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Mask and Husk: Käthe Kollwitz's Mourning Parents and Self-Portrait in Dialogue

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Art and Social Change

Essays on the Collection of La Salle University Art Museum

Edited by
Klare Scarborough and Susan M. Dixon

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Contents

Preface	v
Brian A. Goldstein, Ph.D.	
Foreword	ix
Klare Scarborough, Ph.D.	
Susan M. Dixon, Ph.D.	
Acknowledgements	xiii
List of Illustrations	xv
1. Bridget's Vision and Jan Provost's <i>Nativity</i>	1
Costanza Gislon Dopfel, Ph.D.	
2. The Pastoral Landscape: Politics, Poetry and Piety in the 17th Century	17
Sarah Cantor, Ph.D.	
3. Black and White to Color: Changes in Portrait Costume in the Dutch Golden Age	35
Robert E. Gerhardt, M.D.	
4. Domenico Tiepolo and Women's Agency in Mid-18th-Century Venice	63
Susan M. Dixon, Ph.D.	
5. The Peale Family of Painters: Artists of a New American Republic	77
Rebecca Oviedo, M.A.	
6. A Democratic Medium: František Kupka's Call for Social Change in the <i>Money</i> Issue of <i>L'Assiette au Beurre</i>	93
Emily Hage, Ph.D.	
7. Albert Gleizes in 1920: Towards a New Age of Cathedrals	107
Klare Scarborough, Ph.D.	
8. Mask and Husk: Käthe Kollwitz's <i>Mourning Parents</i> and <i>Self-Portrait</i> in Dialogue	131
Christiane Hertel, Ph.D.	
9. Space, Place, and Gender in the Art of Dorothea Tanning	161
Mey-Yen Moriuchi, Ph.D.	
10. Theodoros Stamos' <i>Sea Forms</i>: A Timeless Product of Its Time	177
Thomas Blum, Ph.D.	
Contributors	199
La Salle University Art Museum	201

Mask and Husk: Käthe Kollwitz's Mourning Parents and Self-Portrait in Dialogue

Every artist should do a self-portrait
once in a while. It teaches one to move
beyond subjectivity, to forget oneself...
And that of course is why we do it.
George Deem, 2007.¹

“My own head is of good use for something after all,” Käthe Kollwitz declared in her diary in April 1928,² on the day of her final breakthrough in the project of making a memorial for her son Peter who at the age of eighteen died on the Belgian front in October 1914. In July 1932 the memorial, *Mourning Parents*, was sited on the German war cemetery of Roggeveld near Dixmuide, Belgium [fig. 8.1]. The head in question is Kollwitz's *Self-Portrait* bust. For six years, from 1926 to 1932, she created it alongside and, as I see it, in dialogue with the memorial. It is her only sculpted self-portrait; one cast has been in La Salle University's art collection since 1975 [figs. 8.2, 8.4, and 8.16].³ To compare the memorial and *Self-Portrait*, their close examination is necessary along with an interpretation of Kollwitz's words about them—including “mask” and “husking”, her artistic process, and her strong, if conflicted, sense of identity as a sculptor when her fame and reputation as a socially engaged artist rested firmly on her graphic oeuvre.⁴

The story of the memorial for Peter has been told many times, chronicled through all available primary sources, and interpreted as *Trauerarbeit*, the literal work of mourning which Kollwitz vowed to undertake on December 1, 1914.⁵ She repeatedly abandoned and resumed it in the successive guises of memorial relief, tomb monument, sculptural group of three figures, cemetery gate guardians in relief, and ultimately, three plaster versions now lost (1916–1917, 1926, 1927–1932) of kneeling mourning parents. She completed the third version in April 1931, showed the sculptures at the Prussian Academy of the Arts' spring exhibition in Berlin, and there received professional recognition for her achievement. Pleased, she wrote: “Here I am especially thinking of the sculptors.”⁶ It took another year for the local sculptors August Rhades (1886–1979) and Fritz Diederich (1869–1951) to carve the *Mourning Parents* in Belgian granite.⁷ In the summer of 1932 Kollwitz feared

the Nazis' propagandistic cooption of her monument or else its defacement, were it displayed in a public space. Instead the finished sculptures were exhibited in the entrance hall of Berlin's Nationalgalerie, which also acquired the plasters.

The work received mainly positive reviews in the press. Kollwitz had hesitantly authorized her friend Beate Bonus-Jeep's biographical article in *Die Christliche Welt*, perhaps finding it too personal.⁸ She also called the Communist paper *Die Rote Fahne's* criticism that the work lacked an explicit pacifist message “outrageously stupid,” fearing it might keep workers away.⁹ But above all she was pleased: “*They have an effect*” (“*Sie wirken*”). These words bring to mind those most often quoted: “I want to have an effect in these times” (“*Ich will wirken in dieser Zeit*”), of December 1922, meaning, as Kollwitz then clarified, an emotionally energized social-political effect.¹⁰ If this is what she meant in 1932, she did not indicate it by a title or inscription, though in her diary she had considered this possibility.¹¹ Many people came to see the memorial, and its exhibition was extended because of this strong popular response. Just half a year later Kollwitz knew that the summer of 1932 had been the last opportunity for her sculptures to be shown in Germany and to leave the country for Belgium. Following her forced resignation from the Prussian Academy in February 1933 after she signed a public call upon all leftist political parties to unite against National Socialism, and then her interrogation by the Gestapo because of an interview she had given to a Soviet paper in 1936, she could no longer exhibit her work publicly.¹² Kollwitz sited one more work in a public space, the tombstone commissioned by Doris Levy for her husband Franz Levy's grave at the Jewish Cemetery in Cologne-Bocklemünd, which she completed in July 1938.¹³ At that time Kollwitz worked in Berlin's Klosterstraße studio community of mostly sculptors where she had a studio between 1933 and 1940.¹⁴

The memorial's long genesis and her gradually changing attitude toward World War I, from support to anger and despair, resulted in a profoundly moving statement of parental mourning, regret, and loneliness. To be effective

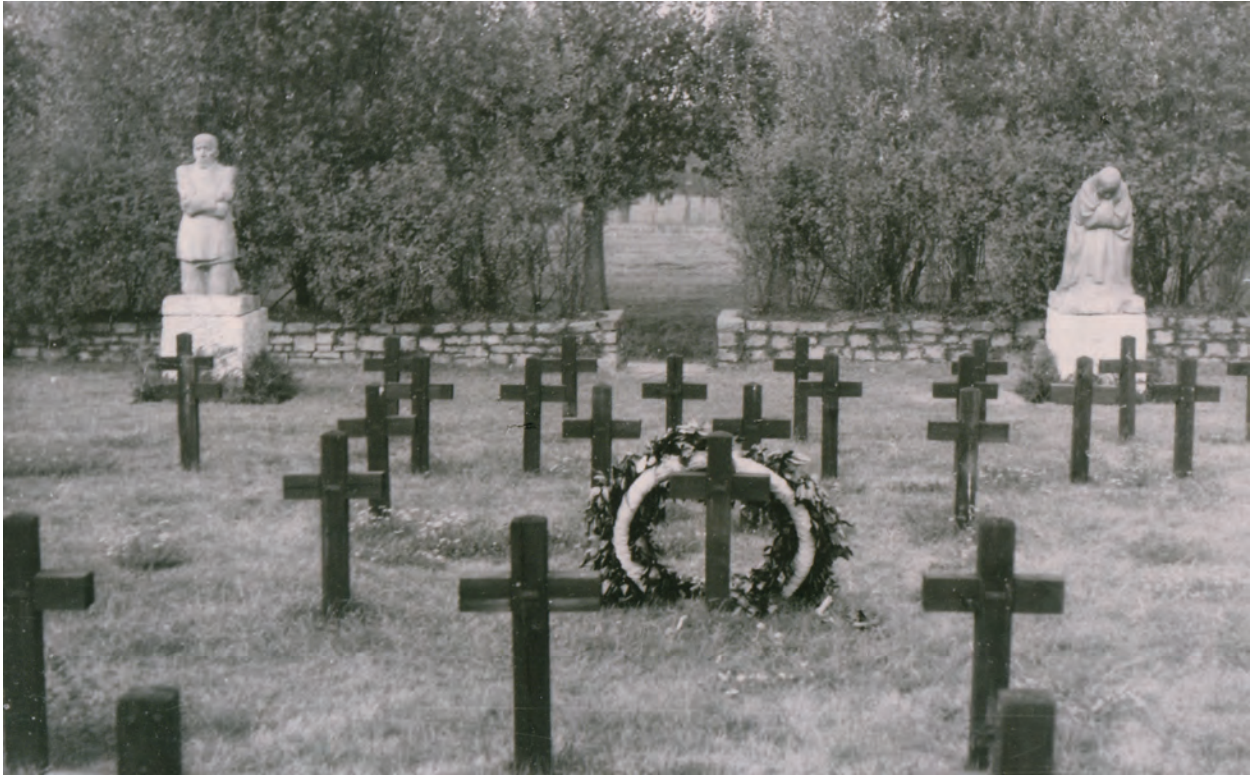


Fig. 8.1, Käthe Kollwitz (1867–1945), *Mourning Parents*, 1916–1932. Granite, 47.6 x 59.4 in. (122 x 151 cm.). German War Cemetery, Esen-Roggeveld, Belgium. Condition in 1937. Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln. Photo: Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln. © ARS, New York 2016.

in her statement, she avoided certain conventions. Departing from the overt imagery of sacrifice that dominated the vast production of German war memorials, Kollwitz omits the figure of the son, though otherwise the secularized Pietà features prominently in her oeuvre.¹⁵ A monumentally enlarged version of her later small sculpture, *Mother and Dead Son* (1937/1938), has been the controversial focal point of Berlin's Neue Wache since 1993.¹⁶ In avoiding references to Pietà and Lamentation in her memorial, Kollwitz shunned one of few socially and politically unifying elements in the Weimar Republic.¹⁷ Already in January 1916 she had rejected what she called, on the basis of an article by the theologian Ernst Troeltsch, a concept of freedom and national identity based in "German state mysticism."¹⁸

A deeply attentive and occasionally jealous admirer of Ernst Barlach (1870–1938), she remained silent on his Madonna war memorial of 1921 at the Nikolaikirche in Kiel, but she acknowledged the alternative to such instrumentalized Christian iconography in his war memorial of 1929 in Magdeburg Cathedral commissioned by the Prussian Ministry of Culture in 1927 [fig. 8.3]. "He knew how to do it," she wrote in 1930, and "Good, Barlach," upon seeing it firsthand when, stored at the Nationalgalerie since its removal from the cathedral in 1934, it was to be included in the Academy's sculpture exhibition in 1936.¹⁹ Like her own works, it was removed before the opening. She interpreted its bottom row of busts to represent a mourning mother and presumably also a father flanking their skeletal soldier son/Death. Barlach himself identified the busts as Need, Death, and



Fig. 8.2, Käthe Kollwitz (1867–1945), *Self-Portrait*, 1926–1932. Bronze, Dark Brown Patina, Marble Base, 14 x 11 x 9 in. (36 x 28 x 23 cm.). Cast 1963 or 1964 by Hermann Noack Foundry, Berlin. La Salle University Art Museum, 75-SC-6. © ARS, New York 2016.



Fig. 8.3, Ernst Barlach (1870–1938), World War 1 Memorial, 1929. Oak. Magdeburg Cathedral.

Despair.²⁰ Such allegorical personification had not been an option for her. Moreover, she set aside the nearly life-size prostrate figure of the son and let go of any obvious sign of companionship in parental mourning, such as mutual touch. These omissions of inscription, son, symbolism, and consolation were not decisions made at the outset, but instead the result of Kollwitz's many self-critically rejected attempts to represent shared mourning.

Kollwitz's *Mourning Parents* are isolated by the literal and figurative void between, before, and within them, yet they are also formally attuned to each other. Both kneeling with arms crossed, she to protect herself or something inside her, he to confront and perhaps acknowledge something before him and, as Kollwitz regretfully realized when the sculptures were sited, even more so within himself, whereas she had intended for him to cast his gaze over the cemetery. Set apart at a considerable distance that Kollwitz determined on site with foldable full-scale models she called "phantoms" ("Phantome"),

the two sculptures embody gendered notions of petrified mourning without end, side by side and thus incapable of converging other than in the response of the beholder and the imaginary audience of the dead. They also do not diverge, though they might have, had Kollwitz followed the first conceptual sketch of their placement at right angles to and facing away from one another.²¹ During the works' siting in July 1932, nothing took as long as determining the right distance between father and mother, presumably so that they would neither promise consolation nor exclude its possibility. Kollwitz discussed the layout of the cemetery with a representative of the German *Gräberfürsorge* (Curatorial Protection of Graves) in Belgium, and was assured that additional graves would be placed near though not between the sculptures. "Like a flock," she wrote.

Psychoanalytic approaches have been brought to bear above all on Kollwitz's diary of 1908–1945 to understand her work of mourning. Other accounts focus on the

transformation of her guilt over supporting the under-age Peter's desire to volunteer for the War into sacrifice, self-sacrifice, and atonement, a process she called "first of all a matter between Peter and me."²² If indeed the memorial was Kollwitz's *Trauerarbeit*, and, according to Freud's "Mourning and Melancholia" (1917), succeeded as such by ending, it is also the case that Kollwitz nurtured its motivating pain which she understood as an artistic collaboration with her son. She missed that pain when it faded, and felt guilty when she even forgot his death's anniversary, as she did in 1929: "I have forgotten the day."²³ Essentializing mourning and making it the subject of her memorial, Kollwitz spared her sculpted alter ego the particular loneliness of completed *Trauerarbeit*.

This may also have been her response to one of her husband Karl's few reproaches she recorded, certainly the most profound of them, in November 1914: "You only have strength for sacrificing and letting go and not the least for holding."²⁴ Its context was their son Hans' military deployment and Karl's successful effort, against Käthe's objection, to arrange for his assignment as a paramedic. Karl's reproach must have cut to the core of her widely accepted identity as a mother and as a mother figure in many social-political causes.

It is important to recognize that in its communal appeal Kollwitz's memorial lays claim to public significance, which is easily overlooked in the focus on her grief. In 1926 she discussed its funding and eventual transportation to Belgium with the art historian and governmental art consultant (*Reichskunstwart*) Edwin Redslob, who was supportive and raised the possibility of siting a copy in Germany. She noted: "It would make me happy if this came to pass and I could speak in my work to the entire people and, as it were, delegated by the people to speak on its behalf."²⁵ Her record of the two weeks in Belgium in 1932 contains her critical assessment of German, Belgian and British war cemeteries, their design, grave markers, monuments to the dead, choices of color and material, suggested mood, and political inflection. Of the large "more pompous" German cemetery at Langemark she wrote: "It still continues the war."²⁶ Renewed militarism was the main context into which her memorial intervened in 1932, but also the dedication just then of some publicly commissioned World War I memorials.²⁷ Hans Kollwitz echoed his mother's critical observations in the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*.²⁸

Kollwitz's *Mourning Parents* appear humbled and marked by the passage of time. This is part of the intended iconography of unending mourning but also expressive of her artistic struggle. The siting in 1932 concluded decades of hard work in which Kollwitz intended to prove to herself and the German art world that she was a sculptor. In this sense, the sculpture had public significance beyond being a war memorial. In the spring she wrote, "for a brief time this strong feeling of happiness has returned, the happiness incomparable to any other, of being fully capable of [creating] a work."²⁹ Later Kollwitz decided not to return to printmaking: "When I was young, I did so, yet with the unwavering goal of sculpture in mind."³⁰ Her experience at age 64 of success and acknowledgement as a sculptor was earned at a high personal cost, less because two months in the Académie Julian's sculpture class in 1904 had laid an insufficient foundation, than because ultimately, I argue, it was her *Trauerarbeit* for Peter that allowed her to fulfill her artistic ambition, indeed, to achieve the artistic identity she had sought for so long.³¹

Thorough practice in self-scrutiny, based in the Protestant non-denominational "Free Religious Congregation" that her grandfather Julius Rupp had founded in Königsberg, made Kollwitz incapable of ignoring the connection between her "work for Peter" and her work for herself almost from the beginning. Moreover, in her judgment the idea of shared sacrifice and artistic endeavor did not hold up as well as its emphasis in Kollwitz scholarship suggests. Occasioned by her and Karl's reading of excerpts from Tolstoy's diaries in the *Neue Rundschau* (1917), she returned to the concept of inner strength at the core of Karl's reproach three years earlier, to acknowledge what she had never let go:

This life with Christ is alien to me. It amounts to the same things intended by grandfather. How then do I position myself? I too want to be free from all that hinders my real I. And this real I is what? What do I want from life and what did I want? I want to develop and unfold myself, and not the Christian in me, but myself, Käthe Kollwitz.

Unable to sacrifice herself in Peter's stead,

I want to live myself to the very end.
Again me myself, Käthe Kollwitz. I want

to see what else I can achieve in my work. [...] Self-perfection ... often strikes me as something that hinders the colorful in the individual. The difference is that Karl perceives in goodness strength, and I rather something colorless and soft. Strength strikes me, too, as a necessity. ... Strength for one's work. Not to deny oneself—one's personality, who one is for better or worse, but to essentialize it. To improve, but not in the Christian sense, more in the Nietzschean. ... to strengthen what is—seen from another point of view—of value in us: 'Man, become your essence'.³²

Thus she ends with a verse from the Baroque poet Angelus Silesius' collection of epigrams, *Cherubinischer Wandersmann* (1675), from which she often quoted: "Man, become your essence; for in the world's demise/Accidence falls away, essence remains."³³ Kollwitz inflects this epigram with an urge toward self-realization reminiscent of the poetic invocation "Take Heed!" in Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. In hindsight she thereby also characterized the goal she achieved in the mourning mother and struggled with in the bronze *Self-Portrait*.

In the bronze *Self-Portrait*, I suggest, Kollwitz attempted to come to terms with herself as a sculptor and that non-Christian "other point of view" searching for value. Such value seems to have been granted her "head" by its inclusion in exhibitions as a powerful presence in galleries mainly devoted to Kollwitz's prints and drawings. But it also looks very different not only from them, but especially from her other sculptures of children, workers, lovers, and mothers of an either proletarian or telluric type. *Self-Portrait* is emotionally complex, formally nuanced and calculated in its faceted surface's reflection of light which is somewhat comparable to the effect achieved in the work of Auguste Rodin, whom in 1904 she had visited in Paris and Meudon.³⁴ If the mourning mother is an essentialized version of herself, does *Self-Portrait* represent accident alone or did she find a way to take her appearance and imperfection, her "personality... for better or worse," to the level of essence? It may now seem difficult to see how in April 1928 this detailed work could inspire the features of the memorial's mother; yet all her diary entries about *Self-Portrait* occur in the memorial's context, suggesting that the relation of the two works deserves attention.

Kollwitz generally characterized her work's main components to be faces, hands and gestures, and "Haltung" or "Gesamthaltung," i.e., pose or attitude. Given the complete absence of negative space in her generally blocky sculptures, she needed to achieve embodiment capable of integrating all three components. She recognized this: "Both the nude and clothing are still alien to me and what speaks are only the *Gesamthaltung*, face, and hands." "I still have to find myself in sculpture." "I don't have my form in sculpture."³⁵ She rejected any substitute, such as showy disembodied drapery, which disgusted her ("ekelt mich") in the work of the Neo-Baroque Wilhelmine court sculptor Reinhold Begas (1831–1911).³⁶ She felt equally disgusted by her own attempt at stylized folds and even "Barlachfalten" suggesting but also substituting for the body: "To be able to do what I want—that ultimately the silhouette is effective—requires much skill. More than I have in this material. The head I am not afraid of, but the large clothed mass."³⁷

In these circumstances it seems a distraction to begin a sculpted self-portrait bust.³⁸ In fact, she came to see in it an obstacle against which she leveled the most frustrated language she ever used about her own art: "I am starting myself sculpturally, my facial mask. At the beginning it seems to me like child's play. Gradually I am seeing that this, too, is damn difficult." "Still haven't started my work for Roggevelde. Unfortunately I have invested my energy weeks ago into making my head sculpturally. Endless screw, it is getting better every day but never good. Breaking off would be best but I am too dogged." "I can't get it out." "Almost an entire year I have been working by now on my self-image—it is indescribable, this eternal suspense, this daily improvement and *never* becoming good. The incredible and unrewarded waste of time on this thing, which any other [x-beliebige] sculptor can do better than I."³⁹ *Self-Portrait* seemed finished enough to become a birthday present for Karl in June 1927, but then she carried it back to her studio without showing it to him.⁴⁰ On New Year's Eve 1927 she wrote in her annual stock-taking account: "I have had the great fortune of being able to work on the figure of the mother so that it will soon be finished. Certainly also much irritation and despondency, especially with my self-portrait, but that has almost sunken into memory."⁴¹ "Memory"—not "oblivion," and "almost"—not "entirely," and eventually, in April 1928, one self-portrait brought about another: "Suddenly I remembered my self-image in plaster, which had been standing not yet unpacked in my studio for three fourth of a year. I unwrap it and now it is like scales



Fig. 8.4, Käthe Kollwitz (1867–1945), *Self-Portrait*, 1926–1932. Bronze, Dark Brown Patina, Marble Base, 14 x 11 x 9 in. (36 x 28 x 23 cm.). Cast 1963 or 1964 by Hermann Noack foundry, Berlin. La Salle University Art Museum, 75-SC-6. Photo: The Author. © ARS, New York 2016.



Fig. 8.5, Ernst Barlach (1870–1938), Head for *The Hovering One*, World War I Memorial, Güstrow Cathedral, 1927. Bronze, 13.3 in. (34 cm.). Private Collection. Photo: Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB)/ Deutsche Fotothek/ Hans Reinecke, 1977.11.

falling from my eyes that my own head is of good use for something after all and that I can work after this over-life size study.”⁴² To use it as a model for her mourning mother meant to give up all efforts at impersonal memorialization: the mourning parents had to become a self-portrait and a portrait of Karl. There is an obvious paradox in this: the “essentialized” parents hardly have specific individual facial features, and yet, her new plan, which evidently also helped solve the problem of embodiment, was worked out by April 1931.

The words Kollwitz used for *Self-Portrait* vary: “my head,” “self-portrait,” “over-life size study,” “self-image,” and “facial mask.” “Self-Image” is a word Kollwitz often used for her self-portraits in a range of graphic mediums, even captioning one of them *Selbstbild*.⁴³ It suggests scrutiny, reflection, introspection, and something other than an

externally mimetic likeness. The phrase “facial mask” (“Gesichtsmaske”) is particularly intriguing, suggesting the detachment of a theatrical device, and yet also its opposite, the life mask of a person’s face. Both life masks and death masks were widely used by sculptors, including Georg Kolbe (1877–1947), Kollwitz’s colleague at the Prussian Academy and at the Berlin Free Secession, whose president he became in 1919. In the 1920s he was a very successful sculptor of portraits and also of youth admired by Kollwitz.⁴⁴ In his introduction to Ernst Benkhart’s *Das ewige Antlitz: Eine Sammlung von Totenmasken* (1927), Kolbe offers a dramatic account of making a death mask.⁴⁵ Kollwitz herself was forced to connect corpse, sculpture, and mask in an experience that left her profoundly shaken. Arriving early in Güstrow for Barlach’s funeral on October 27, 1938, she found herself alone in his studio with the open coffin centrally placed



Fig. 8.6, Käthe Kollwitz (1867–1945), *Die Klage*, *Lamentation*, 1938-40. Bronze Relief, 10.4 in. (26.5 cm.). Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln. Photo: Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln. © ARS, New York 2016.

and surrounded by his life's work and, right above it, "the mask of the Güstrow Cathedral Angel."⁴⁶ Undoubtedly aware that Barlach's angel bears her own facial features, this constellation overwhelmed her, and she made a drawing of the dead Barlach alone, followed soon by her memorial relief for him, *Die Klage* (1938–1940), suggestive of her own face, with downcast eyes, partially covered and also held by both hands [figs. 8.5 and 8.6].⁴⁷

This experience and work postdate both her *Self-Portrait* and the memorial, and the idea of the portrait mask must have occurred to her much earlier. It is possible that she was aware of Georg Lukács's *On Soul and Form* of 1911. An excerpt, titled "On Longing and Form," was published in the literary journal *Neue Rundschau* to which the Kollwitzes subscribed and which they often read together and discussed. There he writes: "But the mask is also the

great two-fold struggle of life: the struggle to be recognized and the struggle to remain disguised."⁴⁸ What then did she mean when in 1926 she declared having started her "facial mask"? What kind of correspondence between face and work was her goal? Even as Kollwitz used suggestive incompleteness sparingly and rejected negative space in her sculptures, perhaps she started with a then common type of portrait or self-portrait often called "Portraitmaske" that did not represent the entire head.⁴⁹ Renée Sintenis (1888–1965), the first woman sculptor given membership in the Prussian Academy of the Arts, made five such self-portraits between 1915 and 1944 [fig. 8.7].⁵⁰ In a life mask, the eyes are covered, thus missing, and any portrait based on such a mask must recreate them. "Gesichtsmaske," rather than "Portraitmaske," is an intriguing word choice for a self-portrait because of the semantic range of the word "Gesicht," derived from "sehen" and "gesehen"



Fig. 8.7, Renée Sintenis (1888–1965), *Self-Portrait*, 1931. Bronze, 12.7 x 6.4 x 8.6 in. (32.5 x 16.5 x 22cm). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie, Inv. B I 535. Photo: SMB. © Sintenis © 2002, 2016 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/BUS.



Fig. 8.8, Lotte Jacobi (1896–1990), *Portrait of Käthe Kollwitz*. Photograph, June 1931. Photo and ©: Lotte Jacobi Archive, University of New Hampshire.

(“seeing” and “seen”). “Gesicht” can mean face, the sense of vision, apparition, and religious or prophetic vision, thus a seeing out and a seeing within and a visage to be seen. A “Gesichtsmaske” may therefore mediate, reveal or conceal any of these meanings, just as Lukács’ definition of the mask suggests.

Kollwitz may have used the paradigm of a life-mask, as well as some of her frontal graphic self-portraits, mirrors, and portrait photographs made by Hugo Erfurth (1874–1948) in 1925 and Lotte Jacobi (1896–1990) in June 1931. Nowhere does she record the photo sessions with Jacobi and Erfurth who also photographed Sintenis.⁵¹ Jacobi portrayed Kollwitz just after she completed the Roggeveld *Mourning Parents* memorial, conveying her self-confidence then. The photographic values of light and shadow in her bronze *Self-Portrait* are striking and nearly identical with those seen in Jacobi’s frontal portrait [fig. 8.8]. *Self-Portrait* has one consequential and

perhaps deliberate flaw: the eyes are proportionally too small by about fifteen to twenty percent. They catch no light, however one turns the sculpture. Their small size led Kollwitz to exaggerate a fold above her eye lid into a bulging transition between eye and brow. This kind of attenuated passage, at odds with Kollwitz’s typically simplifying yet concrete form, is also found in some of her sculptural compositions of two or more figures. In *Self-Portrait* the passage’s facture suggests weariness.

Self-Portrait’s original plaster sculpture [fig. 8.9], tinted in reddish-brown paint perhaps to give it the appearance of clay or bronze with light patina, has the same small eyes, while the mouth with minimally parted lips suggests speech and voice, which the bronze does not. The tinting diffuses any traces of the six-year work process that apparently ended with corrections in white modeling clay two days after returning from Belgium in July 1932. After that nothing more is said, as if siting the memorial and



Fig. 8.9, Käthe Kollwitz (1867–1945), *Self-Portrait*, 1926–1932. Plaster and Reddish Brown Paint, 14.7 x 9.4 x 12.2 in. (37.5 x 24 x 31 cm.). Erbgemeinschaft Kollwitz, Permanent Loan to Kunstsammlung, Akademie der Künste, Berlin. Photo: Max Merz. © ARS, New York 2016.



Fig. 8.10, Erwin Heerich (1922–2004) and Joseph Beuys (1921–1986), Käthe Kollwitz, *The Mourning Parents*, 1932. Enlarged Copies, 1954. Shell Lime Stone, Old St. Alban's Church Memorial, Cologne, 1959. Photo: The Author. © 2016 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/Bild Kunst.

finishing *Self-Portrait* were one.⁵² Its gaze-less small eyes go entirely against how others remembered Kollwitz: her large brown eyes had a warm expression; they importantly contributed to the feeling many visitors, friends, and family members had that she was a good and sympathetic listener. Her sister Lise wrote: “A special, essential characteristic was how she looked at others: very intent, very calm, constant and long was her gaze. The world entered her through her eyes—that is, eyes which perhaps understood better to see spiritually than optically.”⁵³

Several times Kollwitz mentions a sculptural project she hoped to undertake some day of a woman “who sees the suffering of the world.”⁵⁴ Might either *Self-Portrait* or the memorial’s mourning mother be that woman? The question takes one to Cologne. In the city’s historic center, not far from the Käthe Kollwitz Museum’s cast

of *Self-Portrait*, the preserved World War II ruin of Old St. Alban’s Church shelters an enlarged copy of the Roggeveld memorial [fig. 8.10]. The concerted effort of Hans Kollwitz, the City of Cologne, and post-war Germany’s first president Theodor Heuss, who had known the artist, resulted in its commission in 1954 from Ewald Mataré (1887–1965). His appointment at the Düsseldorf Art Academy in 1932 had led him to leave Berlin for the Rhineland. Fired in 1933, he resumed his position after the war. His career culminated in the commissions of bronze doors for the Cologne Cathedral and the World Peace Church in Hiroshima in 1953–1954.⁵⁵ Focused on these projects, and perhaps also more interested in balancing commemoration with optimism in his works, Mataré accepted the Kollwitz commission and gave it to his master students at the Düsseldorf Academy, Erwin Heerich (1922–2004) and Joseph Beuys



Fig. 8.11-A, Ernst Barlach (1870–1938), *The Hovering One*, 1927. Bronze. World War I Memorial, Güstrow Cathedral. Copy made in 1942 of lost original. World War I and II Memorial, Antoniterkirche, Cologne, since 1953. Photo: The Author.

(1921–1986), later famous for his “social sculpture” of the Fluxus movement. Heerich made the mother, Beuys the father. They were difficult to do, Heerich explained in 1998, hewn in porous shell limestone after casts from the originals in Roggeveld.⁵⁶ That the slightly enlarged copies are arranged at ground level like a Holy Family without the Child actually emphasizes the figures’ isolation.

The mother’s closed eyes may be related to two antithetical models. One is Barlach’s Güstrow War Memorial of 1927, *The Hovering Angel*, bearing Kollwitz’s idealized features with eyes closed, turned inward, and elegantly expressive crossed arms [figs. 8.11-A and 8.11-B]. This

copy of the original memorial (removed and melted down in 1942) has been hanging since 1952 in the Lutheran Antoniterkirche in Cologne, a short walk from Old Saint Alban’s. My second comparison of the mother is to Kollwitz’s etching “Whetting the Scythe” (1905), plate 3 of the *Peasants’ War* series, an image of vengeance anticipated by the woman’s narrowed eyes, vengeance not against a foreign enemy but against oppressive feudal rule [fig. 8.12]. When seen between these opposites, the memorial mother’s closed eyes suggest the essential effort to emulate the angel, not the avenger. Once this is seen, it informs the memorial’s public meaning of the “unvengeful” honor of the dead, which implies pacifism.



Fig. 8.11-B, Ernst Barlach (1870–1938), *The Hovering One*, 1927. Bronze. World War I Memorial, Güstrow Cathedral. Copy made in 1942 of lost original. World War I and II Memorial, Antoniterkirche, Cologne, since 1953. Photo: The Author.



Fig. 8.12, Käthe Kollwitz (1867–1945), *Beim Dengeln*, 1905. Etching, Aquatint, and Vernis Mou, 11.7 x 11.7 in. (29.8 x 29.8 cm.). *The Peasant War*, Plate 3, Klipstein No. 90. Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln. Photo: Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln. © ARS, New York 2016.

In Cologne, Barlach's *Hovering Angel* and Kollwitz's *Mourning Parents* are tasked to commemorate the soldiers of both World Wars and to call for peace. Furthermore, in 1956 the original memorial was moved to Vladslo, as part of a measure to consolidate German war cemeteries in Belgium. There the sculptures stand much more closely together than they did in Roggeveld [figs. 8.14-A, 8.14-B, 8.14-C].⁵⁷ While Kollwitz's agreement to these uses of her once site-specific work remains a matter of speculation, we know that in 1926 she had welcomed Redslob's idea of siting copies in Germany.

The effort to understand the interrelation between *Self-Portrait*, the mourning mother, and "a woman who sees the suffering of the world," leads me to consider Kollwitz's words for successful artistic process less in a technical than an ontological sense. She borrows them from the organic process in plants. Her most striking expression is "husking" ("sich her ausschälen"). Its process cannot be forced; instead the work unfolds its inherent potential, growing into a seed or fruit, and then sheds its husk ("schält sich heraus").⁵⁸ The memorial underwent this process with difficulty, but successfully over 18 years:

"With infinite slowness what is meant to be is husking."⁵⁹ *Self-Portrait* evidently confronted her with the concept's limitations and with her own impatient desire to force the work's completion, feeling that this must happen before or while she continued with the memorial. Eventually she set it aside. Perhaps, then, both sculptures are different versions of the "woman who sees the suffering of the world," evoked by Kollwitz in February 1927, having resumed work on both sculptures the week before: "Just sees. No words." Such a woman "is not looking on," she had written years earlier, "but she knows about the suffering of the world."⁶⁰ Eyes cannot husk, it might seem; still, a year later Kollwitz declares that it is "falling like scales from my eyes that my own head is of good use for something after all." After this particular husking, *Self-Portrait*'s eyes either remained or became lusterless, whereas the eyes of her mourning mother looked intensely and painfully inward. If indeed the two sculptures prompted each other and her to know and remember even what lay beyond her witness, what then became of Kollwitz's Nietzschean rebellion seeking strong self-assertion, of her courage, in Lukács' words, to be recognized rather than to remain hidden? Likely she was aware of its transformation.



Fig.8.13, Käthe Kollwitz (1867–1945), *Seed-corn must not be milled*, 1941–1942. Chalk Lithograph. Klipstein No. 267 (274). Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln. Photo: Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln. © ARS, New York 2016.

In April 1931 one spontaneous response to her plaster sculptures came from some “boys off the street.” One of them exclaimed: “It’s a Chinese cleric!” Apparently he saw in the memorial’s mother a kowtowing Chinese familiar from chinoise iconography found abundantly in Berlin’s and Potsdam’s 18th-century palace interiors, porcelain collections, and park pavilions. Kollwitz may have recorded this spontaneous and self-confident comment because this youth could not see or know that this mother had shed layers of her husk under the gazeless eyes of the unfinished *Self-Portrait* and so gained her submissive appearance.

Kollwitz consciously lived with death and made it a recurrent topic in her oeuvre. It inflected her idea that an effective work of art’s becoming is a “sich Herausschälen,” a fruit’s or seed’s husking. She recognized that this simile for her creativity had its counterpart in her social-political engagement: “I am not seed-corn. I solely have the task to develop the seed within me to its end.”⁶¹ Seeing herself as husk, she pleaded for the life of others. Several times she vehemently demanded in word or image, quoting her favorite author, Johann Wolfgang Goethe: “Seed-

corn must not be milled!” In each case she referred to the situation of futile, lost war. This demand ended her public letter to Richard Dehmel in the social-democratic *Vorwärts* on October 30, 1918, in which she refuted his call for a final war mobilization published there the week before.⁶² In 1932 she stated that Belgium “is sown with cemeteries, German, British, Belgian.”⁶³ Finally, in 1941–1942, she made her last lithograph, *Seed-corn must not be milled*, calling it her testament.⁶⁴ It shows a mother vainly trying to shield her round-headed, round-eyed sons eager to venture forth, almost literally, like seeds springing from a burst husk [fig. 8.13].

Kollwitz read Goethe’s works all her life, “all of it except the scientific writings.” She attended the socialist politician and writer Gustav Landauer’s lecture series in 1916 on Goethe as a liberator, read some secondary literature, and recited his poetry in life situations prompting their memory for her. She undoubtedly knew that the admonition, “Seed corn must not be milled,” came from the “apprentice letter” in Goethe’s artist novel *Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship* (1795–1796). In that letter, the passage does not concern war; instead it serves



Fig. 8.14-A, Käthe Kollwitz (1867–1945), *The Mourning Parents*, 1916–1932. Granite, 47.6 x 59.4 in. (122 x 151 cm.). German War Cemetery, Vladslo, Belgium. Present Appearance. Photo: Raimond Spekking. © Raimond Spekking/CC BY-SA 4.0, ARS, New York 2016.



Fig. 8.14-B, Käthe Kollwitz (1867–1945), *The Mourning Parents*, 1916–1932. Granite, 59.4 x 47.6 in. (151 x 122 cm.). German War Cemetery, Vladslo, Belgium. Present appearance. Photo: Elke Wetzig. © Elke Wetzig/CC BY-SA 4.0, ARS, New York 2016.



Fig. 8.14-C, Käthe Kollwitz (1867–1945), *The Mourning Parents*, 1916–1932. Granite, 47.6 x 59.4 in. (122 x 151 cm.). German War Cemetery, Vladslo, Belgium. Present appearance. Photo: Raimond Spekking. © Raimond Spekking/CC BY-SA 4.0, ARS, New York 2016. Photo: ARS, New York 2016



Fig. 8.15, Karl Gottlieb Weißer (1779–1815), Life Mask of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, 1807. Goethe-Nationalmuseum Weimar, Inv. GPI/00940. Photo: Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek/Fotothek. © Klassik Stiftung Weimar.



Fig. 8.16, Detail of Käthe Kollwitz (1867–1945), *Self-Portrait*, 1926–1932. Bronze, Dark Brown Patina, Marble Base, 14 x 11 x 9 in. (36 x 28 x 23cm.). Cast 1963 or 1964 by Hermann Noack Foundry, Berlin. La Salle University Art Museum, Philadelphia, 75-SC-6. Photo: The Author. © ARS, New York 2016.

to contrast essential with superficial art, embodied form with surface expression.⁶⁵ Kollwitz spent her final years, 1943–1945, in Dresden-Moritzburg in the care of her granddaughter Jutta, who later recalled reading Goethe to her, for “he felt closer to her than any other poet, like a friend, like a focal point in her life. His mask hung above her bed; sometimes I had to hand it to her and then she felt it with closed eyes.” She did so “to orient herself.”⁶⁶ This was Goethe’s life-mask made by Karl Gottlieb Weißer in 1807 (fig. 15).⁶⁷ She explained, “I have long weaned myself from seeing a happy man in him. But he has always brought happiness to me.” Apparently Kollwitz felt comforted by this gaze-less encounter somewhere between holding and letting go, “Gesichtsmaske” and husk.

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- ¹ George Deem, "Self-Portraits," Letter to Dan Joseph, December 8, 2007, Accessed December 29, 2014, <https://georgedeem.org/writings/view/Self-portraits-2007-12-08>.
- ² Käthe Kollwitz, *Die Tagebücher 1908–1945*, ed. Jutta Bohnke-Kollwitz (Berlin: Siedler Verlag, 1999), 640.
- ³ The sculpture was acquired at auction from Sotheby's New York, sale no. 3796B, October 23, 1975, *Modern Paintings, Drawings, Sculptures*. New York: Sotheby's Parke Bernet Inc., 1975, lot 252. Its base bears the abraded lot sticker and the owner's label: Erich Cohn. While the catalog lists the work under the anonymous rubric "property of various owners," it likely came directly from Cohn's collection of modern German art. Annette Seeler dates La Salle University's cast in the early 1960s when Cohn ordered several casts from Hermann Noack's foundry. (E-mail of October 31, 2014.) Nine or 10 casts were made in the early years; another 10 were authorized in 1972. See Werner Timm, "Protokoll zum plastischen Werk von Käthe Kollwitz," in *Käthe Kollwitz, Druckgraphik, Handzeichnungen Plastik*, ed. Herwig Guratzsch, 29-52, Exhibition Catalog, Wilhelm Busch Museum Hannover; Museum Ostdeutsche Galerie Regensburg (Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1990), 36-37; Hildegard Brachert, "Collecting the Art of Käthe Kollwitz," in Elizabeth Prelinger et al., *Käthe Kollwitz*, 117-135, Exhibition Catalog, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 129.
- ⁴ Kollwitz' membership in and appointment at the Prussian Academy of the Arts in 1919 was as a printmaker. On the sculptor Kollwitz, see Gerhard Kolberg, "Käthe Kollwitz – Die Bildhauerin," *Kölner Museums-Bulletin* 1-2 (1991), Special Issue, *Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln*, Träger Kreissparkasse Köln, exp. ed. (1997): 51-67; Karin Breuer, "Käthe Kollwitz," in *Skulptur des Expressionismus*, ed. Stephanie Barron, Exhibition Catalog, Josef Haubrich Kunsthalle Köln (Munich: Prestel, 1984), 129-132. Annette Seeler's catalogue raisonné of Kollwitz's sculptures is scheduled to appear in 2016.
- ⁵ See Hannelore Fischer, ed., *Käthe Kollwitz, Die trauernden Eltern: Ein Mahnmahl für den Frieden*, Exhibition Catalog, Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln, Träger Kreissparkasse Köln (Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1999), especially Fischer's section of text documents, 17-61; and Corinna Tegtmeyer, "Die trauernden Eltern – zur Genese der Skulpturen," in *Ibid.*, 83-105.
- ⁶ Kollwitz, *Tagebücher*, 654.
- ⁷ For Rhades' works in public space, see *Bildhauerei in Berlin*. Accessed January 10, 2015, <http://bildhauerei-in-berlin.de/>.
- ⁸ Beate Bonus, "Ein Totenmal von Käthe Kollwitz," *Die Christliche Welt* (1932): 797.
- ⁹ "Zeitgenössische Rezensionen," in *Käthe Kollwitz, Die trauernden Eltern*, 107-111 and 112; Kollwitz, *Tagebücher*, 661.
- ¹⁰ Kollwitz, *Tagebücher*, 542.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, 323.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, 673 and 910; 684 and 917-921.
- ¹³ Friedrich Bursch carved it in marble. He worked for both Barlach and Kollwitz. See Elmar Jansen, *Ernst Barlach, Käthe Kollwitz, Berührungen, Grenzen, Gegenbilder* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1989). Levy commissioned the work just before her emigration to England. She was buried in this grave (1981). Kollwitz, *Tagebücher*, 690-691, 924-925; Käthe Kollwitz, *Briefe der Freundschaft und Begegnungen*, ed. Hans Kollwitz (Munich: List Verlag, 1966), 86-87.
- ¹⁴ Angela Lammert, Gudrun Schmidt, and Inge Zimmermann, eds., *Atelieregemeinschaft Klosterstraße Berlin 1933–1945: Künstler in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*, Exhibition Catalog, Akademie der Künste, Berlin (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1994), *passim*; Christine Fischer-Defoy, "Artists and Art Institutions in Germany 1933–1945," *Oxford Art Journal* 9 no. 2 (1986): 16-29.
- ¹⁵ "Pietà oder wie der Verlust getragen wird," in *Käthe Kollwitz: Schmerz und Schuld: Eine motivgeschichtliche Betrachtung*, ed. Gudrun Fritsch, Exhibition Catalog, Käthe Kollwitz Museum Berlin (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1995), 198-215; Jayme M. Hennessy, "Kollwitz: The Beauty and Brutality of the Pietà," in *She Who Imagines: Feminist Theological Aesthetics*, eds. Laurie Cassidy and Maureen O'Connell (Collegeville [MN]: Liturgical Press, 2012), 37-51.
- ¹⁶ Silke Wenk, "Die Mutter mit ihrem toten Sohn in der Mitte Berlin: Eine Studie zur aktuellen Wirkung einer Skulptur von Käthe Kollwitz," in *Käthe Kollwitz: Schmerz und Schuld*, 84-93; Siobhan Kattago, "Representing German Victimhood and Guilt: The Neue Wache and Unified German Memory," *German Politics & Society* 16, no. 3 (1998): 86-104; Roger Boyes and William Horsley, "Germans as Victim: A British View," *The World Today* 51, no. 6 (1995): 110-114.
- ¹⁷ Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius, "Sieg ohne Trauer – Trauer ohne Sieg: Totenklage auf Kriegsdenkmälern des ersten Weltkrieges," in *Trauer tragen – Trauer zeigen: Inszenierungen der Geschlechter*, eds. Gisela Ecker and Maria Kublik-Kramer (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1999), 259-286, esp. 268-70. On the iconography of patriotic sacrifice, see Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius, "Opfermodelle am Altar des Vaterlandes seit der Französischen Revolution," in *Schrift der Flammen: Opfermythen und Weiblichkeitsentwürfe*, ed. Gudrun Kohn-Waechter (Berlin: Orlanda Frauenverlag, 1991), 57-90. See also David Robinson's photo-book, *Saving Graces: Images of Women in European Cemeteries* (New York: Norton & Company, 1995), about female mourners in European tomb sculpture.
- ¹⁸ Kollwitz, *Tagebücher*, 215-16, connects this with Gustav Wyneken and the *Freideutsche Jugend* movement, in which her sons Peter and Hans had been active, as had Walter Benjamin, who published as "Ardor" in its journal, *Der Anfang*, founded by the Kollwitzes. By August 1916 the movement distanced itself from Wyneken. *Ibid.*, 268, 774, 788.
- ¹⁹ Kollwitz, *Tagebücher*, 647, 684.
- ²⁰ Barlach, "Fragmente von weitläufigen Auslassungen," in *Ernst Barlachs Magdeburger Mal wieder im Dom, Gedenkschrift über die Rückkehr des Magdeburger Mals*, ed. Barlachkuratorium Güstrow (Berlin: VEB Graphische Werkstatt, 1957), 9.
- ²¹ This constellation occurred to her during a Beethoven concert in February 1927. Kollwitz, *Tagebücher*, 626.
- ²² Kollwitz, *Tagebücher*, 196; Elizabeth Prelinger, "Sacrifice and Protection: The Double-Sided Coin in Kollwitz's Life and Art," in *Käthe Kollwitz: Schmerz und Schuld*, 66-74; Regine Schulte, "Kollwitz's Sacrifice," trans. Pamela Selwyn, *History Workshop Journal* 41 (1996): 193-221; Angela Moorjani, "Käthe Kollwitz on Sacrifice, Mourning, and Reparation: An Essay in Psycho-Aesthetics," *MLN* 101, no. 5 (1986): 1110-1134.
- ²³ Kollwitz, *Tagebücher*, 645.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 177: "Du hast nur Kraft zum Opfern und Loslassen – nicht die geringste zum Halten."
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 609.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 666.
- ²⁷ Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 78-116.
- ²⁸ Hans Kollwitz, "Das Totenmal auf dem Soldatenfriedhof in Flandern," *Sozialistische Monatshefte* 38, no. 2 (1932): 775.

- ²⁹ Kollwitz, *Tagebücher*, 657.
- ³⁰ Kollwitz in conversation with the philologist Fritz Homeyer in 1938; Homeyer, *Ein Leben für das Buch*, quoted in Jansen, *Barlach Kollwitz*, 171.
- ³¹ Stefanie Rentsch, “An den Vormittagen war ich in der alten Julian-schule in der Klasse für Plastik...: Grundlagen der Plastik – Käthe Kollwitz und die Académie Julian,” in “*Paris bezauberte mich...*: Käthe Kollwitz und die französische Moderne, eds. Hannelore Fischer and Alexandra von dem Kneesebeck, Exhibition Catalog, Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln, Träger Kreissparkasse Köln (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2010), 177-189.
- ³² Kollwitz, *Tagebücher*, 302.
- ³³ Angelus Silesius (Johannes Scheffler), *Cherubinischer Wandersmann*, ed. Louise Gnädinger (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam Jun., 1985), 76: “Mensch, werde wesentlich; denn wenn die Welt vergeht/So fällt der Zufall weg, das Wesen, das besteht.”
- ³⁴ Nadine Lehni, “‘Damals gab es für mich in der ganzen neuzeitlichen Plastik einzig Rodin...’ Das Verhältnis von Käthe Kollwitz zu Auguste Rodin,” in “*Paris bezauberte mich...*: Käthe Kollwitz und die französische Moderne, 191-203.
- ³⁵ Kollwitz, *Tagebücher*, 340, 342, 356.
- ³⁶ See *Begas – Monumente für das Kaiserreich*, Exhibition Catalog (Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum, 2011); Alfred Meyer, *Reinhold Begas* (Bielefeld and Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing, 1901).
- ³⁷ Kollwitz, *Tagebücher*, 620-621.
- ³⁸ *Self-Portrait's* critical reception is remarkably limited. For its most complete catalog entry, see Annette Seeler “Katalog der plastischen Werke,” in *Käthe Kollwitz, Zeichnung, Grafik, Plastik. Bestandskatalog des Käthe Kollwitz Museums Berlin*, ed. Martin Fritsch (Leipzig: E.A. Seemann Verlag, 1999), 334-378, cat. 164. On her self-portraits in prints and drawings, see Petra Buschhoff and Rajka Knipper, *Aspekte der Selbstbefragung: Käthe Kollwitz in ihren Selbstbildnissen*, Exhibition Series *Einblicke 2*, Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln, Träger Kreissparkasse Köln, 1998, 2nd Edition (Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 2002); and Marsha Meskimmon, *The Art of Reflection: Women Artists' Self-Portraiture in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 27-28.
- ³⁹ Kollwitz, *Tagebücher*, 616, 617, 622, 627.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 628-629.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 634.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, 640.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, 532; *Self-Portrait en face*, c. 1910, Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln; Buschhoff and Knipper, *Aspekte der Selbstbefragung*, 5, fig. 4.
- ⁴⁴ His athletes of the 1930s lent themselves to the Nazi aesthetic. See Ursel Berger, “Kolbe in der NS-Zeit,” <http://www.georg-kolbe-museum.de/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/Georg-Kolbe-in-der-NS-Zeit.pdf>.
- ⁴⁵ George Kolbe in Ernst Benkard, *Das ewige Antlitz: Eine Sammlung von Totenmasken, mit einem Geleitwort von Ernst Kolbe* (Berlin: Frankfurter Verlagsanstalt, 1927), n.p. See also Marcia Pointon, “Casts, Imprints, and Deathliness in Things: Artifacts at the Edge,” *The Art Bulletin* 96, no. 2 (2014): 170-195, at 178-179.
- ⁴⁶ Kollwitz, *Tagebücher*, 692-696; the charcoal drawing is at the Hamburger Kunsthalle.
- ⁴⁷ Jansen, *Barlach Kollwitz*, 85-90, 165.
- ⁴⁸ Georg von Lukács, “Über Sehnsucht und Form,” in *Die Neue Rundschau*, vol. 1 (Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1911), 192-198, at 192: “Die Maske ist aber auch der große, doppelte Kampf des Lebens: der Kampf um das Erkenntwerden und der Kampf um das Verhülltbleiben.” Kollwitz, *Tagebücher*, 215-216, 302; Jansen, *Barlach Kollwitz*, 72.
- ⁴⁹ In 1975 Gerhard Marcks (1889–1981), Kollwitz’s colleague at the Klosterstraße studio community, still used the phrase “portrait mask” (“Portraitmaske”): *The Letters of Gerhard Marcks & Marguerite Wildenhain 1970–1981: A Mingling of Souls*, ed. Ruth R. Kath (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1991), 14-15, 89, fig. 9.
- ⁵⁰ Among Sintenis’ portraits is a mask of André Gide; most are complete heads. All self-portraits are illustrated in Rudolf Hagelstange, Carl Georg Heise, and Paul Appel, *Renée Sintenis* (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1947): 1915, 37; 1923, 51; 1931, 87; 1933, 95; 1944, 129, 131. See also Britta E. Buhlmann, *Renée Sintenis, Werkmonographie der Skulpturen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987), 19-26, 102-108, 131-153. Erich Ranfft, “German woman sculptors 1918–1936: Gender differences and status,” in *Visions of the ‘Neue Frau’: Women and the Visual Arts in Weimar Germany*, eds. Marsha Meskimmon and Shearer West (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), 42-61, reduces Sintenis to Alfred Flechtheim’s androgynous creature and a minor sculptor.
- ⁵¹ They appear paired in *Bildnisse aus dem 20. Jahrhundert: HUGO ERFURTH*, introduction by Will Grohmann, Exhibition Catalog (Konstanz: Städtische Wessenberg Galerie, 1947).
- ⁵² In a letter to Bonus-Jeep (after 1933), Kollwitz notes a collector’s request of a cast. Seeler, “Plastische Werke,” 342.
- ⁵³ “Lisbeth Stern über ihre Schwester Käthe Kollwitz,” in *Briefe der Freundschaft*, 139-146, at 145; similarly, family friend Katharina (Kathrina) Laessig, 174; art historian Ludwig Justi, 168-169; printmaker Sella Hasse, 151; and Hans Kollwitz, “Einführung,” in *Käthe Kollwitz, Tagebuchblätter und Briefe*, ed. Hans Kollwitz (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1949), 7-16, at 9.
- ⁵⁴ Kollwitz, *Tagebücher*, 456, 624.
- ⁵⁵ Hanns Theodor Flemming, *Ewald Mataré* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1955), 42-55; Uwe Hauptenthal, “Der Phönix als Sinnbild einer existentiellen renovatio. Zu einem bevorzugten Motiv nach 1945,” *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 23 (1993): 105-123.
- ⁵⁶ Sonja Körfer and Beate Marks, “Gespräch mit Erwin Heerich, 16. November 1998,” in *Käthe Kollwitz, Die trauernden Eltern*, 146-150, at 146.
- ⁵⁷ Ulrich Krings, “Die trauernden Eltern in Köln und Belgien – eine vergleichende Betrachtung der Standorte,” in *Käthe Kollwitz, Die trauernden Eltern*, 167-177.
- ⁵⁸ Kollwitz, *Tagebücher*, 242, 329-30, 338.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 329-330.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 622, 624, 456.
- ⁶¹ Hannelore Fischer, “‘Saatfrüchte sollen nicht vermahlen werden’: Käthe Kollwitz zum ersten Weltkrieg – eine schmerzhaft wandlung,” in *Käthe Kollwitz, Die trauernden Eltern: Ein Mahnmal für den Frieden*, ed. Hannelore Fischer, 75. Exhibition Catalog, Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln, Träger Kreissparkasse Köln (Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1999).
- ⁶² Kollwitz, *Tagebücher*, 376, 377, both texts: 839-840.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, 664.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 704.

⁶⁵ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*. Berliner Ausgabe. Vol. 10, *Poetische Werke*, eds. Regine Otto and Dieter Pilling (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1988), 520.

⁶⁶ Jutta Bohnke-Kollwitz, "Erinnerungen an meine Großmutter," in Kollwitz, *Briefe der Freundschaft*, 188; and "Aus der letzten Zeit," in Kollwitz, *Tagebuchblätter*, 190-192, at 192.

⁶⁷ Michael Hertl, *Goethe in seiner Lebendmaske* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2008), 8-49.

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