# An Artist against the Third Reich

Ernst Barlach, 1933-1938

PETER PARET

Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton



### PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

#### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK 40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

http://www.cambridge.org

#### © Peter Paret 2003

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2003

Printed in the United States of America

Typefaces Janson Text 11/16 pt. and Berliner Grotesk System LATEX 28 [TB]

A catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Paret. Peter.

An artist against the Third Reich : Ernst Barlach, 1933–1938 / Peter Paret.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-521-82138-x (hardback)

1. Barlach, Ernst, 1870–1938. 2. National socialism and art. 3. Germany – Politics and government – 1933–1945. 4. Modernism (Art) – Germany. 1. Title.

N6888.B35 P37 2002

700'.92-dc21 2002073616

ISBN 0 521 82138 x hardback

# **Contents**

	List of Illustrations	page ix
	Acknowledgments	XV
	Introduction	I
1	Hitler	5
2	Barlach	23
3	Nordic Modernism	51
4	The Hounding of Barlach	77
5	German and Un-German Art	109
6	After the Fact	139
	A Note on the Literature	155
	Notes	167
	Documents and Works Cited	183
	Index	189

## Illustrations

The illustrations follow p. 192. Height, width, and depth in millimeters.

- I Ernst Barlach before the Chapel of St. Gertrude in Güstrow, 1934. Photo: Berthold Kegebein. © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.
- 2 Ernst Barlach: A Russian Couple, 1906. Pencil and crayon, H. 200, W. 248. Private collection. Photo: Randall Hagadorn, Titusville. © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.
- 3 Ernst Barlach: *Blind Beggar*, 1906. Ceramic, H. 254, W. 235, D. 228. Private collection. © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.
- 4 Ernst Barlach: *The Berserker*, 1910. Bronze, H. 547, W. 700. Ernst Barlach Haus, Hamburg. © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.
- 5 Ernst Barlach: Woman Walking, 1910. Porcelain, H. 250, W. 125, D. 137. Ernst Barlach Haus, Hamburg. Photo: H.-P. Cordes, Hamburg. © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.

- 6 Ernst Barlach: The Lonely Man, 1911. Oak, H. 870, W. 400, D. 320. Hamburger Kunsthalle. Photo: Elke Watford, Hamburg. © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.
- 7 Ernst Barlach: *Man Drawing Sword*, 1911. Wood, H. 750, W. 610, D. 280. Ernst Barlach Haus, Hamburg. Photo: H.-P. Cordes, Hamburg. © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.
- 8 Ernst Barlach: *The New Day*, 1912. Charcoal, H. 270, W. 395. Reproduced in Ernst Barlach, *Zeichnungen*, Munich, 1935. © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.
- 9 Ernst Barlach: Man Floating, 1912. Charcoal, H. 290,
   W. 395. Reproduced in Ernst Barlach, Zeichnungen,
   Munich, 1935. Photo: Randall Hagadorn, Titusville.
   © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung
   Ratzeburg.
- Ernst Barlach: Bellringer, 1912. Charcoal, H. 272,
   W. 395. Reproduced in Ernst Barlach, Zeichnungen,
   Munich, 1935. Photo: Uwe Seemann, Güstrow. © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.
- Ernst Barlach: *The Avenger*, 1914. Glazed stucco, H. 460,
   W. 605, D. 240. Ernst Barlach Stiftung, Güstrow.
   © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung
   Ratzeburg.
- 12 Ernst Barlach: Anno Domini MCMXVI Post Christum Natum, 1916. Lithograph from Der Bildermann, H. 186, W. 227. Private collection. © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.
- Ernst Barlach: From a Modern Dance of Death, 1916.
   Lithograph from Der Bildermann, H. 296, W. 206.
   Private collection. Photo: Randall Hagadorn, Titusville.
   © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.
- 14 Ernst Barlach: Detail from carved paneling of a fireplace, 1916. Wood, H. 2,200, W. 1,300, D. approx. 180. (Destroyed in the Second World War.) © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.

List of Illustrations xi

15 Ernst Barlach: Animal People, 1920. Charcoal and pencil, H. 252, W. 349. Reproduced in Ernst Barlach, Zeichnungen, Munich, 1935. Photo: Uwe Seemann, Güstrow. © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.

- 16 Ernst Barlach: Mater Dolorosa, The Kiel Memorial, 1921. Oak, H. 2,380[?], W. 2,210[?]. (Destroyed in the Second World War.)
- 17 Ernst Barlach: Faust and Mephistopheles, 1922. Woodcut. From Barlach's illustrations to Goethe's Walpurgisnacht, 1923. H. 188, W. 141. Private collection. Photo: Randall Hagadorn, Titusville. The woodcut was a model for the later charcoal drawing, reproduced in Ernst Barlach, Zeichnungen, Munich, 1935. © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.
- Ernst Barlach: The Waiting Man, 1922. Charcoal, H. 348,
   W. 248. Reproduced in Ernst Barlach, Zeichnungen,
   Munich 1935. Photo: Randall Hagadorn, Titusville.
   © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung
   Ratzeburg.
- 19 Ernst Barlach: Woman in the Wind, undated. Charcoal, H. 420, W. 515. Private collection. © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.
- 20 Ernst Barlach: *The Fettered Witch*, 1926. Limewood, H. 1,120, W. 320, D. 260. Ernst Barlach Stiftung, Güstrow. Photo: Uwe Seemann, Güstrow. © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.
- 21 Ernst Barlach: The Reunion, 1926. Walnut, H. 1,030, W. 400, D. 260. Ernst Barlach Haus, Hamburg. Photo: H.-P. Cordes, Hamburg. © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.
- 22 Ernst Barlach: *The Güstrow Memorial*, 1927. Bronze, H. 710, W. 745, D. 2,170. Photo: Uwe Seemann, Güstrow.
- 23 Ernst Barlach: The Güstrow Memorial.
- 24 Ernst Barlach: The Fighter of the Spirit, 1928. Bronze, H. 4,800. Before the University Church, Kiel, which was destroyed in the Second World War.

- 25 Ernst Barlach: The Magdeburg Memorial, 1929. Oak, H. 2,550, W. 1,540, D. 750. Photo: Uwe Seemann, Güstrow.
- 26 Ernst Barlach: Three figures from *The Community of Holy Ones* in the facade of St. Catherine's Church, Lübeck, 1930–1932. Glazed brick. Center figure [*Beggar*]: H. 2,070, W. 550, D. 430. Photo: Uwe Seemann, Güstrow.
- 27 Ernst Barlach: *The Hamburg Memorial*, 1931. Limestone. The relief: H. 7,560, W. 1,900, D. 90. Photographed before 1937.
- Ernst Barlach: *The Dreamer* from *The Frieze of Listeners*, 1931. Oak, H. 1,095, W. 220, D. 120. Ernst Barlach Haus, Hamburg. Photo: H.-P. Cordes, Hamburg.
  © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.
- Ernst Barlach: Reading Monks, 1932. Cast stucco, H. 590,
   W. 450, D. 350. Ernst Barlach Stiftung, Güstrow.
   © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung
   Ratzeburg.
- 30 Ernst Barlach: Pieta. Study for The Stralsund Memorial, 1932. Clay under shellac, H. 645, W. 542, D. 220. Ernst Barlach Stiftung, Güstrow. © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.
- 31 Georg Kolbe: *You Have Not Died in Vain*. The Stralsund Memorial, 1935.
- Ernst Barlach: The Jolly Peg-Leg, 1934. Bronze, H. 540,
   W. 305, D. 212. The Art Museum, Princeton University.
   © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung
   Ratzeburg.
- 33 Wilhelm Busch: Page from *Die fromme Helene*, Heidelberg, 1872.
- 34 Ernst Barlach in his studio, 1935. Behind him are the figures of *The Frieze of Listeners*. Photo: Berthold Kegebein. © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.
- 35 Ernst Barlach: *Man Reading in the Wind*, 1936. Stucco under shellac, H. 470, W. 220, D. 310. Ernst und Hans

List of Illustrations xiii

Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg. © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.

- 36 Ernst Barlach: Freezing Crone (Die alte Gewittersche), 1937. Teak, H. 550, W. 340, D. 390. Ernst Barlach Stiftung, Güstrow. Photo: Uwe Seemann, Güstrow. © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.
- 37 Ernst Barlach: *Laughing Crone* (*Die Hexe Pfefferzunge*), 1937. Walnut, H. 480, W. 630, D. 225. Ernst Barlach Stiftung, Güstrow. © Ernst und Hans Barlach GbR Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg.
- 38 Käthe Kollwitz: *Lament*, 1938. Bronze, H. 285, W. 257, D. 99. Collection Harold and Vivian Shapiro. Photo: Randall Hagadorn, Titusville. © Artists' Rights Society (ARS), New York VC Bild-Kunst, Bonn.



rnst Barlach's art, and the difficulties it caused him after January 1933, are mere details in the history of National Socialist Germany. In the history of twentieth-century art, on the contrary, his sculptures of 1933 and later, among them some of his most powerful figures, occupy an assured place. His literary work – he published his first play in 1912 – had slowed somewhat by the time Hitler gained power; a novel, *The Stolen Moon*, remained unfinished. But in essays and in his extensive correspondence with artists and others who sought him out as the dictatorship took hold, his reflections on art and its place in a degraded society rose to new levels of expressiveness. In Barlach's life, finally, his years in the Third Reich, which were also his last years, were discordant and tragic.

That Barlach's work became an issue for the cultural leadership of the Reich lent it a measure, however circumscribed, of political significance. To the regime's claim of control over the arts, Barlach responded by asserting, in statements and through his work, his freedom to sculpt as he chose. His declarations of artistic independence took courage and heartened a few artists and members of the public; but inevitably, their resonance was limited. Barlach's intransigence might trouble officials, his work shown in a gallery or reproduced in a catalogue or book could reveal the hollowness of state-sponsored art and open a chink in the compact front bonding people, party, and Führer; but neither Barlach nor any other artist posed problems that the party and the police could not readily master.

If, nevertheless, National Socialism paid constant and anxious attention to the arts, and endowed them with a symbolic significance that the German people was never allowed to forget, it was for two reasons: the regime's insistence on uniform obedience to stated and even implied policy in public and private life; and the political and personal meaning that the arts possessed for Hitler. It was largely his doing that in the political conflicts leading to the Third Reich, the arts - and none more so than painting and sculpture – were used to identify the political and racial enemies of German resurgence. After Hitler became chancellor, he tried to shape the arts into a defining force of the new Germany. As the Reich head of press affairs, Otto Dietrich, warned a journalist who was planning to write on cultural matters: "Just because of the Führer's interest in the fine arts, the greatest possible caution is indicated in one's formulations." But Hitler also knew that the arts were no more than auxiliaries in the political wars. Artists might persuade or confuse - they were not a power in their own right.

Barlach would have agreed. In a response to right-wing denunciations of his person and his sculpture in the 1920s, he described himself and artists in general only somewhat ironically as a "sliver," shaved off by vast forces of cultural and political change,

Introduction 3

"a crumbling bit of nothingness, caught between earthquakes and torrents of lava." But the same essay, in which he draws this apocalyptic image of disjunction and isolation, also demonstrates the close connection of the artist and his environment. The larger world, which rarely concerns itself with aesthetic matters, was after all sufficiently interested in Barlach's art to attack it; and he, in turn, responded with considerable energy. Although his work was not intentionally political, it marked some of the major issues in Weimar politics. In particular, his war memorials were drawn into party conflicts over the legacy of the World War. The confrontation of the artist with his critics reveals much about both.

That is also true of Barlach's relations with the Third Reich: of his rejection of its values and his efforts to work in the face of interference and hostility, and of the attempts of some National Socialists to silence him, while others tried to win him over to their cause. That men at the highest levels of the regime condemned Barlach for betraying his German heritage by creating art that polluted German culture, is typical of the brutality – intellectual no less than physical – that characterized National Socialism. The specific leads back to the general. Barlach's life and work bear on German history as the country passed from republic to Third Reich and moved toward war and extermination; the impact of National Socialism on Barlach, and his reactions to it, are of consequence to his biography and to the history of modern art.