

For and Against Anthropomorphism
Sculptural “Key Figures” in Architectural Contexts, ca. 1900 to 1930

Eckhard Leuschner

During the 1929 Barcelona International Exposition, a still young professor of art history, Erwin Panofsky, completed the manuscript for his book *Hercules am Scheidewege* (Hercules at the Crossroads). In the preface, signed “Hamburg, October 1929,” he emphasized: “There are [...] art epochs—and of the ‘historical’ ones, most of them do—that descend more or less deeply into the region of the ‘secondary’ layer of the subject matter; and in view of what this brought to light, it means a historical blurring of boundaries if one disputes their content-related expressive intentions without further ado (by saying, for instance, ‘the artist did not have anything further in mind, but only wanted to depict a beautiful nude’).”¹ With such words, Panofsky indicated that he was already at this time concerned with questions regarding a reconstruction of the meaning of artworks of past epochs—questions that would motivate him somewhat later to systematically elaborate his methodological approach of iconology.²

In view of the fact that Kolbe’s “Barcelona figure” was only subsequently given the title *Der Morgen* (*Morning*),³ it is tempting for today’s interpreters to see in this sculpture—loosely based on Panofsky—in fact only the “beautiful nude,” or to speak with Kolbe himself of the search for “pure form”⁴ and the autonomy of the genre of sculpture. At best, as far as the secondary use of the work by Mies is concerned, it is explained that the latter wanted to set a human-shaped counterpoint to the angular geometry of his pavilion.⁵ This essay is in no way meant to attempt to iconographically charge Kolbe’s figure or (according to Panofsky’s ironic formulation in the same preface) to describe it as an “allegory-laden” work of art.⁶ Instead, beyond a discussion that often focuses narrowly on the Barcelona Pavilion, the aim here is to round out what Panofsky called in his *Hercules* preface the contemporary “added knowledge” of art viewing.⁷ Here, this means above all the associations that arose when confronting life-size or larger-than-life-size freestanding sculptural figures of recent production in the context of public or semipublic architecture of the first three decades of the twentieth century—in modern terms: in the midst of which discourses between architecture, sculpture, and the exhibition business the installation of Kolbe’s sculpture in the Barcelona Pavilion took place.

Surprisingly, a systematic documentation of the orchestrated interplay of life-size or larger-than-life sculpture with the surrounding architecture—that is to say, the presentation of sculptural works in ephemeral or permanent architectural spaces used for this purpose—is lacking for the German-speaking world during the period relevant here. No one will claim that the positioning of freestanding sculptural figures with calculated reference to an architecturally designed interior or exterior space is

a novelty of modernism. What is more—if we leave aside at this point full-figure portrait sculptures for use as monuments to national fathers and mothers, politicians, literary figures, etc.—it quickly becomes clear that, until well into the twentieth century, these were for the most part more or less clearly allegorizing figures whose antique garb or, more frequently, whose idealistically nude bodily forms followed long-cultivated art conventions that almost automatically suggested to those viewing them that a higher message value was conveyed in them. Not infrequently, corresponding inscriptions supported this message.

Such art conventions were already lost in the course of the nineteenth century, for example through the provocatively unclassical depiction of bodies in sculptures, which broke with the poses of canonical antique sculptures and referred more to the individual physical presence of the studio model or the subjective will to form of the sculptor than to a narrative or symbolic content. An example of this is the dancer Cléo de Mérode, ideal of beauty of the *fin de siècle*, whom the sculptor Alexandre Falguière depicted as a nude *Danseuse*, not as a mythological figure, such as the muse of the dance Terpsichore, but deliberately without association. Falguière did not even depict her in a classical (fixed) ballet position, but rather in a so-called free pose (→ fig. 1, see p. 90).⁸ Despite such examples, it may be considered questionable whether narrative, allegorical, or symbolic valences in the artistic conception of sculptural body images for a larger audience and, above all, in the reception of these images ever completely disappeared until the mid-twentieth century—especially when the site of installation and thus the architectural setting had a share in such a perceptual offer/imperative.

It is precisely this contribution of architecture—“architecture” in the sense of a systematically designed environment or ambience—to the meaning of sculpture that deserves closer examination. In this essay, the focus is particularly on those ensembles in which it becomes apparent how the architects responsible theoretically grasped the relationship between (the image of the) body and building. The most important keyword in this context is *anthropomorphism*—that is to say, the human body as a paradigm of architecture.⁹ In order to focus the present investigation, a few sites have been chosen here that either had particularly representative functions or found a particularly strong echo in the journalism of the time. Less suitable are the sculpture sections of the many academy exhibitions and Secession shows, because in them, under the primacy of a single art genre or material, works were briefly crowded together in an already existing building with possibly reusable furnishings on similar pedestals or plinths. The same is true even for the architectural framework of many presentations dedicated to individual sculptors of the time, such as the Rodin section of the International Art Exhibition in the Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf, in 1904—despite the fact that the artist furnished it himself, and photographs of its layout very much betray the intention of a stringent, overarching aesthetic of the space (→ fig. 2, see p. 90).¹⁰

Long before the twentieth century, sculptural images of the body were often positioned as architectural or freestanding sculptures in such a way that meaningful

references arise for the viewer: be it to give an indication of the function of a building or space through the figure or to evoke the common values or role models of a community. In order to answer the question of how Mies van der Rohe approached such uses of sculpture in an architectural context, this essay will take a closer look that deliberately goes beyond the realm of his own projects and seeks out teachers, contemporaries, and other possible sources of inspiration.

With few exceptions, Art Nouveau had no penchant for freestanding sculpture of large or even monumental format. This impression is also conveyed by photos of sample rooms at exhibitions of the Deutsche Werkstätten and other producers: In such Art Nouveau interiors, we find mainly wall-mounted, mostly ornamental decoration and, at most, individual human-shaped statuettes and small bronzes adorning shelves, chests of drawers, or pedestals. The stone nude figures by Ludwig Habich¹¹ that flank the richly ornamented portal in front of the façade of the Ernst Ludwig House on the Mathildenhöhe in Darmstadt, designed by Joseph Maria Olbrich for the exhibition *Ein Dokument Deutscher Kunst* (A Document of German Art) in 1901, must have seemed all the more exceptional (→ figs. 3a/b, see p. 90). They stand freely on high pedestals, but for viewers who stand in front of the building, at the foot of the flight of steps, they appear to rise above the portal, which is surmounted by an arch, up to the canopy and thus evoke, despite all the Michelangesque monumentality, the tradition of supporting or portal figures—that is to say, of architectural sculpture. It seems as if the claim to the autonomy of sculpture was to be reconciled here in a particularly striking way with the contemporary idea of an interplay of art genres under the primacy of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*. How these portal figures invited and continue to invite viewers to charge them with meaning is underlined by how they are described from case to case in the literature as “Man and Woman,” “Adam and Eve,”¹² or “Power and Beauty.”¹³

In the early years of the twentieth century, life-sized or larger-than-life sculptures were sparingly used as highlights in the staging of interiors at art exhibitions, for example in plans by the architect and designer Peter Behrens, who emerged from the Darmstadt Circle. This applies, for example, to the 1905 Oldenburg Landesausstellung (Provincial Exhibition), where Paul Peterich's *Medea* in black marble was effectively centered in the pavilion built on a square floor plan.¹⁴ At the Mannheim Kunsthalle in 1907, Behrens designed an exhibition space in which Aristide Maillol's *Méditerranée* was isolated from the rest of the works on display in a square-framed niche on the end wall by steps and a round arch stretching above it, and was emphasized accordingly (→ fig. 4, see p. 102).¹⁵

Behrens's carefully coordinated interior ensembles of architecture and sculpture were not without effect: At the *International Hygiene Exhibition* in Dresden in 1911, life-sized or larger-than-life sculpture had a quite modest share. Furthermore, the Late Classicist-Wilhelmine façade of the central exhibition building, “Der Mensch” (Humankind), adorned with a portico of columns, lacked any figural element whatsoever, and the popular and specialized scholarly showrooms housed there



Fig. / Abb. 4: Peter Behrens, exhibition space at Mannheimer Kunsthalle 1907, published in / Ausstellungsraum in der Mannheimer Kunsthalle 1907, publiziert in: *Die Kunst für Alle*, XXII, 21, August 1907, 504



Fig. / Abb. 5: Arthur Lange, Hercules in the entrance hall of the popular department at the International Hygiene Exhibition / Herkules im Empfangsraum in der populären Abteilung der Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung, Dresden, 1911

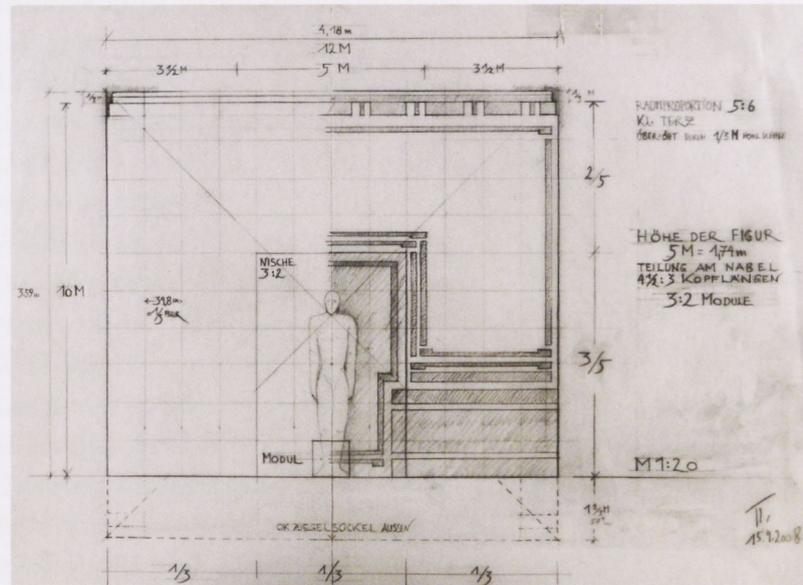


Fig. / Abb. 6: Plan by Walter Gropius for the presentation of a kourós at the foyer of the Fagus Factory Alfeld, 1911–12, reconstruction: Jan Pieper / Von Walter Gropius geplante Präsentation eines Kourós im Foyer des Fagus-Werkes Alfeld, 1911/12, Rekonstruktion: Jan Pieper

were dominated by display case objects, apparatuses, and models.¹⁶ The reception hall of the building, however, was characterized by a different approach: Here, visitors entered a consecration chamber in the manner of an ancient temple cella, lined on both long sides by large candelabra and closed at the front by a slightly recessed apse. In this highlighted antechamber—Behrens’s Mannheim production of the *Méditerranée* sent its regards—Arthur Lange’s monumental sculpture of a muscular nude man, a good three meters tall, was placed on steps and a high pedestal, stretching his two arms upward. The pedestal bore the inscription “KEIN REICHTUM GLEICHT DIR O GESUNDHEIT” (No wealth equals thee, O health; → fig. 5, see p. 102) The figure was Hercules-like in design—presumably modeled on the *Commodus as Hercules* in the Capitoline Museums¹⁷—meaning that the message of health proclaimed through it invoked the authority of antiquity, although the orant gesture corresponded to a then current pictorial topos prevalent in the *Lebensreform* movement, remembered above all for Fidus’s *Lichtgebet* (Prayer to the Light) and Ludwig Habich’s *Monument to Gottfried Schwab*.¹⁸ In the official catalog for the exhibition in Dresden, it is stated with regard to this figure: “Exulting to the mother of all, the sun, creator of all life, a powerful male figure raises his arms to the light, a symbol of the highest joy of life and the consciousness of one’s own physical strength.”¹⁹ The fact that the colossal plaster Hercules performed his emotive grasping for the sun in a closed interior does not seem to have struck anyone at the time as peculiar.

At the same time as the Dresden exhibition, Walter Gropius and Adolf Meyer were faced with an ostensibly completely different building task with the construction of the Fagus Factory in Alfeld. Comparable, however, was the planned communication of a “core message” by means of a single life-sized sculpture in a prominent position, namely in the foyer, where Gropius intended to place an “antique” Kouros (or a cast of one; → fig. 6, see p. 102).²⁰ The intention was apparently to indicate that even (or especially) the then novel architectural forms and materials of the Fagus Factory were based on human dimensions; that is to say, that building in reference or analogy to the proportions of the human body, Vitruvian anthropomorphism, was appreciated and nevertheless further developed: not by means of antique props such as columns and pilasters, but—quite in the manner of Gropius’s teacher Behrens²¹—in the spirit of antiquity. The body proportions of the “well-built man,” which Vitruvius called a correlate of the harmonious dimensional relationships of Greek temples, represented in architectural design theory since the fifteenth century a bridge from the organic forms of the human to geometric calculation.²² In architectural publications and practice since the Renaissance, the anthropomorphic supporting figures, atlases, caryatids, and terminal figures, which were already widespread in ancient architecture, can be considered illustrations of such derivations of architectural forms from human forms.²³ There can be no doubt that, when he envisaged caryatids as supports for the loggia on the lateral fish pond in his design for the Villa Kröller-Müller in 1912–13 (→ fig. p. 241), Mies van der Rohe was thus referring to precisely these architectural-historical contexts.²⁴

In the Fagus Factory, Gropius wished to demonstrate the link between sculpture and architecture, achieved through a metrologically defined body ideal, not by means of a supporting figure, but rather of a freestanding sculpture. This figure should have been placed in front of a structured wall and thus function similarly to an ancient supporting figure, namely as an indicator of basic, body-based dimensions or modules for the architecture built around it. This assessment is all the more important because, in the progressive architectural theory of the time around 1900, Vitruvius's ideal anthropomorphism was by no means no longer undisputed, but perceptual-psychological approaches prevailed, and elementary ordering patterns of architecture—substance and form, gravity and force—were defined from bodily experience, for example from the rhythm of breathing, and thus “organically.”²⁵

When Wilhelm Lehmbruck is credited with the statement that “all art is measure—measure against measure—and that a good sculpture is to be treated like a building” [a dictum that Carola Giedion-Welcker presented in 1955 alongside a photograph of the *Kniende* (Kneeling Figure) from 1911 as representative of the artist's theories²⁶], this demonstrates the proximity of his ideas about art to proportion-related approaches, be they the old Vitruvian or the new perceptual-physiological ones. It is secondary here that Lehmbruck's main sculptural works by no means aspired to the ideals of proportion of the nineteenth-century art academies.²⁷ To illustrate his proportion-based approach in the Fagus Factory, for example, Gropius did not choose a work by the classical sculptor Polykleitos, famous for his canon of standard human dimensions, but rather a work from Archaic Greece, which had to do with the changing stylistic ideals of the avant-garde of the time: Both Archaic Greek and Egyptian forms were in fashion and would remain so well into the 1930s, for example in the work of Alberto Giacometti.²⁸ The highly stylized nature of such ancient figures, however, directed artists' attention to the supra-individual geometric principles of construction that underlay these historical representations of the human form.²⁹ And perhaps a notion of Friedrich Nietzsche, who was perceived highly by Peter Behrens and his students, was added to this. In *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, Nietzsche had formulated his anthropological ideal with terms from geometry and architecture when he spoke of humans having to be built “rectangular in body and soul” before they could think of marriage and family.³⁰ Nietzsche thus interpreted the equilibrium of the human body in space—the right-angled position of the vertical axis/axes of the standing human to the horizontal axis of ground and earth—ethically and morally: as the upright posture of a generally harmoniously (self-)formed human being. The thinking in this direction is most clearly conceivable in Mies van der Rohe's teacher Peter Behrens³¹ and in his architect colleague Ludwig Hilberseimer.³² With regard to the emphatically erect Kolbe sculpture in the Barcelona Pavilion, standing straight with closed legs and only slightly pushed-through knees, this means that, in its use by Mies van der Rohe, it did not automatically have to be understood as a “product of nature”³³ that was added as an effective organic counterpoint to the pavilion's rectangular architecture. Rather, it is quite possible that this figure was

(also) intended to represent a modern (“building-analogous”) body image related to architectural theory but transcending genre.

It would be mistaken to postulate such a depth of meaning or even referentiality to common basic principles of both métiers, such as measure and proportion, for all life-sized and larger-than-life sculptures interacting visibly with an architectural context at major public exhibitions of the period are of interest here. It is true that the late Kolbe—as, for example, his *Ring der Statuen* (Ring of Statues) in Frankfurt am Main suggests—introduced analogies between the standing human body and architectural supporting elements (pillars).³⁴ But his *Grosse Badende* (Large Bather) for example, as the center of a fountain in front of the administration building designed by Gropius³⁵ at the Werkbund exhibition in Cologne in 1914, may have been welcomed by the show’s organizers as the center of a square that was to mediate between the surrounding buildings, primarily because its deliberately unclassical pose—that is to say, one that did not refer to traditional contexts of meaning—almost provocatively signaled a departure from the allegorical charge of publicly placed nudes of this size that had been indispensable until then. To overstate the case: The meaning of the *Bather* was to not mean anything anymore.

Such programmatic emptying of content by no means affected the majority of the freestanding sculptural figures in this exhibition. In addition to the sculptures *Der Schöpfer* (The Creator) and *Die Verklärung* (The Transfiguration) by Anton Hanak on the façade of the Austrian House designed by Josef Hoffmann,³⁶ special mention should be made of the standing nude woman with raised arms by Richard Luksch, allegorized as the *Elbe*, in the exhibition space of the City of Hamburg, a female nude made of white granite on a plinth designed by the artist from the same material. In the Hamburg space, the *Elbe* was presented in front of the stained-glass window painted for the Hanseatic city’s School of Arts and Crafts by Carl Otto Czeschka (→ fig. 7, see p. 95). What is striking about this presentation of the sculpture is its innovative positioning within the space, namely its refusal to be integrated into an axially laid-out architecture, or even to be inserted into a niche or apse, as was still the case in other interior rooms of the Werkbund exhibition, for example in the Ibach Hall of the Cologne House.³⁷ The “autonomy” of a contemporary sculpture demonstrated here was, however, called into question by the fact that, for the viewer, there was a thematic interplay with the text-image elements of the stained-glass window and a correspondence of motifs, for especially the standing female nudes stood out within the composition of the stained-glass window.

In the period after World War I, life-sized or larger-than-life figurative sculpture was no longer as prominent at the now preeminent exhibitions of architecture and design as it had been in the years up to 1914. However, it was still to be found, for example, at the *Exposition des arts décoratifs et industriels modernes* in Paris in 1925, on, in, and in front of Pierre Patout’s *Hôtel d’un collectionneur*, for which Emile-Jacques Ruhlman supplied the famous Art Deco interior.³⁸ The reliefs on the façade were created by Joseph Bernard, and the sculptor Alfred-Auguste Janniot

presented a group of three standing women positioned prominently in front of the center of the building's representative façade as *Hommage à la gloire de Jean Goujon*, also known as the *Allegory of Spring* (now in the Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon; → fig. 8, see p. 95).³⁹ The dedication of the sculpture to Goujon, leading master of sixteenth-century French sculpture, was not only an attempt to reconcile the national art tradition with the modernism of the time, but, because Goujon was known as the creator of the Louvre's famous caryatids (human-shaped supports),⁴⁰ it may also be interpreted as a deliberate reference to the common foundations of sculpture and architecture in body-based notions of measure. The sculptural style of Janniot, alluding to Archaic Greece and elongating the figures in their proportions, served just such a purpose. Even the similarity of the folds on the floor-length dress of the woman standing in the middle to the fluting of Greek columns was no coincidence. No such figurative sculptures were to be seen at and in Le Corbusier's *Pavillon de l'Esprit nouveau* at the same Paris exhibition; he only later came up with his anthropometric scale of proportions, the *Modulor*.

In the Werkbund exhibition in Stuttgart in 1927 there was also—in contrast to the previous show in Cologne in 1914—virtually no place for figurative sculpture; presumably because many creators of the houses and interiors presented here rejected the traditional Vitruvian anthropomorphism and understood these buildings as non-representational large-scale sculptures according to mathematical premises or straight away as “Wohnmaschine” (machine for living).⁴¹ The Lehmbruck torso in Mies van der Rohe's Glass Room in Stuttgart, which in such a setting must have seemed like a *fata morgana*, was therefore presumably more than just a decorative element, namely a placeholder for the human form in a rationalist-modernist architecture and thus—in the tradition of Gropius's plans for the kouros in the Fagus Factory—a subtle reference to anthropomorphism as a still-possible conceptual link between architecture and the visual arts. The fact that Mies exhibited only a torso—that is to say, not a whole human figure—should not obscure such connections; an artist like Lehmbruck, in shaping his human parts—unlike Rodin, for instance⁴²—by no means aimed at presenting “ruins” of the body but regarded these torsos as representatives of the whole human form (“the detail is the small measure for the large”).⁴³ The exhibition *Der schöne Mensch in der neuen Kunst* (The Beautiful Human in New Art), held in Darmstadt in the Barcelona year of 1929, also had no problem, on the one hand, substantiating the “return of the beautiful” to contemporary art that it postulated with proportion figures from the lessons of the old art academies and diagrams of “perfect” bodies of film stars, but on the other hand, showing headless and armless torsos by Alexander Archipenko, Charles Despiau, and Chana Orloff alongside complete nudes (→ fig. 9, see p. 108).⁴⁴

The Werkbund exhibition in Stuttgart in 1927 should not obscure the fact that numerous figurative sculptures laden with allegorical meaning (in the broadest sense) were represented in less “progressive” exhibition contexts of the Weimar period. The best-known example is the display of sculptures at the major exhibition

GeSoLei [*Gesundheitspflege, Soziale Fürsorge, Leibesübungen* (Health Care, Social Welfare, and Physical Exercise)] in Düsseldorf in 1926. The center of the staging was the so-called Ehrenhof (*cour d'honneur*) of the building complex designed by Wilhelm Kreis—that is to say, a building by the same architect who was to design the exhibition architecture for Kolbe in the Glaspalast in Munich in 1927. The symbiosis of the four life-sized, stylistically similar bronze female figures by Ernst Gottschalk and Bernhard Sopher, which stood prominently on pedestals on the terrace in front of the entrance to today's Kunstpalast museum,⁴⁵ with Kreis's rectangular architecture surrounding them, has long been registered (→ fig. 10, see p. 108).⁴⁶ Something similar applies to the conceptual connection of the posture of these standing nudes, which were intended to celebrate female body formation through gymnastics, with the theory of “correct” building forms by means of marking the load-bearing and weight-bearing parts as well as the observance of dimensional relationships. The play with such aspects of meaning results from the titles: Clearly allegorizing are Sopher's *Die reife Frau* (The Mature Woman) and *Die Jugend* (Youth); presumably more focused on the representation of the individual are Gottschalk's *Frauengestalt (Haare ordnend)* (Female Figure [Fixing Her Hair]) and *Frauengestalt (Hände an Brust haltend)* (Female Figure [Holding Hands to Her Breast]). In the context of the Düsseldorf exhibition *GeSoLei*, however, which in many cases was still inspired by prewar events such as the Dresden *Hygiene Exhibition*, the latter two figures also conveyed an ideal of health and life that transitioned from the image of an individual body to a type. Both because of their prominent placement (in keeping with the *Lebensreform* movement, naked in the open air!) and because of their association with the abovementioned posture doctrine, the four sculptures, which looked so very different from the chunky *Hercules* of 1911, may be called key figures of the exhibition. In many hygiene and health exhibitions of the time from 1930 onwards, the *Gläserner Mensch* (Glass Man)—ironically a revenant of the Dresden *Hercules* with his raised arms—was to assume a similar function.⁴⁷

Few other artists in the late 1920s were as concerned with a conceptual reconciliation and cooperation of the visual arts with architecture as Oskar Schlemmer. Thinking in terms of dimensions and proportions was an important approach for the artist in this endeavor. Evidence of this can be found in numerous paintings in which he “architectonized” figures—that is to say, made them resemble the proportions of building elements such as columns or pillars;⁴⁸ Schlemmer's “*Menschenlehre*” (course on the human being), which he taught at the Bauhaus from 1927 to 1929, was also characterized by an attempt to cast the knowledge of both (and numerous other) disciplines into an all-encompassing anthropology and to convey it to the students of the institute in text and image.⁴⁹ In 1929, in connection with Mies van der Rohe, the future director of the Bauhaus, Schlemmer's collaboration with the architect Adolf Rading, which began that year, is of particular interest: From 1929 to 1931, Rading built the residence and office of the general practitioner Dr. Rabe in Zwenkau near Leipzig in a consistently modernist style, and Schlemmer provided it with wall reliefs

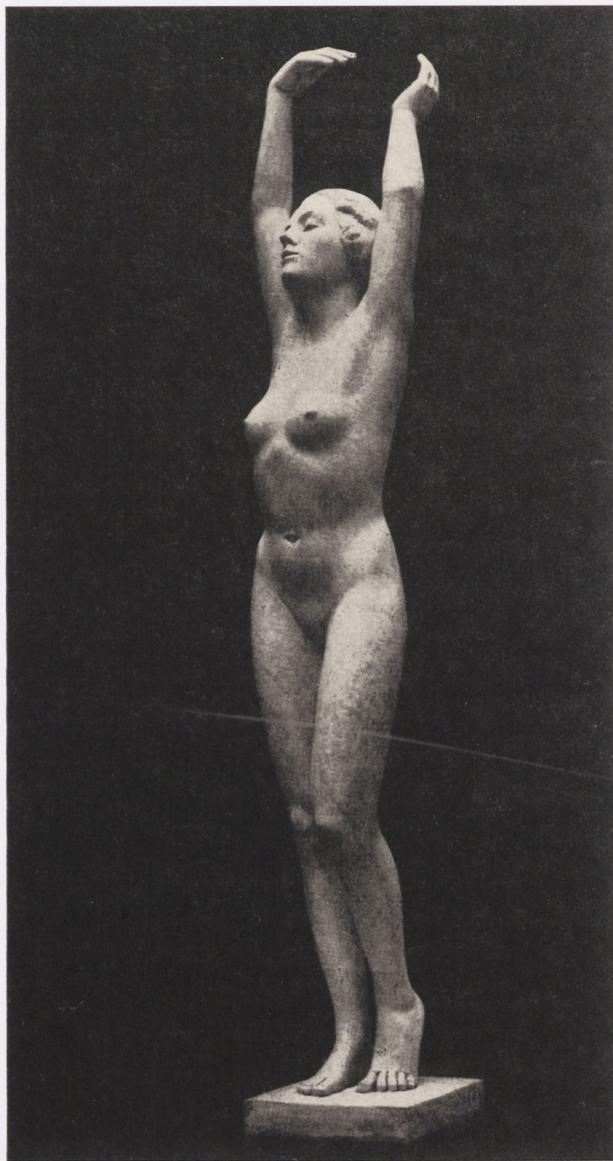


Fig. / Abb. 9: Well Habicht,
Female Nude, exhibition /
Weiblicher Akt, Ausstellung
*Der schöne Mensch in der
neuen Kunst*, Darmstadt
1929, published / publiziert
in: *Deutsche Kunst und
Dekoration*, XXXII, 1929,
285

Fig. / Abb. 10: Ernst
Gottschalk / Bernhard
Sopher, female bronze statues
in their positions conceived
for the *GeSoLei* Düsseldorf
in 1926, gelatin silver print /
Frauenfiguren aus Bronze in
ihrer für die *GeSoLei* Düssel-
dorf 1926 konzipierten Auf-
stellung, Silbergelatineabzug
Stadtmuseum Düsseldorf



and paintings.⁵⁰ The pictorial decoration of the Rabe house by Oskar and Carl Schlemmer can be seen as an indication that anthropomorphism was extremely alive in this sector of the German avant-garde: One need only mention the facial profile sculpted from metal on the wall of the reception hall, which invokes the analogization of head and cornice profile practiced in ancient and early modern architectural theory,⁵¹ and the painted caryatid stretching up two stories in the stairwell, which refers to the load-bearing function of the wall behind it (→ figs. 11, 12, see p. 97).

As already suggested at the beginning, it would be nonsensical to try to give Kolbe's female nude, which was used secondarily for the Barcelona Pavilion, an iconographic charge in the conventional sense—that is to say, to try to pin it down to a narrowly circumscribed allegorical or symbolic mediating function. Admittedly, the continuing success of this staging of the figure in its architectural setting—mediated also by the effective documentary photographs of the *Berliner Bild-Bericht*⁵²—also probably resulted from the referential function of such works, which was usually still assumed by contemporary viewers. In this case, however, the net of possible associations was so wide that, depending on the viewer's cultural background and level of education, it allowed for differentiated, at times even contradictory accumulations of added knowledge. Kolbe's female nude in the context of the Barcelona Pavilion was, of course, not a proportion figure in the actual sense of the term, nor did her body dimensions dictate any of the building's basic modules (how could they, if she was not selected until after construction had begun?), and she was certainly not attached to or inserted into a wall as an anthropomorphic supporting figure or caryatid. And yet the effectiveness of this figure included the viewer's or visitor's recollection of some of the "key figures" at exhibitions of the period, which only became incisive with their architectural context. Depending on one's point of view and understanding, Kolbe's "nude dancer" could thus serve as an "equivalent of the new attitude towards life and the light mysticism of the *Lebensreform* movement,"⁵³ as a placeholder of the human measure in the architecture of the pavilion, as an anthropomorphic equivalent of its open ground plan (in the tradition of the free pose of Falguière's *Danseuse*), or, because of the figure's emphatic verticality, as an example of bodily posture in connection with ethical rectangularity in the sense of Nietzsche. The relevant associations or discourses are by no means exhausted here. Kolbe's figure was (according to Panofsky) certainly also "the beautiful nude"—but it was capable of meaning incomparably more in its architectural context.

- 1) Erwin Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst* (Leipzig, 1930), ix.
- 2) Erwin Panofsky, "Zum Problem der Beschreibung und Inhaltsdeutung von Werken der bildenden Kunst," *Logos*, no. 21 (1932), 103–19.
- 3) See Claudia Beckmann, "Die Statue Morgen im Barcelona-Pavillon," in *Barcelona-Pavillon: Mies van der Rohe & Kolbe: Architektur & Plastik/Barcelona Pavilion: Mies van der Rohe & Kolbe: Architecture and Sculpture*, ed. Ursel Berger and Thomas Pavel (Berlin, 2006), 34–51, here 40.
- 4) Magdalena Bushart, "Das Kunstwerk und sein Ort: Georg Kolbes 'Morgen' in Berlin und Barcelona," *Mitteilungen der Carl Justi-Vereinigung e. V.*, no. 19 (2007), 30–49, here 35–36.
- 5) See, for example, Beckmann 2006 (see note 3), 47.
- 6) Panofsky 1930 (see note 1), x.
- 7) *Ibid.*, viii.
- 8) For further details, see Eckhard Leuschner, *Massfiguren: Körperrnormen und Menschenbild in Kunst- und Architekturtheorie des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Petersberg, 2020), 55–64.
- 9) For more on the term, see Frank Zöllner, "Anthropomorphismus: Das Mass des Menschen in der Architektur von Vitruv bis Le Corbusier," in *Ist der Mensch das Mass aller Dinge? Beiträge zur Aktualität des Protagoras*, ed. Otto Neumeier (Möhnesee, 2004), 307–44.
- 10) Friederike Kitschen, "Sculpteurs et sculpture entre la France et l'Allemagne: cinq instantanés," in *Oublier Rodin? La sculpture à Paris, 1905–1914*, exh. cat. Musée d'Orsay (Paris, 2009), 55–63, here 59.
- 11) Peter Weyrauch, *Der Bildhauer Ludwig Habich (1872–1949)*, Quellen und Forschungen zur hessischen Geschichte 37 (Darmstadt, 1990), cat. nos. 121 and 122. For more on the "precalculated effect" of the figures, "which were intended to intersect the contour of the huge arch encompassing the main entrances of the house," see Chr. Ferdinand Morawe, "Aus Darmstadt III," *Der Lotse: Hamburgische Wochenschrift für deutsche Kultur*, no. 1 (1901), 19–26, here 19.
- 12) See Oskar Bätschmann, *Ausstellungskünstler: Kult und Karriere im modernen Kunstsystem* (Cologne, 1997), 163.
- 13) Sarah Czirr, "Arbeitende Bilder": *Die Skulptur im deutschen Kaiserreich zwischen künstlerischer Aneignung und sozialer Wirklichkeit* (Bielefeld, 2018), 189n150.
- 14) Gisela Möller, *Peter Behrens in Düsseldorf: Die Jahre 1903 bis 1907* (Weinheim, 1991), 207, fig. 103.
- 15) *Ibid.*, 494–96, pl. 156.
- 16) In the "Antiquities" section, several plaster casts of classical sculptures were added; see Sebastian Weinert, *Der Körper im Blick: Gesundheitsausstellungen vom späten Kaiserreich bis zum Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin, 2017), 42–50.
- 17) For more on the Commodus as Hercules, see Phillis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources*, 2nd ed. (London, 2010), 178–79n129.
- 18) On various variants of the "Lichtgebet" see, for example, Nicola Lepp, Martin Roth, and Klaus Vogel, eds., *Der Neue Mensch: Obsessionen des 20. Jahrhunderts*, exh. cat. Deutsches Hygiene-Museum (Dresden, 1999), 145–48.
- 19) *Offizieller Katalog der Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung Dresden Mai bis Oktober 1911: Mit einem Plan der Ausstellung* (Berlin, 1911).
- 20) See Jan Pieper, "Gropius Vitruvianus Meyeri," *Bauwelt*, no. 10 (2009), 6–11.
- 21) For more on the "measured quality" of Behrens's architectural ideas, inspired by the ancient Greeks, see Möller 1991 (see note 14), 224.
- 22) See Leuschner 2020 (see note 8), 19–21.
- 23) The hitherto most comprehensive survey of the history and theory of anthropomorphic supports since antiquity is provided by Sabine Frommel, Eckhard Leuschner, Vincent Drognet, and Thomas Kirchner, eds., *Construire avec le corps humain: Les ordres anthropomorphes et leurs avatars dans l'art européen de l'antiquité à la fin du XVIIe siècle / Bauen mit dem menschlichen Körper: Anthropomorphe Stützen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, 2 vols. (Rome and Paris, 2018).
- 24) See Marco Pogacnik, "Säule und Statue: Ludwig Mies van der Rohe und die Bildhauerei," *Werk, Bauen + Wohnen*, no. 4 (2009), 36–43, esp. 37; and Fritz Neumeyer, "The Secret Life of Columns," in *Mies van der Rohe Barcelona 1929*, ed. Juan José Lahnerta (Barcelona, 2017), 105–23, here 109.
- 25) Gabriele Genge, "Weibliche Leibesübung im Ehrenhof der GeSoLei: Die Aktskulpturen von Arno Breker, Ernst Gottschalk, Aristide Maillol und Bernd Sopher," in *GeSoLei 1926–2002: Kunst, Sport und Körper*, ed. Hans Körner and Angela Stercken (Ostfildern-Ruit, 2002), 139–58.
- 26) Carola Giedion-Welcker, *Plastik des XX. Jahrhunderts: Volumen- und Raumgestaltung* (Stuttgart, 1955), 32.
- 27) See Jessica Keilholz Busch, "Schönheit, Spiritualität und Seele," in *Schönheit: Lehbruck & Rodin, Meister der Moderne*, ed. Söke Dinkla, exh. cat. Lehbruck Museum, Duisburg (Munich, 2019), 60–88, here 88.
- 28) See, for example, Christian Klemm and Klaus-Peter Schuster, eds., *Giacometti der Ägypter*, exh. cat. Ägyptisches Museum Berlin et al. (Munich, 2008).
- 29) See, for example, Gino Severini, *Du Cubisme au Classicisme: Esthétique du compas et du nombre* (Paris, 1921).
- 30) Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* [1883–85], ed. Bill Chapko, based on the Thomas Common translation, extensively modified by Bill Chapko (Paris, 2010), 59. For more on the career of such ideas after 1933, see Bernd Jürgen Warneken, "Rechtwinklig an Leib und Seele: Zur Haltungserziehung im deutschen Faschismus," in *Der aufrechte Gang: Zur Symbolik einer Körperhaltung*, ed. Jürgen Warneken (Tübingen, 1990), 72–77.
- 31) Möller 1991 (see note 14), 225–26.
- 32) See Fritz Neumeyer, ed., *The Artless Word: Mies van der Rohe on the Building Art*, (Cambridge, MA, 1991), 133. For more on August Shmarsov's conception of the upright posture as the ideal central axis and "meridian" of the human body, see Beatrix Zug, *Die Anthropologie des Raumes in der Architekturtheorie des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 2006), 27.
- 33) Bushart 2007 (see note 4), 42.
- 34) For more on Kolbe's *Ring der Statuen*, see, for example, Ursel Berger, "Kolbe und die Architektur," in Berger and Pavel 2006 (see note 3), 126–30, here 130; and Sintje Guericke, "Der Mensch als Mass: Georg Kolbe und die Architektur der Moderne," in *Moderne und Refugium: Georg Kolbes Sensburg als Architekturdenkmal der 1920er Jahre/Modernism and Refuge: George Kolbe's Sensburg as an Architectural Monument of the 1920s*, ed. Julia Wallner (Berlin, 2021), 78–97.
- 35) Claudia Marcy, "Musterfabrik: Walter Gropius—Georg Kolbe," in Berger and Pavel 2006 (see note 3), 138–43.
- 36) See C. F. L., "Das Österreichische Haus auf der Deutschen Werkbund-Ausstellung, Cöln 1914," *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*, no. 34 (1914), 349–90, here 360, 362.
- 37) For more on the Ibach Hall as a "regrettable low point of the exhibition," see Adolf Behne, "Die Kölner Werkbundaussstellung," *Die Gegenwart*, no. 86 (1914), 501–6.
- 38) For an introduction to the Hôtel d'un collectionneur, see Tim Benton, *Modern Taste: Art Deco in Paris 1910–1935*, exh. cat. Fundación Juan March (Madrid, 2015), 98–99.
- 39) See Michel Giraud, *Alfred Janniot 1889–1969: Propos mythologiques et modernes* (Paris, 2006), 30–35.
- 40) See Jean Guillaume, "Les caryatides de la grande salle du Louvre," in Frommel et al. 2018 (see note 23), vol. 1, 157–66.
- 41) See, for example, Ekkehard Drach, *Architektur und Geometrie: Zur Historizität formaler Ordnungssysteme* (Bielefeld, 2012), 227 and passim.
- 42) "Schöner als eine schöne Sache ist die Ruine einer schönen Sache" (More beautiful than a beautiful thing is the ruin of a beautiful thing); see the quote in Christoph Vitali, ed., *Das Fragment: Der Körper in Stücken*, exh. cat. Schirn Kunsthalle Frankfurt (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), 15n7.
- 43) "[...] das Detail ist das kleine Mass für das grosse." See Keilholz Busch 2019 (see note 27), 86.
- 44) For more on the exhibition, see Eckhard Leuschner, "Measuring

Beauty: Ideal Proportions and the Human Figure ca. 1930,” in *Images of the Body in Architecture: Anthropology and Built Space*, ed. Kirsten Wagner and Jasper Cepl (Tübingen, 2014), 76–98; and Leuschner 2020 (see note 8), 118–23.

45) Only Gottschalk’s sculptures are still in place; Sopher’s works were removed as “degenerate” in 1937.

46) See Genge 2002 (see note 25).

47) See *Der Gläserne Mensch—eine Sensation: zur Kulturgeschichte eines Ausstellungsobjekts* published on the occasion of the exhibition *Leibesvisitation: Blicke auf den Körper in fünf Jahrhunderten*, organized by the Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, in cooperation with the Deutsches Hygiene-Museum, Dresden (Stuttgart, 1990). For more on the normative “key figures” derived from the *Gläserner Mensch* in Nazi health exhibitions, as well as in the United States in the 1930s and ’40s, see Leuschner 2020 (see note 8), 135–39.

48) See Eckhard Leuschner, “Bekleidete und unbekleidete Architektur’: Die Säulenfiguren von Oskar Schlemmer im Kontext von Kunst und Bildkultur der Zwischenkriegszeit,” in Frommel et al. 2018 (see note 23), vol. 2, 279–95.

49) For more on Schlemmer’s “Menschenlehre,” see Leuschner 2020 (see note 8), 111–18.

50) Werner Durth, *Rading trifft Schlemmer: Bau Haus Kunst* (Cologne, 2014).

51) See the catalog text by Eckhard Leuschner on the cornice and facial profile in Diego Sagredo’s *Raison d’architecture antique* (Paris, 1539), in *Architektur- und Ornamentgraphik der Frühen Neuzeit: Migrationsprozesse in Europa/Gravures d’architecture et d’ornement au début de l’époque moderne: processus de migration en Europe*, ed. Sabine Frommel and Eckhard Leuschner, exh. cat. Gotha Research Library of the University of Erfurt (Rome, 2014), 16, cat. no. 3.

52) See Thomas Pavel, “Der Barcelona Pavillon als mediales Ereignis,” in Berger and Pavel 2006 (see note 3), 52–71.

53) Anselm Wagner, “Duschen mit Mies: Zu Jeff Walls Morning Cleaning,” in *Mies van der Rohe im Diskurs*, ed. Kerstin Plüm (Bielefeld, 2014), 193–220, here 213.