

The Arno Breker State Atelier
History of Its construction and Use 1938–1945
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Introduction

The atelier on Käuzchensteig in Berlin-Dahlem was built between 1938 and 1942. Designed by architect Hans Freese (1889–1953), the building was constructed for the sculptor Arno Breker (1900–1991) “to carry out artistic commissions related to the redesign of the Reich’s capital.”¹ The expansive complex, which comprises four individual studios, is one of the few artist atelier buildings constructed by the National Socialist regime. The initiative for its construction came from Albert Speer (1905–1981), who, as the General Building Inspector (GBI) for the capital of the Reich, was responsible for redesigning Berlin as the center of National Socialist power.

The Breker atelier was the first in a series of so-called “state ateliers” that the GBI planned for the zone between Kronprinzenallee and Grunewald for regime-conforming, commissioned artists. The aim was to establish a state infrastructure that could be made available to selected sculptors, monumental-scale painters, and architects. Of the buildings that were planned, only this one was realized.

Alongside Albert Speer, Leni Riefenstahl, and Josef Thorak, Arno Breker exemplified the National Socialist state artist. Both Breker’s development as a sculptor and his rise within the artist hierarchy of the Third Reich to Vice President of the Reich Chamber of Fine Arts (*Reichskammer der bildenden Künste*) in 1941 were closely tied to the political leaders of National Socialism. His contact with Joseph Goebbels, Reich Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda; patronage of Adolf Hitler; and collaboration with Albert Speer were decisive for his career.²

Through Speer, Breker received the most and the highest-endowed commissions for the sculptural decoration of emblematic National Socialist buildings in Berlin as well as the Nazi Party Rally Grounds (*Reichsparteitagsgelände*) in Nuremberg. In 1941, a specialized manufacturing facility was built for executing Breker’s designs: Arno Breker’s Stone Sculpture Workshops (*Steinbildhauerwerkstätten Arno Breker GmbH*) in Wriezen in Brandenburg.

Arno Breker

Arno Breker, the eldest son of a stonemason, was born on July 19, 1900, in Elberfeld. In 1916 he joined his father's workshop and attended drawing classes at the local arts and crafts school. He was considered an artistic talent; from 1920 to 1925, he studied at the Art Academy in Düsseldorf with the sculptor Hubert Netzer and architect Fritz Becker. In 1925, Wilhelm Kreis awarded Breker his first public commission: the figurative sculpture *Aurora*, for the Kreis-designed museum building in the Ehrenhof in Düsseldorf. In 1927, like many other artists of this generation, he went to Paris and there dedicated himself to a better understanding of works by Auguste Rodin and Aristide Maillol. The renowned gallery owner Alfred Flechtheim signed him and procured him portrait commissions as well as his first sales to German museums. In 1930, for example, Flechtheim was successful in getting Breker's bust of sculptor Moisseï Kogan (1927) into the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts Nuremberg. That same year, the Saarbrücken Museum acquired the work *Torso* (1928).³

In 1932, Breker won the Rome Prize of the Prussian Academy of Arts; this included a study stay at the Villa Massimo in Rome, where he met Joseph Goebbels. After the National Socialists seized power, he returned to Germany. In December 1933, Breker and his partner, Demetra Piet (née Messalâ) settled in Berlin. There he first worked as a portraitist on commissions for colleagues and industrialists but soon established himself in cultural and political circles. In 1934 he was involved in preparations for the *Great Berlin Art Exhibition (Große Berliner Kunstausstellung)*; in 1935, he was a committee member for the exhibition *Berlin Art (Berliner Kunst)* in Munich; in 1937, he was the German judge for the international art exhibition at the World's Fair in Paris and was on the jury for the first *Great German Art Exhibition (Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung)* in Munich. In 1938, as exhibition commissar, Breker presented *German Sculptors of the Present (Deutsche Bildhauer der Gegenwart)* in Krakow and Warsaw.⁴

The years 1935 and 1936 marked a first artistic turning point. Breker, who had exemplified a decorative figuration in the 1920s, now developed a strong naturalism based on muscular, powerfully crafted bodies. His sculptures, which were suggestive of classical allegories of power, formally referred to Greek and Roman antiquity with clearly accentuated designs based on the human body; this approach was synonymous with contemporary notions of high art. With their added attributes, gestures, and facial

expressions, his sculptures also represented National Socialist ideologies of race and combat. An example of this development is the large-scale sculpture *Prometheus* (1935–36), purchased by Joseph Goebbels for the garden of the Reich's Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. In 1936, Breker won the artistic competition for decorating the Berlin Olympic grounds (*Reichssportfeld*) with two sculptures: *Zehnkämpfer* (1936) and *Siegerin* (1936). These works, which were created for the *Haus des Sports* athletics facility, brought the sculptor to the attention of Adolf Hitler. With Hitler's patronage, which began immediately, Arno Breker was guaranteed a fast-paced career. In April 1937, Hitler awarded the sculptor the title of Professor; at year's end he was appointed Professor of Sculpture at the Unified State Schools of Fine and Applied Art in Berlin (*Vereinigten Staatsschulen für freie und angewandte Kunst*).⁵ Hitler's admiration also led to Breker's first collaborations with the architect Albert Speer. For the New Reich Chancellery (1937–1939) to be built by Speer, Breker designed the sculptural decoration, including the sopraporta reliefs *Genius* (1938) and *Kämpfer* (1938) in the round hall, and the bronze sculptures *Partei* (1938) and *Wehrmacht* (1938) in the main courtyard.

By 1938, Speer had also commissioned other large-scale works by Breker for other emblematic National Socialist buildings. Through March 1945, Breker received production fees amounting to more than 27 million Reichsmarks.⁶ His designs for the plazas and buildings of the future Reich capital *Germania* and the Nuremberg Nazi Party Rally Grounds were also regularly displayed at the annual *Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (*Great German Art Exhibitions*) at the Haus der Deutschen Kunst in Munich.

In 1940, Breker's work received more attention than ever, with orchestrated media coverage that celebrated his work as "German Renaissance sculpture" (*Völkischer Beobachter*, July 18, 1940) and "eternal German art" (*Völkischer Beobachter*, July 19, 1940). At the Biennale in Venice, he was awarded the Mussolini Prize. For his fortieth birthday, Goebbels appointed him to the position of Reich Cultural Senator. In addition, Hitler gave his protégé the Golden Party Badge of the NSDAP and presented him with Schloss Jäckelsbruch, a country estate in Oderbruch, which was rebuilt for the artist at state expense and expanded to include a studio building. Titles, honors, gifts, government commissions, and rising fees substantiated Breker's reputation as a National Socialist state artist and benefitted his integration into the political circles of power.

Breker's status is also evident in the fact that he was the only German artist to be granted a solo show in Nazi-occupied countries after the outbreak of the Second World War. On May 15, 1942, his exhibition opened at the Musée de l'Orangerie in Paris in the presence of National Socialist heavyweights and French intellectuals. Dominating the exhibits were large-scale sculptures commissioned by the National Socialist regime. Unlike his exhibitions on Reich territory, in Paris Breker also presented bronze figures produced by the Parisian Rudier foundry (restrictions on metal in Germany that had been established in 1940 could be circumvented in Occupied France. The aim of the organizers—the *Propagandastaffel* (Propaganda Authority) in Paris, the German Embassy, and the sculptor himself—was to use the exhibition to promote the occupiers in a positive light and, in particular, to win over French artists and intellectuals to German art and culture.⁷ For the catalog essay, however, French sculptor Charles Despiau was supplied a script that rejected all criticism of the commissioned art, in accordance with official cultural propaganda. Commissioned artists were not “slave[s] of power,”⁸ Despiau wrote; rather, official commissions gave artistic freedoms to “true” talents.

In the summer of 1942, Breker again emerged as a beneficiary of the occupation when at his request, the German Embassy “aryanized” the apartment of American cosmetics manufacturer Helena Rubinstein (a Jew). Henceforth he lived at this apartment, located on the Île Saint- Louis, during his stays in Paris.⁹

After the end of World War II, Breker was able to continue his artistic career almost without interruption. Classified as a “follower” in October 1948 by the denazification court in Donauwörth, he successfully began anew in the Federal Republic. His relationship to the *Anholter-Kreis*, the circle of former Speer staff members, as well as his contacts among Rhineland industrialists, paved the way for new commissions as a sculptor and architect. On February 13, 1991, Breker died in Düsseldorf.

The State Atelier of Arno Breker in Berlin-Dahlem

From 1938 onward, Arno Breker maintained a close professional relationship with Albert Speer.¹⁰ In addition to the immediate work context, the similar ages of the architect and the sculptor brought them together. Both belonged to the generation born between 1900 and 1910, which historian Michael Wildt characterized as the “Uncompromising Generation” in his eponymous book.¹¹ Wildt describes this specific

age group as containing many who elected to “uncompromisingly” serve the cause of National Socialism.

As part of the National Socialist cultural machine, Breker was involved with plans for numerous buildings and locations along the proposed north-south axis of Berlin. He designed the fountain on *Runden Platz* (Circular Plaza), reliefs for the *Soldatenhalle* (Soldiers’ Hall), the sculptural decoration for the *Großen Platz* (Grand Plaza), and the *Triumphbogen* (Arch of Triumph), as well as standing figures and a relief frieze for the facade of the *Führerpalast* (Führer’s Palace). He created the monumental figure *Bereitschaft* (*Readiness*; 1939) for *Mussolini-Platz* (Mussolini Plaza) that was situated along the new east-west axis.

In the summer of 1938, Breker requested support from the Reich Chamber of Fine Arts in carrying out commissions awarded to him by the GBI. Immediately thereafter, plans were initiated for the State Atelier on Käuzchensteig. For Arno Breker and architect Wilhelm Kreis, “a State Atelier should be constructed for each artist for executing the major commissions assigned to them for the redesign of the Reich’s capital.”¹² According to construction documents, the City of Berlin made the site available “at the request of the Führer.” Instructed by the GBI and Albert Speer, the main building administration of the City of Berlin was responsible for the building’s realization.¹³

From September 1938 onward, Hans Freese oversaw this project. With this contract, Freese, professor of building construction design at the Technical University in Dresden, became the GBI’s contract architect. Upon Speer’s recommendation, on April 1, 1941, Freese was appointed Department Head for Construction Design at the Technical University in Berlin-Charlottenburg, where he taught until his death in 1953. In addition to his position at the Berlin University, Freese was involved in the urban planning of Heidelberg pursuant to the law for the “redesigning of German cities” (October 4, 1937); as part of the “Lagerbauaktion 1942” (1942 Camp Construction Action), he designed the foreign labor camp 75-76 (GBI-Lager 75/76) in Berlin-Niederschöneweide.¹⁴

Freese’s membership in the *Arbeitsstab für den Wiederaufbau bombenzerstörter Städte* (Task Force for the Reconstruction of Bomb-Destroyed Cities led by Dr. Wolters) informed his activities after 1945; he was involved in the reconstruction plans of many cities in both West and East Germany. The Federal Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany in Bonn (1951–1953) was the final building he

realized.¹⁵ Still preserved today are Freese's war-era designs for a *Verwaltungsgebäude am Knie* in Berlin's Charlottenburg district (1940-1944), the *Oberkommando der Kriegsmarine* (High Command of the Navy) on the Reichpietschufer (1940-1944), and the *Verwaltungsbau an der Nord-Süd-Achse* (Administrative Building on the North-South Axis) in 1942.

Freese's designs for the atelier building coincided with the GBI's ideas about constructing a number of state ateliers in the district between Kronprinzenallee and Grunewald for artists commissioned with "creating works of art for the redesign of the Reich's capital."¹⁶ In addition to the buildings for Arno Breker and Wilhelm Kreis, Freese designed another atelier for the monumental painter Hermann Kaspar. In addition, he created two atelier building types that would be first completed on Fohlenweg after the war's end.¹⁷

Since the start of planning in 1938, a larger complex consisting of a studio building and a prominent villa had been envisioned for Arno Breker on Käuzchensteig.¹⁸ In June 1940, shortly before Breker's fortieth birthday, the decision was made to build a third space: a second studio building for the sculptor. This was supposed to connect to the first studio and mirror its proportions symmetrically, so that a main courtyard would complete both buildings on Käuzchensteig.¹⁹ Because the residential dwelling and the second studio were not realized, due to the war, the atelier building that remains today documents only a rudimentary phase of the original project.

Freese's plans for the Breker State Atelier were realized between May 1939 and February 1942.²⁰ Architecturally, Freese based his design on the atelier Albert Speer had created for the sculptor Josef Thorak (1935–1936) in Baldham near Munich.²¹ He conceived the atelier building on Käuzchensteig as an elongated, masonry construction composed of three sections. Two lower cubic forms are attached onto both sides of a tall central building featuring a hipped roof. A cornice and fascia wrap around all three components, binding them visually. The main entrance of the central axis accentuates the symmetry of the complex. In the east wing, a passage separates the studio complex from a caretaker's apartment.²² The building's functional classicism and the use of heavily accented door and window openings made of ashlar²³ which provide the façade its structure are reminiscent of Albert Speer's constructional traits.

The use of yellow Rüdersdorf brick in the design met with resistance from the building planning department. In the GBI's overall urban planning vision, the area

west of Kronprinzenallee was envisioned as a resettlement area for those whose homes were to fall victim to the wholesale demolitions required for the redesign of Berlin. In line with Grunewald's location at the edge of the city, a "forest settlement" was planned with traditionalist, landscape-oriented houses in so-called "homeland protection style."²⁴ As early as 1938, Speer had spoken out decisively against an atelier building in this style, calling instead for a group of close-knit buildings with "typical metropolitan character."²⁵ With "regard to the studio building's special purpose"²⁶ the GBI overrode the objections of the building planning department.

Whereas the "simple" exposed brick facade and the iron lattice windows are reminiscent of industrial buildings, the spaces behind the facade are of a different character: size, proportions, sequence, and studio furnishings qualify the building as a status symbol for both the builder as well as the artist.²⁷

Here, the furnishings fulfilled the functional requirements of a modern sculpture studio. In the elevated central section, the rooms were arranged into a sequence of main, stone, and private studio spaces. Mullioned windows allowed all three of the two-story ateliers to be opened up to the north for almost their entire width and height. A foundry plaster with a glue kitchen was located in the west wing. The main and stone studios each had use of a crane, and the stone studio also featured a recessed walkway and a pivoting floor. All work areas had xylolite flooring and glazed walls. The main hall, the stone studio, and the private studio were equipped with dust covers, and lighting mounted between two glass ceilings made it possible to work at night. An additional headlight system allowed rooms and sculptures to be lighted effectively for exhibitions as well as photo and film shoots. Studios furnished with polished marble pedestals, marble windowsills, glazed oak doors, and profile moldings below the dust ceilings pointed to the rooms' emblematic purpose.²⁸

How Arno Breker actually used the studio on Käuzchensteig remains unclear. Records indicate that in the fall of 1942, Breker found a replacement for the unrealized residential building in the form of a requisitioned villa nearby at Kronprinzenallee 54-56.²⁹ In addition, plaster and marble sculptures and raw stone blocks stored there after 1945 suggest that the ateliers were used in a limited fashion.³⁰ It is unlikely that the workshop was ever in regular operation because the studios that were completed in early 1942 were rendered unusable by air raids in 1943.³¹

We can reconstruct that the studio was used for emblematic purposes that served the Nazi regime's cultural propaganda efforts in Germany and abroad. In November 1941, Breker received a group of French artists in the still-unfinished rooms on Käuzchensteig. Twelve people took part in this so-called "autumn trip," including the painters André Derain, Maurice de Vlaminck, Othon Friesz and Cornelis van Dongen; the sculptors Charles Despiau, Henri Bouchard and Paul Belmondo; and the director of the École des Beaux-Arts Paris, Paul Landowski. The studio visit marked the end of a two-week trip through Germany co-organized by Breker. In planning the trip, whose official purposes were purely artistic, Breker recruited French artists with whom he already had longstanding connections. Stops included Munich, Vienna, Nuremberg, Dresden, Berlin, and Dusseldorf.³² The visit to the Breker Studio was flanked by a reception with Goebbels and a visit to the New Reich Chancellery. An invitation to Schloss Jäckelsbruch ended the stay in Berlin.

The propaganda worked: after their return to France, a majority of the tour group claimed to have been impressed.³³ The sculptor Charles Despiau, however, remained ambivalent: "In Berlin, in Munich, in Nuremberg, my brothers and I saw visions of a new art as if through a kaleidoscope. And this art, grandiose, beyond human scale, was perhaps more unsettling to me than enchanting if I wouldn't have known that I would have again found Arno Breker at the peak of its champions. At his studio in Grunewald and his residence in Jäckelsbruch, a reception that couldn't have been any warmer brought us back twenty years to the good times of the Montparnasse... ."³⁴

In spring 1942, the state atelier served as a setting for effectively presenting Breker's sculptures in a segment for the *Deutschen Wochenschau* (*The German Newsreel*).³⁵ Images of work in progress on the carefully detailed plaster models as well as a press conference with "foreign journalists" were intended to show the progress of artistic endeavors in the third year of the war. The *Besuch im Staatsatelier* (*Visit to the State Atelier*) preceded reports on the successes of the armed forces, thus grouping artworks and artists with general war propaganda. The cinematic montage of the targeted instrumentalization of art also included in this film was meant to supply a brief distraction from the real dictatorship and real war.³⁶

A State Enterprise: the *Steinbildhauerwerkstätten Arno Breker GmbH* in Wriezen

From 1940 to 1943, Arno Breker transferred his main place of work to Oderbruch. Here, on his Schloss Jäckelsbruch property, before the State Atelier in Berlin-Dahlem was completed, he presided over a private studio designed by Friedrich Tamms. At the same time, with creation of the *Steinbildhauerwerkstätten Arno Breker GmbH*, an exclusive production facility was located nearby.

In mid-1941, again at Speer's instigation, the stone sculpture workshops were constructed in Wriezen on the Oder. The only order of business was the "execution of sculptural works, particularly those of Professor Arno Breker, for the purpose of the redesign of the Reich capital Berlin as ordered by the Führer as well as the buildings on the Nazi Party Rally Grounds in Nuremberg."³⁷ The workshops began operations in June 1942. Here, sculptors, masons, and plaster casters transferred Breker's designs into their final, monumental forms. At the end of the year, the state operation employed four German and three Italian sculptors, two plaster casters from France, three enlargers, and ten French prisoners of war. In the course of the following year the number of employees increased to forty-six. Among them were former master students from Breker's sculpture class at the Unified State Schools such as Bernhard Heiliger. In 1943–44, the management requested additional prisoners of war; Polish and Ukrainian slave laborers were used as well.³⁸

Marta Mierendorff, a former typist in Wriezen and later an art sociologist, described the conditions in the stone sculpture workshops: "In early 1944, gigantic plaster figures of heroes and women were scattered over the area at great distances. Barges brought stones and plaster. In the apprentice workshops, Hitler heads and imperial eagles were churned out almost non-stop."³⁹ This text, which was written after the war, also sheds light on the fate of the stone sculpture workshops, Breker's escape, the removal of the forced laborers, the employees who were left to themselves, and the hasty evacuation of the production buildings.

On April 19, 1945, when the Red Army overran Schloss Jäckelsbruch and the stone sculpture workshops, Arno Breker and his wife were safely at Lake Starnberg. Kurt Reutti (1900–1967), an employee of the Berlin Senate Department of the "Repatriation of Art Objects," later reported on the abandoned works: "The Russians had set fire to everything that was combustible. In front of the studio were six larger than life-scale bronzes, cast by the Rudier foundry in Paris. Also here was the 5 x 3.5

meter bronze relief *Kameraden* (Comrades) and an almost equally large, smashed marble relief *Daphne und Apollo* (Daphne and Apollo). [...] Alongside this on the ground were two Breker figures from the Reich Chancellery.”⁴⁰ Through 1947, Reutti was able to retrieve additional Breker sculptures from Schloss Jäckelsbruch and neighboring locations, and to secure the stone-storage facility and its blocks of Norwegian labradorite, Corinthian marble, and Fichtel Mountains porphyry.⁴¹

The building of the State Studio on Käuzchensteig survived the battles for Berlin largely unscathed. After the American occupation authorities released the building in 1948, it was placed under the control of Berlin municipal authorities. Once again, Reutti secured the traces of the former owner: marble blocks, and figures in plaster, bronze, and stone. In 1948, it was also Reutti who confronted Arno Breker directly with his role as a National Socialist state artist: “An artist is judged by his work, whose character must also be justified in the end. Your culpability lies in your work. Despite your artistic talents and your significant technical skills you failed to develop into a mature artist, since the lack of inner content was replaced by a play-acted aptitude for assimilation [...] If, in principle, I am fundamentally against the destruction of any artwork once it has been created, then it is almost with enthusiasm that I advocate retaining the sculptures you created during the Hitler era since your sculptures thoroughly embody this disguising of Hitler’s brutality as sweet sentimentality. With a great man the smallest things are great, with a small man even what’s large is small: your works are as overblown as the Third [sic] Reich itself. I have not even consigned your Hitler bust portrait to destruction. Because later on it will be of interest to find such an original, just as we now objectively observe a Nero bust. Unfortunately, the best is not what lasts the longest—and meanwhile your bronzes survive, whereas what’s great died a thousand times.”⁴²

1 Berlin, Bundesarchiv, R 4606/4433, Bl. 9/r/v, agreement between Prof. Dr. Karl Maria Hettlage, GBI, and Arno Breker, Berlin, June 24, 1942.

2 On Arno Breker see the comprehensive biography by Jürgen Trimborn. Jürgen Trimborn, *Arno Breker. Der Künstler und die Macht. Die Biographie* (Berlin: Publisher, 2011). Similarly, the studies by Magdalena Bushart and Jonathan Petropoulos. Magdalena Bushart, “Arno Breker (b. 1900) – Kunstproduzent im Dienst der Macht,” *Skulptur und Macht. Figurative Plastik im Deutschland der 30er und 40er Jahre*, exh. cat. Academy of Arts, Berlin (West), Städtische Kunsthalle Dusseldorf (Berlin: Publisher, 1983), pp. 179-182; Jonathan Petropoulos, *The Faustian Bargain. The Art World in Nazi Germany* (New York, 2000).

- 3 List of verified museum sales through Galerie Alfred Flechtheim, in *Alfred Flechtheim. Sammler, Kunsthändler, Verleger*, eds. Hans Albert Peters and Stephan von Wiese, see also exh. cat. Kunstmuseum Dusseldorf, Westphalian State Museum for Art and Cultural History (Münster: Publisher, 1987), p. 133.
- 4 Josephine Gabler, “Deutsche Bildhauer der Gegenwart – Eine Ausstellung 1938 in Warschau und Krakau und ihre Vorgeschichte,” in *Überbrückt. Ästhetische Moderne und Nationalsozialismus. Kunsthistoriker und Künstler 1925–1937*, eds. Eugen Blume, Dieter Scholz (Cologne: Publisher, 1999), pp. 247-254.
- 5 Berlin Academy of the Arts, historical archive, PrAdK, I/156, Bl 9r/v, Max Kutschmann letter to Bernhard Rust, Reich and Prussian Minister for Science, Education, and Culture; Berlin, October 14, 1937.
- 6 Berlin, Bundesarchiv, R 4606/4738, n.p., accounting of Professor Breker compensation on March 1945, Buchhof at Percha/Upper Bavaria, March 21, 1945, 14 pp.
- 7 Trimborn 2011 (see note 2), p. 293.
- 8 Despiou, in: *Arno Breker* (Paris: Publisher, 1942), p. 69.
- 9 Trimborn 2011 (see note 2), p. 326.
- 10 On Albert Speer as client, see Nikola Doll, “Staatskunst und Künstlerförderung im Nationalsozialismus” in *1938. Kunst, Künstler, Politik*, eds. Eva Atlan, Raphael Gross and Julia Voss; exh. cat. Jewish Museum, Frankfurt am Main (Göttingen, 2013), pp. 209-226.
- 11 Michael Wildt, *An Uncompromising Generation: The Nazi Leadership of the Reich Security Main Office* (Chicago, 2010).
- 12 Berlin, Federal Archives R 4606/2816, p. 50, Albert Speer to Paul Körner, Staatssekretär, Preußisches Staatsministerium, July 13, 1939.
- 13 Berlin, Steglitz-Zehlendorf district office, construction document Käuzchensteig. Elsewhere there is an indication that the sites were owned by the Prussian state. Berlin, Bundesarchiv R 4606/2816, p. 50, Albert Speer to Paul Körner, Staatssekretär, Preußisches Staatsministerium, July 13, 1939.
- 14 See list of monuments Berlin, property code 09045213, former foreign labor camp Britz Straße 5/Köllnische Straße 1-17. (<http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/denkmal/denkmalliste/>; accessed on December 1, 2013). Today, the Nazi Forced Labor Documentation Center is located in the building.
- 15 On Hans Freese, see Technische Universität, Architekturmuseum, partial estate Hans Freese; Berlin, Technische Universität, university archives (TH-index, TU-index); *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 52 (1932), p. 353; *Bauwelt* 40 (4), 1949, p. 426; *Bauwelt* 44 (1), 1953, p. 75; and *Bauplanung und Bautechnik* 7, issue 4, 1953, p. 187.
- 16 Berlin, Bundesarchiv, R 43 II / 416, B. 77R, Albert Speer letter to Martin Bormann, Reich Minister and Head of the Reich Chancellery, Berlin, April 8, 1942.
- 17 Berlin, Bundesarchiv, R 4606/2820, n.p., Hans Freese letter to Hans Stephan, GBI, Dresden, January 9, 1941 Berlin, Bundesarchiv, R 4606/2820, n.p., letter [Karl] Oberg, GBI, Hans Freese, Berlin, March 10, 1941. See also the collections: Berlin, Landesarchiv, A Pr Br Rep. 107/349 / 1; and Berlin, Landesarchiv, A Pr Br Rep. 107/349/2.
- 18 Frank Schmitz, “Landhäuser in Berlin 1933–1945,” as a rule in *Die Bauwerke und Kunstdenkmäler von Berlin*, ed. Landesdenkmalamt Berlin, suppl 31, Berlin 2007, especially pp. 136-142, 337.
- 19 Berlin, Bundesarchiv, R 4606/2816, Hans Freese, general construction plan Prof. Breker State Atelier I and II, scale :1000, in Berlin-Zehlendorf, July 3, 1940.
- 20 Berlin, Bundesarchiv, R 4606/ 4574, pp. 7-10 [Willi] Jaeckel, GBI, to the main building department, Berlin, March 7, 1942, construction history of the new Prof. Breker State Atelier in Berlin-Zehlendorf, Käuzchensteig.
- 21 See Rudolf Wolter’s invitation to Hans Freese to visit the Thorak atelier in Baldham, and Speer’s handwritten corrections of Freese’s designs. Berlin, Bundesarchiv, R 4606/2816, p.89; Dr. Rudolf Wolters, GBI, memorandum, Berlin July 4, 1938; and Berlin, Bundesarchiv, R 4606/2820, n.p., variant A, variant B [floor plan crossed out by Albert Speer].
- 22 In the winter of 1943-44, “improvised accommodations were set up in the offices” of the Breker Atelier for Albert Speer. Berlin, Bundesarchiv, R 4606/4433, pp. 2, Dr. Carlo Jelkmann to the Hauptamt Verwaltung und Wirtschaft, Director Hille, Berlin January 12, 1944.
- 23 Limestone was originally supposed to be used for door and window frames, but sandstone was actually used. Berlin, Bundesarchiv, R 4606/4574, pp. 40.
- 24 Berlin, Steglitz-Zehlendorf district office, construction document Käuzchensteig 8-10, building letter to the mayor of the Reich capital, architectural administration, April 1939.
- 25 Berlin, Bundesarchiv, R 4606/2816, p. 89, Dr. Rudolf Wolters, GBI, memorandum, Berlin July 4, 1938.
- 26 Berlin, Steglitz-Zehlendorf district office, construction document Käuzchensteig 8-10, memorandum.
- 27 In the preserved documents located in the Bundesarchiv, Landesarchiv Berlin, and in the Steglitz-Zehlendorf district office there is information on companies hired for the construction of the building. However, the documents do not indicate the obligatory use of forced labor for this purpose. Nor is there information about the origin or manufacture of the brick used, for example by the “brickworks” at the concentration camp in Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg. A list of contracted companies is located at: Berlin, Bundesarchiv, R 4606/4433, p. 14, billing, prop. Prof. Breker State Atelier, Bln-Dahlem, Käuzchensteig 12, reference number: chap. XVI 3 titl. XI post 1, fiscal year 1942. See Berlin, Bundesarchiv, R 4606/4574 , pp. 28r/v-31r/v, Prof. Breker State Atelier, Berlin-Dahlem, Käuzchensteig no. 12, Schrader, construction manager, Berlin, May 19 1943, operational accounting of construction invoices 430. Here, a reference is found to higher costs for the “provision of people (Czech and others)” as a result of the outbreak of war “for the loading and unloading of bricks in the brick, port, warehouse, Spandau and construction site.” See also Hermann Kaienburg: *Die Wirtschaft der SS* (Berlin, 2000);

and idem, *Der Militär- und Wirtschaftskomplex der SS im KZ-Standort Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg. Schnittpunkt von KZ-System, Waffen-SS und Judenmord*, publication series of the Brandenburg Memorials Foundation, vol. 16 (Berlin, 2006).

28 Berlin, Bundesarchiv, R 4606/4574, pp. 49-52, unmarked, undated, construction and material description Professor Breker Atelier for Section A of the cost estimate; Berlin, Bundesarchiv, R 4606/4574, pp. 7-10, [Willi] Jaeckel, GBI, to the main building department, Berlin, March 7, 1942, construction history of the new Prof. Breker State Atelier in Berlin-Zehlendorf, Käuzchensteig. By February 1944, the GBI had authorized and allocated a budget of RM 1,540,000 for "Request 47: State Atelier Breker." Berlin, Bundesarchiv, R 4606/4432, pp. 2, GBI, Finance Department II 1 D 20/47, Berlin, March 4, 1944.

29 The owner, the British citizen Mary Stewart-Cahen, had left Berlin before the war broke out in 1939 along with her Jewish husband, the German Richard Cahen. Although the property was not "aryanisable" according to the prevailing legal practice, Breker succeeded in bringing the fully furnished house into his possession. Berlin, Landesarchiv, A Pr Br Rep. 107/349/2, Bl 24 r / v, memorandum, Willi Clahes, GBI, implementing agency, Berlin, October 25, 1939. Detailed: Trimborn 2011 (see note 2), pp. 270-272.

30 Letter Kurt Reutti, Repatriation Department, HWiss III / 4, Dr. Behrsing, Office of Museums and Collections, Berlin, June 26, 1948 in Berlin, Landesarchiv, B Rep. 014, No. 1629; Center for Documentation and Conservation of Artworks, "Report on the salvage operation, former Breker State Atelier, Dahlem, explored by Kurt Reutti and Kläber." Berlin, February 23, 1948, including unmarked "list of materials to be picked up from the Breker Atelier, Berlin-Grunewald, Käuzchensteig," in: Berlin, Landesarchiv, Rep. 014 B, No. 1629.

31 Berlin, Bundesarchiv, R 4606/4132, memorandum, March 8, 1943.

32 Berlin, Political Archive of the Foreign Office, Paris 1379, list of participants and itinerary.

33 Berlin Political Archive of the Foreign Office, Paris 1379, Maurice de Vlaminck, "Impressions d'un voyage artistique en Allemagne," *Pariser Zeitung*, November 18, 1941. See Laurence Bertrand Dorléac: *L'art de la défaite 1940-1944* (Paris, 1993), pp. 74-83.

34 Despiau, cited in: Trimborn 2011 (see note 2), p. 297. See also Dorléac 1993 (see note 35), p.81.

35 *Deutsche Wochenschau*, No. 610, Germany, May 23, 1942.

36 Hans-Ernst Centered, "NS-Kunst in milderem Licht? Apologien heute," in *kritische berichte. Zeitschrift für Kunst-und Kulturwissenschaften*, volume 17 number 1 (2001), pp. 5-22. In 1944, Hans Cürliis and Arnold Fanck shot the documentary *Arno Breker – Harte Zeit, starke Kunst*, Germany 1944, directors: Hans Cürliis and Arnold Fanck, production: Riefenstahl Film GmbH, Berlin.

37 Berlin, Bundesarchiv, R 4606/2735, page 2, contract of association, Steinbildhauerwerkstätten Arno Breker GmbH, Berlin, August 23, 1941.

38 Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, rep. 92, estate Kurt Reutti, p. 191; cited from Trimborn, 2011, p 278.

39 Munich, Institut für Zeitgeschichte, witness writings, ZS 2410 report by Marta Mierendorff, "*Der Untergang der Steinbildhauerwerkstätten Arno Breker GmbH in Wriezen/Oder*," Berlin, Landesarchiv, E Rep. 200-51, no. 21, estate of Marta Mierendorff.

40 Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, rep. 92, p. 191, estate of Kurt Reutti, report: "*Arno Breker. Der Michelangelo des Dritten Reichs*".

41 Potsdam, Brandenburg Main State Archive, rep. 205 A, no. 909, pp. 10-12, report on the investigative trip to Wriezen and locations of Jäckelsbruch, Altmädewitz, and Itritz in Oderbruch to see Breker's works of art. July 3-5, 1947; Potsdam, Brandenburg Main State Archive, rep. 271, no. 54, VVB-Baustoffe Land Brandenburg letter Steinbearbeitung Oranienburg to VVB Steinlager Fürstenberg/ Oder, November 12, 1949.

42 Berlin, Landesarchiv, 014B rep. no. 1207, n.p. Kurt Reutti letter to Arno Breker, Berlin, August 14, 1948.