Nazi art through the eyes of the creators: A study of the ideas of six artists of the Third Reich

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Illustration cover: Hoffman, Heinrich. *Installation view of the Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung in the House of German Art in 1938*. Photo, 1938, (Collection Getty Images).

Introduction

Sixty-seven years ago, on 8 May 1945, the Second World War ended in Europe. This five-year war was known for its horror, destruction and millions of deaths at the hands of the Nazi regime. One of the instruments of this Nazi regime was art, which therefore also enabled various artists to flourish during this period. The Nazi government wanted to use art as a means of spreading their ideas and thus increase their power, which resulted in several artists being offered high positions in the Third Reich.[1] As a result, art played a major role in the Third Reich and could be seen everywhere in public life.

After the war, this art was seen as an instrument of the Nazi regime and the artists were seen as Nazi artists who had to be punished for the roles they played. Until well after the end of the war, many of these artists were still linked to the Nazis and therefore excluded from their previous jobs. For many, being a Nazi artist remained a stamp they could not get rid of. In the period from 1945 to the 1980s, there was hardly any research into the artists and their art, presumably because it still reminded too much of the war and its horrors and people were more concerned with rebuilding their countries. Only official reports on the course of the war and the sometimes mentioned art in the Third Reich, although this usually concerned the large-scale art thefts carried out by the Nazis.[2]

In 1968, there was a great change in thinking and writing about art, which would also influence the further view on the artists of the Third Reich and their art. The French philosopher Roland Barthes (1915-1980) wrote in 1967 that one should not look for the idea of art in the artists but in the spectators' ideas of what art evokes.[3] Looking only at the artist's idea would allow for one interpretation of the works, whereas according to Barthes, there were many more interpretations. The result was that the artists who produced the art during the Nazi regime were seen as Nazi artists and their ideas were no longer considered. After all, the general idea was that a painting can be interpreted as a work promoting

[1] Diefendorf, *In the wake of the war,* 53.
[2]These kinds of reports were often made by the Allied governments to chart the course of the war and to see how things were going in Europe. Art was often a secondary concern. An example is: Frederick, Pope. ed, *Reports of the Technical Disarmament Committees*. Washington: Foreign Economic Administration, 1945.
[3] Barthes, Roland. *The Death of the Autor,* 142-148.

National Socialism must have been made by the artist on the basis of a National Socialistic idea and therefore this artist must be seen as a Nazi artist.

From the 1980s, there was a growing interest in what role art played in the rise of the Nazi regime. One of the first books was *Masses and Man: Nationalists and Fascist Perceptions of Reality* by historian George Mosse (1918-1988), which went, for the first time, deeper into how the government used art in their policies.[4]

During the late 1990s, the role of art in the Nazi regime was examined more closely, and for the first time art in the Third Reich was examined as a separate subject. For example, historian Alan Steinweis (1957-) described in his book *Art Ideology and Economics in Nazi Germany: The reich chambers of music, theatre and the visual arts* how the art world became increasingly Nazified through the Reich Chamber of Culture and could ultimately be used as a propaganda tool.[5] Another perspective was that of Jonathan Petropoulos (1961-), who looked at the roles which were played in the Third Reich art world.[6] He did not take the role of individual persons but that of art historians, artists and art dealers as groups. In this way, he tried to sketch a picture of the entire art world in the Third Reich.

From the 2000s to the present, the field of interest shifted even more towards the role of art as a propaganda tool. Books such as *Artists of the Third Reich* and *The Power of Aesthetics* no longer focus on the role of art in the art world but almost exclusively on the role of art in the propaganda machine.[7] The artists are left out of the equation and so are individual works of art.

The last group in the literature are the books and articles that focus on a specific artist. These are the only books in which the choices and roles of the Nazi artists are explored on an individual level. A good example is the book *Werner Peiner - Verführer oder Verführter* in which historians Martin (1952-) and Dieter Pesch (1948-2013) describe the life of painter Werner Peiner (1897-1984)(Fig.1). What is special about this book is that they describe how

[4] Mosse, George. *Masses and Man: Nationalists and Fascist Perceptions of Reality*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987.
[5] Steinweis, Alan. *Art Ideology and Economics in Nazi Germany: The reich chambers of music, theatre and the visual arts*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.
[6] Petropoulos, Jonathan. *Art as Politics in the Third Reich*. New York: Vermont, University of North Carolina Press, 1999.
[7] Adam, Peter. *Art of the Third Reich*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995; Spotts, Frederic. *Hitler and the power of Aesthetics.* New York: Abrams Publishers, 2018.

Peiner's style changed over the years.[8] Books of this kind often only present an outlook on the lives of the artists without actually looking at the artworks of the artists themselves. This is because most books on Nazi art are and were written by historians rather than art historians. The emphasis in the literature is therefore on the artists' role in the Nazi regime and hardly on the artists' art. The artists' ideas about their own art and art in general are hardly discussed at all. Even when quotations from artists are provided, as in the work *Fritz Klimsch* by history professor Gesa Hansen (1963-), these quotations are not explored in depth but serve as confirmation of certain assumptions Hansen makes about painter Fritz Klimsch (1870-1960).[9]

This research will show that it was not always the case that the artists of the Third Reich produced art based on the ideas of the Nazi government. An example of this is the artist Fritz Klimsch (Fig.2), who did not see himself as part of the Third Reich and certainly did not like the ideas of the Nazi regime and its administration. However, by not considering the ideas behind his art, people assumed he was a Nazi artist, something that stuck with him until his death in 1960.

This research will therefore look at the artists' ideas about their own art and art in general. This will be done primarily by looking at what the artists themselves wrote about their art and art in general outside of government control. Such personal sources will include books that were not censored, letters, diaries and written notes. Then the artists will be compared to each other to see if there were common ideas or not. In this way, the question can also be answered whether the artists' ideas about art differed from those of the Nazi government.

This research is not about clearing the names of some artists, but about giving a new look at the artists and their art in the Nazi regime. It is about looking at the artists from a different angle after which it can be compared to the ideas of the government that have been discussed many times in the literature. This results in an new art historical view on the artists during the Nazi regime, which also includes works and personal ideas.

[8] Pesch, Pesch, *Werner Peiner ,* 14, 16, 17, 21.
[9] Hansen, *Fritz Klimsch,* 203-205.

Chapter 1

The artists and their ideas

This research is based on six artists who played a major role in the art world in Germany at the time of the Nazi regime (1933-1945). They are the architect Albert Speer (1905-1981)(Fig.3), interior-architect Gerdy Troost (1904-2003)(Fig.4), the painters Werner Peiner and Adolf Ziegler (1892-1959)(Fig.5) and the sculptors Fritz Klimsch and Arno Breker (1900-1991)(Fig.6).

Firstly, the artists were selected on the basis that they were seen, after the war, as participants of the Third Reich. All the artists were reprimanded or convicted after the war for taking part in or supporting National Socialism. As a result, they were suspended from their work, forbidden to work for several years, fined or imprisoned for their actions.

Secondly, the artists were chosen because they were mainly investigated for their roles during the war, while their ideas were left out. The fact that these artists were seen as Nazi artists means that they are almost immediately lumped together. However, the ideas of these artists may be in conflict with the ideas of the Nazi government, but no attention is paid to this because they were seen as a part of the Nazis.

Thirdly, the choice was made on the basis of a broad picture of the art world in Nazi Germany. In this way four different art forms are discussed. In which way this thesis tries to give a complete as possible picture of the art world in that period.

Fourth, all six artists played major roles in the art world of Nazi Germany. These roles ranged from minister of armaments and president of the *Reichskulturkammer für bildende Kunst* (Reich Chamber of Art) to director of the most prominent painting academy in Nazi Germany and Hitler's favourite sculptor. Three of these artists (Breker, Klimsch, Peiner) were also on the *Sonderliste der Unersetzlichen Künstler*.[10] These differences in rank (just a sculptor or an important minister), but also the differences in origin and ideas, give a good picture of the tension of ideas about art among these artists in Nazi Germany.

[10] Osterloh, *Ausschaltung*, 81; The *Sonderliste der Unersetzlichen Künstler* was a list formed by Joseph Goebbels (1897-1945) and Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) in 1944, listing 25 artists who were indispensable to the Nazi regime and thus exempt from service in the civilian army or *Volkssturm*.

Fifth, the artists have been selected on the basis of whether primary sources exist of these artists from the time the Nazi party reign or sources from those artists which were written in the period after the Nazi reign but about it. During the Nazi period, there was severe censorship on many of the ideas so that it is often impossible to determine whether these were really the ideas of the artist himself or those of the government. Artists as Joseph Thorak,(1889-1952) a famous Nazi sculptor, where therefor not chosen, because of the lack of primary sources.

Finally, it is important to note that the selection consists of six artists in order to keep the research feasible.

Adolf Ziegler

The painter Adolf Ziegler was born in 1892 and came from a family of architects.[11] In 1910, Ziegler went to study at the high school of fine arts in Weimar, where he studied under Max Doerner (1870-1939).[12] Doerner was an impressionist painter who was very skilled in classical painting techniques (Fig.7), which Ziegler later also frequently used in his works.[13] During his studies, he was particularly attracted to expressionistic paintings, especially the work of Franz Marc (1880-1916) (Fig.8).[14] Looking at the development of Ziegler's work, is the influence of Doerner clearly recognisable in the impressionistic style of the early work of Ziegler. The work *Sitzender Akt* (Fig.9) from 1912 shows that Ziegler paints with a loose brushstroke and without a lot of detail which is typical for the impressionism.[15] Unfortunately, few early works by Ziegler are known, so that it is impossible to say whether he also produced works in the expressionist style of his idol Franz Marc.

The First World War initiated a change in Ziegler's thinking. He quit his study and joined the army as a soldier.[16] After the war, he took lessons from the painter Angelo Jank (1868-1940), a painter who was known for his impressionistic paintings, especially of moving

[11] Mckloskey, *Artists of World War II*, 64; Ziegler's father was an architect and so were several men on his mother's side.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid; Marc was one of the founders of *Der Blaue Reiter* and made expressionistic paintings and prints.
[15] Dombrowski, *A companion to Impressionism,* 292.
[16] Hinz, *Art in the third Reich,* 151.

horses.[17] Remarkably, Ziegler's later works bear little resemblance to the works of Jank. The works of Jank, such as *The horse Race* (Fig.10)*,* are usually made with a smooth brushstroke and are not very detailed. However, Ziegler's paintings became increasingly realistic and static. Whereas with Jank, the movement of the horses can be felt through the dust clouds and the use of lines, the figures in Ziegler's works almost look like statues (Fig.11). Ziegler paints every detail in his work and seems to go back to the statues of classical antiquity. It is rather that the depicted figures, mostly women, have assumed a certain pose and are then fossilised and show no emotion anymore, than that the women are actually alive as they looked like in his earlier impressionistic work.

The classical painting style probably has to do with the fact that Ziegler joined the Nazi party in 1920.[18] Ziegler was an admirer of Hitler and his party's ideas, which also included preferences for more classical styles. However, the greatest impression on Ziegler was not made by Hitler but by artist, art theorist and architect Paul Schultze-Naumburg (1868-1949). Ziegler was very intrigued by Schultze-Naumburg's ideas, especially the ones he wrote down in his 1932 pamphlet *Kampf um die Kunst*.[19] In this pamphlet he wrote among other things:

> "Wohl noch nie ist die Frau so unehrerbietig, so unappetitlich gezeigt worden, wie wir dies in den Deutschen Ausstellungen der letzten zwölf Jahre bis zum Überdruß und bis zum Ekel immer wieder über uns ergehen lassen müssen. Hier ist nicht mehr das leiseste Ahnen von der Heiligkeit des menschlichen Körpers und der Herrlichkeit einer göttlichen Nacktheit, sondern überall spricht gierige Lüsternheit, die überhaupt nur den ausgezogenen Menschen in seiner niedrigsten Prägung kennt."[20]
>
> "Das Wesentliche der Kunst in unserem Sinne ist also stets das geistig Richtunggebende. Und die Idee des Nationalsozialismus beruht darauf, dem deutschen Volke die ihm gemäße und es zum Heile führende Richtung zu geben. Da

[17] Selz, *German expressionist painting,* 180.
[18] Hinz, *Art in the third Reich,* 151.
[19] Ibid; For more see *Kampf um die kunst, Schultze-Naumburg 1932*.
[20] Schultze-Naumburg, *Kunst und Rasse*, 42; translation: Woman has probably never been depicted so disrespectfully and in so unappetizing way as in the paintings we have been obliged to put up with in German exhibits of the last twelve years, paintings that inspire only nausea and distrust. They convey not the slightest trace of the sacredness of the human body or of the glory of a divine nakedness. They express a ravening lasciviousness that sees the nude only as an undressed human being in its lowest form

der Kampf hierum im wesentlichen mit geistigen Waffen geführt werden muß, kann der Nationalsozialismus auch nicht der Mittel der Kunst entbehren."[21]

These quotations describes some ideas that had a direct influence on Ziegler. The static and almost perfect women in Ziegler's later works show great similarities to the statues from the Classical Antiquity of goddesses such as Juno and Diana. This therefore looks like a literal translation of the divine nudity that Schutze-Naumburg speaks about, to which German art must return.

The phrase that National Socialism should not ignore art as an instrument of the state also played a major role in Ziegler's further career. In his career in the Third Reich Ziegler fulfilled became co-responsible for using art as much as possible to spread Nazi ideas and increase Nazi power.

In addition to this, he also adopted the anti-Semitic ideas of the Nazis. As early as 1932, he wrote the book *Die Russische Gottlosenbewegung* in which he described how the Bolsheviks and Jews were detached from religion and tried to overthrow every regime.[22] Especially the Jews would spoil culture and art, as they had already done in Russia after they had ousted the tsar from the throne.[23]

Ziegler's ideas were therefore in line with those of the Nazi party. In 1933, when Hitler came to power, he was appointed professor at the high school of fine arts in Munich and became the President of the Reich Chamber of Arts.[24] At this last position Ziegler immediately got into a quarrel with his boss, Joseph Goebbels (1897-1945). Goebbels did not believe that all modern artists should be seen as enemies of the state, and their art as *Entartete* (degenerate).[25] In a speech Goebbels said: "We National Socialists are not un-modern; we

[21] Schultze-Naumburg, *Kunst und Rasse*, 6; Translation of : "The essential element of art, as we understand it, is therefore to always show a spiritual direction. And the idea of National Socialism is based on appropriately giving direction to the German people and leading it to salvation. And since that task is substantially conducted with spiritual tools, national socialism cannot ignore the instrument of art."

[22] See for more information *Der russische Gottlosenbewegung,* Adolf ziegler 1932.

[23] See for more information *Der russische Gottlosenbewegung,* Adolf ziegler 1932.

[24] Hinz, *Art in the third Reich,* 8; Spotts *Hitler and the power of Aesthetics*, 151-168; *Reichskulturkammer*: This official organisation was conceived and founded by Goebbels in 1933 and consisted of seven sections, each representing a particular art form. Artists who lived and worked in Germany were obliged to become members of the Reich Chamber of Culture in order to continue practising their profession. If an artist produced so-called degenerate art or was considered a degenerate artist, this artist was banned from the profession, which was closely monitored.

[25] Adam, *Art of the Third Reich,* 51; Degenerate art was art that was considered offensive to Germany by the German government. The art could fall under degenerate art in two ways: because the artist belonged to a certain group or race or because the art was made in a modernistic style. The degenerate artists were of the

are the carrier of a new modernity, not only in politics and in social matters, but also in art and intellectual matters."[26] Goebbels thus tried to defend modern art by also naming the Nazis and their art as part of modern art. Goebbels himself had a predilection for modernist artists, especially the work of Emil Nolde (Fig.12).[27] He also owned some works by this expressionist artist and therefore did not want this art to be considered degenerate art. Goebbels therefore didn't wanted a ban on modern art at all and wanted it to coexist with the new art of the Third Reich. Ziegler, on the other hand, was much stricter and followed the line of Schultze-Naumburg. In the end, Hitler had Alfred Rosenberg (1893-1946) , the cultural and educational leader of the Third Reich, cut the Gordian knot.[28] Rosenberg chose the side of Ziegler after which Ziegler was no longer contradicted by Goebbels.[29] The quarrel between Ziegler and Goebbels was thus also solved because Goebbels accepted Hitler's decision.

Ziegler became especially famous because he became the head of the *Entartete Kunstausstellung* (degenerate art exhibition) in 1937 (Fig.13). He was ordered by Goebbels to search for degenerate art from museum collections and private collections and to confiscate it for an exhibition.[30] In total, he collected 650 works in this way, which were then exhibited as degenerate art that would spoil art in Germany and influence the people in a bad way.[31] At the opening he said:

"Our patience with all those who have not been able to fall in line with National Socialist reconstruction during the last four years is at an end. The German people will judge them and are not scared. The people trust, as in all things, the judgment of one man, our Führer. He knows which way German art must go in order to fulfil its task as the expression of German character...What you are seeing here are the crippled products of madness,

groups or race: Bolshevists, Jews and Freemasons. The degenerate styles: Bauhaus, Cubism, Dada, Expressionism, Fauvism, Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, New Objectivity and Surrealism.

[26] Translated in English by Adam in his book *Art in the Third Reich*, 52.

[27] D'almeida, *High Society in the Third Reich,* 28.

[28] Hinz, *Art in the third Reich,* 34.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Spotts, *Hitler and the power of Aesthetics,* 151-168.

[31] Ibid.

impertinence, and lack of talent...I would need several freight galleries of this rubbish... This will happen soon."[32]

Ziegler's speech clearly shows how fanatical he was about the degenerate art policy and the Führer. It is therefore not surprising why the Nazis put him in that spot. He did his work not only to obey the Führer but also because he had made the Nazi ideology his own and made it his intention to make it succeed. The fact that he ended his speech with the words 'This will happen soon' confirms Ziegler's persistence and belief in the degenerate art policy and probably the political policy of the Nazis.

With two million visitors, the exhibition was for Ziegler and the Nazi government a huge success.[33] The search for degenerate works was expanded after the exhibition, so that Ziegler and his team eventually confiscated around 15000 works. These works were sold to fill the state treasury, used as barter for *Artete* (generate) art or destroyed, as 5000 works were burned in the courtyard of the Berlin fire brigade in March 1939.[34]

The success of the exhibition also led Goebbels to want an annual exhibition of generate art, the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (Fig.14). Artists could submit works, after which Ziegler was allowed to select the paintings and Arno Breker the sculptures. Ziegler also had his own work exhibited frequently, the best-known example being *The Four Elements* (Fig.15). This nude portrait, which symbolised the four elements, was so appreciated by Hitler that he bought it and had it hung in his office in Munich.[35] These exhibitions were a lot less popular, each annual exhibition that lasted from 1937 to 1944 never attracted more than 840000 visitors.[36] According to art historian Uwe Fleckner (1961), the big differences are due to the forbidden character of the degenerate exhibition, which was further supported by the fact that it was only accessible to people over 21.[37]

Ziegler's role in Nazi Germany seemed only to grow, but this stopped abruptly in 1943 when he was arrested by the Gestapo. He was subsequently sentenced to imprisonment in the

[32] Speech of Adolf Ziegler at the opening of the degenerate Art Exhibition, 19 July 1937; translated by McCloskey in her book *Artist of World War II*, page 65.
[33] English, *The Gallery of Miracles and Madness,* 263.
[34] Schuhmacher, *The Nazis Inventory of Degenerate Art,* 1.
[35] McCloskey, *Artists of World War II,* 64.
[36] Ibid, 65.
[37] Fleckner, *Angriff auf die Avantgarde,* 92.

Dachau concentration camp. The reasons for this conviction always remained vague. There was a suspicion that he had been sympathetic towards an artist who did not want to send his work to the 1943 exhibition for fear that it would be damaged in Germany's war effort.[38] In addition, there was a rumour that he was part of an insidious plan to go behind the leaders in a peace initiative with the Allies.[39] However, Ziegler was presumably convicted of saying in public that he thought the Germans were losing the war, which was strictly forbidden. However, the imprisonment that followed lasted only six weeks because Hitler personally ordered his release. He was not allowed to practice his profession after this and was obliged to remain silent.[40]

After the war, he tried to get his job back as a professor but was rejected several times.[41] Never stripped of the name of Nazi artist, Ziegler died in 1959 at the age of sixty-seven.

Gerdy Troost

Gerdy Andresen (later known as Gerdy Troost) was the best-known interior designer of the Third Reich. Her father was the well-known furniture maker and art dealer Johannes Andresen (1877-1969), from whom she learned a lot about art and interiors in her youth.[42] After high school she immediately joined her father's company in 1920, where she met Paul Ludwig Troost (1878-1934) in 1923 (Fig.16).[43] At that time Troost was still working as an architect for the shipping company Norddeutschen Lloyd.[44] In 1925 the couple moved to Munich, where they married and Paul Troost started an architectural firm.[45]

The most important date in the Troost couple's career was 1930, the year they met Adolf Hitler.[46] Hitler was very enamoured with Troost's work and the couple was very keen on Hitler's ideas. In 1932, the couple also joined the NSDAP (number 1274722 was Gerdy

[38] McCloskey, *Artists of World War II,* 65.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Nüsslein, *Paul Ludwig troost,* 174.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Schlenker, *Hitler's salon,* 31.
[45] Nüsslein, *Paul Ludwig troost,* 174.
[46] Ibid, 176.

Troost's number, which was a very early number).[47] When Hitler came to power in 1933, Paul Troost was promoted to the *Reichs Architekt* (chief architect of the German Reich).[48]

Paul Ludwig Troost made the designs for many buildings for the Nazis, such as the Brown House and the House of German Art (Fig.17). He would never see the opening of the latter building as he died suddenly after a short illness during construction in 1934.[49] Gerdy and fellow architect Leonard Gall (1884-1952) took over the architectural firm. Although Hitler promoted Albert Speer to the new chief architect of the Third Reich, Gerdy continued to play a major role in Germany's cultural sector.[50] Hitler trusted her greatly and appreciated her professionalism. She received several commissions to design the interiors of Nazi architecture such as the new Reich Chancellery, the Prinz-Carl-Palais in Munich and Hitler's private residence on the *Obersalzberg* the *Berghof* (Fig.18,19).[51] She was also awarded jobs as a jury member at the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* and as selection chief at the German body that had to search for art for the *Führermuseum* in Linz.[52]

Troost adapted her interiors very much to the place where it was located. The interiors of the Reich Chancellery are very austere with hard colours and a lot of use of gold, while the interior of the *Berghof* had a more rural feel. At the *Berghof*, Troost used softer colours and made more use of plain furniture than in the other places (Fig.20). Troost always thought very highly of the details of her interiors and usually made them herself. She was especially known for her lighting, which was usually made with bronze-gilt mounts (Fig.21).

Gerdy Troost's greatest role, however, was that of policy maker on art in Nazi Germany. Troost's role is usually described as one of Hitler's confidants, who was offered many jobs and was especially significant because of her late husband. However, Troost played a much larger role behind the scenes in Nazi Germany than is often thought and described. Troost was one of the few who dared to discuss art with Hitler and who could do so openly. It is for example known that as a member of the jury at the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* she had a very fierce discussion with Hitler about his choice of paintings at the exhibition in

[47] Nüsslein, *Paul Ludwig troost,* 176.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid, 179.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Stratigakos, *Hitler at Home,* 127.
[52] Nüsslein, *Paul Ludwig troost,* 181; For *Führermuseum* see page 46.

1938 (Fig.22). She herself had made the preselection of these paintings and Hitler had not adopted it, after which she clearly showed her disagreement. Despite the fact that she resigned as a member of the jury after the discussion, the relationship between the two remained very good and Hitler visited her a week later to apologise.[53]

Troost often spoke to Hitler about art and was able to get him to change his mind. Whenever an architect spoke badly about her deceased husband or her, or an architect was in the way of her architectural firm, she blackened these architects until Hitler no longer wanted anything to do with them. An opera singer and theatre maker, called Friedelind Wagner (1918-1991), described her as a sinister lady who made Hitler prejudge new architects before he even knew them.[54] Partly because of this, she was greatly feared by other architects but also by several high-ranking Nazis, such as Albert Speer, who also kept a close eye on her connection with Hitler. Therefore Troost could do whatever she wanted and did not have to worry about being reprimanded.[55]

This was fully expressed when she wrote *Das Bauen in neuen Reich* in 1942, a book that is still considered the standard work on architecture in the Third Reich. Usually, the book is referred to as being strictly censored and heavily modified by the Nazi government.[56] Troost, however, could write whatever she wanted, without any control, because Hitler had given her a free pass.[57] Thus, can be assumed that the book consists solely of her uncensored opinion on what the architecture of Germany should look like and how one should deal with architecture.

Early on in the book, Troost reveals her anti-Semitism. Architecture had its nadir in the twentieth century, especially after 1918, when the Bolshevists, Jews and Marxists were ruining German architecture.[58] There was no coherence and the architecture would make the Germans sick and let them be swayed by the Jews. There was no order, no concept of authority and no philosophy of life left in architecture, and the *Neue Sachlichkeit* (new

[53] Nüsslein, *Paul Ludwig troost,* 181.
[54] Stratigakos, *Hitler at Home,* 155.
[55] Ibid 115.
[56] Speer, *De Derde Rijk-dagboeken,* 68.
[57] Stratigakos, *Hitler at Home,* 115.
[58] Troost, *Bouwen in het Derde Rijk,* 6-8.

objectivity) was completely despicable.[59] Troost therefore frequently spoke out in favour of the degenerate art policy.

However, this changed when Hitler came to power. From then on, with the architecture of Paul Ludwig Troost as its origin, National Socialist 'building' in architecture took place.[60] There was a true revolution in architecture with the result that German architecture reached its zenith again. There were three important factors here: unity, beauty and landscape.[61] All architecture had to form a unity so that a coherent thousand-year empire would become visible. Bridge building was cited as the most important example (Fig.23).[62] The bridges did not only connect two sides but also the empire itself. Beauty was to be created through quiet symmetry, strict arrangement, beautiful stone types and above all not too much decoration on the buildings, except possibly the jewel of the German Empire (the eagle with the swastika).[63] Also the gardens, art in these gardens and the well laid out streets could certainly play an important role in the beauty of the architecture.[64] The strength of architecture could be emphasised by the landscape it was situated in. Weak people made their architecture dependent on the landscape it was in, and strong peoples conquered the landscape and made their architecture flourish by using the landscape to their advantage.[65] So German architects had to do the same. The archaic character of the German landscape had to make the connection between the archaic building and its population, and the monumental building had to make the connection between the strong classical peoples such as the ancient Greeks and the strong new German empire.[66]

Troost thought that if the rules in this book were followed, German architecture could be placed among the architecture of the strongest peoples in history and cultural German

[59] Troost, *Bouwen in het Derde Rijk,* 6-8
[60] Ibid., 10.
[61] Ibid., 62.
[62] Ibid., 95.
[63] Ibid., 20.
[64] Ibid., 150.
[65] Ibid., 63.
[66] Ibid., 5.

would flourish.[67] The book also revealed a preference for *Blut und Boden* (Blood and Soil), a term often used by the Nazis.[68]

Eventually, after the war, Troost was condemned as *Minderbelastete* (less responsible) and received a fine of 500 Reichsmark and a 10-year ban on her profession.[69] In 1969 she said in an interview that she saw Albert Speer, who after the war distanced himself from Nazi ideology, as a traitor and defended Hitler and the Nazi regime.[70] The interview about Speer and the ideas she discussed in her book show how firm she was in her belief in National Socialism. By being close to Hitler, she not only had a great influence on art policy but could also uphold the name of her wearisome husband. The Nazi art policy and Troost's intentions were therefore very close to each other. After her ban, she continued to work as an interior designer and finally died in 2003 at the age of 99.

Albert Speer

Albert Speer (1905-1981) was the best-known architect of Nazi Germany. In his youth Speer went to the *Technische Schule* at Karlsruhe to become an architect.[71] Speer's grandfather was also a well-known architect named Berthold Speer (1828-1883), who built mainly in a classicist style, where Albert's father was mainly of the Art Nouveau and Neo-Classism (Fig.24).[72] The neo-classicism of Speer's father, however, did not bear much resemblance to that of his son. The father worked in a much more decorated neo-classicistic style while his son would later use a much more sober neo-classicistic style. Son Speer's style would, for example, not make frequent use of facade decoration such as rusticated stones, additional decoration around windows and the use of colour on the facade.

[67] Troost, *Bouwen in het Derde Rijk,* 8.
[68] McDonough, *Hitler and the rise,* 60; *Blut und Boden*, Blood and soil is a term that already existed in 1922 but became a Nazi term by Nazi ideologist Walther Darré (1895-1953) in his 1930 work Neuadel au Blut und Boden. In the Nazi era, the term meant that descent (*Blut*) and soil (*Boden*) were connected and that only people who were truly of German descent were allowed to own and cultivate this land. The term was subsequently used extensively in Nazi propaganda, including in the arts. In architecture, for example, attention was paid to the landscape and buildings in an archaic style, and paintings showed peasant scenes.
[69] Nüsslein, *Paul Ludwig troost,* 182.
[70] Stratigakos, *Hitler at Home,* 119.
[71] Speer, *De Derde Rijk-dagboeken,* 22.
[72] Ibid., 24, 28.

The school system in Germany in the twentieth century was based on students enrolling in a yearly course with a professor of their choice. They would then spend the entire year studying with this particular professor.[73] In 1925, Speer transferred to the more expensive and better technical college in Berlin-Charlottenburg, because his father's architectural firm provided the economic space.[74] Speer enrolled in the classes of Professor Hans Poelzig (1869-1936), who in the 1920s built in an expressionist style and in the New Objectivity, and in the late 1930s switched to the economic building style. Poelzig's architecture was expressionistic, which can be recognised, for example, in the shapes he used. A good example of an expressionist building by Poelzig is the acid factory in Lübon (Fig.25). Here you can also see the clear use of bricks, something that was typical for expressionist architecture and was something Speer would almost never use in his buildings. However, Poelzig was a very popular professor and his courses were filled with the best students, which did not include Speer. As a result, Speer's choice fell on Professor Heinrich Tessenow (1876-1950).[75]

Tessenow was much more classical than Poelzig in his architectural style. Tessenow's buildings looked very austere with classical elements. An example is the *Festspielhaus Hellerau* in Dresden, where the neoclassical style is very apparent (Fig.26). Tessenow creates a building in the middle with a facade like an ancient classical temple, but with square columns, something that Speer would later follow. Furthermore, Tessenow does not decorate the facades because he said: 'A minimum of display is decisive[76]
There were also several parallels which could be drawn between Tessenow and National Socialism. According to Tessenow, for example, style had to come from the people themselves and people had to love their own native region, something that was covered by the term Heimat in National Socialism.[77] Furthermore, Tessenow was against an international culture and the cities were a terrible hodgepodge of architecture, and this had to be solved by returning to the peasantry and the accompanying architecture. In National Socialism, this was described when it came to *Blut und Boden*, which was about the fact that

[73] Ibid., 30.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid., 30.
[77] Ibid., 34.

one's own blood always came first and that agriculture was very important.[78] In 1931, Tessenow even described: “Someone will have to appear who thinks very simply. Today's thinking has become too complicated. An uneducated man, a sort of farmer perhaps, would solve everything much more easily because he is not so depraved. He would also have the power to realise his simple ideas.”[79] Tessenow did not mention Hitler's name, but many people, including Speer, made this connection.[80]

Six months after Speer finished his final exams in 1927 he started working for Tessenow. He had to give lectures for the Professor.[81] In the 1930s there was also a split in the college. The right-wing, more National Socialist students moved to Tessenow and the communist students moved to Poelzig. Some of the students then asked Speer to go with them to a party rally in 1930 where Speer saw Hitler for the first time. He was not particularly enamoured with the ideas of the party, but he was a complete fan of Hitler as a person. As a result, a month later he joined the party with number 476.681.[82] In 1932, Speer thought it had gone on long enough that he had worked under Tessenow, and he moved back to his native Mannheim to start his own architectural firm. However, partly due to the crisis, he did not receive any commissions.

To support the Nazi party, Speer moved with his wife to Berlin in 1933. Here he received his first assignment under the NSDAP, where he had to re-decorate a *Gouwbüro* (community office) in Berlin (Fig.27). The building was designed by Paul Ludwig Troost and had a neoclassical appearance with very little decoration except for two single armbands with swastikas. This style was almost identical to the style that Speer would use for his buildings. The final re-decoration was greatly enjoyed by Goebbels and Hitler who visited the office during the campaign. After this Speer returned to Mannheim where again the orders did not materialise.[83] However, a week after the elections in 1933, Speer was summoned to Berlin to re-decorate the Ministry of Propaganda and then to design a stage for the *Tempelhofer feld* (Fig.28).[84] Speer designed a large and wide stage with different levels on it to make it

[78] McDonough, *Hitler and the rise,* 60.
[79] Speer, *De Derde Rijk-dagboeken,* 35.
[80] Ibid.; Adam, *Art of the Third Reich,* 41.
[81] Speer, *De Derde Rijk-dagboeken,* 37.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid., 42.
[84] Speer, *De Derde Rijk-dagboeken,* 44.

stand out. In addition, he placed several flag stands on top of the stage so that very long Nazi flags were visible to everyone during the meetings. This whole design created an impressive image which impressed the Nazi's, but what was also criticised by Tessenow. He said about the design: "Did you think you had done something creative with this? It makes an impression, that's all."[85] After Speer became the contractor for the refurbishment of a house belonging to Hitler in Munich, which refurbishment was planned by the architect Paul Ludwig Troost, Speer was truly part of the Nazi circle (Fig.29).[86]

Hitler made Speer the pupil of Troost so that he could learn the tricks of the trade from him. When Troost died in 1934, Speer immediately took on the job of *Reichs Architekt*.[87] The *Zeppelin Feld* (zeppelin field) was Speer's first major project as chief architect (Fig.30). It was also one of the headpieces of the *Reichsparteigelände*, which were grounds where the annual party day was celebrated (Fig.31).[88] His final design consisted of three parts. A field where zeppelins could land and large marches could be organised which was surrounded by blocks with flags on them.[89] The second part was a road that ran between the stage and the field so that parades could pass by and important guests could be driven to the centre of the stage. The last and biggest part is the stage with the middle building and on both sides very large and long galleries with big stairs underneath. The only decorations, apart from the flags, was a huge swastika on the middle building. The podium was made in a sober neoclassical style just as Tessenow did, only Speer made the building many times larger in order to make as much of an impression as possible as Troost often did. [90]

The stage on the field was also the beginning of Speer's theory of ruin value. By using special materials and calculations, the buildings would later look like ancient Roman ruins, exactly a thousand-year empire.[91]

However, Speer only really became famous for his *Zeppelinfeld* when he was asked to think

[85] Ibid., 45.
[86] Ibid., 44.
[87] Ibid., 68.
[88] Chapoutot, *Greeks, Romans, Germans,* 259; The *Reichsparteigelände* was much bigger than just the zeppelin field. Speer designed, among other things, half a Colosseum built for meetings, a stadium for sporting events, an exhibition hall and many other huge buildings to show the greatness of the Nazi party. Speer worked out the whole complex in detail, even the electricity buildings were completely designed by him.
[89] Speer, *De Derde Rijk-dagboeken,* 81.
[90] Ibid., 46.
[91] Ibid., 79.

of something so that it could also be used at night for parades and festivities.[92] He came up with the idea of surrounding the field with 130 large upward-pointing spotlights (Fig.32).[93] This became known both at home and abroad as the 'Cathedral of Light'. Speer would later say that the *Zeppelinfeld* was his favourite design.[94] It was also the first building in the true neo-classical style for which he would become very famous.

Previously, he had worked in other styles, such as the neo-Rococo style for the renovation of Hermann Göring's (1893-1946) house and the neo-Baroque style that he used for Hitler's villa. The example of Neo-classism that brought Speer the most fame, however, was not in Germany but at the World Expo in Paris in 1937, where he won the first prize.[95] The Paris World Expo brought international recognition to his work (Fig.33). The building, which was the tallest Speer had ever built, was again designed in the familiar neoclassical style, except that Speer completely disproportioned the entrance by stretching it out. This was mainly to compete with the pavilion of the Soviet Union on the other side, which was also as high. After all, Nazi Germany could not be inferior to the Soviet Union.

In 1941, Speer was, just like Gerdy Troost, allowed to write a book about the new architecture in the Third Reich, in which he would not be corrected or controlled. In the book, he explained that in his opinion architecture was the most important art form and that it was also the only thing that remained of the previous great empires, such as the Romans.[96] In Germany, however, things went wrong with architecture in the 19th century after the death of Schinkel (painter and architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841)).[97] Speer thought of Schinkel as the last true neoclassicist. The *Altes Museum* (Fig.34) is an example of the architecture created by Schinkel, which Speer saw as one of his great examples. The austere appearance, the temple-like form and the use of many columns were also very similar to Speer's buildings.

According to Speer, the industrialisation messed up everything and disrupted the culture and thus also the architecture. Not politics but industrialists gained the power. Crafts

[92] Ibid., 80.
[93] Ibid., 81.
[94] Ibid., 54.
[95] Ibid., 82.
[96] Speer, *Neue Deutsche Baukunst*, 7.
[97] Ibid., 8.

disappeared from architecture, so did the individual and the character. The unity of the cities was mixed with old and new architecture, causing the centres to become dead.[98] Architects such as Tessenow tried to counteract this, but failed because there was no political unity. But then Hitler stood up and created political unity, but also architectural unity, for example with redevelopments, new districts and the creation of new focal points in cities, such as theatres or banquet halls, which were then surrounded by state and party buildings. Together they formed a unity.[99] Like Gerdy Troost Speer described bridge and road construction as the pinnacle of the new Germany's connection and unity. He concluded by saying that a new building era would be born under Hitler.[100]
Speer gives his view of architecture in Germany in his book, but does so in a less fierce and anti-Semitic manner than Gerdy Troost did. Speer's ideas on architecture should all come together in the plan of *Germania*, the new world capital on the site where Berlin now lay (Fig.35).[101]

During the war period, Speer's orders were drastically reduced. However, Hitler also saw a great manager in Speer, so he made him Minister of Armaments and Munitions in 1942. He would have been so successful in this that he probably made the war last two years longer by increasing production.[102] In 1945, Speer still faced a very difficult choice. Hitler issued the so-called Nero command, which meant that everything that was left had to be destroyed, in order to take the German people, who Hitler believed had failed, with them to their doom. Speer, however, refused to do so and did not pass on the orders, so that they were never carried out. Speer did, however, consider it important to say goodbye to Hitler in April 1945. He had to fly to Berlin from where he had previously fled. After the farewell and Hitler's suicide, Speer was arrested in May 1945.[103]

[98] Speer, *Neue Deutsche Baukunst*, 8.
[99] Ibid., 8-9.
[100] Ibid., 14.
[101] Solesbury, *World Cities, City Worlds,* 204; Hitler had given Speer time from 1937 to 1943 to draw up a plan to drastically rebuild Berlin to a new city called *Germania*. Berlin would then have to oust Paris as world capital. Speer had finished the model for this in 1939, which shows an entire neoclassical city with a gigantic Pantheon at its centre, which was to serve as the *Volkshalle* (hall for the people).
[102] Speer, *De Derde Rijk-dagboeken,* 104
[103] Ibid., 208

Speer was finally sentenced to 20 years in prison in 1946 because under his leadership 6 million forced labourers were put to work in the German arms industry.[104] He was the only Nazi leader to declare himself guilty, but said he could not be held personally responsible for the deportation of prisoners, let alone the concentration camps.[105] Later it turned out that he must have known about this because he had helped to build some of the camps.[106] After his release in 1966, Spear did not really come into the spotlight anymore and finally died of a heart attack in 1981. After his imprisonment, a diary was made of all the diary entries that Speer had made during his incarceration. At the end of the diary, he describes how he blames himself for his participation in the war and the fact that it probably lasted two years longer than necessary. He blamed his actions on the fact that he had blinders on and no longer paid attention to what the Nazis were doing for the rest. Whether this is completely true can of course never be said with certainty.

Arno Breker

Arno Breker was the most famous sculptor under the Nazi regime. He was born on 19 July 1900 and came from a stonemasonry family.[107] At the age of eleven, Breker became a member of the local Wuppertal-Elberfeld group of *Wandervogels*.[108] This youth organisation tried to distance itself as much as possible from industrialisation and materialisation by searching for romance and looking into the folk culture and the arts.[109] Breker's dream of becoming a sculptor originated with this group. [110]

At the beginning of the First World War, Breker quit the group and his school and temporarily took over the management of his father's stonemasonry business, as his brother and father were forced to serve in the army.[111] The temporary takeover of the stonemasonry by the young Breker was the true beginning of his career as a sculptor. He wrote about the period: “Während der praktischen Lehre, die von 1914 – Frühjahr 1920

[104] Buggeln, *Slave Labour,* 22.
[105] Sluiter, *International criminal procedure,* 683.
[106] Buggeln, *Slave labour,* 22.
[107] Trimborn, *Arno Breker,* 27.
[108]Ibid., 30.
[109] Ibid., 30-31.
[110] Ibid., 31.
[111] Ibid., 38.

dauerte, hatte ich die Möglichkeit, nicht nur sämtliche Steinmaterialien vom Sandstein bis zu den härtesten Graniten bearbeiten zu lernen, sondern musste mich da die Grabmale der reichen Elberfelder Bürger ofmals sehs ausladend ausfielen, sehr intensiv mit Architektur beschäftigen." [112] From this quote, it is clear that the time spent in stonemasonry had a great influence on Breker's skills and experience, something that was later reflected in his work.

At the end of the war, Breker's brother and father returned and took over the management again. Breker then continued to work in the company until 1920 to improve his skills in stonemasonry by designing and carving various tombstones. He wrote about these gravestones himself: "These tombstone commissions also triggered my fascination with the interplay between architecture and sculpture."[113] This was a skill that he could put to good use later, when he had to make sculptures for various buildings. If one looks at Breker's style, one cannot immediately recognise one's own. He mainly used the styles of the people around him, such as the Art Deco and Art Nouveau styles used by his father. [114] In order to find his own style and continue to grow as a sculptor, Breker went to college. In the first period of his studies, Breker experimented with expressionism and Art Nouveau, but soon changed this because he realised that there was more fame to be gained as a sculptor of figures 'from life'. [115] His real great example became Rodin whose work he saw in a regional museum along with the works of many modern artists such as Matisse (1869-1954) and Picasso (1881-1973).[116]

In 1920, he started his real student life by becoming a student at the academy of art in Dusseldorf, where he also became a member of the *Malkassen* group. This was a local art group of students and artists who were mainly oriented towards modern art.[117] At the *Malklassen* group, he was taught modern styles, while at university he was instructed to

[112] Trimborn, *Arno Breker,* 44; Archiv ADK, Lebenslauf Arno Brekers, 23 June 1938; Translated by athor: "From 1914-1920, I not only had the opportunity to learn how to work all stone materials, from sandstone to bluestone. But I also had to deal very intensively with architecture, because the rich Elberfelders wanted large, wide tombstones."
[113] Ibid.; translated by Trimborn.
[114] Ibid., 328.
[115] Ibid., 45.
[116] Ibid., 46.
[117] Trimborn, *Arno Breker,* 51.

copy and study the works of old masters. [118] In Breker's first known sculptures, the struggle between modern and old is still visible. This resulted in works such as *Sitzende*, in which a classical scene of a naked woman is depicted in an abstract manner (Fig.36). There are few visible details and the proportions are not realistic either, for example the arms are much too long and the feet much too big. Ultimately, it took a trip to the Bauhaus in 1922 for Breker to realise that he simply did not find modernism creative and original, so he switched to classical and traditional.[119] For this, he chose the path that his professor Hubert Netzer (1865-1939) selected for him to become a good classical artist.[120]

In 1924, Breker stopped studying and wanted to stand completely on his own feet, which was made difficult by the recession. By accepting many small commissions and in addition the help of patrons, many of whom were Jewish, he was able to survive. Through the Jewish art dealer and gallery owner Alfred Flechtheim (1878-1937), he was able to continue to grow in art. He signed a contract with Flechtheim in 1924, who subsequently secured several important commissions and ensured that Breker could spend a period in Paris in 1924 among the art and artists there.[121] During his time in Paris, Breker also studied symmetry. This can also be seen in his works such as *Torso des David*, in which he practised the symmetry of the human body, which can be seen in the symmetrical torso (Fig.37). In the sculptures from that period, it could also be seen that Breker still did not succeed in rendering the proportions correctly. In the sculpture of David, for instance, this can be seen in the feet, which are not in good proportion to the rest of the body.

In 1927, Breker even moved to Paris to further develop his art from there. Through Flechtheim's contacts, Breker came into contact with Fernand Leger (1881-1955), Renoir's family and Picasso's art dealer. The most important encounters, however, were with Emille Bourdelle (1861-1929) and Despiau (1874-1946).[122] Despiau's simplicity and proportions and Bourdelle's details and classicism would play a very important role in Breker's final style.[123] In the work *Torso des Läufers,* the musculature of the male figure is much more pronounced

[118] Ibid., 52.
[119] Ibid., 54.
[120] Ibid., 51.
[121] Ibid., 61.
[122] Ibid., 82
[123] Ibid., 84.

than before, something which Breker copied from Bourdelle (Fig.38,39). The feet, which were in proportion for the first time, came from copying Despiau (Fig.40).

In the meantime, Flechtheim sold Breker's work on the international market and ensured that it was also shown at many exhibitions. In 1929 Flechtheim arranged for Breker to enter the famous Rome-Paris competition for sculptors, which he won with flying colours. This prize was coupled with a stay and study in Rome. Here he was inspired by the work of Michelangelo (1475-1564) and began to work in an increasingly classical style.[124] In 1933, however, everything changed when he met Goebbels in Rome at a German ceremony and returned to Germany a month later to live with his wife in Munich.[125]

In the years between 1933 and 1936, Breker could often be found in Jewish circles, where he received many assignments and made friends. He was a member of a liberal rotary club and has a lot of contact with Jewish artist Max Liebermann (1847-1935) and his wife, for whom he even made the death mask (Fig.41).[126] The commissions that Breker received in particular were busts of various rich and important people. These busts were especially sought after because of their very truthful and detailed appearance. All wrinkles and grooves of the person were depicted, but he made it clearly visible that he had made them with his hands (Fig.42). In some busts his fingers could still be seen. He continued to produce such busts from 1924 to 1935. From 35 onwards, the busts became increasingly smooth and the artist's hand could no longer be recognised, as can be seen in Liebermann's death mask.

From 1937 onwards, Breker begins to conform completely to the norms and values of the NSDAP. His real breakthrough with the Nazi government came with the statues he made for the 1936 Olympic Games, for which he was awarded a prize (Fig.43). These made such an impression that from that moment on Breker became Hitler's favourite sculptor and Hitler, after seeing the sculptures, summoned him and said: “Junger Mann, ab heute arbeiten Sie

[124] Ibid., 104.
[125] Ibid., 113.
[126] Ibid., 127.

nur noch für mich."[127] At this Breker also immediately joined the NSDAP and could finally try to introduce his 'art of the people'. He said:

> "Das Volk ging nicht in die Museen. Der tätige Arbeiter, der Träger der wischaftlichen Basis, stand so ausserhalb der Kunst. Ich war der Meinung,, die Plastik gehöre auf die Strasse, derhalve sie gehört in Verbindung mit Architektur und auf öffentliche Plätze, sei es als Denkmäler beteutender Menschen und Ereignisse oder einfach als freie Platstik"[128]

This was a very National Socialist idea of Breker's, because National Socialism is all about treating the own population well and making them equal and in this way art would be available to everyone. On the other hand, it was also a good idea for Breker to be able to show his own sculpture everywhere.

This was the beginning of Breker and his powerful position in the Nazi regime. According to the people around Breker, this also changed him a lot in terms of personality. One of them described it like this: "Brekers haben buchstäblich den Grössenwahn gekriegt. Einde Vollständige Verwaldung. (…) Am Abend hatte ich eine Unterhaltung mit B's (Brekers), die mich schockierte und von der ich Dir erzähle. Schade um ihn."[129] Breker broke off contact with all his old friends and only dealt with Nazis, while his old friends were shocked by his changing personality, as one can read in the letter from old friend and painter Carl Grossberg (1844,1940)

His style changed from the moment the Nazis came to power in 1933. In the first sculptures after the Nazi takeover, such as the sculpture *Prometheus I* (Fig.44), as in his earlier works, wrinkles and grooves can still be seen in the body, although this was already less than before. The only thing he adapted at that time was the hair thought of the figures by changing them from hairstyles of classical antiquity to contemporary ones (Fig.45). However, this neoclassical style became increasingly smooth in the 1930s. This resulted in

[127] Trimborn, *Arno Breker,* 158; Dammbeck, *Zeit der Götter,* 30; Translation by author: "Young man, from today onwards you will only work for me (Hitler)."

[128] Breker, *Schriften,* 35; Translation by author: "The people did not go to museums. The active worker, the bearer of the economic base, was outside art. I believed that sculpture belongs in the street. That is, it belongs in connection with architecture and in public places, whether it is there as a reminder of important people or events or whether it is just free sculpture."

[129] Privatarchiv Eva Grossberg, Sommerhaussen, Letter from Carl Grossberg to his wife Tilda Grossberg, 1936; Translation by author: Brekers literally got the megalomania. A complete transformation. (...) In the evening I had a conversation with B's (Brekers) which shocked me and which I'll tell you about. A pity about him."

images, such as *Zehnkämpfer mit Tuch* (fig.43) where an athlete is shown in the manner, which was best possible according to the Nazis. The man looks almost mythical, he has no wrinkles, lots of muscles, shows no emotion and seems invincible. In this way, the images of Breker begin to show more and more of an *Übermensch*.[130] This can also be seen in Breker's busts from the war period. A bust of Edda Göring, Hermann Göring's (1938-2018) daughter, depicts a completely smooth girl who loses her natural appearance and gains a powerful look (Fig.46).

Breker received all kinds of large commissions, the largest was for the 'decoration' of the new *Germania*, because only Breker was seen as the artist who could produce sculpture to match such large-scale architecture.[131] He also got his own studio and founded a company with a stone quarry in Wiezen in Germany together with Albert Speer, who had become a friend. Here, with Breker's knowledge, many forced labourers from different countries, such as France, Italy, Poland and Ukraine, were used. The forced labourers from the last three countries were housed under miserable conditions.[132]

During the war period, it became clear that Breker was mainly interested in self-enrichment. He was paid well by the government, as much as 27.4 million Reichsmark, which would now stand for 340 million euros.[133] He was also given a castle by Hitler, which he could rebuild to his own taste at the state's expense. Breker also often went to Paris where he had a confiscated house from the government and where he frequently bought all kinds of art and antiques for very low prices. He hid this art in many different places such as his castle, flat in Paris, stone farm and flat in Linz.[134] At the end of the war, Breker fled from his castle and had a new castle built in a safer place. When Germany fell, he pretended to have heart problems and hid in a remote hospital but was caught anyway. He was eventually fined 100 Deutschmarks for allegedly collaborating with the Nazis. The fact that he helped various people during the war was taken into account. He helped Jewish people by warning them or

[130] Spoelstra, *Leadership and Communication,* 31; The term *Übermensch* was already used in Ancient Greece, but it was Nietzsche's (1844-1900) interpretation of the word that made him famous. According to Nietzsche, the *Übermensch* was the one who dared to detach himself from the system and rely on himself. The Nazis adopted Nietzsche's term, but changed it to mean that the *Übermensch*, as they called themselves, had to conquer and dominate the *Üntermenschen,* people of another race, especially the Jews.
[131] Schmidt-Gleim, Wiesner, *The Meanings of Europe,* 66.
[132] Trimborn, *Arno Breker,* 307.
[133] Ibid., 348.
[134] Ibid., 353.

freeing them through his political contacts.[135] However, this only happened if he himself benefited from it. In Paris, for example, he had a few bronze casters and sculptors exempted from the compulsory work in Germany, but this later turned out to be mainly because he needed them for his own exhibition later that year. Breker's role was therefore primarily to glorify himself as much as possible, and he did not care what he needed for that. Other cries of distress from, for example, the widow Flechtheim, he let slip quietly because she could do nothing for him.

After the war, he was sentenced to a fine of 100 Reichsmark for his role as *Mitläufer* (follower).[136] Breker remained a well-known and sought-after artist, receiving various commissions such as busts for Dali (1904-1989) and King Hassan II of Morocco (1929-1999). In terms of style, Breker returned after the war to a style that had many similarities to that of the late 1920s and early 1930s (Fig.47). The grooves and wrinkles returned and so did the emotion in the busts and sculptures. However, he no longer made sculptures in which the hand of the artist was still clearly visible. He continued to produce a lot of work well into the 80s and finally died in 1991.[137]

Fritz Klimsch

Fritz Klimsch, born in 1870, was a sculptor who came from a large family of artists. His brother and father were both artists too, as were his grandfather and uncle.[138] He studied at the University of Fine Arts in Berlin and then became an apprentice under sculptor Fritz Schaper (1841-1919) (Fig.48). In 1898, Klimsch was one of the founders of the *Berliner Sezession*, a group of artists living in Germany that was established as a movement against the strict demands on art made by emperor Wilhelm II (Fig.49).[139] The group was seen as German modernists and many German impressionists were also members. Well-known members included painters Max Liebermann, Hermann Struck (1877-1944) and Edvard Munch (1863-1944).[140] The group frequently opposed the German regime and tried to

[135] Trimborn, *Arno Breker,* 256
[136] Petropoulos, *The Meanings of Europe,* 144.
[137] Trimborn, *Arno Breker,* 436.
[138] Jensen, *Marketing Modernism*, 320.
[139] Ibid., 23.
[140] Hansen, *Fritz Klimsch*, 177.

influence cultural life in Germany by working together. After the fall of Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1918, many of the members of the group flourished in the Weimar Republic.

In the early period, Klimsch made works in different styles, depending on which best suited the taste of the people at the time. In 1907, for example, he made a very classicistic sculpture of mercury for the Humboldt University, using the same techniques as used in the antiquity and also making the sculpture look strikingly like a sculpture from that period (Fig.50). This style he had learned and adopted from Professor Schaper.
When Art Deco became popular in Western Europe around the 1920s, Klimsch also adopted this style. In the work *Badend*, for example, an Art Deco style bathing woman can be seen drying herself off (Fig.51). This woman is depicted in a very stylistic and clean way, without all the details that were very much on display in the classicist style.

From the 1930s, Klimsch began to focus more on the Nazis' style in order to market his work. For this reason, he started to use the classical style again, but used a contemporary hairstyle for the sculptures like Breker did (Fig.52). In the earlier works such as with Mercury and the *Nackter Bauer* (Fig.53), Klimsch imitated the hair from antiquity and in the Art Deco sculptures he paid little attention to the hair at all. So in the sculptures from the 1930s and 1940s, he tried to incorporate the *zeitgeist* into his sculptures by giving the ladies and gentlemen the hairstyles that were in fashion at the time. Everywhere one saw pictures of soldiers or *Deutscher Mädel* (Nazi girl's organization) (Fig.54) with the same hairstyle in order to radiate even more unity. Klimsch cleverly played on this.

From 1933, he was a prominent guest at National Socialist events, although he never became a party member. His art had become less popular in the 1920s, but was regarded by the National Socialists as highly skilled and luxurious.[141] He also received many commissions from them to, for example, make busts of Hitler and other prominent Nazis or to make sculptures for the private homes of Nazis. [142] In 1935 he became a professor at the college of liberal arts and applied arts in Berlin. He used the power he had gained under the Nazi regime to continue his job as a professor, even after he had reached retirement age. During the Nazi regime, his works were frequently exhibited.[143]

[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid., 178.
[143] Hansen, *Fritz Klimsch,* 179.

Klimsch appears to be an artist who allowed himself to be carried away by the Nazis and their ideas during the war, but it appears that he was already highly critical of the Nazis' way of thinking during the war years. As mentioned earlier, Klimsch was one of the founders of the *Berliner Sezession*. Many Jewish artists were also members of this group, who were forced to be expelled in 1933.[144] Klimsch did this with great reluctance and resigned as a member of the group afterwards. He also set great store by the work of Ernst Barlach (1870-1938), Kathe Kollwitz (1867-1945) and Wilhelm Lehmbruck (1881-1919), all artists who were labelled degenerate by the Nazis.[145] And when, as the head of an exhibition, he was told that these works had to be removed, he also defended these artists by saying: "Ich sagte Ihm, gerade als wir vor Barlach standen, dass doch gegen diese Werke nichts ein zu wenden wäre; sie errinerten an Reliefs der Alten Romanischen und Gotischen Dome."[146]
Klimsch thus attempts to defend the degenerate artist by arguing that their art does not look different from the old classical gothic art of non-degenerate artists. In doing so, he tries to make the degenerate art policy not about the artist who made it but about the art they produced. This was a risky attempt because in doing so he was going straight against the policies of Hitler and Ziegler. However, this was not to make any difference and in the end he did carry out the order and did not oppose it any further. He did send a letter to professor Arthur Kampf (1864-1950), one of the people who was in charge of the decision, in which he wondered why work of people from the art academy could be refused and who had the authority to do so.[147]

Klimsch's works do not typically fall within the rules that the Nazi government set for art. Klimsch made sculptures, especially naked women, in marble that were never larger than a human size[148]. However, the government wanted the sculptures to give an ideal image of women, something that had to be inspired by the statues of women from Greek antiquity.[149] Klimsch, however, made sculptures of women that showed the ideal of beauty.

[144] Petropoulos, *Art as Politics,* 312.
[145] Hansen, *Fritz Klimsch,* 177.
[146] Ibid, 177; Letter from Klimsch to professor Arthur Kampf from 15 February 1937; Translation: "I told him, just as we were standing in front of Barlach, that there was nothing to object to these works; they reminded me of the reliefs of the old Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals."
[147] Ibid., 177; Professor Arthur Kampf was an famous artist and responsible for the painting choice of the exhibition.
[148]Autographensmamlung, Archiv der Bayer-AG, Letter from Klimsch to Carl Duisberg from 4 March 1931.
[149] Hansen, *Fritz Klimsch,* 210.

The women showed the ideal of beauty from the Nazi period and could, for instance, also be the women you saw on the beach or on the terrace.[150] The hairstyles of the women were also not inspired by the women of ancient Greece, as with artists such as Thorak and Breker, but by the hairstyles of the women in the Third Reich.

Another example showing that Klimsch's sculptures are not seen as typical Nazi art is the non-use of wrinkles in his works. The statues without wrinkles had to pass as real, perfect beauty, which made them seem almost pasty, while the government wanted the statues to contain wrinkles so that they would appear as realistic as possible.[151] Only the sculptures of Breker's *Übermensch* did not have to contain this. The most famous example of this is a sculpture the architect made for the Berlin Zoo. The sculpture shows a naked woman who was recognisable as a woman from the Third Reich and not an idealised image.[152] The sculpture was a portrait of his secretary, whereas the Nazis only wanted sculptures in which nothing could be recognised. The images were not supposed to have any individual features and certainly not show any emotional feelings.[153] The images were only supposed to depict women who were healthy and able to procreate. Klimsch, however, did not agree with this and often described the female body as a wave, just as captivating as a wave coming towards you on the beach.[154] He got this from Michelangelo.[155]

Apart from the fact that his work deviated from what the Nazis wanted to see in sculpture, he was also very critical of the artists in the Nazi regime and government. He did not express this openly but mainly in letters to acquaintances and family members that have been preserved. For instance, he criticised Hitler, whom he had met at an event. He was said to be a "*Marionet*" (puppet) who was controlled by the people around him.[156] But other artists were also criticised. Klimsch, for example, wrote to a professor friend about the sculptures of Breker and Joseph Thorak: "(…) Ganz abgesehen dass Riesenplastiken in unserer

[150] Ibid., 188.
[151] Ibid.,185.
[152] Ibid., 186.
[153] Ibid., 184.
[154] Ibid., 184.
[155] Ibid., 184.
[156] Braun, *Fritz Klimsch. Werke,* 403; Letter from Klimsch to Julius Klimsch from 1938.

Landschaft eine Geschmacktlosigkeit bedeuten." [157]
Breker's and Thorak's sculptures were regarded as the pinnacle of Third Reich art, which is why it is remarkable that Klimsch dared to voice such criticism. Klimsch's sculptures were almost always of human-sized, which was often not the case with the sculptures by Breker and Thorak (Fig.55).

Klimsch was also critical of another sculptor and architect, who was lauded by the Nazis, named Bruno Schmitz (1858-1916): "Seinen Riesendenkmälern und Riesenplastiken, die uns mit Recht im Ausland als Auswüchse des Parvenuetums eingetregen haben."[158]
This second criticism also shows Klimsch's aversion to the Nazi urge to create architecture of large dimensions. Schmitz was known as an architect of large-format monumental buildings, which were praised during the Nazi regime and used as memorials (Fig.56). Klimsch therefore strongly opposed this large format in all forms of art.

However, it was not only artists that Klimsch criticised. He also criticised some members of the government who thought that Klimsch could only sculpt female figures and not men. "Ich muss den Idioten wieder einmal zeigen, dass ich auch eine männliche Figur hinstellen kann, vielleicht sogar besser, wie die Monumentalbildhauer des Dritten Reichs." [159] It was known that Klimsch also made many male figures, which can be seen, for example, on a photo of his studio (Fig.57). He is clearly irritated that only his female sculptures were seen by the government. The most striking thing about this quote, however, is the last sentence in which he talks about the monumental sculptors of the Third Reich. By monumental artists, he means the artists who make large-format sculptures, but he also calls them sculptors from the Third Reich, thus placing himself outside the group. This suggests that he did not see himself as an artist from the Third Reich, something that is striking since he did produce art for the government. However, he did not consider himself part of the Third Reich through this collaboration, whereas contemporary historians do assume this. From

[157]Autographensmamlung, Archiv der Bayer-AG, Letter from Klimsch to Carl Duisberg from 4 March 1931; Translation by author: "(…) Quite apart from the fact that giant sculptures in our landscape mean a lack of taste."
[158] Autographensmamlung, Archiv der Bayer-AG, Letter from Klimsch to Carl Duisberg from 4 March 1931. Translation: "His giant monuments and giant sculptures, which have rightly earned us a reputation abroad as megalomaniacs."
[159] Braun, *Fritz Klimsch. Werke,* 403; Letter from Klimsch to Lisel Klimsch from 10 August, 1941, Translation by author: "I have to show the idiots once again that I can also put sculpt a male figure, perhaps even better, than the monumental sculptors of the Third Reich."

the quotes it is clear that he only saw the Nazi government as clients and otherwise disagreed with their ideas or ideologies

The criticisms in the letters are very special because this kind of criticism was not tolerated and therefore constituted a great risk. Despite the fact that Klimsch did not abide by the rules set by the Nazi regime, his work was very often exhibited and purchased, because his style appealed to the Nazis. His career was thus given a complete restart, as it were, which suddenly stopped in 1943 when his studio in Berlin was bombed and he decided to retire, also as a professor.[160] Despite his retirement, he was still put on the *Sonderliste der Unersetzlichen Künstler* in 1944 by Hitler and Goebbels out of respect.[161]

After the war, Klimsch wasn't convicted but would always be seen as a Nazi artist, even though that was only 13 years into his 73-year career.[162] He himself said after the war that he distanced himself from the regime and only worked with it in order to gain attention and make money, something that can be supported by the criticism he expressed in personal letters.[163]

Werner Peiner

Werner Peiner was born in 1897 in Düsseldorf into a farming family.[164] In 1914, having completed his secondary education, he voluntarily joined the German army in the Uhlan regiment.[165] In his memoirs from 1976, he clearly describes that he was very disappointed in Germany and that all his 'convictions were in tatters'.[166] After the war, Peiner wanted to become a businessman, but his father urged him above all to do something that he really enjoyed. Via a friend of his father, Professor Wilhelm Döringer (1862-1929), he finally ended up at the state art academy in Dusseldorf in 1919.[167]

[160] Hansen, *Fritz Klimsch,* 180.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Ibid., 211.
[164] Pesch, Pesch, *Werner Peiner*, 13.
[165] Pesch, Pesch, 13; Sommer, *Rheinische Meisterwerke,* 5.
[166] Pesch, Pesch, *Werner Peiner,* 14.
[167] Ibid., 13.

Peiner's first known work was made in a expressionist and art nouveau style.[168] A relatively unknown work by Peiner is the work *Ecce homo*, which was created in an expressionist style that is very similar to the work of Franz Marc (Fig.58). He continued to use expressionism in particular until 1923, when he changed to *Neue Sachlichkeit* (new objectivity), a style in which everyday things were depicted in a simple and unemotional way. Peiner stopped as a master's student at the academy in 1923 and entered into a partnership with two other artists.[169] Together, they became known for the batak carpets they produced, which became very popular, and Peiner also produced his own paintings and murals. In 1926, he stopped collaborating after disagreements between the artists and went into business for himself.[170]

During his studies, Peiner started to turn against modern art and modern art styles. He said in 1921: “Durch die ‘ismen’ fände die deutsche Kunst ihren Niedergang” [171] This is remarkable, because a few years earlier Peiner was still an expressionist painter, as can be seen in Ecce homo. This cannot be attributed to the ideas of the Nazis because Peiner did not yet know the Nazis, so it must have been his own idea.[172]

His work became very popular with industrialists and the private sector in the period between 1926 and 1933 and was also very varied. He painted murals for companies, made designs for carpets and also produced many paintings.[173] The best-known works from that period were the tapestry *Elefanten in Zirkus*, which depicts a show in a circus tent in a New Objectivity style (Fig.59). All parts are somewhat alienated and emotionless, but the performance is immediately clear. Peiner also became famous for a mural he painted for Shell in one of its factories (Fig.60). In a linear and austere manner, Peiner shows the factory on the large wall.

His work was always very much influenced by the trips he made. For example, he was inspired by the Gothic style during a trip to Italy and used the landscapes and peasant scenes in his works, he saw on a tour of the German mountains in 1926. His interest in the

[168] Ibid., 14.
[169] Ibid., 14
[170] Ibid., 21.
[171] Ibid., 17; Peiner, *Ein Künstlerleben,* 83; Peiner wrote in his autobiography that he said this in 1921; Translation by author: "Through the 'isms' German art would find its downfall".
[172] Pesch, Pesch, *Werner Peiner,* 17
[173] Ibid., 20.

Gothic style went so far that he was one of the few artists of his time to produce paintings in tempura.[174]

In 1933, however, his orders dried up when the Nazis came to power. His art was removed by a Nazi caretaker from the *Wallraf Richardz* Museum in Cologne, as it was said to be out of date and the new objectivity no longer was seen as a desirable style. However, Peiner's work was subsequently used as a gift by the mayor of Mechernich for the new Führer.[175] The mayor bought the work *Deutsche Erde* as a gift and sent it along with an honorary membership of the municipality to Hitler in Berlin (Fig.61).[176] This painting was not painted in a New Objectivity style, but in a sub-style called Magical Realism, which Peiner had started using in his works shortly before.[177] This style did not look for everyday images but rather for dream or fantasy images to depict. *Deutsche Erde* was a good example of this newly used style by Peiner. A farmer is working in the fields, but above him are dark looming clouds and the background and angle at which it is painted also create an alienating image. The scene of the farmer, however, suited the Nazis well, as it can be seen as a depiction of *Blut und Boden*.

To everyone's surprise, the work pleased Hitler so much that he even had it hung in the Reich Chancellery. Until 1933, Peiner did not really know what he thought of National Socialism. On the one hand, they both agreed that modern art would destroy German art, but on the other, he thought that degenerate art and the confiscation of such works went too far. He also described in his memoirs that he disliked the books *Mein Kampf* and *Mythus der 20 Jahrhunderts* because he did not agree with their ideas.[178] In addition, it was known that after the First World War, Peiner tried to find his meaning in life in Asian philosophy, something that the Nazis abhorred because wisdom should be sought in Germany.[179] But when, in 1933, his private commissions dwindled and Hitler's approval gave him an opportunity to produce for the Nazis, he seized it with both hands. He did not make many

[174] Pesch, Pesch, *Werner Peiner,* 23.
[175] Ibid., 29-30.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Michlaski, *New Objectivity,* 17.
[178] Peiner, *Ein Künstlerleben,* 118; *Mythus des 20 Jahrhunderts* is Alfred Rosenberg's 1930 book in which he described how the German race had to rise again and overcome. He also gives a brief explanation of what had to happen to art, mainly a return to the archaic and a revival of the Gothic style.
[179] Sommer, *Rheinische Meisterwerke,* 9.

changes to his own style but, as with Klimsch and Breker, he did add the contemporary hairstyle to his work, as in his *Girl with Peacock* (Fig.62).

Through a network he had set up in the late 1920s, he also came into contact with Hermann Göring, who was very charmed by his work. This connection also earned him the position of special professor of mural painting at the Düsseldorf Academy of Art in 1933.[180] Time after time, he came into conflict with the various directors here because he did not see them as good or as good enough artists to lead the academy. He hesitates several times to resign and goes away with his students as much as possible, including on an excursion to the Eiffel region in Germany on the border with Belgium, where he has his students work in the *Blut und Boden* style.[181] He became so fascinated with the region that it became his intention to establish a separate branch of the academy in Kronenburg, which is near Eifel. There he wanted to teach painting, at a great distance from Dusseldorf so that he would no longer have to deal with the management. This was finally approved by Göring in 1935 without him discussing it with the academy's management. Göring allowed it because he and Hitler saw the new school as a production site for art in the Third Reich and also wanted many commissions to be carried out by the students and Peiner.[182]

Eventually, Peiner got Göring to separate the school from the academy and rename it the Hermann *Göring-Meisterschüle fur malerei*, after which Peiner was also given the authority to run the school according to his will (Fig.63). Peiner saw his academy as an artist's studio from the 17th century, like that of Rembrandt (Fig.64). The pupils would become better mainly by working on all kinds of assignments which would then be supervised by a master, who would be himself (fig.60).[183] It was therefore important that the school also felt like a community for the students, so that they would work well together. The students later described that it felt like a family with Peiner as father and master at the same time. The fact that the school was dependent on the Nazi government and very much controlled by Göring was not much reflected in its teaching.[184] Every year, Göring received a folder filled with the students' work to see their progress, and many Nazis paid visits to the school,

[180] Pesch, Pesch, *Werner Peiner,* 33.
[181] Ibid., 37.
[182] Ibid., 38.
[183] Pesch, Pesch, *Werner Peiner,* 62.
[184] Ibid.

including Adolf Ziegler, Göring, Goebbels and Himmler (1900-1945)(Fig.1). At the school itself, the students sometimes only listened to speeches on the radio by Nazi leaders, but otherwise they did not really come into contact with the Nazi government.[185]

The assignments given to the school were always from the Nazi government and sometimes from Nazi leaders themselves. The best-known commission was a triptych for the SS castle Wewelsburg, on which SS soldiers were placed in a historical work as a kind of ancient soldiers (Fig.65).[186] The most famous commission for Peiner himself was a pair of tapestries that he had to produce in a medieval style for the new Reich Chancellery in Berlin and a tapestry with a scene inspired by Roman antiquity for the residence of the Foreign Minister in Berlin (Fig.66,67). The tapestries for the Reich Chancellery were to depict famous battles that the Germans had won in the past, the other work had to symbolise the fertility. The works also show how Peiner, at the time of the Nazi regime, drew inspiration for himself and his pupils from Classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages, not only for the appearance of his works but also in order to place the Nazis in history. Such works also emphasised how important the school was considered by the Nazi elite that they gave it all kinds of important assignments.[187]

Finally, in 43, the school was renamed the *Werner Peiner Schüle*, because according to Göring, Peiner deserved all the honour. This actually had other reasons. The school only had female students because all men had to join the army and Göring did not have enough money anymore to finance the school, so it had become a project which would not succeed and Göring preferred not to attach his name to it.[188]

The name change would mean the beginning of the end of the school. The school ran out of money and assignments and had to close down in 1944 due to the great threat of war. Peiner left Kronenburg with 12 filled furniture trucks for Giborn, which was further away from the border.[189] After the war, he was imprisoned in various internment camps for a year, because he had allegedly joined the NSDAP in 1937. Peiner himself always denied this

[185] Ibid., 104.
[186] Ibid., 83.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Pesch, Pesch, *Werner Peiner,* 47.
[189] Ibid., 92.

and said that he had only applied for the registration card and had never submitted it.[190] After his release, he tried to get the school and its property back but was refused because of his connection to the Nazi government.[191] Because of his tainted reputation he decided shortly afterwards to work for the Ethiopian ruler Haile Selassie, after which he returned to Germany to work as a landscape painter until he died in 1984.[192] His works after the war continued to be painted in the Magical Realism style, only without all the direct references to the war. Instead, he frequently chose to depict apocalyptic scenes, as in the work *Apokalyptische Landschaft* from 1949 (Fig.68). Whether this choice for the apocalyptic had to do with the defeat of the Nazis or the devastation of Germany in the aftermath of the war is not clear.

[190] Ibid., 115.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Ibid.

Chapter 2

Comparing the artists

Throughout their careers, several similarities and differences can be recognised between the artists. The first similarity between the artists lies in the origins of nearly all the artists are the same; they come from a family of artists, which is why they came into contact with the art world at an early age. [193] Only Peiner's family consisted of labourers, the other artists all had at least one artist or craftsman in their family. [194] It was therefore not surprising that five artists ended up in the art world.

The next important step was to choose a professor. Each of the artists, except Troost, went to study at an art academy or a technical school.[195] Because of the school system, whereby a student chose a particular professor and was taught by that professor for the entire school year, the professor had a great deal of influence on the artists. This influence varied from teaching the techniques to learning that modernist styles were inferior to classical styles. This is also something that was common to these five artists. Each of them was a modernist or experimented with modernist styles in the early period of their career. Expressionism, Impressionism, New Objectivity and various other styles were practised. However, each of these five artists found a reason why they eventually turned away from the modernist styles. Only Peiner continued to use a fairly modern style in his career because of the Magical Realism. [196] This was striking, however, because in 1921 he himself already called the isms the downfall of German art, while Magical realism was indirectly also an ism.[197] Only in those days, the style did not yet have the same name as it does now.

Each of the artists grew in their own way after their studies. Troost worked with her husband in their architect's office, Breker worked on his own style in Paris, Ziegler changed his style on the basis of the Schultze-Naumburg and the Nazis, Peiner traded in his own art and Klimsch worked on his own for years and tried to make a living by changing his style

[193] Mckloskey, *Artists of World War II,* 64; Nüsslein, *Paul Ludwig troost,* 174; Speer, *De Derde Rijk-dagboeken*, 22; Trimborn, 27; West, 23.
[194] Pesch, Pesch, 13.
[195] Hansen, 36; Mckloskey, *Artists of World War II,* 64; Speer, *De Derde Rijk-dagboeken,* 30; Trimborn, 51.
[196] Michlaski, *New Objectivity,* 17.
[197] Peiner, *Ein Künstlerleben,* 83.

with the trends.[198] However, the artists would all end up in the same place, namely as artists working for the government of the Third Reich. It is noteworthy to mention that the moment of entry of the artists was important for the power they would eventually gain in the Nazi regime. Artists who had joined the NSDAP before 1933 would in the years to come gain much more power than those who joined the Nazis after the seizure of power. To illustrate this, we can look at Speer, Ziegler and Troost on the one hand and Peiner, Breker and Klimsch on the other. Speer joined the Nazis in 1930 and became a state architect and Minister of Armaments and Munitions.[199] Troost also joined in 1930 together with her husband, after which he was the state architect for Speer and she became an important confidante of Hitler.[200] So important, in fact, that she was even able to influence Hitler in his art policy. Ziegler joined already in 1920 and was the president of the Reich Chamber of Art and co-director of the art policy in Nazi Germany.[201] The fact that the Nazis favoured people who were early members of the party has also been investigated by historian Mark Mazower (1958-).[202]

The other artists all joined in 1933 and had much less power in their further careers under the Nazis. Breker may have been the most important sculptor under the Nazis, but he was controlled by Hitler and did not have much of a say. Peiner had his own school that was, however, controlled and dependent on Göring. And finally, Klimsch could only sell art to the Nazis and otherwise had no say at all. It therefore seems as if the conclusion can be drawn that the artists who joined the Nazi party early were somehow rewarded.

The reasons why the artists eventually cooperated with the Nazi government also differed. Troost and Ziegler joined because they agreed with the ideology of the Nazis. Peiner and Breker saw the arrival of the Nazis as an opportunity to achieve their goals. Peiner could start his own school through his contact with the Nazis and Breker wanted to gain more power and fame, which he could find with the Nazis. The last group consisted of Speer and Klimsch who went to the Nazis in order to survive. Speer did not get any commissions for his architectural firm and therefore looked for commissions from the Nazis. Klimsch's art was

[198] Hansen, *Fritz Klimsch,* 178; Hinz, *Art in the third Reich,* 151; Nüsselein, *Paul Ludwig troost,* 174; Pesch, Pesch, *Werner Peiner,* 20; Trimborn, *Arno Breker,* 82.
[199] Speer, *De Derde Rijk-dagboeken*, 104.
[200] Nüsslein, *Paul Ludwig troost*, 179.
[201] Hinz, *Art in the third Reich,* 151.
[202] Mazower, *Hitler's Empire,* 62.

not in at that time and he would lose his job as a professor because of his age. Through the cooperation with the Nazis, he could keep his job and sell his art to them.

Once the artists started working for the Nazis, they did not noticeably change their style. The artists tried to stay close to their own style but tried to make their art more attractive to the market. For example, several artists adapted the hairstyle of the depicted figures, in order to make the viewer recognise himself more in the works of art. The artists also looked back more to classical antiquity, although everyone did this in his or her own way. For example, the painted women of Ziegler were very similar to the statues of goddesses from the Roman Empire, or the architecture of Speer, which had many similarities to Roman architecture. As the Nazi government liked to be associated with the thousand year Reich of the Romans, neoclassicism became popular, which also gave an extra incentive to the artists to use it.[203]

There was also a great division in how far the artists were for or against the degenerate art policy. Ziegler, Troost and Peiner were in favour of the policy, although it should be noted that Peiner was not in favour of exhibiting the captured degenerate art. Breker and Speer did not express an opinion on the degenerate art policy, although Breker in particular would probably have been opposed to it since some of the artists he knew were included in the degenerate artists list. Klimsch was the only artist who opposed the policy, which could be seen in the letter he sent to have some artists exempted from the policy. Klimsch's membership of the *Berliner Sezession* also fits this picture because it included many artists who were later labelled as degenerates.

What is striking is that a parallel can be drawn between the artists which supported the degenerate art policy and their participation in the First World War. Both Peiner and Ziegler took part in the First World War voluntarily.[204] Research showed that there was a great deal of anti-Semitism among the officers in the German army, which they passed on to the soldiers.[205] Anti-Semitism was a major driving force behind the degenerate art policy, as artists were also seen as degenerate because of their Bolshevist or Jewish origins.[206] It can

[203] Tinny, Xun, Yaga, *Nazi Salutes, Bellamy*, 35.
[204] Pesch, Pesch, *Werner Peiner*, 13; Hinz, *Art in the third Reich,* 151.
[205] Crim, *Antisemitism in the German,* 24.
[206] Petroupolos, *The Meanings of Europe,* 54.

therefore be suspected that the anti-Semitism that Peiner and Ziegler received from the German army during the First World War contributed to their adoption of the Degenerate art policy. The other artists had not taken part in the First World War, and Breker and Klimsch had also had frequent contacts with later degenerate artists before the war.
The only exception to this rule is Troost, who was both highly anti-Semitic and in favour of the degenerate art policy. As a woman, she was not allowed to take part in the war, so she could not be influenced by it.

Another similarity was that several artists were critical of Nazi politics. Klimsch in particular was critical of Nazi policy, strikingly enough he even spoke of the monumental sculptors of the Third Reich, thus making it sound that he did not see himself as part of the Third Reich. [207] The only open criticism, however, came from Ziegler, who immediately paid for it with the end of his career and a stay in Dachau. [208] The criticism of Peiner and Spear was also public but was only expressed after the war. They tried to make their own role in the Nazi regime seem smaller. Only Troost stood by the policy and the Führer until the end, and even shamed those who turned their backs on the Nazi regime. [209]

After the war, no one was convicted for the role of Nazi artist, but for other roles such as collaborator or follower. The final sentences therefore varied widely. What is striking is that there was a big difference in the number of commissions that the various artists received after the war. Peiner, Ziegler and Klimsch were much less popular artists after the war than Troost, Speer and Breker. The latter group also featured frequently in the media and their art was sought after and praised. The other three artists were mostly seen as bad artists and not much attention was paid to them. Where this stark contrast comes from is not clear, although it could be that these artists are better known because they stepped into the limelight more than the other artists during their careers in the Nazi regime.

[207] Hansen, *Fritz Klimsch,* 203-205.
[208] McCloskey, *Artists of World War II,* 65.
[209] Stratigakos, *Hitler at Home,* 119.

Chapter 3

The Nazi government versus the artists of the Third Reich

In order to compare the ideas of the artists with those of the Nazi government, it is also important to list the ideas of the Nazi government. The first thing to know is why the Nazi government paid so much attention to the art in their empire, which was mainly due to Hitler's past. He had wanted to become an artist from an early age and therefore, in 1907, he tried to get into the art academy in Vienna.[210] However, when he did not survive the second round of admissions it was a sign for him to let go of his ambitions to become an artist, but it did not mean that art wouldn't continue to play a major role in the rest of his life.[211] This became very visible when *Mein Kampf* came out in 1924, in which he repeatedly discussed the importance of art and how art was deteriorating because of modernism, Bolshevism and Judaism.[212] When Hitler came to power with the NSDAP, it soon became clear that he wanted art to play a prominent role in the Third Reich. The Nazi government had two ideas about what to do with art, which were used extensively after the 1933 takeover: propaganda and the self-enrichment of high-ranking Nazis.

Propaganda

The Nazi government maintained strict policies regarding the arts. The role of art was described by art historian Ian Kershaw (1943-):

"Visual art, along with films, photos, posters, and advertisements, was heavily shaped by Nazi ideology once Hitler gained power on January 30th 1933." Furthermore, visual propaganda was an important instrument during the Nazi Germany for maintaining the power of Nazi policies. Nazis spent huge money on newspapers, poster and campaigns encouraged people to support the party. After 1933s, Nazis controlled the whole country with dictatorship. The characteristic of visual propaganda was combined with visual arts and

[210] Maser, *Adolf Hitler legende*, 76.
[211] Ibid., 78.*Written notice of the Akademie der Bildende kunst dd. 6.9.6.9.*
[212] Hitler, *Mijn Kamp*; See for example: Bolshevism in art 312, Hitler draughtsman and watercolour painter 35, Cubism 309.

politics in Nazi Germany, such as political rallies, posters, caricatures, photos and advertisements. In particularly, art was an area that Hitler's particularly interested in."[213]

Kershaw immediately addresses a number of crucial points of the Nazi art regime. Art had to be everywhere, art had to maintain the power of the Nazi government and create new power by convincing people that the government had their best interests at heart. The Nazis wanted to do this in the most controlled way possible, by means of the Reich Chamber of Culture. With the Reich Chamber of Culture the Nazis had control over art in Germany, by regulating art, as it were.[214]

In order to group the artists into generate and degenerate artists, the term *Degenerate* (degenerate) was used. The Nazis included under *Degenerate* art the modern art, art of Bolshevists or freemasons and Jewish art. This was seen as a very innovative view at art, but actually originated in 1892. Critic, Zionist leader and author Max Nordau first described the term in his book *Entartung*.[215] In his book, it was said that certain people were born criminals because they possessed certain hereditary abnormalities.[216] Impressionists, for example, were said to be sick and self-preserving and should look to traditional Germany. It is striking that the theory was thus invented by a Jewish leader of a Zionist group, two things the Nazis were very much opposed to. Via Schultze-Naumburg's book *Kunst und Rasse* , however, the theory also reached the Nazis. Schultze-Naumburg spoke of the racially pure artists who could propel traditional fine art and the racially mixed modern artists who, on the contrary, made monstrous and chaotic art. Alfred Rosenberg described the theory even more extensively in *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* in 1933, which not only made him a bestseller but also made him the ideological leader of the Nazi party. In this book, Rosenberg also described that Germany had to return to the more archaic construction in which the landscape has to play a major role again.[217] This was later echoed in the books by Speer and Gerdy Troost with regard to architecture. This theory also found its origin in the book *Entartung* because Nordau saw the archaic building as part of traditional Germany.

[213] Kershaw, The Nazi Dicatatorship, 49.
[214] For more information see the Hinkel, Hans. *Handbuch für die Reichskulturkammer..* Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft, 1934.
[215] For more information see Nordau, Max. *Entartung*. Berlin: Carl Duncker, 1892.
[216] Thomas, *Crime and Madness,* 99.
[217] Rosenberg, *Mythos der*, 352.

The latter development was typical of the Nazi administration. Hardly any innovative ideas were implemented. Also the showpiece of the Nazi government, the *Reichsautobahn* that would connect all of Germany, was not an original idea of the Nazi government. It was already started in the 1920s by the Weimar government, but the Nazis started to propagate it heavily after 1933, so that people assumed that this was their idea.[218] Existing ideas were used to increase their own power and status. Even the history of the Germanic people was used to make the Nazis look stronger by pretending these were their ancestors. For example, tapestries and paintings depicting medieval scenes were produced to reinforce these stories (Fig.66). So art had to help create and reinforce these stories that the Nazi government made up.

However, when taking a closer look at what really was good Nazi art, there were no hard-and-fast rules. A good example of this were the rules Wilfred Bade, a senior ministry official from the Ministry of Propaganda, wrote about sculpture.[219] Bade wrote that sculptures of men had to bring out basic characteristics and virtues of the (Aryan) race, had to intimidate and on the other hand also have to make an impression and show a heroic model that could also create an identity. Furthermore, he wrote about sculpture in general that it was not about depicting an ideal of beauty but about understanding an essential ideal that could be worked towards. These seem to be strict rules, but they are not at all clear and are very open to discussion. It therefore happened several times that works were taken down or removed because they were not considered to be grounded, but were then considered to be grounded by someone else and were put back up again, as was the case with works by Peiner. Only the rules concerning what is *Degenerate* art are fairly clear, although there may be disputes about what does and does not fall under modern art.

The controlling body, the Reich Chamber of Culture, and the fact that the Nazi government placed art in everyday life were the innovative factors in the Nazi art policy, but the rest of the ideas originated from earlier times and with people who had nothing to do with the Nazi regime. The rules that the Nazis themselves imposed on art were much less concrete than is

[218] Zeller, Driving Germay, 50.
[219] Hansen, *Fritz Klimsch*, 209-210.

usually assumed nowadays, which meant that at that time there was much room for individual interpretation and discussion.

Self-enrichment

In the higher echelons of the Nazi regime, art was also frequently used for self-enrichment, for example in the circles of politicians and industrialists. The industrialists used art to put themselves in a good light under the Nazi regime. For example, many works were donated to Göring, who was an avid collector himself. In return, he would give various government contracts to the industrialist.[220] In this way, both could enrich themselves through art. In an earlier article, this author described that Hitler and Göring in particular were avid art collectors and sometimes even got in each other's way.[221] The striking thing about the collections of the two Nazi leaders was their function. Hitler saw art as a means to gain more power, because he wanted his collection to be housed in the new Führermuseum that he wanted to build in Linz, Austria (Fig.69).[222] For this purpose, he had lists drawn up with the most renowned artists and works of art on them, which then had to be searched for by a specially created organisation called *Sonderauftrag* Linz.[223] The collection was to become so special that the museum was to become the new cultural centre of the world and Linz the cultural capital. That way, visitors would be overwhelmed by the art and the power it would exude. For Göring, however, art was his goal; he was only concerned with collecting art, keeping it for himself and enjoying himself with it.[224] Only a very select group was allowed to visit this collection.[225] Later, Göring did want to use this collection for his own Hermann Göring museum, but only because Hitler felt that Göring should also do something for Germany with his art (Fig.70).[226]

[220] Haase, *Die kunstsammlung,* 12.
[221] Ibid.; *Göring and Hitler's Painting Collections* an paper written by this author in December 2021.
[222] Gramlich, Hopp, *Occasionally spirit*, 42-43.
[223] Ekkart, Muller, *Roof & Restitutie,* 70; Schwarz, 79; *Sonderauftrag Linz* was led by curator and art historian Hans Posse (1879-1980). He formed a group of art experts who had to search through Europe for new art for the Führermuseumcollection.
[224] Haase, *Die kunstsammlung,* 9.
[225] Ibid., 18.
[226] Ibid, 73.

A much lesser known story is that Goebbels was also an avid art collector, which was already mentioned shortly in chapter 1. After coming to power in 1933, he formed a large collection of modernist works which he hung in his private quarters. This collection included work of Erich Heckel (1883-1970) and Ernst Barlach (1870-1938) and his personal favourite Emil Nolde.[227] Goebbels' affection for Nolde's work went so far that when Nolde's work was labelled Degenerate in 1938, Goebbels removed the work from his private quarters but had it hung in the Ministry of Propaganda, even though this type of work was actually meant to disappear or be destroyed. He did this on his own title.[228]

Apart from enriching their own art collections, art was also used to make financial gains. Göring in particular enriched himself in this way by buying cheaply many works that the Germans had confiscated from Jews, were *degenerate* art or, according to German law, had been acquired illegally by their owners.[229] The largest organisation that did this was the *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR)*, which looted more than 40,000 homes in Paris because they were said to belong to Jewish owners and the Jewish collections had been expropriated by the German state and could be taken.[230] Göring visited the *Jeu de Paume* museum in Paris several times and bought around 700 works (Fig.71).[231] In contrast to the works that were bought from dealers, these works could be purchased much cheaper and in much larger numbers. In this way, Göring earned millions of *Reichsmarks*, with which he could finance his own art collection and luxurious lifestyle.[232]

Contrary to the propaganda, the self-enrichment of politicians and high-ranking Nazis took place much more behind closed doors, but it was indeed part of the art regime in Nazi Germany. This was not only because the politicians themselves participated in the self-enrichment but also because official organisations were used to acquire the art. Göring used the *ERR* and Hitler gathered a number of people under the official organisation *Sonderauftrag Linz* to amass his collection for the Führermuseum.

[227] D'almeida, *High Society in the Third Reich,* 28.
[228] Ibid.*,* 28.
[229] Haase, *Die kunstsammlung,* 51.
[230] Ibid., 49
[231] Ibid., 51; The *Jeu de Paume* museum was used by the EEA to store and exhibit the looted art.
[232] Ibid., 49.

The Comparison

In order to compare the artists and the Nazi government, it is important to know their place in the art world. The government commissions the production of art and has its ideas about it, but the artists ultimately have to produce the work and turn their ideas into something. Because the government and the artists had a different position in the art world, they could only be compared on more general factors, whereas with the artists, the similarities and differences could be explored more deeply.

One of the most striking differences between the Nazi government and the artists is the purpose of art. The art that the artists produce has different purposes that vary from artist to artist. It can serve to make money, gain power or be part of a new history. For the government, the goal is much more fixed. For them, art is a means of propaganda and of enriching themselves. In this respect, therefore, the government is much more uniform in its use of art for their purposes than are the artists. The only similarity in purpose between the artists and the government is that all saw art as a method of achieving their goals.

Another big difference is the family in which the artists and government members grew up. Almost all artists, except Peiner, came from a family that included one or more artists. While none of the members of the government came from such a family, apart from Speer. This meant that the artists came into contact with art from an early age. Because the members of the government had not inherited this from the past, they had less of an artistic interest in art, but more of a materialistic and power-hungry view. For them, art was a part of policy and for the artists themselves it was a bigger part of their lives.

There was also a clear difference in the degree to which the government and the artists were innovative. The government was hardly innovative in their own art policy. The term and explanation of *Degenerate* art came from Max Nordau (1849-1923). The development of the *Reichsautobahn*, which was supposed to be one of the spearheads of the art policy, came from the Weimar government and the use of propaganda already existed in the 17th century.[233] Only the use of the Reich Chamber of Culture was innovative, but this had more to do with the implementation of art policy than art policy itself. So the government came

[233] Jowett, O'Donnel, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, 2; The term propaganda was first described in the 17th century by the Catholic organisation the *Congregatio de propaganda fide*.

up with their art policy through a bunch of cobbled together older ideas and terms.
The artists were sometimes very innovative. Speer, for example, invented the theory of ruins, Peiner renewed older techniques such as the batak carpets and Troost invented the sober archaic style, which she used in her architecture and interiors. [234] The government and the artists thus differed greatly in the degree of innovation and originality.

Finally, there was also large difference in the preferences both groups had in what style to use in art. The Nazi government tried to create as much uniformity as possible around art and also tried to set up rules as to what art should look like. The artists, however, did not really care about this. Troost and Speer did describe in their books a few wishes as to what architecture should look like, but they did not give really strict guidelines. The two artists were more concerned with what should not be done. Artists did adapt to what the government wanted them to do, but they did not feel the need to completely change their own style in order to do so. The artists continued to work in the style in which they normally worked and the government had to accept or forbid this.

When looking at the similarities, three factors stand out. The artists and government members who most supported the Degenerate art policy were those who themselves had participated in the First World War. Almost the entire government had participated in the First World War, except for Goebbels who was rejected for service due to a short leg.[235] Among the artists, it was Peiner and Ziegler who had volunteered for the army. [236] All those who had taken part in the First World War were in favour of the Degenerate art policy. The government introduced it and under Ziegler it was implemented. Peiner was also in favour of the policy, but he was opposed to the art being exhibited afterwards, which was too much for him. People who did not like the policy were those who had not been part of the First World War. This can also be traced back to the fact that there was a great deal of anti-Semitism among the army. This was indirectly one of the reasons for the Degenerate Art policy, as the art that was banned consisted largely of Jewish art and Bolshevik art.

[234] Pesch, Pesch, *Werner Peiner*, 14; Speer, *De Derde Rijk-dagboeken,* 81.
[235] D'almeida, *High Society in the Third Reich,* 40.
[236] Pesch, Pesch, *Werner Peiner*, 13; Hinz, *Art in the third Reich,* 151.

According to the Nazis, the Bolsheviks were also originally Jewish, which made them consider it an inferior country.[237]

The fact that Goebbels wanted modernists to be excluded from the Degenerate art policy also fits in with this reasoning. Goebbels did not take part in the war and was therefore less judgmental and allowed his own opinion to play a role in setting up the policy. He eventually complied with the new policy after Hitler's intervention, seeing no other option. Only Troost is an exception to the rule. As a woman, she played no role in the war effort, but she was very anti-Semitic and was in favour of the Degenerate art policy. It may be suggested here that Troost could not have participated in the war as a woman, but of course it can never be said with certainty that if she had been a man she would have participated in the war.

The greatest similarity between the Nazi government and the artists, however, is the lack of unity between the two groups. The artists are so different from one another that one cannot really speak of a Nazi artist. The group actually consists of a tension of individuals who have the only similarity in that they have worked for or with the Nazi government. For the rest there is nothing uniform about the group, they have different ideas about art and sometimes completely different ideologies. It is therefore quite remarkable that several historians, such as professors Jonathan Petropoulos and Peter Adam, group the artists together as Nazi artists without giving a clear explanation of why they consider them to be a group. The term Nazi artist originated after the war and was used by the media and the general public to refer to artists who had worked for the Nazis, but it was immediately assumed that they were pro-Nazi when they were not. The artists were in fact not a unit at all and must therefore be considered on an individual level.

The Nazi government was slightly different, because they were all part of the government and pursued the same policies. However, they all had their own individual agendas regarding art policy. Hitler collected art for his own Führermuseum, Göring wanted to build his own art collection and therefore searched for art and Goebbels had a secret fascination for the modern art of Emil Nolde and had it hung in his ministries. This makes it clear that even within the Nazi government, there was no unity regarding art policy. These

[237] Hitler, *Mijn Kamp*, 312.

discrepancies between the artists and the Nazi government are a great commonality concerning art in the Third Reich.

Conclusion

Nazi artists and Nazi art are still frequently mentioned terms in literature when talking about German artists and their art produced for the government between 1933 and 1945. Through this research, however, it can be refuted that there was a Nazi artist at all, let alone Nazi art. The group of so-called Nazi artists had only one identifiable characteristic by which they could be grouped, and that was that at some point in their careers they had produced art for the Nazi government. Beyond that, there was no one factor that was the same for all artists.

From the origin of the artists to the professors who taught them, there is no single factor in the life all of these artists that links them together. A striking factor was that five of the six artists changed their style from a modern style, such as impressionism or expressionism, to more classical styles, especially neoclassicism. They did this not necessarily to comply with Nazi rules but from their own different motivations. Only Troost never worked in a modern style in the early period of her career, which illustrates that there were always one or more artists who formed a discrepancy, which resulted in the fact that one could not speak of typical characteristics of so-called Nazi artists.

There was also often no cooperative connection between the artists. Only between Speer and Breker could one speak of a connection because of the company they had together. For other artists, such as Troost, one was afraid, because they could blacken other artists so much with Hitler that they could fall completely out of favour with the German government.

One also cannot speak of Nazi artists because the artists were such followers of Nazi ideology. Apart from Troost and Ziegler (before 1943), the artists were not drawn to the Nazi party because of the ideology they believed in. Klimsch even criticised the government and the choices they made. The only major similarity between the government and the artists was the lack of unity in both groups. As mentioned earlier, there was little unity among the artists, but in terms of art policy, the government members all had their own opinions and agendas. Goebbels did not want to see modernists as degenerate artists, Göring tried to enrich himself as much as possible through art and Hitler saw art as a means to place himself in eternity by establishing the Führermuseum. This missing unity for both the artists and the government is thus typical of the Nazi period when it comes to art.

Therefore, there can be no question of Nazi artists. A term that was only invented after the war in order to group together the artists who worked for the Nazi government. The artists were not condemned for these roles either, but for the role of less responsible person or follower.

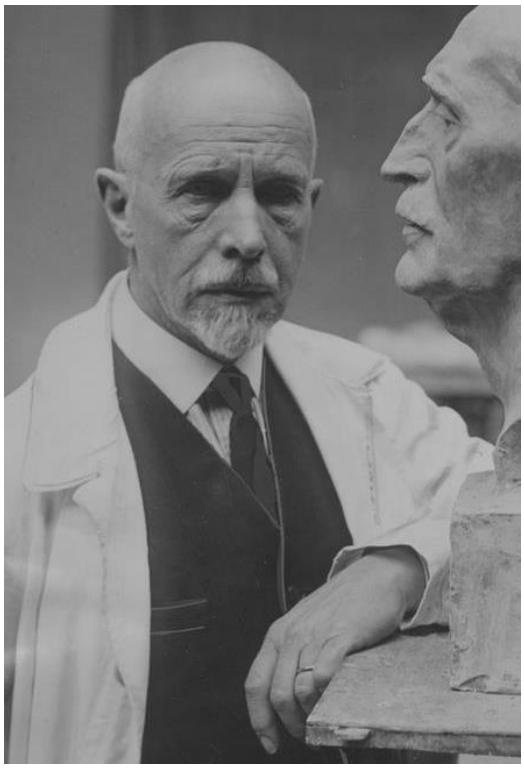
From 1968 onwards, the artists were labelled Nazi artists because they were no longer judged by the artist's ideas behind the art, but by the interpretations of the viewers. This research shows that in some cases it is important to abandon Barthes' theory and to look at the ideas of the artists themselves. This is not about cleansing the names of the artists of all blame, for they all did something debatable.
Letting go of Barthes' theory also opens up new subjects for research. For example, for a follow-up study it would be very interesting to look more closely at the moment and the reason of the changing style of these artists and whether this also occurred more frequently among German 19th and 20th century artists. Or to do further research on artists such as Klimsch, who also criticised the Nazi government and their policies. It is therefore important to look directly to the artists of the Third Reich and their ideas, as this could also show another side of the Third Reich's art world.

Illustrations

Illustration 1

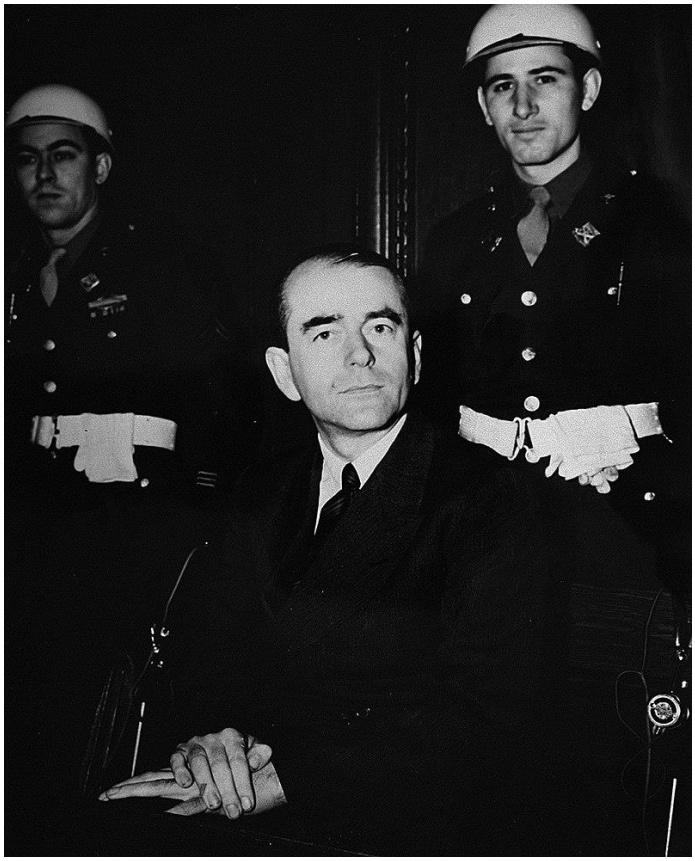
Unknown. *Werner Peiner (in front in black suit) giving a tour to the art school of Hermann Göring (in white)*, 1938, photo, 18 x 13 cm., (Berlin, Rheinische Archiv für Künstlernachlässe).

Illustration 2



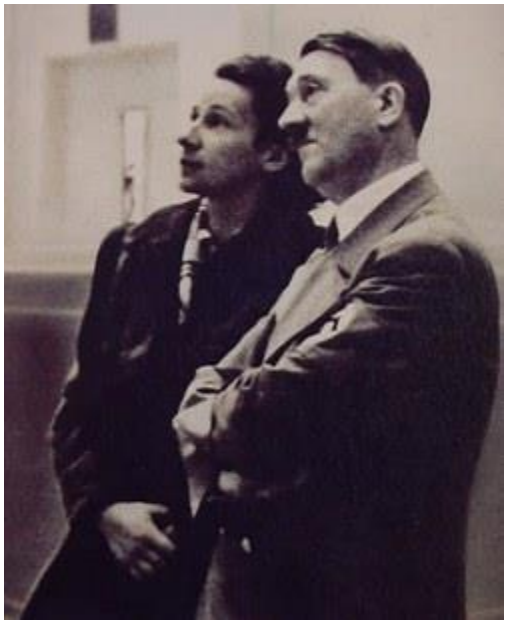
Unknown. *Fritz Klimsch*, 1940, photo, 18 x 13 cm., (Cyfrowe, Narodowe Archive).

Illustration 3



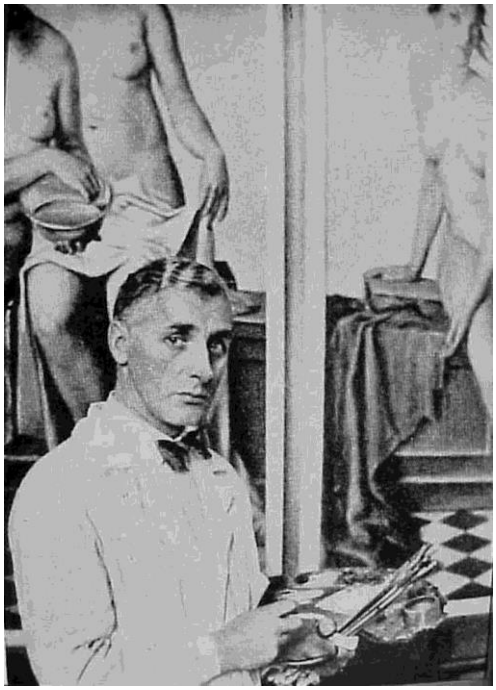
Alexander, Charles. *Albert Speer at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials*, 1946, photo, 18 x 13 cm., (private collection).

Illustration 4



Hoffman, Heinrich. *Hitler and Gerdy Troost during their visit of the Great German Art Exhibition of 1937*, 1937, photo, 18 x 13 cm., (private collection).

Illustration 5



Unknown. *Adolf Ziegler in front of his painting The four elements*, 1937, photo, 18 x 13 cm., (unknown).

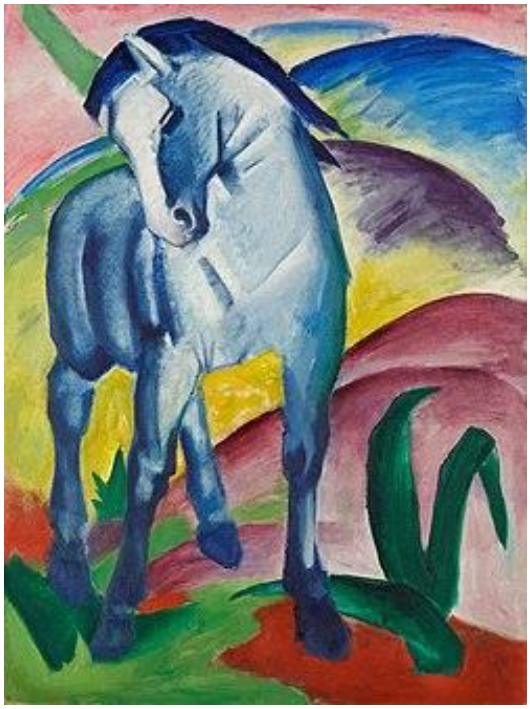
Illustration 6

Unknown. *Arno Breker working in his atelier*, ca. 1930-1940, photo, 18 x 13 cm., (Bonn, Museum Arno Breker).

Illustration 7

Doerner, Max. *Allgäuer Frühlingslandschaft*, 1905, oil on canvas, 69.5 x 59.5 cm., (Private collection).

Illustration 8



Marc, Franz. *Blue Horse I*, 1911, oil on canvas, 112 x 84,5 cm., (Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lebachhaus).

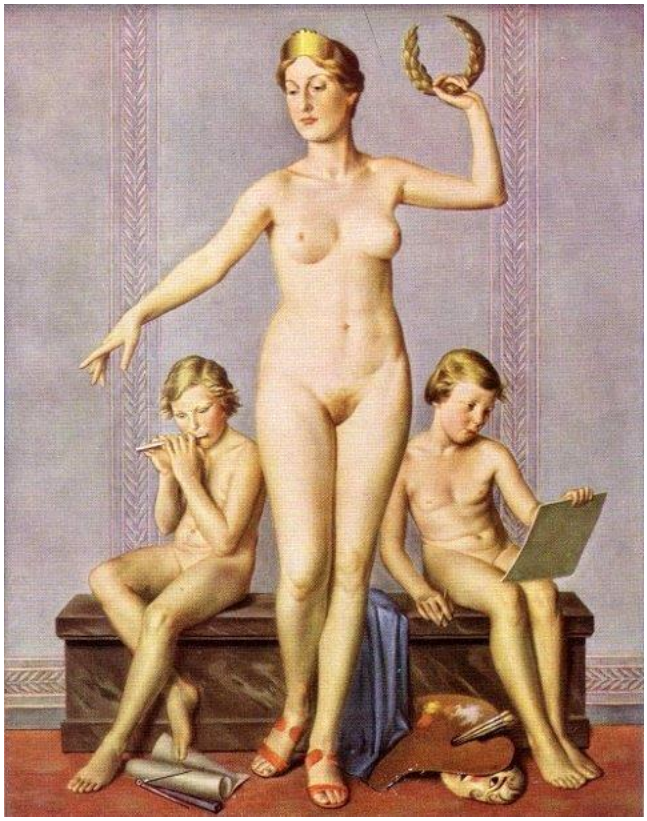
Illustration 9

Ziegler, Adolf. *Sitzender Akt*, 1912, oil on canvas (original in colour), 62 x 81 cm., (Private collection).

Illustration 10

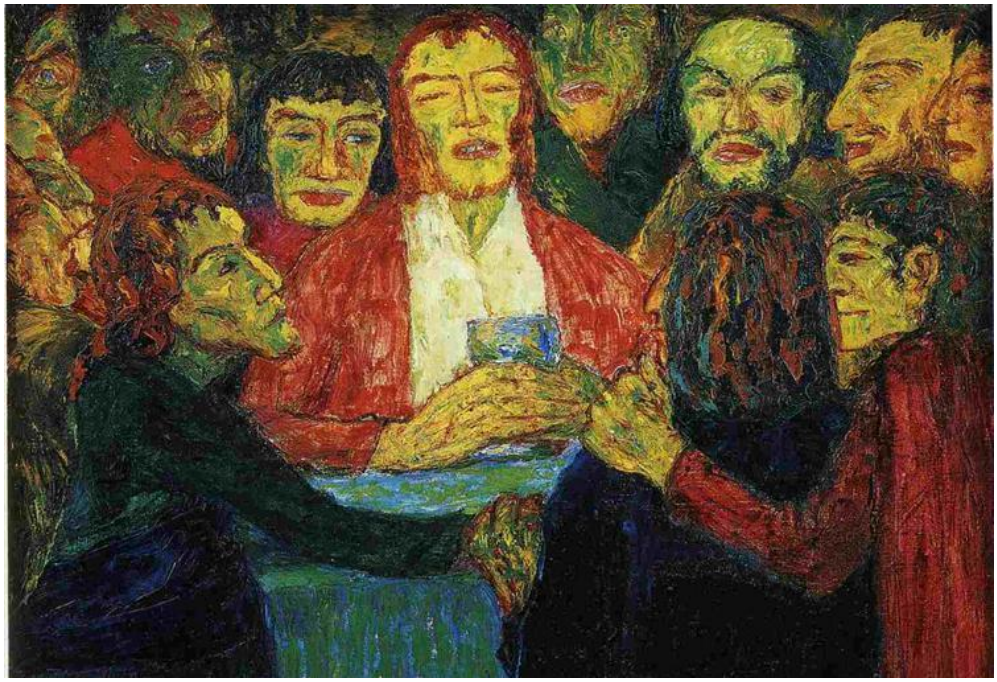
Jank, Angelo. *Horse race,* date unknown, oil on canvas, 55,5 x 75 cm., (private collection).

Illustration 11



Ziegler, Adolf. *The Goddess of Art,* 1938, oil on canvas, (private collection).

Illustration 12



Nolde, Emil. *The last supper*, 1909, oil on canvas, 86 x 107 cm., (Copenhagen, National Gallery of Denmark, inv. nr. KMS602).

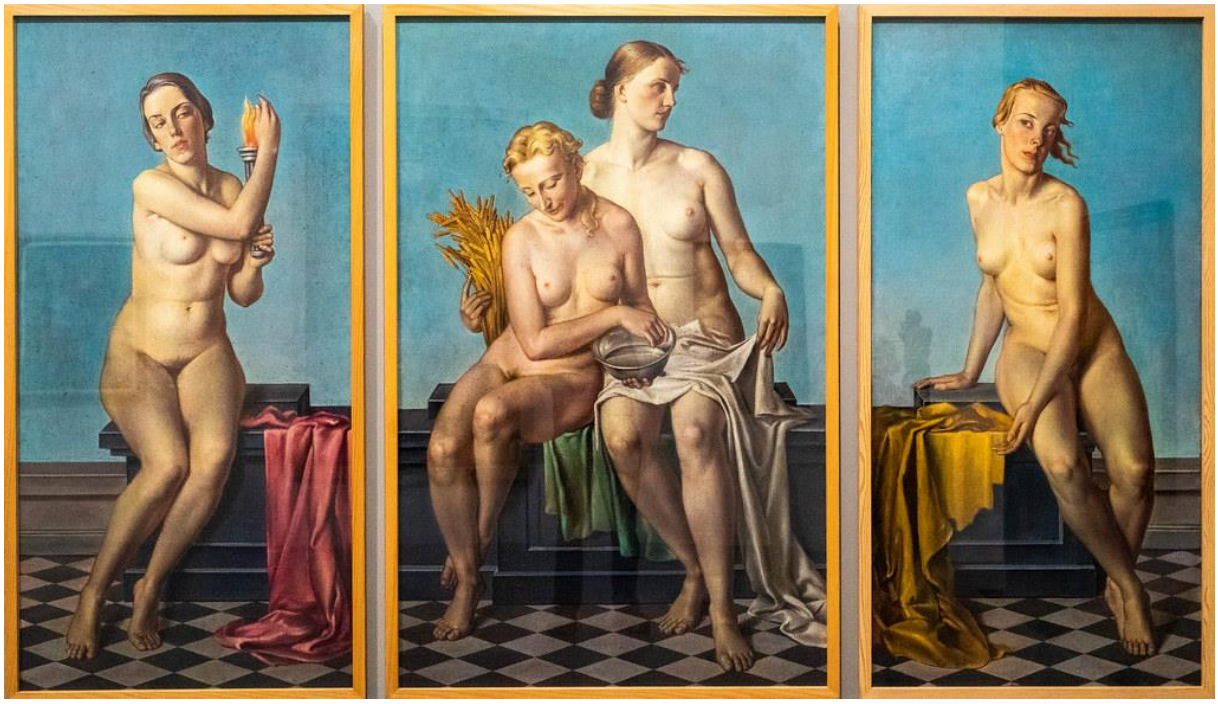
Illustration 13

Unknown. *Goebbels visiting the Degenerate art exhibition, with two paintings of Emil nolde on the left side*, 1938, photo, 18 x 13 cm., (Berlin, German Federal Archive).

Illustration 14

Hoffman, Heinrich. *Installation view of the Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung in the House of German Art in 1938*, Photo, 1938, 18 x 13 cm., (Collection Getty Images).

Illustration 15



Ziegler, Adolf. *The four elements*, 1937, oil on canvas, left wing 171,5 x 86 cm., right wing 173,3 x 110,5 cm., middle part 172,3 x 86 cm., (Munich, Pinakothek der Moderne Kunst).

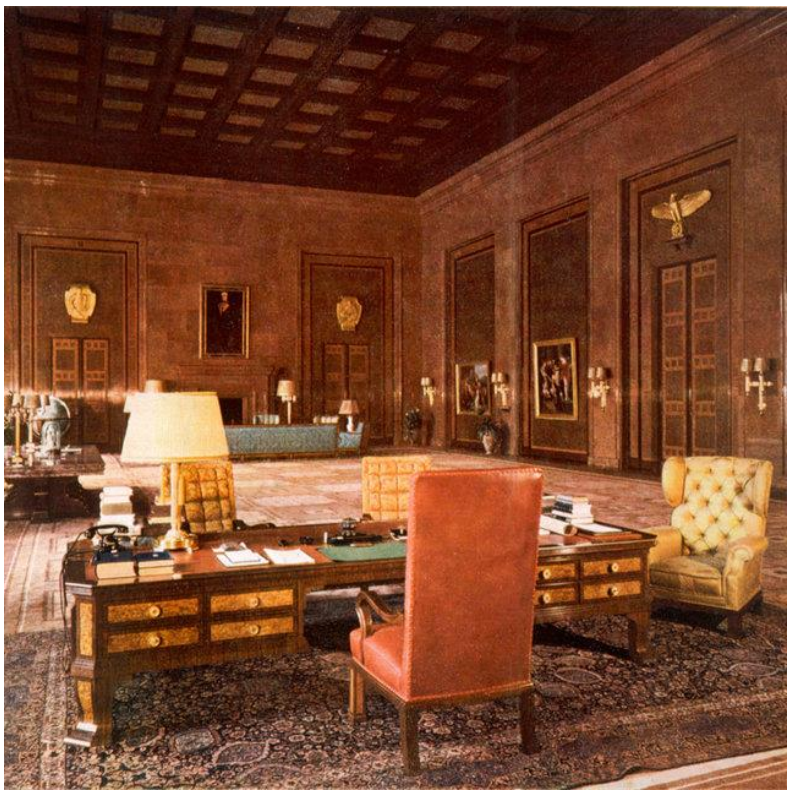
Illustration 16

Unknown. *Paul Ludwig Troost showing Hitler a maquette of the House of German Art*, 1933, photo, 18 x 13 cm., (Berlin, Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz).

Illustration 17

Scha, E. M. *House of the German Art*, 1943, photo, 18 x 13 cm., (collection author).

Illustration 18

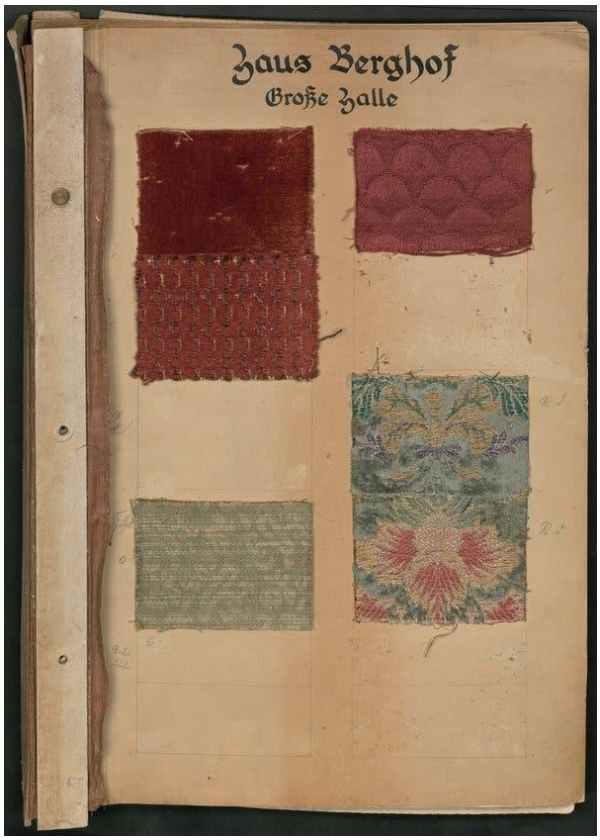


Jaeger, Hugo. *Study of Hitler in the Reich Chancellery*, 1940, photo, 18 x 13 cm., (private collection).

Illustration 19

Jaeger, Hugo. *View of the interior of the Berghof, Hitler's villa on the Obersalzberg*, ca. 1938, photo, 18 x 13 cm., (Getty images).

Illustration 20



Troost, Gerdy. *Fabric swatches of Gerdy Troost made for the Berghof*, ca. 1938, fabric and paper, (private collection).

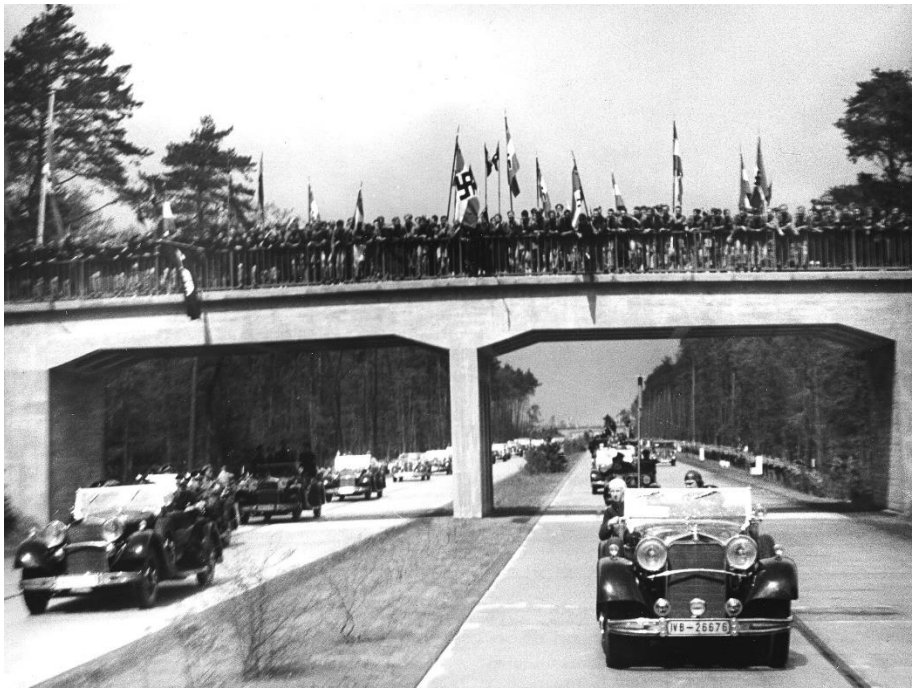
Illustration 21

Troost, Gerdy. *Lamp from the interior of the former Führerbau in Munich*, 1934, gilded bronze, 175 cm., (private collection)

Illustration 22

Hoffmann, Heinrich. *Hitler visiting the Great German Art Exhibition with left from him Gerdy Troost and most left Adolf Zielger*, 1943, photo, 18 x 13 cm., (collection author).

Illustration 23

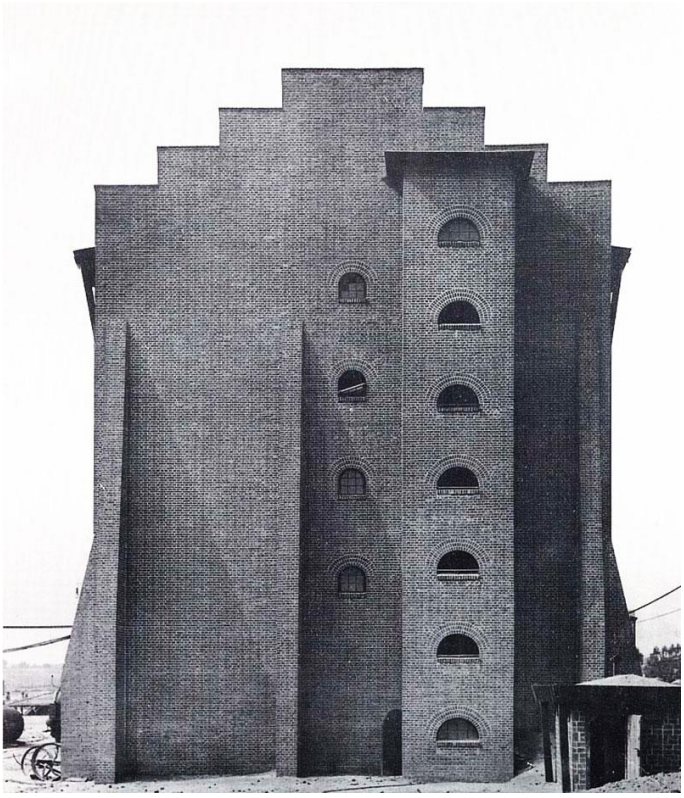


Wolff & Tritschler. *Great opening of the Reichsautobahn between Frankfurt and Darmstadt with one of the so called bridges of which connected Germany*, May 19 1935, photo, 18 x 13 cm., (Getty images).

Illustration 24

Speer, Albert. Friederich. *Neumayerschule*, 1902-1903, stone and brick, neo-classical style, (Frankenthal, Neumayerring 7).

Illustration 25



Poelzig, Hans. *Acid factory in Lubon (Poland) in architectural expressionism*, 1911-1912, bricks and metal, (Lübon).

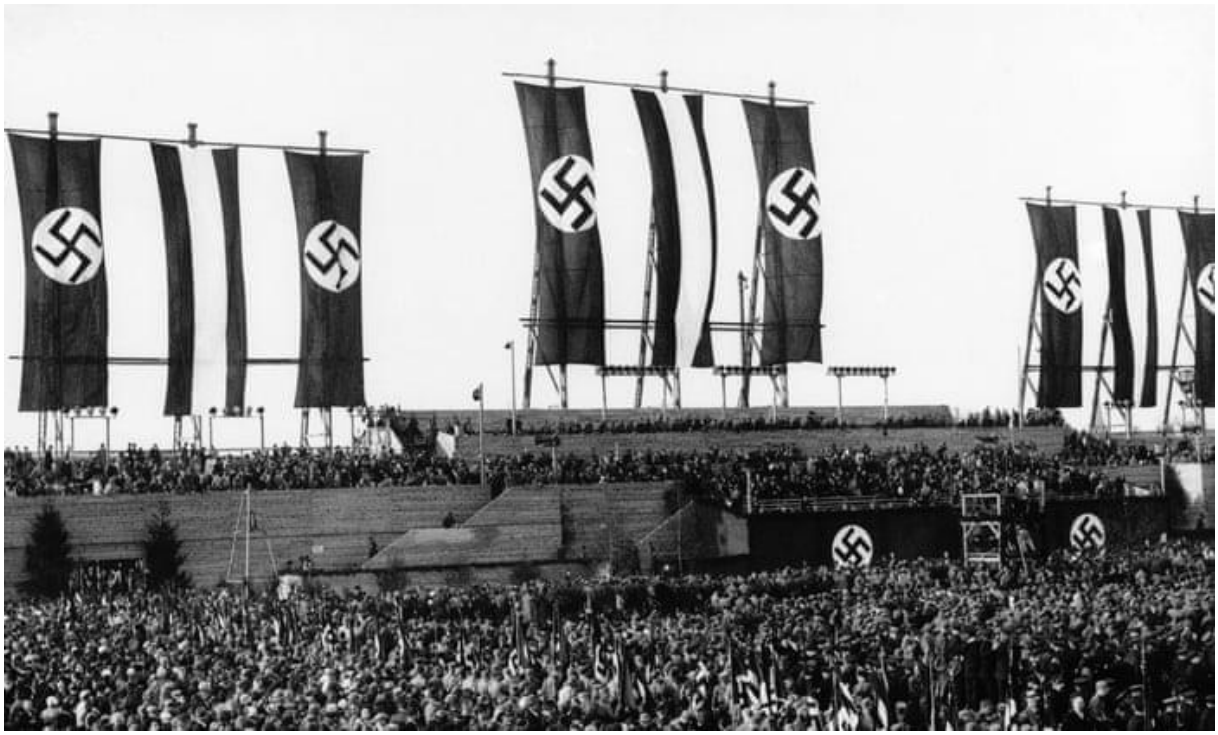
Illustration 26

Tessenow, Heinrich. *Festspielhaus Hellerau in an neoclassical style*, 1911, bricks and marble, (Dresden, Karl-Liebknecht-Strasse 56).

Illustration 27

Troost, Paul. Ludwig. *Community office of Nazi Party in Berlin*, 1929, marble and stone, (Munich, Voss-Strasse 8).

Illustration 28

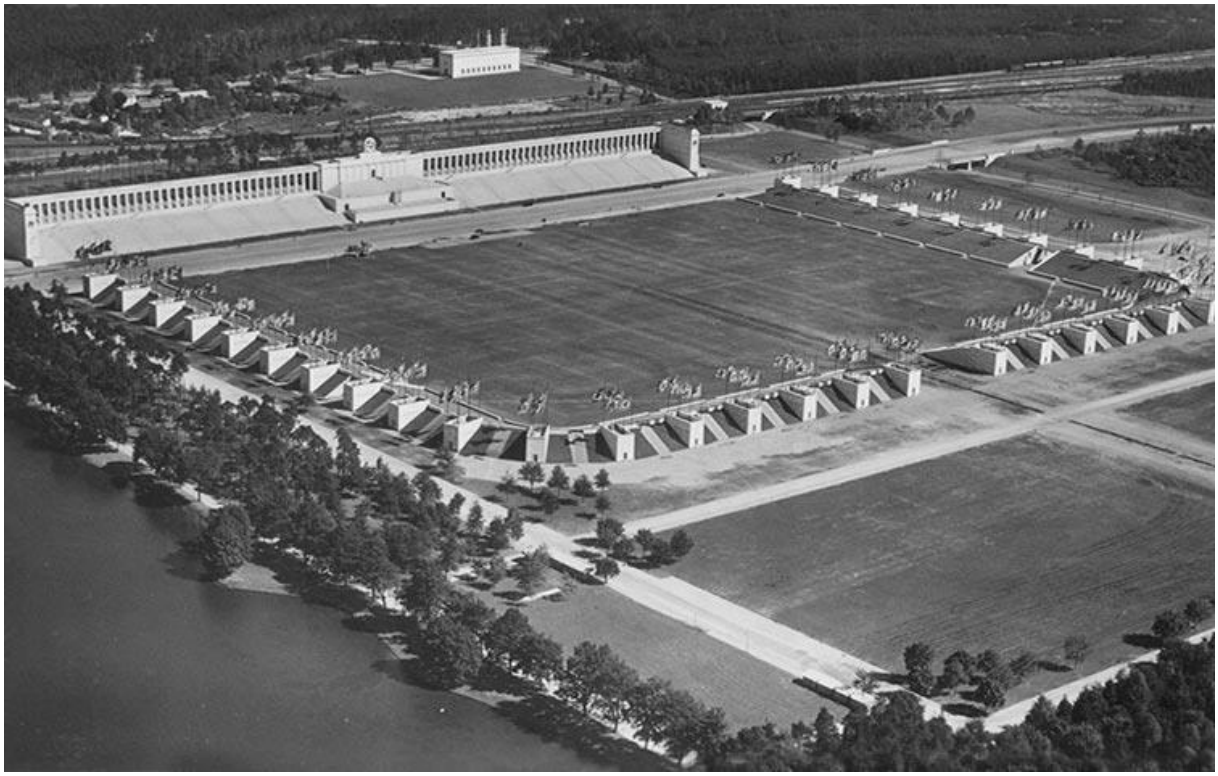


Speer, Albert. *Stage on the Tempelhofer Feld during a speech of Hitler*, 1935, stone, (Berlin, Tempelhof).

Illustration 29

Métivier, Jean. Baptiste. *Braunes Haus*, Build 1828, re-decorated 1931, photo 1935, (Munich, Briener Strasse 31).

Illustration 30



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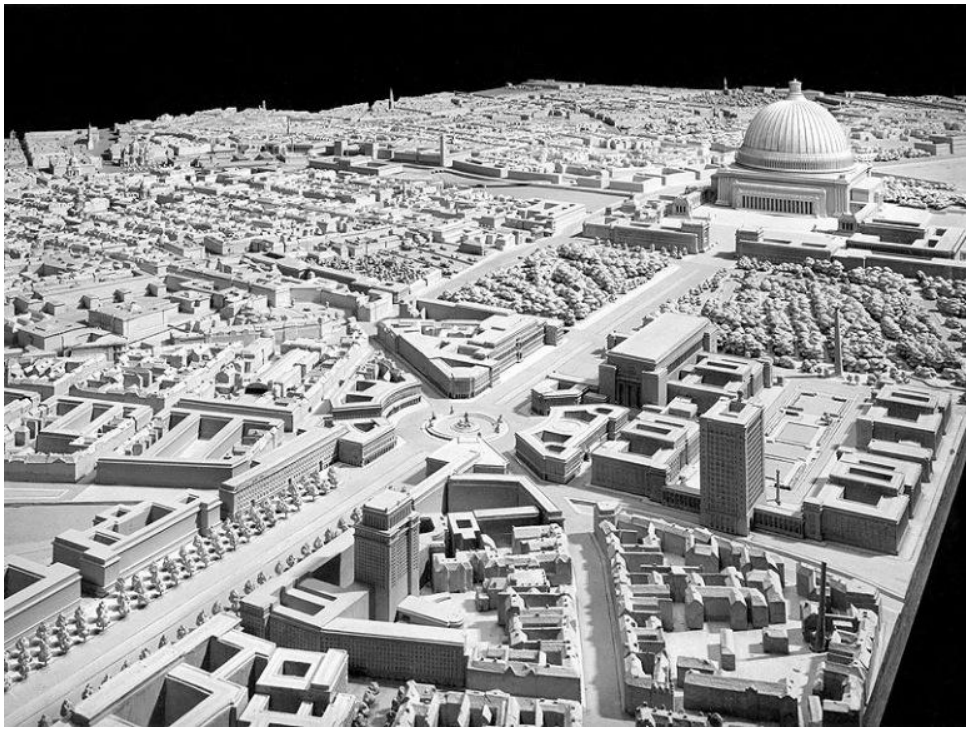

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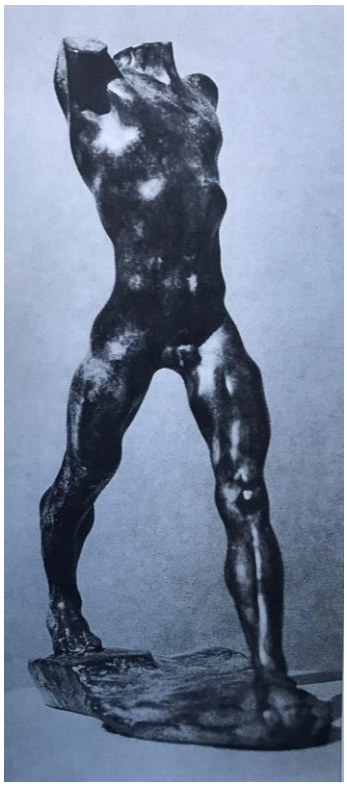

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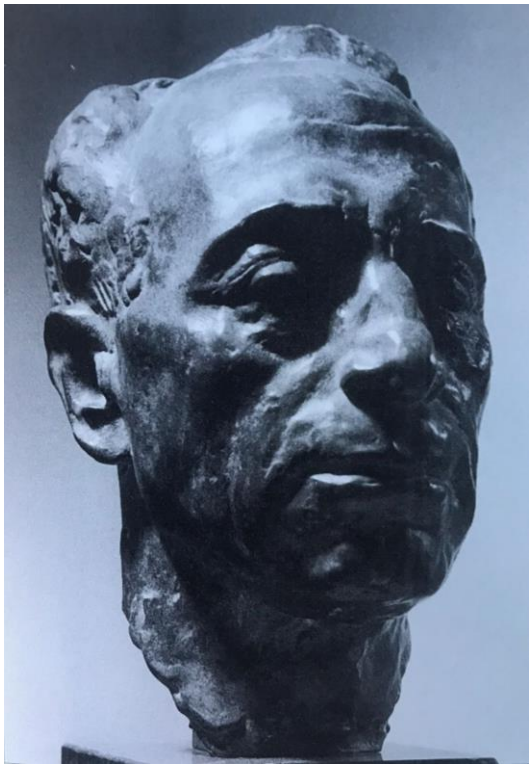

Breker, Arno. *Bust of the Jewish bussinessman Mossey Kogan*, 1929, bronze, 29,5 x 15 x 15 cm., (unknown).

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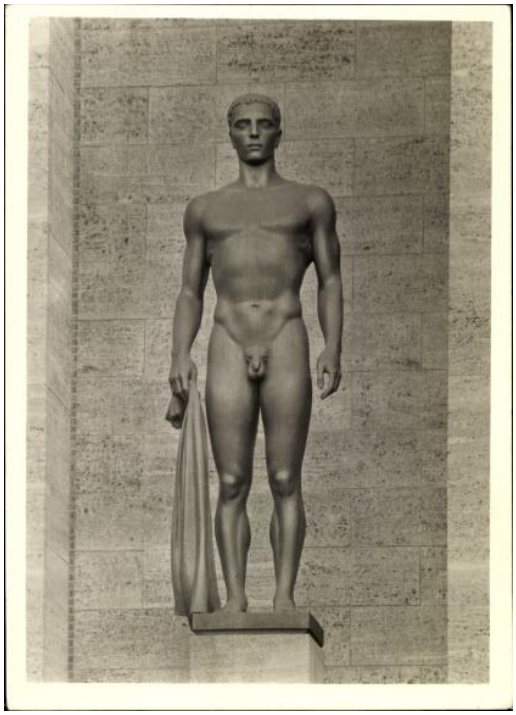

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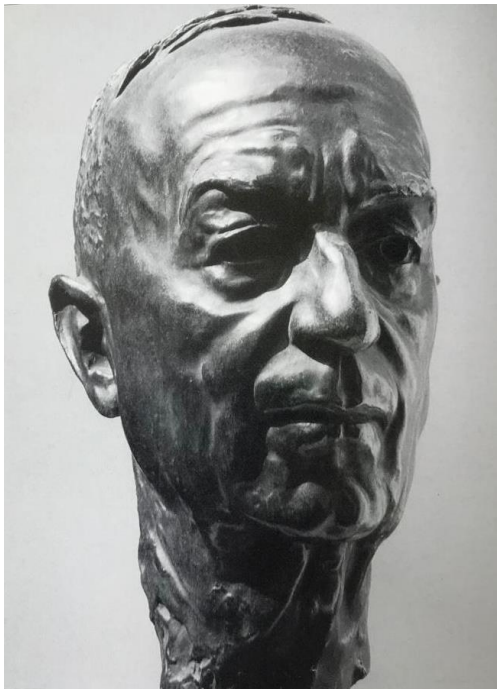

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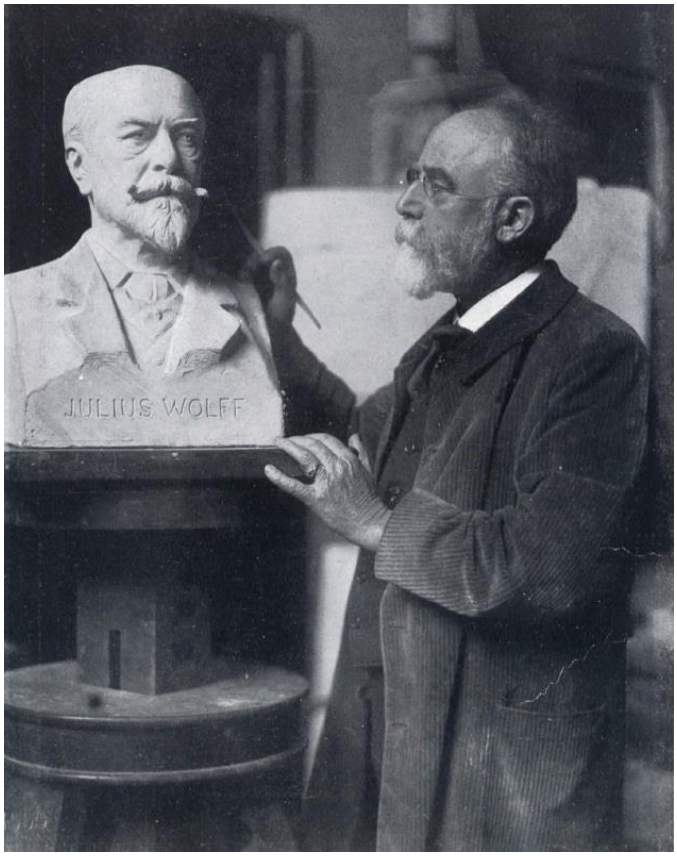

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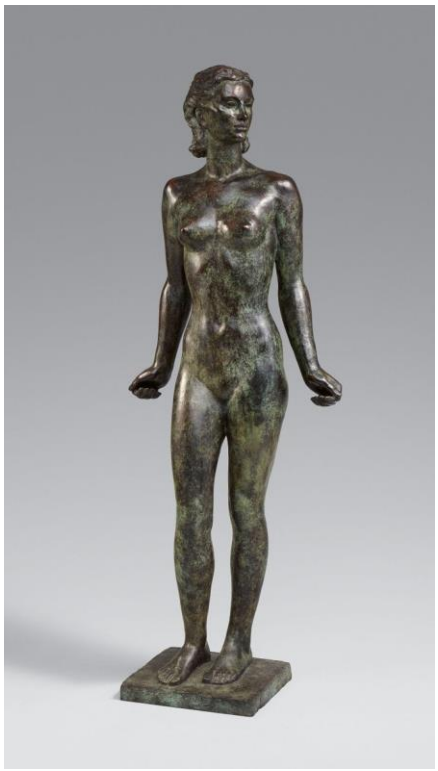

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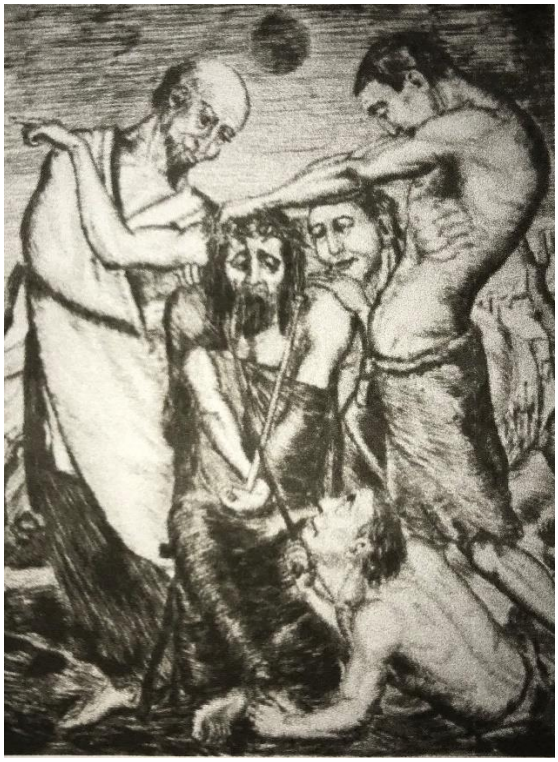

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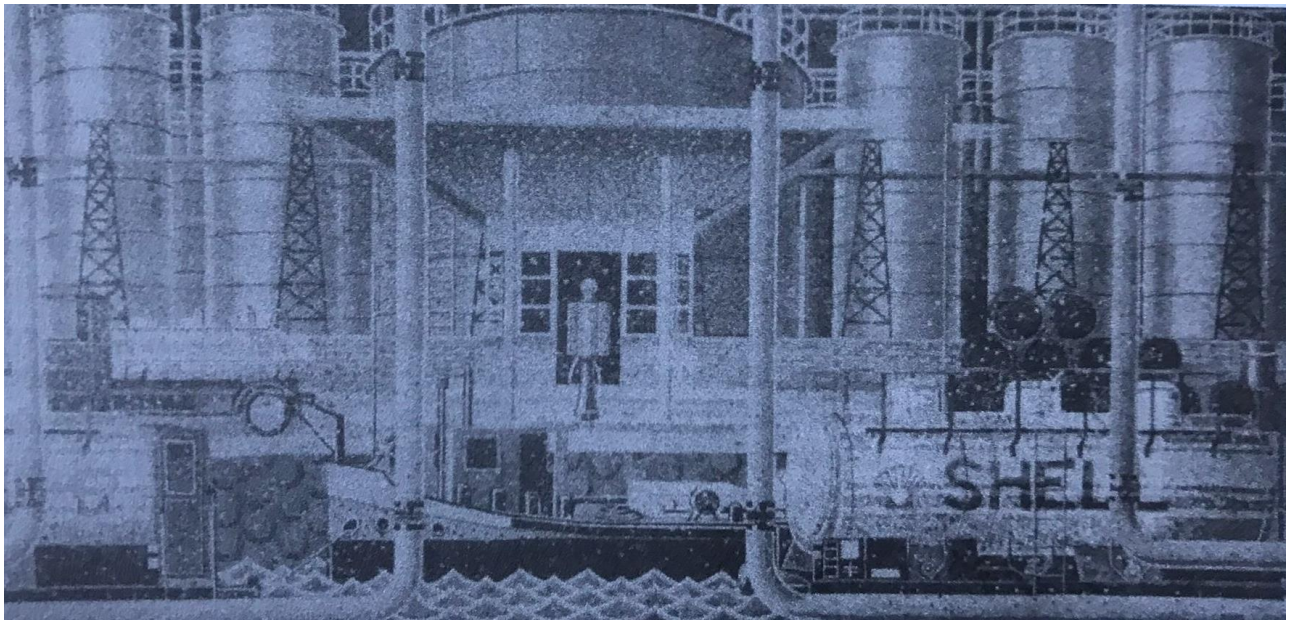

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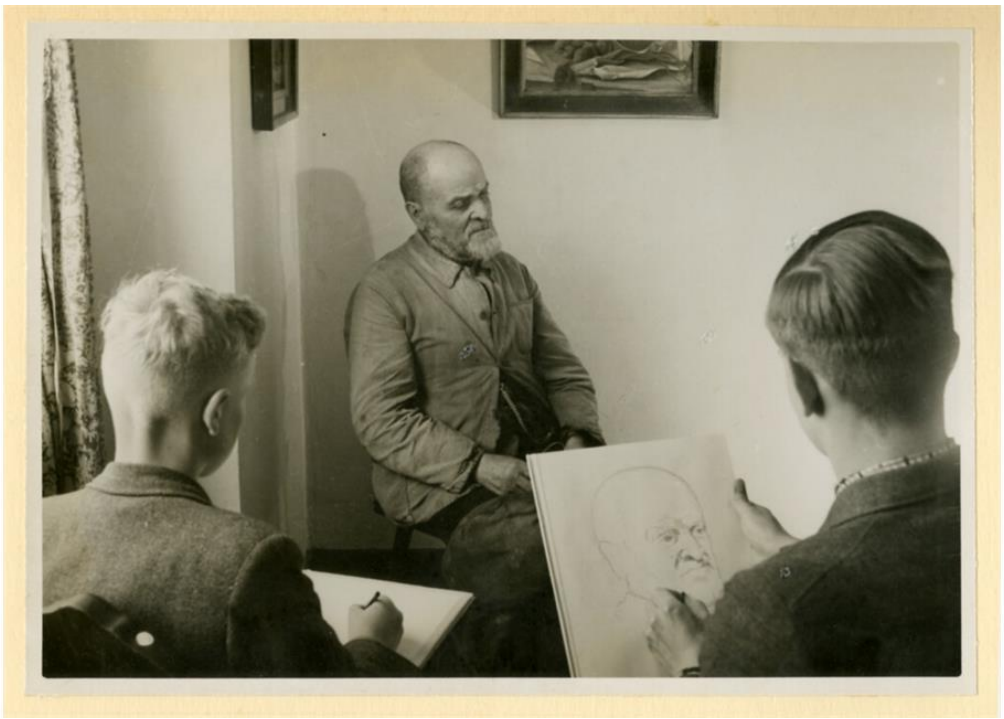

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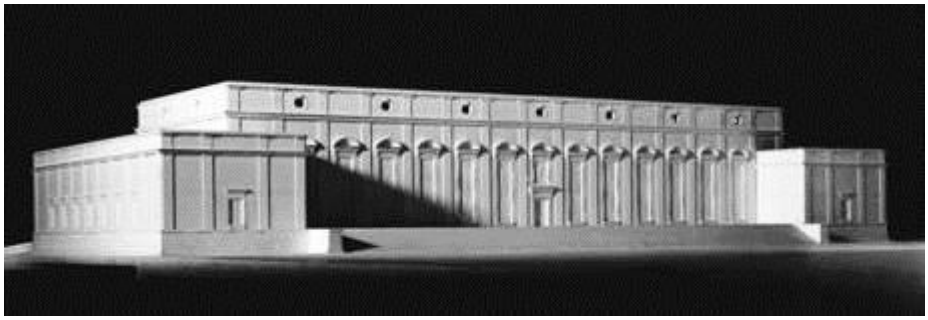

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Verklaring van originaliteit

Met het indienen van dit tentamen/deze toets bevestig ik dat:

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4 juni 2022 B.J.P.A. van der Meer