according the Breker's family, he did not accept commissions in any case which specified or influenced the theme or content of his work.[29]

The failure to provide specific direction was particularly evident in the selection of work to appear in the annual GDK inaugurated in 1937. To fill the exhibition, it was decided to have an open competition chaired by Adolf Ziegler, president of the Reichs Chamber of Fine Art *(Reichskammer der bildenden Kunst)*. Opinion on the number of works actually submitted varies - from around 8,000 to 16,000 works.[30] According to Hoffmann, a jury of twelve professors under the chairmanship of Ziegler had been appointed to make the selection. However, no clear guidelines for the selection of the works to be included were provided to the organizers of the exhibition and Hitler, unhappy with their choices, dissolved the jury. Hoffmann claims that, under Hitler's guidance, he selected the works which were displayed in 1937[31] and Goebbels, according to his own diary records, also participated through his instructions to Ziegler and the jury to apply higher standards.[32] Apparently Hitler added some works which had been originally rejected and vice versa. While the lack of direction on desirable content for art works must have been a disadvantage for artists hopeful of inclusion in the first exhibition, discerning artists wishing to participate in future events would have been able to glean from those ultimately exhibited what was likely to appeal to the Führer and his team. Certainly, in subsequent exhibitions, the numbers of works selected for exhibition increased significantly, to over 1,100 in most years rising to as many as 1,397 in 1940, not including the several hundred supplementary works which were introduced around December to replace paintings and sculptures which had sold.[33] Thus, while little direction was given in print with respect to the themes and interpretation of classical imagery, there was a degree of leadership by example. This appears to have been the purpose of the Heroic Art (*Heroische Kunst*) exhibition organized by the NS Cultural Community in Munich in 1936.[34] While only a handful of works was devoted to mythology (and only one of these had a

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[29] This was advised to me by Breker's daughter, Carola, in an interview (8.9.1997).

[30] Heinrich Hoffmann recalls 8,000. However recent authors suggest higher numbers: Brandon Taylor and Stephanie Barron each 15,000, and Peter Adam proposes 16,000. See Hoffmann, Heinrich (1955), p.170; Taylor, Brandon and Wilfried van der Will (1990), p.135; Barron, Stephanie (1991), p.17; and Adam, Peter (1992), p.94.

[31] Hoffmann, Heinrich (1955).

[32] He wrote (5.6.1937): "Die Jury in München lasse ich durch Ziegler anweisen, scharf zu sichten und strengere Maßstäbe anzulegen." Goebbels, Joseph (1992), p.1089.

[33] See the annual *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* catalogues, 1937 to 1944 inclusive.

[34] The title page states that the exhibition *Heroische Kunst* was organized by the NS Cultural Community (*Nationalsozialistischen Kulturgemeinde*) to coincide with the Reichs Conference in Munich. It took place from 15th - 22nd June 1936, in the Städtischen Galerie Lenbach-Haus, Munich.

classical theme)[35] they nonetheless form part of a scheme whose stated objective was to bestow a clear expression of the spiritual renewal brought to the German *Volk* by National Socialism.[36] The GDKs inaugurated in the following year had a similar function. An article[37] by Robert Scholtz, artistic advisor to Rosenberg among other things, explained the purpose of these exhibitions which he pointed out were for the display of National Socialist political art (*Kunstpolitik*) which provided important direction for the people. While acknowledging that the term had some unpleasant connotations, he defended the politicization of art on the basis of the "astounding" success it had achieved in providing guidance over the six years since the Party had come to power, after a period of "deepest decay". Consequently, when examining the theme, approach and form of works on myth, it is relevant to consider the political messages which they embody.[38] Hitler, in a speech in 1938, had pointed out that art was propaganda - not for an individual work, or subject, or artist - but for the society it represented, just as it had been, he asserted, in ancient Greece:

> It [i.e. the art of Greece] does not make propaganda for an individual work, for the subject, or for the artist; it makes propaganda for the Greek world as such, which confronts us in Hellenism.[39]

Despite the emphasis on the classical past, the numbers of works identifiably on mythological themes in the great exhibitions was relatively small - ranging from just thirteen in 1937, to thirty in 1943.[40] Altogether, across the eight exhibitions, around 185 works on themes from classical mythology were exhibited; in preparing this dissertation, a full list was compiled from the titles in the catalogues, and is presented in Appendix 7.[41] However, among these were many pieces which

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[35] The works on Nordic myth are included in Chapter 3. The work illustrating a classical myth is Walter Lemcke's plaster model *Ikarus*, listed on p.8 of the catalogue, and referred to later in this chapter. The association of heroism with classicism and Nazism is inferred by the cover design where a schematic classical temple facade is imposed on a swastika symbol.

[36] "Die nationalsozialistische Bewegung hat dem deutschen Volke eine seelische Erneuerung gebracht, ihr gilt es in der Kunst einen klaren Ausdruck zu verleihen." Nationalsozialistischen Kulturgemeinde (1936), p.3.

[37] Scholtz, Robert (1939).

[38] Artists may not, of course, have always intended the message which was read into their work. However, the selection and display of images in approved media and exhibitions indicates that the authorities perceived in them an affirmation of Nazi ideology.

[39] Speech at the *Kulturagang*, delivered in Nuremberg (6.9.1938). Excerpt reproduced in Baynes, Norman H. (1942), volume 1, p.598.

[40] Including the supplementary works for those years for which catalogues were found, i.e. 1938 - 1941, and 1943.

[41] There may have been slightly more than this. Catalogues for the supplementary works, introduced in December to replace works which had sold, were found during my searches for the years 1938 to 1941 inclusive, and 1943. There may have been supplements also in the other years. However, as

received considerable publicity in the media and in art journals, and/or were carried out by prominent artists and therefore appeared also in books, exhibitions and catalogues, or were otherwise on public display. For example, various works on myth shown at the GDK exhibitions by the three artists discussed above in relation to commissions, Thorak, Hipp, and Breker, fall into this category. Thus the importance of such images was much greater than the modest numbers might suggest. The mythological themes explored by the artists whose work appeared at the GDKs are addressed later in this chapter.

Hitler and his ministers were in the habit of purchasing large numbers of the works displayed at the exhibitions, including some on mythological subjects. These images tended to be highlighted in articles in art journals reviewing the exhibitions; thus the works, and the artists who created them, often achieved prominence by virtue of such patronage. Around 690 of the works purchased from the exhibitions, for display in state buildings such as the Chancellery (*Reichskanzlei*) were, until recently, held by the regional *Oberfinanzdirektion* at a depot in Munich[42] where they were consulted for this thesis, and those addressing classical myth have been identified and listed in Appendix 8. While this holding is only a part of the thousands of art works which were purchased or otherwise acquired, it gives an indication of the type of mythological theme and its rendering which was of interest to those in power, as discussed later in the chapter.

A further important source of knowledge of what type of mythological themes could be found acceptable was the articles in various approved art journals such as *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich* (later *Die Kunst im Deutschen Reich*), *Das Bild*, *Die Kunst*, and *Kunst dem Volk* to name a few. Some of these had a relatively substantial circulation[43] and were edited by prominent figures in the art or political culture establishment,[44] and so would have provided a useful guide for artists as to what themes and forms were acceptable. For example, an essay in *Die Kunst* on "The Nude as an Artistic Exercise"[45] was illustrated with images of mythological

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the first year was a relatively small exhibition, and the selectors were largely feeling their way, it is likely that there was no supplementary catalogue for that year.

[42] During 1999, they were transferred to the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin.

[43] According to Adam, *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich* achieved a circulation of 50,000. See Adam, Peter (1992), p.115.

[44] *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich* was edited by Alfred Rosenberg with collaboration from Robert Scholz, Werner Rittich and Walter Horn. *Kunst dem Volk* was edited by Professor Heinrich Hoffmann, while the art journal of the NS Culture Community (*NS Kulturgemeinde*), *Kunst und Volk* was edited by its head, Dr. Walter Stang, also a prominent official under Rosenberg in the Combat League for German Culture (*Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*).

[45] Christoffel, Ulrich von (1941).

figures by old masters,[46] and there were countless articles on or including artists associated with the representation of classical mythological themes from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, including favoured contemporary artists such as Breker, Kolbe, Wackerle, Sutor, Klein, Happ, Graf, Hofmann, and many more.

Finally, one of the most comprehensive sources of information on the type of mythological imagery which was likely to be found favourable was Rosenberg's *Mythos of the Twentieth Century*, briefly outlined in Chapter 1. While this theoretical text was not specifically directed at art, there are many references to the form and content it should assume. As mentioned, this publication had a very wide circulation but, it has been claimed (though it would be difficult to prove), few took the trouble to actually read it, suggesting its influence was more limited than might have been assumed by its circulation. However, it was available to artists for consultation and given Rosenberg's continued prominence in the arts and culture,[47] it would have been foolish for artists wishing to ingratiate themselves with the regime to remain ignorant of its contents. As referred to later in the chapter, the selection by artists of certain themes which were specifically condemned by Rosenberg would tend to indicate either that some artists were prepared to challenge or ignore aspects of his theories, or else were oblivious of some of the details of his text, assuming they read it at all. However, in the main, those artists who addressed classical mythological subjects and whose works were generally found acceptable by the regime of the Third Reich, conformed to Rosenberg's theory of myth.

Sources of Artists' Knowledge of Classical Mythology

In Chapter 2, the role of the *Gymnasium* in providing a classical education, and knowledge of myth, was referred to. It is difficult, however, to establish the extent to which those artists which were favoured by the regime had received a classical education. Biographical notes of the period tend to focus on artistic education, but generally, any reference to secondary schooling seems to have been omitted if it was classical; it seems that a *Gymnasium* education was played down during the Third

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[46] These included: *Danae* by Rembrandt, Botticelli's *Birth of Venus*, an *Oceanid* by Feuerbach (a study for his painting *Prometheus*), Rubens' *Andromeda*, and Poussin's *Sleeping Venus*.

[47] While Rosenberg had unsuccessfully challenged Goebbel's powerful position in cultural matters during the mid-1930s, in 1937 Hitler honoured him with the first National Prize for Culture, which was presented by Goebbels; and in the following year Hitler offered him the editorship of the prestigious journal *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich*. This recognition was acknowledged, for example, in an article on Rosenberg by Edgar Schindler in *Das Bild* which applauded Rosenberg's achievements as a "fighter for German art", listing relevant publications by him, and describing him as Hitler's representative for the supervision of the collective spirit and 'world-view' schooling and education of the NSDAP. Schindler, Edgar (1941), p.13. See also section on Rosenberg in Chapter 1.

Reich. This may appear surprising given Hitler's adulation for classical culture. However, he was not in favour of the *Gymnasien*, as he considered them too intellectual in their methods. He expostulated in *Mein Kampf,* for example:

> The institution that is called a Gymnasium today is a mockery of the Greek model. In our educational system it has been utterly forgotten that in the long run a healthy mind can dwell only in a healthy body.[48]

During the period of the Third Reich, educational reform included the curtailment of the numbers and influence of the *Gymnasien*, though this occurred too late to affect the educational opportunities of existing artists, a proportion of whom presumably had such exposure. In any case, the general approval of a classical education prior to Hitler's achievement of power meant that there would have been a widespread consciousness of the culture, and its mythology, even among those not attending the relevant schools. Hitler did see some value in learning Latin,[49] at least compared with French,[50] and advocated studying Roman history - though preferably not in depth:

> Especially in historical instruction we must not be deterred from the study of antiquity. Roman history correctly conceived in extremely broad outlines is and remains the best mentor, not only for today, but probably for all time.[51]

Hitler was less interested in the study of Greek culture than the reenactment of it. During 1936, the Olympic Games were staged in Berlin and were the focus of a number of theatrical events commemorating the origination of the event, providing an opportunity to promote Germany's alleged claim to Greek culture.[52] This was reinforced by the renewal of the German excavations at Olympia in 1936, and two exhibitions of antiquities were mounted in Berlin linking the dig to the Olympic games,[53] one of which was devoted to "the Sport of the Greeks".[54] There was also

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[48] Hitler, Adolf (1997), p.230.
[49]While the educational reorganisation of schools introduced by Reich Education Minister Rust in 1936-37 stipulated the closing of a number of *Gymnasien*, Latin was reintroduced into the curriculum of all secondary schools. See Marchand, Suzanne (1996), p.341.
[50]Hitler saw little point in learning French which he said was used by so few and did not even provide a training in "...sharp, logical thinking as applies, for example, to Latin." Hitler, Adolf (1997), p.381.
[51] Hitler, Adolf (1997), p.384-85.
[52] See Preußischer Kulturbesitz (1991).
[53] Marchand, Suzanne (1996).
[54] Schonborn, E.A.C. (1936).

an exhibition of contemporary art devoted to sport.[55] The link between antiquity and eugenics was emphasized also by Riefenstahl's film *Olympia*, mentioned above. Hinz has drawn attention to the opening scenes where images of well-known antique statues are faded and superimposed by shots of athletic men and women adopting identical poses.[56] Berlin provided also other, more permanent, opportunities to revel in its mythical past; artists there in particular would have been familiar with the Pergamon sculptures, including Arno Breker for whom it remained an attraction all his life (plate 3.5). The influence of the high Hellenistic sculpture with its rather Baroque sensibility is evident in this artist's work. His sculpture, *The Avenger* (plate 3.6), shown at the 1941 GDK exhibition, shows a heroic figure battling with a serpent in parallel with the experiences both of Apollo and of Siegfried, the central heroes for the Nazis of classical and Nordic myth respectively. This work bears a marked visual similarity with the figure of the winged Giant in battle with Aphrodite's mother, Dione, on the Pergamon frieze (plate 3.7). The theme of struggle with a serpent is suggestive also of the Laocoön, which Breker would have seen in Rome.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, a number of artists were exposed to classical form and content through their travels to Mediterranean countries. Several artists known for their representation of classical mythology, and who enjoyed approval during the Third Reich, visited the German Academy at the Villa Massimo in Rome, some of them under the terms of the Prix de Rom. As Appendix 4 shows, among these were Karl Albiker (1910), Adolf von Hildebrand (1913/14), Arno Breker, Willi Geiger, Joachim Karsch and Karl Storch (1933), Josef Pieper (1938), Ludwig Kasper (1940), and Paul Mathias Padua (1942). Waldemar Grzimek, an artist known for his treatise on German sculpture,[57] won it in 1943.[58] All of these explored themes from classical mythology. Rome exerted a noticeable influence on Breker, for example, though his emulation was of well-known pieces which would have been familiar, in any case, from photographic and perhaps also plaster reproductions. His pair of sculptures which flank the Court of Honour entrance to the Chancellery (*Reichskanzlei*) in Berlin (plates 3.8 and 3.9) are of a very different sensibility to the work derived from the Pergamon, as they are obviously based on the classical style of the Apollo Belvedere which he would have seen in the Vatican Museums, and the image to the left, *The Party (Torch Bearer)*, paraphrases its pose. The nonchalant sophistication of the Classical-era sun-god, so beloved of Winckelmann as

[55] For a review, see Oppeln-Bronikowski, Friedrich von (1936).
[56] Hinz, Berthold (1995).
[57] Grzimek, Waldemar (1969).

mentioned in Chapter 1, provided an appropriate prototype for two works designed to characterize the Party whose logo was the sun symbol. Breker's *Apollo and Daphne* (GDK 1944, plate 3.10), while carried out in relief, is clearly dependent on Bernini's much more complex and expressive interpretation of the theme in the Galleria Borghese in Rome.[59]

Existing visual imagery provided a further important source of knowledge of mythological themes. The extensive collections both of art and antiquities in major centres such as Berlin and Munich meant that artists could familiarize themselves with many of the most important and popular themes, including many by German artists as early as Dürer and Cranach who continued to be appreciated during the Third Reich.[60] The imagery of artists working in a classical/Academic idiom was an important source both of form and content, such as the sculptors Schadow and Schwanthaler, and the painter Cornelius all of whom worked on themes from classical mythology. Not only were their works available for artists to consult, some of them enjoyed exceptional prominence and prestige such as Schadow's sculpture of the *Goddess of Victory with Quadriga* on the Brandenburg gate in Berlin, and Cornelius' frescoes in the Room of the Gods (*Göttersaal*) in Munich's Glyptothek (see Chapter 1). In 1933, an article published in *Die Kunst* commemorated 150 years since the latter artist's birth.[61] The reproductions of work on myth included his *Zeus as Ruler of Olympia* in the Glyptothek, the type of theme acceptable to the Nazis.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, mythological themes continued to be significant. Major German artists exploring these subjects included Hans von Marées, Fernand Khnopff, Franz von Stuck, Lovis Corinth, Arnold Böcklin, Hans Thoma, and Anselm Feuerbach. Rosenberg was not entirely enthusiastic about all of these arguing that they had striven for a recreation of classicism but not quite achieved it.

> Marees [i.e. von Marées] made efforts to adjust to the Greek form and tortured himself. In searching for beauty during his whole life he broke down - not

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[58] Deutsche Akademie Rom (undated).

[59] Breker's response to Bernini's work is expressed in an essay which describes the *Apollo and Daphne* in some detail. Breker, Arno (1957). His knowledge of the story, however, suggests a fairly loose acquaintance with the details: Zeus is accredited with Daphne's transformation rather than her father Peneus.

[60] See for example the article on Dürer by Wühr, Hans (1937). Schultze-Naumburg's text on German ideals of beauty includes work by Dürer and Cranach as exemplars. Schultze-Naumburg, Paul (1937).

[61] Eberlein, Kurt Karl (1933).

> surprising for he was half-Jewish. Feuerbach also tried while living in the south. He, too, failed despite his material.[62]

His views on these two artists were not widely shared, however. Adam points out that Thoma, Stuck, and Feuerbach were among the artists appreciated by Hitler,[63] and it seems the Führer Museum planned for Linz[64] originally was to include works by von Marées and Feuerbach before it was decided to focus on old masters.[65] Marées was featured favourably in an article in the prominent art journal *Die Kunst* which was illustrated with reproductions of two of his mythological works, *Rape of Helen* and *Flora Wakening the Flowers.*[66] He was among those artists - including Feuerbach, Schwind, Böcklin, Thoma, and Klinger - who were described as representing contemporary German classicism in contrast to the Modern movements surrounding Germany. A further example of official approval for Feuerbach's work is evident in a journal article in *Das Bild* in 1940 marking the sixtieth anniversary of the artist's death.[67] This makes reference to the influence of various thinkers discussed in Chapter 1,[68] his familiarity with the Odyssey (read to him by his father for an hour daily), and his research and publication on Greek sculpture,[69] as well as various works by him addressing themes from classical mythology (including *Prometheus, Venus Anadyomene,* and *Uranus and Gäa*). One of the most significant of his works, the *Fall of the Titans*, is interpreted in a manner appropriate to National Socialist thinking, particularly as articulated by Rosenberg in his Mythos. According to Feistel-Rohmeder:

> As in the *Battle of the Amazons*, the *Fall of the Titans* took shape in world-legends, here the victory of light and culture over the crude power of nature is symbolized: Zeus surrounded by Pallas Athene and Apollo, drives in a Sun-

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[62] Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.182.
[63] Adam, Peter (1992), p.109.
[64] The Linz project was a major reconstruction project designed to make it the most beautiful city on the Danube and, possibly, to replace Vienna as capital of Austria. The Führer Museum was to be the largest art museum in the world.
[65] Adam, Peter (1992), p.273.
[66] Beringer, J.A. (1933-4).
[67] Feistel-Rohmeder, Bettina (1940).
[68] It lists Schiller (particularly his *The Gods of Greece* (*Die Götter Griechenlands*)), Humboldt, Hegel, Schleiermacher, Hölderlin, Schinkel, and Goethe. Feistel-Rohmeder, Bettina (1940), p.6.
[69] The footnotes include a reference to his book on the history of Greek sculpture as follows:
5) "Geschichte der Griechischen Plastik". Von Anselm Feuerbach. Herausgegeben von Hermann Hettner. Nachgelassene Schriften Band 2, S.82. Verlag Fr. Vieweg u. Sohn, Braunschweig 1853. Feistel-Rohmeder, Bettina (1940), p.12.

> chariot hurling lightning through the storm-lashed clouds and plunges the Titans, towering above the rocks, deep into the depths.[70]

The inclusion of artists and their works in the art journals of the time could be justified, therefore, by a reading which conformed with Rosenberg's views. In this case, the Olympian gods, symbolized by sun and light, and identified with Aryan Germany, were identified as triumphing over the gods of the underworld which Rosenberg associated with darker forces and 'degenerate' races. The significance of Pallas Athene is discussed in the next section, but first it is of interest to consider the relationship of form to such content.

The Relationship of Form and Content: Ancient Gods and Physical Perfection in the Third Reich

One of the most important contributions of classical mythology to the ideology of the Reich was the idealized representation of its ancient deities in the antique art, particularly sculpture, of the Greek and Roman civilizations; their very physical perfection was a symbol of their godliness. Their beauty and symmetry were identified as comparable to the Aryan German and this 'pure' ideal type provided a standard or archetype against which other races were unfavourably compared. The racist views which this reflected had been gaining ground, particularly since Germany's defeat in the First World War, serving as an antidote to national humiliation. Described as the prophet of the new cult, Dr. Hans F.K. Günther articulated the perception of Nordic beauty as equating with Greek sculpture in contrast with the non-Aryan:

> ...the Hellenic image of beauty is completely Nordic. Greek sculpture repeatedly displays the pure Nordic race...

and:

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[70] "Wie in der Amazonenschlacht haben im "Titanensturz" Weltsagen Gestalt gewonnen, hier wird der Sieg des Lichtes und der Kultur über die rohen Naturgewalten versinnbildlicht: Zeus, umgeben von Pallas Athene und Apollo, fährt auf einen Sonnenwagen blitzeschleudernd durch die Sturmgepeitschten Wolken und stürzt die Felsen türmenden Titanen in die Tiefe." Feistel-Rohmeder, Bettina (1940), p.12.

> The history of Greece might be represented as the conflict of the spirit of the Nordic upper stratum with the spirit of the lower stratum of foreign race, in such an environment.[71]

Hitler recognized a need to establish not only a unifying visual concept with which the German people could identify, but also an opposite to signify those who were to be the scapegoats. Grosshans explains:

> Hitler saw the integrated, wholesome classical image as an alternative to an indiscriminate and problematic modernity, as an inspirational expression of the racial spirit and national harmony.[72]

The classical form therefore represented for Hitler the opposite to Modernism. He saw modernity in art as a reflection of the influence of Communism; he wrote:

> For if the age of Pericles seems embodied in the Parthenon, the Bolshevistic present is embodied in a cubist monstrosity.[73]

While many Modern artists addressed themes from classical myth, as mentioned, they did so in a manner considered by Hitler to represent the degenerate: for him it leaned towards the intellectualism of abstraction, eschewed classical norms of beauty in its distortions, and was "unfinished"[74] in contrast to the clarity of expression and physical perfection of the accepted pure classical forms. To elicit support for Hitler's preference for the latter, Nietzsche's philosophical theories were selectively enlisted. Of particular interest was the idea of the *Übermensch* - the Superman or Overman - described in *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, which was taken as a reference to Aryan superiority, and the Apollonian and Dionysian dichotomy explored in *The Birth of Tragedy* (see Chapter 1). Both of these were embraced to provide a foundation for Rosenberg's *Mythos*. Nazi classicism was seen to be in accordance with the philosopher's concept of the Apollonian (rational, controlled, beautiful),

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[71] "Das Schönheitsbild des Griechentums ist durchaus nordisch. Die griechischen Bildwerke zeigen immer wieder die reine Nordrasse." He provides a footnote listing figures from myth which Homer, in the Iliad, designated as blond. Günther, Hans K. (1923), p.292. "Die griechische Geschichte ließe sich darstellen als die Auseinandersetzung des Geistes der nordischen Oberschicht mit dem Geist der fremdrassigen Unterschicht in solcher Umwelt." Günther, Hans K. (1923) p.294.

[72] Grosshans, Henry (1983), p.82.

[73] Hitler, Adolf (1997), p.238.

[74] He did not recognize, or chose to ignore, those aspects of the approved art which reflected certain characteristics of Modernism. See Taylor, Brandon (1990).

while the Dionysian (ecstatic, unrestrained) was specifically rejected as a manifestation of the so-called dark levantine forces. According to Rosenberg:

> The claim that the pure Aryan people represented by Apollo and Pallas Athene, had been infiltrated by the influences from the Levant, was personified in the chthonic figure of Dionysus "...the god of ecstasy and frenzied lust."[75]

Aspects of Nietzsche's definition of the dual concepts were, however, conveniently overlooked. For example, the Apollonian was understood by Nietzsche as individualising (*principium individuationis*) as opposed to the communality (subjectivity and forgetting of self) of the Dionysian. Yet Nazism proposed the suppression of the individual to the common will, which is more in keeping with the Dionysian. The wanton, mindless cruelty of the regime was not in accord with the rationality of the Apollonian, but had much in common with those aspects of the Dionysian which worried Nietzsche; he referred to the "massive chasm that separates the *Dionysian Greeks* from the Dionysiac barbarians", and referred to certain festivals where:

> The most savage beasts of nature were here unleashed, even that repellent mixture of lust and cruelty that I have always held to be a 'witches brew'.[76]

According to Nietzsche's theory, successful creativity required both the Apollonian and the Dionysian, to be "symbolized by a fraternal bond between the two deities"[77] and he tended to stress the former, a factor conveniently ignored by the Nazis. Perhaps it was the omission of the Dionysian element which resulted in art approved by the Third Reich being criticized in a wider, international context as anodyne and kitsch. An apt example is Arno Breker's relief, mentioned above, *Apollo and Daphne* (plate 3.10). Breker's work concentrates on the perfect, classicized athletic physique of the figures, their lyrical, harmonized movement, and a compositional clarity emphasized by purity of line, particularly in the figure of Daphne. Breker's competence as a sculptor is undoubted and the work succeeds in being charming, particularly in its current setting, aptly surrounded by trees in the spacious grounds of the artist's studio and family home. In this, as in much of Breker's work of the

[75] Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.12.
[76] Nietzsche, Friedrich (1993), p.19.
[77] Nietzsche, Friedrich (1993), p.104.

period, the emphasis is on Apollonian characteristics in its "impulse to beauty"[78] and it is understandable that the work of this sculptor was favoured by the Third Reich. However, despite its technical competence, it evades the potential for the Dionysian which one might justifiably have expected from a theme of carnal lust which led ultimately to tragedy.

While the representation of Apollo was to be expected among approved artists, it is surprising to note that Breker addressed also the subject of Dionysus in a sculpture shown at the 1939 GDK and illustrated in the exhibition catalogue (plate 3.11).[79] This god was not, however, absolutely taboo in the ideology. Rosenberg wrote:

> Dionysus (at least in his non-Aryan aspect) is the god of ecstasy and frenzied lust.[80]

This implies that there was also an Aryan aspect which might have been interpreted differently. Breker's figure evinces characteristics which are more readily associated with Apollo - physical beauty, restraint, - and, apart from its title, there is nothing in the work with which the authorities could have found fault. The hands are clenched in a gesture of determination; it is more a "will to power" image and there is no sense of the ecstatic subversion of the intellect or will to the urges of the body. Nazism was not interested in individual freedom of expression, but of controlling and exploiting the body - for reproduction, labour and battle. Thus, it is evident that the meaning conveyed by the form of the work could displace the connotations of a content implied by the title. This appears to be true of a number of works on mythological subjects which ought to have been problematical. For example, Rosenberg makes a number of scathing references to Amazons and "Amazon-like" women - emancipated women who sought to compete with men:

> The "Amazonlike" emancipated woman - as we have seen - is guilty of the crime of making women lose the high respect due her nature. It incorporates the values of the man into her own.[81]

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[78] Nietzsche, Friedrich (1993), p.23.

[79] Illustrated in the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* 1939 catalogue, p.68. (Plate 3.11 is not the one shown in the catalogue which is a more frontal view). In 1932, Kolbe, exhibited a *Torso Dionysos* an appropriately headless figure with a rough 'unfinished' surface and dancing gait. While he was a popular artist who found favour with the Nazi regime, it is unlikely that this work would have appealed to them. After 1933, Kolbe's work tended towards a more heroic idiom, at least with respect to official commissions and works to be submitted for exhibition. This theme was addressed also by Rudolf Pferrer, a Munich sculptor, in a work shown at the 1943 GDK.

The Amazon represents the irrational, creative forces of woman and of art, and is a threat to men with whom they do battle. In spite of this, a total of twelve works entitled *Amazon* were selected for the various GDK exhibitions, including one by C. J. Bauer-Riedeck (plate 3.12) which was exhibited in 1944 and purchased for the *Reichskanzlei* in Berlin. In common with representations of Amazons at this time, this goddess bears none of the characteristics attributed by Rosenberg and she is, in effect, indistinguishable from the Nymphs, Floras and Dianas which populated the state-approved exhibitions. Kolbe's *Flora*, for example (plate 3.13) shown at the 1940 GDK and illustrated in the accompanying catalogue, is almost identical to his *Amazon* (plate 3.14) of the same year. As Buenger points out in relation to this theme in Beckmann's work, in the myth of the battle of the Amazons, the male ultimately wins, so it can be read as a symbol of male domination, or of the triumph of rationalism.[82] Rosenberg may have overlooked or been unaware of the fact that Bachofen's third, patriarchal, phase of society was personified by the Amazon for this reason. In any case, a *Festival of the Amazons* took place on 30th July, 1938 in the grounds at Nymphenburg near Munich (plate 3.15). The sparsely-clad participants were all young, pretty and slim, and the event appears to have had little to do with the liberation or empowerment of women.

Most of the art works presented to the public were, however, well within the scope of National Socialist ideals, thematically as well as formally. Indeed many were directed proactively towards a propaganda purpose. Sommer[83] cited Breker's *Partei* and *Prometheus*[84] (discussed below) as among a number of his works which characterized the qualities necessary to ensure the future of the Reich:

> They are in the main vigorous male forms which work as archetypes of German man. The virtues of a heroic manhood, that gives the struggle for the continuation of the nation a solid basis, are found in his artistic interpretation.[85]

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[80] Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.12.

[81] Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.318. Relating this competitiveness to specific male-oriented professions, Rosenberg said: "The demand to be able to create freely in science, law and politics, shows "Amazonlike" features, i.e. tendencies to be competitive with man in decidedly male domains; to appropriate his knowledge, ability and actions and to imitate his diverse activities in life." Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.314.

[82] Buenger, Barbara C. (1984).

[83] Sommer, Johannes (1943).

[84] Evidently the first version as it is "... für Reichsminister Dr. Goebbels". See Sommer, Johannes (1943), p.12.

In these examples, form and content are in accord, and carry levels of meaning which can be read in a linear way; the theme (Prometheus) provided the pretext for the particular form (archetypal heroic manhood) which was in turn emblematic of the means (contemporaneous heroic German man) for attaining a political ideal (the victory/survival of the *Volk*). As Mosse points out, the body, exemplified by Greek sculpture of youths, symbolized strength, harmony, order and dynamism which were the ideal qualities of the "true German" upon whose commitment the Reich depended.[86]

In order to develop ones judgement with respect to recognising ideal contemporary Nordic beauty, and to enable artists to emulate it in their work, suitable exemplars of formal perfection could be found in Schultze-Naumburg's text.[87] In this he provided examples of classical mythological figures expressed both in Greek sculpture (including Roman copies of Greek originals) and in selected masterpieces of European art from the Renaissance onwards. These are listed in Appendix 9 and comprise, among the antique works, a number of representations of Apollo, Aphrodite, Ariadne, Athene, Alexander and, less congruously, a snake goddess. The later works are in the main representations of Venus, Flora, Euridice, Danae, Ganymede, and Paris. Almost all of these characters were among the favourite mythological subjects addressed by artists in the Third Reich, as will become evident. The text seems to have been effective in conveying the idiom in which such myths should be represented. For example, *Aphrodite Anadyomene* (plate 3.16) illustrated in the text appears to be the model for Paul Scheurle's almost identical *Amazone* (plate 3.17) exhibited at the 1939 GDK.[88]

The perfection of form exemplified in such works could, it was asserted, be achieved in the populace in actuality, assuming they had the raw material (i.e. Nordic blood) to begin with, through physical activity.[89] Hitler sought, through such activity, to emulate classical civilization, not just learn about it, and he censured the *Gymnasien* for apparently failing in this crucial dimension. The ultimate in emulation was through the reenactment of the Olympic games which, fortuitously for Hitler, took place in Berlin in 1936. The longing to recover a Hellenic ancestry was illustrated by Oscar Garvens in a sketch (plate 3.18), published in an edition of

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[85]Sommer, Johannes (1943), p.12.
[86] Mosse, George L. (1991).
[87] Schultze-Naumburg, Paul (1937).
[88] Schultze-Naumburg, Paul (1937), p.152.
[89] Hans Suren, in his text, *German Gymnastics* (*Gymnastik der Deutschen)* (1938), advocated almost complete nudity in the pursuit of sport. However, the male body had to be carefully prepared before if could be offered to public scrutiny. The skin had to be hairless, smooth and bronzed. See Mosse, George L. (1991), p.28.

Kladderadatsch of an athlete of the games posed to emulate Feuerbach's similarly yearning *Iphigenia* (plate 1.3). Efforts were made to ensure that the connection between ancient Greece and contemporary Germany was evident, not only in the Reich but to the onlooking world. This was picked up by a journal which published on its title page a photograph of the *Apollo of Olympia* superimposed on the Olympic stadium in Berlin (plate 3.19).[90] The staging of the games stimulated the commissioning of appropriately classicized sculptural works to decorate the Olympic arena and surrounds, and also the organization of relevant exhibitions to mark the occasion.[91] Surprisingly few works for the Olympic stadium were based directly on mythology, the preference being for sporting figures. However, there were some notable pieces such as Willy Meller's *Goddess of Victory (German Nike)* (plate 3.20),[92] a striding figure crushing a serpent beneath her feet, indicative of the German athletes' ambitions in relation to their opponents.

Hitler was evidently satisfied with the effect which sport was having in developing among Germans the physical beauty associated with classical Greece. A year after the Olympic Games, Hitler gave his opening speech for the first GDK on 18th July 1937 and included the following tribute:

> Never was Mankind closer than now to Antiquity in its appearance and its sensibilities. Sport, contests and competition are hardening millions of youthful bodies, displaying them to us more and more in a form and temper that they have neither manifested nor been thought to possess for perhaps a thousand years. A shining, beautiful human-type is growing, which through the highest performance pays homage to the fine old adage: sour weeks, but happy celebrations.

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[90] *die neue linie*, no.7, 1935/56, volume 12, reproduced in Preußischer Kulturbesitz (1991).

[91] The Olympic Art Exhibition (*Olympische Kunstausstellung*) displayed a wide range of works by artists from around the world, focused on the depiction of sport. While none of the images in the review article in *Die Kunst* are based on mythology, the text indicates the desire of artists to emulate the work of major sculptors from antiquity, namely Myron and Praxiteles. See Schonborn, E.A.C. (1936). A pendant show - the Olympic Exhibition "Sport of the Greeks" (*Olympische-Ausstellung "Sport der Hellenen")* - at the Deutsche Museum, showed a range of works from antiquity depicting sporting activity. A number of these were of figures from mythology, including the Artemision Zeus. See Oppeln-Bronikowski, Friedrich von (1936).

[92] In a short article on Willy Meller published in *Das Bild* in 1942, two of the four illustrative photographs were of the Goddess of Victory. The author, however, did not comment on the content of the work, confining his discussion to the relationship of Meller's sculpture to the architecture and surroundings (under the *Gesamtkunstwerk* principle), and on the combination of intellectual and spiritual expression in his work in general. Luther, Kurt (1942).

> This human-type, which we first saw last year in the Olympic Games, emerged before the whole world in their glorious, proud, physically strong and healthy appearance.[93]

The Scope of Myth in the Great German Art Exhibitions

Day of German Art

Official recognition of the place of classical mythology in art is evident at the celebration parades for the opening day of the Great German Art Exhibition, which were attended by large numbers of people.[94] Mythological figures played an important part in this event, in particular the Greek goddess Pallas Athene who was designated as the patroness. While 1937 marks the official beginning of the GDKs in Troost's *Haus der Deutschen Kunst*, annual art exhibitions had taken place in Munich before that and included a Day of German Art with celebratory parade. In the year Hitler came to power, 1933, Richard Klein designed a poster incorporating Athena's head (plate 3.21), and Hermann Hahn designed a medal displaying her profile which was presented to the Führer by the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich (plate 3.22). A cartoon on the cover of *Simplicissimus* (plate 3.23) acknowledges her predominance in the event - she is shown towering over the model of Troost's forthcoming building which had pride of place in the parade. Photographic records of the parade for the first official GDK in 1937 show a large-scale model of Athena's head, designed in a pseudo-classical form, leading the pageant (plate 3.24). Also, her profile continued to provide the focus of the design for the cover of the exhibition catalogue (plate 3.25).[95] At the Day of German Art in the following year, 1938, the

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[93] "Niemals war die Menschheit im Aussehen und in ihrer Empfindung der Antike näher als heute. Sport-, Wett- und Kampfspiele stählen Millionen jugendlicher Körper und zeigen sie uns nun steigend in einer Form und Verfassung, wie sie viele tausend Jahre lang nicht gesehen, ja kaum geahnt worden sind. Ein leuchtend schöner Menschen-typus wächst heran, der nach höchster Arbeitsleistung dem schönen alten Spruch huldigt: Saure Wochen, aber frohe Feste! Dieser Menschentyp, den wir erst im vergangenen Jahr in den Olympischen Spielen in seiner strahlenden, stolzen, körperlichen Kraft und Gesundheit vor der ganzen Welt in Erscheinung treten sahen". Extract from Hitler's speech at the opening of the first GDK (18.7.1937). Reproduced in Brantl, Sabine (undated).

[94] Barron estimates that the opening ceremonies attracted anywhere between 400,000 and 800,000 people. Barron, Stephanie (1991), p.18.

[95] A design incorporating Athena had been used also for notices to raise money in the wake of the Glaspalast fire in 1931. The lithograph design by Ludwig Hohlwein comprised a sculpture of the head of Athena surrounded by flames. See Brantl, Sabine (undated), p.11.

SS porcelain works[96] produced a statuette of Athena to commemorate the event (plate 3.26). It was designed by Theodor H. Kärner, a sculptor who worked mainly for the porcelain works during the period of the Third Reich, and Hitler was sufficiently enamoured of his designs to confer him with the title of professor in that year.[97] The figure is represented in a rather severe frontal pose in keeping with what she represented. The formality of the drapery is almost reminiscent of archaic sculpture in its decorative arrangement of folds. However, this is mitigated by the softness and naturalism of the underlying figure, features which would render it more acceptable to Hitler's sensibilities.

The adoption of Athena as the patroness of the GDK was not an original undertaking. As early as 1898, Franz von Stuck incorporated a head of Athena in his design for the posters advertising the Munich Secession exhibition based on an antique sculpture in the Glypthothek in Munich. In fact the conception of the Day of Art parade itself, commemorating the history of Germanic culture, was little more than a revamping of the one already established for the annual exhibition of Munich artists, judging by contemporary media coverage.[98] The Nazi's approach to art, however, never claimed to be original or revolutionary. Thus, the appropriation of existing formats to support and promote their position on art is not surprising. What was new, perhaps, was the extent of the publicity which attended the celebrations, ensuring that Athena, and all she represented, reached a wide audience. It is of interest in this respect to follow the coverage given by the National Socialist newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, edited by Rosenberg, in the lead up to the exhibition. During the month beforehand, articles on various aspects of the organisation of the exhibition and addresses by relevant personages, such as Alfred Ziegler, the president of the Reichs Chamber of the Fine Arts (*Reichskammer der Bildenden Künste*) appeared regularly. On the Day of German Art itself, 18th July, a programme was published of the events planned for the day[99] and, from this, the place both of classical and Germanic mythology is evident. Among such events, in the evening, the Peter Pawlinins Romantic Ballet performed a piece entitled the 'Night of the Nymphs' in the Exhibition Park (*Ausstellungspark*). This included a scene representing the *Birth of Venus,* loosely based on Botticelli's painting, as the

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[96]The SS Porcelain works at Allach, near Munich, produced a large number of pieces after works by artists showing at the GDKs. Artists included Josef Thorak, Carl Diebitsch (an SS-Obersturmbannführer who managed the works), Adolf Röhring, and many others. Davidson, Mortimer (1988).

[97]Davidson, Mortimer (1988).

[98] 'Nachklang zum Fest der Deutschen Kunst,' (1933).

[99] *Völkischer Beobachter*, no.199, (18.7.1937), p.5.

photograph which appeared in the press the next day illustrates (plate 3.27).[100] The celebrations included also the first performance of what was described as an allegorical-mythological ballet-pantomime staged on a small lake in Munich's English Garden *(Englischer Garten)*, which abuts the Haus der Deutschen Kunst. The celebration of various time-periods in the 2,000-year history of German art being commemorated included some which were particularly associated with mythology including 'The German Time' (*Die Germanische Zeit*) marked by music set to an *Edda* poem and 'The Romanesque Time (*Die Romanische Zeit*) involving Wagner's interpretation of the mythical story of *Lohengrin.* The day after the parade and official opening of the exhibition, the media coverage was extensive and various photographs show mythological subjects, particularly the head of the goddess Pallas Athene.[101]

The exploitation of mythological characters in this way was designed to establish, in an immediate and easily recognisable form, the supposedly ancient pedigree of the Reich, thereby also giving it a sense of legitimacy. The adoption of Pallas Athene as patroness indicated that such legitimacy was conferred from the highest level of the Greek deities. Her significance can be gleaned from Rosenberg's writings where he establishes her place in the hierarchy of mythological figures:

> Next to Apollo stood Pallas Athena, symbol of lightning, sprung from the head of Zeus, the blue-eyed daughter of the Thunderer. She was the goddess of wisdom and prudent guardian of the destiny of the Hellenes.
>
> These creations of the Greek soul exemplify the upright and still pure life of the Nordic.[102]

By giving her the status of being "next to Apollo", she was designated the second most important deity in the Nazi pantheon of mythological characters. As a symbol of purity, her non-physical attribute of wisdom is emphasized - expressed perhaps through using her head rather than entire figure for the parade and catalogue cover. However, in addition to this trait which was first allotted to her by the Greeks, Rosenberg designated the additional one of guardian of the *destiny* of the Hellenes, a reference to the procreational role assigned to contemporary women as guardians of the purity of the German race - specifically to be achieved by avoiding

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[100] *Berliner Illustrirte* (20.7.1937), reproduced in Bleuel, Hans Peter (1973), p.183.
[101] *Völkischer Beobachter* (19.7.1937), no.200.
[102] Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.10.

relationships with non-Aryans. In the quotation above, Rosenberg makes one of his many claims to a common culture, shared by the ancient Greeks and Nordic Germans. Pallas Athene had a significant role in ancient Greek culture. Like Apollo, she was seen as a benevolent and civilizing influence. In her earliest incarnation, she had the role of war goddess, hence her commonly represented attributes of spear, shield and helmet. Later she was associated with learning and the arts and thus over the centuries has been assigned patroness of many institutions involved with education and the arts. These roles for Pallas Athene were evidently recognized by Hans Kiener[103] in his description of the parade:

> Athena is the goddess of war and art. She personifies the strong fresh spiritual strength of the human being. She stands freely, upright. She recognizes, measures, and uses the strength of all things in the victorious battle with the enemy and in the conquest of nature for the creation of art. The picture of the goddess is the fitting expression of the heroic character of the Führer and the National Socialist movement and, in the deepest sense, of the art the Führer wants. An art form for which the artist has to fight in a serious and concentrated working procedure so that he may receive a blessing from it.[104]

The Annual Great German Art Exhibitions

The art the Führer wanted was what, presumably, appeared at the annual Great German Art exhibition, which was the foremost visual arts event of the year attracting substantial numbers of visitors.[105] As far as Hitler was concerned, his choice of art was representative of the preferences of the public; in making his selection, he persuaded himself that he was thus acting on their behalf. At the opening speech of the exhibition, he claimed:

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[103] Kiener also wrote the introduction to the GDK catalogue for 1937.

[104] Dr. Hans Kiener in *Kunstbetrachtungen*, Munich, 1937, p.334, quoted in Adam, Peter (1992), p.115.

[105] According to Adam, in 1937 there were 60,000 visitors; and in 1941, it was claimed in the art journal *Das Bild* that the GDK attracted 100,000 visitors in the first two months. See Feistel-Rohmeder, Bettina (1941). These estimates are conservative, however. According to data published recently by Haus der Kunst, the 1937 GDK attracted 554,759 visitors. The highest attendance was in 1942 (846,674 visitors), and the lowest in 1944 (80,621). Brantl, Sabine (undated), p.86.

> ...and I know that when the German People now walks round these galleries it will acknowledge me here too as its spokesman and adviser...[106]

"These galleries" referred to the newly inaugurated House of German Art built to replace the exhibition facilities of the Glaspalast which had been destroyed by fire. Its design was in keeping with its function: with its formal, rhythmic, array of columns it was intended to emulate the classical temples of ancient Greece, an appropriate structure for a building whose function was described by Hitler as "...the new temple of the goddess of art".[107] Art was therefore to be seen figuratively as a goddess from classical mythology, to be worshipped accordingly, and it was thus fitting for the imagery it displayed to attempt to imitate the icons which were originally housed in, or ornamented the exterior of, such temples. Ziegler went so far as to represent the goddess herself in a painting exhibited at the GDK in 1938 (plate 3.28). She is shown, rather incongruously, in a 1930s-style domestic interior; a self-conscious nude in a ridiculous pose, flanked by two allegorical children engaged in creative activity. Struck by its pretentiousness and absurdity, Willi Baumeister was moved to make his own modifications to a post-card representation, a blasphemy which he was subsequently called upon by the authorities to explain (plate 5.40) (see Chapter 5).

Ziegler's painting was one of the 185 works which are, as mentioned, identifiable in addressing themes from classical mythology. (A further three allude to ancient Greece and may also represent themes of classical myth). As Appendix 7 shows, all are relatively commonplace subjects with little tendency evident to explore the obscure. Most of the themes are uncontroversial in terms of acceptability to the state, but even those which are potentially problematic as explained later, such as Dionysus or Demeter, are interpreted in a generally non-challenging way. Exploration of the works indicates that they allude to two areas of polarization stressed both by Hitler and by Rosenberg in the National Socialist ideology, i.e. race and gender.[108] Racial supremacy was inferred, as explained, through the identification of contemporary Germans with the idealized forms expressed in Classical and Hellenistic Greece. It was through assigned gender-based roles that the regime intended to manipulate men and women to carry out their racist policies. First, it is of interest to consider the range of themes addressed and the relative incidence of female- or male-oriented mythological subjects. Then, to

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[106] Britt, David, editor (1995), p.339.
[107] Hinz, Berthold (1974), p.139.
[108] According to Rosenberg, "...within these world-spanning contrasts of races and souls of life there is another polarization of peoples: the male and the female." Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.300.

explore what these conveyed and how, if at all, they responded to the ideology they were intended to support, through their exposure in official exhibitions and publications.

The vast majority of the themes were concerned with the representation of female deities - 144 works, according to the titles, focused on goddesses, while just 25 were concerned with gods. The remainder (16) were titled to suggest mixed couples or groups. The most popular subjects are given in the table below, and a full list of themes is provided in Appendix 7.

Most Popular Mythological Themes Addressed at the Annual *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*, 1937-1944 inclusive

Appearance as Single Title Figure, or part of Couple/Group	
Venus/Aphrodite	28
Moon goddesses (Diana, Selene, Artemis, Luna)	25
Of which: Diana	19
Flora	13
Amazon	12
Nymph/Naiad/Nereid	10
Daphne	9
Europa	5
Psyche	4
Cupid	4
Pan	3
Mixed Groups/Pairs only	
Judgement of Paris	5
Mars and Venus	3

Source: Compiled by the author from the lists of works in the catalogues for the Great German Art Exhibition, 1937-1944, consulted at the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich.

As shown, Venus/Aphrodite was represented eighteen times titled as a single figure, a further five times paired with a second figure such as Adonis, Mars or Cupid, and would have appeared also in each of the five *Judgement of Paris* images, together with Juno/Hera and Minerva/Athena. Diana was represented nineteen times and there were a further six representations of the moon goddess under other appellations: Artemis, Selene (one of which was together with Chiron) and Luna. Flora was selected as the title theme in thirteen works and Daphne in nine (including

one listed as with Apollo). Certain generic types were regularly depicted, such as Amazons (twelve images) and Nymphs, Naiads and Nereids (ten altogether, including one pairing with a shepherd). The male deities represent a comparatively small group and none predominates particularly. However, among the small number of mixed couples and groups, the *Judgement of Paris* was the most popular theme (five images) and is the focus of a later section of this chapter.

It is evident that there is a certain congruity among the female deities selected. The characteristics for which they are chiefly known are beauty, virginity, modesty or fertility. While not all of these paintings were available for consultation for this dissertation, among all of those which could be seen, the goddesses were interpreted as youthful, attractive, athletic and healthy. There seems to have been a general avoidance of characters who were elderly, powerful, or violent. More complex and independent personalities such as Medea, Hecate, Clytemnestra, Electra or Cassandra were notably absent. This is not surprising given that Medea, for example, was associated with feminism; her speeches in Euripides' plays were seen as parallels to the "tirades of Fraulein Stocker or Miss Pankhurst",[109] while Cassandra, the seer, was punished by Apollo for refusing his advances (see Chapter 5). Surprisingly, however, Penelope does not appear to have been addressed either. Given her loyalty to her husband in his absence, and perseverance against persistent suitors, she would have been an ideal exemplar, particularly once the war started when many German husbands were away from home. However, perhaps her resistance to male advances smacked of a degree of independence inappropriate in a regime which was more concerned with the duty to reproduce for the state than loyalty to an individual of ones choice.

Among the male figures, the relative popularity of Pan and Cupid is somewhat surprising: Pan, because of his association with Bacchus/Dionysus and the underworld which symbolized degeneracy for Rosenberg; Cupid, because he does not normally display a particularly heroic persona. However, their correlation, respectively, with rural idyll and with romance presumably rendered them harmless and charming - and therefore unthreatening. By contrast, the place of Paris and of Mars in representing the supposedly masculine attributes of judgement and warmaking, so desirable in Nazi Germany, could explain their inclusion, at least in principle. These are discussed further later in the chapter.

The works on myth exhibited which were purchased for the Reichskanzlei - possibly the most prestigious building in the Third Reich in terms of its function - by Hitler and his representatives, until recently stored in the Munich depot, are

indicative, as mentioned, of the type of theme and its representation, appreciated by those in power. As the list of subjects indicates (see Appendix 8), of the twenty-one works, thirteen are titled with the names of female deities, implying that they are the focal characters, four of the images depict couples, three refer to a male central character (two of which are of the Judgement of Paris), and one is indeterminate, featuring a male thought to be Bacchus, together with two females.

The predominance of images of female deities in the art of the Third Reich should not be taken as an indication of their superiority, however; the ideology made it clear that the reverse was the case. Rosenberg asserted that the roles of males and females were governed by "simple, eternal laws", and that "all truly profound thinkers", i.e. philosophers, who "have a self-evident maturity":

> ...believe in effect that man is superior to woman in all realms of research, invention, fabrication and creation. The value of woman rests upon the equally important mission of blood preservation and racial propagation.[110]

The respective gender functions in the service of the state are the focus of the next two sections.

Classical Mythology and the Representation of Women

The Role of Women in the Third Reich

The themes addressed, and the approaches to representation, reflect aspects of the stated role for women in the Third Reich. This was a traditional one primarily involving confinement to the home, preferably within the framework of marriage. The woman's job was a dual one: to provide a haven for a heroic husband, and children to ensure the continuity of the Aryan race for the state. Representations tend to show women generalized and idealized - no sense of individuality emerges at all - vehicles for conveying the characteristics necessary to carry out a designated role. The characteristics comprise, first, purity (promiscuity risked relationships with 'undesirable' races), beauty (to attract and entertain the Aryan male), fertility (in order to be able to carry out her designated role in ensuring the future of the race), and health (in order that the offspring would be appropriately perfect). In the

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[109] Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.301.
[110] Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.301.

classical mythological works, while all four characteristics were illustrated, the motherhood ensuing from the fertility was not - perhaps because so few suitable and identifiable role models existed in myth. The most well known mothers in classical mythology were figures such as Medea, Niobe, and the more generic Demeter/Gaia earth goddesses. Medea, as mentioned, was associated with feminism and in any case would clearly have been inappropriate in a Reich which turned a blind eye to men straying from home in order to father more children for the Fatherland.[111] Medea's drastic tactic of murdering her children as revenge on a straying husband might have been seen as a deterrent. Niobe, too, could have been a discouraging figurehead for mothers encouraged to sacrifice their children for the Reich, in being punished by no less a deity than Apollo and his sister Artemis, who together destroyed her many children. Mother/Earth goddess deities, such as Demeter and Gaia tend to be fertility symbols and not generally shown with children, and in any case Rosenberg associated them with the undesirable Dionysian chthonic deities.[112] Venus with Cupid, while probably the most well known mother-and-child pair, does not demonstrate a traditional maternal relationship. A further possible explanation for the absence of mothers among the deities depicted by approved artists is that deification conveys a degree of power and independence considered incompatible with their familial role. Rosenberg points out in his discussion of matriarchy and Bachofen's theories on the stages of social development that, following the defeat of the Amazons: "...a mother was no longer the tutelary deity but the motherless and childless virgin, Pallas Athene." The fact that this was the goddess adopted to represent creativity in the Third Reich emphasizes the concurrent passive role expected of mothers.[113] As the duty of women was to embrace motherhood, Pallas Athene was clearly a figure-head, not a role model.

Hitler's demand for feminine purity stemmed from his concern regarding the degeneracy of society - evidenced for him in the proliferation of prostitution and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases - and the associated notion of the degeneracy of the German blood race. Many Modernist German artists also expressed concern with the breakdown of urban society through their art - Kirchner, Grosz and Dix

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[111] See Bleuel, Hans Peter (1973); and Stephenson, Jill (1981). Paradoxically, Richardson points out that, despite official ideology, which praised unmarried mothers, the *Bund deutscher Mädel* dismissed members who became pregnant without getting married. Richardson, Annie (1990).

[112] "Demeter, Hermes and others are essential creations of the alien race-soul." Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p12; and "Proceeding from death and its riddles, it came to revere the female principle - especially Demeter - and it ended with the god of the dead, with Dionysus. Welcker, Rohde, and Nietzsche all allude to "Mother Earth" as the formless procreator into whose womb all expiring life returns." Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.13.

[113] Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.14. As "the embodiment of the immortality of matter", it would have been irrelevant to give her additional, emblematic, roles.

come to mind - and it could be argued that up to a point their views concur with those of Hitler, though without apparent racial connotations. However, among the various reasons that they failed to appeal to Hitler can be included the fact that their concern was often expressed by depicting the downside of society, whereas Hitler wanted art to present an alternative, an example of what society should be. Hitler argued that miscegenation, on which he blamed the degeneration of society, could be controlled only by the behaviour of women and they were consequently acknowledged as the key to the preservation of the race as Rosenberg asserted in uncompromising terms:

> Translated in present day language, the Germanic mythos says: In the hand and in the nature of woman lies the preservation of our race. A people can still pull itself up out of political servitude, but never again from racial pollution. If the women of a nation gives birth to black or Jewish bastards, if the muddy tide of black "art" passes unhindered over Europe as today....then such conditions will ensure that Germany - and the whole of Europe - will be populated in its intellectual centres by bastards.[114]

This "mission of blood preservation and racial propagation", however, did not involve intellectual engagement, as was the case for men as the next section explains. After all, according to Rosenberg, quoting Aristotle, "Woman is woman by virtue of a certain lack of capability", and he elaborates on the point:

> The ancient poets recognized this fact when they symbolized destiny as having been embedded in a cosmic law of female beings; the Teutons by the Norns and the Greeks by the Moirae.[115]

This is an interesting interpretation, as it deliberately undermines the power of these figures who traditionally had control over the destiny of men. The three women were commonly depicted spinning yarn, symbolic of fate, and were often shown with a pair of scissors poised to cut the thread of an individual's life. Rosenberg contended that women are by nature vegetative and subjective, and that they lack not only intellectual but also intuitive vision. If the Norns/Moirae, as females, lack vision of any kind, it suggests that they are merely conduits rather than deciders of

[114] Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.319.
[115] Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.301.

man's destiny.[116] Few artists addressed the subject of these Fates, but it is of some interest that Wackerle[117] employed the theme in the fountain for St. Stephen's Green in Dublin (plate 3.29), commissioned around 1950 and unveiled in 1956, by the German Embassy in Dublin as a gesture of appreciation to the Irish people who provided a refuge for many German children during the war.[118] Given the nature and timing of the commission, it seems highly unlikely that any gender dimension was intended; rather it infers that destiny is outside the control of humans.

Images of Beauty, Love and Fecundity

As responsibility for the protection of the race was placed decisively on the shoulders of women, then understandably women were more commonly the subject of art which was intended to convey this message. The appropriation of myth to express these ideals outlined involved the selection of suitable prototypes. However, the ambiguity of the history of many of the mythological figures creates difficulties in interpretation. The exemplar for the representation of purity for women had also, ironically, to embody the potential for fertility - after all abstinence would not ensure the future of the race. Ideally the figure should have beauty which traditionally has been associated with positive characteristics such as truth and purity, and also in order to ensure the attraction of the male. Obvious candidates were Aphrodite and her Roman counterpart Venus, and similar types such as Flora who embodied connotations of fecundity and, as goddess of flowers, suggested appropriate 'nice' domestic interests. As Mosse puts it in respect to the interest in floral symbolism in Germany at least since the period of Romanticism: "Flowers symbolized home and hearth, permanence and the changing fortunes of war."[119] As mentioned, these characters were among the most popular of the mythological subjects and were among the themes promoted in texts by art theorists such as Schultze-Naumburg.

It might have been expected that Aphrodite, as goddess of beauty and love, would have been an uncomplicated choice of subject. She was, however, a potentially controversial figure and Rosenberg's treatise does little to dispel the ambiguity surrounding her use as a prototype. What he had to say derived from the theories of Bachofen with regard to the 'hetaerist-aphroditic' phase of society outlined in Chapter 1.

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[116] Elsewhere, Rosenberg says " the Moirae, like the Norns in Teutonic mythology, are female because in woman the impersonal alone rules. She is the passive vessel of the law." Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.16.

[117] Josef Wackerle was a Professor of Sculpture at the Akademie die Künste, Munich (1924-45) and was involved in the design of the Great German Day of Art parades.

[118] This monument is the subject of ongoing research by the author.

[119] Mosse, George L. (1985), pp.119-120.

> The aboriginal matriarchy of the pre-Nordic Mediterranean peoples was symbolized by the swamp or the swamp plants and swamp animals; i.e., the symbols of the widespread indiscriminate sexual intercourse. Isis and Mother Nature were represented as sitting amidst the reeds of the swamp. Artemis and Aphrodite were worshipped in "reeds and swamp."[120]

From this quotation, it could be inferred that Artemis, too, was implicated in this undesirable phase of the development of civilization. It might be assumed that these two goddesses would therefore be considered inappropriate examples for German womanhood to follow, particularly having been associated with a Hetaeristic society (implying prostitution). However, it would seem that Aphrodite emerged unscathed from the early swamp cult to become an icon of Socratic society; elsewhere in his treatise Rosenberg refers to her in terms that would make her eminently suitable as a role model for contemporary womanhood:

> Beauty of soul and beauty of physical appearance certainly do not always coincide. But with Socrates this was the case. Through an environment where Eros and the Nordic racial beauty of blond Aphrodite ruled, passed the same ideal of beauty, forming and shaping the real Greek world. The ideal was always the slim, white-skinned and blond creature...[121]

It was just such an ideal which inspired German painters and sculptors in the service of the State. Oskar Graf's *Aphrodite* (plate 3.30), one of the works purchased for the Reichskanzlei (Appendix 8) and reproduced in the 1942 GDK catalogue, presents the goddess as an almost full-length nude set against a backdrop of Greek architecture. The architecture is in ruins - not as it would have appeared in the ancient past when it was new, but rather indicating its antiquity by displaying its modern appearance. Aphrodite, it could be inferred, is therefore placed in the contemporary, not ancient, world. This evidently came across at the time; Schultz described her in a review of the exhibition as "O. Graf's modern-feeling Aphrodite".[122] She holds the edge of a drapery as though she has just disrobed for the viewer. Despite her nudity, her modesty and purity are retained by her demurely downcast eyes and unprovocative pose. Behind her, in a turbulent cloudy sky, looms a godlike figure - possibly Zeus

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[120]Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.235.
[121]Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.175.
[122] "O. Graf's modern empfundene Aphrodite...". Schultz, Wally P. (1942), p.250.

given the stormy atmosphere with its potential for lightning. His position of power and voyeuristic observation represents a contrast to her submissive pose. Their respective roles are inferred if not clearly explained by Schultz;

> She stands with touching helplessness and does not appear to be conscious as yet of her godly existence, but the god who promises luck is near![123]

Thus, it seems, this modern Nordic woman, will recognize her goddess qualities by the appearance on the scene of the (presumably Greek) god. Whether the implication is that it requires a man or a classical figure (or both) to effect this self recognition is not specified.

Such demure female types could, however, have been seen as rather distant and therefore unattainable, rather defeating their ultimate purpose. While Carl Otto Müller attempted a timeless approach in his reclining *Franconian Venus* (plate 3.31), he directed his appeal to local allegiances by relating her to a regional landscape. Sepp Hilz, however, redressed the balance more effectively by reinterpreting Venus as a contemporary peasant-type, a young, strong, healthy farm-girl. The allusion to a bucolic lifestyle was apt at the time given that agricultural work was considered relatively suitable as an occupation for women during the war when it became necessary for them to replace men in the workplace. The traditional rustic furniture which surrounds Venus adds a note of nostalgia to the contemporaneous quality of her appearance. Despite her robust physicality and the sense of availability conferred by the familiarity of her setting, she is nonetheless suitably demure, avoiding making eye-contact with the viewer. Compared with the coquettishness of some representations of Venus, these works are designed to appear more natural. In each of the images she is engaged in an activity; in one she is undressing (plate 3.32) while in the other she is patiently absorbed in a book (plate 3.33), in an attempt to create a Degas-like sense of intimacy.[124] However, it is a studied naturalism and, as Hinz has pointed out, there is a voyeuristic sense of secret observation as the females assume pleasing and seductive poses.[125] Rittich included the first of these in a text on German contemporary art to demonstrate a racial ideal of beauty.[126]

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[123] "..rührend hilflos dasteht und sich ihres göttlichen Daseins noch nicht bewußt scheint; aber der Glück verheißende Gott ist nahe." Schultz, Wally P. (1942), p.250

[124] This work was used to illustrate (p.293) an article by Scholtz on paintings of nudes, published in *Die Kunst im Deutschen Reich*. He does not comment specifically on this painting, however. Scholtz, Robert (1940).

[125] Hinz, Berthold (1979), p.103.

[126] Rittich, Dr. Werner (1943b), pp.14-15; illustrated p.60.

Apart from the brief mention of Artemis in relation to Aphrodite, Rosenberg has nothing to add with respect to the moon goddess and, under her various names, she succeeds in being one of the most popular mythological themes for artists at the time. Her acceptability in imagery was probably related to her status as one of the twelve Olympian deities. In her early, pre-Greek, incarnation she was revered as an earth goddess (which relates to Rosenberg's comment on her). Latterly, she became identified with the moon goddess, Luna or Selene, who was not associated with chastity. The Romans worshipped her as a triple deity, Luna (the sky), Diana (the earth), and Hecate (the underworld). It is unlikely that many artists were closely familiar with her many dimensions but they would presumably have been aware of her most widely known characteristics: as virgin huntress, combining chastity and athleticism. The latter would have had a particular appeal at the time given the role of physical exercise in the 'strength through joy' (*Kraft durch Freude*) campaign. While her chastity could have been interpreted as a sign of resistance and independence, as had sometimes been the case historically, there does not appear to have been much tendency to explore this dimension of her character other than to convey her with her eyes averted, engaging in no confrontation with the viewer. At least three of the works on myth which appeared at a GDK, and were purchased by the state, address the theme of Artemis/Diana. Theodore Bohnenberger's *Diana* (plate 3.34) appears to have been selected by Hitler himself.[127] It depicts an athletic full-length nude, riding a horse. She is seated in profile but twists around, ostensibly to use her bow, but in a traditional pose designed to display her body. Kalb's painting, *Bath of Artemis* (plate 3.35) was exhibited at the GDK in 1939, and was one of at least five works by this artist purchased by the state. Artemis is shown nude in a full-length frontal position standing at the edge of a pool in the usual forest setting. In a dual narrative, Acteon is torn apart by her hounds in the background. Her attendant observes the event, thereby linking the two scenes while Artemis, unaware or unconcerned, presents herself for the scrutiny of the viewer. Saliger's version, *Diana's Rest* (plate 3.36) which was exhibited at the 1940 GDK shows three posed nude figures, evidently using the same model, which could either be three views of the goddess (or the three aspects of her Roman persona), or else Diana with two attendants (in which case it is not absolutely clear which of them is the goddess - the foreground figure or the one with the hunting spear). The confusion of identity which the image presents suggests that the content is not overly important and that

[127] The notation on the back of the painting states "der Führer", according to information supplied by the Oberfinanzdirektion, Munich.

what is of greater concern is the presentation of the type of woman who would be acceptable in the service of the continuation of the race.

Whatever about contemporary German womanhood, Diana provided a role model for the mythological figure of Daphne who, according to Ovid's version of the legend, begged her father to be permitted, like the goddess, to renounce men.[128] Her legend depends on her association with Apollo, which might help to account for her popularity as a theme at this time. However, the irony of her rejection of the sun-god appears to have escaped the artists depicting her. Two representations of Daphne, both by Kalb, are listed among the mythological works held at the depot in Munich. *Daphne* (plate 3.37) was shown at the 1939 GDK and the artist was evidently more concerned to display two idealized figures than to faithfully respond to the narrative. The goddess no longer appears to be reluctant in her response to Apollo and, rather than transforming into a tree, she is receptively leaning against it. The later version, exhibited at the 1942 GDK, while listed separately, is part of a triptych addressing through mythological figures the themes of *Searching (Daphne), Finding (Eros and Psyche),* and *Losing (Euridice)* (plate 3.38). In *Searching*, a perplexed Apollo, modestly covered with a drapery which has no visible means of support, clutches the end of Daphne's robe, seemingly unaware of her huddled, terrified, in a laurel tree. Again, it does not appear that a metamorphosis has taken place, though she does seem to be appropriately reluctant and clutches a stout stick as though for protection. In this work it is Apollo who is presented as the ideal representative of the German physique. However, in the central panel, Psyche offers herself to the gaze of the viewer. The right hand panel, (plate 3.39) showing Euridice and Orpheus, appears to be dependent on Feuerbach's famous image of the same theme (plate 3.40).[129] However, while Kalb's image is intended to refer to loss (as indicated by the title), it carries none of the dramatic intensity of the original. Kalb may, however, have been wary of alluding to the realm of death and the underworld, which can be inferred by this theme and by that of Psyche, given Rosenberg's express disapproval for this tendency among the Romantic artists.[130]

While Flora is one of the major mythological figures of fecundity, her representation in the Third Reich tended to be little different from that of other goddesses. Mikorey's bronze sculpture (GDK 1944) shows a competent but unremarkable nude holding a garland (plate 3.41), and Kolbe's *Flora* (plate 3.13),

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[128] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book I, 453-568. Ovid (1955).

[129] The arrangement of Kalb's figures mirrors that by Feuerbach. Note the way Euridice clutches her garment, and Orpheus moves forward with bent knee. Kalb may have seen the work when it was reproduced in the art journal, *Das Bild*. Feistel-Rohmeder, Bettina (1940), p.7.

[130] See Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), pp.12-13.

shown at the 1940 exhibition (and sufficiently important to be reproduced in the catalogue), is similarly bland. Breker's version of *Flora* (plate 3.42) is more visually interesting, but is a somewhat saccharin attempt to emulate the sensitivity of Canova's *Psyche with a Butterfly* or *Cupid and Psyche Contemplating a Butterfly*.[131] In addition to its display at the 1944 GDK, Breker's *Flora* was given prominence by its inclusion in media articles,[132] and was shown in an exhibition of Breker's work in the same year. Gisbert Palmie's allegory *Rewards of Work* (GDK 1939, plate 3.43) features a nude Flora posed in the centre, rather suggesting that she is the ultimate "reward", an idea extended to other themes as will be shown. The young rustic figure to the left holding a sheaf of corn, reinforces the connotations of fertility associated with the central one. Flora is the classical counterpart to the Teutonic corn goddess discussed in Chapter 4.

Love and Metamorphosis

Despite the exhortation for women to remain pure, and the somewhat sterile representations of goddesses by many artists, certain Ovidian themes such as Leda and the Swan provided an opportunity for what is little short of pornography. Paul Mathias Padua's representation (plate 3.44) in particular created a scandal, according to Hoffmann,[133] when it was shown at the 1939 GDK.[134] However, it seems Leda was one of Hitler's favourite themes and despite some misgivings, he decided it should be included in the exhibition.[135] In his memoirs, Ernst Hanfstaengl, a friend of Hitler's, recalls a visit to the national gallery in Berlin where Hitler became separated from his colleagues:

> We found him lost in concentration in front of Correggio's *Leda and the Swan*. He pulled himself together as we arrived, and although it was the sensuous portrayal of the two central figures which had fascinated him, read us a hasty lecture about the wonderful play of light on the bathing nymphs in

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[131] *Psyche with a Butterfly* (1789-92), Ince Blundell Hall, Lancashire, England; *Cupid and Psyche Contemplating a Butterfly* (1796-1800), Louvre Museum, Paris. While Breker is unlikely to have seen the Lancashire sculpture, he may have seen at first hand the one in Paris. Either work could have been known to him from reproductions in publications.

[132] See, for example, *Die Kunst im Deutschen Reich*, November 1943; and the Potsdam edition of the *Völkischer Beobachter* (11.6.1944). Both of these carried illustrations of Breker's *Flora*.

[133] Hoffmann describes the initial quandary about whether the work should be shown, and the controversy it subsequently aroused at its inclusion. Hoffmann, Heinrich (1955).

[134] While Hoffmann states that it was shown in 1938, it does not appear in the GDK catalogue for that year. However, it is listed in the 1939 GDK catalogue. See Hoffmann, Heinrich (1955), p.172.

[135] Adam, Peter (1992), p.155, states that Hitler purchased this painting. However Hoffmann, Heinrich (1955), p.173, claims it was purchased by Martin Bormann. As Bormann was Hitler's

> the background. Over the course of time I discovered that the subject of this picture was almost an obsession with him. In later years this, almost the most obscene of classical subjects, was sure to obtain a gold medal for any modern German artist who used it as his subject at one of the Nazi exhibitions.[136]

Hitler's interest in the theme and his purchase of Padua's painting was presumably the incentive for Pirchan to publish an article on images of the love of the "ever-young Olympic Greek gods and goddesses".[137] While the essay was not confined to the theme of Leda, it provided the central focus and included an illustration of Correggio's version and reference to Padua's in the context of the GDK of that year. It also acknowledged Michaelangelo's interpretation (not illustrated) of the theme which directly influenced a contemporaneous painted copy and also Ammanati's derivative sculpture both of which were included in the illustrations. Karl Ziegler's version (plate 3.46) indicates an awareness of Michaelangelo's design;[138] the seated pose of Ziegler's *Leda* has similarities with the semi-recumbent one by the earlier artists, while the position of the swan and the kiss allude to a closer derivation. Michaelangelo was recognized as a suitable artist to emulate, and was adopted as racially Nordic, despite his Italian heritage. To Rosenberg, Michaelangelo was one of the select few who was imbued with the "inwardly conditioned, organic-creative rhythm", one of those "capable of carrying this Nordic rhythm throughout their entire life, through their entire works. But because of this they are the greatest of our spirit, our race."[139] However, it seems what made Michaelangelo especially great was that he expressed "The beautiful Nordic racial types [which] are examples of Germanic racial beauty in its purest form."[140] Ziegler, however, avoided the Mannerist distortions in order to site Leda temporally in the 1930s, a factor emphasized by the contemporaneous face and fashionable hair-style. Josef Thorak's version (plate 3.46) which was shown at the 1942 GDK also draws on the versions by

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private secretary and acknowledged as very close to the Führer, he may have been responsible for acquiring the painting on Hitler's behalf.

[136] Hanfstaengl, Ernst (1957), p.60-61.

[137] Pirchan, Prof. Dr. E. (1939).

[138] Ziegler's image is reproduced in Hinz, Berthold (1979), p.138, but no source or date is given. Correspondence to the author seeking this information did not elicit a response. It is not clear therefore whether the work was painted before or after the article was published.

[139] Rosenberg, Alfred, p.163.

[140] Rosenberg, Alfred, p.179.

Michelangelo and Ammanati, though his more languorous arrangement serves to heighten its sensuousness.[141]

Other Ovidian themes addressed in Pirchan's article included *Europa and the Bull*, *Danae and the Shower of Gold,* and *Jupiter and Io*, all of which involve the metamorphosis of Jupiter/Zeus in the pursuit of romance. The theme of Europa is potentially political and is discussed in Chapter 5 as a case study which considers the relative approaches to the theme by state-approved, and by 'degenerate' artists. The theme of Danae also had the potential for a political reading; her assignation with Zeus, who coupled with her in the guise of a shower of gold, and the consequent birth of a son, Perseus, ultimately resulted in the destruction of her father, Acrisius, King of Argus - a theme which could have provided a rallying image for anti-Hitler factions. Approved artists focused, however, on the opportunity to represent a female nude, reclining on a bed. Karl Truppe's *Joy of the Senses* (plate 3.47),[142] depicts Danae ecstatically clutching her pillow, while an older woman carrying a bunch of flowers enters at left drawing back the curtain. Her attention is drawn to a golden light filtering into the room and suffusing the figure of Danae. While similar in format to Titian's Prado version of *Danae* (plate 3.48) which was illustrated in Schultze-Naumburg's *Nordische Schönheit,*[143] it suggests a closer familiarity with Rembrandt's painting of the same theme (plate 3.49), a prototype which met with official approval.[144]

Hinz offers a suggestion for the popularity of scenes involving the ravishment of women by a male in disguised form. In the absence of an assured motive, he posits that men of the time, provoked by visions of freshly scrubbed 'appetizing' and flirtatious girls, were unable to display their potency and act out the roles assigned to them. Consequently, he suggests:

> They adopt Zeus's tactics and, disguised in the form of a bull, a swan, etc., pursue their victims.[145]

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[141] Other versions of this theme include: Alexander Rothaug, *Leda* (oil), GDK 1938; Otto Roloff, *Leda*, and Ivo Saliger, *Leda.* The latter two were illustrated in Hinz, Berthold (1974), p.258 (illustrations 111 and 112). No details supplied.

[142]Truppe's *Sein und Vergehen*, GDK 1940, appears to be a variation on the theme.

[143] Schultze-Naumburg, Paul (1937), plate 125, p.176.

[144] Christoffel's article on the nude as artistic expression describes Rembrandt's *Danae* in glowing terms and includes an illustration of the image. Christoffel, Ulrich, (1941). Rosenberg also was full of praise for Rembrandt's work and referred to "The splendid figure of the *Danae...*". Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.181.

[145] Hinz, Berthold (1979), p.151.

This is an interesting theory, though it is not clear whether Hinz is drawing on what is understood or known to have been the impact on male potency of Nazi controlling policies, or whether it is conjecture. His statement suggests that what is occurring in the images is illustrative of contemporary reality. However, it is at most either an artist's consciously applied metaphor of observed actuality (an unlikely proposition as it would carry an implicit criticism of the regime) or alternatively his unwitting reflection of a situation based perhaps on his own sense of emasculation by a regime which was repressive of artists. The reality is probably much simpler; in Nazi Germany as elsewhere representation of the sexual act, in art on public display, would have been unthinkable in any other guise. In any case, explicit depictions are not as common as Hinz's comment might suggest; it would appear that Leda and Danae are the only themes where copulation is depicted or indicated, and this does not occur frequently.[146] In other themes of metamorphosis, and in other representations of Leda, the artist has taken the opportunity simply of depicting a female nude in the company of an animal. These follow the long tradition of depictions of nudes which, while they may have been primarily for the gratification of the viewer, were presented as an allegory for a noble aspiration or quality, or as a mythological narrative.

In general, a code of protocol appears to have evolved in the art addressing themes from classical myth. Men were presented as virile when they were on their own, engaged in battle, or standing side by side with a comrade. However, when represented with a female, they tended to assume either the intellectual and objective role of judge, or were relegated to the background, or were metamorphosed into another form. The corollary of this is that when women were shown as available and compliant, it was rarely in a scene with a man unless there were chaperones. There are some exceptions, such as Kampf's *Venus and Adonis* discussed below; however, as explained, he resists her advances in order to concentrate on more important matters.

[146]I have identified only three works of Leda in this context: those by Padua, Thorak, and Ziegler, and three of Danae, two by Truppe, and one by Raffael Schuster-Woldan (GDK 1941).

Classical Mythology and the Representation of the Male

The Role of Men in the Third Reich

Implicit in ideological treatises, the role of the male in the Third Reich appears to have had a number of dimensions, the most important of which are identifiable as: ruler, soldier, worker, judge, procreator and creator/inventor. Rosenberg makes regular reference to these various roles, for example, he states in the *Mythos,* "Only men must be and remain judges, soldiers, and rulers of state"[147] and that, as mentioned above, "... man is superior to woman in all realms of research, invention, fabrication and creation."[148] He explains the suitability of men rather than women to these roles:

> Today these professions demand more than ever an unlyrical, indeed, tough attitude, recognising only what corresponds to a type and what is *Völkisch.*[149]

As women were seen as 'lyrical' - indeed it was expected that they should be so - they were explicitly unsuited to such positions. Unlyrical (i.e. unfeminine) women, it was implied, were failing in their duty to the state, and *ipso facto* would be considered unfit for the roles assigned to men which depended on a dutiful nature. The special qualities required to carry out the assigned roles were identified by Rosenberg as honour, discipline and sacred will and this choice of attributes was relevant in terms of the mythical themes and motifs which were adopted and how the male was characterized. Implicit in these three characteristics are heroism - to ensure that the man would be prepared to die for the Reich, and obedience - a critical factor in ensuring that the roles would be carried out. The theory indicated also the necessity for the man to subjugate himself entirely to the role expected of him. Rosenberg stated that a "mythos is only real when it had grasped the entire man" and that the three powers (i.e. honour, discipline and sacred will):

> ... serve only one thing: the honor of the German nation. It is the mythos which must determine the type of the future German. If one has recognized this, then it will have already begun to take shape in the present.[150]

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[147]Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.320.
[148] Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.301.
[149]Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.320.
[150]Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.326.

The representation in art of the roles of the male in themes from classical mythology are limited in range, mostly confined to images of judgement, power or conflict. The use of mythological prototypes to depict the man at work are relatively rare and are largely confined to manual work. While they seldom occur in the context of classical myth, an exception is a work by Kalb, entitled *Meeting* (plate 3.51), illustrated in a journal article, in *Das Bild,* devoted to 'The Farmer and his World as a Motif of German Art Creation'.[151] The triptych shows three scenes in each of which a rustic male comes in contact with mythical females including a mermaid and a sphinx. While the activity of work is not displayed, the occupation of farm labourer is inferred by his garments. The images suggest that he too is a participant in Germany's mythological ancient history; like Paris, he can see himself as both shepherd and prince. It is a portrayal intended to have popular appeal; in contrast to the airless pedantic image taught, in Hitler's view, by the *Gymnasien*, Kalb's interpretation is a seductive world of soft-core eroticism. Kalb appears to have a predilection for nineteenth century prototypes - mermaids and sphinxes, as mentioned in Chapter 1, proliferated in the work of Böcklin, Stuck and others, effectively illustrating the perception of the dangerous irrationality of women. While it may have been his intention to present the decent working Aryan as a contrast to such degenerate seductresses, Kalb's sirens lack conviction. Apart from such exceptions, the worker is addressed more commonly through Nordic myth as Chapter 4 will show. Themes of the worker are almost non-existent in relation to women with the exception of farm- or house-work, and appear not to exist in relation to mythology. In order for women to devote themselves entirely to procreation, it was deemed desirable to remove them from the workforce. While this was not in *practice* feasible,[152] it was nonetheless stated as the desirable aim.

The Judgement of Paris

Overlapping with the issue of work (albeit non-manual) was the theme of judgement which had obvious links with the legal profession, though it was not confined to it. In the Third Reich, it was stressed that only males should work outside the home and, while many professions had been exclusively male preserves in any case, before the advent of Nazism, women had been able to fill certain jobs such as in the law.

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[151] Hermann, Gustav (1939). The article addresses the work in an exhibition in Leipzig entitled "Der Bauer und seine Welt" (The Farmer and his World), and some relevant works included in the 1939 exhibition at Munich's Maximilianeum.

[152] Despite the removal of women from 800,000 posts in the workforce during 1933-35, the economic boom meant that by 1936, there were more women employed in the workforce than when Hitler came to power. Noakes, Jeremy (1974), p.366. By 1939, even before the outbreak of the Second World War, 37% of the female population was at work. Hermand, Jost (1984), p.664.

However, this was specifically identified as an area where women's involvement was to be forbidden. As Noakes points out, the law was regarded, like politics, as an occupation suitable only for men and, in order to give effect to the exclusion of women, Hitler made the decision in August 1936 that they should no longer hold positions as lawyers and judges.[153] To successfully carry out the role of judge two qualities were stipulated: rational thinking and honour. Rosenberg wrote in the *Mythos* that at first,

> ...honor was held by each personally. Then it was embodied in the community as embodied in the judge, and this likewise was grounded in the concept of honor.[154]

As these qualities are identified as being the preserve of males, whenever Rosenberg mentions the role of the judge, it is always in association with the male and always in conjunction with the concept of honour. While the practice of the law as a profession was available only to a select few, the notion of judgement had a potentially much wider application and could be seen to pertain to the broader male role, particularly in his social and personal life. This was a potentially useful sop to the many men who may have had limited opportunity to apply their judgement in the workplace or in the armed forces. The assumption of the capacity to judge implies the right to make decisions or choices, which is the basis of power. This perhaps sheds light on the relative popularity of the theme of the Judgement of Paris in Nazi art, and indicates how the works can be read. The story describes how Paris, a Trojan prince and shepherd, is given the task of judging a beauty contest between Venus, Juno and Minerva. While it is well known that his reward for selecting Venus was the Spartan princess Helen, whom he abducted thus bringing about the Trojan war, this aspect of the story does not appear to have been addressed by artists in the Third Reich. Rather the reward for Paris, the images infer, is the choice of the goddesses, who consequently submit themselves to his scrutiny. As Hinz has commented, the relationship between Paris and the goddesses had changed - from the traditional one of judgement where the women vie with one another for his favour, to one of choice as though he was engaged in making a selection for himself.[155] In traditional representations, as Healy points out, artists generally show either the

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[153] "Following the conference in your Ministry on 5.viii.1936 concerning the admission of women as lawyers, I have put the matter to the Führer, since, as the course of the meeting showed, the Party has a special interest in these things. He has decided that women cannot become either judges or lawyers." Cited in Noakes, Jeremy (1974), p.367.
[154]Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.356.

process of judgement or the moment of decision when the prize is awarded.[156] In all of the works on the theme discussed here, the former is shown; and Paris is represented intellectually engaged in the adjudication. He is usually depicted in a seated position, the better to concentrate on his task, in poses which draw on traditional versions of the theme by artists such as Rubens; one even adopts the chin-on-fist 'thinker' position. This was one of the more popular classical themes in Nazi Germany and was addressed by Georg Ehmig (at least twice),[157] Georg Friedrich, Ivo Saliger, Josef Thorak, and Adolf Ziegler, each of whom exhibited a work on this subject at a GDK.

In representations of the theme, two important messages were reinforced: the notion of judgement as a male preserve; and the concept of Nordic ideal beauty which must be selected. This is evident in the work of Ivo Saliger, for example, which was one of three works on the theme shown at the GDK in 1939[158] each of which was purchased by Hitler. The other two were by Friedrich and by Ziegler. Saliger's *Judgement of Paris* (plate 3.51) typifies the genre; a fully clothed Paris is depicted observing one of the three (unclothed) goddesses thus the balance of power is conveyed.[159] The 'goddess' under scrutiny is conventionally pretty with a slim, well-proportioned, healthy and athletic physique suggesting both the pedigree and the physical fitness required for her role as mother. The physical similarity of the three goddesses suggests that they are, in reality, three views of the same model and the resultant lack of differentiation underpins the female's lack of individuality or personality; expressionlessly, she offers her body to the male. While the theme is from classical antiquity, it is evidently designed to have relevance for the viewer in Nazi Germany. The style of glossy beauty of the women is suggestive of that of the 1930s while Paris is represented not as a figure from ancient Greece but as a contemporaneous young man dressed in what has been described as the summer uniform of the Hitler Youth (*Hitler Jugend*).[160] In the work of Saliger and other artists addressing this theme at the time, the women are passive recipients of male interest, a position which was in accordance with Hitler's understanding of women's role in sexual activity. In a discussion on methods of combating prostitution, Hitler

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[155] Hinz, Berthold (1979).
[156] Healy, Fiona (1997).
[157] A painting by Ehmig entitled *Judgement of Paris* was exhibited at the Verein Berliner Künstler show in 1938, and a similar version was shown at the 1942 GDK. Both works are evidently indebted, in appearance, to Botticelli's *Primavera*.
[158] Saliger's work was on the supplementary list, cat. no. 189, room 9.
[159] In the context of Rubens' works on the theme of the Judgement of Paris, Fiona Healy (1997) has explored the means of enforcing boundaries of respective gender functions between Paris as judge, and the women as competitors in a beauty contest.
[160] Preiß, Achim (1990), pp.253-73.

advocated early marriage which he saw as "compatible with human nature - particularly for the man, as the woman in any case is only the passive part."[161]

The importance of this type of image is emphasized by the fact that the theme was addressed also by Adolf Ziegler, President of the Reich Culture Chamber (*Kunstkammer*) (1936-43) who was involved in the selection of paintings for the GDKs. His *Judgement of Paris* (plate 3.52) was shown at the 1939 GDK, before it was acquired by Hitler to hang in his living room in Munich, above the fireplace.[162] The image was given further publicity when it was used to illustrate at least two review articles of the exhibition. In each of them is discussed the relationship of style to the mythos which it represented. The article in *Kunst dem Volk* claimed in relation to Hitler:

> He has created the Mythos, and it is the first and only time that the will and creativity of a single person has been in this position. The Mythos however creates the style. For style is only outward form, style is belief and community and communal-belief.[163]

The work of Ziegler, and of other artists approved by Hitler, it was suggested, were in a style or form which reflected an inner belief and which was in accord with the Führer's mythos. Similarly, Robert Scholz, quoting from Hitler's opening speech, asserted that the revived *Völkisch* mythos emerged in art only when the content and form reflected a unified will.[164]

Ziegler's *Judgement of Paris* attempted to draw together the culture of ancient Greece and contemporary Germany. The contrast between the pale skin of the women and the bronzed body of Paris was in accordance with ancient tradition. The slightly more active, if somewhat unconvincing, behaviour of the women in attempting to attract Paris's approval is closer to traditional representations than, say, Saliger's more dispassionate version. However, the hairstyle and physical type relates to the fashions of the time, giving the work a relevance to the audience for which it was painted. Like Saliger, however, Ziegler did not distinguish between the goddesses and any individuality suggested by their different poses is lost. The third of the works on this subject purchased by Hitler from the 1939 GDK was Georg

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[161] Hitler, Adolf (1997), p.229.
[162] Adam, Peter (1992), p.152.
[163] "Er hat den Mythos geschaffen, und es ist das erste und einzige Mal, daß der Wille und das Schöpferkraft eines einzelnen Menschen hierzu imstande waren. Der Mythos aber schafft den Stil. Denn Stil ist nur nach außen Form, Stil ist Glaube und Gemeinschaft und gemeinschaftlicher Glaube." Nannen, Henri (1939), p.7.
[164] Scholz, Robert (1939).

Friedrich's large painting (plate 3.53). It was among the works chosen to accompany an excerpt from Hitler's speech opening the exhibition, published in the August issue of *Kunst dem Volk*.[165] Friedrich's work was much more in the tradition of nineteenth century academicism. Thus while it is an accomplished exercise in painting, it has little to offer that is original.

The success of the theme may have prompted Joseph Thorak to select it for his sculpture group of the *Judgement of Paris* (plate 3.54), designed for a fountain, shown at the GDK in 1941. While it employs a relatively innovative arrangement of figures in space, it displays sentiments familiar from the works by Saliger and Ziegler. Given her position[166] and the general tenor of her articles for *Das Bild*, it is unlikely that Feistel-Rohmeder intended any irony when, in a review of the exhibition, she commented on Thorak's work proposing that the:

> "Judgement of Paris" in a deep interpretation of the saga solves for the female observer certain puzzles as to the soul of Man.[167]

Paris leans pensively on his shepherd's crook while he makes his selection; apart from slightly different poses, as with Saliger's work the women appear identical, showing no individuality or capacity for intellectual engagement. The role of the woman was not to think but to breed; in selecting for his use a suitably attractive and healthy female, the male was doing his duty to the fatherland in ensuring the future quality of the master race. The role of judge in this context implies a connoisseurial capacity similar to that traditionally associated with appreciation of art.[168] Schulze-Naumburg's text,[169] referred to earlier, established this association for the aspiring adjudicator of women. The author focused on the identification of beauty which, it was asserted, is related to race,[170] and stressed repeatedly the importance of the capacity for judgement (*Urteil*).[171] The ultimate purpose of the text was indicated in a quotation ascribed to Hitler which appeared on the title page, asserting that it was

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[165] Hitler, Adolf (1939).
[166] Bettina Feistel-Rohmeder was head of the Deutsche Kunstkorrespondenz, an organisation engaged in providing to the media information and articles which conformed with Nazi ideology.
[167] "...während des gleichen Plastikers [i.e. as carried out the "Zwei Menschen"] "Urteil des Paris" in tiefer Ausdeutung der Sage gerade dem weiblichen Betrachter gewisse Rätzel der Mannesseele löft." Feistel-Rohmeder, Bettina (1941), p.125.
[168] A well known photograph of Hitler shows him at the 1940 GDK, admiring Ernst Liebermann's painting *Three Graces*. They pose, coquettishly for the viewer who is, metaphorically, placed in the role of Paris - but as a connoisseur both of art and of female beauty. Hitler subsequently purchased the painting.
[169] Schultze-Naumburg, Paul (1937). This publication is dedicated to Hans F.K. Günther, the racial theorist discussed in Chapter 1.
[170] Chapter III is titled "Beauty is Race-Related" (*Schönheit ist rassegebund).*

in the national interest to promote the most beautiful bodies as a gift of or for the Volk.[172] Adam concurs with this in the context of Thorak's sculpture which, he said, "expressed all the demands for an ideal beauty and a readiness to conceive offspring".[173] What is contradictory in these images which are ultimately on the theme of selective reproduction is the sense of chasteness, even sterility, which is evoked for many commentators.[174]

While the interpretation of these works implies the exploitation of women by men, Hinz proposes that in effect both genders were manipulated and exploited by the regime: the purpose in placing women under the dominance of males was to provide an illusion of control - a pacifier for men who were themselves subject to manipulation by the state.[175]

The Myth of the Hero

In images from classical myth involving figures of both genders, while the male may be presented as in a position of power or control, they tend to be upstaged in terms of focus by the females. This is particularly evident in works addressing Mars and Venus, the deities representing war and love respectively. While war, in theory, was more important (being a male preserve) than love (which was seen as the domain of women), and ought to have been an opportunity for displaying masculine heroism, Mars was virtually incidental. This conformed, however, to the long tradition in representations of the theme which has for centuries focused on Venus, proclaiming the sentiment of 'love conquers all', often - as in this case - in a contrary social and political context. This approach is evident in the works on this theme by Ivo Saliger (plate 3.55) and Raffael Schuster-Woldan (plate 3.56). These images were evidently not designed to provide inspiration for the male going into battle (though they may have indicated the rewards that might accrue to the hero) but rather to satisfy the predilections of the viewer/purchaser; the Schuster-Woldan (GDK 1942) was purchased by Hitler. A potentially more inspiring image for the soldier/warrior is found in Arthur Kampf's *Venus and Adonis* (plate 3.57, 1939). Adonis commands equal importance to Venus, in response perhaps to the cult of physical perfection; Adonis, like Apollo, personified the ideal male beauty. This

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[171] Chapter V is titled "On the Judgement of Beauty" *(Vom Urteil uber Schönheit).*

[172] "Auch dies ist im Interesse der Nation, daß sich die Schönsten Körper finden und so mithelfen, dem Volkstum neue Schönheit zu schenken." Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf.* [page not specified].

[173] Adam, Peter (1992), p.194.

[174] See for example Hinz, Berthold (1974); and Richarson, Annie (1990).

[175] Hinz, Berthold (1979).

interpretation of the theme appears to be based on Titian's version[176] which would have been an acceptable source.[177] As Adonis is engaged in hunting, he carries a spear which, as it is also a weapon of war, is suggestive of the warrior.[178] He appears to be preoccupied and pulls away from the woman, a gesture which suggests that he has more important things to do;[179] like Hercules, he is engaged in the traditional choice between duty and pleasure, and there is no doubt which of them he must select. She is taking a proactive role which supplies for the contemporary viewer a further justification for his lack of response; the preference at this time was for women who did not take the initiative.

In images based on classical myth, the male as ruler or hero was generally more potently expressed in works excluding women, and in sculptural public commissions. In this case, the desire or necessity to please a purchaser was less an issue and also as the potential for propaganda was greater in public commissions, it was more appropriate to display characteristics which it was hoped would be emulated, rather than pander to private and individual desires. Josef Wackerle's *Neptune Fountain* (plate 3.58) in Munich is a useful example. While the horse and the triton are carved in the Baroque tradition, the central figure, which was described, in an article on Wackerle's tectonic sculpture, as a modern young idol,[180] has obvious visual references to the pose of Michaelangelo's *David*.[181] David, in retaining his composure after the defeat of the giant, indicates not only physical perfection, but that power and control is effortless. For centuries Neptune has been one of the most popular classical figure displayed in fountain arrangements, for obvious reasons. In the context of the regime which commissioned the work, Neptune, the powerful bother of Zeus, takes on a greater relevance as ruler of one of the most contentious domains in a war situation. Heilheimer, in a short article *in Die Kunst im Dritten*

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[176] National Gallery, London.

[177] Rosenberg expressed approval for Raphael, Titian and Greek Art in the context of being "type-forming" . He discussed various great men in terms of being significant either as a developer of individual ways of thinking (Goethe, Jesus, St. Francis for example) or in creating a universal style, i.e. "type-forming" (including Mohammed, and Ignatius Loyola). The capacity to be type-forming was seen as important for the new Germany. He said "There exists no real greatness without the limitation of sacrifice." Evidently, it is a general type which is desirable and individuality was not encouraged among the German people. He continued "We experience similar phenomenon in the art realm. Here there are personalities who are unique, who do not create a universal style and others, conversely, who live as type-forming. A Michaelangelo, for example, has enriched art as only a few have done, but a continuation of his mode of working would lead to chaos. The same may hold of Rembrandt and Leonardo. Raphael, on the other hand, has proven a great type-power, similar to Titian and Greek art." Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), pp.322-323.

[178] The concept of hunting as 'substitute war' is widely known.

[179] Traditionally it is because he is aware of the fate that will befall him. However, for the viewer unfamiliar with the details of the myth, the implication is one of distraction.

[180] Adam, Peter (1992), p.183.

[181] Accademia, Florence.

Reich, on Wackerle's sculpture, described the work as a monumental representation of a "great ruler".[182]

The most common representation of male power in mythological imagery, however, was expressed through the medium of victorious warrior against overwhelming opposition. This concept was regularly expressed in the form of heroic figures in battle with the serpent or dragon described in their respective legends. Apollo and Siegfried were depicted in this way; they were seen as counterparts, each the most important deity respectively in classical and Nordic myth, according to Rosenberg's writings. Apollo's battle is drawn from stories of his victory over the serpent at Delphi, while Siegfried, as will be explained in Chapter 4, overcame the dragon Fafner and became invincible when he bathed in its blood. Such creatures traditionally symbolized evil, and therefore the author of their defeat assumes the role of hero. Hercules was an appropriate alternative, identifiable in battling with the seven-headed Hydra. The encounter with a monster was a fairly transparent allegory of Germany's conflict with its supposed enemies; this is the interpretation given by Westecker to Willy Meller's unidentified dragon-killer (plate 3.59) who "symbolizes the embattled Germany".[183] Rosenberg identified the Hydra specifically in racial terms:

> The conflicts of the earliest centuries of our era are not to be understood except as struggles of race souls against the hydra-headed racial chaos.[184]

According to Westecker, Germany was personified by the young, strong, noble hero and, elsewhere in his article, he drew a comparison with aged figures which personified for him Germany's enemies. As the next chapter explains, these ranged from the victors of the First World War to those social groups seen as a threat to German racial purity. Golomstock refers to the many Nazi posters showing a worker or storm-trooper trampling underfoot "... the hydra of Bolshevism or Capitalism."[185] The images explored here while based on characters from mythology, were not always entitled as such. It is, therefore, sometimes not feasible to distinguish between classical and Nordic myth. One of the most potent of this group was Arno Breker's *The Avenger* (plate 3.6), mentioned earlier, a large scale relief exhibited at the 1941 GDK. The title suggests the desire for revenge which was stirred by

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[182] Heilmeyer, Alexander (1939a), p.63.
[183] Wilhelm Westecker, Wilhelm (1939), p.324.
[184] Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.36.
[185] Golomstock, Igor (1990), p.304.

Rosenberg and Hitler, among others, in response to the defeat of 1918. This was the interpretation made in a review article in *Kunst dem Volk* which described:

> His powerful relief "The Avenger", a symbolic representation, shows the struggle of the German nation against its enemies.[186]

The visual concordance of the work with one of the most famous antique sculptures, the *Läocoon,* is obvious and pertinent. Läocoon, a Trojan priest of Apollo, was unfairly executed (crushed by serpents) as a punishment for 'impiety'; he had justifiably warned his people against 'Greek gifts' in the form of the Trojan Horse which subsequently enabled their Greek enemies to infiltrate the city of Troy. While Breker was evidently acquainted with the image, it is not clear whether he was familiar with the subtleties of the narrative, though he claimed to read Greek literature.[187] The subject was apparently one that interested him; he owned a copy, by the nineteenth century French painter, Rappaport, of El Greco's *Läokoon.*[188] In any case, it is of interest to note that the treachery which led to the destruction of Läocoon was comparable to that which destroyed the Teutonic hero Siegfried, whose death was read as a symbol of the defeat of Germany by supposedly perfidious opponents (see Chapter 4). Unlike the Läocoon who was destroyed by the serpents, however, the *Avenger* is on the point of defeating his enemy and thus could have served as a rallying image. This work was one of a cycle of three reliefs (including *The Guardian* and *Retaliation*, all 1940) which, it has been proposed, were responses to the then current war,[189] the implication being that the artist saw the conflict as avenging the defeat in the previous one.

The pose of *The Avenger*, with right arm raised and head turned to his left in the direction of the serpent is reminiscent of Wamper's terracotta relief *Hercules and the Hydra* of 1937 for the naval hospital at Stralsund (plate 3.60).[190] Wamper's

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[186] "Seine gewaltiges Relief "Der Racher", eine symbolische Darstellung, weist auf den Kampf der deutschen Nation gegen ihre Feinde." Hoffmann, Heinrich, editor (1941), p.20.

[187] A published interview with B. John Zavrel recorded the following question, and Arno Breker's response:
Q. Have some Greek philosophers, statesmen, or heroic figures had an influence on you?
A. I must say, of course that they are always with me. A month never passes when I do not feel the contact with and the influence of these great figures. I have plenty of Greek literature in my possession. It always lies on my night table and is, therefore, always around.
Zavrel, John B. (1986), p.25. It is evident from his collection of books that Breker had a particular interest in Greek culture, including mythology. See Appendix 10.

[188] This painting was pointed out to me by Breker's daughter, Carola, on a visit in September 1997. It still hangs in the Breker family home outside Dusseldorf.

[189] Probst, V.G. (1978).

[190] A bronze relief plaque by an unknown artist carried out in 1937 (plate 4.32) to adorn the new Luftkriegschule at Furstenfeldbruck, near Munich, was described recently by the resident military

work is more stylized and restrained and the pose more vertical than Breker's arrangement. However, the message of victory in conflict is evident, though it is not clear whether this was intended in terms of defeat of illness and injury, or of naval opponents. Westecker, in writing on symbolism in relief sculpture, opts for the first interpretation: "Likewise healthy art battles against the many-headed illness".[191] He relates the various dragon myths, pointing out that "...the German dragon-killer Siegfried lives on, alive nowadays in the Volk". A work similar in arrangement and concept to both of these works is a free standing bronze sculpture by Ferdinand Liebermann entitled *Struggle* (*Kampf*) (plate 3.61), displayed at the 1941 GDK and illustrated in a review article in *Die Kunst* in the following year.[192] The author, Christoffel, identifies Breker as the source of the motif though suggests that it retains its independence nonetheless. Unlike Breker's work where the hero is engaged in a challenging battle, Liebermann's struggle seems confined to the serpent which is clearly on the losing side, in contrast to the stalwart male figure.

While the potential for danger, even to the sacrifice of one's life, was an important aspect of the notion of the hero, it tended to be represented more commonly as part of the iconography of Nordic myth - classical myth does not appear to have inspired artists to the same extent in this respect. However, a small number of artists represented the theme of Icarus/Ikarus which could be interpreted in these terms. This theme had an early tradition (in antiquity and in the Medieval period) as an emblem of overweaning ambition justifiably punished, and it was generally very popular in the twentieth century as a symbol of doomed aspiration.[193] While it could be regarded therefore, in retrospect, as an apt motif for Hitler's hubris, it had other connotations at the time. Rosenberg sees Icarus as a symbol of a lost era which will be resurrected:

> Once the Nordic spirit dreamed its dreams on the Mediterranean sea and in Hellas; dreamed of the nearness of the sun and the flight of men far beyond Olympus. This longing created the drama of Icarus. That spirit died like Icarus, but one day it would revive to pulsate in another place.[194]

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historian at the base as of Siegfried. The medieval-style garments conform with this identification, but the seven headed monster with which he does battle is more suggestive of Hercules' Hydra than the *Nibelungenlied* dragon Fafner, as discussed in Chapter 4.

[191] "So kämpft die Heilkunst gegen die vielköpfige Krankheit". Westecker, Wilhelm (1939), p.324.

[192] Christoffel, Ulrich (1942), p.91.

[193] Scott, Yvonne (1994).

[194] Rosenberg, Alfred, p.281.

This aspirational meaning for Icarus was in keeping with the notion of heroic striving against impossible odds, and he serves as an exemplar for soldiers prepared to sacrifice their lives for noble objectives. In the Heroic Art (*Heroische Kunst*) exhibition referred to above, the one work listed whose title indicates a basis in classical mythology is a sculpture by Walter Lemcke entitled *Ikarus*.[195] An article by Rittich in *Kunst und Volk* explains that the art in the exhibition was selected in order to express the heroic disposition of the German people, a characteristic which was regarded as limited in the sense that not all races have it, but was believed to have been general to the German *Volk*:

> ...the heroic is in art a symbol for the genetically-determined [or geno-typical] spiritual bearing of our Volk; but not unique [among them].[196]

Thus the theme of Icarus can be taken as representative of this heroic nature. Two works on the theme appeared in GDK exhibitions: Otto Rolser's *Icarus* shown in 1941, and Herbert Kampf's version exhibited in 1943 (plate 3.62). The significance of Kampf's work is indicated by the distinction of being one of the few works illustrated in colour in the catalogue. In addition, it was among the works singled out for comment in a review article of the exhibition in an issue of *Kunst dem Volk*. Following comments on Hans Happ's *Rape of Proserpina* (described as executed with fine observation and convincing form, which brought out the intimation of reproach), the article continues:

> Although also treating a theme from Greek mythology, Herbert Kampf proves himself in his "Ikarus" as an artist who in his painting strives for different goals. As in his painting of the previous year, "Around the Flag", Kampf also seeks in this work an individual artistic treatment in favour of the classical sublime mood of restrained portrayals. In front of a powerful sky, the imposing silhouette of the dramatic, tension-filled form of "Ikarus" hovers. The economically placed rocky ledge in the right lower corner and the expansive sea, together with the depth of the tremendous vault of heaven, emphasizes for the viewer the feeling of space and the illusion of flying.[197]

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[195] Not illustrated. Present whereabouts unknown.

[196] "Das Heroische ist in der Kunst ein Symbol für die erbmäßig bedingte seelische Haltung unseres Volkes; nicht das einzige." Rittich, Werner (1936), p.220.

[197] "Obwohl ebenfalls ein Thema aus der griechischen Mythologie behandelnd, erweist sich Herbert Kampf in seinem "Ikarus" als ein Künstler, der in seiner Malerei vollends anderen Zielen zustrebt. Wie in seinem Gemälde des Vorjahres, "Um die Fahne", sucht Kampf auch in diesem Werke eine eigenwillige malerische Behandlung zugunsten der klassischen erhabenen Stimmung des

While this descriptive comment is illustrative of the tendency among writers on art to avoid committing themselves to critical analyses of the meaning of works which appeared in approved journals, it is indicative of the level of approval for such works.

Icarus was not a particularly common theme, but it was sometimes selected in the context of organisations involved in flying. Karl Albiker carried out a work on this subject for the District Air Command (*Luftgaukommando*) at Dresden (plate 3.63) in 1938,[198] Adolf Wamper designed a relief in 1937 for the Aeronautics Association, and Breker completed an *Ikarus* for the School of Military Aviation, Dresden (Dresdner Luftkriegschule). While it seems an unfortunate subject to adopt given Icarus' ultimate nemesis (Daedalus, who succeeded in staying aloft, would surely have been a better choice), it continues even now to be used for such locations.[199] The intended message in the Nazi regime could, of course, have been to warn pilots against disobeying authority, which was a traditional application of the theme, or alternatively - and more likely - to encourage them to be fearless to the point of martyrdom in seeking to achieve the ambitious aims of the Reich. However, these possibilities are not brought out by Westecker in explaining the symbolism of the Albiker relief.[200] He overcame the problem of applying Icarus in such a context by referring to him as a "new Icarus, raised from the earth with the help of wings." His elucidation of the iconography is extraordinary in the context of the way the theme has traditionally been interpreted, but not unexpected in the prevailing circumstances:

> On the two outer wings anti-aircraft weaponry is symbolized, in one group which shoots arrows upward, and in the other a man who protects himself with his shield. While the smiths are represented with the heavy, angular corporeality of the false race, the flying and fighting men have the slender and supple bodies of the Nordic race. The smiths are mature men, the fighters youthful. In this way the artist in his relief has integrated into the symbolism

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Geschilderten zurückzudrängen. Vor einem mächtigen Himmel schwebt als imposante Silhouette die von dramatischer Spannung erfüllte Gestalt des "Ikarus". Der sparsam in der rechten unteren Ecke angebrachte Felsvorsprung und das weitausgebreitete Meer unterstreichen, in Verbindung mit der Tiefe der gewaltigen Himmelsgewölbes, im Beschauer das Gefühl des Raumes und der Illusion des Fliegens." Hoffmann, Heinrich, editor (1943a), pp.4 and 16.

[198] He exhibited the design at the 1944 GDK.

[199] Shenzhen Airport in China, for example, commissioned a bronze Icarus (1991) from the Irish sculptor, John Behan.

[200] Westecker, Wilhelm (1939).

> the nature of race and the question of age, and thus achieved a great wealth of expression and richness of symbolic content.[201]

The writer is unaware of, or has ignored, the likelihood that the smiths are references to Daedalus, who was ironically the ultimate triumphant character in the myth.

Creativity: Prometheus

As mentioned above, creativity was considered among the characteristics which are the realm of the male, and this included the renaissance of a Graeco-Aryan idiom in art, and Hitler expressed his approval of classical culture in the highest possible terms when he gave credit for its inception to German forebears. In *Mein Kampf*, he personified this achievement in the mythological figure of Prometheus:

> All the human culture, all the results of art, science, and technology that we see before us today, are almost exclusively the creative product of the Aryan. This very fact admits of the not unfounded inference that he alone was the founder of all higher humanity, therefore representing the prototype of all that we understand by the word 'man'. He is the Prometheus of mankind from whose bright forehead that divine spark of genius has sprung at all times, forever kindling anew that fire of knowledge which illumined the night of silent mysteries and thus caused man to climb the path to mastery over the other beings of this earth.[202]

Prometheus was an appropriate figure to adopt as the symbol of supreme creativity - according to Aeschylus' version of the myth. Not only was he the legendary first sculptor, but the statue he fashioned was transformed into the first man, thus his role if not his status (which would have been reserved for Zeus) was analogous to that of the Christian God. Further, by stealing fire from the gods and giving it to the humanity he had created, he metaphorically provided them with the spark of divine wisdom which distinguished man from lesser creatures. He thus signified a race

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[201] "Auf den beiden äußeren Flügeln ist die Flakwaffe symbolisiert, und zwar in einer Gruppe, mit die mit Pfeilen nach oben schießt, und in einem Mann, der sich mit seinem erhobenen Schild schützt. Während die Schmiede in der schweren, kantigen Körperhaft der fälsischen Rasse dargestellt sind, haben die fliegenden und kämpfenden Männer den schlanken und geschmeidigen Körper der nordischen Rasse. Die Schmiede sind reife Männer, die Kämpfer Jünglinge. So hat der Kunstler in seinem Relief auch das Wesen der Rassen und die Aufgabe der Lebensalter in die Symbolik einbezogen und so einen großen Ausdrucksreichtum und umfassenden Symbolsgehalt erzielt." Westecker, Wilhelm (1939), p.325.

which, by Hitler's reckoning, created and defined the ultimate in beauty in art, and which was superior to other races. In this context, Arno Breker's sculptures on the subject of Prometheus, c.1937,[203] take on a particular significance. As Probst[204] points out, Breker avoided traditional representations which show Prometheus enduring his punishment from the gods. Böcklin for example, depicted him in torment, chained to a rock with the eagle pecking at his liver. Instead, in Breker's first version (plate 3.4) Prometheus is shown in a standing position, holding the flaming torch, and apparently agonising over the enormity of his decision to give fire to the human race. Probst reads the figure as engaged in an inner struggle prompted by the knowledge of the danger and power of what he is endeavouring to do as against his role as the benefactor of the people, bringing fire which represents "all art, spiritual and physical readiness, in short all culture".[205] The inner struggle is intended to be indicated by the hesitancy of the figure, the flow of movement halted by the turning back of the arms towards the body. The curve of the arm from the upper elbow, towards the head, draws attention to the stern facial expression, and the eye is led along the lower arm in a downward arc in the direction of the gaze of Prometheus, towards the earth. It was commissioned to stand in the gardens of the Reichs Ministry for Enlightenment and Propaganda (*Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda*) and displayed prominently at the 1938 GDK. The second version (plate 3.64) conveys a different, but related message, displaying a much more triumphalist pose; the arrangement of the body is more open with the arms stretched out, and the torch is held up like a trophy, a gesture which complements the defiant expression. One of the Prometheus sculptures was included in an exhibition devoted to his work, in Cologne in 1943. Rittich, who wrote the catalogue essay,[206] describes the work in terms which suggest the first version,[207] and refers to the fire as representing the inspiration of the spirit.[208] While

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[202]Hitler, Adolf (1997), p.263.

[203]Volker G. Probst dates the first version 1934-5 and the second 1937. Charles Despiau dates the first version 1937, and offers no date for the second; Johannes Sommer dates the first version 1937/8, and does not refer to the second. The first version was, however, exhibited at the 1938 GDK.

[204]Committee member of the Arno Breker Society in Berlin.

[205] Probst, V.G. (1978), p.35.

[206] Rittich, Werner (1943).

[207]A note on the back of the catalogue indicates that the works featured were all commissioned and carried out for Reichsminister Albert Speer, the general building inspector for the capital, which would suggest that the *Prometheus* included was that commissioned for Goebbels' Ministry of Education and Propaganda: "Die figürlichen Werke und die Reliefs der Ausstellung wurden im Auftrage des Generalbauinspektors für die Reichshauptstadt, Reichsminister Albert Speer, ausgeführt."

[208] "Der "Prometheus", dieser dynamisch-bewegte, herabschreitende Genius verkörpert sinnfällig den das Feuer, im übertragenen Sinn die Erleuchtung bringenden Geist." Rittich, Werner (1943), p.8. ("The Prometheus, this dynamically-moved, downward-striding Genius obviously embodied the manifestation of inspiration brought by the fire.")

this allusion suggests creative stimulus, it indicates also a wider application. The flaming torch, which is the key attribute identifying Prometheus, is found in a number of works by Breker and other artists. The most significant of these is the personification of the Party (plate 3.8) of 1938 one of the pair of works commissioned to stand at either side of the Court of Honour (*Ehrenhof*) entrance to Speer's Chancellery (*Reichskanzlei*) in Berlin. Thus, the achievements of Prometheus are paralleled with the aspirations of the NSDAP. [209] The counterpart of the *Party* was the *Wehrmacht*, also by Breker, and placed opposite, on the right hand side of the entrance. This draws on symbolism associated with the Nordic mythical figure of Siegfried, as explained in Chapter 4. Josef Thorak's version of the Prometheus theme, displayed at the 1944 GDK (plate 3.65), shows a half kneeling figure holding aloft a large stone or piece of clay, emblematic of his role as sculptor, an apt counterpart to Breker's symbolic rendering of Prometheus as a source of inspirational light to the people. Neither dwells on the punishment or suffering, opting instead for the preferred monumental, heroic approach.

[209] He carried out two versions of the free-standing *Torch Bearer*: The 1938 version representing the Party was followed by *Torch Bearer II* (1941). Prior to these, in 1936, two of the square-niche carvings for the Nordstern building in Berlin featured torch bearers (*Man with Torch*, and *Woman with Torch*) and in 1941, he produced a relief also entitled *Torch Bearer*. These are all reproduced in Probst, V.G. (1978). Many artists adopted the torch as a motif in public art during the Third Reich, such as Willy Mellers relief, *Torch Bearer*, at the military training camp at Vogelsang.

CHAPTER 4

NORDIC MYTHOLOGY IN THE ART OF THE THIRD REICH

...the people under terrible conditions creates
terrifying gods for itself.

Herder: *On Contemporary Uses of Mythology* (1767)

Introduction

Opinions differ on the significance or otherwise of Nordic[1] myth in the ideology and approved imagery of the Third Reich. Kramer believes that Rosenberg and Hitler were of the view that it represented an inadequate mythical form to sufficiently inspire contemporary modern Germans and that consequently they embraced instead classical myth both in the ideology and in the art which represented it. [2] Hinz holds that examples of Nordic myth are less common in art of the period than classical myth, and offers the explanation that this is because it lacks its own visual culture as a means of representation, compared to the myth of classical antiquity.[3] However, other sources have observed that Nordic myth *was* included in the ideology and officially approved imagery of the Third Reich. In a special issue of *The Studio*, a London-based publication devoted to contemporary painting in Europe, the editor remarked of the 1939 Great German Art Exhibition:

> The last official Munich exhibition was mostly of romantically false illustrations - heroic storm troopers marching to their destiny, or painstaking reports of German landscape and peasantry, or bombastic pseudo-Wagnerian allegories of Nordic myth.[4]

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[1]The terms Nordic, Teutonic and Germanic mythology are used interchangeably in this discussion as relating to the people or culture of the territories of Germany and Scandinavia.
[2] Kramer, Kathryn (1993).
[3] Hinz, Berthold (1979).
[4] Holme, C.G., editor (1939). A copy of this text was consulted in Paul Klee's personal library, Paul-

The 'pseudo-Wagnerian' adjective alludes to Wagner's operas on the Nibelungen cycle and on Parsifal, subjects drawn from the major sagas of Nordic mythology, referred to in Chapter 1. The incorporation of such mythology in the ideology has been identified also in recent analysis. Dawn Ades, referring to German exhibits at the Paris 1937 exhibition, observed of the *Ostmark*[5] sculpture:

> This archaic term is resonant not of classical Rome but of medieval Germany, and it reminds us that the past had to incorporate Wagnerian Nordic mythology and the Teutonic Knights as much as classical mythology.[6]

Given the uncertainty about the role of Nordic myth in the art of the Third Reich, it is worth considering the relationship of the regime's philosophy with native myth. It as been acknowledged that Nazi ideology was based in the neo-pagan ideas which emerged in the nineteenth century, the blood-and-soil notions of a pure Nordic race with its own, distinctive mythical past displaced by Christianity, but based in the sun worship symbolized by the swastika. However, despite the proliferation of neo-pagan cults, Nazism tended to avoid identifying too closely with them; Mosse offers two reasons in particular for this. In the first place, the Party wanted to retain its independence and promote its own version of such ideals, and in the second, it hoped to appeal to a much wider base than that attracted by the cults.[7] For this reason, Mosse points out, artists like Fidus who exemplified in his work the nature-based sun-worshipping philosophies of neo-paganism (plate 4.1) was ignored by the National Socialists as too occult. [8] But did this mean that National Socialism rejected the associated Germanic myth? Kramer asserts that it did and quotes as evidence the much cited opinion expressed by Hitler, according to Albert Speer, that old Nordic mythology was compromised because, Hitler feared, its sagas related to a people who were still primitive at the height of Greek and Roman civilization. Kramer's perception of Rosenberg's disenchantment with Nordic myth is based on the sentence, quoted in an excerpted version of his ideological treatise *Mythos of the*

Klee-Stiftung, Bern.

[5] The *Ostmark* refers to Polish and Czech territory which was claimed as part of the ancient land of the Germans. It was asserted that it had been occupied by racially inferior 'squatters', and should be reclaimed by 'racially pure' Germans who required living space (Lebensraum). The claim to the area was supposedly supported by archaeological evidence. See Arnold, Bettina (1992).

[6] Ades, Dawn (1995), p.53.

[7] Hermand, Jost (1992).

[8] Pseudonym for Karl Höppener (1868-1948).

Twentieth Century, "Odin was and is dead".[9] However, as Rosenberg explains elsewhere in the text:

> One form of Odin is dead, i.e., the Odin who was the highest of the many gods who appeared as the embodiment of a generation still given up to natural symbolism. But Odin as the eternal mirrored image of the primal spiritual powers of Nordic man lives today as over 5,000 years ago. [10]

And:

> He embodies himself in honor and heroism, in the creation of song and or art, in the protection of law and in the eternal search for wisdom.[11]

In the complete version of his text, as will be shown, Rosenberg's support for Teutonic myth and early German culture is clearly evident. Hitler, however, appears to have been less convinced. Speer's citation was not the only time that Hitler was disparaging in this respect. Hermand quotes him as having said it would be "unspeakably foolish to allow the revival of a cult of Wotan. Our old mythology of the gods was already out of date, no longer viable, when Christianity came. Anything ripe for destruction is meant to disappear."[12] However, despite his well-known preference for Greek and Roman antiquity, Hitler's ideologists contended to provide a place for Germanic myth in national consciousness and various media, including art, were mobilized for this purpose.

This chapter is concerned with presenting the arguments and evidence to verify a stance that native German mythology had a significant place in the ideology of the Third Reich. The purpose of this is in order to provide a basis for interpreting the body of visual works on themes from Germanic mythology which are presented later in the chapter. The first section in the chapter considers the role of German prehistory and myth in the ideology and propaganda of the Reich and briefly introduces the organisations responsible for this area of interest in the political structure of the Nazi regime. Significant examples of the use of such themes and their principle means of dissemination in texts are presented. Having provided this essential foundation - both to establish the importance of Nordic myth

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[9]Kramer is quoting from the excerpted version of Rosenberg's text published in Pois, Robert (1970), p.119. The copy consulted for this dissertation is Pois, Robert (1971).
[10]Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.428-9.
[11]Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.429.
[12] Hermand, Jost (1992), p.282.

and also provide a basis for how its representation can be understood - the chapter then goes on to explore the way Nordic mythology was expressed in the visual arts, the themes that were addressed, the purposes of the images, and the nature, style and interpretation of the imagery.

Nordic Myth and Nazi Ideology

Nordic myth refers to a body of legends, sagas and folklore passed down over the centuries both verbally and in texts, the most well-known and important of which were collected together as the *Edda*[13] and the *Nibelungenlied*,[14] whose themes will be returned to later. This native mythology was regarded as an intrinsic element in the early history of Germany and Germanic territories:[15] not only was it a recognized part of the social and cultural history in the anthropological sense, but it was appropriated also to play an active role in the ideological perspective on early history. In many of the texts produced during Hitler's reign, just as in Rosenberg's *Mythos*, the division between mythical and factual history was somewhat blurred, reflecting a climate which disapproved of intellectualism and encouraged a diverting style of education and propaganda.

The significance of Nordic prehistory and myth to Nazi ideology had several dimensions: it was an essential part of establishing Aryan racial roots and developing the concept of folkishness; it was important in the arguments to counter the perception of Germany's early history as barbaric; and some of the characters of the myths could be appropriated as role models for how Germans, particularly young males, were expected to behave. In particular, the mythology stressed the notions both of heroism and of loyalty to the leader, and also provided a foundation for *Totencult*, the sacrificial cult of death in the service of the Reich. Given the

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[13]The *Edda* comprises two collections of early Icelandic literature which jointly provide the chief source for Old Norse mythology. These are: the Younger or Prose Edda, compiled by a priest Snorri Sturluson, around 1230 AD, while the Elder or Poetic Edda is the collection of poems discovered around 1643 (by Brynjólfr Sveinsson) written by unknown Norwegian poets of the 9th to the 12th centuries.

[14]The *Song of the Nibelungens* was an anonymous 12th century German epic poem, derived from earlier sources.

[15]The mythology was not purely German, but also Scandinavian and Icelandic. However, the Germanic area was seen to extend far beyond the boundaries of Germany itself. Depending on the point which was being made, it laid claim to selected elements in the history and culture of most of Europe. For example, in the handbook for the Hitler Youth movement published by the NSDAP, the contemporary Germanic territory was identified as incorporating Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, and Austria. Brennecke Fritz, editor. *Vom deutschen Volk und seinem Lebensraum.* Munich: Franz Eher Nachf. (1937), translated into English as *The Nazi Primer, Official Handbook*

association of classical history with the relatively elitist *Gymnasia*, native myth and history had the advantage of a more 'democratic' base, in the sense that anyone should in theory be able to identify with it and so it might be expected to have a wider appeal. Also, by incorporating folklore and local myth, it had a greater potential to appeal to those living outside the big cities, particularly the country people whose perceived values and culture were the focus of much visual propaganda.[16]

There had been an interest in German prehistory, and consequently the mythology which was related to it, at least since the nineteenth century and this led eventually to the establishment early in the twentieth century of the *Römisch-Germanische Kommission*, the first central-state institution dedicated to national archaeology. As Klaus Junker explains, its brief was to undertake excavations both at Roman sites in Germany and at German sites devoid of Roman remains.[17] The native (i.e. non Roman) aspect of the research was considered important enough for a virulent dispute to ensue with nationalist circles demanding priority for Germanic prehistory studies over classical concerns. Also, there was censure of classical archaeologists for characterizing early German culture as barbaric. As the differences intensified, terms of insult came into play and *Römling* became a derogatory epithet for a classicist whose values were viewed as the opposite of the true Germanic ones.

Whatever about the relative positions of the nationalist and classicist archaeologists in the early decades of the century, as the Nazi party gained ground in the years prior to taking power in 1933, it was accurately anticipated that ancient German history would move to a more central and powerful position.[18] It had been recognized that the advent of Nazism would result in a diminution in financial support for archaeological activity directed to classical work in favour of subjects related to domestic culture and history, and after 1933 several of the professorships which became available in German universities as a result of the widespread

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for Schooling the Hitler Youth. See Brennecke, Fritz, editor (1938).

[16]The ideals of rural life were the subject of many paintings approved by the Nazi Regime, and provided popular themes for the GDKs. Certain themes, of relevance to this thesis, are discussed later in the chapter. The values and advantages associated with rural life (fresh air, hard work, fruitful labour, camaraderie, unsophisticated life style, traditional values) were regarded as desirable by the regime which instituted an agricultural year for the German youth from the cities, a programme which involved large groups of teenagers spending a period of c.9 months away from home, in rural areas. The Land Year programme is described in Wilhelm, Theodor and Gerhard Graefe (1937).

[17]Junker, Klaus (1998).

[18]In 1930, Armin von Gerkan, an archaeologist with the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI) predicted in a letter his belief that "...patriotic prehistory will begin to bloom - first of all those like Kossinna and Wirth." Gustav Kossinna was a nationalist archaeologist and Hermann Wirth is described as a dilettante folklorist and prehistorian who was involved in the setting up of Himmler's

dismissals were given to anticlassical exponents of early German prehistory. In the wake of this activity, advocates of related folkloric study gained a stature where previously they had been ridiculed by the academic community.[19]

So popular, politically important and prestigious was this new direction towards ancient German myth and history that two further organisations were established: Alfred Rosenberg's *Reich League for German Prehistory* (*Reichsbund für Deutsche Vorgeschichte*) and Heinrich Himmler's *Society for Research and Teaching of Ancestral Heritage* (*Ahnenerbe Forschungs- and Lehrgemeinschaft*).[20] The fact that these new organisations were presided over by two of the most important Party elite under Hitler indicates the significance and potential for power which was associated with this area, and it consequently became a battleground for the three competing agencies wishing to take responsibility for its development. This situation occurred despite Hitler's ambivalence about the place of early Teutonic myth and history in the ideology of the Reich, his lack of enthusiasm generated by his perception, as mentioned, that it reflected a culture which he saw as relatively backward compared to that of ancient Greece. According to Speer he said:

> Why do we force the whole world to know that we have no past? As if it were not enough that the Romans were already constructing great edifices while our ancestors were still living in clay huts, Himmler is now starting to dig up those clay villages and becomes enthusiastic about every clay potsherd and every stone axe he finds. The only thing this proves is that we still threw stone hatchets and squatted by open fires at a time when Greece and Rome had reached the highest cultural level. We really have every reason to be quiet about that age.[21]

While the Führer revered Greek and Roman art and architecture, and was apparently less enthusiastic about the prehistoric and folkloric obsessions of Himmler, Rosenberg and others, he was, paradoxically, responsive to the heroic Wagnerian

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Race and Settlement office. Marchand, Suzanne (1996), p.344.

[19]Marchand, Suzanne (1996).

[20] The aims of Rosenberg's and Himmler's organizations were broadly similar: to manipulate German prehistory to create a heritage which would be a source of national pride, and on which to base a vision for the future. This heritage was to encompass notions of the pure Aryan blood, and the commensurate racial doctrine.

[21] Speer, Albert, *Erinnerungen*, p108, quoted in Matlitz, H. von (1973), p.191.

themes of the Nibelungen,[22] and commissioned art works on such subjects including the designs carried out by Franz Stassen for tapestries inspired by the *Edda* for the New Chancellery in Berlin, and the Wagner memorial in Weimar addressing themes from the *Ring of the Nibelungen* carried out by the sculptor Emil Hipp. These works are considered later in the chapter. Hitler's awareness of characters from Nordic myth led him to make various references to them in *Mein Kampf*, as metaphors for contemporary situations[23] and despite his reservations, Hitler's endorsement or at least acceptance of the role of native myth is evident in his contribution to school texts, as will be demonstrated.

The Dissemination of Germanic Myth in Ideological Texts

Various propaganda texts were published with the purpose of conveying to the public an ideological position on Germanic prehistory and mythology for the purposes mentioned above. Some of these were for a general readership, and others were aimed at specific groups such as wives and mothers while the educational system was appropriated as a means of conveying notions of the nation's past to impressionable school children. Among texts for the general public, the most widely disseminated after Hitler's *Mein Kampf* was Rosenberg's *Mythos* which, as already mentioned in Chapter 1, sold over a million copies. Contrary to the perception that Rosenberg did not give recognition to Nordic myth, many examples from his text indicate otherwise. Of German folk tales and myths which, for him, revealed the "substance of truth", Rosenberg wrote:

> These stories are timeless and only wait upon ripe, awakened souls, to blossom anew.[24]

Elsewhere in the treatise, he makes reference to the textual sources of mythology and defends the great Teutonic epics such as the *Nibelungenlied* and the *Edda* against their critics. He says, for example, in defence of criticisms of the *Nibelungenlied*:

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[22] On 10th May, 1937, the Reichsministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda issued an order by the Führer that the Nibelungen March was in future reserved only for the event of the NSDAP Parteitag, and not to be used for other events. R43 II/1199. Bundesarchiv Berlin.
This document suggests something of the importance of this piece to Hitler.

[23] For example, his epithet for Germany as the "horny Siegfried" allegedly under attack from Jewish control of finance and economics refers to the legend where Siegfried kills the dragon whose blood pours over Siegfried and makes his skin 'horny', i.e. invulnerable. Hitler, Adolf (1992), p.136. Elsewhere Hitler refers to the tarn-cap, which, as explained in the footnotes to the text, is a cloak which confers invisibility. It occurs frequently in German legends, and Siegfried used one in his battle with Brünhild.

> One must cease regarding these poets of our very early history as clumsy verse-makers as is the usual case. Despite all the patronizing recognition by our experts on aesthetics, there are great characters in these poems.[25]

He even compares these early texts favourably with those of ancient Greece, the highest possible accolade:

> We are correct if we think of the powerful creation of the Nibelungenlied as great art. If Homer has been recognized as one of the greatest artists of all times and of all peoples, then it is time also to think of the Nibelungenlied in the same way.
>
> Thus, as allegories of volkish art, the two epics stand facing one another. One turns more toward the inner birth of clear form. The other wrestles with the tragic epic of spiritual struggle. Homer mastered the material, the poets of the Nibelungenlied - and the creators of all Germanic poets - the spiritual content.[26]

Rosenberg's desire for the promotion of national prehistory, and the myth that attended it, coupled with concern over the disputes within the RGK led to his proposal that the latter be disbanded or, at the very least, reduced in size, and replaced by a new institute under his control to be called the *Reich's Institute for German Prehistory* (*Reichsinstitut für deutsche Vorgeschichte*). This would have served as a means of bringing the entire discipline in line with official ideology. By 1936, Hitler had been persuaded to agree to Rosenberg's plans, though for various reasons the institute was never actually established.[27] During the period, a number of publications devoted to German prehistory and myth proliferated. One of the most prominent and popular of the time was *Germanen-Erbe,*[28] which provided a medium for circulating Nazi interpretations of Nordic history and myth. The

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[24]Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.434.
[25]Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.191.
[26]Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.192.
[27]See Junker, Klaus (1998).
[28] This journal is described, on its title page, as the official organ of the Reich League for German Prehistory and the Offices for Prehistory of the representatives of the Führer for the entire spiritual and ideological political instruction and education of the NSDAP. While Arnold, Bettina (1992) refers to the journal as published by Himmler's Ahnenerbe organization, this description in the journal together with the fact that Hans Reinerth, an official of the so-called Amt Rosenberg, was the editor, would suggest that Rosenberg had a considerable involvement. Certainly, he features prominently in articles and photographs recording appearances at, and addresses to, various appropriate functions.

articles in the journal mainly comprised the findings of archaeological research on ancient Germanic settlements, objects, crafts, art work and runic texts, and also observations on the significance of Germanic mythological themes and characters. Aimed at a general rather than academic audience, the articles were generally very short and were not footnoted. The tone was distinctly propagandist, peppered with references to the purity of the blood as well as the natural heroism in the character of the race.

A typical example is an article on the carvings of medieval church doors in Scandinavia which emphasized the mythological iconography of the imagery as proof of the survival of the pagan themes of the German *Volk* into the Christian era.[29] Another considered the nature of the *Edda*, promoted as an example of the creative power of the German people, and reflecting their natural characteristics and personality. This text was at pains to identify the saga with the farming communities and rural clans, one of many exercises of inclusion for the agrarian population. It was also concerned to support the appropriation of Scandinavian culture as part of the wider Germanic heritage. The accompanying illustration by Klaus Wrage (plate 4.2), with an excerpt from the text, shows a Viking ship captained by a figure from Nordic mythology, discussed later in the context of woodcut imagery.[30] Wilhelm Petersen who was virtually resident artist of *Germanen-Erbe* specialized in illustrating articles with figures from myth and prehistory in a supposedly historically accurate context.

In the exploration of prehistory, the inclusion of the cultic dimension offered by mythology by the various organizations was an important tool to mitigate the competing power of the church in Germany. Nazism recognized the value of providing an alternative 'religion' to fill the vacuum and provide a source of mythology, ritual and customs. Lehmann-Haupt points out that the Nazis, in what he termed a "synthetic mythology",[31] asserted that the superior ancient Germanic tribes had a superior religion involving sun worship as part of a cult of nature and fertility and which was centred in seasonal rhythms. It was claimed that all members of the Nordic super-race were mystically united in these beliefs. This super-race was described as a power:

> ...which earlier had been effective in one gigantic space - from India to the pillars of Hercules, from Greenland to Sicily - but which still knew its centre

[29] Mehnert, Wally (1939).
[30] Reißenweber, Arno (1939).
[31] Lehmann-Haupt, Hellmut (1954), p.139.

> to lie in one, single 'pole': in the North Pole, the Polus Arcticus, as Wolfram calls it in the Wartburg contest; a power which united the humans of the most diverse regions and nations, but of the same race and origin.[32]

According to the Nazi ideologists, while this allegedly pure German culture had been corrupted and obscured by the foreign religion of Christianity, it had not been obliterated completely. Traces of the ancient rites, it was held, continued to exist in the guise of fairy tales and folklore and in the culture of the peasant. It was evident:

> ... in all forms of folk art, in legends, fairy tales, songs, dances, costume, folk wisdom and nomenclature, household gear, village layouts and building styles.[33]

It was asserted also that there was extensive evidence of ancient pagan mythology in Christian disguise and the uncovering of this evidence was the subject a special *Ahnenerbe* publication, entitled *Old Religious Forms of Expression in the Swabian Region* which explored an extensive range of religious works in the region reinterpreting the iconography in terms of Nordic customs, rites and legends.[34] Ancient symbols also were reinterpreted and accredited to the Aryans, the Swastika being just one of a number of emblems appropriated for this purpose. Zaborsky-Wahlstaetten asserted that ancient symbols were created by German forefathers:

> ... long before a disciplined word art gave poetical formulation to the myths which the Edda has handed down to us... They are immediately understandable as language and script and with one symbol they signify connections which in verbal expression would need a sequence of sentences.[35]

Thus the swastika, as a unifying cult symbol of Aryan culture, history and myth, was imbued with a quasi-religious power equivalent to that associated with the Christian cross.

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[32]Translated from Otto Rahn's text *Lucifers Hofgesind*, (quoted in Werner Stief. *Heidnische Sinnbilder*. Leipzig: Hase & Koehler, 1938) reproduced in Lehmann-Haupt, Hellmut (1954), p.142.
[33]Lehmann-Haupt, Hellmut (1954), p.143.
[34]SS Brigadeführer K.M. Weisthor and Obersturmführer Ruppmann. *Altreligiöse Ausdrucksformen des Schwabenlandes* (typescript in two volumes). Discussed in Lehmann Haupt, Hellmut (1954).
[35] Zaborsky-Wahlstaetten, Oskar von (1936).

Nordic myth and prehistory was appropriated also to provide an example for women. A text by Gisela Wenz-Hartmann entitled *Lebensbilder germanischer Frauen* (*A Picture of the Life of German Women*)[36] lectured wives and mothers on how to perform their family role in the service of the state:

> To serve the future, to safeguard the blood, to be mother of the people, these are the tasks of the German woman in the Third Reich.[37]

It then goes on to state that the Führer simply required, as duty to the *Vaterland,* the continuation of the purity of the blood, which had been the Germanic ancestral heritage since primeval times.[38] In order to understand Germanic women of the pre-Christian era, it is suggested that the reports of Roman authors of the first century AD[39] should be supplemented with information from excavations. The text asserts that the characteristics of these early women (unbounded pride in their Nordic-german blood, sensitive nobility, strong motherliness, noble family lineage) were resurrected in the *Nibelungenlied.* The special character of some of the women featuring in the sagas is then presented. This is not just in order to provide a code of behaviour for contemporary readers; in fact the inference seems to be more sinister: the traits which are described are supposedly natural characteristics of Germanic women, the implication being that to fail to have them indicates that one is not Germanic - the consequences of which have been well documented. The examples of Germanic womanly traits which are cited include Gudrun's loyalty and devotion to her fiancé, and her ultimate avenging of his death, and Hildegund's stoicism in standing guard as her hero slept, in bringing arms to the warriors and in bandaging endless wounds on the battlefield. Generally, the desired traits are submissiveness and compliance with little in the way of independent pro-active undertakings. As the heroine Brynhild (Brunhilde, Brünhild) was described as the most majestic of women who could belong only to the bravest of men, it was inferred that contemporary women also should expect heroics from the men in their lives. This placed on women a degree of responsibility for ensuring that the men lived up to such expectations, the implication being that a woman's stature depended

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[36] Wenz-Hartmann, Gisela (1944).

[37] "Der Zukunft zu dienen, das Blut zu wahren, Mutter des Volkes zu sein, das sind die Aufgaben der deutschen Frau im Dritten Reich." Wenz-Hartmann, Gisela (1944), p.3.

[38] The phrase used, "als Erbe unserer Ahnen", paraphrases the title of Himmler's organisation, the Ahnenerbe.

[39] The "Roman authors" presumably refer primarily to Tacitus (born AD 56) whose *Germania* describes the life and culture of German tribes. Ironically, this text was originally written as a piece of propaganda and is not understood to represent an accurate picture of the people of the time.

on that of her man. Thus, by using the example of mythical prototypes, the state attempted to use women in order to promote an attitude from men which would make them useful tools in military situations.

Frigg, the mother of gods, together with Nerthus and Ostara, the goddesses of fruitfulness, are also mentioned in reference to the well-known expected procreational role of women. The goddesses, Wenz-Hartmann asserts, "look upon us below from the distance of the sagas"! [40] By using such language, and couching it in the present tense, Wenz-Hartmann gave these goddesses the authority of a contemporary religion, and this is one of many examples in support of the view that Nordic mythology was used in the attempt to replace the dependency on Christian religions.

The role of women was not only to follow the example of their mythological prototypes, but also to pass on a knowledge of the sagas to their children. So important was this role that it was suggested it should form part of women's education. Dr. Auguste Reber-Gruber, an active government representative who wrote on the education of girls[41] saw it as a means of preparing them for important aspects of motherhood; among other things, they should be taught to "tell treasured German folk stories" to their children.[42] The earliest knowledge of myth was thus to be absorbed by the child from its mother, and this would prepare the way for its continuation in the education system.

Nordic Mythology and the Education System

An appreciation of local folklore had been part of the school curriculum at least since the 1920s in the wake of the decision to reform the elementary schools.[43] This reform brought with it the study of the local environment (*Heimatkunde*) including its indigenous history, archaeology, and folklore. With the accession of the National Socialists to government, the chief task of the school was to inculcate the

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[40] "..schauen aus der Ferne der Sage auf uns nieder." Wenz-Hartmann, Gisela (1944), p.5.

[41] Reber-Gruber, Auguste. 'Die Erziehung des Mädchens im Nationalsozialistischen Deutschland', *Internationale Zeitshrift*, 6 (1938), pp.430-432. Referred to in Kneller, George Frederick (1941).

[42] Kneller, George Frederick (1941), p.231.

[43] Established in article 146 of the Weimar Constitution (11.8.1919). The restructuring was in order to create a uniform educational system throughout Germany to replace the old system which, it was felt, had helped to prop up the autocratic form of government which had led to the 1918 revolution. The new common form of school was to be a "spiritual unifier". The curriculum of the whole elementary school was to be integrated around concepts both of nationality and homeland. See Bason, Cecilia Hatrick (1937).

youth in the service of nationality and state in the spirit of National Socialism.[44] The emphasis on local homeland was to remain, but with a political emphasis and a stated racial purity ideal. Special attention was to be paid to early Germanic history in all types of schools throughout the Reich. Its purpose was to help to restore national self-respect by teaching the children that the old Germanic peoples who were their ancestors were not barbaric tribes. During 1933, the Reich Minister of the Interior issued 'Suggestions for History Textbooks'.[45] It was proposed that the starting point should be prehistoric time *(Vorgeschichte)* because it was ideally suited to "controvert the traditional underestimation of the cultural level of our German ancestors."[46] Throughout the history texts, emphasis was to be placed on the idea of the hero:

> Historical instruction on all levels must interweave the idea of the hero in its German expression, associated with the leader idea of our time, which is linked up with the oldest prototype of the German past.[47]

The notion of the hero and the leader are stressed as important in their "power to carry away the hearts and to arouse the enthusiasm" of pupils; otherwise, it was stressed, history could become a "tedious amassing of fact". Evidently, facts should not be allowed to mitigate the capacity of history to inflame its readers, particularly given the potential of associating the notion of hero and leader with Hitler. The notion of hero was not to be confined to Hitler alone, however, but was to be communicated as a characteristic of the German people:

> The hero idea, however, leads directly to the heroic world view-point, which is characteristic of us as a German people, as of no other, and allows us to derive ever new power in the struggle for national self-maintenance in the midst of a hostile world. [48]

The inclusion of Germanic myths and legends was seen as an important part of the new approach to German history and they were to be introduced at an early stage in the school curriculum:

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[44]Ministerial Erlass UIIG 3186/33 UIIO, UIIC Zentralblatt (5.2.1934), p.43. Referred to in Bason, Cecilia Hatrick (1937), p.39.
[45]Issued 20.7.1933, a full transcript is given in Bason, Cecilia Hatrick (1937), pp.40-45.
[46]Bason, Cecilia Hatrick (1937), p.40.
[47]Bason, Cecilia Hatrick (1937), p.41.

> From the second school year on German fairy tales as an introduction to the past are to be used; from the third year on German sagas and further German hero sagas are to be treated in connection with the locality.[49]

These 'suggestions' were translated into a variety of regulations at individual state level. In Bavaria for example, an executive order published in 1936, set out in some detail the instructions for the teaching of history in elementary schools. Included was the instruction that:

> History instruction proper starts in the fifth grade. Beginning in the second grade, German fairy tales are taught as an introduction to the past; from the third grade up the same has to be done with German folklore, which is to be related to the home region. The heroic epics, especially those of Siegfried and Gudrun, are mainly to be taught within the instruction in German language.[50]

From the sixth grade, the document proposes a development of history in combination with myth, to be presented in a deliberately palatable style:

> The study of prehistoric times and early history should present a lively picture of the early German's world and their way of living in the bronze and iron ages; excavations and folk lore have to be utilized. The original home of the Germans, German peasantry and the feudal system, German law and justice, the life within the clans and hereditary groups, the German faith (the earliest German religious symbol, the swastika, found on Nordic relics); all these things should be molded into the ideology which is continually expanded and clarified from the fifth to the eighth grades.[51]

The emphasis on early Germanic myth and history in elementary schools was significant because, according to Samuel and Thomas,[52] the Nazis valued them more highly than secondary schools; they handled greater numbers of children and they

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[48]Bason,Cecilia Hatrick (1937), p.41.
[49]Bason,Cecilia Hatrick (1937), p.44.
[50]An executive order published 30.4.1936 in the Kultus Ministerialblatt, No.IV 17939, of the Bavarian Minister of Education on the subject of Bavarian regulations for the teaching of history in the elementary school quoted in Bason,Cecilia Hatrick (1937), p.150.
[51]Bason,Cecilia Hatrick (1937), p.151.
[52]Samuel, R.H. and R. Hinton Thomas (1949).

were at a more impressionable stage, tending by nature to be free from the intellectualism which the Nazis abhorred.[53]

In order to ensure that the requirements of the new curriculum could be implemented, the training of teachers was addressed even including the area of folklore. In a short text aimed to persuasively apprise the English-speaking world of developments in German education, Wilhelm and Graefe set out the rudiments of contemporary teacher training. In this they set out the subjects which were covered in the curriculum of the training college which included, in addition to Theory of Teaching and Child Psychology, modules on Ethnology, German Folklore and History.[54]

Nordic mythology was promoted not only through the teaching of history, but also through German reading and poetry texts, providing further opportunities for the inculcation of children with similar themes of heroism. An apt example of a school textbook which appropriated German mythology and early history is Kurt Bona's *Der Mensch der germanisch-deutschen Frühzeit* (*The People of German Antiquity*) for sixth class level.[55] The essays and poems which comprise the text are divided into three parts which correspond, in effect, to the three key sources of mythology in German art at this period. Following an introduction by Alfred Rosenberg, the first section of the textbook is devoted to German antiquity *(Germanisches Altertum)* and includes contributions on such themes as the runic alphabet (and cites a poem *Odin's Runengedicht*), excerpts from the *Edda*, the ethos of ancient German heroic song, Germanic (pagan) religion, the Yggdrasil (the 'world tree' of German mythology), and Icelandic sagas. Among tales of legendary heroism, Hitler himself details the contemporary equivalent in an essay on the soldiers of the new German armed forces, thereby drawing direct parallels between the legendary heroes of the past and contemporary German manhood.[56] The second section, on the Nordic spirit in antique poetry (*Nordischer Geist in antiker Dichtung*) includes excerpts from Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, followed by an essay by Rosenberg drawing comparisons between the Iliad and the *Nibelungenlied*, an issue addressed also, as mentioned, in his *Mythos*. The final section, on the German Middle-Ages, concentrates on the *Nibelungenlied*, but includes readings on and excerpts from other

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[53]In justifying the anti-intellectual stance, the following are cited as representing "rebellions against intellectualism" in which the "German re-affirmed his faith in his own, inborn nature": "The conflict between the mediaeval German Emperors and the Pope, the inward antagonism of Ekkehart to the teachings of Thomas Aquinas, Luther's revolution against the Hierarchy of Rome, Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason", and Nietzsche's "Zarathustra" ..." . Wilhelm, Theodor and Gerhard Graefe (1937), p.8.

[54] Wilhelm, Theodor and Gerhard Graefe (1937).

[55] Bona, Kurt (1941).

medieval sagas. This section concludes with two poems by Stefan George; the final one entitled *Einem jungen Führer im ersten Weltkrieg* praises the heroism of a young leader in the First World War leaving the reader in little doubt as to whom it refers!

The success of the programme is indicated by an article published in an English journal in 1936-7 which describes the role of Germanic myth in the education system. It points out with respect to such characters as Siegfried or Brünhild:

> To a German they are part of a living past, to an Englishman they are opera.[57]

The foregoing was intended to achieve two objectives: first, to establish that Nordic myth was an important part of the ideology of the Reich, and second, to identify broadly the types of mythological themes which were considered important. The use of Nordic myth in the ideology was significant in conveying the concept of the bloodline of the German people for racial purposes, in proposing an early settled culture, to counter the traditional notion of the German people as barbaric, and in offering an alternative set of beliefs to Christian religions. The themes which were adopted promoted male heroism and loyalty to the leader, both of which could demand the ultimate sacrifice of ones life, female devotion to the heroic male, and the desirability of the procreational role. The remainder of the chapter considers how these ideals are represented in the art of the time.

Nordic Myth in the Art of the Third Reich

A relatively significant proportion of the surviving imagery on Nordic myth was commissioned work - either for publications or for public sites. Thus, while the quantity of images produced on such themes was relatively modest, its capacity to reach a wider audience was significant. The type of publications included prehistory journals, such as the prominent *Germanen-Erbe,* and illustrations for books such as Hans Friedrich Blunck's retelling of the Nibelungen myths. Also, a number of artists, such as Ernst von Dombrowski (1896-1985) and Georg Sluyterman von Langeweyde (1903-1978), were noted for their work in woodcut, a medium with the capacity for producing multiple copies of the imagery. Public

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[56]Adolf Hitler, Adolf (1941).
[57] Norman, F. (1936-7), p.98.

commissions varied from monuments to heroes, to frescoes for factories and military installations, to sculpture to adorn infrastructure. It is evident, also, that the regime held many of the artists in high esteem, not only by patronizing them, but also in bestowing honours such as the Goethe medal (awarded, for example, to Arthur Kampf in 1934) or the title of Professor (awarded to Wilhelm Petersen in 1938, and Franz Stassen in 1939).[58] Among the patrons of the commissions for artwork on Germanic mythological themes were Hitler, Rosenberg and Göring, a further indication of support for Nordic myth from the highest level.

The important role of visual means of disseminating the ideology with respect to Germanic mythology is evident by the status given to it at the processions celebrating the annual Day of German Art. A programme of the event for 1937 (plate 4.3) outlined the themes which would be included in the parade and it is evident that Nordic myth played a central role in the spectacle. An eyewitness[59] to the event, recently recalled what he saw; he remembered the participants dressed as "Old Germans" as well as figures of the Germanic gods and goddess with the eagle Hresvelda.[60] He was describing the theme of the pageant 'Two Thousand Years of German Culture', which was effusively described in a report published in the *Völkischer Beobachter* on 19th July 1937, the day after the opening of the exhibition:

> What we are seeing here is another world - the images, figures and symbols of history recaptured. The language they speak is powerful and awe-inspiring. And indeed thousands upon thousands stand spellbound by this splendor, by the incredible beauty of this spectacle, a spectacle that dissolves the present day and moment, a scene that is the distillation of centuries: 'Two Thousand Years of German Culture'.
>
> Early Germanic history introduces our lofty theme. In the wake of a golden Viking ship the centuries roll by. Germanic warriors, Germanic women, Germanic priests and seers pass before us ... Even these mere imitations of mighty symbols drawn from the mythical world of our ancestors have the power to overwhelm our modern sensibility. The sun, the symbol of day, the moon, the goddess of the night, are convincing and impressive in their brilliant colours. Figures from our forefather's sagas are suddenly among us.... The stirring tones of trumpeters and drummers on horse-back

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[58] Davidson, Mortimer (1988).
[59] Guenther, Peter (1991), p.36.
[60] It may have escaped the designers of the event that Hresvelda was a corpse-eating giant who transformed into an eagle, and whose beating wings were responsible for cold winds. Crossley-Holland, Kevin (1993).

> rouse us from our ecstatic meditation. The first great scene in this pageant has passed by.[61]

Not only does this emphasize the significance of Nordic myth, it demonstrates how viewers were directed in their response to the spectacle. It is evident from the tone that the pageant was designed to evoke not only a nostalgia but almost a mass hysteria for the notion of a great past whose representation was described as a "historically true picture".[62] It attempted, also, to legitimize the establishment of a Reich, intended to last a thousand years into the future, by demonstrating that it would represent a continuity of a great past - in much the same way that followers of Mussolini sought to recreate Italy's once-great empire. By such a linking with a 'noble' heritage, National Socialism sought to stir up national pride and thereby to win widespread public support for its long-term ambitions.

What is somewhat surprising, however, is that despite its role in the pageantry, themes from Nordic myth rarely appeared among the artwork displayed at the annual GDK which the parades celebrated.[63] Where it did emerge, for the most part it reflected local folklore rather than the Nordic sagas, particularly that based on themes of fertility and nurturing, and mythological themes in general were more commonly drawn from classical culture as Chapter 3 describes. In the absence of evidence to explain this phenomenon, one can speculate on the possible reasons. Given that the artwork appearing at the exhibitions was not normally commissioned, the decision as to what to represent fell to the artist. It may be that in the light of Hitler's ambiguous stance on such themes that it was safer to avoid them; by comparison, the representation of classical culture was known to be acceptable to him. As many of the artists would have undergone a traditional art training, which typically included copying from antique sculpture, artists may have been more confident with the representation of classical figures particularly as these provided prototypes for the ideal beauty so important to notions of Aryan physical perfection. Hinz, in noting that classical mythology was generally more popular as a source of subjects than Germanic, suggests it is because the former lends itself more readily to

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[61] Hinz, Berthold (1979), p.2.

[62] "Diese geschichtstreuen Bilder... ". Völkischer Beobachter, (19.7.1937), p.1.

[63] This view is based on the titles of works listed in the exhibition catalogues for the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellungen* from 1937 to 1944. Appendix 7 lists the works with titles relating to mythology for each year. There may of course have been works alluding to Nordic myth but whose titles indicated otherwise. However, given the quantity which indicate classical myth, it is reasonable to assume that the virtual absence of Nordic themes in the titles is indicative of a general reluctance to address such subjects.

the depiction of beauty and nudity;[64] classical themes come armed with a repertoire of antique exemplars whereas whatever visual culture belongs to Germanic myth was little known. In fact, much of the work on Nordic myth is carried out in a somewhat academic manner, revealing the dependence on antique models as a source for knowledge of anatomy. A further factor is that the art appearing in the exhibitions was selected by a jury comprised of prominent figures in the official visual arts infrastructure such as Josef Wackerle and Adolf Ziegler, artists whose own work was notable for its classical leanings and presumably their own predilections influenced their choice of what to include. In any case, in 1937, Hitler is understood to have dominated the selection and his preference for classicism may have set a precedence for future shows.

While relatively rare, Nordic themes were not entirely absent from the GDKs, as Appendix 9 demonstrates. However, only 25 paintings were titled to indicate a subject from Germanic myth, out of approximately 10,000 images exhibited over the eight years of its currency. Undoubtedly there were other works on such themes which are not evident from the titles. However, this would have been the case also for artworks on classical myth and, based on identifiable subjects, classical myth outnumbered Nordic themes by around seven to one.

Nordic themes were mainly from two broad areas: fairy tales, reflecting the influence of the Grimm brothers, and others such as E.T.A Hoffmann; and sagas. One of the best known works which was exhibited was Ferdinand Staeger's *Siegfried in Battle with the King of the Danes* (plate 4.4), shown at the 1944 GDK. This was one of a number of similarly dramatic battle scenes addressed by the artist. Siegfried is shown as heroic and powerful against impossible odds, and one suspects that Germany's fortunes in the war were a propelling factor both in the choice of subject and its execution. The perspective used is one that Staeger generally favoured - a low viewpoint, from ground level to monumentalize the hero.

In considering the relative approaches of artists depicting the two types of myth, as a general rule it would appear that those addressing classical themes more commonly produced iconic work as discussed in the last chapter, while those representing Nordic myth tended to be more narrative and illustrative in approach, reflecting their respective sources in visual imagery and in literary texts. These are generalizations, however, and there are of course notable exceptions. The discussion which follows considers the specific works produced on Nordic myth. The interpretation of them is limited by the relative dearth of documentary information, partly due to the commonplace destruction of the artists' studios and

[64]Hinz, Berthold (1979), p.161.

their contents either through bombing during the war (as happened to Gerhard Marcks though he was, ironically, rejected by the Nazis) or, at the end of the war, by Allied troops (Arno Brecker's studio was ransacked and Graf Plettenberg's was demolished). Presumably, also, some artists were tempted to destroy potentially damning documentary or other evidence. In spite of this shortage of documentation, inferences can be made, based on what is known of the ideology and the reception of the artist at the time, though it is difficult at times to glean the artist's intention and whether it privately differed from that of the Reich The work is considered in terms of the types of Nordic themes which were promoted by the ideology, i.e. male heroes and leaders, heroines and icons of compliance and fertility, and shows how they were exploited in a number of contexts: public parades, illustrations of narrative texts, articles and journals, woodcut prints, public sculpture, and other means of dissemination.

Text and Ideology: Illustrating Germanic Myth

It is useful to begin discussing the visual expression of the themes with the illustrated texts because they comprise the literary sources as well as the imagery and help to establish the scope, both for the narrative and for the iconic visualizations. Hinz, while he felt that Nordic myth was absent from visual representations, acknowledges a predominant place for it in the literature, dictated he says by the ideology.[65] The close relationship of illustration to text may undermine the autonomy of the image but not the significance of the message it communicates. One does not necessarily need to be familiar with the details of the narrative to understand what the image intended to convey; and while the story may provide the original justification and *raison d'etre* for the content of the image, the latter can exist in isolation as a visual slogan to support a particular stance, drawing selectively on the text.

By the period of the Third Reich, collections of myths had already been popular in Germany for some time; Adam points out that literature had been widely used to spread the cult of the old German culture and that early in the twentieth century, the reading of the German sagas, the *Nibelungenlied*, and the *Edda* was constantly encouraged - a practice which he says continued during the Third Reich.[66] Norman noted the increased importance of Germanic material from 1933 and

[65] Hinz, Berthold (1995), p.332.
[66] Adam, Peter (1992).

pointed out the inclusion of the *Nibelungenlied* in the secondary school curriculum.[67] The publication of versions of the Germanic sagas then took on a new level of importance conferred by their significance in the ideology. Examples of texts illustrated by prominent artists of the Reich published during the period include Hans Friedrich Blunck's *German Heroic Sagas* (*Deutsche Heldensagen*)[68] a retelling of the most popular German heroic myths and illustrated with eighty drawings by Arthur Kampf (1864-1950); and Hugo Gering's translation of the *Edda*,[69] subtitled *Epics of the Gods and Heroes* (*Götterlieder, Heldenlieder*), illustrated by Franz Stassen (1869-1949).[70] Blunck, known for his nationalistic novels of heroes, written in the style of mythological sagas, was head of the Reich Chamber of Literature (*Reichsschriftumskammer*) from 1933 to 1935.[71] He was, however, unable to carry his devotion to the Party to the point of expelling Jews from the Chamber and so opted instead to resign.[72] His contention that it was necessary to look to the past for the example of how to 'become' in the future[73] shaped works like *Deutsche Heldensagen*, and corresponded with the notions promoted by the Party. Kampf's illustrations are literal interpretations of the text. The style of the drawings is fairly traditional, owing much to nineteenth century conventions. They are competent drawings, the physiognomy of the figures reflecting his training at the Düsseldorf Academy. They are, however, pedestrian and lacking in originality. While there is little *overt* sense of propaganda, they serve to reinforce Nazi predilections for Nordic-type heroes, engaging in violence as a matter of course. Stassen's illustrations of the *Edda*, edited by Hugo Gering, respond as much to the introductory propagandist essay which stresses the national importance of the saga as a role model for modern heroes, as it does to the epic itself.[74] The melodramatic

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[67] Norman, F (1936-37).
[68] Blunck, Hans Friedrich (1938).
[69] Gering, Hugo (1943).
[70] Among various version of the Edda published during the Third Reich is one which Max Beckmann owned: Bruno Noah, *Die Edda. Gelöste Rätsel ur-arischen Weistums aus ältester Ueberlieferung*, Berlin-Pankos, 1934. See Beckmann, Peter and Joachim Schaffer, editors (1992).
[71] Ritchie, J.M. (1983).
[72] Steinweis, Alan E. (1993).
[73] Bithell, Jethro (1939).
[74] This text was consulted at the Kunstbibliothek der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, in Berlin. Due to the rarity of the illustrated version of Gering's text, it was not permitted to photograph the images in the text using flash, and no facility could be granted for professional photography. Consequently, it was not possible to obtain a copy of any of the illustrations for this dissertation.

images lack any subtlety, and the inclusion of the occasional swastika ensures the message is not lost on the audience.[75]

The appointment of established and accepted artists for the illustrations potentially added authority to such texts. Kampf had enjoyed a career as a respected artist long before Hitler's accession to power, winning several distinguished prizes and holding the position of President of the Royal Academy of Art in Berlin (1907-1912). His reputation continued unabated under the Nazi regime in spite of allegedly publicly expressing sympathy with Max Pechstein on his eviction from the Berlin Academy and inclusion in the Munich exhibition of 'degenerate art'.[76] Stassen was in his seventies when he was appointed to illustrate Gering's translation. By this time, he had established a reputation as an artist who specialized in themes from Germanic myth;[77] he was involved in publishing for the Youth Movement and folkish circles[78] and Hitler selected him to design the series of tapestries inspired by the *Edda* for the New Chancellery in Berlin.[79] Such was the regard for his work on these themes that a special exhibition in his honour was held, appropriately, at Bayreuth, home of Wagner, in 1936 and Stassen was subsequently conferred with the title of professor in 1939.

The two books, versions of *Deutsche Heldensagen* and *Edda*, are broadly similar in approach, with text interspersed at intervals with relevant images relating to events recounted. The images provide instant access for the reader to the themes and characterisations which the regime sought to exploit and Kampf's illustrations for *Deutsche Heldensagen* provided exemplars for the Nazi cult of the hero. Many of the images depict scenes of battle,[80] and throughout the imagery, the figures are shown with exaggerated theatrical expressions of pride, aggression or determination but, ultimately, little variety. There is also little diversity in physical type; almost all are muscular and well-proportioned, and exhibit an anatomical understanding

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[75] For example, an illustration subtitled *Den Starke von Oben* (*The Strength from Above*) depicts a horse and rider, decorated with a swastika in a deliberate evocation of Nazism. Blunck, Hans Friedrich (1938), p.115.

[76] Davidson, Mortimer (1988).

[77] For example, Stassen provided the illustrations for Rudolf Herzog's, *Siegfried der Held.* Berlin (1912), and *Der Nibelungen Not* by Hans von Wolzogen. Berlin (1921). Between 1934 and 1943, Stassen undertook numerous watercolour images based on themes drawn from the *Edda.*

[78] He illustrated Hans Stelter's *Eine Geschichte deutscher Jugendbewegung, zugleich Handbuch und Richtlinien der deutschen Jugendgemeinschaft.* Berlin: Verlagsanstalt für Vaterländische Geschichte und Kunst (1920).

[79] The themes were: *Ordnung der Welt*; *Nornen am Welten Baum*; *Fesselung des Bösen*; and *Einzug der Götter in Walhall.* These apparently aroused the admiration of Ernst Barlach who mentioned them in a letter to K. Fischöder, (8.6.1936). Mortimer, Davidson (1988), p.430. I have been unable to find any illustrated record of these works, and they are not included in Schönberger's text on the Reichskanzlei and its interior decoration, art and furniture. Schönberger, Angela (1981).

[80] See, for example, Blunck, Hans Friedrich (1938), pp.81, 127, 175.

ultimately based on traditional, classical notions of representation of the male, as a battle scene demonstrates (plate 4.5). Consequently, there is little sense of distinction between the characters, and this would accord with the Nazi desire to suppress the individual for the common mission.[81] In the story, the archetype of the hero is embodied primarily in the character of Siegfried (Sigurd, Sigfrid),[82] a central character of the *Nibelungenlied*, and described by Rosenberg as epitomising "warrior nobility".[83] His 'heroism' is characterized by fearlessness in the face of danger and a merciless capacity for supposedly 'justified' slaughter - indeed, his very name implies successful battle, literally translating as 'freedom following victory'.[84] The 'enemy' is personified in part of the Nibelungen legend by the dragon Fafner who is slain by Siegfried using a combination of cunning, skill and bravery, the type of characteristics admired by the Nazis. Siegfried is illustrated also after the battle with Fafner (plate 4.6).[85] He is depicted as stereotypical of the heroic; stern and powerfully-built, striding purposefully. He clutches his sword, symbol of the warrior, and drags along the severed head of the defeated enemy whose blood temporarily conferred invulnerability on the hero. The forest setting identifies the location as Germanic, while Siegfried's blond hair signifies his Aryan blood. In another scene, Siegfried is presented as both hero and leader, mounted on a horse which, as will be explained later, evokes the notion of control. Siegfried as a character has, however, been described as "by turns ... a brash extrovert, love-sick swain, superhuman strong-man and over-trusting friend - but never as wise diplomat, never as endowed with insight into human nature..."[86] thus his selection as an exemplar of German manhood is revealing of the qualities which were seen to constitute heroic behaviour.

The Heroic in Narrative Texts

A potentially problematic aspect of the story of the *Nibelungenlied* as a rallying theme for German nationalism is the fact that, well before the end of the narrative, the hero is killed; the image of Siegfried's death - speared by Hagen as he drank at a

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[81]This was manifest in many aspects of the ideology, and was graphically conveyed in photographs of hundreds of young males, in orderly rows, participating in mass exercise sessions.

[82] He was a grandson of Volsung, who epitomized bravery, and a direct descendent of the god Odin (Wotan) himself.

[83]Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.76.

[84]Ernst Cassirer discussing Paechter's text of 1944 on contemporary German usage describes the subtle connotation of the use of the term *Siegfriede* which means a peace specifically achieved through German victory. See Cassirer, Ernst (1979), p.255.

[85]Blunck, Hans Friedrich (1938), p.16.

[86] Movatt, D.G. and Hugh Sacker (1967), pp.5-6.

pool - is always included in illustrations of the theme (plate 4.7).[87] For the purposes of exploiting the central character as a model for German manhood, the demise of the hero could have been counter-productive. Rosenberg, however, exploits the situation in two key ways. In the first place, the betrayal and murder is identified as analogous to the fate of Germany in the First World War, supposedly betrayed by other nations, and second, the death of the hero provided a model for the idea of *Totenheld,* the cult of heroic death where young men where encouraged to seek martyrdom in service to their country. Rosenberg compared the loss of German life during that War with the tragedy of the epic saga:

> If the Baldur and Siegfried mythos appear analogous with the substance of the German soldiers of 1914, and the newly-green world of the Edda after the decline of the old gods signifies for us the rebirth of Germany from the present chaos, then we see the verity of our hypothesis. [i.e. what Rosenberg termed a 'blood current' connecting ancient with later figures in German culture and history].[88]

For Rosenberg, Siegfried personifies the German soldier whose defeats are explained by an honourable and trusting disposition, and sense of fair play in battle, qualities evidently lacking in his opponents who unfairly destroyed him:

> This greatness of heart which is shaped allegorically forever in Siegfried, which presupposes with an opponent the same valuing of honour and open form of battle, indeed whose childlike honesty cannot believe the contrary, has contributed to many a hard defeat for the Germans in the course of their history; [89]

Kampf's representation in *Deutsche Heldensagen* of the assassination is in accord with this interpretation, the heroic male has been literally stabbed in the back.

Given the association established between Siegfried and the military sacrifice of German manhood, it might have been expected that Hagen, as Siegfried's killer, would have been identified as an enemy figure - an apt personification perhaps of the Allied forces in the wars, or the so-called 'degenerate'

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[87]Siegfried is killed by Hagen who stabs him in the back with a spear through his one vulnerable place, the equivalent to an 'Achilles heel'.
[88]Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.433.

forces in Germany. However, a complicating factor is that in the saga Hagen takes over the central position in the narrative and all activity revolves around him. Also, as a fellow Teuton, his role as enemy is somewhat compromised - Germany's enemies are supposedly all non-Germanic. It is noteworthy, therefore, that Kampf does not portray Hagen as evil betrayer, but more as one heroic figure pitched against another. In this context, it is unsurprising then that Rosenberg purports to have a high opinion of the character of Hagen comparing him favourably to St. Peter.[90] Hagen was acting for his king when he killed Siegfried and presumably it was acceptable to sacrifice everything, including ones honour of which so much is made, in service to ones leader - for which presumably one can substitute Führer. As described by Rosenberg:

> ...Hagen, is a mixture of avarice and unconditional manly loyalty, a figure who, in his giant schematic delineation, represented the strongest counterpart to the radiant Siegfried. He represented a type of unconditional courage which, in conclusion, thanks to Hagen's consistency until his death, reconciled us with much of what he had violated.[91]

Stassen's *Hagen on Watch* (plate 4.8) was presumably intended to depict such a characterization. It is one of the numerous watercolour images he carried out between 1934 and 1943, in addition to illustrations for publications, based on themes drawn from the *Edda*. It shows the part of the saga where Hagen and Volker are standing guard at the great hall, awaiting further attacks by their enemies. The scene is referred to by Rosenberg:

> The night watch by the two companions and the song of the minstrel are examples of splendid, manly poetry.[92]

According to the legend, Hagen instructed that they should stand close to the walls and use their armour for protection. Ultimately, however, their efforts were in vain and Hagen was killed. Stassen's image pointedly evokes the contemporaneous German military; Hagen is depicted in a helmet very close in design to that worn by

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[89]Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.89.
[90]He identifies Peter more readily in the role of betrayer. Referring to Peter as a gossip who denied Christ he says: "A grim figure like Hagen seems to us significantly greater than, for instance, Peter the "rock". Hagen throws away his honor in service of his king and at last dies for it proudly and unbroken." Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.109.
[91]Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.190.
[92]Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.190.

the army. His muscular arms indicate a suitably healthy, powerful body and he sits with feet staunchly planted, with a resolute, fierce expression which, while bordering on caricature, clearly conveys unflinching determination not to slacken his guard against his enemy, and to kill or die in the protection of what he stands for. The message of being prepared to die for the Fatherland - even to "die laughing" was one which was widely promoted by the Reich;[93] in propaganda texts, mothers were exhorted even to be pleased to lose their sons in this way.

Imaging Women

The idea of passive sacrifice underpinned the heroic role of women. However, the representation of the female characters in the Germanic sagas appears on the face of it to be potentially problematic because at times they indulge in behaviour which could have been read as oppositional to the Nazi ideas on women. Some of Kampf's illustrations bear this out. Queen Kriemhild[94] is shown angry and determined, pointing accusingly at Hagen, killer of her husband; Brunhilde (plate 4.9) is depicted, powerful as a man, driven by resolve and effortlessly lifting a large rock; and Kriemhild[95] is shown grimly pleased with her vengeful execution, the weight of the sword providing her with little difficulty. These have to be understood in the context created by the ideology, however. Such female heroism is entirely within the framework of avenging ones husband/lover, the implication being that his character (heroic, Germanic) was not only worthy of such a response but was in fact the catalyst. Rosenberg explains this in the context of the saga, directly referring to the almost deranged demonic nature of the women's behaviour:

> The tragedy of the Nibelungs is rooted in this inward justification: The inward character as the supreme value. If the personality of Siegfried had been portrayed as a good-for-nothing like Paris, the wifely love of Brunhilde would not have been comprehensible to us. Her demonic womanly loyalty would have been credible to no one.[96]

Elsewhere, however, a more traditional representation of the female is provided: demurely accepting the victor's kiss;[97] exhibiting horror at a gruesome spectacle;[98]

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[93] Rupp, Leila J. (1978), p.39.
[94] Blunck, Hans Friedrich (1938), p.182.
[95] Blunck, Hans Friedrich (1938), p.204.
[96] Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.190.
[97] Blunck, Hans Friedrich (1938), p.142.

being rescued;[99] presenting the prize to the heroes in Valhalla.[100] In another image (plate 4.10), Kampf pays homage to one of Germany's most well-known images. Brunhilde, helplessly observing the armies marching past her window, an impotent, waiting figure, reflects the famous pose of Anselm Feuerbach's, *Iphigenia* (plate 1.3). Her position on an arcaded terrace overlooking the landscape indicates a familiarity with very similar architecture at Ludwig II's castle at Neuschwanstein near Munich (plate 4.11), a virtual shrine to the Nibelungen story.[101]

Nordic Myth and the Procreational Role of Women

The notion of fertility - the capacity as opposed to the reality of producing children - was, theoretically, a critical factor in Nazi Germany in the selection of a suitable female as a mate. As an abstract ideal, artists were led to the use of allegory and symbol and drew on ancient Teutonic as well as classical myth, i.e. the corn goddess or Ceres. Sir James Frazer, in his influential text *The Golden Bough* , pointed out:

> In Germany the corn is very commonly personified under the name of the Corn-mother. Thus in spring, when the corn waves in the wind, the peasants say, "There comes the Corn-mother," or "The Corn-mother is running over the field," or "The Corn-mother is going through the corn."[102]

Frazer points out that not only was corn the staple food of the Greeks in the Homeric age but, at the time he was writing, there were grounds for believing that it was the oldest cereal cultivated by the Aryan race and therefore was part of the perception of Germanic culture. As the manifestation of the fecundity of the earth, it understandably became the symbol for fertility in general, particularly in women. There are countless images carried out during the period of the Reich which take up the theme. Jurgen Wegener's *Thanksgiving* (plate 4.12) which was shown as the GDK in 1943 illustrates Frazer's point; a peasant festival celebrates the harvest with a procession whose central figure is a girl dressed up as the corn-goddess complete with a large sheaf of corn held as though it were a baby. Such festivals had been recognized by Jacob Grimm as having their roots in Germanic folklore (see Chapter

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98 Blunck, Hans Friedrich (1938), p.254.

99 Blunck, Hans Friedrich (1938), p.96.

100 Blunck, Hans Friedrich (1938), p.395.

101 The rooms of the castle are extensively decorated with nineteenth century frescoes depicting scenes from Wagner's *Ring* cycle.

102 Frazer, Sir James (1993).

1). While this image depicts an event, most representations associating women and corn are iconic, including Johannes Beutner's *Time of Ripeness* (plate 4.13) and Wolfgang Willrich's *Blessings of the Earth.* In these, it is fruitfulness which is indicated. William Hempfing's *Summer* (plate 4.14) takes a somewhat different tack though the message is ultimately the same. The abandoned pose of the woman stresses sexuality as much as fertility, and the corn - rather than representing her fecundity - has unmitigated phallic connotations. This is also the case with the sheaf of corn held by the female figure in one of Thorak's reliefs (1936, plate 4.15) for the Reichsbankneubau in Berlin.[103]

While Rosenberg had reservations about Mother Earth/Earth Goddess figures because of their association with maternalist societies where women were understood to hold power, Kneller explains how Professor Ernst Krieck promoted the allegorical figure of mother earth in the context of his blood-and-soil race theories. For Krieck, all life sprang from mother earth and remained bound to her by its roots; from her "it receives its nourishment and strength". According to this philosophy, at the end of life, the earth reclaims all living beings who "return in death to her maternal lap". Mother earth, the soil, is therefore the "source of life, the seat of the spirit, the source of everything that has a soul".[104] Similarly, as mentioned, Wenz-Hartmann made reference to the goddesses of fruitfulness, characters whom German womanhood were expected to emulate.

Modern Heroes: Farmers, Workers and Soldiers

The ideal of the hero was, as mentioned, extended to the German people - particularly males - in general. In order to give them a basis for identification with such heroic status, occasionally artists used mythological prototypes to depict the man at work though they appear to be relatively rare. *Wieland* (plate 4.16, c.1935) by Hans Adolf Bühler represents the supernatural smith who was a well-known character in Nordic myth. According to Hinz, interpreting this work, the viewer is not presented with modern man in the process of changing the world, and therefore Wieland is unlikely to convey the idea of productivity as a social force.[105] Rosenberg's comment on Wieland gives little clue as to how Bühler's representation might be interpreted; he states that the "age old longing [for a new way of life]

[103]Reproduced in Werner, Bruno E. (1940), p.153.
[104]Ernst Krieck, 'Volkische Erziehung aus Blut und Boden', *Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehung,* III, pp.305-309. Quoted in Kneller, George Frederick (1941), p.15.
[105]Hinz, Berthold (1979) p.110.

became image in Wieland the Smith..."[106] suggesting that he symbolized the supposed desire for the establishment of the new Reich. It is not clear in Rosenberg's text, however, why this figure in particular should embody such a wish. In Bühler's painting, Wieland is shown kneeling at the anvil, wielding a hammer and his attribute, an arm-ring, which he has forged. The rings at his feet possibly allude to the legendary 700 rings which he made. He is depicted as a nude figure though somewhat older than the usual athletic hero. He nonetheless conforms to the healthy, Aryan type and his nudity which is somewhat inappropriate in such a setting indicates he is a symbolic figure. The inference is that he personifies the metalworkers who are shown in the background dealing with the molten metal or hauling heavy cast pieces to manufacture the weapons of war such as the enormous aircraft which towers above Wieland in a contemporary hanger. Such an image was presumably intended to convey the notion of heroism associated with work in heavy industry and the significance of the visual image is indicated in this case by the fact that it was published in an art journal, in 1935, without the necessity of any accompanying text.[107] Fritz Erler's *Wieland der Schmied* (plate 4.17) was the subject of a large fresco painted for the German Aeronautics Research Institute (*Deutschen Versuchsanstalt für Luftfahrt*), located appropriately in Adlershof. Its setting appears to be a restaurant or canteen. The painting was significant enough to be used for the cover of the March edition of *Kunst und Volk* in 1937 (plate 4.18). Wieland was an appropriate figure for aviation establishments. As a smith, he represented the crafting of metal, but more appropriately he was associated with flight, the Nordic equivalent of Daedalus. According to the legend he was incarcerated on an island, a prisoner of Nidud, King of Sweden, who cut Wieland's hamstrings in order to impede escape. Wieland, like Daedalus who was imprisoned in Crete, made a set of wings and flew away. In the fresco, Wieland is shown on a rocky island, the crutches indicative of his disablement, in the process of crafting his wings. The eagle symbolizes the flight he is about to make, as well as alluding to the location of the Institute at Adlershof (meaning Eagle's Court).

Teutonic myth could be adopted not only to identify with urban, manufacturing workers but also with agricultural workers in rural areas. Thor, son of Odin (Woden, Wotan) and Earth, was god of thunder, and while associated with war, he was regarded also as a keeper of order. He was the adopted god of the household and of peasants, the latter apparently related to the weather dependency of

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[106]Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p. 281.
[107]Illustrated in *Das Bild*, 5, May (1935), p.168.

rural occupations.[108] Peterson's *The God Thor Crossing the Sky over Mitgart* (plate 4.19, c.1937-38) in a parallel representation shows a farmer behind a primitive horse-drawn plough looking up to see Thor charging across the appropriately thundery sky in a chariot drawn by the traditional wild, horned goats, and bracing his hammer. This work was described in a contemporary article on Petersen as " A picture of unforgettable impression in his storming force: 'Thor drives over Mitgart'."[109] Both the farmer and Thor are dressed similarly in quasi-mediaeval garments in order to identify the event with the heroic sagas. By drawing such parallels, the image is evidently designed to evoke the notion of the farmer as engaged in heroic, even god-like activity.

The theme of Thor was addressed also by Georg Poppe (Plate 4.20), though in a more iconic way. This version of the theme has little to do with work, focusing instead on a general theme of power. An unsophisticated figure, whose characteristics are apparently physical rather than intellectual, he is shown with two of his attributes, the hammer (Mjollnir) representing thunder and lightning, and belt (Meginjardir) which doubled his strength and therefore symbolized his potential physical might. This work is in keeping with Rosenberg's view of Thor as an element of what he described as the "striving character of the Nordic soul". He said:

> The headstrong activity of the will, which, at first, drives so roughly through the Nordic lands in the battle songs about Thor... [110]

Such imagery popularizes the notion that authority is conferred by physical strength (to both exemplify and give effect to strength of will), rather than democratic choice, a conception convenient in justifying Nazi control. Artists such as Bühler responded to this ideal in works such as *German Man* (plate 4.21) which shows a soldier in uniform at the centre of a chaotic collection of the forces against which he has to battle. Direct parallels with Siegfried are drawn in his engagement with the dragon which, in a rather strange construct, the hero at the centre is controlling through the use of guiding reins. The dragon is steered into a circle around the soldier - similar one supposes to the process of taming horses. The implication of course is that the German military has the power and bravery to tame its enemies. Rising on either side are rearing horses with riders, suggestive of the ride of the

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[108] Polomé, Edgar C. (1987).
[109] "Ein Bild unvergeßlichen Eindrucks in seiner dahinstürmenden Wucht: 'Thor Fährt über Mitgart'." Treuner, Wolfgang (1938).

Valkyries. These characters from old Norse mythology, revived in Wagner's opera *Die Walküre*, were legendary handmaidens of Odin. Mounted on swift horses and holding drawn swords, they rushed into the melee of battle and selected those destined to die. According to myth, these heroes were then conducted to Valhalla where the Valkyries waited on them, serving them mead and ale in the skulls of the vanquished. In the confusion of the image, it is not clear whether the riders are male or female, and the skull-like faces behind are suggestive of ghouls rather than the heroic dead. Bühler does not appear, therefore, to have illustrated the myth in a literal way, but rather borrowed from the general concept. The eagle rising behind the central figure, and apparently balanced on the rays of the sun, establishes the theme as unmistakably German for the viewer. The message of the image is entirely without subtlety, conveying the notion of the unquestioned bravery and heroism of the German soldier in the face of fierce and irrational enemies. Such an identification of contemporary soldiers with Germanic myth was hinted at in various works, such as Stassen's *Hagen on Watch* (plate 4.8), discussed above, and made explicit in Hitler's article on the German armed forces referred to earlier.[111]

The division between myth and history was not always clear; myth was often given an aura of truth, while the history was generally presented, as Norman pointed out, with a fine disregard for fact.[112] Wilhelm Petersen (1900-1987) was commissioned by Rosenberg to carry out a series of drawings on Germanic prehistory for the *Reichsbund für deutsche Vorgeschichte* and he became virtually resident artist of *Germanen-Erbe*. Petersen knew Rosenberg personally, having been introduced to him by his brother-in-law, the national socialist ideologist Thelo von Trotha. Sympathetic to the ideology, Petersen became a member of the SA and of the NSDAP. He specialized in what was presented as accurately descriptive imagery of the people of Germanic antiquity, as well as mythological characters, both as illustration for articles, and as iconic images without text. The characters were depicted as blond, blue-eyed, physically perfect and heroic, such as his mythical *Rider from Valsgärde* (plate 4.22) which provided the frontispiece for an issue of *Germanen-Erbe*.[113] Where communities were illustrated, these were presented as living in organized and harmonious social structures, far removed from the barbaric image they sought to dispel. Petersen's drawings were valuable to the regime in helping to raise public awareness of German history and myth, and the related ideals of heroism and he produced series of works on themes from the

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[110] Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.429.
[111] Hitler, Adolf (1941).
[112] Norman, F. (1936-37).

Nibelungen epic, and on the Vikings.[114] His high profile also helped to give credibility; he featured in articles in numerous publications, such as in the *Schleswig Holsteinisches Jahrbuch*[115] and *Kunst und Volk.*[116]

As the images show, Petersen's style was that of an illustrator. Some of the works have the quality of illustrations for a children's fairy tale, such as *Brunhilde's Farewell* (1934, plate 4.23) and, more particularly, *The Troop of the Nibelungen* (1939, plate 4.24). However, an essay on Petersen's work refuted the idea that his representations of the sagas were just illustration, arguing that they reflected the spirit of his homeland.[117] The reference here to the German sagas was pointed. The essay accompanied the publication in 1940 of a suite of drawings made on a recent visit to Poland[118] to record, with drawings, the German incursion into the so-called *Ostmark* territory of Poland. The allusions to the German soldiers as heroes in this context suggests that they were engaged in reenacting the splendid deeds of the mythical past. Rosenberg recognized the relevance of Nordic myths to workers, farmers and soldiers:

> The present day mythos is exactly as heroic as the figures of the generation living a thousand years ago were. The two million Germans who died all over the world for the idea of Deutschland suddenly revealed that they cast aside the entire 19th century. In the hearts of the most simple peasant and the most modest worker, the old myth-testing power of the nordic race soul was just as alive as it was once among the Teutons when they moved over the Alps.[119]

Mural Images

During the Third Reich, there was a revival of various forms of representation using techniques from antiquity and the medieval period. Mosaic, woodcut and fresco were used as media to an unprecedented extent, using traditional materials perhaps to

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[113] March 1939 issue of *Germanen-Erbe*.
[114] Christiansen, Uwe and Hans-Christian Petersen (1993).
[115] Sedlmeier, Richard (1942).
[116] Rittich, Werner (1936).
[117] Hartmann, Waldemar (1940).
[118] Petersen, Wilhelm (1940).
[119] Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.442.

complement the themes from the past and to try to recover what was perceived as a golden age. At least two major fresco cycles on the theme of the *Nibelungenlied* were carried out during the period. The first discussed here, by Albert Burkart (1898-1982), for the flag room of an aviation school, near Munich, and the second by Paul Bürck (1878-?) for the community hall of the Düren metal works in Berlin. Burkart's fresco was commissioned to decorate the large, square ($16m^2$) room at Göring's newly established, state-of-the-art military aviation school (*Luftkriegschule*) at Fürstenfeldbruck. The contract for the work was signed in May 1938[120] and the frescoes completed by Burkart in July 1940 with the help of two assistants, Erwin Henning and Stefan Pichler.[121] The scheme comprises two major frescoes opposite each other on the main walls, each 16 x 7 metres in area (plates 4.25 and 4.26), and four tall, narrow scenes on the end walls, between the windows and the side walls. First of all, detailed scaled designs (1 : 5), which still exist, pinned to the walls of the flagroom (plate 4.27), were completed during the winter 1938/39, and then the frescoes were begun, carried out in 'fresco secco'.

While the choice of theme carried connotations of a heroic past, and perhaps it was hoped to imbue the viewers (officers of the school) with a sense of Germany's heroic past, it is nonetheless difficult to get much sense of propagandist intent in this scheme, carried out by an artist who was generally employed to execute fresco cycles for churches. However, while the audience for the cycle during its few years in existence would have had their school education before the advent of National Socialism with its emphasis on Germanic myth in the curriculum, had the Reich survived, no doubt future generations of officers would have been reminded of the messages of heroism and sacrifice inculcated at school. The theme did not, as it happens, emanate from the Luftwaffe; their suggestion was for an aeroplane motif, and it was the artist who suggested the *Nibelungenlied* as an alternative subject.[122]

As a Munich artist, Burkart would have had the opportunity to acquaint himself with the fresco cycles of two of the city's most important artists of the nineteenth century, Cornelius and Schnorr (see Chapter 1), and their legacy is evident in the work, particularly in the architectural structures in which the figures enact the drama. The archways of Schnorr's *Kriemhild's Death* (plate 4.28), for example appear to be taken up in Burkart's imagery. The title page by Cornelius of the *Nibelungenlied* (plate 1.7) may also have been familiar to him in this respect. The figuration, and the stillness of the figures, seemingly frozen in action, recall

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[120] The contract fee was 28,000 Reichsmarks. Schmidt, Wolfgang (1995).
[121] Lill, Georg (1941).
[122] Schmidt, Wolfgang (1995).

fourteenth and fifteenth century frescoes, an impression enhanced by the chalky quality of the texture and colour. Stylistically, the cycle has been compared with the work of Simone Martini and presumably the allusion is to the Allegory of Good and Bad Government in Sienna. Certainly, both evoke the medieval age of gallantry. However, what effects the similarity is the division of the imagery into separate vignettes, enacted in various different parts of the image, such as the man shooting an arrow out of a small window, (plate 4.29) or the man being pitched out of another aperture (plate 4.30). The rather stylized, somewhat naive figuration, and the restrained colours all add to the comparison. However, the exaggerated expressions of horror and amazement (plate 4.31) are more reminiscent of the illustrative style of Arthur Kampf.

An article published in *Die Kunst* in 1941 reviewing the cycle referred to it, in the usual terms, as a "work of our time" and as a spiritual force demonstrating the romantic soul of the German people. However, it did not mention the potential exploitation of the theme as a rallying motif for bellicose intentions. Steiner, in a more recent text on Burkart, points out the difficulty for artists who challenged the state and the danger to them and their families.[123] Burkart appears to have succeeded in avoiding too ideological a message, while at the same time not offending the state. However, in 1945, at the end of the War, when the Americans moved onto the base, the frescoes were covered with white paint, designated 'Nazi propagandist art'.[124]

A copper and wood plaque by an unknown artist was commissioned to mark the laying of the foundation stone of the flagroom building. This depicts a character in medieval dress doing battle with a seven headed monster (plate 4.32). The period garments suggest Siegfried, and this is confirmed by the military historians at the base. However the seven-headed Hydra is traditionally associated with Hercules. It is of interest to note the way such distinctions, between classical and Nordic themes, became blurred during the currency of the Third Reich.

The Düren metalworks in Berlin was the location of another series of murals based on the Nibelungen epic carried out by Paul Bürck in 1941 for the Community Hall (*Gemeinschaftsalle*). Five scenes were illustrated in an article in *Die Kunst* which indicates approval for the theme and manner of execution, as well as ensuring

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[123] Steiner, Peter Bernhard (1981).

[124] During the 1960s, consideration was given to restoring the frescoes but, as they were carried out in 'fresco secco', it would be a particularly difficult and expensive undertaking. The state does not give funding for artwork less than one hundred years old, so they have remained covered with the exception of a small experimental square.

the images reached a wider public than the staff of the organization.[125] The brief commentary focuses mainly on technique so the potential allegorical purpose is uncertain. However, a scene showing a smith (presumably Wieland) forging a sword, and Siegfried using it to kill the dragon presumably related to the function of the site (plate 4.33). The cycle has been described by Hinz as a "brutalized version of Cornelius's style" referring presumably to the linear, slightly academic approach. However, the artist did not have an academic training which may explain the idiosyncrasies in the anatomy of the figures (plate 4.34).

The potential propaganda role of such imagery has been noted by Hinz who has drawn attention to the fact that there were many murals commissioned for such locations, designed to exploit themes from history and sagas for National Socialist purposes.[126] The imprimatur for such imagery could be found in various texts such as Hitler's brief essay in Bona's school text referred to above where a relationship between mythical heroes and contemporary soldiers was inferred.[127]

The Woodcut

Certain artists produced work in woodcut, drawing on a medium which had a long tradition in German art, the earliest production of woodcut prints occurring from the end of the fourteenth century. The medium was presumably intended to convey a sense of authenticity and antiquity in addressing themes from the old sagas by using a method which originated in medieval Germany.[128] Woodcut was originally designed for mass production of inexpensive art which addressed religious and, at the time of the Reformation, propaganda themes. In this context it is interesting to see history repeating itself with the woodcut medium exploited to convey quasi-religious/mythical and propaganda imagery to a wide audience. Chief among the artists using the medium to address themes from Germanic myth were Klaus Wrage, Georg Sluyterman von Langeweyde, Ernst Dombrowski and Rudolf Warnecke. Germanic mythology was used by them to convey aspects of the required themes of Nordic culture, heroism, sacrifice and leadership as the following examples indicate.

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[125] Rupflin, K. (1942).
[126] Hinz, Berthold (1979).
[127] Bona, Kurt (1941).
[128] For similar reasons, the Die Brucke artists also used woodcut - but in a revolutionary, Modernist style. Also, while they did at times address traditional themes, particularly from religion, they do not appear to have depicted mythological subjects.

Klaus Wrage (1891-?), a painter and sculptor, was best known for his illustrations and engravings in wood and lino. He founded a publishing house in 1921, Holm-Presse, which was devoted to publishing his illustrated books which typically combined script and images using the medium of woodcut. In addition to texts by Dante and Blunck, Wrage focused on themes from Germanic myth and began in 1926 a series of engravings inspired by the *Edda*, a project which engaged him for almost thirty years. A typical example of Wrage's woodcut imagery was published to accompany an article on the *Edda* in an issue of *Germanen-Erbe*, mentioned above.[129] The woodcut image (plate 4.2) depicts a Viking vessel almost swamped by high waves. Viking ships were regarded as an essential symbol of the Nordic culture to which Germany laid claim and they were publicly promoted as such; for example, the cover of a 1937 issue of *Germanen-Erbe* displays a photograph of a model of a Viking ship being admired by a group of Nazi officials including Rosenberg.[130] In Wrage's image, this symbol is linked directly with Nordic mythology. The text which forms part of the image makes reference to two figures from the *Edda*, Helgi and Aegir:

> Helgi[131] twisted the sales higher
> The Vikings did not give way to the Waves
> As wrathfully Aegirs daughter[132]
> The seahorse, wanted to entice them[133]

Helgi, as a hero who braved and survived storms and the efforts of (mythical) enemies, was perhaps intended as a parallel with Hitler, given certain similarities in their names. In one interpretation of the character, Aegir, the sea god who wanted to fill his underwater realm with the dead, may be compared with the god of battle in terms of the power to destroy,[134] so there may have been a deliberate reference to war in the use of this image.

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[129] Reißenweber, Arno (1939).
[130] See Arnold, Bettina (1992).
[131] Helgi Hundingsbane was a hero from the *Edda* who crossed the seas and survived a tempest, with the aid of Thor in some versions, and a Valkyrie in others.
[132] Aegir was god of the sea, similar to Poseidon. He and his wife Ran had nine daughters each of whom represented a different type of sea-wave.
[133] Höher hitzte Helgi die Segel
Den Wogen wichen Die Wikinge nicht,
Als ingrimmig Ägirs Tochter
Die Seerosse Verlenken wollte.
[134] Davidson, H.R. Ellis (1990), p.129.

Georg Sluyterman von Langeweyde (1903-1978) was trained in graphic arts, specialising in wood-engraving. His interest in landscape, rustic life and the world of work in the style of the old masters, as well as active membership of the NSDAP since joining in 1928 ensured the popularity of his work under the Nazi regime. Many of his works, particularly in the 1930s, incorporated phrases from folksongs and various texts, including the *Edda,* and these were regularly reproduced in the press, ensuring a wide circulation for his images. Official recognition was confirmed when the Folkwang-Museum in Essen purchased several of his works in 1935, and the GDK in Munich displayed a print in 1939.

The combination of uplifting imagery accompanied by suitably stirring lines from well known texts was overtly designed to spur on Germany's youth to loyalty, heroism and sacrifice.[135] His themes deployed appropriate lines from Schiller[136] and Kleist[137] as well as the Edda. Plate 4.35 illustrates a typical image; the sun, symbol of Aryan Germany, rises above a dolmen which signifies both death and the antiquity of Germanic culture. The inscription below the image reads:

> Possessions pass away, Clans pass away,
> And you too shall pass away like them.
> But there is one thing that lives forever:
> The desire for glory of the dead.[138]

Sluyterman von Langeweyde may have been influenced by Rosenberg in the adoption of this text. The latter referred to the *Edda*:

> Loyalty by vassals and loyalty between men were likewise regarded by the old knights as above possessions and happiness, as with the author of the Edda. The Havamal closes with the words:
>
> Possessions die,
> Families die,
> You yourself will also die;

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[135]His thematic interests can be understood in the context of the type of commissions and projects he undertook. He executed several murals for hostels of the Hitler Youth and SA, carried out some political engravings, as well as a portrait of Hitler, and contributed to selections of the series *Eternal Germany* (*Ewiges Deutschland*). Davidson, Mortimer (1988), p.426.

[136]He quotes Friedrich Schiller: It is on the field of battle that a man shows his worth.

[137]He quotes Ewald Christian von Kleist: Death for one's Fatherland deserves eternal veneration.

[138] Besitz stirbt / Sippen sterben
Du selbst stirbst wie Sie.
Eins nur weiß ich Das ewig lebt:
Der Toten Tatenruhm.

> One thing I know,
> That never dies:
> The fame of dead men's deeds.[139]

In texts such as this, Rosenberg and his followers were proposing a cult of heroic death - encouraging young men to sacrifice everything in service of the state, the reward for which would be posthumous fame.

Ernst von Dombrowski (1896-1985) also made use of imagery incorporating both text and illustration. Trained in the graphic arts, from 1934 he devoted himself to woodcuts, producing over 2,000 during his career. A popular and successful artist whose work appeared in various national socialist magazines such as *Die Jungenschaft*, he published numerous woodcut illustrations accompanied by sayings of Hitler in the almanac *Ewiges Deutschland*. His public recognition included Hitler's patronage, and several of his woodcut prints were displayed at the annual GDK exhibitions. He was placed in charge of the cultural services of the NSDAP in Styria, and he was appointed to a professorship in 1938 at the Academy of Applied Arts in Munich.

Dombrowski's work included occasionally drawing on themes from the *Edda* (plate 4.36). The image comprises a group of rather stylized figures of knights sitting around a table with poses and expressions suggesting discord. However, it is indicated that the king at the head of the table will deal with the situation as the text explains:

> Henry the Lion said "if the people respect it, it will be valuable in time of need. Where discord and hatred inflate the heroes, I resolve it safely and swiftly".[140]

The point of the image is obvious; the *Edda* in this case provides an example of leadership and control even of heroes and one is drawn to make the link with the Führer. This image was reproduced, given a full page, in an article on Dombrowski in *Kunst und Volk*,[141] one of two articles in the same edition on the subject of woodcut imagery.[142] Langer refers to the hard, unsentimental manliness of the

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[139]Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.108.
[140] "Ein achtes kann ich / achtet das Volk es / nützt es ihm in der Not: wo hader und hass die Helden erregt / schlichte ich sicher und schnell. Edda."
[141] Langer, Norbert (1937).
[142] Wühr, Hans (1937).

characters in admiring terms, reinforcing the gender archetype. The eight figures composed in a ring is, he points out, "symbolic of the unity, of the security of community, of the leadership (Führertum) over the heroic".[143]

Rudolf Warnecke (1905- ?) was a largely self-taught artist who specialized in woodcut illustrations of sagas and novels. *Wallenstein's Death*, depicts a Germanic hero (plate 4.37) engaged in battle with the familiar hydra-type monster. The script exhorts forbearance in the face of malicious deeds, yet another allusion to the perception of external enemies.

Sculptural Monuments

Two of the most prestigious commissions for sculptural monuments during the Third Reich were dedicated to themes from Nordic myth: the equestrian monuments for the new Nibelungen bridge at Linz, the city designated to hold the world's greatest collection of art; and the Wagner monument at Leipzig, in honour of Hitler's favourite composer. The sites for each of these were located on major thoroughfares; a bridge, and beside a river, respectively. Therefore, the potential for each of them to be seen, repeatedly, by a large audience was substantial.

Equestrian Monuments: The Nibelungen Bridge at Linz

One of the most potent and long-standing images of power in the history of art is the equestrian portrait and it has thus been adopted as a motif to signify leadership for more than two thousand years. Despite the democratic ideals which have since become prevalent, traditionally, the notion of leadership implied control which in turn was often synonymous with power. Therefore, the motif of the rider on the horse which involves a hierarchical relationship comprising dominant rider and subservient animal has long been recognized at presenting a relationship analogous to that between a powerful leader and the people. Just such a motif was included in the parade to celebrate the Day of German Art in 1933 designed by the sculptor Josef Wackerle. The parade, which incorporated various figures from myth and German fairytale, was described in some detail in the art journal *Die Kunst*.[144] The article refers to a medieval scene involving two knights in black armour on horseback as the

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[143] "Der Zusammenschluß der acht Gestalten zu einem Ring ist zugleich sinnbildlich für die Geschlossenheit, für die Sicherheit in der Gemeinschaft, für das Führertum über dem Heldischen." Langer, Norbert (1937), p.174.

embodiment of the heroic spirit.[145] Thirty garlanded maidens were included to provide what was described as "an effective contrast" to the masculine heroic figures. Similarly, Eduard Thöny's designs for the programme outlining the festivities for the 1939 Day of German Art also carry the horse-and-rider motif (plate 4.38). A mounted king in medieval dress leads a platoon of footsoldiers who look, to all intents and purposes, like the troop of the Nibelungen. The motif of the mounted leader is adopted, too, in several of Arthur Kampf's sketches for *Deutsche Heldensagen*.[146] In one of them, Siegfried is shown riding his horse (plate 4.39), his role as leader emphasized by his bearing and central position in the image.

While it has an established tradition in two-dimensional imagery, the horse-and-rider theme is probably at its most potent in public sculpture. There are many examples of this theme in Nazi-approved art, though most are allegorical and do not relate to identifiable mythological characters. An exception is the commission given to Bernhard Graf Plettenberg to carry out the decorations for the Nibelungenbrücke, a bridge over the Danube situated between Linz and Urfahr, as part of a programme planned by Hitler for the renovation of Linz.[147] This official commission involved the extension of the bridge, to be carried out by the architect Friedrich Tamms, and Plettenberg was assigned to design and sculpt granite equestrian figures representing four of the central characters from the Niebelungen cycle, namely Siegfried, Kriemhild, Gunther and Brunhild. The equestrian figures were on a monumental scale, each measuring 6.5 metres high on a plinth 2.5 metres in height. A relief frieze of 3.5 metres in length for the bridge on the theme of the *Nibelungenlied* was also commissioned. The commencement of the work was delayed until the end of 1940 as the artist was called up and took part in the Polish campaigns. However, temporary models of two of the figures, representing Siegfried and Kriemhild, were installed on the bridge in 1943 (plate 4.40). Plettenberg was mobilized again at the end of that year - this time fighting in Italy - and the work was delayed further. It recommenced, however, on his return to Germany in January 1944.

It is not clear how near he became to completing the project. However, it is alleged that the project had a short existence; in 1945 Slovakian troops apparently

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144 'Nachlang zum Fest der Deutschen Kunst' (1933).

145 "Dreißig Mädchen in Grün mit Blumengirlanden Reiter innen in rote Seide; in wirksamen Gegensatz zu ihnen, heldischen Geist verkörpernd, zwei Ritter zu Pferd in schwarzer Eisenrüstung and siebzig Pagen umsäumen der wagen der Gotik, der einen reizvollen Aufbau tragt, einen gotischen Brunnen mit zwei übereinander angeordneten Schalen; davor eine Frauen gestalt mit der Leier als Verkörperung des Minnesangs;...". 'Nachlang zum Fest der Deutschen Kunst' (1933), p.80.

146 Blunck, Hans Friedrich (1938), p.123.

147 Davidson, Mortimer (1988).

captured the area and destroyed the statues on the bridge, reputedly hurling the shattered remains into the Danube amid cheers from onlookers.[148] Plettenberg's studio, in Kremsmünster, was devastated by the troops and many items were destroyed or stolen. Two sketches of views of the Nibelungen Bridge with the reliefs were among the items missing. Plettenberg was commissioned also to produce two figures from the myth for the parade grounds north of the Danube, representing Hagen and Volker.

Each of the four equestrian monuments for the bridge is similar in format, creating a formal symmetry. In each case the figure is mounted in a frontal pose and dressed to indicate period and position. The crowns identify their nobility, while the dress as well as the trappings of the horses suggest the age of chivalry as is common in representations of this theme (plate 4.41). While it has been suggested that the artist was influenced by Greek sculpture, these pieces tend to relate to early forms where the scope is confined by the form of the block from which they were carved. Neither do they suggest the influence of the slender Gothicism of the Brandenburg rider. Plettenberg has skirted the traditional technical problems which are associated with equestrian monuments by avoiding any sense of movement or dynamism in the animal which could lead to difficulties with balance and weight. He has kept the four hoofs firmly planted on the ground and rather than carve away the space between the horses' legs, he has left it infilled with a relevant motif such as, in the case of Siegfried, a dragon (plate 4.42). This four-square stance of the animals gives an air of stability and adds to the formal gravity of the works. Their exaggerated stockiness has an almost stylized restraint, and contrasts with the svelte harmony of smooth, classical types of sculpture, such as by Breker or even Hipp. The grainy texture of the surface is in keeping with the volumetric approach, which reflects his training under Wackerle at Munich. These works are stylistically akin to that by Meller at Vogelsang, also.

The idea of power, control and leadership conveyed by the equestrian monument is particularly emphasized in the thick-set figure of *Siegfried.* The horses too are built for strength and endurance rather than speed. Siegfried's authority is emphasized by the inclusion of the vanquished dragon between the horses hooves, symbol of evil and universal enemies, a motif which establishes Siegfried as a parallel of Apollo who, as mentioned in Chapter 3, similarly overcame an opponent, the Pythia at Delphi. These apparently straightforward and dignified works are laden with tacit messages which presumably did not escape the incoming troops in their frenzy to destroy them. They carry all of the connotations of the power and

[148] Davidson, Mortimer (1988).

control exerted by figures from Germanic myth whose pedigree and legitimacy is inferred both by their claimed long history and their evident nobility. Their relationship with the Nazi regime is indicated in the motifs decorating the bands around the horses' chests. The horses of Gunther and Brunhild are each decorated with an arrangement of swastika motifs (plate 4.43), while Siegfried's, even more significantly, carries the 'lightning flash' runic initials of Himmler's SS. The runes, according to legend, were invented by Odin to carry the secret cosmic meaning of the universe. It is significant therefore that runic symbols were adopted to represent various Nazi associations and were used on their uniforms, despite denials of any interest in cultic Odinism or Wotanism. Obituaries published in the journal *Germanen-Erbe* were flagged with a specific runic symbol, also.

The scale of the sculptures was monumental, as would befit the ornamentation of a bridge; modest works would have been lost on such a grand piece of infrastructure. A sense of their enormity is conveyed by a photograph showing the artist at work on the model for Siegfried (plate 4.44). While art on a grand scale was not confined to the Nazi era, there was a predilection for giantism among certain of the sculptors patronized by the Third Reich and its officials. Thorak and Hipp are the most obvious names in this respect. The purpose is to awe-inspire, and perhaps also to intimidate. Scale conveys also a sense of authority, an important characteristic for art designed to serve a totalitarian regime.

The Monument to Wagner

In 1933, Emil Hipp was commissioned to carry out four reliefs for the Richard Wagner National Monument at Leipzig, the birthplace of the composer. While the extent of Hitler's appreciation of music has been debated, it is generally agreed that Wagner exerted a significant influence on him and his policies.[149] The alleged racist prejudices of Wagner and his circle of followers at Bayreuth, manifested in the writings of his son-in-law Houston Stewart Chamberlain, together with his dramatic and rousing music on heroic themes from Germanic myth, ensured his central role in the appreciation of music suitable for the Third Reich. Hitler is recorded as having said "Whoever wants to understand National Socialist Germany must know Wagner".[150] According to Levi, when the Nazis took control in 1933, Hitler immediately set about attempting to realise some of the musical as well as

[149] Levi, Erik (1990).
[150] Shirer, William L. (1960), p.133.

political objectives held by the Bayreuth circle.[151] In order to ensure that Wagner achieved due recognition, homage was paid in the form of a commissioned monument which, according to the documentation at the Bundesarchiv in Berlin, attracted a budget of 100,000 RM.[152] A competition was held to select a design and entrants included Karl Albiker[153] as well as the successful candidate, Emil Hipp. From the correspondence, it would appear that despite Hitler's interest, the selection of the winning proposal was carried out at Leipzig. A letter from mayor (*Oberbürgermeister*) Dr. Goerdeler to the Staatssekretär of the Reichskanzlei, Dr. Lammers, notes the "special interest" of Herr. Reichskanzler (i.e. Hitler), and mentions that the plans and model were ready and that he could deliver them for inspection whenever requested.[154]

It has been indicated that, for some reason, Hitler was less than entirely satisfied with the plan - though whether it was the artwork or the overall conception of the monument is not clear.[155] If he was not pleased, perhaps the figures did not sufficiently express the power and drama of Wagner, or the heroism of the characters. However, it seems that Arno Breker advised Hitler to accept it. Whatever about the verity of this situation, the official position was one of acceptance by Hitler. A document headed 'Der Wille des Führers', states that the Reichskanzler Adolf Hitler had seen the model and plans and declared his full approval of the design and Hipp's selection to execute it was unanimous.[156] According to the document, the stimulus for the monument came from Hitler because of the importance of Wagner and the ambitious nature of the conception of a national monument of the German people.[157] The monument was considered important enough in fact for Hitler, himself, to lay the foundation stone in a special ceremony on 6th March, 1934,[158] attended by a huge crowd, as well as a significant array of Reichsministers and Staatsministers including Dr. Goebbels, Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda (*Reichsminister für Volkserklärung und*

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[151]Levi, Erik (1990).

[152]Letter from the Staatssekretär of the Reichskanzlei to Dr. Goerdeler, Oberbürgermeister of Leipzig (16.6.1933). The contribution of the Chancellor towards it was to be 10,000 RM. File: R43II/1261. Bundesarchiv, Berlin.

[153]Albiker's entry consisted of a group of three female figures representing the musical, the poetic and the dramatic temperament of Richard Wagner. Albiker, Carl (1978), p.52.

[154]Letter (6.10.1933). File: R43II/1261, (12). Bundesarchiv, Berlin.

[155] Davidson, Mortimer G. (1988).

[156]The document is undated but its numbering indicates it was some time after the document of 6th October, but before a letter of 16th December, 1933. File: R43II/1261. Bundesarchiv, Berlin

[157] "Der Führer gab die Anregung, das Leipziger Richard-Wagner-Denkmal im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung Wagners und im Hinblick auf die Großzügigkeit der Anlage als National-Denkmal des Deutschen Volkes für seinen großen Tonschöpfer zu errichten."

[158]Document entitled 'Ehrt Eure deutschen Meister!' (Honour our German Maestro). File: R343II/1261, (38). Bundesarchiv, Berlin.

Propaganda) and Dr. Otto Dietrich, the press chief of the NSDAP.[159] Members of the Wagner family also attended.

The monument, whose riverside site was close to the Zeppelinbrücke, was designed as a large low square, each of the four sides decorated with deeply-cut, almost three-dimensional reliefs. These sculptures addressed four allegorical themes, one on each side: *Fate; Myth*; *Deliverance*; and *Bacchanalia* (plate 4.45). The figures are, however, essentially idealized and classical and their connection with Wagner is not especially evident, though the titles *Fate* and *Myth* are relevant. *Deliverance* seems at odds with Wagner's most famous work which ended with *Götterdämmerung*. Bacchanalia, strangely enough, while a classical mythological term, was appropriate in terms of Nietzsche's association of Wagner with Dionysus. However, Hitler may not have appreciated the connection and this may have sparked his alleged dissatisfaction with the monument. He also may have been unhappy with the figuration. Hipp took manneristic liberties with anatomy, for example in the twisted fallen figure in *Fate*, and sometimes these were effective. However, they may not have been sufficiently realistic for Hitler's more pedestrian preferences. To the extent that the works are classical, they draw on the late antique period in their format both in terms of overall structure and relatively expressive figural style. The relationship of width to height is almost 3.5 : 1, similar to the that of classical friezes found, for example, on sarcophagi, and it echoes the longitudinal format of the reliefs of the Pergamon altar which had recently opened to the public in Berlin as mentioned in Chapter 3. In common with the Pergamon figures, those which decorate Hipp's friezes, if upright, would stand slightly greater than the height of the setting, forcing them into poses of movement and lending a dynamism to the design. However, the sweet, decorative style is far removed from the powerful drama of the Pergamon works.

This structure was designed to be the focal point in a large rectangular court, 125 m. long, and 75 m. wide, surrounded on three sides by a wall 2.8 m. high decorated with shallow reliefs. The fourth side was open to the river and could be accessed by a riverside walkway, or by boat. The wall reliefs were to be decorated with scenes from the myths on which Wagner's opera, *Ring der Nibelungen*, is based. From photographs of the clay modellos, it can be seen that the scenes included *Parsifal Killing the Swan, Siegfried's Death,* and *Tristan* (plate 4.46, 4.47 and 4.48, respectively). While the figures are suggestive of the idealized figures of classical models, the stylized approach to the musculature and profiled figural

[159]Unidentified newspaper cutting, headed 'Erste Nachmittags-Ausgabe. Deutsches Nachrichtenburo', 1 (480), (6.3.1934), Berlin. File: R43II/1261, (39). Bundesarchiv, Berlin

arrangement suggests earlier cultures. The formal arrangements of the identical pair of dogs in *The Death of Siegfried*, for example, is suggestive of Abyssinian models, and the arrangement of the birds is reminiscent of the decorative approach of Egyptian examples.

The completion of the cutting of the marble, in 1944, occurred too late for the monument to be erected, and the new administration from 1945, were not prepared to endorse the commission. Unwilling to pay the cost of storage, the city of Leipzig sold the various parts individually to a private collector who had them assembled, though not in the original sequence.[160]

Germanic Myth in other Art

While Germanic myth was not as significant as classical myth in the most prestigious art event of the year, the GDK, it nonetheless reached an audience potentially as wide through its dissemination through media capable of reaching a substantial audience. For example the heavily attended parade which included floats representing the association of art with native myth, and media coverage such as in the *Völkischer Beobachter* which arguably paid as much attention to the parade as the exhibition itself. There were numerous articles in art journals which touched or focused on Nordic myth. Some of these were general, such as Schindler's article on Munich as a cradle for monumental art which drew attention to the significance of the theme of the *Nibelungenlied*, comparing it favourably to representations of Homer's work.[161] Others focused on Nordic myth in the work of individuals such as Petersen, or on specific pieces such as the cycles by Burkart and by Burck. A short article in *Das Bild* focused on Bert Heller's melodramatic fresco "Walthari". It explains that the saga describes the hero's struggle for freedom, honour, his woman, his homeland, and glory. However, it continues, not only is the artist concerned to symbolize in Walthari such objectives which make life of value, but also to identify him as an emblem of fearless heroism. This characteristic is manifest in the more difficult struggle - to secure the retreat and defeat of ones enemies, and to establish the bond of all the Nordic people.[162] The message is conveyed in an image which wastes little effort on subtlety; in a desolate landscape, the overwrought figure of Walthari reaches upwards in a lone gesture of endurance

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[160] Benoist, Alain de (1990).
[161] Schindler, Edgar (1937).
[162] Zimmermann, Reinhold (1940).

against all odds (plate 4.49). In addition to the illustration of literary texts discussed above, there were texts which focused on the art addressing Germanic sagas. A special series of publications entitled *Die Kunst dem Volke* dedicated one of its issues to the *Nibelungenlied* in art.[163] It took a historical perspective however, and no contemporary artists were included. However, it did convey the significance of Nordic myth as a valid source of themes for artists.

Arguably, motifs from Nordic myth were more widespread than is realized. Hubert Netzer's well known figure of Siegfried drawing his sword (plate 4.50) was emulated by many artists (such as Breker in his *Readiness* exhibited at the 1939 GDK) who did not title their works on myth but alluded to recognized symbolism, similar to the link between Prometheus and his torch. Certainly, Hitler despite his pithy comments on the subject, together with his Party, was identified with Nordic myth by his critics. As early as 1923, the journal *Die Pleite* featured a cartoon representing him as Siegfried (plate 4.51), tattooed with a swastika, over the prophetic caption "I suggest that I take over the leadership of German government policy".[164] John Heartfield (1891-1968), recognizing the Party's desire to undermine the potential competition offered by Christianity, depicted a uniformed, saluting Nazi drawing back his spear like an Olympic athlete, about to throw it at the crucified Christ (plate 4.52). He is helmeted like a character from a Wagner opera, paralleling Hagen about to kill Siegfried and take over his central position.

This contemporaneous perception, of an association between Nordic myth and the Nazis, continues in comments by some commentators, such as Alan Watson who recently observed:

> The Nazis drew on the full inheritance of folkloric art, the fables of Father Rhine, the myths of the Nibelungen, all were harnessed to promote an illusion of a super race.[165]

This view is born out by what Rosenberg had to say in his commentary on the significance of the saga of Siegfried, Brunhilde and Hagen in the visual imagery of the time:

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[163] Busch, Karl (1934).
[164] *Die Pleite*, 8, November (1923).
[165] Watson, Alan (1992), p.127.

The allegory embodies itself in a human character that is the powerful creation of the Nordic-Germanic nature as it appears from the very beginning, larger than life, in Germanic art.[166]

[166]Rosenberg, Alfred (1982), p.190.

CHAPTER 5

MYTHOLOGICAL SYMBOLISM: THE MODERNIST RESPONSE

What kind of Greek imagination is responsible for ... inspiring with poetic soul the journey of the Argonauts, the siege of Troy, the scaling of heaven, and all those legends that have their origins in history?

Herder: *On Contemporary Uses of Mythology* (1767)

Introduction

In recognizing the potential power of art as a means of persuasion, the Nazi regime not only promoted the visualization of its ideology, as outlined in Chapters 3 and 4, but also forcefully suppressed any imagery which might distract the public from its propaganda, or worse, provide alternative or even subversive content. The danger of hidden meaning partly accounts for the insistence, in some totalitarian regimes, including National Socialism, on realism as a means of expression in order to avoid the spread of dissident ideals. The Modernists were not to be suppressed, however, and they found ways around the restrictions imposed on them. Some went into exile, as outlined later in the chapter, removing themselves beyond the reach of close observation, most worked in secret often resorting to media which were less detectable than the (strong smelling) oil technique.[1] They were not officially permitted to exhibit, but sometimes did so under various guises,[2] and work was sold and commissions fulfilled behind closed doors.

The traditional role of mythology in art as allegory or symbol takes on a particular importance in such times of political repression. It has a dual purpose: to disguise meaning which could otherwise create trouble for the perpetrator with the authorities; and to provide apt parallels to situations using ancient themes, thereby

[1] Baumeister's *Gyges* and *Gilgamesh* cycles of the 1940s, for example, are carried out in pencil and charcoal.
[2] HAP Grieshaber, for example, exhibited his work under the guise of Greek folk art (see later).

providing powerful and recognizable metaphors which can often operate more effectively than literal representation. The use of myth has the historical function also, of highlighting the fact that history repeats itself, that the terrible events which are occurring are not for the first time. They can also provide rallying emblems of opposition.

The very act of producing or displaying art when one has been forbidden, or at least strongly discouraged, by the national authorities, could be read as an act of defiance and thus all art produced by the Modernists in Germany during the Third Reich could arguably be included in this chapter. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, much of the work shows no evident political agenda and would, arguably, have been produced in any case. What is discussed here are those images which indicate a reaction to the political circumstances of the time, expressed through the medium of myth. The artists discussed here were, however, relatively isolated, geographically widely spread[3] and working largely independently, so while the works have some common denominators, they generally do not have the unified, single purpose which tends to characterize art which is under the control of an ideology. The opportunities for exhibition were often confined to opportunities abroad, so while the power of their imagery might be felt outside Germany, it was not experienced by those still under the control of the regime, except for the select few who came into contact with it. There was not, therefore, an organized opposition campaign among German artists using their art as a means of communicating a unified idea. Consequently, their work generally does not have the crusading, resolute, or vengeful qualities normally associated with such movements but, partly due to their respective isolation, tends to reflect their independent experience and observation, and to retain an autonomy which they may not otherwise have achieved.[4] Their reactions to the political environment, expressed through myth, are manifested in representations which range from objective commentary, to expressions of fear and dejection, to the escapism of fantasy. The types of themes which they addressed express the nature of their concerns; ranging from the anxieties and frustrations of their personal situations to the wider context of fear for the implications for Europe. These are explored in this chapter first in terms of a special exhibition on classical myth which took place in 1950, encompassing imagery carried out since the 1920s, and then under the headings of rejection, exile, and escapism, of tyranny and tragedy, and of

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[3] For example Max Beckmann was in Berlin and Amsterdam, Paul Klee in Bern, Willi Baumeister in Urach, Ernst Nay in Norway, Werner Gilles in Ischia, Berlin and other parts of Germany, Max Ernst in France and the USA, Hans Feibusch in London.

[4] Baumeister proposed that this was one consolation of the isolation he experienced. Chametsky, Peter (1991).

conflict and retaliation. As it is not feasible to explore all of the works in detail and the aim has been primarily to gain an idea of the patterns which emerged, it is useful to single out a particular theme for closer observation. To this end, the chapter closes with the exploration of the use of a single myth, that of *Europa*, both by the artists favoured by the Third Reich, and those rejected by it, as an allegory for the condition of the continent during a period of struggle. First, however, it is of interest to consider the direct experience of the artists considered in this chapter under the Third Reich, as it had a bearing on their particular application of mythology in their art.

The Exclusion of Artists in the Third Reich

The artists discussed in this chapter all experienced the exclusionary tactics of the Third Reich. Had their work been accepted by the state, as occurred in fascist Italy, whatever their private misgivings, artists may have been induced to support their government, and some of the works considered in this chapter may never have been prompted. These tactics included dismissal from teaching positions, removal/confiscation of works from public display, being forbidden to paint/sculpt, prohibition on exhibiting, and inclusion in defamatory exhibitions such as 'degenerate', 'shame' and 'cultural Bolshevism' shows. The artists subjected to one or more instances of this type of activity include Willi Baumeister, Max Beckmann, Edgar Ende, Max Ernst, Hans Feibusch, Werner Gilles, Hans 'HAP' Grieshaber, Paul Klee, Karl Hofer, Gerhard Marcks, Ernst Nay, Rudolf Schlichter, Heinz Trökes, and Gustav Wolff, all of whom produced works on myth which have been read as politically influenced.

One of the first acts of exclusion practiced by the Party on assumption of power was the suspension and subsequent dismissal of artists from their teaching posts. Within two months of accession, this had been set in motion and it indicates the strength of influence which the Nazis associated both with art and with the function of education. Those affected include Baumeister and Beckmann[5] (both from the Municipal School of Art in Frankfurt), Klee (Düsseldorf Akademie), Marcks (Burg Giebichenstein), and Hofer (Berlin Akademie). By September 1933, the Reichs Chamber of Fine Arts (*Reichskulturkammer)* was established. Artists had to be affiliated to this organization even in order to be allowed to exhibit their work, and it reserved the right to reject applicants. Only listed artists were permitted to

[5] Lackner, Stephan (1991).

purchase materials, so rejected ones had difficulty continuing even in private.[6] Three categories of artists were supposed to be excluded from membership: Jewish artists, artists who were Communists or members of the Social Democratic Party, and those whose style was considered unacceptable.[7] The third category involved the most disagreement among the National Socialists; some - including Goebbels - wanted German Expressionism to be regarded as a national style. Hitler, however, decided the matter in September 1934 when, at the Nazi party rally in Nuremberg he announced the exclusion of any art which was Modernist by his standards, including Expressionism. Elliott explains that there were three levels of action which could be taken against artists whose work failed to achieve the correct spirit: the licence to teach could be withheld; the permission to exhibit could be withheld (*Ausstellungsverbot*); and the third, the *Malverbot*, referred to the withholding of permission even to paint.[8] Rejected artists were branded 'degenerate' and could continue to work in Germany only in private. Most of the artists included in this chapter were branded as 'degenerate' for part or all of the tenure of the Third Reich. From the outset, defamatory exhibitions were held to 'expose' these artists - Beckmann, for example, was included in the 'Shame' exhibition in Stuttgart, and the largest and most well known one, the 1937 'Degenerate' Art exhibition in Munich included most of the Modernist artists discussed in this chapter.[9]

Despite the fact that, immediately on the establishment of the Third Reich, action was taken to control the teaching, production and display of art, it took a number of years for art policies to be evolved; lack of clarity and inefficiency in giving effect to such policies that existed characterized the administrations. Baumeister, for example, remained a member of the Reich Chamber of the Visual Arts (*Reichskammer der bildenden Künste*) for some time, despite his dismissal from teaching and, despite his inclusion in the 1937 'Degenerate' Art exhibition, it was 1941 before the complete ban on exhibiting was pronounced on him. Consequently, it was possible for artists to move in and out of favour[10] and, for those who were 'out', occasionally to get away with exhibitions and inclusion in published art texts. However, there was periodical checking of exhibitions and, if they failed to meet with approval, were closed down. Marcks' exhibition in 1937, for example,

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[6] Nay describes preparing canvases and grinding his own pigments for this reason. E.W. Nay, autobiographical notes (9.12.1958), reproduced in part in *E.W. Nay. A Retrospective* (1991) pp.25-38.
[7] Coke, David, editor (1995).
[8] Elliott, David (1995).
[9] Included were: Willi Baumeister, Max Beckmann, Max Ernst, Hans Feibusch, Werner Gilles, Paul Klee, Karl Hofer, Gerhard Marcks, Ernst Nay, and Rudolf Schlichter.
[10] Adolf Ziegler became president of the Reichs Chamber of Art in 1936, but fell into disgrace in 1942 and spent some time in a concentration camp.

was closed by the Nazis and the works - which included two sculptures on mythological subjects[11] - were confiscated.

The effect of this campaign was to displace artists from their jobs and, often, homes, to cut them off from fellow artists many of whom were afraid to continue friendships,[12] and to place in jeopardy their sources of income.[13] In addition, they were subject to scrutiny and had their homes searched and correspondence opened. In common with the population in general, they also had the unnerving task of having to convince the authorities of their Aryan ancestry, sometimes in the context of accusations in the media of being Jewish, as was the case for Klee.[14] Given such a traumatic experience of exclusion - racially, nationally and in terms of their art - with the added dilemma of experiencing a war where they were the enemy for both sides in the campaign,[15] it would have been surprising had there not been some reaction in the art which they produced.

Antique Myth in Contemporary Art: The Hannover Exhibition

There was, of course, no counterpart in Germany of the Great German Art Exhibition (GDK) to allow the Modernist artists to present their position and from which their approach to mythological themes can be assessed. The 'Degenerate' Art exhibition could hardly be considered in this context and, in any case, despite the interest in mythological themes evident in the work of several of the artists, almost none of the works selected for the exhibition was on a mythological subject. However, in 1950,

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[11] These were *Demeter* and *Selene*, both dating to 1935. The head of the *Selene* was damaged in the operation, but subsequently repaired by the Tübingen memorial custodian, Adolf Rieth. Busch, Gunter and Martina Rudloff (1977).

[12] Baumeister, a gregarious personality, found that the most difficult aspect of being 'degenerate' was the social exclusion which ensued. I am grateful to Felicitas Baumeister for this insight.

[13] While some artists such as Beckmann, based in Amsterdam, found that they could manage financially through private sales, others, such as Klee, were in difficult circumstances by the mid 1930s. Nay was assisted to survive when a subscription fund was developed locally in return for future paintings.

[14] He was accused of being a typical "Gallician Jew" in an article by Hendrik, "Kunst-Sumpf in Westdeutschland: Die Flechtheim-Kaesbach-Akademie für bildende Kunst zu Dusseldorf," *Die Rote Erde*, Dortmund, (1.2.1933). Quoted in Werckmeister, Otto Karl (1985), pp.28-29. In a letter to his wife, Lily (6.4.1933), he refers to having to prove that he is not Jewish, and also to his son Felix having to establish that he is Christian. See Klee, Felix, editor (1979), p.1234.

[15] While there was some international support from artists groups and institutions which recognized their rejection by the state, they nonetheless were subject to arrest and internment outside Germany (as for example occurred for Ernst both in France and the United States), and to the effects of bombardment (Marcks' studio was destroyed by a bomb), and several were either called up or had members of their families serving in the War (Marcks' son was killed in action).

an exhibition entitled *Der antike Mythos in der neuen Kunst*[16] was mounted in Hannover, dedicated to the responses of artists, most of them German, to themes from classical mythology during the period of the emergence and accession to power of the National Socialists, and the immediate post-war period. Hentzen's introductory essay sets out the focus of the exhibition, and also helps to provide a means of interpreting work on myth. While it does not specifically state that the approach to myth was deliberately in opposition to that proposed under National Socialism, it appears from the points made that this was in fact the case. Hentzen drew attention to the general belief at that time that the "heir of classical antiquity" - a euphemism for art works on mythological subjects produced under the aegis of the Third Reich - had been subdued under the inhumanity of the machine-age (a reference to the tectonic aesthetic approved of by the Regime)[17] and that the art of the time was the product of this consciousness. Hentzen proposed that the reality was otherwise, that many artists were fighting to establish the opposite to such a remote and technical approach. Neither were they, he argued, trying to provide a religion or morality for the time - presumably an allusion to Rosenberg's mythicalization - but simply to express "a likeness of all existence" *(ein Gleichnis alles Seienden)*, through a timeless mythos. Realist or classicizing form (as was appropriated during the Third Reich) was therefore not, Hentzen proposed, of any special significance - such forms which emerged were not bound or confined to inner laws or a fantastical visionary mythos, nor were they attached to supposed historical or eternal truths. The exhibition, however, was not simply or purely a political riposte; there is no particular stance in the choice of works and many of them appear to be apolitical. However, in a sense, the inclusion by the organizers of apolitical work was a political statement in itself, by expressing a determination to show classical mythology as it ought to have been represented all along, and by highlighting imagery which either was or could have been banned in the recent past. Many of the participants had been branded 'degenerate', and several had been included in the 'Degenerate' Art exhibition in 1937, which adds a certain aura to the themes they addressed, and a political interpretation has been made of several of the works which were included. The cover of the catalogue is of relevance even though it is not by a German artist. It features a lithograph by Picasso of a pipe-playing faun (plate 5.1),[18] one of the characters associated with the entourage of Dionysus.

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[16] Hentzen, Alfred (1950).

[17] This is discussed in relation to furniture, for example, in the Reichskanzlei, and applies also to public architecture. See Schönberger, Angela (1981). The machine-age approach is evoked also in photographs of regimented rows of hundreds of young people, in identical exercises, aiming for the slick perfection of the idealized nudes shown at the GDK exhibitions (see Chapter 3).

[18] This is one of the two works by Picasso on the theme, listed in the catalogue:

Consequently, while this may have been an innocent choice of subject, it is open to interpretation as a deliberate statement of creative independence[19] and establishes the umbrella under which the rest of the works were included.

Virtually all of the exhibits which are listed with a date were carried out between 1926 and 1950, the majority in the immediate post-war period when artists would have felt freer to express their concerns. What is particularly notable is the type of mythological theme which artists chose to address. As might be expected, these were very different in content as well as form from those which appeared in the Great German Art exhibitions. Many explored themes of tragedy and conflict, particularly episodes from Homer's *Iliad,* and Aeschylus' *Oresteia* trilogy; characters identified in the titles of the works include Orestes, Clytemnestra, Agamemnon and Cassandra. The underworld was also frequently addressed with Orpheus the single most common character explored in the exhibition, the importance of which theme was discussed at some length in Chapter 2. Themes of exile and journeys were represented by the many works on Odysseus. Relevant tragic topics such as Niobe (whose children were murdered by Apollo and Artemis), Meleager (the misguided leader of an earlier generation who failed to protect his people from attack), and Icarus (whose high-flying ambitions resulted in disaster) also featured. Conflict was explored through several representations of each of Theseus, Perseus and Prometheus, the latter having a particular significance as a symbol of the aspiration and suffering of the artist. While there were a number of Dionysian themes in the person of Pan or his fauns, there were also several dedicated to versions of the sun-god (i.e. Helios and Apollo) indicating that artists were not prepared to abandon this central theme despite its political appropriation in the recent past. Not all of the works were of sober subjects and there were numerous images from Ovid's *Metamorphoses.* Most of these, however, were supplied by Picasso and relatively few by German artists, who perhaps sought themes more obviously serious.

The discussion in this chapter includes many of the works shown at the exhibition, but is not confined to them; other works not included are also worth discussing and, in any case, quite a number of the exhibits have been difficult to trace, or have no evident political content. In general, however, the catalogue of exhibits provides useful evidence of the range of thematic interests of artists and, judging from the subjects indicated by the titles, the works were representative of the

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Catalogue no.111: *Flötender Faun* (1948), lithographie, 63 x 50 [cm.], bez. m. Blei: Picasso.
Catalogue no.112: *Flötender Faun* (1948), lithographie, 66 x 49 [cm.], bez. m. Blei: Picasso.

[19] André Breton, for example, had proposed in the July 1937 issue of the journal *Acéphale* the summoning of Dionysus as an antidote to the Apollonianism advocated by National Socialism.

categories which are considered in this chapter. The analysis which follows considers how a selection of the mythological themes were expressed, and how the images can be read in the context of the period in which they were produced.

Rejection, Exile and Escapism

Exclusion from the relatively secure environment enjoyed by the inner circle of approved artists was a devastating experience. While many of the rejected artists chose to leave Germany - fearing for their lives as much as their livelihoods - those who stayed endured what has been termed 'inner exile', involving not only social exclusion but also the necessity or advisability of moving to another part of the country. Some chose the anonymity of the city, while others preferred the isolation of rural areas. The experience of rejection and exile manifested itself not only in the choice of themes, and the allegorical or symbolic use to which they were put, but also in the selection of myth in the first place as a means of expression. Beckmann, for example, returned to myth in the lead up to National Socialist accession to power[20] while Gilles, sought in myth an escape from the horrors of the War.[21] This section explores the way myth was used by some artists to express their experience, as artists, to the circumstances of rejection, the consequent exile, and the potential relief of escapism.

Prometheus: The Suppression of Creativity

The themes which have traditionally been most associated with the struggle of the artist for expression are Prometheus and Icarus. These were particularly apt in the context of the time given their respective roles of the attempt to bring enlightenment to the people but suffering as a consequence, and of doomed aspiration. Icarus was not a particularly common theme, however, during the period,[22] unlike Prometheus

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[20] Kessler, Charles S. (1970), p.13.

[21] Hentzen, Alfred (1960).

[22] Beckmann did carry out a work entitled *Falling Man* (**date**) which has been associated with Icarus; and Ende carried out numerous fallen or falling winged figures. However, it is not certain that these were intended to represent Icarus. There were, however, two works on the theme in the Hannover exhibition, but as these were by little-known artists, the present location of the works has not been established.
Catalogue no.113. Kurt Roesch. *Ikarus*, kohle und pastell, 73.5 x 58 [cm.].
Catalogue no. 128. Gerhard Schulz. *Ikarus,* 1947, tusche und Wasserfarben, 45 x 36 [cm.], bez. u. l.

who became an international symbol of survival not just of the artist, but of the victim in general, during a period of repression.

Prometheus already had a long provenance as a symbol of the struggle for creativity and its enlightening potential which continued to have validity into the twentieth century. As discussed in Chapter 3, the Nazi regime saw in Prometheus an emblem for the heroic achievements in art both of the authorities and of the artists who represented them. However, non-approved artists also adopted Prometheus to illustrate the position in which they found themselves. While knowledge of the myth was widespread, Goethe's poem, *Prometheus*, was an important source of motivation[23] with aspects which were of particular relevance to those who suffered under the regime. Written in the first person from the perspective of Prometheus, a Titan, he challenges the empty power of Zeus and his failure either to be creative or to relieve the suffering of the common people with whom Prometheus allied himself. He can be understood, then, to symbolize not only personal suffering and public enlightenment, but also a challenge to tyrannical authority. This combination has been identified by Siegfried Salzmann as the basis for twentieth century representations, though he places greatest emphasis on the aspect of challenging authority in his assertion that:

> Above all, sculptors value Prometheus as a paradigm of creative rebellion.[24]

While this may have been the underlying purpose of the motif, the imagery discussed here tended to demonstrate his role as victim. Beckmann, for example, focused on the torture, a recurring theme in his work since his experiences of the First World War, and continuing during the Third Reich. His *Prometheus* (plate 5.2), which was shown at the Hannover exhibition, was carried out in 1942 during his period of exile in Amsterdam and depicts the Titan very differently from the heroic representation by Breker (see Chapter 3). The image is typically enigmatic; Prometheus is spread-eagled in an oval frame which pins him by the ankles, and stretches out his arms in an attitude which has been compared, appropriately, to a crucifixion in a mandorla.[25] Clark, in her Gnostic reading of Beckmann's imagery, agrees with this simile and develops the theme to suggest that Prometheus symbolizes the redemptive suffering of the artist.[26] While psychoanalytical or theosophist theories may support this

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[23] Klee's poem, *A Kind of Prometheus*, of 1901 may have been spurred by Goethe for whom he had a profound admiration. In 1902, he wrote a poem dedicated to the Goethe's *Italian Journey*.
[24] Salzmann, Siegfried (1989), p.250.
[25] Harten, Jurgen, Hans-Werner Schmidt and Marie Luise Syring, editors (1987) p.401.
[26] Clark, Margo Orthwein (1975).

analysis of the work, it is not clear that it succeeded for Beckmann whose recurring bouts of depression are mentioned in his diary entries, one of which refers to his work on this image:

> Worked excessively hard on "Prometheus", from which [I feel] fairly down.[27]

This comment is hardly surprising given both the content of the work and its purpose - dedicated to his son Peter who was serving in Russia in the war. As the image shows, Prometheus is subjected to having his liver daily pecked, though not by the traditional eagle or vulture, but by two exotic birds, resembling parrots.[28] He hangs above an incongruous group among which a chef and one of the women appear to aid the torture, attacking his feet with tongs and flame-thrower respectively. A third basks in the water in which all three are partially submerged, their indifference contrasting with the expressiveness of the screaming victim. Carla Schultz-Hoffmann conjectures, in the absence of documentary evidence, that the party, and the immersion in water, represent the excess and dissipation of National Socialism.[29] More secure is her suggestion that the torment of Prometheus symbolizes human sacrifice - both of victims of persecution under the Regime, as experienced by Beckmann himself, and also of those who had to participate in the war, as was the case for his son to whom the work is dedicated. The choice of theme has been related to the fact that Peter Beckmann, was serving as a military doctor in the Caucasus in Russia, the region where Prometheus according to the legend endured his punishment.[30]

The endurance of punishing treatment was addressed also by Marcks who undertook at least five versions between 1928 and 1981. The first recorded version, a drawing of 1928 was included in the Hannover exhibition,[31] while the next two, *Prometheus* and *Prometheus Bound I* were sculptures carried out during the war, in 1942 and 1943.[32] They did not get beyond the plaster stage, however, as they were destroyed in a bombing raid. Soon after the war, in 1948, Marcks created his best

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[27] "Übertrieben stark am "Prometheus" gearbeitet, daher ziemlich down." Diary (7.11.1943). Beckmann (1984), p.41.
[28] Clark appears to have misread the wings of these birds as being attached to Prometheus, and offers an interpretation accordingly.
[29] Schulz-Hoffmann, Carla (1982) in *Max Beckmann*, exhibition catalogue, Munich, cited in Harten, Schmidt and Syring, editors (1987), p.401.
[30] Göpel, Erhard and Barbara (1976).
[31] Catalogue no.70: Gerhard Marcks, *Prometheus*, 1928, Kaltnadelradierung, 16.6 x 24.6 cm, bez. Prometheus G. Marcks 1928. Vergl. Beckmann Nr. 10.
[32] Busch, Günter and Rudloff, Martina (1977).

known version, *Prometheus Bound II* (plate 5.3). This was the culmination of a number of works which showed seated figures, including *Tantalus* (1944) (plate 5.4) and has been related, appropriately, to a photograph of an exhausted soldier, c.1944 (plate 5.5) which Marcks owned. Prometheus is shown with his wrists tied together with rope; while his hands rest on one knee, his body leans forward to allow his head to rest on the other knee. No predator is included, the implication that the pain is from restraint rather than physical torture. The resulting image is one of wretchedness, the suffering internal and psychological. As a result, one is drawn to empathize rather than simply to register horror. The composition has been linked to Lehmbruck's *Seated Youth* of 1916 (plate 5.6),[33] which is one of several works by the artist conveying the inner distress occasioned by war. Marcks, however, resolves the immobility of Lehmbruck's composition which is subjected to a central gravitational pull. In Marcks' arrangement of the arms and upper body a circular direction of movement is contrived creating a sense of restless anguish emphasized by the left foot tensely gripping the edge of the plinth.

Goethe has been advanced as a source for Marcks' *Prometheus* and, given his many references to the writer in his diaries and letters, it is more than likely that Marcks was familiar with such a famous piece of work. It could be argued that he intended to embrace the idea of rebellion against oppressive authority as the figure does not submit to his situation with acceptance, hence his torment. However, it is perhaps stretching the point to apply Salzmann's argument and view this work as an emblem of rebellion.[34] In a letter dated 1946, Marcks succinctly expressed the focus of the planned sculpture when outlining his forthcoming work plans:

> ... first of all Cologne, a great Angel of Death as a mark for *all* the dead of this time. Then the bound Prometheus for the young.[35]

Marcks appears to be drawing a connection between the two projects, but it raises the question of what a memorial to the dead could signify for the young, especially as Prometheus is shown as a prisoner. Hartog perceptively offers a solution. Recognizing the sense of remorse which affected many of Marcks' contemporaries in the wake of Hitler's reign of destruction, Hartog perceives the bound hands as representing punishment, with the head conveying the agonizing experience of guilt.[36]

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[33] Salzmann, Siegfried (1989).
[34] Rudloff also makes this interpretation. See Rudloff, Martina (1991).
[35] Letter to Annemarie Ritter (20.12.1946). Cited in Frenzel, Ursula (1988), p.126.
[36] Letter from Arie Hartog to the Author (24.9.1999).

The potential for Prometheus to signify both endurance and rebellion was however expressed by other artists, some of whom were non-Germans, but affected personally by the political developments. The Lithuanian Jacques Lipchitz[37] and the Austrian Oskar Kokoschka[38] were among those who explored the theme in the context of the Third Reich, the War, and their aftermath. Consequently it was significant as an international symbol for artists of recognition, solidarity, and resistance.

Exile and Journeys

In 1934, Marcks was fortunate enough to receive a stipend from the Arnold Foundation of the Villa Massimo and was thus enabled to escape for a while the oppressive circumstances in Germany. Adolf Rieth, who worked on repairing sculpture by Marcks which was damaged during confiscation (see below), explained that the *Sorrowful Eros* of 1934 (plate 5.7) expressed for him the grief of leaving his children.[39] The model used for this work was Marcks' young son Christoph. Marcks was not away from his family for long and banishment is not an obvious theme in his work. Beckmann, by contrast, had an extensive period of exile and themes of journeys and displacement recur throughout his oeuvre from the time he left Frankfurt in 1933 on dismissal from his teaching post. He went initially to Berlin and then, when his work was included in the major 1937 'Degenerate' Art exhibition, emigrated to Amsterdam where he remained until after the war. In 1947, in response to offers of teaching positions in America, he embarked for New York where he lived for the rest of his life.

While Max Beckmann's early work on mythology placed him in the circle of the Idealists, such as Hans von Marées,[40] the devastating experience of the first World War, together with his appreciation of Nietzsche's vitalism, introduced the powerful Expressionist dimension to his style which characterizes his mature work.

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[37] Lipchitz used his interest in mythological themes to express his reaction to European events. Themes of struggle such as the Rape of Europa, the Theseus cycle, and Prometheus struggling with the vulture of Zeus were his most important themes. The latter was begun in 1936 for the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1937. In 1944, he was commissioned by the Ministry of Education and Health at Rio de Janeiro to undertake his most famous version, *Prometheus Strangling the Vulture,* a symbol of the struggle and triumph of good over evil.

[38] Kokoschka's work was condemned by the Nazi regime and included in the Degenerate Art exhibition in 1937; he retaliated with his defiant *Self Portrait as a Degenerate Artist*. He fled to London in 1938 and obtained British nationality in 1947. In 1950, he painted the *Prometheus* ceiling for Count Seilern's house in London. See Braham, Hellen (1992).

[39] Adolf Rieth, "Gerhard Marcks and the Third Reich", in *The Massachusetts Review*, Spring (1961). [A copy of this was consulted at the Gerhard Marcks-Haus, Bremen, but the page numbers are not evident, and I have been unable so far to verify them.]

The enigmatic, often violent, content of his imagery was appropriately conveyed with dynamic figuration expressed in strong colours, assertively defined with thick, black lines. During his time in Berlin, Beckmann painted a triptych appropriately, it has been suggested, given his emigration from Frankfurt, entitled *Departure* (plate 2.30). Most commentators have tended to take a political reading from this work despite Beckmann's assertion that it had no tendentious meaning but could well be applied to all times.[41] Fischer, however, calls these readings into question, offering an alternative which was outlined in Chapter 2. In the absence of a secure interpretation of the image, it is nonetheless of interest to consider how the work has been explained. *Departure*, has been described as the first of a new body of mythological works undertaken by Beckmann[42] following a hiatus of around fifteen years during which other genres were addressed, and the return to mythology in a period of political crisis has been interpreted as a form of escapism:

> The retreat into the realm of mythology, as well as his return to an imagery of horror - both of which tendencies are found in *Departure* - appear to be related to both the national political crisis and to the personal crisis that accompanied it.[43]

One of a series of nine triptychs, the enigmatic nature of the imagery in *Departure* led to Curt Valentin's well documented request for an explanation.[44] Beckmann's response to Valentin that the image could not be explained in words and that its understanding required an empathetic viewer has fuelled the quest to make sense not just of this work, but of his oeuvre generally. In this case, there is a vestige of evidence to go on, though it is no more than hearsay; it seems the work was described by Beckmann to a patron, Lilly von Schnitzler.[45] In a letter to Alfred Barr in 1955, she recalled the artist's explanation to her in 1937, when the painting was still in his Berlin studio.[46] The outer scenes referred, she said, to the physical and mental pain to which men and women equally are subjected. Certainly, the left panel depicts a scene of graphic torture, the maiming of the gagged and bound figure

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[40] Belting, Hans (1989).
[41] Letter to Kurt Valentin (11.2.1938), in Max Beckmann file, Museum of Modern Art, New York. Cited in Kessler, Charles S. (1970), p.18.
[42] Fischer, Friedhelm Wilhelm (1972), p.93.
[43] Kessler, Charles S. (1970), p.13.
[44] See, for example, Belting, Hans (1989), Lackner, Stephan (1991).
[45] Lilly von Schnitzler, it seems, was hoping to purchase the pleasing, classically-monumental central panel on its own as she felt unable to live with the nightmare imagery of the outer panels. Beckmann demurred, however, because he said the meaning could be understood only with the three parts together. This provided the context for the explanation. See Kessler, Charles S. (1970).

to the rear of the composition recalls Kirchner's *Self Portrait as a Soldier* of 1915. Both works point to the emasculation of the artist, symbolized by the dismembered hands which, together with the gagging in Beckmann's work, bring to mind the effects of Hitler's draconian cultural policies, a reading which is supported by Clifford Amyx.[47] Amyx expands on this by suggesting that the image intended to convey the idea that the artist could become an instrument of brutality through submission to it. It is difficult, however, to see how the depicted artist is in a position to do other than submit, willingly or otherwise. While *Departure* was begun in 1932, prior to Hitler's accession to power, Gert Schiff advocates that the imagery expresses the cruelty perpetrated by the Führer's Storm Troopers in the preceeding period.[48] Work on the painting continued into 1933 and is therefore associated with his departure to Berlin in the wake of his dismissal.

The bound figure in the right-hand panel refers, according to Schnitzler, citing Beckmann, to the baggage of memories and past failures which one can never escape, while the drummer represents 'Life' playing the drum, relentlessly determining events and experiences. Kessler has even gone so far as to suggest that the Drummer bears some resemblance to Goebbels,[49] a reading which Fischer finds somewhat improbable.[50] The central scene depicts a king and queen, who have been described as "timeless mythological figures"[51] who have succeeded in breaking free of the torments, both self-inflicted and externally generated, depicted in the outer panels. Schnitzler also, it seems, responded to the mythological inferences of the central panel asking Beckmann whether the background of water represented the river Acheron or the Styx, which bring the dead to Hades, and implying resurrection. According to Schnitzler, Beckmann responded:

> Do we know? The King and the queen have freed themselves, freed themselves of the tortures of life - they have overcome them. The Queen carries the greatest treasure - Freedom - as her child in her lap. Freedom is the one thing that matters - it is the departure, the new start.[52]

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[46] Excerpts quoted in Schiff, Gert (1980), Kessler, Charles S. (1970), and Lackner, Stephan (1991).
[47] Amyx, Clifford (1951).
[48] Schiff, Gert (1980). There may be some substance to this. William Shirer graphically describes the activities of the National Socialist Party during 1932 when rampant electioneering was backed by a private army of 400,000 Storm Troopers who threatened to take power by force and institute a reign of terror. Suppressed in April 1932, the ban was lifted two months later and was followed by a wave of political violence. Shirer, William L. (1991).
[49] Kessler, Charles S.(1970), p.18.
[50] Fischer, Friedhelm Wilhelm (1972).
[51] Fischer, Friedhelm Wilhelm (1972), p.93.

The contrast between the outer images and the central one has been widely commented on and is read by Kessler, as mentioned in Chapter 2, in Nietzschean terms. [53]

Given Beckmann's years of exile, his sensitivity to situations and potential emotional fragility, the recurrent imagery of journeys tends to be understood as a reflection of his personal experience.[54] In addition to *Departure*, various representations based on Homer's *Odyssey*, as well as related themes of displacement such as *The Journey* (1944) indicate the significance for him of his situation. Beckmann identified personally with Odysseus, referring to himself in the diary of his exile years as "pauvre Odysseus".[55] *Odysseus and the Sirens* (plate 5.8), carried out in the year of his dismissal from the Frankfurt Academy, shows the hero on his voyage. As a protection against the mortal danger of the Sirens, he is bound and hooded to evade temptation by their seductive song. Many artists were, understandably, seduced by the insistent requirements of Nazism, fearful of the impact of rejection, and only the most determined and principled avoided modifying their style to the demands of a powerful regime.

Beckmann's last work, *The Argonauts* painted in 1949-50 (plate 2.31), and completed the day before his death, makes reference once again to perilous voyages. This work refers to the group of heroes led by Jason who, with the help of Medea, secured the prize of the Golden Fleece. According to Lackner, Beckmann's source was Goethe's translation of an account by Philostratus, dating to the third century BC, describing the Argonauts' voyage to the Black Sea.[56] I have been unable to verify this as the text is not listed as being in Beckmann's library.[57] He did, however, have a copy, in German, of *The Argonauts* by Apollonios Rhodos, which may have supplemented his knowledge of the story.[58] The central part of the triptych shows the heroes Orpheus (whose attribute, the lyre, has been placed on the sand)

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[52] Cited in Kessler, Charles S. (1970), p.16.

[53] Kessler has argued against a Nietzschean interpretation in some of Beckmann's work on the understanding that the artist became dissatisfied with Nietzsche's theories, evidenced both by comments written in *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, and discussions between Kessler and Beckmann's widow. Fischer, Friedhelm Wilhelm (1970), p.95, n.332. However, it is widely acknowledged that Beckmann had been a great admirer of Nietzsche and read him extensively; his letters and diaries make frequent reference to the philosopher. Given the contradictory nature of Nietzsche's writing, and its range, it seems unlikely that Beckmann would have rejected the entire oeuvre. Though whether a direct influence was extended to paintings such as *Departure*, as Kessler believes, is difficult to ascertain with certainty. See also Chapter 2.

[54] Buenger, Babara Copeland (1997).

[55] Lackner, Stephan (1991).

[56] Lackner, Stephan (1991), p.126.

[57] Beckmann, Peter and Joachim Schaffer, editors (1992).

[58] Apollonios Rhodos. *Die Argonauten*. Verdeutscht von Thassilo von Scheffer. Weisbaden: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung 1947. XVI, 237 S. (Sammlung Dieterich; Bd. 90.). Listed in Beckmann, Peter and Joachim Schaffer, editors (1992), p.468.

and Jason about to embark on their journey. The figure climbing the ladder, has been identified by Lackner as the oracular sea-god Glaucus, who emerges to prophecy on the fate of the travellers; the portentous nature of his words is indicated by the eclipse which introduces the notion of the cosmic laws which supposedly control life. Schiff points out this could be either Glaucus or Phineus, a blind Bithynian who also presages the future.[59] The left wing shows a seductive model posing seated on a carved head, identified by Lackner and by Schiff as Medea. She was important both in the securing of the Golden Fleece, and in assisting Jason's escape, in a manner which accounts for her sword.[60] Kessler suggests that the engrossment of the artist in his canvas, and the consequent ignoring of the woman (identified by him as an Amazon) suggests that he has moved on to a new attempt to define the human and exhibits in his work a more reflective, philosophical mood.[61] While Kessler may be accurate in his identification of the atmosphere of the work, his interpretation is questionable, particularly if the woman is acknowledged as Medea, who was so crucial to the success of Jason's project. In this panel, the woman dominates the canvas and forms a central and essential part of the tight composition. Her sword and gaze are emphatically directed towards the painter who in turn focuses both his mental and physical attention in the direction of the canvas. The picture frame is in direct alignment with the model, thereby closing the strictly composed triangle from whose elements, contrary to Kessler's interpretation, there is no escape for the artist. The work was originally to be titled *The Artists*, a factor which illustrates the connection for Beckmann between the quest for creativity and adventurous journeys, both metaphorical and, in the context of his exile, actual.

Escapism and Mythology

A dimension of the necessity for exile may be the aspiration for a secure asylum. Taken to its extreme, it could manifest itself in the fantasy of paradisical imagery. Given the experiences endured by artists at this time, it is to be expected that some would resort to escapism as an alternative to imagery of oppression and danger, and consequent journeys. However utopian the sanctuary, though, complications invariably could arise and reality begin to encroach. In his work, Beckmann explored and expressed the potential complications of such refuges, addressing the

[59] Schiff, Gert (1980).
[60] In one version of the story, she engineered the Argonauts' escape from her father Aeetes, King of Colchis, by murdering and cutting into pieces her brother Apsyrtus. She scattered the fragments in order to delay her father who stopped to gather up the parts of the body.
[61] Kessler, Charles S. (1952).

conflicting emotions, which no doubt he had experienced himself, engendered by both desire for and fear of return, or of competing alternative attractions - symbolized by seductive women impotent in the face of a compulsion for home. *Odysseus and Calypso* (plate 5.9) was painted in 1943 while Beckmann was in exile in Amsterdam. The story related by Homer describes how Odysseus was shipwrecked on the idyllic island of Ogygia. He was welcomed by the nymph Calypso who encouraged him to remain there with her for seven years and who promised him eternal youth if he continued to stay. [62] Zeus, however, had other plans and caused him to long for his home at Ithaca. Beckmann's painting shows a voluptuous woman with a passive Odysseus, fettered by the coils of a snake. The wide range of meanings attached to animal symbolism can lead to misinterpretations. However, in conjunction with a bed, the presence of animals is generally understood to imply lust, a role given prominence by the notorious appearance of a cat in Manet's *Olympia*, quoting Dutch seventeenth century tradition. Among the various symbolic meanings for the snake,[63] several are linked to sexuality. Lackner explains in relation to this work that Beckmann, confined to cramped accommodation in Amsterdam and forbidden to travel,

> ... found relief by escaping into the realms of fantasy and ancient mythology.[64]

While this may explain the initial impetus to explore myth during a time of crisis, it does not elucidate the significance or interpretation of this particular scene. Karl Albert suggests a philosophical interpretation to the work, arguing (admittedly with little evidence) that the theme is about the issue of time, expressed through the tension between the genders.[65] The present is personified, he proposes, by the 'typical' nestmaking female who wants Odysseus to stay - she is satisfied with how things are now. Odysseus, however, represents the future by striving after something which has not yet been attained, in a typical male fashion, it is asserted. While the gender stereotyping seems somewhat simplistic, the attitude to time which he identifies is not incompatible with a reading which proposes that Beckmann was unsettled in exile. A similar scene was represented in Beckmann's *The Prodigal*

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[62] Marcks' sculpture *Daughter of Atlas* (*Atlastochter*) of 1936 presumably refers also to Calypso. She is shown as a beautiful, perfectly proportioned nude with arms linked above her head in order to display her body. She could be interpreted as a symbol of the attractions of exile for Marcks who had spent part of the previous year in Rome, though it could equally simply be a traditional use of myth.
[63] McLeish includes: chaos, death, underworld, fertility, umbilical cord (connected to Earth Goddess), and phallus. McLeish, Kenneth (1996) pp.570-73.
[64] Lackner, Stephan (1991), p.148.

Son (1949) who, like Odysseus, pines hopelessly for home, oblivious to the attraction of the women around him.

The dilemma of Odysseus on Calypso's isle, it has been suggested, was the subject also of Klee's *Insula Dulcamara* (1938) (plate 5.10) whose title refers to the bitter-sweet island where Odysseus was both captive and captivated. As with Beckmann's image, a snake is featured. According to Grohmann,[66] Klee rejected the original idea of titling the image *Calypso's Island* as "too direct"; preferring that his works would give rise to exploration. However, it is generally understood that that is what is referred to in the painting.[67] Grohmann explains that the black contours represent the coastline while in the distance a ship passes by. The work has been interpreted either as representing the 'inbetween world' (*zwischenreich*), an island of the dead, in anticipation of his own death in the light of his fatal illness,[68] or as signifying his life in exile.[69] The latter seems the more plausible basis for *Insula Dulcamara*. Carried out in 1938, the artist had been living in his birthplace, Bern, since shortly after his dismissal from the Düsseldorf Academy in 1933. In contrast to Beckmann's restless image, this is an idyllic picture, suggesting perhaps that there were consolations in exile, particularly when it was to ones home city. It was also painted in a period of renewed energy and high output during a remission and it is imbued with a sense of optimism in contrast to the agitated imagery of chthonic fragmentation which was to ensue. It would appear that, at this time, Klee did not expect his illness to be fatal. In November of that year, his improvement was such that Lily could write to Julia Feininger of her hope that he would make a complete recovery,[70] and further letters over the next few months support this. Werckmeister has expressed the view that during 1939, the year of highest output of Klee's career, "... there is no testimony at this point in time that he felt his death approaching".[71] Consequently, if that is not the explanation for this subject, then it leaves the possibility that it was prompted by his situation of exile.

While these artists addressed some of their works to the notion of escape, others such as Hans Feibusch seem to have dedicated their mythical themes in general to it. While it appears that Feibusch's work is generally apolitical[72] he was

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[65] Albert, Karl (1984).
[66] Grohmann, Will (1987), p.114.
[67] See also Geelhaar, Christian (1971), Kramer, Kathryn (1993), and Weiss, Daniela (1995).
[68] Geelhaar, Christian (1971).
[69] Kramer, Kathryn (1993), and Weiss, Daniela (1995).
[70] Letter from Lily Klee to Julia Feininger (21.11.1938). Paul-Klee-Stiftung, Bern.
[71] Werckmeister, Otto Karl (1985), p.37.
[72] Hans Feibusch's grandson, Paul Werth, has expressed to me agreement with this view on at least two occasions.

not unaffected by the cataclysmic events of the 1930s which occasionally surfaced in his work.[73] As he told me in an interview in 1996 (see Appendix 12), then aged 98:

> The effect of exile did make a great change to me because when you have such an interruption and make a new beginning, you examine all your means of expression. And style had belonged, to a considerable extent, to what was modern at the time - die Brücke, the Bauhaus, and a great deal of that was not really my own, and gradually that fell away from me. I found that I got deeper into myself - it may not have been in the way of fashion. Perhaps I got more of the old Romantic coming up in me. Looking at classical myth, part of looking back to the past, to the Romantic.[74]

Feibusch was affected by his experience in two major ways: he sought a means of expression which was more his own; and a nostalgic appreciation of the pre-Nazi past became significant. He left Germany for London in September 1933, some months after being told that he was forbidden to exhibit[75] and officially refused the renewal of his passport. Before his death in 1998 he was probably the last surviving artist to have been included in the 1937 'Degenerate' Art exhibition. It is understandable, therefore, that he would seek solace in contemplating the past. Feibusch had a classical education, read classical authors and learned Latin and Greek at the gymnasium[76] and, from his experience of both countries, felt that Germans seemed to have a greater predilection for classical stories than the English.[77] Since childhood, he had a great love of myths and this interest was fuelled by the works of such artists as Thoma, Böcklin and Feuerbach. While he mentions being influenced by Beckmann and the Expressionists, it appears to be more in terms of style than content. He studied art at the Berlin Academy under the classically-oriented Hofer and spent some time at the Villa Massimo in Rome. When asked whether he knew anything of the Nazi view of myth, he responded:

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[73] His painting *1939*, which was purchased by the Tate Gallery in London in 1997, was provoked by the outbreak of the Second World War. See Tate Gallery Press Release (10.10.1997).

[74] Response to the question: Are any of your works a reaction to the experience of the 1930s - to persecution, racism, exile, war?

[75] In a newspaper interview, he described the first intimation of prohibition. See Gale, Iain. 'You will never exhibit in public again', *Independent* (31.10.1995).

[76] He mentions having read Ovid, Xenophon (the Anabasis), Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad* (preferring the *Odyssey*, he said, because of the constant fighting in the *Iliad*).

[77] Interview of the Author with Hans Feibusch, (9.3.1996. See transcript Appendix 12.

> I did not experience much of it - I left in 1933. But I had been doing, in the last year or two - not big oil paintings - but big pastels. Many refer in a symbolic way to what Jews went through. But *Narcissus* - a beautiful youth with foliage in his hair - is a Romantic image.

Narcissus (plate 5.11) was painted in 1946 not, it would seem, to allegorize through parallels any particular standpoint, but to provide an opportunity to dwell on a poignant theme far removed from the recent terrors which were all too forcibly coming to light at this time.

Tyranny and Tragedy

Myth provided relevant themes as a means of exploring not only the difficulties facing artists themselves, but also the broader implications of the events which began to unfold particularly in the 1930s. Cassandra provided an apt theme to express the ominous sense of foreboding and, in the wake of devastating attrocities Saturn and Niobe personified the perpetrators and the victims, respectively, of the terrible events of the Third Reich and the Second World War.

Cassandra and Foreboding

The observation of the unfolding events particularly in the 1930s, and the consequent sense of foreboding, was expressed by some artists in themes such as that of Cassandra, a significant character in a number of Greek tragedies.[78] This subject appears, not surprisingly, to have been generally avoided by approved artists of the Third Reich.[79] Cassandra is one of the most poignant female characters in Greek mythology; a daughter of a king of Troy, she had the gift of prophecy, but with the contingency that - as a punishment for refusing the advances of Apollo - her predictions would not be believed. Consequently, while she had the means to give protective warning to her people, she was unable to give effect to it. Her experience in anticipating a devastating political future makes her an apt subject in times of

[78] She is a character in: Homer, *Odyssey*; and *Iliad*; Aeschylus *Agamemnon*; Euripides *Trojan Women*, and various other texts.

[79] No works on this theme were included in any of the Great German Art Exhibitions, and none were found among the many issues of art journals published during the Third Reich which were consulted by me for this thesis.

national crisis. In the Hannover exhibition of 1950, discussed above, there were five representations of the theme of Cassandra, four of which - by Wolff and Marcks - are considered here. [80]

Wolff's works on Cassandra are among the fifteen mythological works by him in the exhibition, most of which were drawn from Greek tragedy. Such themes comprised a significant element in his extensive output of sculpture, woodcuts and drawings, reflecting his exposure to Greek literature during his education at the *Gymnasium* in Barmen.[81] The three works on Cassandra discussed here, one of which was among those exhibited at the Hannover exhibition,[82] demonstrate important stylistic influences on his work. One of the representations, a drawing, was the title-page for an edition of Euripides' *Trojan Women* (plate 5.12).[83] Carried out in 1925, Cassandra is shown as a seated full-bodied nude, conveyed with a simple, fluid outline reflecting his admiration for the purity of line of Hildebrand's sculpture.[84] Although she is isolated outside the city, presumably Troy, there is little sense in Cassandra's bearing of the tragedy which is to ensue, though her sightless gaze is suggestive of inner visions. An earlier woodcut illustration of 1923 (plate 5.13) conveys something of her torment in the set face and clenched fists, but the approach is stylized and the effect therefore severely restrained.[85] However, a later representation of Cassandra, dating to 1931 (plate 5.14), a design sketch for a planned sculpture, evinces a very different mood. All allusion to gender or sexuality has been replaced by the emotional intensity of the moment of revelation, the minimalist lines of the body offering no distraction from the haggard, expressive face. Whether this work represented a response to the changing political environment in Germany or was purely personal is not clear. It was however prophetic of potentially traumatic events, as his work was subject to confiscation by the Nazis, though he did not live long enough to witness this (he died in 1934). A friend of Wolff's, Karl Hofer, with whom he spent time in Italy in 1904,[86] also addressed the theme in a version which has been related directly to contemporaneous political events.

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[80] The other was by Cesar Klein. Catalogue no.44: *Kassandra*, 1948, Aquarelle, 21.5 x 27.0 cm, bez. u. r. Cesar Klein 1948.
[81] Holthusen, Agnes, editor (1964).
[82] There were also a number of related images, of Clytemnestra, and of Trojans.
[83] Catalogue no.140: *Kassandra*, 13.5 x 9 cm, bez. u. m. Blei: Titel für die Troerinnen.
[84] In a letter to Walther Heinrich, (25-26.9.1905), Wolff wrote of visiting Hildebrand in his studio in Rome, describing him in terms which apply also to his work, as "hellenistic peace and serenity". Cited in Holthusen, Agnes, editor (1964), p.32.
[85] Wolff was influenced by the stylization of some of the Bauhaus artists which he sought to emulate. Hentzen, Alfred (1964).
[86] Holthusen, Agnes (1964), p.19.

Hofer's *Cassandra* of 1935 (plate 5.15) is one of the best-known versions of the subject. He was generally interested in representing classical mythology, influenced in this respect by his teacher, Hans Thoma, at the academy in Karlsruhe.[87] Hofer's period in Rome, from 1903 to 1908, deepened his interest in classical subjects, and he adopted a version of the classical idealism pioneered by von Marées. *Cassandra* was carried out in 1935, within two years of a series of personally catastrophic events: his expulsion from the Prussian Academy of Arts, the suspension and later dismissal from his teaching duties, and the banning of his work as degenerate.[88] While his imagery is generally not overtly political, Hofer was acutely conscious of the emergence of fascism in Germany at least since 1931 when he expressed criticism of it.[89] *Cassandra* appeared in an exhibition entitled *Forbidden Art in the Third Reich* shown in Boston and elsewhere in 1945[90] which was dedicated to paintings by German artists whose work was banned from public exhibition. The slender catalogue featured, on its cover, Hofer's painting *Cassandra* with the legend, appended with the benefit of hindsight:

> In 1935 Carl [*sic*] Hofer painted "Cassandra" a warning of coming doom and defeat.

The painting and this comment reflects Hofer's view of himself, expressed in a letter, as an "emotional seismograph that had registered the disaster in advance".[91]

Marcks, another friend of Wolff, also addressed the theme of Cassandra, though with hindsight after the end of the war. His version is one of the series of sculptures he carried out in 1947 for the Church of St. Catherine in Lübeck (plate 5.16),[92] and a model of it was shown at the Hannover exhibition.[93] This commission comprised the completion of the programme of exterior niche figures begun by Ernst Barlach in 1931-1933. Marcks was a suitable successor; like Barlach his tectonic manner was based on a Medieval idiom. However, Marcks' style, as explained in Chapter 2, encompassed also the forms of Archaic Greece, and was often expressed

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[87] Carl Hofer was, in turn, a teacher of Hans Feibusch and of Ernst Wilhelm Nay at the Berlin Hochschule für bildende Künste.
[88] Gillen, Eckhart (1997).
[89] He wrote of "Fascism, the dark reaction" in a publication entitled *78 Arbeite, Angestellte, Striftsteller, Politiker Beantworten die Frage: Wie kampfen wir gegen ein Drittes Reich,* Berlin (1931), quoted in Gillen, Eckhart (1997), p.68.
[90] The catalogue was subtitled *Paintings by German artists whose work was banned from museums and forbidden to exhibit.* The exhibition ran from 12th November to 9th December, 1945, at the Institute of Modern Art in Boston.
[91] Letter to Hans Carsten Hager (2.11.1947), cited in Gillen, Eckhart (1997), p.68.
[92] Rudloff, Martina (1978).
[93] Catalogue no.65: Gerhard Marcks, *Kassandra*, 1948, Klinker, hoch 53 cm.

with a folk-type naivety. Thus while his pieces responded to the style established both by the building and by Barlach, he did not relinquish his autonomy of approach. Marcks' six figures, while independent of each other, are related in expressing "Representations of embattled, tragic, and resolute humanity",[94] comprising, in addition to *Cassandra*, a *Man of Sorrows*, a *Mother and Child*, a *Young Woman*, a *Prophet*, and a *Fire-raiser*. Of most relevance to *Cassandra*, given Germany's recent history at the time, are the figures of the *Man of Sorrows* (*Schmerzensmann*) and the *Fire-raiser* (*Brandstifter*). The latter is a variant of Marcks' drawing of the *Genius of Death* of 1944 (plate 5.17) - similarly shown with two torches - one held erect and the other pointing downwards mirroring the judgemental gestures of Christ in traditional Last Judgement scenes. The *Fire-raiser* serves as a macabre rejoinder to the many torch-carriers (*Fachelträger*) popularized during the Third Reich.[95] Appropriately Marcks' figure is dressed in clothing suggestive of the helmet and greatcoat of the Nazi military, the implication being that he personifies both the cause of the disasters which Cassandra foresees, and also the derisory disbelief in her visions. The *Man of Sorrows*, then, symbolizes the victims of the events to which these works refer. *Cassandra* registers dismay and resignation as she clutches her garment in inadequate protection. This work was carried out in 1947, the year he produced his Orpheus woodcuts; it has been noted that the same gesture of resignation is adopted for Cassandra as for Euridice, in the *Snakebite* woodcut (plate 5.18), [96] which also featured in the Hannover exhibition.[97] Given his high regard for Medieval sculpture, it may be that the source for both was the crowned figure to the right of the North portal (plate 5.19) at St. Denis which displays a remarkably similar attitude.[98]

These works by Hofer and Marcks, and the later one by Wolff, while different in style and technique, are similar in conception. Each evinces the tragedy of anticipated catastrophe which one is powerless to avert, and none focuses on the legendary beauty of Cassandra or exploits her molestation by Ajax or Agamemnon as an opportunity for eroticism.

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[94] Leonhardi, Klaus (1949), p.175.

[95] The flaming torch was adopted as a symbol of the enlightenment brought by National Socialism, and it appeared often in coats of arms and insignia, with or without a carrier. Two crossed torches formed an insignia used in the mosaic room at the new Chancellery in Berlin, for example. See Schönberger, Angela (1981).

[96] Rudloff, Martina (1980).

[97] Catalogue no.78: Gerhard Marcks, *Euridike wird von der Schlange Gebissen*, 39 x 15 cm

[98] This work, interestingly given Marcks' stylistic leanings, is illustrated in a text which explores antique sculpture as a source for Medieval art. See Hamann-Maclean, Richard H.L. (1949-50), p.172.

Perpetrators and Victims: Saturn, and Niobe

Among the themes which represented for artists the tragedy of the situation in Germany were those of Saturn and of Niobe. At Niehagen, shortly before the end of the war, Marcks carved a series of wood reliefs whose theme it has been observed "reflects the terror of the time".[99] Several of this group illustrate scenes of strife or threat based on well known mythological, biblical and allegorical themes.[100] Among these is *Saturn Devouring his Children* (plate 5.21), an apt metaphor for Hitler and his regime and the atrocities committed against the nation. In the woodcut, Saturn does not register any human responses but mindlessly, like an ogre in a children's fairy tale, destroys those he ought to be protecting. He is presented as a squat, crude, overfed figure whose seated bulk fills the picture plane, and throws a dark, disproportionately-large shadow which extends ominously beyond the visible frame of activity. The title in German, *Saturn frißt seine Kinder* deliberately adopts the word for eating which is applied to animals rather than humans (i.e. the verb *fressen* rather than *essen*), and thus denotes the propensity to prey on and devour the living.

Edgar Ende addressed this subject also, though as he worked in a Surrealist manner, the meaning of his imagery is less easily accessed. While among the intentions of Surrealism was the manifestation of 'psychic automatism' - the expression of associations which supposedly occur outside the processes of reasoning - it is difficult to define the extent to which this occurs in Ende's work because the associations seem to be well thought out. The situations depicted in Ende's paintings appear to be responses triggered by identifiable characters, images or events, and sometimes involve the displacement of known characters to unexpected circumstances. As a result, his images evoke both familiarity and strangeness, a dreamlike sense of *déjà vu*. In his *Bound Saturn* (*Gefesselter Saturn*) (plate 5.22), painted in 1949, he shows the god kneeling with his arms pinned behind his back. A situation normally associated with Prometheus is therefore transferred to Saturn who, thus disabled, is unable to destroy the sleeping children surrounding him. Ende's son, Michael, has drawn attention to the importance of William Blake, whose mystical approach interested the Surrealists.[101] Ende appears to have acknowledged him by loosely modelling his Saturn on Blake's representation of the deity in *The Ancient of Days* (1794) which illustrated his poem *Europe;* such a

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[99] Adolf Rieth, "Gerhard Marcks and the Third Reich", in *The Massachusetts Review*, Spring (1961).

[100] These include: *Child Murder* (*Kindermord*), based on the massacre of the innocents), *Brother Murder* (Brudermord), suggestive of the battle between Cain and Abel, *Angel of Death* (*Todesvögel*), which shows a bird with a death's head and an military helmet, with another bird in the shape of an aeroplane, and *The Curse* (Der Fluch). Prints of these are held at the Gerhard Marcks-Haus archive in Bremen.

[101] Ende, Michael (1972).

source emphasizes the idea of an omnipotence which has been shackled. The meaning of the shore location, the strange bat-shaped impression in the sand which frames the main protagonists, and the misshapen urn on a plinth are not readily decipherable and create a sense of mystery. However, the central subject - the restraint of brutal, tyrannical power - was a topical one given the incapacitation of the leaders of the Nazi regime at the end of the War and in the wake of the Nuremburg trials. In the same year, Ende carried out his *Niobe* (plate 5.23), traditionally a symbol of unimaginable cruelty and pain and, with the wholesale destruction of so many of her offspring (fourteen, according to legend), an apt metaphor for the effects of war. Like *Bound Saturn*, however, this version is an image of optimism. Niobe is shown as a great Earth Mother, effortlessly shielding her many children with her immense body and protective garments against the arrows which threaten from the sky. Ende appears to be quoting directly from Wolff's *Earthmother* (plate 5.24)[102] which marks the grave of the Kirchbach family in Dresden.[103] Potentially a symbol of the vengeful destructive capacity of Apollo, personification of the Aryan, in this calm image, Ende presents an alternative ending to the conventional tragic version.[104]

Myth and Commemorating the Dead

Themes of death took on a particular significance during the War and the post-War period. Myth provided appropriate themes to commemorate the tragedy of death, and served as a suitable alternative to religion. Marcks, as mentioned, commemorated the son who was killed in action with *Ver Sacrum* (plate 2.38) of 1943, which depicts a kouros-type youth, drawing on the ancient tradition of using such figures as grave markers. The youth, however, is represented as Orpheus with the Apollonian laurel crown, indicating that he will return from the underworld and that death is not a finality. Given the gravity of the purpose of the figure, a Dionysian-type Orpheus would have been inappropriate.

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[102] It is not known, however, whether he saw this work in Dresden, or whether he knew Wolff, though the resemblance between the two works is remarkable. There was a channel through which Ende could have encountered Wolff: Ende knew Werner Gilles - he spent time him at the Deutsche Akademie in Rome (see Kinnius, Volker, editor (1998), p.171) - and Gilles was a close friend of Marcks who, in turn was a friend of Wolff. However, whether this was sufficient to familiarize Ende with Wolff's sculpture is not yet clear.

[103] Tittel, Lutz, editor (1984).

[104] Gilles exhibited two works on the theme of Niobe at the Hannover exhibition (catalogue nos.26 and 27). While their present whereabouts and their appearance is unknown, the titles - *Lamenting Niobe*, and *Lamenting Niobe II* - indicate a pessimistic interpretation. Both were carried out in 1950 when the effects of Hitler's domination and the war were still relatively fresh. However, it has not been established whether they reflected this situation.

The most common themes to acknowledge death relate to the underworld and its characters, particularly Charon, the mythical boatman who ferried the souls of the dead across the river Styx to Hades. The theme of Hades is a recurring one in the work of Klee, and it was particularly significant during the 1930s. This has been interpreted both in terms of the political environment of the Third Reich, and also his ultimately fatal illness, and is discussed later in the chapter. Klee died in the year following the outbreak of war, and such themes are not generally related to that particular situation.

A number of artists addressed the theme of the Barque of Charon. Ende's version of 1933 (plate 5.25) ominously represents a boatload of indistinctive people pulled by an inexplicable force. Two works on the theme were shown at the Hannover exhibition, by Marcks and by Gilles. Marcks' exhibit appears to be the first of the two woodcuts carried out during 1946, *Charon I* (plate 5.26) and *Charon II* (plate 5.27).[105] The images are similar, a dark boatman ferries a group of white-shrouded figures, one of whom looks out at the viewer. However, in the second image, the tangibility of the horizon disappears and the boat pulls away into an engulfing mist. This theme clearly absorbed Marcks at this time. He was engaged in fulfilling a sculpture commission for the Hamburg-Ohlsdorf cemetery for a memorial to victims of bombing, in recognition of the events of recent history. In this connection, he carried out many drawings of the Barque of Charon, mostly in connection with the memorial.[106] The sculpture itself (plate 5.28), completed in 1951, displays the boat in side-view so that the various 'passengers' can be seen; these are lined up to display representatives of various ages of life, from childhood to middle-age, but surprisingly excluding old age. This obvious omission, however, is effective in conveying the premature ending of life associated with war. The figure closest to Charon, a young man seated with head bowed, pays homage both to Lehmbruck's seated youth (plate 5.6) which, as mentioned, displayed the despair generated by the First World War, and acknowledges also the photograph of the exhausted soldier (plate 5.5), both of which provided a basis for Marcks' *Prometheus Bound II* of 1948. In revisiting them in this figure, he acknowledges the sacrifices both of soldiers and artists during the war, while the other figures represent the inevitable innocent victims.

Gilles' work during the *Nachkriegzeit* - the immediate post-war period - was, according to his biographer, Hentzen, typified by work which concentrated mainly

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[105] Lammek, Kurt, editor (1990).

[106] A collection of these drawings was consulted, for this thesis, at the Gerhard Marcks Haus archive in Bremen.

on themes of death.[107] While Gilles spent part of the war years in Italy,[108] much of the time he was in Germany, living mostly in Berlin. Consequently, he was exposed to the hostility of the regime towards his work, the bombing of Germany, the consequent loss of several friends,[109] and military conscription.[110]
His response was to turn from the horrors of the present to arcadian, mythological and religious themes as a form of escape as discussed later in this chapter. An element of this was the exploration of the next life, prompted by his feeling of ageing, poor health, and the residual spectre of the war. In 1946, in a letter to Fritz Peretti, Gilles wrote:

> Becoming old is so beautiful that I am surprised and am all inquisitive about it, how it will be at seventy. Much quiet pleasure and radiant visions of pictures which I have yet to paint. To that the impetuousness of this winter which wanted to squeeze everything out of me, as though after it there ought to be eternal Darkness. So can I look at the war only as an unhappy ghost which is always present. Perhaps a magician will be found who can remove it with the wave of a hand.[111]

Such thoughts were expressed through such death-related images as *City of the Dead* painted in the year he wrote the letter and, in the following year, *Charon* (1947),[112] and continued during the next few years in the two Orpheus series with which such motifs were interrelated; for example, *Return from the City of the Dead* of 1947 (plate 5.29) which shows a cemetery and *The Boat from the Underworld* of 1949 (plate 5.30).

The two cycles, the *Orpheus-Cycle* (1947) and the cycle *Lament over the Head of Orpheus* (1949), together with the related oil paintings, focused mainly on the visit of Orpheus to the underworld, on his and Euridice's death, and on the

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[107] Hentzen, Alfred (1960).
[108] He was in Italy from early 1937 to late 1939, and from Summer 1940 to Spring 1941.
[109] Schwengers, Marlis (1985).
[110] He was called up in April 1944, a few months before his fiftieth birthday. However, the mental and physical strain proved too much, and six months later he was hospitalized. See Henzen, Alfred (1960), p.113.
[111] "Das Älterwerden ist so schön, daß ich sehr davon überrascht bin und ganz neugierig darauf bin, wie es mit sechzig sein wird. Viel stille Freude und leuchtende Visionen von Bildern, die ich noch malen will. Dazu das Ungestüm dieses Winters, der alles aus mire herauspressen wollte, als ob nach ihm ewige Finsternis sein soll. So kann ich den Krieg, der mir immer gegenwärtig ist, nur einen unglücklichen Spuk betrachten. Vielleicht findet sich auch der Zaubermeister, der ihn mit einer Handbewegung beseitigt." Letter from Gilles, at Vöcklabrunn, to Fritz Peretti, (17.11.1946). ABK file: Werner Gilles. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.
[112] Catalogue no.21: Werner Gilles, *Charon*, 1947, öl auf paper, 43 x 60 cm., bez. u. r. Gilles. Besitzer Dr. Bernhard Sprengel, Hannover.

associated grieving. *Lament over the Head of Orpheus*, 1949, (plate 5.31) for example, shows a mourner with the head in her lap. The figure playing the flute indicates that they are in the underworld realm of Dionysus. During this period, while working on mythological themes of death, Gilles also undertook war-related subjects, such as *The Night of Bombing* (plate 5.32), of 1948. As the subject of Orpheus is considered in some detail in Chapter 2, it will not be dwelt on here at length. However, it is worth pointing out that while the titles indicate the focus on death and the underworld (as opposed to the Apollonian dimension of the Orphic legends), the imagery is often colourful and optimistic. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Rilke's collection of poetry, *Sonnets to Orpheus*, was an important source of inspiration and, like the poet - and in common with Klee's work interpreting Rilke discussed also in Chapter 2 - Gilles does not interpret death in terms of finality.

Retaliation and Conflict

The most evident examples of the use of myth as a means of retaliation during the Third Reich involved attacking, overtly or covertly, the ideology on which it based its power. Three aspects of this are considered: the use of Dionysian themes potentially as a counter to the Apollonian stance on which the racial policies were founded; the ridicule of the use made of myth in National Socialist art; and the revelation of the wickedness and spiritual decay underlying the classical facade of the Nazi self-image.

Dionysian Themes as Political Opposition

Retaliation by artists, against the Nazi regime, included deliberately engaging with themes and/or forms which were opposite to the ideals propounded by the state. As mentioned above, images which addressed Dionysus and his entourage in his various personas (Bacchus, Pan, fauns) could be read as oppositional to the Apollonian - supposedly ideal, rational - art proposed by the regime. It has been suggested that Klee's late work responded to Breton's call to artists to challenge this stance in National Socialist art by evoking Dionysian themes.[113] There is plenty of evidence in Klee's work during the 1930s, supported by published research, that he responded

[113] Kramer, Kathryn (1993).

to the political events of which he was a victim. [114] Whether the mythological works after 1937 cited by Kramer can be read as political is not certain. However, despite some mitigating arguments, there is nonetheless some support for this view. The general tenor of themes of this period in Klee's work, as mentioned in Chapter 2, refers to the cycles of life and death, the afterlife and the underworld which are certainly in accord with the chthonic associations of Dionysus. However, such issues had always been of interest to Klee as demonstrated by his oeuvre. Also, while Klee's work in the late 1930s could be read as a reaction against the approach taken by artists approved by the regime, on the other hand the theorists on art, in proposing a classical style, were reacting, in the first place, to the work of modern artists such as Klee who were associated with dark, chthonic (i.e. Jewish, according to Rosenberg; see Chapter 3) forces and, as early as 1933 consequently dismissed from their positions - several years prior to Breton's appeal. A further issue is that, since 1935, Klee had experienced severe debilitation as a result of his illness and it has generally been understood that his increasing interest in themes of the afterlife, particularly after his remission in 1938-39, reflected his heightened awareness of his own mortality, just as he had responded in the past to the death of a friend (see Chapter 2). Finally, while Klee was evidently interested in chthonic themes, there are examples to show that he was also interested in those which addressed the Olympian deities - a factor which reflects an awareness of the dichotomy proposed by Nietzsche and Klages outlined in Chapter 1 and exemplified in his and other artists' work as discussed.

This does not mean, however, that Klee's work was devoid of any response to the regime which had annulled his job and livelihood, forbidden him to exhibit, branded him as "degenerate", and forced him into exile to his birthplace, Bern. To the extent that Klee's work addressed political issues, it did, in fact, occur much earlier than the 1937 proposed by Kramer when evidence of his disquiet with the political situation was revealed in a number of images. For example *Struck from the List* (1933) graphically illustrates Klee's feelings of exclusion at his dismissal, while *The Herd Suns Itself* (1934) suggests mindless masses basking under the ideological banner of the swastika. Myth was occasionally brought into the imagery. *God of War* (*Kriegsgott*) of 1937 (plate 5.33) shows goose-stepping stick-figures in the form of swastikas performing earnestly under the complacent gaze of a deified power. *Little Mars*, of the same year, also refers to a god of war and similarly features a goose-stepping figure, while *Attacker with Torch* (plate 5.34) displays a figure

[114] See, for example, Kauffmann, C.M. (1966), Vishny, Michèle (1978), Werckmeister, Otto Karl (1985).

shaped like a swastika with the Promethean symbol which, as discussed above, was appropriated as a symbol of the National Socialist Party. A work similar in content to *The God of War*, though different in form, is *Caligula* (plate 5.35) carried out a year earlier which, while not from myth *per se*, refers to the Nazi appropriation of classical history. This work transparently draws an analogy between the jack-booted Hitler and the unstable, despotic, anti-Semitic Roman emperor, Gaius Julius Caesar Germanicus, whose nick-name ('Caligula' means 'Little Boots') refers to the military-style boots he wore as a child at the Rhine.[115] It is interesting to note that the boot is conveyed in a chess-board design, a long-established motif of duality, opposition and conflict.[116] As mentioned, *Insula Dulcamara* could be seen as an image of exile, while *Wandering Soul* (*irrende Seele*, 1934), discussed in Chapter 2,[117] may have been a rejoinder to Hitler's repeated use of the word *Seele* (soul) in his speeches which, as pointed out by Adam, served as an epithet for feelings and inner qualities supposedly exclusive to Aryan Germans,[118] from which Klee was officially excluded. Werckmeister has pointed out that in 1937 the suppression of modern art in Germany had led to a reaction from Modernists, particularly in Paris and that this situation made it possible for German artists in exile, such as Klee, to reassert themselves on anti-fascist terms by "adopting the large-formed, crypto-mythic figurations advanced by artists such as Lipchitz, Ernst, Tanguy, Miro, and Moore." [119] In short, Klee evidently responded through his art to the situation which he was forced into, sometimes using myth to allegorize it; it may be that this included Dionysian themes, though it has not been proven either way.

Less ambiguous in this respect is the work of Hans 'HAP' Grieshaber whose well-known woodcut image of Pan is understood as a political symbol. Grieshaber's reputation rests on two characteristics: an interest in Greek mythology, particularly that which is nature-based (such as Pan); and a genuine crusading interest in fighting causes, particularly related to the plight of the worker and the effect of political domination.[120] In respect of the latter Grieshaber got into difficulties with the Nazi

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[115]In a letter to Lily from Dusseldorf (9.2.1933), Klee makes reference to both characters which may have led to the association. See Klee, Felix, editor (1979), p.1229. As he mentioned in his letter, he was currently immersed in reading about Caesar [identified by the editor, Felix Klee, as Caligula] in Mommsen. In Klee's library, preserved at the Paul-Klee-Stiftung, are three copies of texts by Theodor Mommsen. The one referred to is probably *Das Weltreich der Caesaren*, published in 1933. Other texts are editions of *Römische Geschichte*, Berlin 1956 and 1957.

[116] According to Cooper, the game of chess signifies conflict in general ranging from the spiritual powers of light and darkness, to religious or political wars. See Cooper, J.C. (1995), pp.34-35.

[117] Scott, Yvonne (1998).

[118] Adam, Peter (1992).

[119] Werckmeister, Otto Karl (1985), p.32.

[120] Various newspaper articles mention this. See for example: Wolfgang Rainer, 'Partisan mit der Pansflöte', *Stuttgarter Zeitung* (14.2.1974), p.12; W.T., 'Ein "Betroffener", Essen: Politik mit

authorities at a relatively early stage - though not initially from activities taking place in Germany. He was the co-producer of a culture political publication, the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung*,[121] published in Athens, which incurred the displeasure of the German embassy, and in 1933 he was charged with anti-fascist activities. Grieshaber was offered the choice of deportation or internment in a Greek prison,[122] so chose to return to Reutlingen. Forbidden to exhibit, an exhibition devoted to his work in Stuttgart in 1938 was, ironically, passed off undetected as a show of Greek folk painting.[123] Grieshaber's most famous woodcut, the *Pan* of 1939 (plate 5.36) became an identifying motif[124] and he used the design as a stamp to sign correspondence.

Conzen-Meairs highlights the importance of bucolic imagery in Grieshaber's work, reflecting the artist's view that the divine was always present in nature, that nature was part of the human condition and could not be fought against. She points out that he contrasted this with the absurdity of the blood-and-soil ideology where the Aryan assumed precedence in the realm of nature. This view of the artist's intention is supported by documented interviews. In an undated transcript of a radio interview, he was asked: "Regarding the term 'fascist art': would you call that Nazi-art?". He responded:

> I would not say Nazi-art either. I would say that they had absolutely no art, because art is irrational. The sociologists [*sic*] [(national) socialists?] don't know anything about the irrational, they eliminated it. They merely want to show what is being conveyed. In this respect, they could have juxtaposed these pictures with corpses or something else.[125]

Bildern HAP Grieshabers', *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 139 (20.6.1974); and Camilla Blechen, 'Grieshaber in Berlin. Politik - bukolisch verpackt', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, no.296 (21.12.1977), p.23.

[121] It was originally entitled *Das dritte Auge* (the Third Eye). Unpublished transcript of radio interview of Grieshaber by Ekkhart Rudolph, from the series *Begegnung (Encounter)*, Ostern Südfunk, Friday (4.3.1977), p.6. ABK file: Hans 'HAP' Grieshaber. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

[122] In the same interview, Grieshaber pointed out that as Germany was an important trader with Greece, it could enforce the desire to have him silenced.

[123] This was held at the Galerie Valentien. Valentien, Freerk (1997).

[124] This is evident from the headings on numerous newspaper articles which make reference to Pan and his bucolic nature.

[125] Undated unpublished transcript of interview on Southwest Radio. "Ich würde auch nicht Nazi-Kunst sagen. Ich würde sagen, das sie überhaupt keine Kunst hatten, weil Kunst irrational ist. Die Soziologen, die können mit dem Irrationalen nichts anfangen, die haben das eliminiert. Sie wollen lediglich zeigen, was wird transportiert! Da hätten sie diese Bilder auch Leichen gegenüberstellen können oder sonst etwas." Undated unpublished transcript of interview on Southwest Radio. ABK file: Hans 'HAP' Grieshaber. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

Pan was a popular god in German art particularly since the nineteenth century;[126] as king of the arcadian satyrs and associated with (and sometimes identified with) Dionysus, he symbolizes the demonic and the irrational, and therefore represented for Grieshaber a dynamic alternative to the inert rationality assumed in the art of the Third Reich. The experience of Greece provided Grieshaber with a litany of mythological themes from which to chose. However, his interest in mythology was not in an archaeological or historical sense, but in its contemporary relevance and application, as he pointed out in another radio interview in response to the question as to what Greek myths indicated for him:

> I searched the myths not in the classical philhellenistic literature, but in life itself, with the people, drunk on retsina wine and poetry, which they created, and in that which was alive.[127]

The intoxication and poetry manifest for Grieshaber in Greek myth was therefore not only a symbol of resistance but, at a more constructive level, also an emblem of the people, the latter reflecting the socialist leanings for which Grieshaber was castigated under the regime. The image is simple and reductionist, in contrast to the official style of the time. Pan's association with the forests is signified in the pine trees which surround him and which relate him to a German context.

In a similar way, Baumeister's Gilgamesh cycle represented a deliberate selection of a theme which was contrary to the Nazi ideal. Also, while there is every possibility that the theme would have interested Baumeister regardless of the political situation, there are certain elements in the story which make it a suitable allegory for his experience. The central characters in the myth are the hero, Gilagamesh and, as explained, his friend Enkidu. They jointly go on a mission to challenge a monstrous ruler, Khumbaba. While they succeed, Enkidu is struck down by illness and dies. Baumeister's *Gilgamesh and Enkindu II*, (plate 5.37), is one of many works he carried out on the theme. The figures are fragmented, and as roughly textured as the earth. While it may be purely coincidental, the theme has evident parallels with the tyrannical rule of Hitler, with Baumeister's challenge

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[126] At the turn of the century, a German art and cultural periodical entitled *Pan* was published, for which Franz von Stuck illustrated the cover. The periodical *Jugend* also used the theme of Pan on its cover. Pan appeared in the decorations in von Stuck's Munich villa, and the subject was addressed also by Böcklin (*Idylle*, 1875). See Boardman, John (1997).

[127] "Ich suchte die Mythen nicht in der klassischen philhellenistischen Literature, sondern im Leben selbst, mit den Menschen, trunken mit Harzwein und in Gedichten, die sie machten, und in dem, was noch lebendig davon war." Unpublished transcript of radio interview of Grieshaber by Ekkhart Rudolph, from the series *Begegnung (Encounter)*, Ostern Südfunk (4.3.1977), p.6.

(described below) of the Nazi domination of visual art, and the untimely death of his friend, Oscar Schlemmer whose illness and fatal heart attack were brought on, in Baumeister's view, by the oppressive environment.[128] Schlemmer died in April 1943, two months before Baumeister began the Gilgamesh series.[129] The aspect of the theme which is particularly relevant is that, in contrast to the supposedly Aryan myths of Greece or Germany favoured by the Nazis, Baumeister chose a middle-Eastern culture to explore, as a deliberate act of defiance:

> Terrible was the idea that one would never again be able to show such pictures in public. In 1943 I had to stop painting altogether, because my next-door neighbour was an SS general. A captain of the SS was billeted in my own room. All the pictures had disappeared, but if one happened to turn up by chance, I told the captain that it was a camouflage experiment. I still had a studio, which I did not dare to enter. It was then that I began to make illustrations, Gilgamesch and Salome, as a little personal revenge against this anti-Semitic business;...[130]

Lampooning Myth in National Socialist Art

In a reversal (though somewhat minor) of the situation where so-called 'degenerate artists' were held up as examples for ridicule, Baumeister lampooned work on mythological subjects - or derivations from mythological themes - of two of the Reich's most favoured artists, Arno Breker and Adolf Ziegler. Using post-card reproductions which were sold during the GDK exhibitions, he irreverently satirized particularly well-known and lauded works by drawing over the images, reducing sacred and heroic nudes to lewd caricatures. One of these was Breker's relief *The Avenger* (plate 5.38) shown, as mentioned in Chapter 3, at the 1941 GDK, and it was reproduced in a review article published in *Kunst dem Volk.* [131] Breker's modifications consisted of a blue ink drawing over the genital area, transforming it into a humorous face, and pointing up the silliness of the self-important hero. Baumeister strikes at the very core of the hero's masculinity in order to counter the focused mindlessness of his programmed violence. The article, as mentioned,

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[128] According to Baumeister, "The constant utterances of Hitler, Goebbels, and the others sapped our energies and paralyzed us. This general paralysis and the results of increasing pressure were the reason for Oskar Schlemmer's illness, and also the cause of his death." Excerpt from transcript of Willi Baumeister's statement to Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt (18.11.1950). Reproduced in Lehmann-Haupt, Helmut (1954), p.85.

[129] They were eventually published after the war. Baumeister, Willi (1947).

[130] Lehmann-Haupt, Helmut (1954), p.87.

describes the *Avenger* as engaged in a symbolic attack on Germany's enemies. Such enemies had been identified by the state as including artists such as Baumeister who was in that year subjected to a complete ban on displaying his work in public; his counterattack, however modest by comparison, was thus not without motive. Baumeister also modified selected images by Ziegler reproduced on post-cards, of which he appears to have had a small supply, and sent them to his friends, secured in envelopes. These seem to be mainly of Ziegler's *Terpsichore* shown at the 1937 Great German Art Exhibition (plate 5.39) and the *Goddess of Art* shown in 1938 (plate 5.40). These examples consist of transforming the female torsos into male faces, using the breasts as eyes, inserting a nose and mouth, but employing the pubic hair as a beard in a manner which is reminiscent of Magritte's *The Rape* (1934). Chametsky has made interesting comments on the relationship between Baumeister's emphasis on parts of the female body through his cartoons, and the pseudo-scientific methodology of Schultze-Naumburg who focuses, in *Nordische Schönheit,* on details of the body as examples of identifiable racial characteristics. It is of particular note, however, that the figures he chooses to lampoon are mythological goddesses who had been selected by the Regime as iconic symbols of the creative arts, the sphere in which he had been forbidden to perform. *Terpsichore* represents both the classical and the popular aspects of her field; one hand self-consciously crosses her face in a balletic gesture while the cane in the other is incongruously suggestive of contemporary cabaret dancers who performed in the cities. Her nudity was, presumably, designed to give her a timeless quality, but her modern appearance succeeds in making her look self-consciously naked. The *Goddess of Art* as discussed in Chapter 3, is similarly farcical. The high finish and lack of subtlety and depth was the direct opposite, therefore, to Baumeister's work on myth, and he responded to the effrontery of having such imagery presented for deference with characteristic drollery.

Critique of Nazi Classicism

Some artists showed their defiance of the regime in ridiculing National Socialist pretensions to a classical heritage. While Rudolf Schlichter was not generally given to representing themes from classical myth*s*, he was politically-orientated and prepared to criticize the Nazi regime and its grandiose attempts to emulate antiquity. Although by the late 1920s, he had retreated from his political activities, he was castigated by the new Regime who banned his memoirs (for perversity and

[131] Hoffmann, editor (1941). The image was reproduced on page 12.

eroticism), and expelled him, albeit temporarily, from the *Reichskammer der Bildende Künste*, the artist's association. The expulsion occurred in response to his drawing *Goliath Derides the People of Israel* (1934) (plate 5.41), which appeared on the cover of the Catholic youth publication *Junge Front*. This shows a powerful Goliath, champion of the Philistines and symbol of despotic power, dressed as a soldier in garments which suggest to the viewer the era of the Roman empire. The authorities were understandably concerned given that Goliath was defeated by the Jewish king David in an event recognized as an emblem of the victory of good over evil, but what particularly incensed them was the observation that Goliath wore on his breastplate the national emblem of the NSDAP, as pointed out in a contemporary article in the *Essener National-Zeitung*.[132] While this theme is a religious one, rather than mythological, it relates the Nazi Regime to the classical era by the association with the gladiator-type figure of Goliath.

In his most notorious painting *Blind Power* (*Blinde Macht*) (plate 5.42), carried out in 1937, Schlichter drew again on the imagery of the Roman-era gladiator. This painting is closely based on an earlier design used for the cover of the first volume of his banned autobiography, *The Wilful Flesh* (*Das widerspenstige Fleisch*), published in 1932 which is understood to represent his general dissatisfaction with the epoch. His restatement of the theme in the relatively large and highly finished *Blind Power* - ironically in a style which the authorities would have approved - left the increasingly militaristic regime in no doubt it was the subject of criticism. Schlichter symbolized the regime as a Roman gladiator, unable to see through the protective visor which covers his face, and striding towards the edge of a steep cliff. He carries the emblems of his power, in one hand a drawn sword, in the other what has been interpreted as *Mjölnir*, the hammer of Thor (referred to in Chapter 4).[133] The relevance of the hammer could be its wide use as a symbol by neo-pagan groups.[134] Thus the gladiator is armed with the destructive weapons associated both with the classical and Germanic mythical histories which were jointly appropriated by the regime. In the background, the results of military activity are shown, prophetically, in the bombed and burning cities. Around his right arm are measuring instruments, symbols it has been suggested of rationality[135] which, as mentioned in Chapter 3, the National Socialists had claimed as an intrinsic Aryan characteristic. Monstrous creatures gnaw through the perfect exterior of the heroic figure which, Günter Metken suggests, represent the decomposition of the giant

[132] Excerpt quoted in Metken, Günter (1990).
[133] Metken, Günter (1984).
[134] Noll, Richard (1996).
[135] Metken, Günter (1997).

through his own depraved cravings.[136] The message is a pessimistic one of the inevitability of self-destruction. The regime did not respond favourably to this work, and Schlichter was consequently reprimanded and forbidden to exhibit further.

Klee similarly makes reference to the facade of classicism and reason disguising a core of evil. In his work, *Mephisto as Pallas* (1939) (plate 5.43) he plays on the focal significance of Pallas Athene in the Day of Art parades where, as an Olympian deity, she symbolizes the intellectual and classical aspirations of the art of the state (see Chapter 3). Klee intimates that the evil character from *Faust*, the cynical, shape-changing lieutenant who was sent to earth to capture Faust's soul, presents himself under the guise of reason and light. The subject was topical, carried out shortly before the War began, at a time of mounting anxiety over Hitler's ruthlessly aggressive expansionists policies in eastern Europe and the possibility fading of war being averted.

The Rape of Europa

The most obvious myth to allegorize the political developments in Europe was that of the Rape/Abduction of Europa. The title itself is indicative of a theme of oppressor and victim and, as it was Europa who was misled by the capricious and powerful Zeus in the guise, on this occasion, of a bull, then the respective emblematic roles of the protagonists in the story ought to have been fairly evident. However, the application of this myth in art in the period under review occurred in the context of a tradition which had blurred the situation somewhat. Centuries earlier, the publication of the *Ovid Moralisée,* which reinterpreted the story as a parable of the pious soul (Europa) being rescued by Christ (the bull), long provided artists with a justification for an alternative interpretation of the theme; this type of reading has been applied, for example, to Dürer's well-known sketch of the *Abduction of Europa* thus there was a very respectable precedent in Germany.[137] Countless renditions over the centuries have glossed over the barbarous implications of the rape/abduction in the title. In those images where Europa was apparently less than happy with her fate, the representations gave precedence to eroticism rather than to highlighting the underhand and opportunist aggression of a powerful deity. In fact, the imagery often suggested that, conversely, a romantic outing was in process,

[136] Metken, Günter (1997), p.254.
[137] Wiebel, Christiane (1988).

and the inference has often been of implicit compliance and even outright willingness on the part of Europa. Consequently, by the 1930s and '40s, the theme could be applied either way, with Europa as victim or victorix and as an emblem either of the oppressed or the oppressor, respectively. Europa therefore was adopted both by the Nazi regime and by those who suffered under it as a symbol of their respective convictions.

The Nazi Abduction of Europa

The representation of Europa in a position of control might seem at odds with the intentions of the Nazi regime with its aggressive expansionist policy in Europe, which might therefore more readily be identified with the bull. However, the imagery promoted by the regime conveys not only that Europa was not a victim at all and was, in fact, quite happy with the situation, but that, with its racial policy, Germany was in effect the saviour of Europe. In any case, in the approved art of the regime, the woman and the animal tend to be shown in a mutually agreeable relationship, and the bull provides the means by which Europa can achieve her destination and/or destiny.

The theme of Europa and the Bull was reasonably popular among these artists and, on the face of it, representations appear to be relatively traditional. They followed the example of revered artists such as Veronese whose *Abduction of Europa* was illustrated in an article on mythological themes published in an approved art journal, as discussed in Chapter 3, which provided suitable models for artists to follow.[138] For example, those by Emil Sutor (GDK 1942, plate 5.44)[139] and Josef Pieper (GDK 1943, plate 5.45) carry little overt connotation of political allegory. However, Europa is shown as cheerfully compliant, a loaded message in the context of a war affecting most of the continent, and it is unlikely that these works would have met with approval if the notion of violation had been introduced - unless of course it could have been inferred that Europe was under threat from non-Aryan races. Werner Peiner's (plate 5.46) unprecedented version of 1937 displays the nude Europa reclining in the foreground, a specimen of Aryan blonde perfection, while the bull waits expectantly in the background. The image represents the early part of the story, when Europa's friends playfully garland the apparently harmless animal. Such a theme has the potential for political allegory, the danger of deception and treachery could have been personified by the bull. Superficially,

[138] Pirchan, Prof. Dr. E (1939), p.17.
[139] This was illustrated in a review article of the exhibition in *Die Kunst*. Schultz, Wally P. (1942).

however, the work appears little more than the opportunity to display a reclining nude and Hinz has included the work in the 'anticipation' (*Erwartung*) category of approaches to the nude in officially-approved imagery.[140] Such a reading suggests that the bull's purpose is to encourage the reader to lasciviously contemplate Europa's fate. Salzmann, though, proposes that the work conveys a much more sinister reality. The background, he notes, is a Savannah landscape, reflecting Peiner's trip to Africa in 1935.[141] The imposition of an Aryan nude - Europa/Germania - in this foreign paradisical and primitive context, he suggests, reflects the megalomania of National Socialism and the policy of world domination.[142] Other works, according to Salzmann, such as Hans Gött's design for a silk tapestry, demonstrate the same policy.[143] This time, though, the myth takes place in the context of Indian South America, but similarly is assumed to be a metaphor of German world-colonization. In keeping with this type of interpretation, Bernhard Decker proposes that the image of Europa riding on the back of the bull is in the tradition of mounted figures which, as discussed in Chapter 4, have long been a symbol of control and domination. It is in this context, he argues, that the gilded figure of *Europa and the Bull* (plate 5.47) which decorated the parade-route for the Day of German Art in 1937, can be understood.[144]

This type of triumphalist representation of the theme, where Europa sits proudly on the bull evidently in control, an image of a harnessed power, was not unusual. A cartoon (plate 5.48)[145] published in the German satirical journal *Simplicissimus*[146] in 1942 typifies the type of political caricature it carried during the Third Reich. Under the heading 'Exhibition of European Art' (*Europäische Kunstausstellung/Esposizione d'arte europea*), six 'paintings' are shown, each purportedly representing a different art style, and comprising a cartoon ridiculing the allied states.[147] The one on classicism, appropriated as Germany's national style, shows Europa, confidently riding away on her bull, gesturing rudely to the leaders of three of the allied states (Britain, USA and Russia) who vainly chase after her.

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[140] Hinz, Berthold (1974).
[141] Salzmann, Siegfried (1988).
[142] This was conveyed through Hitler's slogan "World Power or Ruin" (*Weltmacht oder Niedergang*). The desire to impose the German racial ideology on a worldwide basis, to control the world or destroy it, was expressed by Hitler at least since the early 1930s.
[143] The tapestry was hung in the first class restaurant of the steamship Europa.
[144] Decker, Bernhard (1988).
[145] *Simplicissimus*, 46 (52)(24.12.1941), pp.822-23.
[146] *Simplicissimus* was one of the leading journals of its type in Europe in the early part of the century and Klee had, in his early career, unsuccessfully submitted work for publication. Many of the lampoons draw on classical myth and a knowledge of them would have been essential to appreciate the humour.

Above her flies a dove of peace, equally out of reach, it is suggested, of the allies. Equally, the version by Karl Schuster-Winkelhof (plate 5.49), which Hinz includes among National Socialist paintings,[148] depicts Europa kneeling confidently on the back of the animal after it has taken off and holding a ribbon like a rein, as though in control. Spiegel's sculpture of 1937 (plate 5.50), designed for the Europa gardens in Wiesbaden[149] and appropriately positioned on a plinth extending into the ornamental lake, shows a somewhat different Europa, but equally in a position of authority. Like Peiner's version, she is relaxed, though in this case reclining comfortably on the bull and looking out across the lake. The bull, by contrast, is a figure of power brought to its knees, with head bowed. While this may be intended to represent the moment before the bull takes off with his unwitting captive, what is shown in this image, however momentary, is Europa in a position of effortless dominance, or at least serene in the knowledge of the secure power beneath her.

The racial 'protection' of Europe by National Socialism included opposition to the Pan-European concept which embraced all races and cultures across the continent. In 1924, the journal *Paneuropa* was published and two years later, in 1926, Count Coudenhove Kalergi founded the Pan-European Movement. Rosenberg was among the most vociferous objectors to the movement whose aims he declaimed as racial bastardization promoted by Jews.[150] Again, the myth of Europa was used to convey this stance, this time in a caricature (plate 5.51) by Oskar Garvens published in the journal *Kladderadatsch*.[151] The artist makes a pun of the 'Pan' aspect, showing an aging and overweight satyr chasing hopelessly after the svelte young goddess who cheerfully makes her escape. The artist thus anticipates the Dionysian and Apollonian racial contrasts alleged by Rosenberg in his *Mythos*.[152]

The Endurance of Europa: Optimism, Destruction and Survival

Other artists, however, reflected the optimism for the future of Europe generated by the Pan-European movement and Germany's acceptance as a member into the League of Nations. Marcks, for example, conveyed this renewed hope for the

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[147] Impressionism, Primitivism, Romanticism, Classicism, Futurism and 'Neo-Bolshevism' are each indicated with a supposedly representative satirical image.
[148] Hinz, Berthold (1979), p.135.
[149] Salzmann, Siegfried (1988).
[150] "...Uden geförderten Pan-Europaertum." and "...die bastardischen "Pan-Europäer"...". Rosenberg, Alfred (1935), pp.112, 621.
[151] September 1929.
[152] While this was first published in 1930, it enlarged on views which had been propounded in various publications during the 1920s.

continent in his sensitive *Europa Kneeling* of 1927 (plate 5.52).[153] She kneels on the head of the bull conveying the subjection of brute force, her hands clasped in a gesture of entreaty signifying the yearning for peace, while her rounded figure indicates the potential fruitfulness of a unified Europe. Marcks' optimism proved, at that time, to be unfounded.

As the Nazi party increasingly assumed and exerted its power beyond Germany's borders, *Europa* symbolized for several artists their concern and fears for the continent, and the seizure of power in 1933 initiated a number of images on the theme. Klee's *Europa* (plate 5.53) of 1933 shows a female figure with an 'X' beside her to denote a status of dismissal by the state. He used the same symbol in that year in his *Struck from the List* (plate 5.54), as discussed above, a work of rejection and despair generally understood to be autobiographical.[154] Addressing the theme of Europa, and using the same symbol, suggests some disquiet about the potential for a repetition of political instability in Europe; as a veteran of the First World War, he had some experience on which to base such fears. The exclamation mark suggests his disbelief and indignation at an undeserved fate. Erich Franz is one of several commentators who assert this image as a pessimistic reflection of the political situation pertaining in 1933.[155] In the same year, Beckmann carried out his version of the theme (plate 5.55) which also suggests disquiet in the wake of his own dismissal together with the wider implications for Europe of the new regime. Like Klee, Baumeister and Marcks, he had served in the First World War and as a result suffered emotional damage; he therefore had ample reason for concern for the stability of Europe. His image shows Europa not only as a captive but slung like a hunter's trophy across the back of the bull. The inference is obvious; achievement of Europa's compliance in Beckmann's image was through brutality and coercion.

Max Ernst's version of the myth was carried out during a period of considerable upheaval and trauma. He began *Europa after the Rain II*[156] (plate 5.56) in 1941 while still in Europe, a 'degenerate' artist in exile in France where he was interned for six weeks as a 'hostile alien'.[157] Fearful of the continuing danger, he emigrated to the United States in that year, taking the painting with him and completing it in 1942. Despite his status as an exile and refugee from an

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[153] For a discussion of this and other works by Marcks on the subject of Europa, see Rudloff, Martina (1988).
[154] Partsch, Susanna (1993).
[155] Franz, Erich (1978).
[156] His first version, *Europe after the Rain* was carried out in 1933. It shows an imaginary map but with allusions to Europe, and has been read as yet another example of artists using the theme of Europa to indicate their concern over the accession to power by the National Socialist Party. See for example Haftmann, Werner (1984).
[157] Haftmann, Werner (1984).

antagonistic German regime, following America's entry into the war in December 1941, Ernst was arrested as an enemy alien. The devastation of his experience and the destruction of Europe which he observed both at first hand and from a distance is evoked in the image. Set in an apocalyptic landscape, the bull lies buried and immobilized under a collapsed canopy. A literally disarmed and isolated Europa stands looking into the desolate wilderness observed by the lone birdman, a metaphor for Ernst.[158] This image of Europe as a wasteland persisted in the immediate post-war years in the work of other Surrealist artists such as Trökes and Ende. Trökes' *Barbaropa* (plate 5.57), painted in 1947, expresses the outcome of the barbaric treatment of the continent; a fossilized bull is all that remains in a deserted wasteland, devoid of all life. Ende painted a number of images which have references to Europa. The *Woman on the Tortoise* (plate 5.58) is an obvious allusion to Titian's painting *Bacchus and Ariadne*, showing Ariadne, a descendent of Europa, at the point of abandonment on Naxos by Theseus after she had helped him destroy her half-brother, the Minotaure. Typical of Ende's interest in prompting association of ideas, he conflates Ariadne and Europa, but shows her being carried not by a bull but a tortoise. The purpose of the tortoise can only be guessed at. However, the animal was, like Atlas, a legendary supporter of the globe and perhaps that has some significance here. The work was carried out in 1933, one of several ominous works which suggest concern with contemporary political events; others include *The Barque* discussed above, with its connotations of death, and *Three Men* which draws on the traditional imagery of the Trinity, with God supporting the body of the sacrificed Christ. In *Woman on the Tortoise*, the woman's location, on a globe, suggests geographical significance, but she is isolated and abandoned to her fate. After the war, in 1952, Ende painted a *Europa* (plate 5.59), a monumental ancient figure carved in stone shown not only with the bull but also the swan, another of Zeus' disguises. The union with Leda, in his swan persona, resulted in the birth of Helen of Troy and eventually to the Trojan War. Salzmann, relating this painting to Ende's marital crises of the time, proposes that the stone could symbolize a loveless relationship from which the artist, shown he suggests in the background with an umbrella, was departing.[159] It could equally refer, however, to the monumental endurance of Europe however damaged. Finally, Hermann Geibel's terracotta *Europa* of 1949 (plate 5.60) is a monument to forbearance and ultimate accomplishment without triumphalism. Europa sits squarely, her hand firmly on the

[158] Eckmann, Sabine (1997).
[159] Salzmann, Siegfried (1988), p.266.

shoulder of the animal who stands rooted, immobilized by his own debilitating power, her face turned to the sun.

CONCLUSION

The discussion which forms this dissertation opened with the identification, first, of the textual sources for the understanding and interpretation of themes from both classical and Germanic mythology. Following this amalgam of common sources, the analysis divided into the two 'camps' into which the art of the Third Reich is traditionally placed, i.e. the work carried out by artists approved of and endorsed by the Regime, and those rejected on the grounds of 'degeneracy', exploring the relative issues and means of expression involved by each. While it had not been the original intention to follow this traditional division, on the assumption of issues of common interest, it became difficult as the research proceeded to avoid such a demarcation as most of the surviving available data which were found tended to support it. Undoubtedly, the true situation was much less clear cut and artists did not neatly slot into one or other side of the divide in terms of their intentions. However, the controlling policies of the Regime exploited both the artists who were seen to embody its ideals, and also those whom it was decided did not: both positive and negative examples could thus be presented. Given this enforced division, it is appropriate, then, to conclude by drawing both groups together, summarizing those elements identified in these chapters which were in fact held in common or which, alternatively, illustrate their relative differences.

While the Third Reich actively worked to aggravate and enforce the segregation of the two groups of artists as a means of control and manipulation, it is worth pointing out that the Regime did not initiate the division in the first place, and there was a general tendency among artists to gravitate towards either the maintenance of traditional academic standards or to mount a challenge to them. This is a broad generalization and there are, of course, contradictory individual examples. However, it is of interest to note that long before the advent of Hitler to power in 1933, it was rare for any of the so-called 'degenerate' artists to exhibit at, for example, the annual exhibitions in Munich which were the predecessors of the

Great German Art exhibitions, whereas numbers of the 'approved' artists featured regularly. If the few works illustrated in the catalogues of these exhibitions over the years are representative of the whole, there appears to be a stylistic continuum leading to the art that was approved by Hitler. While some artists who had explored a mildly expressionistic mode such as Kolbe or Breker modified their style to one which was more representative of the new Regime and some, such as Breker and Thorak, developed a more assertively propagandist means of expression, for most artists the main difference after 1933 was that Hitler and his team politicized the differentiation between those working in a relatively traditional idiom, and those who sought to break new ground in representation.

The differentiation between the two groups was established in the first place on stylistic grounds, but what of content? After all, not only were the so-called Modernists using thematic material which was ancient, it had been the most elevated subject matter of the Academic tradition which was so emphatically rejected by Modernism itself. However, the adoption of a traditional subject is not in itself anti-Modernist; what theme by Modernists has not already been addressed in the past? Even abstraction, the most Modern of forms, has sought to express such long-established themes as spirituality and emotion. What establishes the freshness of approach which is expected of Modernism is the particular interpretation which is placed on the theme and how the means of representation is devised to convey it. In the period examined here, artists continued to find in mythology an appropriate vehicle for expressing, in vital and original ways, a breadth of ideas evidently of enduring significance. What then of the artists adopted by the Nazis? Were they not also using myth in new ways? Certainly, the argument that their classicizing form of expression had affinities with aspects of Modernism is irrefutable. The issue here is not, however, whether the two groups of artists were ultimately classifiable as Modern in *form*, but to identify their respective approaches to content, and establish how the form supports and serves to explain the meaning intended either by the artist, if this can be determined, or alternatively by the Regime in exploiting it.

The extent to which art succeeds in conveying a message, under normal circumstances, might be inferred from its reception at the time. In the Third Reich

this is virtually impossible to ascertain due to the censorship of publications. Support for unacceptable art was soon silenced, as was any criticism of that deemed to be representative of the Reich. Official journals were edited by individuals in positions of control over art institutions and the views expressed can be understood only as a reflection of what was expected by those in ultimate power. Neither can the levels of attendance at art exhibitions be taken as mandates of approval. The Munich 'degenerate' art exhibition of 1937 was one of the most visited of all time, and numbers exceeded those attending the official exhibition of that year. However, the question this raises is: did people attend to appreciate the art shown, or to savour the derisory commentaries attending it? While the official art of the GDKs attracted smaller numbers than the 'degenerate' exhibition, they nonetheless attracted significantly larger crowds than any exhibitions shown since at that venue. It is not clear whether such throngs would have been interested had they not been encouraged and assisted to attend by a coercive regime, or if there had not been such a carnival atmosphere attending such events. However, it is worth mentioning that, after the GDKs, the most popular exhibitions staged at Haus der Kunst over the last 50 years have revolved around powerful, deified rulers and great civilizations, such as the Tutankhamen exhibition; and it is a sobering thought that the popularity of the GDKs may have been a response to a similarly ambitious Reich which the artworks represented. However, given the circumstances, little of the genuine reception of the art of the time, including that on mythological themes, can be inferred.

Apart from the fact that both groups of artists were using subjects from myth, there are relatively few areas of overlap. In general, the themes addressed tended to be either on the subject of conflict and violence, or of love and sexuality. Generally, in themes of conflict, the Nazi-favoured artists tended towards heroization and ultimately there was little difference between classical and Germanic myth in the messages to be conveyed, as Chapters 3 and 4 convey. However, the rejected group focused on the tragedy, pain and loss evinced by the drama - and selected subjects which were particularly powerful to express this, such as Cassandra or Niobe. Some themes were addressed by both groups, such as Prometheus or Europa. However, where the Nazis adopted Prometheus as a heroic figure, brave and resolute in the face of adversity, he is treated by the rejected group as an anti-hero. Europa, as

discussed, was used by the Reich to justify its expansionist policies, whereas for the disapproved artists, she signified the plight of the continent in the face of brute power.

Love and sexuality were explored also by both groups of artists. While the representation of the nude by Nazi-approved artists has been described as cold and remote, this is not the case for all works and many are frankly eroticized. Sexuality was an appetite to be manipulated and controlled for political ends. Erotic imagery operated as a reward or as encouragement for the viewer, to promote the reception of the underlying messages. As described, these involved the submission of ones body either to the propagation of the master race, or to its military activities. Where these themes were adopted by the Modernists, it was less as an excuse for an erotic experience of the art, than as an expression of the sublime force of nature, as a power in its own right.

Invariably, despite the enforced segregation of the two groups of artists, there were those whose work appears borderline. Certainly, at first glance, it is difficult to understand how Marcks could have been branded degenerate, given the importance of Greek antiquity to his work. His traditional leanings are evident given that his objection to the increasingly tectonic and abstract idiom of the Bauhaus, at the expense of traditional, more decorative, forms led him to resign. However, he veered towards the stylized archaic rather than the ideal classical or hellenistic forms, and gives his figures a folk-type innocence rather than a resolute heroism in interpretation. Nonetheless, it comes as no surprise that he was given a public commission during a time when he was branded 'degenerate'. Similarly, among the accepted artists, some such as Albiker, Plettenberg and Hipp each worked, at times, in a relatively stylized way, though generally they retained a monumentality.

An appreciation of the content conveyed by the Modernists often relies on a knowledge of the story. This helped, on the one hand, to disguise the message which was sometimes deliberately obscured in order to minimize detection of subversive content. However, its understanding also depends on an educated, even elite, audience and many of the works would have been inaccessible to the general public. Many of the artists involved, as the appendices to this dissertation reveal, were widely read and some were *gymnasium* educated and the content of their work is

consequently rich with textual references. The art selected for use by the Nazi regime, on the other hand, was intended to be easily read and not to humiliate the general public through cryptic intellectualism - and in many instances the title of a mythological work serves little purpose other than to establish the figure(s) as classical (hence the proliferation of Naiads and Floras referred to in Chapter 3). The links with textual sources were tenuous and there is little evidence in most of the imagery that the artist had more than a superficial familiarity with the associated myths, and this would account for the generally more iconic presentation of figures. Herein perhaps lies one of the most crucial differences between the two groups of artists. Where the rejected artists discussed in this thesis had direct links with the textual sources described in Chapter 1, the officially-approved artists seem to have been at one remove. While the Nazi *ideology* was based in the vitalist philosophies, this is less evident in the imagery. The art was procured to serve a Regime whose identity and cult was created as much out of the dark myths of the Grimm brothers' folktales, pagan sun-worshipping, and Wagnerian expressionsim, as from the classical heritage they sought to appropriate; yet the imagery reflected little of the potential for drama and emotional intensity, its content safely understated, and its self-contained form reflecting the obedience expected of the viewer. Even the most assertively propagandist works by Breker and Thorak - possibly the artists who came nearest to conveying the spirit, however misguided, of the Reich and its ideological basis - ultimately responds to a curb. Admittedly, Hitler's professed adulation of classical antiquity prompted a quasi-Winckelmannian restraint - but the mood of the Third Reich was hardly one of calm grandeur and serenity, however much the art and architecture attempted to create it, and more a reflection of Wagner's *Gotterdämerung.*

THE APPENDICES

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APPENDIX 1

PAUL KLEE'S COLLECTION OF BOOKS

Selected list of texts which belonged to Paul and Lily Klee, of potential relevance to Klee's work on mythological themes. Compiled from: (a) the inventory by Jurg Spiller of Klee's books which were held by Lily Klee in the 1960s; (b) inventory (in progress) of the texts which are located at the Paul-Klee-Stiftung, Bern. The Stiftung is in the process of compiling a comprehensive inventory . They kindly permitted me to consult draft versions); (c) consultation of Paul Klee's collection of books.

Aischylos. *Des Aischylos Werke*. Tragodien und Fragmente. Berlin (1842). [Inscribed with date 1936].

Aischylos. *Die Orestie des Aischylos*. Munich (1919). [Inscribed with date: 24 Dec 24].

Aischylos. *Die Perser*. Munich (1924). [Inscribed with date 1932].

Aischylos. *Tragödien*. Berlin (undated).

Alghieri, Dante. *Dante's Göttliche Komödie*. Stuttgart.

Apulujus. *Der goldne Esel*. Dessau (1782).

Aristophanes. *Aristophane Komedien*. Paris (1860).

Aristophanes. *Die Lustspiele des Aristophane*. (3 volumes). Leipzig und Heidelberg (1861 and 1862).

Arnim, L. Achim von and Clemens Brentano. *Des Knaben Wunderhorn. Alte deutsche Lieder gesammelt von L. Achim von Arnim und Clemens Brentano*. Munich und Leipzig (1908).

Bach, Rudolf. *Tragik und Grosse der deutschen Romantik. Ein Umriss*. Munich (1938).

Blossfeldt, Karl. *Urformen der Kunst. Photographische Pflanzenbilder*. Berlin (1929).

Böhme, Jakob. *Die Gnadenwahl (Chorus Mysticus).* Berlin (1924).

Bölsche, Wilhelm. *Das Liebesleben in der Natur. Ein Entwickelungsgeschichte der Liebe.* Jena (1914).

Bossert, Helmuth Th. *Alt-Kreta. Fresken und lineare Bilderschriften.* Berlin (1923).

Buettner, Herman, editor. Meister Eckehart's Schriften und Predigten. Jena (1917).

Cohn, William (editor). *Indische Plastik.* Berlin (1921).

Eckermann, J. P. and Adolf Bartels (editors). *J.P. Eckermann Gesprache mit Goethe in den letzgen Jahren seines Lebens.* Leipzig (1902).

Einstein, Carl. *Negerplastik.* Leipzig (1915).

Euripides. *Alkestis.* Augsburg (1925).

Euripides. *Medea.* Leipzig (1891).

Fechheimer, Hedwig. *Die Plastik der Aegypter.* Berlin (1920).

Frobenius, Leo. *Kulturgeschichte Afrikas. Prolegomena zu einer histoischen Gestaltlehre.* Zurich (1933).

Fuhrmann, Ernst. *Afrika: Sakralkulte, Vorgeschichte der Hieroglyphen.* (1922).

George, Stefan. *Baudelaire. Die Blumen des Bösen. Umdichtungen von Stefan George.* Berlin (1901).

George, Stefan. *Die Bücher der Hirten und Preis Gedichte. Der Sägen und Sange und der hängenden Garten.* Berlin (1930).

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang. Goethe's Italienische Reise. Leipzig (1913, 1923).

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang. *Goethe's sämmtliche Werke in vierzig Bänden.* Stuttgart and Tübingen (1840).

Grillparzer, Franz. *Medea. Trauerspiel in funf Aufzügen.* Stuttgart (1879).

Hauff, Wilhelm. *Wilhelm Hauff's Märchen.* Munich and Leipzig (undated).

Herder, Johann Gottfried von. *Herder's ausgewälte Werke.* Stuttgart.

Herder, Johann Gottfried von. *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern.* Stuttgart & Tübingen (1828).

Hoffmann, Ernst Theodor Amadeus. *E.T.A. Hoffmann's sämtliche Werke.* Leipzig and Berlin (1924).

Hölderlin, Friedrich. *Empedokles.* Jena (1911).

Hölderlin, Friedrich. *Gedichte.* Jena (1909).

Hölderlin, Friedrich. *Hyperion.* Jena (1911).

Homeros. *Homeri Odyssea.* Lipsiae (1892) [The date 1896 is inscribed in Klee's handwriting. There are occasional doodles in the margins, such as a tiny sketch or an urn on the opening pp.138-39].

Homeros. *Homer's Ilias.* Leipzig.

Horatius Flaccus, Quintus. *Die Gedichte des Horaz.* Vienna (1935).

Horaz (Horatius Flaccus, Quintus). *Die Oden des Horaz in deutschen Versen mit Anmerkungen.* Jena (1775).

Humboldt, Alexander von. *Kosmos. Entwurf einer physischen Weltbeschreibung.* Berlin (1913).

Keller, Gottfried. *Das Sinngedicht. Novellen. Sieben Legenden.* Stuttgart and Berlin (1903).

Khayyam, Omar. *Rubaiyat.* Boston (1899).

Klages, Ludwig. *Von kosmogonischen Eros.* Munich (1922).

Kleist, Christian Ewald von. *Sämtliche Werke.* Bern (1765).

Kleist, Christian Ewald von. *Sämtliche Werke. Völlstandige Ausgabe in vier Bänden.* Leipzig (1902).

Kubin, Alfred. *Die Andere Seite. Ein phantastischer Roman.* Munich and Leipzig (1909).

Le Rouzic, Zacharie Saint-Just Pequart. *Carnac. Fouilles faites dans la Région.* Campagne (1922) and Paris (1923).

Le Rouzic, Z. *Carnac. Menhirs-Satues avec signes figuratifs et Amulettes ou Idoles des Dolmens du Morbihan.* Nantes (1924).

Lucien (Lukianos). *Oeuvres Choisies.* Paris (1891).

Maeterlinck, Maurice. *Das Leben der Bienen.* Jena (1914).

Maeterlinck, Maurice. *La Vie des Abeilles.* Paris (1901).

Mommsen, Theodor. *Das Weltreich der Caesaren.* Vienna and Leipzig (1933).

Mommsen, Theodor. *Römische Geschichte* (2 volumes). Berlin (1856 and 1857).

Musäus, Johann Karl August. *Die Märchen vom Rubezähl erzählt von J.K.A. Musäus. Für die Jugend von Christian Morgenstern.* Berlin (1909).

Musäus, Johann Karl August. Volksmärchen der Deutschen. Stuttgart & Leipzig.

Hagen, Friedrich Heinrich von der, editor. *Der Nibelungen Lied zum erstenmal in der ältesten gestalt aus der St. Galler Urschrift mit Vergleichung aller übrigen Handschriften.* Breslau (1820).

Novalis (Friedrich von Hardenberg). *Novalis' Werke.* Berlin, Leipzig, Wien & Stuttgart.

Ovidius Naso, Publius. *Verwandlungen* (2 volumes). Berlin (1816).

Petrone (Petronius Gaius Arbiter). *Oeuvres Completes de Petrone.* Paris (1861).

Plato. Schleiermacher, Friedrich Daniel Ernst, editor. *Platon's Werke.* Berlin (1805).

Rilke, Rainer Maria. *Der Neuen Gedichte Anderer Teil.* Leipzig (1920).

Rilke, Rainer Maria. *Die Sonette an Orpheus.* Leipzig (1923).

Sare, Friedrich. Die Kunst des alten Persien. Berlin (1923).

Tacitus, Cajus Cornelius. *Werke. Agricola's Leben und Germanien. Gespräch über die Redner.* Stuttgart (1829 and 1830).

Tacitus, Cajus Cornelius. *Werke. Die Geschichtbücher (Historien) des Tacitus.* Stuttgart (1831).

Tacitus, Cajus Cornelius. *Werke. Die Jahrbücher (Annalen) des Tacitus.* Stuttgart (1834, 1837 and 1840).

Ular, Alexander, editor. *Die Bahn und der Rechte Weg des Lao-Tse.* Leipzig (1923).

Leonard Woolley. *Ur und die Sintflut. Sieben Jahre Ausgrabungen in Chaldäa, der Heimat Abraams. Mit 92 Abbildungen einer Karte und einem Plan von Ur.* Leipzig (1930).

Xenophon. *Zenophon's Gastmahl und Okonomikus.* Halle (1795).

APPENDIX 2

WILLI BAUMEISTER'S COLLECTION OF BOOKS

Willi Baumeister's extensive collection of books is held at the Baumeister-Archiv in Stuttgart. These have not as yet been documented. A list of those which were of greatest relevance to his mythological imagery is given below. These address a range of subjects including philosophy, history, archaeology, art, literature,

Aischlos. *Tragödien und Fragmente.* Ludwig Wolde (translator). Leipzig: Dieterich'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung. [Includes: Oresteia, Die Perser, Prometheia, and Thebans].

Aristotle. *Aristoteles Hauptwerke.* Wilhelm Nestle (editor). Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner (1942).

Bachofen, Johann Jacob. *Mutterrecht und Urreligion.* Rudolf Marx (editor). Leipzig: Alfred Kröner (1926).

Boehm, Max.van. *Der Tanz.* Berlin: Volksverband der Bücherfreunde, Wegweiser-Verlag (1925).

Buchmann, Georg. *Geflugelte Werke, Der Zitanenschatz des deutschen Volkes.* Berlin: Weichert (1915).

Dacqué, Edgar. *Versteinertes Leben, Fossilien in 116 Original Aufnahmen.* Zurich: Atlantis (1936).

Dante. *Göttliche Komödie.* Karl Streckfuß (translator). Leipzig: Philipp Reclam (1876).

Distelbarth, Paul. *Lebendiges Frankreich.* Berlin: Rowohlt (1935).

Eckermann, Johann Peter. *Gespräche mit Goethe.* Leipzig: Brockhaus (1923).

Gide, André. *Theseus.* Stuttgart: Deutsch Verlags-Anstalt (1949).

Ging, I. *Das Buch der Wandlungen.* Zurich: Werner Classen (1949).

Goethe, J.W. *Faust.* Grundgedanken eine Auswall von Friedrich Würzbach. Munich: Münchner Lesebogen (undated).

Goethe, J.W. *Kleines Goethes Lesebuch.* Harry Rotermund (editor). Hameln: Verlag der Bücherstube Fritz Seifert (1941).

Goethe, J.W. *Maximen und Reflexionen.* Jutta Hecker (editor). Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang (1941).

Goethe, J.W. *Schriften über die Natur.* Leipzig: Alfred Kröner (undated).

Grassi, Ernesto. *Jahrbuch Geistige Überlieferung.* Berlin: Helmut Küpper (1940).

Günther, Herbert. *Künstlerische Doppelbegabungen.* Munich: Ernst Heimeran (1938).

Heidegger, Martin. *Über den Humanismus.* Frankfurt a.M.: Vittorio Klostermann, (1946).

Herder, Johann Gottfried von. *Der Cid.* J.G. Gotta'schen Buchhandlung (1870).

Herodotus. *Geschichtliches Werk.* Theodor Braun (translator). Leipzig: Insel-Verlag (1927).

Hesiod. *Sämtliche Werke, Theogonie, Werke und Tage, Der Schild des Herakles.* Leipzig: Dietrich'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung (1938).

Hildebrandt, Hans. *Die Provence.* Strasberg: Heitz & Mundel (1909).

Kant, I. *Laienbrevie.* Dr. Felix Groß (editor). Munich: Hugo Bruckmann (1920).

Kaufmann, Henning. *Rythmische Phänomene der Erdoberfläche.* Braunschweig: Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn (1929).

Knaurs Weltgeschichte. Von der Urzeit bis zur Gegenwar. K.A. von Müller and P.R. Rohden (editors). Berlin: Th. Knaur Nachfolgen (1935).

Kunsfutse, *Die Goldene Mitte, Bensinnliches aus dem Lun Yü.* Friedrich Thiel (translator). Stuttgart: Schuler-Verlag (1950).

Lao-Tse. *Die Bahn und der rechte Weg des Lao-Tse. Der chinesischen Urschrift nachgedacht von Alexander Ular.* Leipzig: Insel(1919).

Mereschkowski, Dmitri. *Leonardo da Vinci, Historischer Roman.* Berlin: Th. Knaur Nachfolgen (undated).

Nietzsche, Friedrich. *Werke. Aus dem Nachlaß 1882/85.* Leipzig: Naumann (1906).

Obermaier, Hugo, and Bernhardt, Joseph. *Urgeschichte der Neuschheit; Sinn der Geschichte.* Freiburg: Herder (1931).

Osborn, Henry Fairfield. *Ursprung und Entwicklung des lebens auf Grund einer Theorie von der Wirkung, Gegen-Wirkung und zwischen Wirkung der Energie dargestellt.* Stuttgart: Schweizerdeutsche Verlagsbuchhandlung (1920).

Otto, Rudolf. *Verantwortlich Lebensgestaltung, Gespräche mit Rudolf Otto uber Fragen der Ethik.* Stuttgart: Karl Küßner, Kohlhammer (1941).

Otto, W.F. *Der Dichter und die alten Götter.* Frankfurt a. M.: Vitorio Klostermann, (1942).

Otto, W.F. *Die Götter Griechenlands.* Frankfurt a.M: G. Schulte-Bulmke (1947).

Plato. *Die Verteidigung des Sokrates.* F.M. Reifferscheidt (editor). Stuttgart: Ernst Klett (1947).

Plato. *Ein Gastmahl.* Emil Müller (translator. Leipzig: Insel (undated).

Plato. *Ein Gastmahl.* Kurt Hildebrandt (translator). Leipzig: Felix Meiner (1941).

Platon. *Kriton.* Lehrmittel-Verlag. Mainz: Offenburg (1946).

Plutarch. *Römische Heldenleben.* Stuttgart: Wilfred Kröner (1942).

Rousseau, Jean Jacques. *Bekenntnisse.* Leipzig: Philipp Reclam (undated).

Schafer, Wilhelm. *Die dreizehn Bücher der deutschen Seele.* Munich: Georg Müller (1922).

Schmidt, R.R. *Der Geist der Vorzeit.* Berlin: Keil (1934).

Schopenhauer, Arthur. *Schopenhauers Aphorism zur Leben Weisheit.* Leipzig: Insel (1923).

Schünemann, Georg. *Musikhandschriften.* Berlin: Atlantis (1936).

Sieburg, Friedrich. *Gott in Frankreich, Ein Versuch.* Frankfurt: Frankfurter Societäts-Druckerei (1929).

Sophokles. *Tragödien.* Roman Woerner (translator), Leipzig: Insel-Ausgabe (1937).

Vietta, Egon. *Iphigenie in Amerika.* Hamburg: J.P. Toth (1948).

Vollard, Ambroise. *Souvenirs d'un Marchland de Tableaux.* Paris: Editions Aldin Michel (1937).

Wägner, Dr. Wilhelm. *R o m. Anfang, Forgang, Ausbreitung und Verfall des Weltreiches den Römer.* Leipzig: Otto Spanner (1907).

Walther, Johannes. *Goethe als Seher und Erforscher der Nature.* Halle: Kaiserlich Leopoldinischen Deutschen Akademie der Naturforscher zu Halle (1930).

Weigel, Karl Theodor, *Ritzzeichnungen in Dreschkennen des Schwarzwaldes im Wörter und Sachen.* Zeitschrift für indogerman Sprachwissenschaft, Volksforschung und Kulturgeschichte. Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung (1942).

Wells, H.G. *Die Geschichte unserer Welt.* Berlin, Vienna, Leipzig: Paul Zsolney, (1932).

Ziegler, Leopold. *Der ewige Buddho, ein Tempel Schrift Werke in Vier Unterweisungen.* Darmstadt: Otto Reichl, (1922).

Ziegler, Leopold. *Gestalt Wandel der Goette.* Darmstadt: Otto Reichl (1922).

Ziegler, Leopold. *Überlieferung.* Leipzig: Jakob Hegner (1936).

APPENDIX 3

GERHARD MARCKS' COLLECTION OF BOOKS

The books and publications which were owned by Gerhard Marcks at the time of his death are held at the Gerhard Marcks Haus in Bremen. An inventory of these has not, as yet, been published. Listed hereunder is a selection of some of the books, chosen to indicate interests of relevance to this dissertation.

Blümel, Carl. *Der Hermes eines Praxiteles*. Baden-Baden: Woldemar Klein Verlag (1951).

Buschor, Ernst. *Vom Sinn der Griechischen Standbilder.* Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann (1942).

Curtius, Dr. Ludwig. *Die Antike Kunst.* Volume I. Berlin-Neubabelsberg: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion (1913).

Gerke, Friedrich. *Griechische Plastick in Archaischer und Klassischer Zeit.* Zurich and Berlin: Atlantis-Verlag (undated). [Date inscribed 1947].

Hege, Walter and Rodenwaldt, Gerhart. *Griechische Tempel.* Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag (1941).

Hamann, Richard. *Olympische Kunst.* Marburg: Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars (1923).

Humboldt, Alexander von. *Kosmos, Entwurf einer physischen Weltbeschreibung.* Berlin: Deutsche Bibliothek (undated). [Date inscribed 1933 by Gerhard Marcks].

Langlotz, Ernst, and Walter H. Schuchhardt. *Archaische Plastik auf der Akropolis.* Frankfurt a.M.: Vittorio Klostermann (1941).[1]

Müller, Theodor, et. al. *Deutsche Plastik von der Frühzeit bis zur Gegenwart.* Munich: F. Bruckmann AG (1961).

Schneider-Lengyel, J. *Griechische Terrakotten.* Munich: F. Bruckmann AG (1936).

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[1] Folded into the pages is an illustrated newspaper article: 'Zeus der Vater' from the supplement *Die Frau* of the *Frankfurter Zeitung,* (1.2.1943).

Zervos Christian. *L'Art en Grece*. Paris: Editions "Cahiers D'Art" (1934).
[Slipped into the book is a postcard of a relief carving of a horse and rider, part of an Attic Stele at the Museo Barracco; and an unidentified newspaper cutting entitled 'Der Streit um die Aegineten, Urbild oder Überlieferung - eine Stellungnahme'.]

APPENDIX 4

GERMAN ARTISTS AT THE DEUTSCHE AKADEMIE IN ROME

German artists relevant to in this dissertation who were awarded the Prix de Rome and stayed at the Deutsche Akademie Rom, Villa Massimo, since its establishment in 1910.

Year	Name	Occupation	Residence
1910	Karl Albiker	Sculptor	
1913/14	Hildebrand, Adolf von	Sculptor	Munich
1931	Gilles, Werner	Painter	Berlin
1932	Blumenthal, Hermann	Sculptor	Berlin
	Nay, Ernst Wilhelm	Painter	Berlin
1933	Breker, Arno	Sculptor	Dusseldorf
	Geiger, Willi	Painter	Leipzig
	Karsch, Joachim	Sculptor	Berlin
	Storch, Karl	Painter	Schöneberg
1935	Marcks, Gerhard	Sculptor	Niehagen
1938	Josef Pieper	Painter	Düsseldorf
1940	Kasper, Ludwig	Sculptor	Berlin
1942	Padia, Paul Mathias	Painter	Munich
1943	Grzimek, Waldemar	Sculptor	Berlin

Source: (Artists listed from 1913) Deutsche Akademie Rom. *Deutsche Akademie Villa Massimo Rom*, (undated).

APPENDIX 5

NEWSPAPER CUTTING ILLUSTRATING WERNER GILLES' *ENTRANCE TO THE UNDERWORLD* (1953)

Jo Andre, 'Mythologie des sudlichen Mittag. Die Kölner Retrospektive auf Werner Gilles', *Echo der Zeit*, no.34, 20th August 1967.



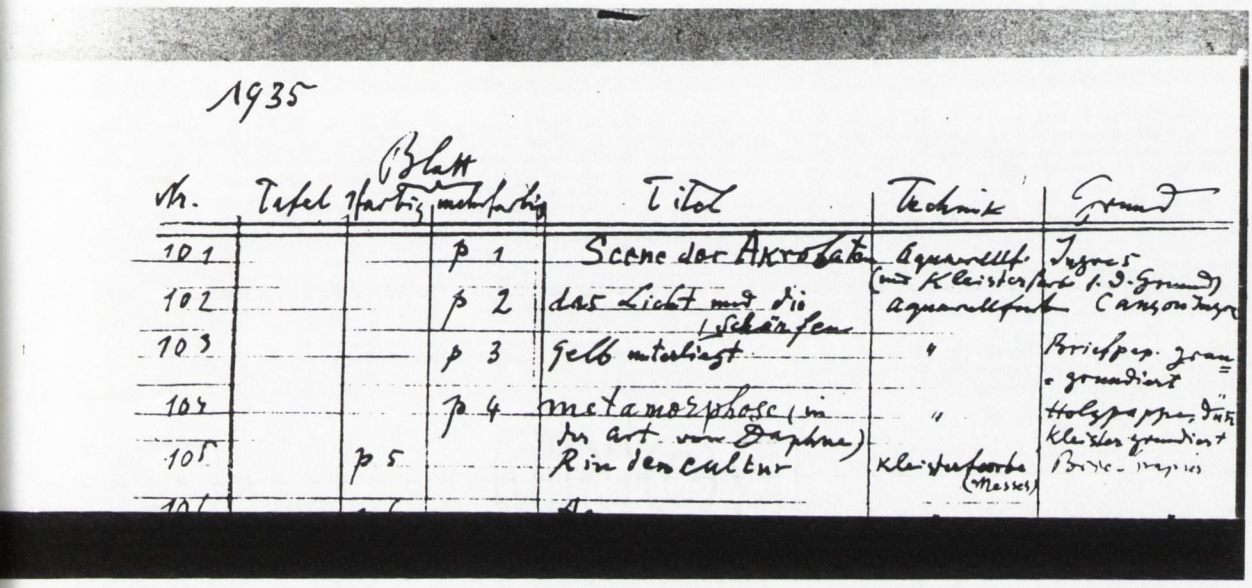
Gilles: Eingang zur Unterwelt. Aquarell (1953).

Mythologie des südlichen Mittag

Die Kölner Retrospektive auf Werner Gilles

APPENDIX 6

PAGE FROM PAUL KLEE'S HANDWRITTEN OEUVRE CATALOGUE, 1935, IDENTIFYING HIS WORK *METAMORPHOSE (IN DER ART VON DAPHNE)*



1935

Nr.	Tafel	Blatt 1farbig	Blatt mehrfarbig	Titel	Technik	Grund
101			p 1	Scene der Akrobaten	Aquarellf. (mit Kleisterfarbe i. d. Grund)	Ingres
102			p 2	das Licht und die Schärfen	aquarellfarbe	Canson Ingres
103			p 3	Gelb unterliegt	"	Briefpap. grau = grundiert
104			p 4	metamorphose (in der art von Daphne)	"	Holzpappe, dünn Kleister grundiert
105		p 5		Rindencultur	Kleisterfarbe (Messer)	Brief-papier
106						

APPENDIX 7

WORKS ON THEMES FROM CLASSICAL MYTHOLOGY[2] EXHIBITED AT ANNUAL *GROSSE DEUTSCHE KUNSTAUSSTELLUNG*, 1937-1944

1937

Cat. no.		Room no.
	Gosen, Theodor von, Breslau	
215	Arethusa (bronze)	5
	Happ, Hans, Frankfurt a.M.	
262	Flora (oil)	25
	Jennewein, Carl Paul, New York	
329	Cupid with Gazelle (bronze)	36
330	Cupid with Crane (bronze)	29
	Kalb, Friedrich Wilhelm, Munich	
353	Pandora (Indian ink drawing)	30
	Lommel, Friedrich, Munich	
458	Diana-Group (plaster)	8
	Riedl, Franz Josef, Vienna	
583	Sybil (Marble)	19
	Scheurich, Paul, Berlin	
639	Amazon (Porcelain)	38
	Trumm, Peter, Munich	
784	Landing of Odysseus	30
	Volkmann, Arthur, Geislingen-Steige	
797	Amazon (bronze)	32
	Volz, Germann, Karlsruhe	
800	Orestes, Fleeing Before The Furies	36
	Zeitler, Josef, Stuttgart	
870	Orpheus (bronze)	22

[2]These are identified almost entirely by their titles. Where a theme on classical myth is recognisable only from the image, and not the title, these will inevitably be excluded unless the work is known. Also, in some cases, such as with certain names of goddesses (e.g. Diana), it is possible that some works may be erroneously included as mythological when in reality they are portraits or belong to other categories.

	Ziegler, Adolf, Munich	
876	Terpsichore (oil)	25

1938

Number of Works Exhibited: Main Exhibition - 1,158
Supplement - 244

Cat. no.		Room no.
	Breker, Arno, Berlin	
105	Prometheus	2
	Cauer, Stanislaus, Konigsbert	
132	Venus Combing her Hair	36
	Godron, Johann Benjamin, Munich	
247	Venus Urania (oil)	19
	Hallvanha, Emilie von, Munich	
305	Diana (oil)	22
	Kalb, Friedrich Wilhelm, Munich	
450	Battle of Amazons (ink drawing)	28
	Klimsch, Fritz, Berlin	
493	Olympia (bronze)	2
	Lang, Hubert, Munich	
556	Flora (plaster)	15
	Manz, Emil, Munich	
604	Amazon (bronze)	29
	Peiner, Werner, Kronenburg	
719	Young Woman with Peacock [Juno?]	3
	Thorak, Josef, Munich	
1039	Model "Crowning Group" [with Goddess of Victory] Märzfeld Nürnberg (plaster)	2
	Weisel, Hugo, Rudostadt	
625	Ceres (porcelain)	36
	Rothaug, Alexander, Vienna	
836	Dido Abandoned (oil)	31
839	Leda (oil)	31
840	Amazon after the Battle	31
	Scheibe, Richard, Berlin	
870	Nymph (bronze)	29

	Schuster-Woldan, Raffael, Berlin	
925	Dido (oil)	26
	Storch, Karl, Berlin	
1017	Artemis, the Protector of Animals (oil)	15
	Ziegler, Adolf, Munich	
1139	Goddess of Art (oil)	25

1939

Number of Works Exhibited: Main Exhbition - 1,322
Supplement - 241

Cat. no.		Room no.
	Amrhein, Hermann, Lohr am Main	
12	Ariadne (wood sculpture)	29
	Breker, Arno, Berlin	
101	Dionysos (bronze)	2
	Brumme, Alfred, Leipzig	
115	Diana (bronze)	29
	Cauer, Hanna, Berlin	
131	Athena (plaster)	2
	Flosdorf, Ferdinand, Düsseldorf	
258	Mercury (bronze)	35
	Förster, Richard, Munich	
259	Venus (plaque, silver)	29
	Friedrich, Georg, Berlin	
274	The Judgement of Paris (oil)	8
	Goebel, August-Wilhelm, Düsseldorf	
311	Fountain-Nymph (bronze)	21
	Hauschild, Walter, Berlin	
390	Diana with a Dog (plaster)	39
	Hilz, Sepp, Bad Aibling	
432	Rustic Venus (oil)	15
	Hoffmann, Erich, Munich	
450	Europa (bronze)	36

	Kalb, Friedrich Wilhelm, Munich	
510	Daphne (resin-oil)	6
511	Bath of Artemis	6
	Klein, Richard, Munich	
569	Diana (oil)	22
	Klimsch, Fritz, Berlin	
575	Galatea (bronze)	8
	Müller, Georg, Munich	
763	Amazon (bronze)	29
	Padua, Paul M., Munich	
830	Leda with the Swan (oil)	22
	Sapper-Däubler, Ida, Munich	
971	Demeter (terracotta)	29
	Scheurich, Paul, Berlin	
992	Chiron and Selena (bronze)	37
993	Shepherd and Nymph (bronze)	36
994	Mars and Venus (bronze)	36
	Scheurle, Paul, Munich	
1000	Amazone (plaster)	1
	Thiele, Franze, Prague	
1174	Helena (oil)	8
	Wackerle, Josef, Munich	
1221	Pan (relief, plaster)	1
1222	Nymph (relief, plaster)	1
	Weißmüller, Otto, Berlin	
1254	Daphne (plaster)	39
	Ziegler, Adolf, Munich	
1301	The Judgement of Paris (oil)	25
	Zschorsch, Alfred, Düsseldorf	
1317	Aphrodite (Jura-marble)	29

Supplement

	Saliger, Ivo, Vienna	
189	Judgement of Paris (oil)	8

1940

Number of Works Exhibited: Main Exhibition - 1,397
Supplement -

Cat. no.		Room no.
	Agricola, Rudolf, Berlin	
3	Amazon (bronze)	2
	Amrhein, Hermann, Lohr	
17	Daphne (wood)	22
	Bohnenberger, Theordor, Munich	
98	Diana (oil)	26
	Kolbe, Georg, Berlin	
639	Flora (bronze)	2
	Kupsch, Felix, Berlin	
671	Diana (bronze)	38
	Pfefferer, Rudolf, Munich	
900	Diana (plaster)	32
	Pieper, Josef, Düsseldorf	
913	Nausicaa on the Strand	4
	Reitzenstein-Langenmantel, Erna von, Munich	
947	Sisyphus (bronze)	29
	Saliger, Ivo, Vienna	
1007	The Bath of Diana (oil)	25
1008	Diana at Rest (oil)	31
	Scheurle, Paul, Munich	
1039	Fortuna (plaster)	2
	Stahl,[3] Friedrich, Rome	
1165	Triumph of Eros (oil)	3
	(Lender: Reichs Ministry for Enlightenment and Propoganda)	
	Truppe, Karl, Dresden	
1264	Sein und Vergehen [Danae] (oil)	15
	Wamper, Adolf, Berlin	
1305	Genius of Victory (plaster)	2
	Wandschneider, Wilhelm, Plau	
1306	Aphrodite (bronze)	2

[3]It was practice to include at the Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung a special exhibition of works by a respected artist. In 1940, a special exhibition was mounted in room 3 of 36 works by Friedrich Stahl.

	Werner, Richard Martin, Oberurfel	
1333	Psyche (bronze)	35

Supplement

	Scheinhammer, Otto, Munich	
242	Venus (oil)	31

1941

Number of Works Exhibited: Main Exhibition - 1,347
Supplement - 535

Cat. no.		Room no.
	Best, Hans, Munich	
69	Phryne (bronze)	28
	Breker, Arno, Berlin	
105	Psyche	4
	Brumme, Alfred, Leipzig	
122	Mnemosyne	2
	Dörfel, Otto, Munich	
194	Flora	7
	Dorn, Alois, Munich	
200	Nymphe (bronze)	36
	Eckart, Lissy, Munich	
210	Venus (metal)	29
	Ehmig, George, Berlin	
220	Rape of Europa (oil)	24
	Fehrle, Jakob Wilhelm, Schwäb.-Gmünd	
252	Diana [medium not stated]	6
253	Goddess of Spring [medium not stated]	7
	Happ, Hans, Frankfurt a.M.	
384	Thetis (oil)	15
	Heymann, Richard, Munich	
438	Psyche (oil)	24
	Hiller, Anton, Munich	
443	Venus [medium not stated]	20

	Hofmann, Oswald, Munich	
465	Daphne [medium not stated]	2
	Kalderach, Alex, Hamburg	
520	Das Olympieion in Athen (oil)	40
	Klimsch, Fritz, Berlin	
557	Anadyomene (marble)	24
	Lommel, Friedrich, Munich	
661	Fortuna [medium not stated]	29
662	Luna (terracotta)	29
	Rolser, Otto, Munich	
924	Icarus	21
	Scheurle, Paul, Munich	
979	Gaea	2
	Schuster-Woldan, Raffael,[4] Berlin	
1055	Danaë (oil)	3
	(Lender: Stadt des deutschen Handwerks Frankfurt a.M.)	
1057	The Punishment of Cupid (oil)	3
	Schwarzbeck, Fritz, Darmstadt	
1065	Daphne (bronze)	36
1188	Thorak, Josef, Baldham near Munich 4-figure fountain "The Judgement of Paris"	8
	Wilckens, Marie Luise, Munich	
1292	Ceres [medium not stated]	6

Supplement

	Kluska, Johann, Berlin	
228	Venus (oil)	22

[4]In 1941, a special show of 28 works by Raffael Schuster-Woldan was mounted in rooms 3 and 8.

1942

Number of Works Exhibited: Main Exhibition - 1,213
Supplement -

Cat. no.		Room no.
	Cauer, Hanna, Berlin	
157	Speersenkende Pallas [with Javelin?] [medium not stated]	31
	Eckart, Lissy, Munich	
206	Diana (Metal)	36
	Ehmig, Georg, Berlin	
210	Judgement of Paris (oil)	22
	Fehrle, Jakob Wilhelm, Schwab.-Gmund	
261	Aphrodite (gilded zinc)	34
264	Amazon (stoneware?[5])	15
	Graf, Oskar, Munich	
347	Aphrodite (oil)	15
	Graff, Hans, Urspring	
348	Memory of Greece (pencil drawing)	30
	Kalb, Friedrich Wilhelm, Munich	
492	Losing (Eurydice) (resin-oil)	24
493	Finding (Eros and Psyche) (resin-oil)	24
494	Seeking (Daphne) (resin-oil)	24
	Klein, Richard, Munich	
520	Venus and Adonis (oil)	6
	Laurenty, Ernst, Munich	
593	Mnemosyne (marble)	35
	Liebermann, Ernst, Munchen	
631	Naiade at the Spring (oil)	24
	List, Hans, Berlin	
650	Diana after her Bath (oil)	15
	Mayer-Faßold, Eugen, Munich	
683	God of Light [medium not stated]	38
	Mikorey, Franz, Munich	
712	Sun-god [medium not stated]	21
	Preisinger, Michael, Munich	

[5]Listed as 'Steinguß'.

835	Europa (bronze)	36
	Schober, Peter Jakob, Stuttgart	
944	Flora (oil)	20
	Schott, Heinrich, Munich	
949	Nike [medium not stated]	15
	Schumacher, Mathias, Berlin	
967	Nymph (zinc)	2
	Schuster-Woldan, Raffael, Berlin	
970	Mars and Venus (oil)	14
	Steppes, Edmund, Munich	
1029	Paladin of Pan (antique tempera)	24
	Sutor, Emil, Karlsruhe	
1049	Amazons (stucco)	36
1050	Europa (stucco)	36
	Thiele, Alfred, Leipzig	
1071	Diana [medium not stated]	6
	Thorak, Josef, Baldham	
1081	Leda with the Swan [marble???]	24
	Truppe, Karl, Dresden	
1096	Bacchus and Ariadne (oil)	15
	Tutter, Karl, Selb	
1107	Terpsichore (porcelain)	29
	Werner, Richard Martin, Oberursel i. Ts.	
1163	Iphigenia [medium not stated]	27

1943

Number of Works Exhibited: Main Exhibition - 1,141
Supplement - 594

Cat. no.		Room no.
	Becker, Philipp, Frankfurt a.M.	
42	Diana of our Time [medium not stated]	15
	Dorn, Alois, Munich	
164	Flora [medium not stated]	21
	Ehmig, Georg, Berlin	
177	Orpheus (oil)	22

	Happ, Hans, Frankfurt a. M.	
330	Rape of Proserpina (oil)	15
	Hilz, Sepp, Bad Aibling	
374	Zauberei im Herbst (oil)	15
	Kalb, Friedrich Wilhelm, Munich	
425	Pandora (resin-oil)	15
	Kampf, Herbert, Berlin	
430	Icarus (oil)	20
	Kuhn, Erich, Düsseldorf	
501	Ariadne (marble)	34
	Müller, Georg, Munich	
598	Amazon (metal)	36
	Ostermaier, Rudolf, Munich	
639	Echo	7
	Padua, Paul Mathias, Munich	
646	Sleeping Diana (oil)	15
	Pferrer, Rudolf, Munich	
675	Dionysos (metal)	36
	Pieper, Josef, Düsseldorf	
717	Europa (oil)	15
	Riedl, Josef Fr., Vienna	
778	Venus von Wels	2
	Röwer, Joss, Berlin	
788	Daphne (metal)	36
	Rost, Otto, Dresden	
797	Psyche [medium not stated]	8
	Scheibe, Richard, Berlin	
833	Flora (zinc, silvered)	28
	Scheurle, Paul, Munich	
840	Naiad [medium not stated]	2
	Scholter, Hans, Geislingen	
871	Diana (zinc)	36
	Siegle, Theo, Ludwigshafen	
918	Nereid [medium not stated]	33

	Simon-Schaefer, Hans-Albert, Düsseldorf	
922	Hour of Pan	5
	Spiegel, Marianne, Stuttgart	
942	Flora (mixed media)	10
	Steppes, Edmund, Munich	
963	Creature and Daemon (antique tempera)	24
	Tutter, Karl, Selb	
1010	Artemis (porcelain)	29
	Vilz, Carl, Düsseldorf	
1032	Nereid [medium not stated]	6
	Werner, Carl, Selb	
1075	Flora (porcelain)	29
1077	Aphrodite (porcelain)	29
	Zimmermann, Kurt, Düsseldorf	
1135	Venus of the Lower Rhine	33

Supplement

	Grau, Wolfgang, Munich	
174	Aphrodite [medium not stated]	35
	Hartmann, Hubert Anton, Munich	
202	Flora [medium not stated]	36

1944

Number of Works Exhibited: Main Exhibition - 1,072
Supplement -

Cat. no.		Room no.
	Albiker, Karl, Dresden	
11	Relief for Luftwaffe [Flying Genius: Icarus]	8
	Amrhein, Hermann, Lohr	
15	Relief: Odysseus and Kalypso	8
	Bauer-Riedeck, Carl Josef, Munich	
32	Bathing Amazon (oil)	31

	Breker, Arno, Berlin	
96	Relief Apollo and Daphne	2
98	Flora	2
	Brumme, Alfred, Leipzig	
116	Galatea (metal)	36
	Cauer, Eduard, Bad Kreuznach	
126	Venus [medium not stated]	36
	Dietz, Elmar, Munich	
147	Eos [medium not stated]	40
	Ehmig, Georg, Berlin	
175	Diana Resting (oil)	21
	Fehrle, Jakob Wilhelm, Schw.-Gmünd	
218	Selene [medium not stated]	2
	Friedrich-Gronau, Lore, Berlin	
256	Terpsichore (zinc)	29
	Happ, Hans, Frankfurt a. M.	
363	Study for Odyssey (oil)	35
	Herberholz, Wilhelm, Düsseldorf	
399	Polyphemus (oil)	9
	Mikorey, Franz, Munich	
613	Flora (metal)	36
	Pieper, Josef, Düsseldorf	
710	Mars and Venus (oil)	15
	Rauch, Ernst Andreas, Nürnberg	
729	Fortuna [medium not stated]	24
	Reiß-Schmidt, Ernst, Düsseldorf	
735	Olympia [medium not stated]	15
736	Aphrodite [medium not stated]	15
738	Nike (metal)	36
	Röwer, Joss, Berlin	
758	Daphne (marble)	29
	Thiele, Alfred, Leipzig	
958	Naiad (limestone)	29
	Thorak, Josef, Baldham	
965	Prometheus [medium not stated]	2
	Tuckermann, Walter, Löwenberg	
982	Thespis (wood)	29
	Türke, Georg, Dresden	

986	Diana [medium not stated]	39
	Vilz, Carl, Düsseldorf	
1004	Flora (stone)	7
	Volwahsen, Herbert, Dresden	
1007	Perseus [medium not stated]	2
	Zimmermann, Kurt, Trier	
1070	Muse [medium not stated]	33

APPENDIX 8

WORKS ON CLASSICAL MYTH PURCHASED FOR THE REICHSKANZLEI, BERLIN

Consulted at Kunstdepot, Oberfinanzdirktion München, Referat BV 12.
The data relating to the images comprises that appearing on the index cards cataloguing the collection, which were consulted, plus any further relevant information given in the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* catalogues. 'HddK' refers to *the Haus der Deutschen Kunst* where the exhibitions took place. The notation 'R' refers to the *Ruchsendungsvermerk,* the notation on the back of the paintings or sculptures. During 1999, the works were transferred to their new location at the Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.

Bauer-Riedeck, Carl Joseph

[*Bathing*] *Amazon*
signed upper right 'C.J. Bauer-Riedeck'.
Oil on canvas. 190 x 160 cm.
HddK 1944, cat. no.32.
R= Reichskanzlei, Berlin.

Bohnenberger, Theodore

Diana
signed upper right 'Bohnenberger'.
Oil on canvas. 175 x 175 cm.
HddK 1940, cat. no.98.
R=der Führer.

Friedrich, Georg

Judgement of Paris
Oil on canvas. 105 x 185 cm.
HddK 1939, cat. no.274.

Graf, Oskar

Aprhodite
Oil on canvas. 220 x 166 cm.
HddK 1942, cat. no.347
R=Reichskanzlei, Berlin.

Happ, Hans

Thetis
Oil on canvas. 185 x 275 cm.
HddK 1941, cat. no.384

Heymann, Richard

Psyche
Oil on canvas117 x 84 cm.
HddK 1941, cat. no.438
R=der Führer

Kalb, Friedrich Wilhelm

Daphne

Oil on canvas. 108 x 146 cm.
HddK 1939, cat. no.510

Bath of Artemis
Oil on canvas. 152 x 97 cm.
HddK 1939, cat. no.511

Seeking (Daphne)
Oil on canvas. 155 x 95 cm.
HddK 1942, cat. no. 492
R=Reichskanzlei, Berlin

Finding (Eros and Psyche)
Oil on canvas. 155 x 155 cm.
HddK 1942, cat. no. 493

Loosing (Euridice)
Oil on canvas. 155 x 95 cm.
HddK 1944, cat. no.494
R=Reichskanzlei, Berlin

Kampf, Arthur

Venus and Adonis
1939
Oil on canvas. 183 x 158 cm.

Liebermann, Ernst

The Three Graces
Oil on canvas. 190 x 135 cm.
HddK 1940, cat. no.702
R=Reichskanzlei, Berlin

Mikorey, Franz

Flora
1944
Bronze with stone sockel,
140 cm., plus sockel 4 cm.,
HddK 1944, cat. no.613.

Saliger, Ivo

Diana at Rest
1939/40
Oil on canvas, 200 x 190 cm.
HddK 1940, cat. no.1008

Judgement of Paris
1939
Oil on canvas. 160 x 200 cm.
HddK 1939, supp. cat. no.189 (replaced 1174)

Schuster-Woldan, Raffael

Danae
Oil on canvas. 115 x 95 cm.
HddK 1941, cat. no.1055

Mars and Venus
Oil on canvas. 98 x 184 cm.
HddK 1942, cat. no.970

Reflection (Bacchus? with Two Women)
Oil on canvas. 143 x 122 cm.
HddK 1941, cat. no.

Steppes, Edmund

Paladin of Pan
Tempera on hardboard, 120 x 100 cm.
HddK 1942, cat. no.1029
R=Reichskanzlei, Berlin

Truppe, Karl

Bacchus and Ariadne
Oil on canvas. 165 x 155 cm.
HddK 1942, cat. no.1096
R=Reichskanzlei, Berlin

APPENDIX 9

PAUL SCHULTZE-NAUMBURG: *NORDIC BEAUTY* EXAMPLES FROM IMAGERY ON CLASSICAL MYTHOLOGY

Examples of ideal Nordic beauty as interpreted by Schultze-Naumburg and expressed in sculptures depicting characters from classical mythology:

Apollo of Piombino, Louvre, Paris.

Aphrodite of Frejus [Roman copy after Alkamenes], Louvre, Paris

Esquiline Aphrodite [Roman copy of Greek original], Conservatory, Rome

Lyre-playing Apollo from Pompeii, Bronze, National Museum, Naples

Aphrodite Anadyomene, Thermae Museum, Rome [shown 3 times]

Head of Sleeping Ariadne, National Museum, Rome

Head of Athene, Louvre, Paris

Athene of Myron, Stadtische Galerie, Frankfurt

Head of Aphrodite, Kaufmann Collection, Berliln

Snake goddess, Early Cretan [location not stated]

Head of Alexander, Glyptothek, Munich

Mythological themes as examples of Nordic beauty from later art influenced by classicism:

Venus as World Ruler [?], Venice

Head of Flora, from the Allegory of Spring, Botticelli,

Euridike, Allessandro Boratori, known as Padovanino, Accademia, Venice

Flora, Poussin, Galerie, Dresden

Danae, Titian, Prado, Madrid

Kingdom of Flora, Galerie, Dresden

Head of Ganymed, Girolamo da Carpi, Galerie Dresden.

Venus, Lucas Cranach

Dream of Paris, Lucas Cranach, Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe

Venus, Lucas Cranach, Stadelsches Institut, Frankfurt

Schultze-Naumburg, Paul. *Nordische Schönheit, Ihr Wunschbild im Leben und in der Kunst.* Munich and Berlin: T.F. Lehmann Verlag (1937).

APPENDIX 10

ARNO BREKER'S COLLECTION OF BOOKS

The artist owned a significant collection of books. From a very brief visit, in September 1997, to the Breker home where his books are preserved, it was possible for me to get a general impression of his interests but nowhere near a comprehensive listing. Illustrated books on art and sculpture seemed to be predominant, though there were some literary texts also. It is not known how comprehensive this collection is of the books he collected throughout his life.

The following books are in the Arno Breker collection:

Buschor, Ernst. *Die Plastik der Griechen.* Berlin: Rembrandt-Verlag, GMBH (1936).

Charbonneaux, J., R. Martin, and F. Villar. *Das Hellenistische Griechenland.* Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck (1971).

Jünger, Frederick Georg. *Griechische Mythen.* Fankfurt a.M: Vittorio Klostermann (1957).

Lessing, Erich. *Die Abenteuer des Odysseus.* Introduction by Karl Kerenyi. Freiburg: Verlag Herder (1969).

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Schneider-Lengyel, I. *Griechische Terrakotten.* Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann A.G. (1936).

Weege, Fritz, editor. *Dionysischer Reisen, Lied und Bild in der Antike.* Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag (1926).

Sport und Spiel bei Griechen und Romern. Ausstellung. Berlin: Kaiser Friedrich Museen zu Berlin. Mai 1934.

Die Welt der Ägypter, Crosse Kulturen der Frühzeit. Stuttgart: Gustav Klipper Verlag (1954).

In addition, there were books on Pompei, on Sumerian Art, and on specific artists including August Macke, Henry Moore, and Auguste Rodin. According to his daughter, Carola, Breker also owned a copy of the complete works of Nietzsche and had a general interest in philosophy.

APPENDIX 11

WORKS ON THEMES FROM GERMANIC MYTHOLOGY[6] EXHIBITED AT ANNUAL *GROSSE DEUTSCHE KUNSTAUSTELLUNG,* 1937-1944

Cat.no.		Room no.
1937		
	Kalb, Friedrich Wilhelm, Munich	
354	Fairy tale[7] (India ink drawing)	30
	Limburg, Josef, Berlin	
450	Loreley (bronze)	20
	Staeger, Ferdinand, Munich	
726	Mother Earth (etching)	30
	Voigt, Elizabeth, Berlin	
795	Werwolf I and II (woodcut)	30
1938		
	Goebel, August Wilhel, Düsseldorf	
252	Gudrun (Greek marble)	28
	Wynand, Paul, Berlin	
1134	Parsifal (bronze statuette)	29

[6]These are identified almost entirely by their titles. Where a theme on classical myth is recognisable only from the image, and not the title, these will inevitably be excluded unless the work is known. Also, in some cases, such as with certain names of goddesses (e.g. Diana), it is possible that some works may be erroneously included as mythological when in reality they are portraits or belong to other categories.

[7]The term *märchen*, or fairy tale, commonly refers to Germanic folk stories, myths and legends, such as those collected by the brothers Grimm as mentioned in Chapter 1.

1939

	Bergen, Claus, Munich	
56	Viking (oil)	39
	Coubillier, Fritz, Düsseldorf	
146	Rider "Walther from the Vogelwelde" (bronze)	38
	Kampf, Arthur, Berlin	
524	The Battle of Light against the Finsternis (oil)	3
	[Lender: Reichs Minister and Chief of the Reichs Chancellory, Berlin]	

1940

	Bischoff, August, Frankfurt a. M.	
75	Siegfried (plaster)	2
	Goebel, August-Wilhelm, Düsseldorf	
372	Norn (marble)	21
	Staeger, Ferdinand, Munich	
1149	Sea/lake Fairytale	30

Supplement

	Molwitz, Herbert, Mitterteich	
202	View of Walhalla from Donaustauf (aquarell outline etching)	30

1941

Number of Works Exhibited		1,347
	Stierschneider, Edmund, Bruck-Mur	
1138	Fairytale (aquarell)	30

Supplement

	Fischer-Rhein, Jakob, Berlin	
115	Thor's Holy Grove[8]	24

[8]The title of the painting *Thor's Hain* refers to the holy grove, wood or forest associated with Germanic deities.

1942

Tuter, Karl, Selb
1102 Walküre (porcelain) 29

Wandschneider, Wilhelm, Plau
1143 Thor 20

Weiß, Franz, Kempten
1152 German Fairytale (oil) 36

1943

Schumacher, Mathias, Berlin
896 Gudrun (zinc) 35

Wynand, Paul, Berlin
1119 Parsifal (zinc) 1

Supplement

Hofmann, Maria Theresia, Munich
233 Gudrun [medium not stated] 33

Schumacher, Mathias, Berlin
458 Freya (zinc) 37

Trier, Hann, Berlin
503 Aus dem Wielandzyklus:
Wieland and Bodwild (chalk wash drawing) 30

1944

Mader, Karl, Graz
581 Parzifal (etching) 29

Staeger, Ferdinand, Munich
909 Siegried in Battle with the King of the Danes (oil) 9

APPENDIX 12

TRANSCRIPT OF INTERVIEW WITH HANS FEIBUSCH 9TH MARCH 1996. CONDUCTED BY YVONNE SCOTT

YS: You have undertaken a number of images on mythological themes. Where did you learn about classical myths? Did you have a gymnasium education and if so what texts did you read?

HF: I had a gymnasium schooling in Frankfurt. My knowledge of myth goes back to childhood. My first childhood experiences came from the great love, in the last century, of classical myth in art. Nineteenth century German and French painters used it a great deal in paintings - such as Thoma, Böcklin, and Feuerbach. They coincided with French painters like Delacroix. The sphere of classical myth came to me in childhood through these artists.

As I grew up, a did a great deal of reading of classical authors and at school I learned Latin and Greek. We read Ovid, Xenophon - the Anabasis - and I read the Odyssey which I preferred to the Iliad because of the constant fighting. Germans have a predilection for the classical stories - the more so, I think than the English. As I grew up the world of classical myth was completely familiar to me - I correponded art to their world. Equally, the German mythology came very much through the musicians - a great deal through Wagner. We learned Geek history and Roman history also.

YS: Did your travels in Greece and Italy have an influence on your work?

HF: My time in Italy was a great influence. It was the first journey on my own accord after I had come out of the army. I was chiefly in mid Italy - Tuscany, Florence, Pisa, and Perugia had the greatest influence on me; the great mural paintings in those cites influenced my style very much. Those painters, like Piero della Francesca and Massaccio and the sculpture of Donatello - they influenced my style - my whole visual image of things.

The cemetary in Pisa influenced me too - I was heartbroken at the destruction there. It was restored - part of the old one still existing - in the restoration of it they found a whole painting had been executed underneath - they did the whole thing over again.

As for Germany - it was full of fairy tales and tales of mystery, and Hansel and Gretel stories - a great many similar things. Wagner's operas are all based on old folktales - Siegfried, the Flying Dutchman, etc. - all adapted to the nineteenth century taste and his musical idiom - all old stories.

Germany had a very interesting production period in the second half of the nineteenth century. And Romanticism in Germany - there was a great time of renewal of Romantic German art in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and very good writers. Schlegel and German visual art. From time to time there are great sudden changes.

At the end of the eighteenth century there was a change from high Baroque into simple Romantic art - artists like Friedrich. Goethe was affected by it. He hated Tiepolo but liked the Romantic period. Novalis - he was a Romantic also.

YS: Can you tell me about your studies under Karl Hofer?

HF: I went to Karl Hofer at the Berlin Akademie - he was the teacher there - for about eighteen months. Then I got a Rome scholarship. Hofer was a sour man who couldn't get himself to say a friendly word. When I first showed him my work he said "so you want to become a painter?" He took me on. After some months - he looked at what everyone did. I had done a still life. He looked at it himself and said "That is sehr gut. You don't know how good it is . It will take you a long time to do another one like it." I exhibited at the Berlin Akademie in '29/'30 - there was an exhibition every year in Berlin of young artists - I won that and got something called the Preußischen Großer Staatspreis.[9]

YS: What kind of mythological themes do you like to represent? Are they narratives or do they have for you a symbolic meaning? Such as the Death of Narcissus [1946], does it have a particular symbolism?

HF: It is difficult because for an artist the subject and the presentation of it are one. Very often the actual story you are telling is adapted ... subordinate to the formal demands, and artists also have a very difficult way - some artists can never bring up a story and still do still life and portraits. I have always been able to conjure up stories and movements very easily which is perhaps not always a good thing. I have always been very interested in bringing together architecture and painting. It's talked about at the moment in connection with Cézanne. That the picture frame is not an open hole through which you look into distance, but that the rendering of the distance through two-dimensional means is one of the great problems and challenges of art. Which was first brought properly to the consciousness of people through Cézanne.

YS: Are any of your works a reaction to the experience of the 1930s - to persecution, racism, exile, war?

HF: The effect of exile did make a great change to me because when you have such an interruption and make a new beginning, you examine all your means of expression. And style had belonged, to a considerable extent, to what was modern at the time - die Brücke the Bauhaus and a great deal of that was not really my own, and gradually that fell away from me. I found that I got deeper into myself - it may not have been in the way of fashion. Perhaps I got more of the old Romantic coming up in me. Looking at classical myth, part of looking back to the past, to the Romantic.

YS: Did you know anything of the Nazi view of myth?

HF: I did not experience much of it - I left in 1933. But I had been doing, in the last year or two - not big oil paintings - but big pastels. Many refer in a symbolic way to what Jews went through. Narcissus - a beautiful youth with foliage in his hair - is a Romantic image.

---

[9] He won this, in fact, in 1931. The winner from the sculpture category in that year was Hermann Blumenthal, while the winner of the Prämie des Staatspreises (painting section), was E.W. Nay.

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2.	Printed Primary Sources	293
3.	Secondary Sources	322

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459 Arno Breker
210 Ernst Wilhelm Nay

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Medal of the Academy of Fine Arts, Munich, with head of *Pallas Athene*.
1933
Source of Photograph: *Die Kunst*, 69 (3), December (1933), p.85.

Plate 3.23
Cover illustration showing Pallas Athene and Haus der Kunst.
Source of Photograph: *Simplicissimus* (15.10.1933), cover.

Plate 3.24
Model of head of Athena leading German Day of Art Parade, 1937.
Source of Photograph: Brantl, Sabine (undated), p.40.

Plate 3.25
Cover design for GDK catalogue 1937 with head of Athena.
Source of Photograph: *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung 1937* (1937), cover.

Plate 3.26
Kärner, Theodor H.
Athena
1938
Commemorative statuette produced by SS Porcelain Works at Allach.
Source of Photograph: Davidson, Mortimer G. (1988), vol.1, illustrations unpaginated.

Plate 3.27
Photograph of Tableau Vivant of *Birth of Venus*
1937
Performance of *Night of the Nymphs* by Peter Pawlinins Romantic Ballet.
Source of Photograph: Bleuel, Hans Peter (1973), photographs unpaginated.

Plate 3.28
Ziegler, Adolf
Goddess of Art
1938 GDK
Oil on canvas
Source of Photograph: *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung 1938* (1938), pl.29.

Plate 3.29
Wackerle, Josef
The Three Norns or *Fates*
1956 (erected)
Bronze. Figures over life size.
St. Stephen's Green, Dublin
Source of Photograph: Author.

Plate 3.30
Graf, Oskar
Aphrodite
1942
Oil on canvas. 220 x 166 cm.
Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.
Source of Photograph: Davidson, Mortimer G. (1988), vol.2, illustrations unpaginated.

Plate 3.31
Müller, Carl Otto
Franconian Venus
Source of Photograph: Davidson, Mortimer G. (1988), vol.2, illustrations unpaginated.

Plate 3.32
Hilz, Sepp
Rustic Venus
1939 GDK
Oil.
Source of Photograph: Davidson, Mortimer G. (1988), vol.2, illustrations unpaginated.

Plate 3.33
Hilz, Sepp
Rustic Venus
c. 1939
Source of Photograph: Davidson, Mortimer G. (1988), vol.2, illustrations unpaginated.

Plate 3.34
Bohnenberger, Theodore
Diana
1940 GDK
Oil on canvas. 175.0 x 175.0 cm.
Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.
Source of Photograph: Author.

Plate 3.35
Kalb, Friedrich Wilhelm
Bath of Artemis
1939 GDK
Oil on canvas. 152 x 97 cm.
Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.
Source of Photograph: Author.

Plate 3.36
Saliger, Ivo
Diana's Rest
1940 GDK
Oil on canvas. 200 x 190 cm.
Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.
Source of Photograph: Adam, Peter (1992), p.223.

Plate 3.37
Kalb, Friedrich Wilhelm
Daphne
1939 GDK
Oil on canvas. 108 x 146 cm.
Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.
Source of Photograph: Author.

Plate 3.38
Kalb, Friedrich Wilhelm
Triptych: *Seeking (Daphne); Finding (Eros and Psyche); Losing (Euridice).*
1942 GDK
Oil on canvas. 155 x 95 cm.; 155 x 155 cm.; 155 x 95 cm.
Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.
Source of Photograph: Adam, Peter (1992), p.222.

Plate 3.39
Kalb, Friedrich Wilhelm
Losing (Euridice).
1942 GDK
Oil on canvas. 155 x 95 cm.
Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.
Source of Photograph: Adam, Peter (1992), p.222.

Plate 3.40
Feuerbach, Anselm
Orpheus and Euridice
1869
Oil on canvas. 195.0 x 124.0 cm.
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
Source of Photograph: Witt Library, London.

Plate 3.41
Mikorey, Franz
Flora
1944 GDK
Bronze with stone socle. H 45 cm (plus socle 4 cm.).
Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.
Source of Photograph: Author.

Plate 3.42
Breker, Arno
Flora
1944 GDK
Marble.
Source of Photograph: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich.

Plate 3.43
Palmie, Gisbert
Rewards of Work
1939 GDK
Mixed media.
Source of Photograph: Adam, Peter (1992), p.142.

Plate 3.44
Padua, Paul Matthias
Leda and the Swan
1939 GDK
Oil on canvas.
Source of Photograph: *Kunst dem Volk*, 10 (8), August (1939), p.25.

Plate 3.45
Ziegler, Karl
Leda

Source of Photograph: Hinz, Berthold (1974), p.260.

Plate 3.46
Thorak, Josef
Leda and the Swan
1942 GDK
Marble.
Source of Photograph: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich.

Plate 3.47
Truppe, Karl
Joy of the Senses (Danae)
Source of Photograph: Davidson, Mortimer G. (1988), vol.2, illustrations unpaginated.

Plate 3.48
Titian
Danae
Original in Prado, Madrid
Source of Photograph: Schultze-Naumburg, Paul (1937), p.176.

Plate 3.49
Rembrandt van Rijn
Danae
Original in Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.
Source of Photograph: *Die Kunst*, 85 (1), October (1941), p.1.

Plate 3.50
Kalb, Friedrich Wilhelm
Meeting
c.1939
Source of Photograph: *Das Bild*, 9, July (1939), p.191.

Plate 3.51
Saliger, Ivo
Judgement of Paris
1939 GDK
Oil on canvas. 160 x 200 cm.
Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.
Source of Photograph: Brock, Brazon, and Preiß, Achim, (1990), p.269.

Plate 3.52
Ziegler, Adolf
Judgement of Paris
1939 GDK
Source of Photograph: *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich*, 3 (8), August (1939), p.252.

Plate 3.53
Friedrich, Georg
Judgement of Paris
1939 GDK
Oil on canvas. 105.0 x 185.0 cm.
Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.
Source of Photograph: *Kunst dem Volk*, 10 (8), August (1939), p.4.

Plate 3.54
Thorak, Josef
Judgement of Paris
1941 GDK
Design for fountain.
Source of Photograph: Davidson, Mortimer G. (1988), vol.1, illustrations unpaginated.

Plate 3.55
Saliger, Ivo
Mars and Venus
Source of Photograph: Hinz, Berthold (1974), p.257.

Plate 3.56
Schuster-Woldan, Rafael
Mars and Venus
1942 GDK
Oil and canvas. 98 cm. x 184 cm.
Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.
Source of Photograph: Author.

Plate 3.57
Kampf, Arthur
Venus and Adonis
1939 GDK
Oil on canvas. 183.0 x 158.0 cm.
Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.
Source of Photograph: Britt, David, editor (1995), p.294.

Plate 3.58
Wackerle, Josef
Neptune Fountain
Limestone (muschelkalk).
Alter Botanischer Garten, Munich
Source of Photograph: Author.

Plate 3.59
Meller, Willy
Dragonkiller Relief for the Memorial of the Bochum Verein.
Stone Relief.
Source of Photograph: *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich*, 2 (10), October (1939), p.326.

Plate 3.60
Wamper, Adolf
Hercules and the Hydra
1937
Terracotta relief and naval hospital, Stralsund.
Commissioned for naval hospital, Stralsund.
Source of Photograph: Davidson, Mortimer G. (1988), vol.3, illustrations unpaginated.

Plate 3.61
Liebermann, Ferdinand
Struggle
1941 GDK
Bronze
Source of Photograph: *Die Kunst*, 85 (4), January (1942), p.91.

Plate 3.62
Kampf, Herbert
Icarus
1943 GDK
Oil on canvas.
Source of Photograph: *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung 1943* (1943).

Plate 3.63
Albiker, Karl
Flying Genius
1938
Relief sculpture for District Air Command, Dresden (Architect William Kreis),
108 cm x 537 cm.
Source of Photograph: *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich*, 2 (10), October 1939, p.324.

Plate 3.64
Breker, Arno
Prometheus II
c.1936-37.
Bronze.
Source of Photograph: Probst, V.G. (1978), pl.42.

Plate 3.65
Thorak, Josef
Prometheus
1944 GDK
Source of Photograph: Davidson, Mortimer G. (1988), vol.1, illustrations unpaginated.

Plate 4.1
Fidus
Ex Libris for Wilhelm Schwaner
c.1925

Source of Photograph: Hermand, Jost (1972), p.111.

Plate 4.2
Wrage, Klaus
Woodcut from the *Helgilied* saga.

Source of Photograph: *Germanen-Erbe*, 4 (2), February (1939), p.47.

Plate 4.3
Programme for Day of German Art, 1937, outlining themes from Nordic myth in the parade illustrating '2000 Years of German Art'.

Source of Photograph: Davidson, Mortimer G. (1988), vol.2, illustrations unpaginated.

Plate 4.4
Staeger, Ferdinand
Siegfried in Battle with the King of the Danes
1943/44. 1944 GDK.
Oil.

Source of Photograph: Schulte-Wülwer, Ulrich (1980), p.178.

Plate 4.5
Kampf, Arthur
Illustration for Hans Friedrich Blunck's *Deutsche Heldensagen* (1938).
Battle scene, untitled.

Source of Photograph: Blunck, Hans Friedrich (1938), p.81.

Plate 4.6
Kampf, Arthur
Illustration for Hans Friedrich Blunck's *Deutsche Heldensagen* (1938).
Siegfried with head of Fafner, untitled.

Source of Photograph: Blunck, Hans Friedrich (1938), p.16.

Plate 4.7
Kampf, Arthur
Illustration for Hans Friedrich Blunck's *Deutsche Heldensagen* (1938).
Siegfried murdered by Hagan, untitled

Source of Photograph: Blunck, Hans Friedrich (1938), p.155.

Plate 4.8
Stassen, Franz
Hagen on Watch

Source of Photograph: Davidson, Mortimer (1988), vol.2, illustrations unpaginated.

Plate 4.9
Kampf, Arthur
Illustration for Hans Friedrich Blunck's *Deutsche Heldensagen* (1938).
Brunhilde lifting rock, untitled.

Source of Photograph: Blunck, Hans Friedrich (1938), p.135.

Plate 4.10
Kampf, Arthur
Illustration for Hans Friedrich Blunck's *Deutsche Heldensagen* (1938).
Brunhilde observes the armies, untitled.

Source of Photograph: Blunck, Hans Friedrich (1938), p.179.

Plate 4.11
View from Neuschwanstein Castle.

Source of Photograph: Bildarchiv Huber.

Plate 4.12
Wegener, Jurgen
Thanksgiving
1943 GDK
Oil

Source of Photograph: Adam, Peter (1992), p.149.

Plate 4.13
Beutner, Jurgen
Time of Ripeness

Source of Photograph: Hinz, Berthold (1979), p.120

Plate 4.14
Hempfing, William
Summer

Source of Photograph: Hinz, Berthold (1979), p.134.

Plate 4.15
Thorak, Josef
Relief for Reichsbankneubau in Berlin
1936

Source of Photograph: Werner, Bruno (1940), p.153.

Plate 4.16
Bühler , Hans Adolf
Wieland the Smith
c.1935

Source of Photograph: Hinz, Berthold (1979), p.110.

Plate 4.17
Erler, Fritz
Wieland der Schmied
c.1937
Fresco for the Aeronautics Research Institute,
Adlershof.
Source of Photograph: *Das Bild*, 5, May (1935), p.168.

Plate 4.18
Erler, Fritz
Wieland der Schmied (detail)
c.1937
Source of Photograph: *Kunst und Volk*, 5 (3), March (1937), cover.

Plate 4.19
Petersen, Wilhelm
The God Thor Crossing the Sky over Mitgart
c. 1937-38
Source of Photograph: Nordische Gesellschaft and N.S.-Kulturgemeinde (1943), unpaginated.

Plate 4.20
Poppe, George
Thor
Source of Photograph: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, München.

Plate 4.21
Bühler, Hans Adolf
German Man

Source of Photograph: Davidson, Mortimer (1988), vol.2, illustrations unpaginated.

Plate 4.22
Petersen, Wilhelm
The Rider from Valsgärde
1936

Source of Photograph: Nordische Gesellschaft and N.S.-Kulturgemeinde (1943), unpaginated.

Plate 4.23
Petersen, Wilhelm
Bruhnilde's Farewell
1934

Source of Photograph: Nordische Gesellschaft and N.S.-Kulturgemeinde (1943), unpaginated.

Plate 4.24
Petersen, Wilhelm
The Troop of the Nibelungen
1939

Source of Photograph: Christiansen, Uwe and Hans-Christian Petersen (1993), p.71.

Plate 4.25
Burkart, Albert
Nibelungen Cycle.
1938-40
Fresco secco. 16 x 7 metres.
Flagroom, Luftkriegschule, Fürstenfeldbruck (painted over).
Source of Photograph: Luftkriegschule, Fürstenfeldbruck.

Plate 4.26
Burkart, Albert
Nibelungen Cycle.
1938-40
Fresco secco. 16 x 7 metres.
Flagroom, Luftkriegschule, Fürstenfeldbruck (painted over).
Source of Photograph: Luftkriegschule, Fürstenfeldbruck.

Plate 4.27
Burkart, Albert
Flagroom with designs for *Nibelungen Cycle.*
1938-39
Gouache on paper. Each 125 x 308 cm.
Flagroom, Fliegerhorst, Fürstenfeldbruck.
Source of Photograph: Author.

Plate 4.28
Schnorr von Carolsfeld, Julius
Kriemhild's Death (detail)
1848
Fresco. 460 x 630 cm.
Room of Vengeance, Nibelung Rooms, Munich Residence
Source of Photograph: Storch, Wolfgang (1987), p.140.

Plate 4.29
Burkart, Albert
Nibelungen Cycle (detail).
1938-39
Gouache on paper.
Flagroom, Fliegerhorst, Fürstenfeldbruck.
Source of Photograph: Author.

Plate 4.30
Burkart, Albert
Nibelungen Cycle (detail).
1938-39
Gouache on paper.
Flagroom, Fliegerhorst, Fürstenfeldbruck.
Source of Photograph: Author.

Plate 4.31
Burkart, Albert
Nibelungen Cycle (detail)
1938-40
Fresco secco. 16 x 7 metres.
Flagroom, Luftkriegschule, Fürstenfeldbruck (painted over).
Source of Photograph: Luftkriegschule, Fürstenfeldbruck.

Plate 4.32
Artist unknown.
Siegfried plaque.
1937
Copper on wood. c.50 cm x 50cm.
Luftkriegschule, Fürstenfeldbruck.
Source of Photograph: Author.

Plate 4.33
Burck, Paul
Nibelungen Frieze (detail).
1941
Fresco
Community Hall, Düren Metalworks, Berlin.
Source of Photograph: *Die Kunst,* 85 (7), April (1942), p.157.

Plate 4.34
Burck, Paul
Nibelungen Frieze (detail).
1941
Fresco
Community Hall, Düren Metalworks, Berlin.
Source of Photograph: *Die Kunst* 85 (7), April (1942), pp.156.

Plate 4.35
Sluyterman von Langeweyde, Georg
Edda
c.1935
Woodcut
Source of Photograph: Davidson, Mortimer (1988), vol.2, illustrations unpaginated.

Plate 4.36
Dombrowski, Ernst von
Edda
c.1937
Woodcut
Source of Photograph: *Kunst und Volk*, 5 (6), June (1937), pp.173.

Plate 4.37
Warnecke, Rudolf
Wallenstein's Death, after Schiller
Woodcut
Source of Photograph: Davidson, Mortimer (1988), vol.2, illustrations unpaginated.

Plate 4.38
Thöny (Thöni), Eduard
Programme for Day of German Art Parade, 1939.
Source of Photograph: Davidson, Mortimer (1988), vol.2, illustrations unpaginated.

Plate 4.39
Kampf, Arthur
Illustration for Hans Friedrich Blunck's *Deutsche Heldensagen* (1938).
Source of Photograph: Blunck, Hans Friedrich (1938), p.128.

Plate 4.40
Plettenberg, Bernhard Graf von
View of Nibelungen Bridge, Linz, with models of *Siegfried and Kriemhild.*
1943
Source of Photograph: Davidson, Mortimer (1988), vol.1, illustrations unpaginated.

Plate 4.41
Plettenberg, Bernhard Graf von
Kriemhild (Krimhilde)
1940-45
Equestrian monument. 4 metres high plus plinth 2.5 metres.
Source of Photograph: Davidson, Mortimer (1988), vol.1, illustrations unpaginated.

Plate 4.42
Plettenberg, Bernhard Graf von
Siegfried
1940-45
Equestrian monument. 4 metres high plus plinth 2.5 metres.
Source of Photograph: Davidson, Mortimer (1988), vol.1, illustrations unpaginated.

Plate 4.43
Plettenberg, Bernhard Graf von
Gunther
1940-45
Equestrian monument. 4 metres high plus plinth 2.5 metres.
Source of Photograph: Davidson, Mortimer (1988), vol.1, illustrations unpaginated.

Plate 4.44
Plettenberg, Bernhard Graf von
The artist working on a model of *Siegfried* for Nibelungen Bridge, Linz.
1940-45
Source of Photograph: Davidson, Mortimer (1988), vol.1, illustrations unpaginated.

Plate 4.45
Hipp, Emil
Wagner Monument
1933-34
Plaster design.
Source of Photograph: Davidson, Mortimer (1988), vol.1, illustrations unpaginated.

Plate 4.46
Hipp, Emil
Parsifal Killing the Swan
1933-34
Design for Wagner Monument, Leipzig
Source of Photograph: Benoist, Alain de (1990), p.63.

Plate 4.47
Hipp, Emil
Siegfried's Death
1933-34
Design for Wagner Monument, Leipzig
Source of Photograph: Benoist, Alain de (1990), p.49.

Plate 4.48
Hipp, Emil
Tristan
1933-34
Design for Wagner Monument, Leipzig
Source of Photograph: Benoist, Alain de (1990), p.50.

Plate 4.49
Heller, Bert
Walthari
Source of Photograph: *Das Bild*, 12, December (1940), p.197.

Plate 4.50
Netzer, Hubert
Siegfried.
1919-21
Bronze.
War memorial, Duisberg.
Source of Photograph: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich.

Plate 4.51
Siegfried Hitler
1923
Illustration on cover of *Die Pleite*, November (1923).
Source of Photograph: *Die Pleite*, 8, November (1923), cover.

Plate 4.52
Heartfield, John
Speer Thrower (detail)
Photomontage *Programme Olympia Berlin 1936.*
1936.
Source of Photograph: Storch, Wolfgang (1987), p.264.

Plate 5.1
Picasso, Pablo
Flute-playing Faun
1948
Lithograph. Cover of exhibition catalogue: *Der antike Mythos in der neuen Kunst.* Hannover (1950).
Source of Photograph: Hentzen, Alfred (1950), cover.

Plate 5.2
Beckmann, Max
Prometheus
1942
Oil on canvas. 95.0 x 55.5.
Private collection.
Source of Photograph: Harten, Schmidt and Syring, editors (1987), p.401.

Plate 5.3
Marcks, Gerhard
Prometheus Bound II
1948
Bronze. H. 79.0. W.51.0.
Gerhard Marcks-Haus, Bremen and other locations (c.12 casts).
Source of Photograph: Gerhard Marcks-Haus, Bremen.

Plate 5.4
Marcks, Gerhard
Tantalus
1944
Bronze. H. 49.0 cm.
Gerhard Marcks Haus, Bremen.
Source of Photograph: Gerhard Marcks-Haus, Bremen.

Plate 5.5
Newspaper photograph of an exhausted soldier.
c. 1944.
Estate of Gerhard Marcks.
Source of Photograph: Gerhard Marcks-Haus, Bremen.

Plate 5.6
Lehmbruck, Wilhelm
Seated Youth
1916
Bronze. 109.5 x 76.8 x 114.8 cm.
Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museum, Duisburg.
Source of Photograph: Rudloff, Martina (1989), p.254.

Plate 5.7
Marcks, Gerhard
Sorrowful Eros
1934
Bronze. H. 43.0 cm.
Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne.
Source of Photograph: Rudloff, Martina (1989), p.178.

Plate 5.8
Beckmann, Max
Odysseus and the Sirens
1933
Watercolour. 101.0 x 70.2 cm.
Private collection, New York.
Source of Photograph: Belting, Hans (1989), p.77.

Plate 5.9
Beckmann, Max
Odysseus and Calypso
1943
Oil on canvas. 150.0 cm x 116.0 cm.
Hamburger Kunsthalle.
Source of Photograph: Lackner, Stephan (1991), p.113.

Plate 5.10
Klee, Paul
Insula Dulcamara
1938
Oil and coloured paste on newspaper, on jute. 88.0 x 176.0 cm.
Paul-Klee-Stiftung, Kunstmuseum Bern.
Source of Photograph: Grohmann, Will (1987), p.115.

Plate 5.11
Feibusch, Hans
Narcissus
1946
Oil on canvas. 60.6 x 91.5 cm.
Private collection
Source of Photograph: Coke, David, editor (1995), pl.10.

Plate 5.12
Wolff, Gustav
Cassandra. Title page for Euripides' *Trojan Women.*
1925
Drawing. 24.0 x 17.5 cm.
Private collections, Caracas and Hamburg. (2 exemplars).
Source of Photograph: Holthusen, Agnes, editor (1964), p.171.

Plate 5.13
Wolff, Gustav
Cassandra
1923
Woodcut. 58.4 x 15.7 cm.
Private collection, Hamburg.
Source of Photograph: Holthusen, Agnes, editor (1964), p.132.

Plate 5.14
Wolff, Gustav
Cassandra
1931
Pastel on paper. Design sketch for sculpture, designed to be H. 2.5m.
Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.
Source of Photograph: Tittel, Lutz, editor (1984), p.127.

Plate 5.15
Hofer, Karl
Cassandra. Illustration on cover of the exhibition catalogue for *Forbidden Art in Third Reich* (1945).
Source of Photograph: *Forbidden Arts in the Third Reich* (1945), cover.

Plate 5.16
Marcks, Gerhard
Niche figures for the Church of St. Catherine. From left to right: *Fire-Raiser, Young Woman, Mother and Child, Man of Sorrows*, *Cassandra*, and *Prophet*.
1947 Terracotta. H.2.0 m.
Church of St. Catherine, Lübeck.
Source of Photograph: Gerhard Marcks-Haus, Bremen.

Plate 5.17
Marcks, Gerhard
Genius of Death
1944
Pencil on paper. 27.9 x 24.2 cm.
Gerhard Marcks Haus, Bremen.
Source of Photograph: Gerhard Marcks-Haus, Bremen.

Plate 5.18
Marcks, Gerhard
Snake Bite (Euridice). Orpheus Series. Leaf III.
1947
Woodcut. 38.5 x 15.0 cm.
Gerhard Marcks-Haus, Bremen.
Source of Photograph: Gerhard Marcks-Haus, Bremen.

Plate 5.19
Crowned figure, right doorpost, North portal, St. Denis Abbey Church, Paris.
Source of Photograph: Hamann-Maclean, Richard H.L. (1949-50), p.172.

Plate 5.20
Marcks, Gerhard
Cassandra
c.1947
Terracotta modello. c.30cm.
Source of Photograph: Rudloff, Martina (1980), unpaginated.

Plate 5.21
Marcks, Gerhard
Saturn Devouring his Children
1944
Woodcut. 19.6 x 14.9 cm.
Gerhard Marcks-Haus, Bremen.
Source of Photograph: Rudloff, Martina (1989), p.214.

Plate 5.22
Ende, Edgar
Bound Saturn
1949
Oil on fibreboard. 67.6 x 89.0 cm.
Private collection.
Source of Photograph: Ende, Michael (1972), p.30.

Plate 5.23
Ende, Edgar
Niobe
1949
Oil on canvas. 90.0 x 121.0 cm.
Private collection.
Source of Photograph: Ende, Michael (1972), p.26.

Plate 5.24
Wolff, Gustav
Earthmother. Grave figure for Kirchbach Family.
1930-31
Limestone (muschelkalk) from Cannstatt-Münster. H.130 cm. W 300 cm.
Dresden.
Source of Photograph: Tittel, Lutz (1984), p.37.

Plate 5.25
Ende, Edgar
The Barque
1933
Oil on canvas. 110.0 x 150.0 cm.
Museum Ludwig, Cologne.
Source of Photograph: Kinnius, Volker, editor (1988), pl.71.

Plate 5.26
Marcks, Gerhard
Charon I
1946
Woodcut. 22.5 x 35.0 cm.
Gerhard Marcks Haus, Bremen.
Source of Photograph: Gerhard Marcks-Haus, Bremen.

Plate 5.27
Marcks, Gerhard
Charon II
1946
Woodcut. 21.9 x 35.0 cm.
Gerhard Marcks-Haus, Bremen.
Source of Photograph: Gerhard Marcks-Haus, Bremen.

Plate 5.28
Marcks, Gerhard
Charon's Barque. Memorial to the dead.
1951
Sandstone. H. to 2.3m. L. 4.6m.
Hamburg-Ohlsdorf Cemetary
Source of Photograph: Rudloff, Martina (1989), p.287.

Plate 5.29
Gilles, Werner
Return from the City of the Dead.
1947
Aquarelle. 63.0 x 48.0 cm.
Hamburger Kunsthalle. From the *Orpheus-Cycle* of 10 leaves.
Source of Photograph: Hentzen, Alfred (1960), pl.79.

Plate 5.30
Gilles, Werner
The Boat from the Underworld.
1949
Aquarelle. 49.0 x 63.0 cm. From the cycle *Lament over the Head of Orpheus.*
*S*eries of 11 leaves.
Galerie des 20. Jahrhunderts, Nationalgalerie Berlin.
Source of Photograph: Hentzen, Alfred (1960), pl.91.

Plate 5.31
Gilles, Werner
Lament over the Head of Orpheus
1949
Oil on cardboard. 35.5 x 50 cm.
Private collection, Cologne
Source of Photograph: Hentzen, Alfred (1960), pl.92.

Plate 5.32
Gilles, Werner
The Night of Bombing
1948
Oil on canvas. 26.0 x 40 cm.
Private collection, Cologne.
Source of Photograph: Hentzen, Alfred (1960), pl.88.

Plate 5.33
Klee, Paul
God of War
1937
Oil on paper. 35.0 x 28.6 cm.
Private collection.
Source of Photograph: Kersten, Wolfgang (1994), p.63.

Plate 5.34
Klee, Paul
Attacker with Torch
1940
Charcoal drawing. 29.7 x 20.8 cm.
Paul-Klee-Stiftung, Bern.
Source of Photograph: Paul-Klee-Stiftung, Bern.

Plate 5.35
Klee, Paul
Caligula
1936
Felix Klee Estate
Source of Photograph: Marnat, Marcel (1974), pl.70.

Plate 5.36
Grieshaber, Hans 'HAP'
Pan
1939
Colour woodcut. 42.0 x 35.0 cm.
Source of Photograph: Geissler, Heinrich and Michael Semff (1987), p.152.

Plate 5.37
Baumeister, Willy
Gilgamesch und Enkindu II
1943
Oil on paper. 45.0 x 53.0 cm.
Archiv Baumeister, Stuttgart.
Source of Photograph: Archiv Baumeister, Stuttgart.

Plate 5.38
Baumeister, Willi
Arno Breker's 'The Avenger' with head drawn by Willi Baumeister
c.1941
Ink on illustration in *Kunst dem Volk*, September (1941), p.12. 26 x 18.5 cm.
Archiv Baumeister, Stuttgart.
Source of Photograph: Archiv Baumeister, Stuttgart.

Plate 5.39
Baumeister, Willi
Man with Pointed Beard II.
c.1941
Postcard of Adolf Ziegler's *Terpsichore* with face added by Willi Baumeister.
14.7 x 10.5 cm.
Archiv Baumeister, Stuttgart.
Source of Photograph: Archiv Baumeister, Stuttgart.

Plate 5.40
Baumeister, Willi
Man with Pointed Beard
c.1941
Postcard of Adolf Ziegler's *Goddess of Art* with additions by Willi Baumeister.
14.7 x 10.5 cm.
Archiv Baumeister, Stuttgart.
Source of Photograph: Archiv Baumeister, Stuttgart.

Plate 5.41
Schlichter, Rudolf
Goliath Derides the People of Israel. Illustration on cover of *Junge Front* (29.7.1934).
Source of Photograph: Adriani, Götz, editor (1997), p.255.

Plate 5.42
Schlichter, Rudolf
Blind Power
1935-37
Oil on canvas. 179.0 x 100.0 cm.
Berlinische Galerie, Landesmuseum für Moderne Kunst.
Source of Photograph: Adriani, Götz, editor (1997), p.253.

Plate 5.43
Klee, Paul
Mephisto as Pallas
1939
Aquarelle and tempera on ingres paper.
48.4 x 30.9 cm.
Museum der Stadt, Ulm.
Source of Photograph: Paul-Klee-Stiftung (1987), p.306.

Plate 5.44
Sutor, Emil
Europa
1942 GDK
Stucco.
Source of Photograph: *Die Kunst*, 85 (11/12), August/September (1942), p.250.

Plate 5.45
Pieper, Josef
Europa
1943 GDK
Oil on canvas.
München 1943 (1943). p.41.

Plate 5.46
Peiner, Werner
Europa and the Bull
1937
Mixed media and gold paint on wood.
173.5 x 151.0 cm.
Staatsgalerie moderner Kunst, Munich.
Source of Photograph: Salzmann, Siegfried (1988), p.435.

Plate 5.47
Europa and the Bull
Street decoration, 'Day of German Art', Munich, 1937.
Source of Photograph: Salzmann, Siegfried (1988), p.115.

Plate 5.48
Arnold, Karl
Exhibition of European Art.
Satyrical cartoon illustrated in *Simplicissimus* (24.12.1941), (detail).
Source of Photograph: *Simplicissimus* (24.12.1941), p.823.

Plate 5.49
Schuster-Winkelhof, Karl
Europa

Source of Photograph: Hinz, Berthold (1979), p.135.

Plate 5.50
Spiegel, Ludwig
Europa and the Bull
1937
Stone sculpture.
Reisinger/Herbert ('Europa') Anlage, Wiesbaden.
Source of Photograph: Salzmann, Siegfried (1988), p.433.

Plate 5.51
Garvens, Oskar
Pan-Europa
1929
Colour print. 96.0 x 182.0 cm. Illustration for *Kladderadatsch*.
Source of Photograph: *Kladderadatsch*, 29th September 1929, p.79.

Plate 5.52
Marcks, Gerhard
Europa Kneeling
1927
Bronze. H. c.50 cm.
Missing, formerly private collection of Charles Crodel.
Source of Photograph: Gerhard Marcks-Haus, Bremen.

Plate 5.53
Klee, Paul
Europa
1933
Gouache. 49.0 x 38.2 cm.
Kunsthalle Bielefeld
Source of Photograph: Salzmann, Siegfried (1988), p.255.

Plate 5.54
Klee, Paul
Struck from the List
1933
Oil on wax paper. 31.5 x 24.0 cm.
Private Collection, Switzerland.
Source of Photograph: Gillen, Eckhart (1997), p.40.

Plate 5.55
Beckmann, Max
The Rape of Europa
1933
Aquarelle and pencil on paper. 51.1 x 69.9 cm.
Private collection.
Source of Photograph: Belting, Hans (1989), p.75.

Plate 5.56
Ernst, Max
Europa after the Rain II
1940-42
Oil on canvas. 54.8 x 147.8 cm.
Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford.
Source of Photograph: Haftmann, Werner (1984), p.160-1.

Plate 5.57
Trökes, Heinz
Barbaropa
1947
Oil on canvas. 36.0 x 28.0 cm.
Prof. Franz Heinrich Sobotka.
Source of Photograph: Salzmann, Siegfried (1988), p.265.

Plate 5.58
Ende, Edgar
The Woman on the Tortoise
1933
Oil on linen. 60.0 x 80.0 cm.
Michael Ende estate.
Source of Photograph: Kinnius, Volker (1998), pl.68.

Plate 5.59
Ende, Edgar
Europa
1952
Oil on canvas. 70.0 x 90.0 cm.
Michael Ende estate.
Source of Photograph: Ende, Michael (1972), p.36.

Plate 5.60
Geibel, Hermann
Europa
1949
Terracotta. 21.0 x 26.0 cm.
Städtische Kunsthalle, Mannheim.
Source of Photograph: Salzmann, Siegfried (1988), p.273.

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Joanne Scott