



**Myths, Curious Incidents and Obstacles—
Becoming an Artist in Portugal.
The Early Career of German Sculptor Hein Semke**

by

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Abstract

Hein Semke (1899-1995), born and raised in Hamburg, travelled to Portugal for the first time in 1929. Inspired by his stay, he decided to study arts and enrolled in the *Kunstgewerbeschule Hamburg* [Hamburg School of Arts and Crafts] in 1930. He returned to Portugal in 1932, where he started his career as an artist, soon developing into a solid parameter in the country's art scene: as sculptor and ceramic artist, he participated in almost all the important art exhibitions between 1932 and 1975.

Concurrently with Semke's relocation, major changes in both countries were taking place and, in each case, the situation of Modern Art was precarious. In Portugal, António de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970) established the corporatist authoritarian right-wing regime of *Estado Novo* [New State]. Artists revolted after years of suffering from declining sales figures and lack of government support due to the severe financial crisis affecting the country. In Germany, Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) and his Nazi Party gained power, and, since 1933, the *Reichskammer der Bildenden Künste* [Reich Chamber of Fine Arts] restricted artistic freedom by imposing politics and doctrines on the cultural elite and implementing an ideological selection. Despite this situation, Semke was included into a major project: the design of the Commemorative Courtyard for the German Soldiers of the Community Killed During the First World War at the newly built German Protestant Church in Lisbon. But soon, the influence of the recently elected German authorities reached out for the German community of Portugal. Subsequently, Semke lost the support of his patrons and found himself and his work in a bitter controversy, resulting in the removal of one of his sculptures—a development he considered one of the decisive events in his artistic career.

In the 1950s, Semke tried to forge new paths as an author. Several short stories and narrations offer an insight into the artist's youth and early influences. Together with entries in his personal diaries, a unique view is opened into the life, the circumstances and the obstacles of a German Expressionist artist active in Portugal.

In my Ph.D. thesis, I examine the life and career of the German artist Hein Semke in Portugal, with a main focus on the years between 1899 and 1960. The difficulties the artist had to face in the early years of *Estado Novo* are evaluated in detail, as well as the legal situation for foreigners in the 1930s and 1940s. Moreover, the in-depth analysis of the controversy around Semke's artistic work for the German Protestant Church in Lisbon, the artist's self-concept and his self-created image stand in the center of attention of this examination and offer a multi-layered discussion reflecting the zeitgeist of the era.

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List of Abbreviations

- DEKL – *Deutsche Evangelische Kirche in Lissabon* [German Protestant Church in Lisbon]
DM – *Deutsche Mark* [German Mark; official currency in West Germany since 1948]
ECA/EEC – *Estúdio de Cerâmica Artística/Escola de Cerâmica* [Studio for Artistic Ceramics/School for Ceramics]
KPD – *Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* [Communist Party of Germany]
NSDAP – *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* [National Socialist German Workers' Party]
PIDE – *Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado* [International and State Defense Police]
PVDE – *Polícia de Vigilância e Defesa do Estado* [State Surveillance and Defense Police]
RKK – *Reichskulturkammer* [Reich Chamber of Culture]
RM – *Reichsmark* [official currency in Germany between 1924 and 1948]
SA – *Sturmabteilung* [Storm Detachment]
SECLA – *Sociedade de Exportação e Cerâmica, Lda.* [Society of Export and Ceramics, Lt.]
SNBA – *Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes* [National Society of Fine Arts]
SNI – *Secretariado Nacional de Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo* [National Secretary of Information, Popular Culture and Tourism]
SPD – *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* [Social Democratic Party of Germany]
SPN – *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* [National Propaganda Secretary]

Introduction

In 1932, the Hamburg native Hein Semke (1899-1995), moved to Linda-a-Pastora near Lisbon in Portugal. Before, he had led a turbulent life, until he found his true vocation in art: “One errs when thinking art would be just any profession, a handicraft—No, art is nothing less than a mission.”¹

Soon after his arrival, Semke became known in Portugal as a “contemporary German sculptor [...] who settled between us”² and started a remarkable career, which today is commonly summarized as will be outlined next. Semke quickly integrated himself into the cultural life and adapted well to the local dynamics and the art scene of his chosen home. Throughout the following years, “[f]ar from the conflicts ravaging Europe,”³ he developed into a solid parameter among Portuguese artists. While his work would have been considered ‘degenerate’ in Germany, Semke found “more favorable conditions to work”⁴ in Portugal, where he participated in almost all relevant art exhibitions between 1932 and 1975. He was considered to have introduced a new design vocabulary to Portuguese art and when, in 1947, the artist changed his field of activity from sculpture to ceramics, newspaper articles enthusiastically celebrated him for starting “a revolution in the ceramic process.”⁵

At first glance, this widely accepted general picture of the artist Hein Semke in Portugal appears to be a story of success. Yet, when taking a closer look at the initial years of his career, ample evidence exists to suggest that his assimilation into the Portuguese art scene has not been seamless. The present study was undertaken to examine exactly those disruptions. Divided into four sections, my work aims at providing a broad and complete overview of the early years of Semke’s life and critically reviewing his artistic career as a sculptor in Portugal from the outset. Personal, social, political and cultural backgrounds are the layers that will be looked at, thus

¹ Hein Semke, *Die innere Stimme. Aus dem Tagebuch: 1950-52//1956-61. [The Inner Voice. From the Diary: 1950-52//1956-61]*, with the assistance of Teresa Balté (Leipzig: Leipziger Literaturverlag, 2014), 122

[*Man irrt sich, wenn man meint, die Kunst ist irgend ein Beruf, ein Handwerk. – Nein, die Kunst ist nichts weniger als eine Mission.*]

² Fernando de Pamplona and Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva, *Dicionário de pintores e escultores portugueses ou que trabalharam em Portugal [Dictionary of Portuguese Painters and Sculptors or of the Ones Having Worked in Portugal]* (Barcelos: Livraria Civilização Editora, 1988), 162

[*escultor alemão contemporâneo [...] que [...] se fixou entre nós.*]

³ José F. Pereira, ed., *Dicionário De Escultura Portuguesa [Dictionary of Portuguese Sculpture]* (Lisbon: Editorial Caminho, 2005), 553

[*Longe dos conflitos que assolam a Europa*]

⁴ Ibid.

[*condições mais favoráveis para trabalhar*]

⁵ *Diário Popular*, “Artes Plásticas. A Cerâmica Foi Revolucionada Por Um Novo Processo Artístico Do Escultor Hein Semke [Plastic Arts. Ceramics Have Been Revolutionized Through a New Artistic Process by the Artist Hein Semke],” April 30, 1947

[*uma revolução no processo da cerâmica.*]

gaining insight into a detailed picture by identifying the key variables affecting his professional existence.

The first part is dedicated to Semke's biography. A special focus will be placed on his personal history before relocating to Portugal in 1932, and on the subsequent initial years of his career up to the 1950s. Important contextual information regarding the life circumstances he had to face both in Germany and Portugal will be considered as well as critical factors influencing his personal and artistic development.

Based on the biography, the second chapter introduces and discusses two texts written by Semke between 1935 and 1952, both containing autobiographical components. While the text *Escultura*,⁶ published in 1935, can be considered as a basis for the artist's self-portrayal and the connected persona he created, the narration *Hannes, der Rammer*⁷ takes the reader on a journey to the early twenties of the later artist in a Hamburg directly after the First World War. The two essays will serve as starting point for a critical analysis of the artist's image cultivation, supporting additionally the unveiling of 'myths and truths' regarding his life. Concurrently, several personalities appearing in *Escultura* and *Hannes, der Rammer* will be introduced and their influence on Semke will be explored.

The third chapter provides a comprehensive overview of Hein Semke's first major work in Portugal: the design of a commemorative courtyard for the German Protestant Church in Lisbon. An in-depth analysis of the events and a critical review of original archival material identify the determining elements which led to a fierce controversy and, finally, to the removal of one of the artist's works from the yard. An extended discussion of Semke's role in this 'curious incident' and its placement in the artist's personal life story, as well as in art history, will be part of this section.

The last chapter is dedicated to potential obstacles Semke had to face in order to work as an artist in Portugal. Identified will be the decisive elements that might have hindered him from working in his profession, such as political and historical backgrounds and the range of statutory provisions possibly impeding the progression of the artist. Besides, his private prerequisites between 1932 and 1949 will be considered to discuss the extent to which they might have had an influence on the development of his career.

To date, no study has looked specifically at Hein Semke's early life and career, although those years have been crucial for his artistic development. The existing literature on the artist

⁶ Cf. Hein Semke, "Escultura [Sculpture]," *Sudoeste Europa Portugal – Revista Portuguesa [Southwest Europe Portugal - Portuguese Magazine]*, no. 3 (1935): 31–35.

⁷ Cf. Hein Semke, "Hannes, Der Rammer: Roman-Versuch [Hannes, the Pile Driver. Attempted Novel]," (unpublished manuscript, 1950-1952).

remains limited and bases itself on general statements made by him, while some descriptions even contain fundamental faults when describing his life path and career.⁸ Throughout my investigation, the biography *A Coragem de Ser Rosto* was an important basic source for the present study. First published during Semke's lifetime in 1989,⁹ it was written under the artist's influence by his companion Teresa Balté and followed by a second, revised edition 14 years after the artist's death.¹⁰ As a whole, this description of Semke's life is mainly based on his own memories, supported by selected extracts of newspaper articles, texts of exhibition catalogues and excerpts from his diaries. Additionally, every exhibition Semke participated in is mentioned as well as the creation or completion of chosen works.¹¹ Although purporting to offer a neutral overview of Semke's life and career, it contains severe gaps and strives to let the artist appear in a favorable light. A critical examination and comparison with original documents soon raised reasonable doubts and led to a detailed analysis of Teresa Balté's *A Coragem de Ser Rosto*, resulting in the first chapter of this thesis.

Since Semke eagerly worked on being recognized by the media ever since settling in Portugal in 1932, a huge number of press articles have been written about him throughout the years, presenting a fundamental and extensive source and therefore were partially incorporated into my assessment.

A further source of utmost importance for the present study was the estate of Hein Semke, a large part of it being donated by Teresa Balté to the *Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian* in Lisbon in 2015. So far, the content has not been fully processed and catalogued, but it is stored in cardboard boxes in the archive of the foundation's *Biblioteca de Arte* [Art Library]. The entrusted legacy comprises photographs, personal and official letters and documents as well as the artist's diaries, which he kept approximately from 1930 until shortly before his death in 1995. In combination with records from different archives in Germany and Portugal, among them the *Staatsarchiv Hamburg* [National Archive of Hamburg], the *Archiv der Hochschule für bildende Künste Hamburg* [Archive of the University of Fine Arts Hamburg], the archive of the *Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde in Lissabon* [German Protestant Church Parish in Lisbon], the *Hemeroteca Municipal de Lisboa* [Municipal Newspaper Library of Lisbon], the Portuguese National Archive of *Torre do Tombo*, the platform *Casa Comum* [Common

⁸ Cf. Maike Bruhns, *Kunst in der Krise [Art in Crisis]* (Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 2001) and Maike Bruhns, *Geflohen Aus Deutschland: Hamburger Künstler Im Exil 1933 - 1945 [Escaped from Germany. Artists from Hamburg in Exile 1933-1945]* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2007).

⁹ Cf. Teresa Balté, *Hein Semke: A coragem de ser rosto [The Courage of Being a Face]*, 1st ed. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1989).

¹⁰ Cf. Teresa Balté, *Hein Semke: A coragem de ser rosto [The Courage of Being a Face]*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2009).

¹¹ Not only art pieces are mentioned, but also written works, like "Hannes, der Rammer". Cf. *ibid.*, 118, 135

House] by *Fundação Mário Soares* [Mário Soares Foundation] or the *Fundação António Quadros* [António Quadros Foundation]), an extensive picture of Semke's life and work could be established.

A number of scholars conducted research on Portugal's history in general¹² and particularly on its modern history, respectively on the period of *Estado Novo* [New State] and connected specific aspects.¹³ Scientific studies on these subjects undertaken by German scholars are, however, rare and usually focus on individual characteristics or remain within the framework of a superficial overview.¹⁴ This situation changed recently with an investigation carried out by Dirk Friedrich,¹⁵ who conducted an in-depth analysis of *Estado Novo* taking into consideration the overall development—at political, social and economic levels—of this authoritarian regime between 1930 and 1974. A useful source for various aspects concerning Portugal's history were as well different contemporaries of Semke. Particularly mentioned here should be Margarida Schimmelpfennig, who offered her help and opened her private archive, contributing memories and newspaper articles.

With the elimination of the authoritarian regime in 1974, Portuguese art historians devoted themselves to critically grapple with researching the own cultural production. José Augusto Rodrigues França (*1922) is regarded as a pioneer in this area and his extensive work on Portuguese modern art in the twentieth century¹⁶ is still considered a key reference. In addition, Portuguese art historiography has generated an impressive amount of research,

¹² José Hermano Saraiva, *Portugal: A Companion History* (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 1997); Malyn Newitt, *Portugal in European and World History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010).

¹³ Cf. for example: Tom Gallagher, *Portugal: A Twentieth-Century Interpretation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983) Maria da Conceição Ribeiro, *A polícia política no Estado Novo, 1926 - 1945 [The Police in the New State, 1926 - 1945]*, *Histórias de Portugal* 17 (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1995) Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses, *Salazar: A Political Biography*, 1st ed. (New York: Enigma Books, 2009) Neill Lochery, *Lisbon: War in the Shadows of the City of Light, 1939 - 1945*, 1st ed. (New York: PublicAffairs, 2011) Margarida Acciaiuoli, *António Ferro: A vertigem da palavra, retórica, política e propaganda no Estado Novo [António Ferro. The Vertigo of Word, Rhetoric, Politics and Propaganda in the 'New State']* (Lisbon: Editorial Bizâncio, 2013); Orlando Raimundo, *António Ferro: o Inventor do Salazarismo [António Ferro: The Inventor of Salazarism]* (Alfragide: Dom Quixote, 2015); Duarte de Jesus, José Manuel, *Dança Sobre O Vulcano.: Portugal E O III Reich. O Ministro Von Hoyningen-Huene Entre Hitler E Salazar. [Dancing on the Volcano. Portugal and the Third Reich. The Minister Von Hoyningen-Huene Between Hitler and Salazar]* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 2017).

¹⁴ Walther L. Bernecker and Horst Pietschmann, *Geschichte Portugals: Vom Spätmittelalter Bis Zur Gegenwart [the History of Portugal. From the Late Middle Ages to the Present]*, 2nd ed., Beck'sche Reihe 2156 C. H. Beck Wissen (München: Beck, 2008).

¹⁵ Dirk Friedrich, *Salazars Estado Novo: Vom Leben Und Überleben Eines Autoritären Regimes 1930-1974 [Salazar's Estado Novo. About Life and Survival of an Authoritarian Regime 1930-1974]*, 1. Auflage (Bonn: minifanal, 2016).

¹⁶ José Augusto França, *A Arte em Portugal no Século XX (1911 - 1961) [Art in Portugal in the 20th Century (1911-1961)]*, 4a ed. (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2009); José Augusto França, *O Modernismo na Arte Portuguesa [Modernism in Portuguese Art]*, Biblioteca Breve 43 Serie literatura (Amadora: Inst. de Cultura Portuguesa, 1980); José Augusto França, *A Arte e a Sociedade Portuguesa no Século XX [Art and Portuguese Society in the 20th Century]*, Coleção Horizonte 14 (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1978).

including one line focusing on different aspects of art in *Estado Novo*,¹⁷ yielding important insights into a state-directed art and culture sector.¹⁸ Unfortunately, to the present day, a systematic presentation of Portuguese art is not available in the German-speaking world, in spite of several connecting factors: Portuguese artists who lived and worked in Germany as, for example, Mário Eloy (1900-1951) or Emmerico Nunes (1888-1968), or German artists who, besides Semke, were active in Portugal, like Gretchen Wohlwill (1878-1962), Max Braumann (1880-1969) or Else Althausse (1898-1936). Attempts of German art history to approach this possible field of study so far have been scarce. The exhibition *Portugals Moderne. Kunst in der Zeit Fernando Pessoas* [Portugal's Modern Era 1910-1940. Art at times of Fernando Pessoa],¹⁹ which took place on the occasion of the Frankfurt Book Fair at Schirn Kunsthalle in Frankfurt am Main in 1997, is one of the few examples attempting to contradict this general tendency by exploring Portuguese art in the first half of the twentieth century. Beyond that, a dedicated academical attention from German scientists for this multifaceted field remained undone. Therefore, the present study mainly refers to Portuguese art literature, as it ultimately presents the most relevant scholarly findings.

A small but important sector of the present research focuses on the subject of anarchism in Germany between the two World Wars. A considerable amount of research has been done on this topic, especially in the 1970s and 1980s. Particularly notable are the works by Gerhard

¹⁷ Artur Portela, *Salazarismo e Artes Plásticas* [Salazarism and Plastic Arts], Biblioteca Breve (Lisbon: Ministério da Educação e das Universidades / Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1982); Rui-Mário Gonçalves, *História da arte em Portugal: De 1945 à actualidade* [Art History in Portugal. From 1945 to Today], História da arte em Portugal 13 (Lisboa: Alfa, 1993); Fernando Rosa Dias, *Ecos expressionistas na pintura portuguesa entre-guerras, 1914-1940* [Expressionist Echoes in Portuguese Painting Between the Wars, 1914-1940], Coleção Univer (Lisboa: Campo da Comunicação, 2011).

¹⁸ Margarida Acciaiuoli, *Exposições do Estado Novo, 1934-1940* [Exhibitions of the 'New State', 1934-1940] (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1998); Lúcia Almeida Matos, *Escultura em Portugal no século XX (1910 - 1969)* [Sculpture in Portugal in the 20th Century (1910-1969)], Textos universitários de ciências sociais e humanas (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2007); Jorge Ramos do Ó, *Os anos de Ferro. O dispositivo cultural durante a "Política do Espírito" 1933-1949* [The Years of Ferro. The Cultural Mechanism During the "Politics of Spirit" 1933-1949] (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1999); Acciaiuoli, *Vertigem*, 2013.

¹⁹ Paulo Henriques and Serra, João B., Siebelist de Vasconcelos, Veronika, *Portugals Moderne 1910-1940: Kunst in Der Zeit Fernando Pessoas* [Portugal's Modern Era 1910-1940. Art at Times of Fernando Pessoa] (Kilchberg, Zürich: Stemmler, 1997).

Botz,²⁰ Gerfried Brandstetter²¹ and Hans M. Bock,²² which offer a very detailed overview of the various trends existing within this political mindset. Partially connected to this matter is the wide and interesting field of the so-called inflation saints, a phenomenon that occurred concurrently with the fragmentation of the German political scene between 1919 and 1933. An extensive study of this subject has been conducted, in 1983, by Ulrich Linse,²³ who analyzes in detail the development and the influence of several self-proclaimed saints on society. A 2015 exhibition at Schirn Kunsthalle in Frankfurt am Main,²⁴ mainly based on Linse's investigations and literally visualizing the connection between the so-called prophets and the visual arts, expanded his findings and also took into consideration German post-war art.

Finally, it should be mentioned that only few studies sought to problematize the issues a foreigner would have to face when trying to start a career in Portugal in the 1930s and 1940s. Two fundamental studies have been carried out by Susana Chalante,²⁵ spanning the years between 1927 and 1939. In order to provide a full overview of the laws that might have prevented Semke from pursuing his career as an artist, it was necessary to examine Portuguese national legislation until the year 1942 by reviewing several laws, decree-laws, decisions and regulations published in *Diário do Governo* [Journal of the Government], the former official gazette of Portugal.

Although, the existing literature and the universe of available references is limited, this did not necessarily mean a restraint for the completion of this work. On the contrary, under these circumstances, the investigation was forced to base itself on a considerable number of

²⁰ Gerhard Botz, "Der Arbeiter-Schriftsteller Carl Dopf (1883-1968) Und Die Anarchistische Subkultur [the Working-Class Author Carl Dopf (1883-1968) and the Anarchist Subculture]," in Botz; Brandstetter; Pollak, *Im Schatten Der Arbeiterbewegung. Zur Geschichte Des Anarchismus in Österreich Und Deutschland. [in the Shadow of the Labor Movement. On the History of Anarchism in Austria and Germany]*.

²¹ Gerhard Botz, Gerfried Brandstetter and Michael Pollak, eds., *Im Schatten Der Arbeiterbewegung. Zur Geschichte Des Anarchismus in Österreich Und Deutschland. [in the Shadow of the Labor Movement. On the History of Anarchism in Austria and Germany]*, Schriftenreihe des Ludwig-Boltzmann-Instituts für Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung 6 (Vienna: Europaverlag, 1977); Gerfried Brandstetter, "Sozialdemokratische Opposition Und Anarchismus in Österreich 1889-1918 [Social Democratic Opposition and Anarchism in Austria 1889-1918]," in Botz; Brandstetter; Pollak, *Im Schatten Der Arbeiterbewegung. Zur Geschichte Des Anarchismus in Österreich Und Deutschland. [in the Shadow of the Labor Movement. On the History of Anarchism in Austria and Germany]*.

²² Hans Manfred Bock, *Syndikalismus Und Linkskommunismus Von 1918 Bis 1923: Ein Beitrag Zur Sozial- Und Ideengeschichte Der Frühen Weimarer Republik [Syndicalism and Left Communism from 1918 to 1923. A Contribution to the Social History and the History of Ideas of the Early Weimar Republic]* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1993).

²³ Ulrich Linse, *Barfußige Propheten: Erlöser Der Zwanziger Jahre. [Barefooted Prophets. Saviors of the Nineteen-Twenties]* (Berlin: Siedler Verlag, 1983).

²⁴ Pamela Kort and Max Hollein, *Künstler Und Propheten: Eine Geheime Geschichte Der Moderne 1872 - 1972 [Artists and Prophets. A Secret History of Modernity 1872-1972]* (Köln: Snoeck, 2015).

²⁵ Susana Chalante, "Estado, Estrangeiros E Fronteiras No Início Do Estado Novo (1927-1939) [State, Foreigners and Frontiers of the New State (1927-1939)]" (Master Thesis, Department of History, ISCTE - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, 2008); Susana Chalante, "O Discurso Do Estado Salazarista Perante O "Indesejável" (1933-1939) [the Salazarist State Rhetoric on the "Unwanted" (1933-1939)]," *Análise Social* XLVI (1.º), no. 198 (2011).

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primary sources. Through field research, a huge amount of data could be collected, providing a significant value to the qualitative dimension of the research.

1. Hein Semke—Biography

Today, Hein Semke is known as a German artist who, in the early 1930s, emigrated to Portugal, where he started a remarkable career that lasted for more than 60 years. Yet, this brief overview of a person's life—that almost covered one century and included the production of hundreds of art works—does not reveal information about the life course of the artist.

Existing biographies about Semke, notably the comprehensive description of his life and catalogue raisonné by Teresa Balté,²⁶ frequently oscillate between factuality and fictionality. By leaving out crucial details, an image is created that does not present the full picture. Especially the early years of Semke's life are addressed incompletely and fragmentarily although they are an important source for understanding the personality of the artist. Therefore, the following biography is based on original documents and aims at closing existing gaps required for a better understanding of Hein Semke, his art and his career.

1.1 From Childhood to Adult Age (1899 to 1929)

Heinrich Albert Semke, usually referred to with his nickname Hein, was born in St. Pauli, a quarter of Hamburg, on June 25, 1899. (fig. 1) Due to the nearby harbor, St. Pauli was a melting pot of cultures, shaped by small businesses and companies active in the shipping industry; a vibrating mixture of dock workers, sailors, retailers, craftsmen and prostitutes, in a Germany characterized by the monarchy under the rule of German Emperor and King of Prussia Wilhelm II (1859-1918).

Semke's father, Hinrich Semke (1863-1944), worked as a locksmith. His mother, Ernestine Pauline, improved the family's income by sewing and tailoring.²⁷ The financial situation must have been frequently difficult, as there was a total of eight children in the family. Hein was the sixth-born; three of his five older brothers died early. (fig. 2)

In 1912, Semke's mother died of pulmonary tuberculosis.²⁸ (fig. 3) Consequently, his father had to reorganize the family's structure: Hein was sent to an orphanage, while the remaining siblings stayed with other relatives.²⁹ In an article written by Semke for the magazine *Sudoeste Europa Portugal* [Southwest Europe Portugal] in 1935, he described his time in the

²⁶ Balté, *Coragem*, 1989; Balté, *Coragem*, 2009.

²⁷ Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 11

²⁸ Semke, "Escultura, 1935," 31.

²⁹ Ibid., 31

children's home as very burdensome, as he had difficulties subordinating himself to the strict rules.³⁰

Despite his dream of becoming a teacher or a pastor, Semke had to start an apprenticeship as a retail salesman after leaving the orphanage. According to documents of the Rhade Town Hall's archive (fig. 4 a-d), he lived in this little town near Zeven in Lower Saxony from April 15, 1914, to June 30, 1915³¹. His time there he described as follows:

not to waste my talent, I was given, with authorization of my father, to a salesman for an apprenticeship. First, I was happy to leave the institution [the orphanage; note by the author], but then the work bored me. I was loath to sell pepper for 2 pennies to one person and to another 1 kilo of salt and socks to a third. After one year I escaped, but as my father had made a contract, I was brought back again by the police. This happened still two times more.³²

In summer 1914, the First World War started. Influenced by the propaganda of the Empire, the Germans initially believed in the idea of a quick victory. Semke remembers the so-called *Augusterlebnis*³³ [August experience/ Spirit of 1914] in his diary of 1951:

Today, I had to think about the 1 August 1914. It is 37 years. I was a trainee in a grocery in the heathland village Rhade near Zeven. [...] In the grocery there were employed two vendors and me as an apprentice. The war was declared. The two vendors had conscription orders—In almost every house of the village was one or even were two men who were called for military service—My master [...] did not have to go, but he was more excited than anyone else. Me as well, 15 years old, I was carried away by the excitement. Around lunchtime the shop was closed, and I roved about the village. Everybody ran around the village like blind chicken. The three taverns were full of men celebrating the farewell.³⁴

³⁰ Semke, "Escultura, 1935," 31. About his time in the orphanage Hein Semke writes: "However, now I was submitted to stringent regulations. It was not allowed to undertake anything just by itself, there was only order and punishment. [...] I took a lot of thrashing and arrest."

[*Porém, agora estava submetido a um severo regulamento. Não era permitido empreender qualquer coisa por si, só havia a ordem e o castigo. [...] Apanhei muito pancada e arresto.*]

³¹ Czekalla, Thomas / Mayor of Rhade, e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida, October 27, 2015.

³² Semke, "Escultura, 1935," 32

[*como não se quizesse deixar perder o meu talento, fui dado em aprendizagem a um comerciante, com autorização de meu pai. Primeiro estava contente em sair do instituto, mas depois aborrecia-me o trabalho. Repugnava-me vender a um 2 pfennigs de pimento, a outro 1 quilo de sal, e meias a um terceiro. Depois de um ano fugi, mas como o meu pai tivesse feito um contrato, fui novamente trazido pela polícia. Isto sucedeu ainda 2 vezes.*]

³³ The term *Augusterlebnis* describes the general emotional state of Germans in light of the imminent war: "The Germans experienced a time they perceived as steeped in history, their feelings were a mixture of pride, enthusiasm, panic, disgust, curiosity, exuberance, confidence, anger, arrogance, fear, cheerfulness and despair". [*Die Deutschen durchlebten eine Zeit, die sie als geschichtsträchtig wahrnahmen, ihre Gefühle waren ein Gemisch aus Stolz, Begeisterung, Panik, Abscheu, Neugier, Überschwang, Zuversicht, Zorn, Überheblichkeit, Angst, Heiterkeit und Verzweiflung.*]

In: Jeffrey Verhey, *Der 'Geist von 1914' und die Erfindung der Volksgemeinschaft* [The 'Spirit of 1914' and the Invention of the National Community] (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2014), 172

³⁴ Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 103

Only slowly the character of this war became obvious. The unparalleled devastation of its battles and the incredible number of lost human lives surpassed any existing concept, altering radically how war was conceived. In Germany, at the ‘home front’, exhortations to hold out were continuously proclaimed, although the situation for the population worsened increasingly.³⁵ Continuing food shortages, the constantly increasing number of killed soldiers and the extremely cold winter in 1916/17, the so-called *Steckrübenwinter* [Turnip Winter] with temperatures below zero for several weeks, weakened the German population and led to a general war-weariness. Nevertheless, with the war raging already for three years, Semke joined the military in 1917. Although he claimed that he had been glad becoming a soldier,³⁶ he could not have prevented it either. According to the *Preußisches Wehrpflichtsystem* [Prussian System of Military Service], every German man aged 17 to 45 was liable for military service.³⁷

Unfortunately, all documents regarding Semke’s time in the Prussian Army have been destroyed during the Second World War.³⁸ As a consequence, his war experiences can only be reconstructed from his own words. In 1961, Semke remembered the course of his time as a soldier and wrote down the stations he passed through in his diary:

May or beginning of 1917, I was recruited into the *Regiment 74 Hannover*—In August 1917, I came into camp *Munsterlager*—[I] was assigned to *Landwehr* [ground force] replacement battalion Hameln and served until Oct-Nov 1917 in the coast guard on the island Borkum—Then, I went to Russia with the same replacement battalion—First to a camp near Cholm—afterwards in Ukraine—

[In] spring 1918, I was sent to the western front. First, [I] came to army encampment *Beverloo*. A new division was composed there, the regiments 359 - 360 - 361 [...]. I was part of the 3. Bat[talion] of Regiment 361—The operation section was the north of France, later Flanders. In front section Flanders I fell sick and was brought to a field

[Ich musste heute an den ersten August 1914 zurückdenken. Es sind 37 Jahre. War Krämerlehrling in dem Heidedorf Rhade bei Zeven. [...] In der Krämerei waren 2 Verkäufer und ich als Lehrling angestellt. Der Krieg war erklärt. Die beiden Verkäufer hatten Befehl einzurücken. – Fast in allen Häusern des Dorfes war ein oder waren sogar 2 Männer, die zum Heeresdienst einzurücken hatten. – Mein Lehrherr [...] brauchte nicht mit, aber er war aufgeregter als alle anderen. Auch ich, 15 Jahre alt, wurde von der Aufregung mitgerissen. Zu Mittag wurde der Laden zugesperrt, und ich trieb mich im Dorf herum. Alles im Dorf sauste wie blinde Hühner hin und her. Die drei Dorfschänken waren voll von Männern, die Abschied feierten.]

³⁵ Cf. Sven Felix Kellerhoff, *Heimatfront: Der Untergang der heilen Welt - Deutschland im Ersten Weltkrieg [Home Front. Doom of an Ideal World-Germany in the First World War]* (S.l.: Quadriga, 2014), 172-211 and Sönke Neitzel, *Weltkrieg Und Revolution [World War and Revolution]: 1914 - 1918/19*, Deutsche Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert 3 (Berlin: be.bra-Verlag, 2008), 131-137

³⁶ Semke, “Escultura, 1935,” 32

³⁷ Digitales Archiv Hessen-Darmstadt [Digital Archive Hesse-Darmstadt], “Aufbau Und Geschichte Des Deutschen Militärs - Wehrpflicht [Construction and History of the German Military-Military Service],” accessed March 23, 2017, <http://www.digada.de/wk1/kap2/wehrpflicht.htm>.

³⁸ Zimmermann, R. / Bundesarchiv Abteilung Militärarchiv [Federal Archive Department Military Archives], E-Mail to Nina Blum de Almeida, November 24, 2014.

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hospital with typhoid fever, afterwards to a hospital in Roubaix. From here I was taken to G[ermany], to sick bay Wittstock an der Dosse.³⁹

On November 11, 1918, the First World War, the primal catastrophe of the twentieth century that lasted for more than four years and cost more than 10 million lives worldwide,⁴⁰ finally was over. The number of permanently disabled—physically and/or psychologically—has never been ascertained; nevertheless, “the sight of disfigured and mutilated persons with prostheses were part of the everyday life of the post-war period.”⁴¹ (fig. 5a-b)

Semke survived, externally unscathed, and returned to his hometown Hamburg in 1919. According to his own description,⁴² the war had changed him: he characterized himself as apathetic and having difficulties in returning to a life in peace.⁴³ Nevertheless, the experiences he made during the First World War, would have turned him into a pacifist by conviction who “wanted to help find the way to a better system between people [...] but always with the burning desire for the good and the sublime.”⁴⁴

Throughout the following years, Semke’s activities partially remain in darkness. According to his self-presentation in the Portuguese magazine *Sudoeste*,⁴⁵ published in 1935, he travelled across Germany and, out of the necessity to earn money, worked in different professions: he sold newspapers, worked as builder, bricklayer, metal worker and dockworker.⁴⁶ Due to the fact that he “refused to belong to any kind of organization, syndicalist

³⁹ Hein Semke, Tagebuch Heft 12 (1961-62) [Diary Booklet 12 (1961-62)], 1961-1962, HS 9, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte, 15

[*Mai od. Anfang 1917 wurde ich in Hamburg einberufen zum Regiment 74 Hannover. - Im August 1917 kam ich ins Munsterlager. - Wurde dem Landwehrrersatz = Bataillon Hameln zugeteilt und war bis Okt-Nov 1917 bei der Künstenwacht auf der Insel Borkum. - Dann kam ich nach Russland mit demselben Ersatz = Bataillon. - Zuerst in einem Lager bei Cholm - dann in der Ukraine. -*

Frühjahr 1918 wurde ich an die Westfront geschickt. Kam zuerst ins Truppenlager Beverloo. Hier wurde eine neue Division zusammengestellt, die Regimenter 359 - 360 - 361 [...]. Ich war im 3. Bat. des Regiments 361. - Der Einsatzabschnitt war Nordfrankreich, später Flandern. Im Frontabschnitt Flandern erkrankte ich und kam mit Typhus ins Feldlazarett, dann ins Lazarett in Roubaix. Von hier aus wurde ich nach D. ins Hilfslazarett Wittstock an der Dosse transportiert.]

⁴⁰ Gerhard Hirschfeld and Gerd Krumeich, *Deutschland im Ersten Weltkrieg [Germany in the First World War]* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer E-Books, 2013), 59

⁴¹ Arnulf Scriba, “Erster Weltkrieg. Kriegsverlauf. Tod Und Verwundung [First World War. Course of the War. Death and Injury],” Stiftung Deutsches Historisches Museum, accessed July 6, 2018, <https://www.dhm.de/lemo/kapitel/erster-weltkrieg/kriegsverlauf/tod-und-verwundung.html>

[*Anblick von Entstellten und Verstümmelten mit Prothesen gehörte zum Alltag der Nachkriegszeit.*]

⁴² Cf. Semke, “Escultura, 1935,” 32

⁴³ Cf. *ibid.*, 32

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 32

[*Queria ajudar a encontrar o caminho para uma melhor ordem entre os homens. [...] mas sempre com o ardente desejo do bom e do sublime.*]

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 32

⁴⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 32 and Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 12

Interestingly, the mentioned professions change over the years, or others are added. In an interview in 1949, Semke mentions that he would have also been “beer brewer, bank employee, waiter. I have been, as well, employee in

or political,”⁴⁷ he would have repeatedly lost his jobs. However, only one of the above-mentioned employments can be verified today: between July 1, 1920, and January 22, 1921, Semke was employed as laborer in a mine at the steel manufacturer *Thyssen AG* in Hamborn,⁴⁸ near Duisburg.⁴⁹ This position is also mentioned in the text *Escultura* [Sculpture],⁵⁰ in which he claimed that he had gone to the Ruhr area in North Rhine-Westphalia to take up employment as a mineworker.

Meanwhile, the Weimar Republic started to establish itself and replaced the German Empire. With the November Revolution in 1918, the imperial government had given way to a democratic parliamentary republic, followed by turbulent years of self-discovery seizing an entire nation. In particular, the time between 1919 and 1923 was marked by successive crises; the immediate consequences of the First World War, like hyperinflation, political uprisings and attempted coups, characterized those years, as well as the proverbial dance on the volcano.⁵¹ The so-called Golden Era of the 1920s had two facets: on one side a cultural renaissance in literature, art, design, architecture, theatre, dance and cinema. On the other side the transition from the German Empire, a monarchy in which discipline and order were considered as highest values, into a social state that included democracy and emancipation of each citizen was arduous. The consequences of the war and the unstable economic situation led to mass unemployment, pauperization across the population and dissatisfaction with the government

wellfare organisations; in other times I was a construction worker, ship painter, longshoreman, etc. etc. Nothing was too ordinary for me, nothing too dirty, but nowhere I could find my path to tranquility.” [*cervejheiro, empregado bancário, criado de mesa. Estive, também, empregado nas organizações de previdência social; outras vezes fui operário da construção civil, pintor de navios, carregador marítimo, etc., etc. Nada era demasiado ordinário para mim, nada demasiado sujo, mas em nenhuma parte encontrei o caminho do sossego.*] In: A.M., “Das Artes. Um Colóquio Com Hein Semk [About the Arts. A Conversation with Hein Semk],” *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, September 21, 1949

In 1952, another occupation is added: “He studied social economy, history and literature.”

[*Estudou Economia-Social, História e Literatura.*] In: *Novidades*, “Nas Colmeias Da Arte. Esculturas, Cerâmicas E Desenhos De Hein Semke [in the Beehive of Art. Sculpture, Ceramics and Drawings by Hein Semke],” May 18, 1952.

⁴⁷ Semke, “Escultura, 1935,” 32

[*e depressa perdi todo o trabalho, por me recusar a pertencer a qualquer organização sindical ou política*]

⁴⁸ Zilt, Andreas / Corporate Archives thyssenkrupp AG, e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida, December 18, 2017.

⁴⁹ Since 1929, Hamborn belongs to the city of Duisburg in North Rhine-Westphalia; before it had been autonomous. The city’s economic significance is based on coal and iron industry, and closely connected to the Thyssen AG (since 1999 merged with Krupp to the conglomerate thyssenKrupp, one of the largest steel producers worldwide).

Cf.: “Hamborn 1910 - 2010: Der Wilde Westen liegt im Ruhrgebiet,” accessed December 18, 2017, <http://www.hamborn.net> and “Hamborn,” Verein für Computergenealogie e.V., accessed December 18, 2017, <http://wiki-de.genealogy.net/Hamborn>. For further information about Thyssen AG see: thyssenkrupp AG, “thyssenkrupp – engineering. tomorrow. together.” accessed December 18, 2017, <https://www.thyssenkrupp.com/de/unternehmen/historie/>

⁵⁰ Cf. Semke, “Escultura, 1935,” 32f.

⁵¹ This expression describes the interwar period, in which Germany had a peak in its cultural development and the population had, after the difficult times of World War I, the necessity to enjoy life.

along with opposing political ideals leading to several uprisings and attempted revolutions. Nevertheless, politically, the more unprivileged Germans had, for the first time, the feeling of being able to participate actively in the development of the young democracy.⁵²

The political climate of instability and social unrest also hit Hamburg. Especially during the years immediately following the First World War, several, partially violent, riots are documented.⁵³ “The lack of food, but also of heating fuel, clothing and shoes, as well as rising unemployment led to a steady increase of impoverishment of larger sections of the population and to spreading bitterness and a growing potential for upheaval.”⁵⁴ By that time, the left-wing radical movement began to gain power among the working class of Hamburg.⁵⁵ One of these groupings gathered around the anarchist Carl Langer (1881-1958), editor of the journal ‘*Alarm!*’.

After having returned to Hamburg from Hamborn, Semke either renewed or established contact with the anarchist scene and the group *Freie Sozialisten-Anarchisten* [Free Socialist-Anarchists], led by Carl Langer. Semke’s precise activities in or for this group as well as his living conditions between 1921 and 1923 remain in darkness. Reliable written records can only be found from the year 1923 onwards: the National Archives of Hamburg keep a document, which states that Semke repeatedly was imprisoned between 1923 and 1928.⁵⁶ (fig. 6)

⁵² Cf. Martin M. Kley, *Weimar and Work: Labor Literature and Industrial Modernity on the Weimar Left*, Studies on themes and motifs in literature Vol. 114 (New York: Lang, 2013); Hendrik Thoß, *Demokratie Ohne Demokraten? Die Innenpolitik Der Weimarer Republik [Democracy Without Democrats? The Domestic Policy of Weimar Republic]*, Deutsche Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert 6 (Berlin: be.bra-Verl., 2008) and Franz Walter, *"Republik, Das Ist Nicht Viel": Partei Und Jugend in Der Krise Des Weimarer Sozialismus ["Republic, That's Not a Lot". Party and Youth Throughout the Crisis of Weimar Socialism]*, Studien des Göttinger Instituts für Demokratieforschung zur Geschichte politischer und gesellschaftlicher Kontroversen Band 2 (2011).

⁵³ A comprehensive overview is provided by Uwe Schulte-Varendorff, *Die Hungerunruhen in Hamburg Im Juni 1919 - Eine Zweite Revolution? [the Food Riots in Hamburg in June 1919-a Second Revolution?]*, Beiträge zur Geschichte Hamburgs 65 (Hamburg: Hamburg University Press / Verlag der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, 2010), 15 ff.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 33

[*Der Mangel an Nahrung, aber auch an Heizmaterial, Kleidung und Schuhen, sowie die steigende Arbeitslosigkeit führten zu einer stetigen Zunahme der Verelendung größerer Bevölkerungskreise und einer zunehmenden Erbitterung sowie einem wachsenden Unruhepotenzial*]

⁵⁵ Cf. Botz, Brandstetter and Pollak, *Im Schatten der Arbeiterbewegung*, 1977, 104.

⁵⁶ Cf. Hein Semke, Antrag auf Erteilung eines Heimatscheines [Application for a Certificate of Nationality], November 26, 1954, 332-7, Staatsangehörigkeitsaufsicht, BVII b 1954/8561, Heinrich Albert Semke, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.

On October 15, 1923, Semke was sentenced to three years' imprisonment⁵⁷ in addition to a five years' loss of honor⁵⁸ due to the violation of the law regulating the use of explosives.⁵⁹ A newspaper article⁶⁰ on the trial (fig. 7) indicates that Semke by that time considered himself an anarchist. After about eight months, on June 4, 1924, the sentence of penal servitude was commuted to a sentence of imprisonment and finally suspended for probation on May 7, 1925.

Only a few months after being released, Semke again infringed the law. On January 22, 1926, he was sentenced to three weeks in prison for receiving and handling stolen goods,⁶¹ a

⁵⁷ The *Strafgesetzbuch für das Deutsche Reich* [Penal Code of the German Empire], enacted in 1871, continued to be valid in Weimar Republic. 'Imprisonment' was divided into different categories: *Zuchthaus, Gefängnis, Einschliefung und Festungshaft* [penal servitude, prison, containment and confinement in a fortress]. Of these penalties the penal servitude was considered the most severe, as it included aggravated confinement, heavy work duties for the inmates and, in addition, was understood as dishonoring.

Cf. Carl Lueder, *Strafgesetzbuch Für Das Deutsche Reich Vom 15. Mai 1871 Nach Der Novelle Vom 26. Februar 1876* [Penal Code for the German Empire of May 15, 1876 After the Amendment of February 26, 1876] (Erlangen: Andreas Deichert, 1876), 7-13 and C. Meyer-Kretschmer, "Die Entwicklung Des Deutschen Strafgesetzbuches [the Development of the German Penal Code]," *Jura Individuell*, <http://www.juraindividuell.de/blog/die-entwicklung-des-deutschen-strafgesetzbuches/>.

⁵⁸ According to the Penal Code of the German Empire, disenfranchisement effected "§ 33. [...] the permanent loss of rights deriving from public elections, as well as the permanent loss of public functions, ranks, titles, medals and badges of honor.

§ 34. [...] during the time determined in the sentence, the inability to

- 1) Wear the country's cockade
- 2) To join the German Land Forces or the German Navy
- 3) Obtain public functions, ranks, titles, medals and badges of honor
- 4) To vote in public affairs, to elect or to be elected or to exercise other political rights
- 5) Be an attesting witness
- 6) To be a legal guardian [...]"

[§. 33. [...] *den dauernden Verlust der aus öffentlichen Wahlen für den Verurtheilten hervorgegangenen Rechte, gleichen den dauernden Verlust der öffentlichen Aemter, Würden, Titel, Orden und Ehrenzeichen.*

§. 34. [...] *die Unfähigkeit, während der im Urtheile bestimmten Zeit*

- 1) *die Landeskarte zu tragen;*
- 2) *in das Bundesheer oder in die Bundesmarine einzutreten;*
- 3) *öffentliche Aemter, Würden, Titel, Orden und Ehrenzeichen zu erlangen;*
- 4) *in öffentlichen Angelegenheiten zu stimmen, zu wählen oder gewählt zu werden oder andere politische Rechte auszuüben;*
- 5) *Zeuge bei Aufnahmen von Urkunden zu sein;*
- 6) *Vormund, [...] zu sein [...].*

⁵⁹ The *Gesetz gegen den verbrecherischen und gemeingefährlichen Gebrauch von Sprengstoffen* [Law Against the Criminal and Homicidal Use of Explosives] had been passed in 1884 by Emperor Wilhelm II (1859-1941) and was adopted to the Code of Law of the Weimar Republic. "This law criminalized the possession, distribution and actual use of explosives with regard to criminal intents or activities."

In: Karl Härter, "Legal Responses to Violent Political Crimes in 19th Century Central Europe," in *Vom Majestätsverbrechen Zum Terrorismus: Politische Kriminalität, Recht, Justiz Und Polizei Zwischen Früher Neuzeit Und 20. Jahrhundert* [from Crime Against the Crown to Terrorism. Political Crime, Law, Justice and Police Between the Early Modern Era and the 20th Century], ed. Karl Härter and Beatrice d. Graaf, *Studien zur europäischen Rechtsgeschichte* 268 (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 2012), 173

⁶⁰ *Hamburgischer Correspondent und neue hamburgische Börsen-Halle, Morgenausgabe, 2. Beilage* [Hamburg Correspondent and New Stock Market of Hamburg, Morning Edition, 2. Supplement], "Ein Anarchist [an Anarchist]," October 18, 1923, 2.

⁶¹ According to § 259 of the Penal Code of the German Empire, this means: "The one who—for his own benefit—conceals, buys, accepts as pledge or otherwise takes possession of, or is involved in the sale of things, of which one knows or has to assume that it has been acquired as a result of an offence, is liable to a penalty of imprisonment."

crime he committed in 1925.⁶² Finally, on January 22, 1927, he was convicted to two years in penal servitude for burglary, this time in Oldenburg, a city in Lower Saxony, around 170 kilometres away from Hamburg. The exact details of the crime for which he was brought to justice in Oldenburg remains uncertain, as the court files and prison records are missing.⁶³ Nevertheless, he again was granted probation and was released on June 1, 1928.⁶⁴

1.2 First Stay in Portugal and Student Years in Hamburg and Stuttgart (1929 to 1932)

In 1929, Semke decided to leave Germany although he was released on parole.⁶⁵ According to his own words,⁶⁶ he gathered all his money and went to a travel agency to buy a ticket, indifferent to where his voyage might lead: in the agency, he then would have read the word ‘Lisbon’ in a list of destinations of steamships and booked a one-way trip.⁶⁷ Soon after, on April 9, 1929, he arrived in the Portuguese capital.

Whether the aforementioned version of Semke’s first voyage to Portugal can be regarded as true is difficult to decide. Especially since he carried a recommendation letter in his luggage, written by the pastor of the Protestant Mission for Emigrants in Hamburg and addressed to the pastor of the German Protestant Community in Lisbon.⁶⁸ With help of the latter, a position in a factory for knitwear, *Magalhães & Filho, Lda.*, in Chelas, a district of Lisbon, could be arranged for Semke.⁶⁹ He also found an accommodation near the factory, in *Estrada de Chelas* [Road of Chelas].⁷⁰

During this time, Semke made the acquaintance of members of the German community in Lisbon, particularly the “people of Linda,”⁷¹ among them Henrique Delgado Westenfeld (1898-1990) and his wife, the graphic artist Else Althausse (1898-1936), who lived in Linda-a-Pastora, a village around 20 kilometers from Lisbon.

[*Wer seines Vortheils wegen Sachen, von denen er weiß oder den Umständen nach annehmen muß, daß sie mittels einer strafbaren Handlung erlangt sind, verheimlicht, ankauft, zum Pfande nimmt oder sonst an sich bringt oder zu deren Absatze bei Anderen mitwirkt, wird als Hehler mit Gefängniß bestraft.*]

Cf. Lueder, *Strafgesetzbuch*, 1876, 70

⁶² Semke, Antrag auf Erteilung eines Heimatscheines [Application for a Certificate of Nationality], 12.

⁶³ Mügge, Helga / Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Staatsarchiv, e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida, October 8, 2014.

⁶⁴ Semke, Antrag auf Erteilung eines Heimatscheines [Application for a Certificate of Nationality], 12.

⁶⁵ The probation period ended on May 1, 1931. See: *ibid.*, 12

⁶⁶ Semke, “Escultura, 1935,” 34

⁶⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 34

⁶⁸ Cf. Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 12

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 15; Semke, “Escultura, 1935,” 34

⁷⁰ This address is indicated on a letter he received in July 1929: “Senhor Henrique Semke Estrada de Chelas Quinta do Kapuzeiro 13 Lisboa-Portugal”. Cf. William Quindt, Letter to ‘Henrique Semke’, July 5, 1929, HS06-HS10-Correspondências HS10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte.

⁷¹ Henrique D. Westenfeld, Letter from Henrique Delgado Westenfeld to Hein Semke (written between April 1931 and June 11, 1931), April 1931-June 11, 1931, HS 06-HS 10-Correspondência HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte, 13

[*Linda-Leute*]

In 1930, Semke returned to Germany, as he stated,⁷² due to a physical and mental exhaustion resulting from his work in the factory. After arriving in Hamburg, he was hospitalized for several weeks. In his diaries, he remembers:

When I was discharged from the hospital in Barmbeck in Sept.[ember]-Oct.[ober] 1930, the following medical report was written on my discharge papers: ‘definitely incapacitated (concealed epilepsy)’. How the doctors were coming to this conclusion is up to them, not up to me.⁷³

Semke’s homecoming coincided with a time of instability: his homeland struggled severely with the worldwide economic depression that began with the Stock Market Crash at Wall Street in New York on October 24, 1929. Since that moment, unemployment in Germany steadily rose—from 1.3 million in 1929 to 5.58 million in 1932⁷⁴—along with poverty and criminality. Subsequently, hopelessness and despair connected with a general sense of crisis and deploying doubts about democracy started to grow and spread in society. The political situation of the Weimar Republic grew ever more turbulent; those circumstances were simultaneously provoked and used by the political left, the Communist Party, and the political right, the National Socialist Party, which ultimately succeeded and seized power in 1933.⁷⁵

Soon after his return and the ensuing hospitalization, Semke enrolled at the *Kunstgewerbeschule Hamburg* [Hamburg School of Arts and Crafts] for the class of ceramics and started his studies there on November 12, 1930. (fig. 8, 9) It is most likely, that he decided to study plastic arts during his time in Portugal due to the acquaintance with the couple Althausse-Westenfeld. Evidence to support this assumption is the plan of the ‘people of Linda’ to provide financial support to his studies, which must have already been evolved during Semke’s stay in the country. Letters by Henrique Westenfeld, which have survived in the artist’s

⁷² Cf. Semke, “Escultura, 1935,” 34 and Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 15

⁷³ Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 191

[*Als ich im Sept.-Okt. 1930 aus dem Barmbecker Krankenhaus entlassen wurde, stand auf meinem Entlassungsschein folgender ärztlicher Befund: „für immer arbeitsunfähig (latente Epilepsie)”. Wie die Ärzte zu diesem Urteil kamen, ist ihre, nicht meine Sache.*]

⁷⁴ Cf. Arnulf Scriba, “Die Weltwirtschaftskrise [the Global Economic Crisis],” Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, accessed December 22, 2017, <https://www.dhm.de/lemo/kapitel/weimarer-republik/industrie/wirtschaftskrise>.

⁷⁵ Cf. Mary Fulbrook, *A History of Germany, 1918-2008: The Divided Nation*, 4. ed. (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 40ff. and Martin Kitchen, *A History of Modern Germany, 1800 to the Present* (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 240ff.

estate, indicate that Semke received a monthly allowance⁷⁶ from Portugal and informed his sponsors about his artistic progress by sending photographs⁷⁷.

In the archive of the *Hochschule für Bildende Künste* [University of Fine Arts] in Hamburg several documents regarding Semke could be rediscovered. The first is the registration form (fig. 8) Semke had to fill in when applying for admission.⁷⁸ Interestingly, he stated two professions in the section “*Gelernter Beruf*” [learned occupation]: he filled out the relevant field with “*Handlungsgehilfe*” [shop assistant] and additionally with “*Bildhauer*” [sculptor]. This entry in the application form neither is explainable nor plausible, as Semke—according to his own words—had never worked in any artistic way before. In his self-descriptive text *Escultura*, he clearly stated that a friend would have suggested the idea of studying arts:

One evening the friend told me: you should have something in your hands, you should shape, you should form something. Like a lightning bolt I recognized clearly that she was right. «Create» new things, working with the own hands.

The next day, [...] I went to the director of the Art Academy in Hamburg and asked to be admitted in the academy. He asked for works or drawings made by me. I had never drawn, never painted, never modelled. The director looked at me for a long time, started to laugh and said: tomorrow you may start in the class of ceramics.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ “This month we have the pleasure to send some *Marks* [Deutschmark; note from the author] more to you” [*Diesen Monat haben wir die Freude, Dir einige Märker mehr einsenden zu können*] Cf. Westenfeld, Letter from Henrique Delgado Westenfeld to Hein Semke (written between April 1931 and June 11, 1931), 8

⁷⁷ “Dear friend Semke, thank you for your last two letters with the photographs. We were very interested in the photographs. We consider those works, for the fact that they are very first studies, extraordinary promising.” [*Lieber Freund Semke, Für Ihre beiden letzten Briefe mit den Aufnahmen herzlichen Dank. Die Aufnahmen interessierten uns sehr. Wir finden diese Arbeiten, dafür dass es allererste Studienstücke sind, ausserordentlich vielversprechend.*] Cf. Henrique D. Westenfeld, 24.03.1931 Letter from Henrique Delgado Westenfeld to Hein Semke, March 24, 1931, HS 06-HS 10-Correspondência HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte, 1

Else Althausse writes on July 15, 1931, that she had shown photographs of Semke’s works to Johannes Roth, a German teacher, and his wife: “the couple Roth liked your last works very much. [...] In his joy he gave the 10 M.[arks] enclosed.” [*Roths haben Deine letzten Arbeiten sehr gefallen. [...] In seiner Freude hat er beiliegende 10 M.[ark] spendiert.*] Cf. Else Althausse, Lieber Hein Semke!, July 15, 1931, HS 06-HS 10-Correspondência HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte, 3f.

⁷⁸ Landeskunstschule Hamburg [Hamburg State School of Art], Registration Form Heinrich Albert Semke, November 12, 1930, Hochschule für bildende Künste.

⁷⁹ Semke, “*Escultura*, 1935,” 34

[*Uma tarde disse-me a amiga: debes ter qualquer coisa nas mãos, debes modelar, debes formar qualquer coisa. Como um relâmpago reconheci claramente que ela tinha razão. «Criar» coisas novas, colaborar por mão própria. No dia seguinte [...] fui [sic] ao director da Academia de Arte de Hamburgo e pedi-lhe para ser admitido na academia. Ele pediu trabalhos ou desenhos executados por mim. Eu não tinha ainda nunca desenhado, nunca pintado, nunca modelado. O director fitou-me longamente, riu-se e disse: pode começar amanhã com a aula de cerâmica*]

A second document, a certificate⁸⁰ (fig. 9), provides information about his teachers: Johann Michael Bossard (1874-1950), Max Wünsche (1878-1960) and Willy Paul Rudolf Habl (1888-1964). It also indicates that Semke's progress was very good, his diligence rated with the best grades possible in all subjects he took: ceramics, sculpture, figure drawing—but he did not participate in the lessons of geometrical drawing.

After two semesters at the *Kunstgewerbeschule Hamburg*, Semke decided, in 1931, to leave Hamburg and change to the *Kunstakademie Stuttgart* [Stuttgart College of Fine Arts] in Baden-Württemberg. This decision might at first surprise, as Semke was deeply impressed by his teacher Johann Bossard. In reply to a letter by Semke, Henrique Westenfeld mentions: “And we were very pleased, that Professor Bossard as well is not just simply and dryly there for you as a teacher, but that you also are touched and excited by him on the human level.”⁸¹ However, the exchange of letters between Semke and Westenfeld also indicates that personal reasons induced Semke to take this decision. His relationship with a girl called ‘Bert’⁸² had ended⁸³ and again, it seems to have been the couple Althausse-Westenfeld who suggested Stuttgart as possible location.⁸⁴ After Semke had taken his decision to actually change his residence and move to Stuttgart, Henrique Westenfeld provided him with addresses of friends and acquaintances, who “can advise and support you regarding the question of housing and conditions of life.”⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Staatliche Schulen für Freie und Angewandte Kunst [State School of Fine and Applied Arts], Zeugnissettel [Certificate], 1931, Hochschule für bildende Künste.

⁸¹ Cf. Westenfeld, Letter from Henrique Delgado Westenfeld to Hein Semke (written between April 1931 and June 11, 1931), 6

[Und gefreut hat es uns besonders, dass Professor Bossard auch für Dich nicht einfach und trocken als Lehrer da ist, sondern Du auch menschlich von ihm berührt und angeregt wirst.]

⁸² Bert Löwenberg, of whom Semke later claims, that it would have been her convincing him of studying arts. Cf. Semke, “Escultura, 1935,” 34 and Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 15

⁸³ On March 24, 1931, Westenfeld mentions “the person [...], that has become your auspicious star” and “your companion”

[den Menschen [...], der dort Dein guter Stern geworden ist]; [Deine(r) Kameradin]

Cf. Westenfeld, 24.03.1931 Letter from Henrique Delgado Westenfeld to Hein Semke, 3 f

Already in April 1931, the relationship seems to have ended and Henrique Westenfeld tried to find soothing words for Semke: “That this person, who became so much for you, wishes to go her own way, [...] how could one refuse this” [Dass dieser Mensch, der Dir so viel geworden ist, seinen Weg gehen will, [...] wie könnte man es ihm wehren wollen]. Cf. Westenfeld, Letter from Henrique Delgado Westenfeld to Hein Semke (written between April 1931 and June 11, 1931), 2 ff.

⁸⁴ Henrique Westenfeld adds to a letter of his wife: “Nevertheless, if you should one day go to Stuttgart, we can recommend one or two ‘humans’ there. Therefore, I would be delighted, if you some day would go there. I think, there is an entirely different climate, physically as well as spiritually.” [Solltest Du dennoch einmal nach Stuttgart kommen, so können wir dort einen oder zwei ‘Menschen’ empfehlen. Ich würde mich also freuen, wenn Du einmal dort hinkommen solltest. Ich glaube es ist dort physisch sowohl wie geistig eine ganz andere Luft.]

Cf. Else Althausse and Henrique D. Westenfeld, Joint Letter to Hein Semke, June 30, 1931, HS 06-HS 10-Correspondência HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte.

⁸⁵ Henrique D. Westenfeld, Fragment of a letter, ca. summer 1931, HS 06-HS 10-Correspondência HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte, 2

[können sie Dir betreffs Unterkunft und Lebensmöglichkeiten mit Rat und Tat zur Seite stehen.]

Myths, Curious Incidents and Obstacles—Becoming an Artist in Portugal.
The Early Career of German Sculptor Hein Semke

An application form in the national archive of Baden-Württemberg (fig. 10) proves that Semke lived in Stuttgart from September 16, 1931, onwards.⁸⁶ He enrolled at the *Kunstakademie Stuttgart* and became a pupil of Ludwig Habich (1872-1949).⁸⁷ Unfortunately, the College's student files have been destroyed during the Second World War; therefore, it is not possible to find any documentation on Semke and his course of studies in Stuttgart.⁸⁸

The artistic style of his new teacher, Ludwig Habich, was inspired by classical antiquity, "his favorite topic" was "the animated figure of a young man."⁸⁹ This strong contrast to the lessons in Hamburg and the different way of teaching disappointed the emerging artist⁹⁰ and led him to complain in a letter to his former teacher Bossard:

but here—dead formalism—corrected and evaluated are only studies of the nude—and the subjectivity of the pupil is not evaluated (with me it was tried to ridicule it as a problem); no, it is being shattered and the teacher tries over and over again to shape little 'Habichs' out of his pupils.⁹¹

While he wrote this letter, Semke was a patient in a sanatorium near Stuttgart.⁹² A severe illness had forced him to interrupt his studies,⁹³ but "[I]n winter I will return to Professor Habich, I

⁸⁶ Cf. Hein Semke, Antrag auf Ausstellung eines Reisepapiers [Application for Issuing a Travel Document], September 24, 1932, StAL F 215_Bü 495, Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Abt. Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg. In the request form Semke indicates that he was a resident in Stuttgart from "Sept. 16, [19]31 to April [19]32 and July 7 to –" [16 Sept 31 – April 32 u. 7 Juli–]. The form is signed on September 24, 1932.

⁸⁷ Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 15

⁸⁸ Zieger, Angela / Staatliche Akademie der Bildenden Künste [Stuttgart State Academy of Art and Design], e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida, July 28, 2014.

⁸⁹ Dorothea Stern, "Habich, Ludwig," in *Allgemeines Lexikon Der Bildenden Künstler Von Der Antike Bis Zur Gegenwart. Band 15: Gresse–Hanselmann* [General Encyclopedia of Visual Artists from Classical Antiquity to the Present. Volume 15: Gresse-Hanselmann], ed. Ulrich Thieme and Fred. C. Willis (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1922), 401 f.

[sein Lieblingsthema ist die bewegte Jünglingsfigur]

⁹⁰ It seems, that drawing had never been Semke's favorite subject. Already at Hamburg School of Arts and Crafts, he had not participated in the class of *Geometrisches Zeichnen* [geometrical drawing] (fig. 9), but in the course *Aktzeichnen* [figure drawing]. Cf. Staatliche Schulen für Freie und Angewandte Kunst [State School of Fine and Applied Arts], Zeugniszettel [Certificate]

His deep-rooted distaste for sketching and drawing followed him throughout his career. On September 16, 1951, he notes down in his diary: "strictly speaking, drawing is not in me, sometimes I even hate it" [*im Grunde genommen liegt mir das Zeichnen gar nicht, manchmal hasse ich es sogar*]. In: Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 105.

⁹¹ Hein Semke, (Apr. 1932) Letter to Johann Michael Bossard, April 25, 1932, AJB227, Archiv Kunststätte Bossard, 1

[*aber hier – toter Formalismus – korrigiert und beurteilt wird nur das Aktstudium – und die Subjektivität des Schülers wird nicht bewertet (bei mir als Problematik versucht lächerlich zu machen), nein sie wird zerschlagen und der Lehrer versucht immer neu wieder aus seinen Schülern kleine „Habiche“ zu machen.*]

⁹² Ibid., 1

In the letterhead and on the envelope the address information "*Landgut Burg Beutelsbach*" [Estate Castle Beutelsbach] can be found. According to information provided by the present owners, the building, today a hotel, was used as sanatorium.

⁹³ Information on the type of illness is not provided in the remaining documents.

requested a leave of absence for the summer semester.”⁹⁴ His state of health was as well addressed by Westenfeld, who expressed his deep concerns.⁹⁵

1.3 Return to Portugal (1932)

At the latest by August 1932, the decision must have been taken by the ‘people of Linda’ to bring back Semke to Portugal. That means, Semke had studied at most one semester at the *Kunstakademie Stuttgart*, in addition to two semesters at the *Hochschule für Bildende Künste* in Hamburg.

Besides Hein Semke’s health issues, a second reason seems to have convinced the couple Althausse-Westenfeld to support his return to Portugal. In an incompletely preserved letter, Henrique Westenfeld wrote:

Poor guy, that you temporarily even had to languish unsheltered, is—to a great extent—our fault, because you do not receive your money on time. Now it is summer and many times difficult to gather the money, because many have gone on a journey, on holidays, etc. Now I think, this loafing about there in Germany hopefully will have taken the longest time.⁹⁶

In this regard, it is noteworthy that Semke had his mail sent to the *Kunstakademie Stuttgart*, Urbanstrasse 37 (fig. 11), while he indicated his address in the request form for a travel document on September 24, 1932, as: “Panoramastrasse 22, Stuttgart Degerloch.” (fig. 10) This street is located in an exclusive residential area with many mansions which became a popular place of residence after the district Degerloch had been announced a health resort.⁹⁷

Already three weeks later, Westenfeld prepared an itinerary, gathering all information about necessary travel documents and asking Semke to request a quotation for the transport of the “considerable luggage that you have.”⁹⁸ After having received it, Westenfeld perceived the quotation as “a little surprise because we had not at all calculated that much for the thing” and

⁹⁴ Semke, (Apr. 1932) Letter to Johann Michael Bossard, 2

[*Zum Winter gehe ich wieder zu Professor Habich – habe mir fürs Sommersemester Urlaub geben lassen.*]

⁹⁵ Cf. Henrique D. Westenfeld, 16.04.1932 Letter from Henrique Delgado Westenfeld to Hein Semke, April 16, 1932, HS 06-HS 10-Correspondência HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte.

⁹⁶ Henrique D. Westenfeld, 19.08.1932 Fragment of a letter, August 19, 1932, HS 06-HS 10-Correspondência HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte, 5

[*Du armer Kerl, dass Du zeitweise sogar obdachlos herumvegetieren musst sind wir zum grossen Teil Schuld, weil Du Dein Geld nicht pünktlich erhältst [sic]. Es ist jetzt im Sommer oft schwer, das Geld zusammenzubringen, weil viele verreist auf Ferien usw. sind. Nun ich denke, dieses herumhängen [sic] dort in Deutschland wird hoffentlich die längste gedauert haben.*]

⁹⁷ Cf. Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, “Degerloch,” Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, accessed August 10, 2018, <https://www.stuttgart.de/degerloch>.

⁹⁸ Henrique D. Westenfeld, 12.09.1932 Letter from Henrique Delgado Westenfeld to Hein Semke. Subject: Organizational matters for Hein Semke's Voyage to Portugal, September 12, 1932, HS 06-HS 10-Correspondência HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte, 3
[*ahnsehnlichen Gepäck, das Du hast*]

adds: “but it does not matter, it will be done like that.”⁹⁹ Disregarding the high costs for Semke’s voyage, Westenfeld provided additional 100 *Mark* as travel money.¹⁰⁰ Finally, on October 7, 1932, Westenfeld again sent a detailed itinerary¹⁰¹ to Semke in order to inform him that the entire voyage would be paid and prepared.

When Semke arrived in Portugal in 1932, the country was not unknown to him, as he had already spent there around one year between 1929 and 1930. During this time, he had made friends and contacts, especially in the existing small German community. It can be assumed that his language skills were not especially good at the time of his second arrival, nevertheless, he had full support of his friends for his integration. In Portugal, Semke had to adjust to a completely different society with an own cultural and artistic history and, moreover, a different political system.

Portugal, one of the oldest states in Europe—“traceable in origin to 1140”¹⁰²—and without significant territorial changes since the Middle Ages;¹⁰³ for centuries had been active in maritime exploration and creating a colonial empire. After the abolishment of the monarchy in 1910, Portugal became a Republic with the constitution approved in 1911; followed by tempestuous years of political instability. The *Primeira República Portuguesa* [First Portuguese Republic] existed for 16 years (1910-1926), during which 44 governments were formed; seven parliaments and eight presidents were elected; 20 uprisings and coups occurred; more than 150 strikes took place; and, in Lisbon alone, more than 300 bombs exploded.¹⁰⁴

In 1917, Sidónio Bernardino Cardoso da Silva Pais (1872-1918), a member of the Portuguese parliament since 1911, took advantage of this chaotic situation. He had been ambassador in Berlin since 1912, but left Germany when Portugal—that had kept its neutrality up to that moment—joined the First World War on the side of the allied forces in 1916. In Portugal, Sidónio Pais seized power in a coup, abolished the constitution, and tried to establish the *República Nova* [New Republic] in which he aimed to be the charismatic and strong leader

⁹⁹ Henrique D. Westenfeld, 03.10.1932 Letter to Hein Semke, October 3, 1932, HS 06-HS 10-Correspondência HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte, 1

[*Es war eine kleine Überraschung, denn so hoch hatten wir die Sache garnicht [sic] einkalkuliert, aber es schadet nichts, wird auch so gemacht.*]

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 1

¹⁰¹ From Stuttgart to Antwerp by train (“express or fast train, of course” [*natürlich Schnell- oder D-Zug*]). Afterwards, on October 13, 1932, embarking on steamship ‘Pluto’.

Cf. Westenfeld, 12.09.1932 Letter from Henrique Delgado Westenfeld to Hein Semke. Subject: Organizational matters for Hein Semke's Voyage to Portugal, 1) and Henrique D. Westenfeld, 07.10.1932 Letter to Hein Semke, October 7, 1932, HS 06-HS 10-Correspondência HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte.

¹⁰² Saraiva, *Portugal*, 1997, xiii.

¹⁰³ Cf. Bernecker and Pietschmann, *Geschichte Portugals*, 2008, 9.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 100.

bringing back traditional values.¹⁰⁵ After Pais was assassinated in December 1918, the constitution of 1911 was reestablished, but the Republic remained in a state of unrest. Additionally, the situation was further aggravated by the post-war world depression following the First World War.¹⁰⁶

After two failed attempted coups in 1925, the military finally succeeded in overthrowing the First Republic on May 28, 1926. Under the military rule, Portugal's tightened financial situation deteriorated and all efforts to solve the crisis failed. In 1928, when "solving the problems seemed to be impossible,"¹⁰⁷ the government decided to appoint António de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970, fig. 12), by that time economics professor at the University of Coimbra, as minister of finance.

In the ensuing period, Salazar gradually extended his power. His politics of "restoring the finances, subordinating economy under the direction of the state and protecting the Portuguese and colonial market,"¹⁰⁸ in addition to his quick successes,¹⁰⁹ helped him to gain recognition and support of the middle and upper classes.

On July 5, 1932, Salazar was appointed as prime minister and entrusted with forming a new government. Like this, the transition from the military dictatorship to the *Estado Novo*, an authoritarian, nationalistic and dictatorial regime that would prevail until 1974, was smooth. "A precise date as origin of the New State cannot be designated, as its foundation did not correlate with a revolution, a certain party's election victory or the 'seizure of power' of any kind."¹¹⁰

In April 1933, a new constitution¹¹¹—tailored to Salazar as prime minister—was enacted, adopted by referendum one month before. From this moment on, he had gained dictatorial power and became the most influential person in the country; a position Salazar kept and developed until 1968.¹¹²

¹⁰⁵ Manuel Amaral, "Reis, Rainhas E Presidentes De Portugal - Sidónio Pais [Kings, Queens and Presidents of Portugal - Sidónio Pais]," O Portal da História (The History Portal), <http://www.arqnet.pt/portal/portugal/temashistoria/sidonio.html>, Cf.and; Presidência da República Portuguesa [Presidency of the Portuguese Republic], "Sidónio Pais," Presidency of the Portuguese Republic (Presidência da República Portuguesa), <http://www.presidencia.pt/?idc=13&idi=3340&idl=2>.

¹⁰⁶ Cf.Saraiva, *Portugal*, 1997, 109.

¹⁰⁷ Friedrich, *Salazars Estado Novo*, 2016, 43

[*eine Lösung der Probleme gleichsam unmöglich erschien*]

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 63

[*die Sanierung der Finanzen, die Unterordnung der Wirtschaft unter die Regie des Staates und der Schutz des portugiesischen und kolonialen Marktes*]

¹⁰⁹ Already in 1929 Salazar could announce a budget surplus. Cf.ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 70

[*Ein exakt zu benennendes Datum als Geburtsstunde des Neuen Staates gibt es nicht, da seine Gründung nicht mit einem Umsturz, dem Wahlsieg einer Partei oder einer „Machtergreifung“ irgendeiner Art hervorging.*]

¹¹¹ "Constituição Política Da República Portuguesa [Political Constitution of the Portuguese Republic]," in *Diário Do Governo* N.º 43/1933.

¹¹² In September 1968, António de Oliveira Salazar was diagnosed an intracranial blood clot, supposedly caused by a fall. After the operation, he never fully recovered and therefore was replaced by Marcello José das Neves

One of Salazar's main objectives was the self-sufficiency and the economic independency of Portugal and its colonies. The constitution of 1933 emphasized the state's orientation towards the Atlantic: in article 1,¹¹³ the Portuguese territory was defined as the continental mainland, the archipelagos Madeira and Azores; in West Africa Cape Verde, Portuguese Guinea,¹¹⁴ São Tomé and Príncipe, São João Baptista d'Ajudá,¹¹⁵ Cabinda and Angola were determined as belonging to the "Portuguese colonial empire,"¹¹⁶ in addition to Mozambique in East Africa, Macau, Portuguese India¹¹⁷ and East Timor in Asia (fig. 13, 14).

"Politically, the regime was characterized by the inflexibility of what was an entirely authoritarian State."¹¹⁸ Democratic aspirations were repressed; an omnipresent secret police,¹¹⁹ giving rise to "fear and fright in the Portuguese population[...] and extremely dreaded as governmental instrument of terror,"¹²⁰ was one of the pillars on which the state system was based; additionally, the media were controlled and subject to censorship. Integrated into the state machinery was the SPN (*Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* [National Propaganda Secretary]),¹²¹ created in 1933 under the leadership of António Joaquim Tavares Ferro (1895-1956), a writer and journalist, who understood the importance of cultural activities for the

Alves Caetano (1906-1980). Cf. Meneses, *Salazar*, 2009, 610 ff; *Diário de Lisboa*, "O Presidente Do Conselho Está Internado No Hospital Da C.V.P. [the Council President Is Interned in the Hospital of C.V.P.]," September 7, 1968, 16423, 1and; "So Oder so [Either Way]," *Der Spiegel*, no. 39 (1968): 127 ff.

¹¹³ "Constituição, 22.02.1933," 227.

¹¹⁴ Today: Guinea-Bissau

¹¹⁵ Today: Ouidah in Benin

¹¹⁶ "Constituição, 22.02.1933," 236

[*Império Colonial Português*]

¹¹⁷ The *Estado da Índia* [State of India] consisted of the enclaves Goa, *Damão* [Daman], Dadra Nagar Haveli and Diu

¹¹⁸ Saraiva, *Portugal*, 1997, 112.

¹¹⁹ In 1933, the PVDE (*Polícia de Vigilância e Defesa do Estado* [State Surveillance and Defense Police]) was established and its functions were defined in the constitution (state security, border surveillance, immigration control, control of foreigners). Intended as protection against external and internal enemies of the regime and as a tool for monitoring the population, the PVDE operated under the Ministry of the Interior, possessed certain competencies and maintained own prisons, among them the penal colony Tarrafal in Cape Verde, known in the Portuguese population as *Campo da Morte Lenta* [Camp of the Slow Death].

After the Second World War, in 1945, the PVDE was reorganized, vested with additional powers and renamed to PIDE (*Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado* [International and State Defense Police]).

Cf. Irene Flunser Pimentel, *A História da PIDE [The History of PIDE]*, Temas & Debates (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2007); Friedrich, *Salazars Estado Novo*, 2016, 124 ff and 265 ff; Marcelino Passos, *Der Niedergang Des Faschismus in Portugal.: Zum Verhältnis Von Ökonomie, Gesellschaft Und Staat/Politik in Einem Europäischen Schwellenland [the Decline of Fascism in Portugal. On the Relationship Between Economy, Society and State/Politics in a European Emerging Nation]* (Marburg: Verlag Arbeiterbewegung und Gesellschaftswissenschaft, 1987); "Decreto-Lei N.º 22992 [Decree-Law No. 22992]," in *Diário Do Governo No.º 195/1933, Série I De 1933-08-29 [Journal of the Government No. 195/1933, Series I of 1933-08-29]*, 1583–85

¹²⁰ Bernecker and Pietschmann, *Geschichte Portugals*, 2008, 115; "Decreto-Lei N.º 26539 [Decree-Law No. 26539]," in *Diário Do Governo N.º 94/1936, Série I De 1936-04-23 [Journal of the Government No. 94/1936, Series I of 1936-04-23]*, *Diário do Governo* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1936), 445–47

[in der portugiesischen Gesellschaft Angst und Schrecken [...] und als staatliches Terrorinstrument äußerst gefürchtet]

¹²¹ Renamed to SNI (*Secretariado Nacional de Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo* [National Ministry of Information, Popular Arts and Tourism] in 1945

transmission of ideological goals. Ferro focused his efforts on activities easily accessible for the public, like the publication of books, broadcasting, cinema, theatre, dance and journalism.

1.4 Settling as an Artist in Linda-a-Pastora and Successful Years as a Sculptor (1932 to 1940)

Soon after his arrival in Linda-a-Pastora in October 1932, Semke moved into the house of Martha Ziegler¹²² (1895-1957) (fig. 15, 16, 17), whom he had already met during his first stay in Portugal and who became his companion for the following 16 years. In her house, he established a studio and decorated it over time with his artistic production. (fig. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23)

About two months after his arrival, in December 1932, Semke participated in the *Salão do Inverno* [Winter Salon] of the *Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes* [National Society of Fine Arts - SNBA]), his first official exhibition in Portugal. Shortly thereafter, in January 1933, Semke wrote in a letter to Johann Michael Bossard, how well he would recover from the health-related problems afflicting him in Germany: “I really benefit, my sickness I do not feel very much.”¹²³ At around the same time, Semke received his first major order: he was contracted to participate in the decoration of the new church of the German Protestant community in Lisbon. This assignment was modified shortly afterwards and, instead, the artist was commissioned to design the *Commemorative Courtyard for the German Soldiers of the Community Killed During the First World War*, to be located next to the church.

In the beginning of 1934, Wolfgang Sievers (1913-2007)—born and raised in Berlin but nowadays well known as an Australian photographer specializing in architectural and industrial photography—arrived in Lisbon. After the National Socialists had come to power in Germany

¹²² Only very limited information on Martha Ziegler is available. According to Teresa Balté, she was born in Apolda, Thuringia, and had studied medicine in Berlin. In Portugal, where she had settled in the early 1920s, she did not obtain authorisation to practise her profession as a doctor and therefore worked as a nurse (fig. 15). Her motives for emigration are unknown.

According to Hein Semke’s diaries, Martha Ziegler was brought back to Germany by her family in September 1956, where she died soon after.

Cf. Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 171, 191 Teresa Balté, Documentação Hein Semke (1899-1995), HS1899-1940 [Documentation on Hein Semke (1899-1995), HS1899-1940], June 25, 2007, Private archive Teresa Balté - Estate Hein Semke, 10f. and Antonio Reis Luz, “A Menina Marta [the Girl Marta],” accessed August 10, 2018, <https://oentardecer.blogs.sapo.pt/a-menina-marta-806068>.

¹²³ Hein Semke, (Jan. 13, 1933) Letter to Johann Michael Bossard, January 13, 1933, AJB227, Archiv Kunststätte Bossard, 1

[*Es tut sehr gut, mein Kranksein spüre ich nicht sehr stark*]

in 1933, Siever's father¹²⁴ decided to protect his children by sending them away from the impending danger since their mother¹²⁵ was Jewish.¹²⁶

In Portugal, Sievers was given shelter by Hans Freytag (1869-1954), a family friend and by that time German envoy in Lisbon. The latter, "[c]ulturally very educated, cosmopolitan, open-minded, generous,"¹²⁷ even provided the young photographer with the possibility to set up a darkroom in the cellar of the embassy.¹²⁸ Thus, Sievers "between 1934 and 1935, [...] created his first significant body of work—producing fine interior studies of the Embassy building itself, photographing historical architecture and contemporary scenes in Lisbon, and working further afield in the picturesque countryside."¹²⁹

Soon after his arrival, Sievers met Semke and they "at once became friends."¹³⁰ Semke—as well a protégé of "Pappi"¹³¹ Freytag—largely owed the assignment for the commemorative courtyard at the Protestant Church to the envoy, who, additionally, supplied him with private commissions.¹³²

¹²⁴ Johannes Georg Ludwig Sievers (1880-1969), a renowned art historian, legation councilor and Director of Cultural Affairs in the German Foreign Ministry since 1918. In 1933, he "was dismissed from his post for refusing to join the National Socialist Party and serve under the Reich Minister for Propaganda, Josef Goebbels, and for his association with what the Nazis regarded as 'depraved' or 'degenerate' art."

Helen Ennis, *Wolfgang Sievers* (Sydney: National Library of Australia, 2011), 7.

¹²⁵ Wolfgang Siever's mother, Herma (*1882), died in 1932. She was "a baptised Christian of Jewish parents and brought up her sons as Lutherans".

ibid., 6 and cf. Jorge Calado and Wolfgang Sievers, *Linha De Vida / Life Line: A Fotografia De Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993 / the Photography of Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993* (Lisbon: Departamento de Património Cultural, 2000), 36ff.

¹²⁶ Cf. Jorge Calado and Wolfgang Sievers, *Linha De Vida / Life Line: A Fotografia De Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993 / the Photography of Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993* (Lisbon: Departamento de Património Cultural, 2000), 37

¹²⁷ Jürgen Krüger and Christiane Tichy, *Kirchenbau und Politik: Deutsche evangelische Kirchen auf der iberischen Halbinsel 1900 - 1945 [Church Construction and Politics. German Protestant Churches on the Iberian Peninsula 1900-1945]* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2003), 75

[*Kulturell sehr gebildet, weltoffen, tolerant, großzügig*]

¹²⁸ Cf. Jorge Calado and Wolfgang Sievers, *Linha De Vida / Life Line: A Fotografia De Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993 / the Photography of Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993* (Lisbon: Departamento de Património Cultural, 2000), 38 and Ennis, *Sievers*, 2011, 9

¹²⁹ Ennis, *Sievers*, 2011, 9.

¹³⁰ Jorge Calado and Wolfgang Sievers, *Linha De Vida / Life Line: A Fotografia De Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993 / the Photography of Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993* (Lisbon: Departamento de Património Cultural, 2000), 39.

¹³¹ Hein Semke and Wolfgang Sievers called Hans Freytag by his nickname 'Pappi' [Daddy]

Cf. Hein Semke, Letter to Wolfgang Sievers, January 5, 1936, HS 06 - HS 10 - Correspondência HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte, 3 and Jorge Calado and Wolfgang Sievers, *Linha De Vida / Life Line: A Fotografia De Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993 / the Photography of Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993* (Lisbon: Departamento de Património Cultural, 2000), 38 and Ennis, *Sievers*, 2011, 9

¹³² On January 19, 1934, Freytag writes in a letter to Hein Semke: "I understand perfectly that you are unsatisfied, since you do not have orders. [...] Do not trouble your head about the work for me. I have not forgotten about it, but currently am very busy. As soon as I am having an idea, I will let you know. I am thinking about something that corresponds with your peculiarity and yet is not that monumental that it does not comply with the dimensions of my home."

[*Ich verstehe vollkommen, dass Sie unbefriedigt sind, weil Sie keine Aufträge haben. [...] Wegen der Arbeit für mich lassen Sie sich keine grauen Haare wachsen. Ich habe es nicht vergessen, bin zur Zeit aber sehr beschäftigt. Sobald ich eine Idee habe, lasse ich es Sie wissen. Ich denke an etwas, was Ihrer Eigenart entspricht und doch nicht so monumental ist, dass es dem Rahmen meiner Wohnung nicht entspricht.*]

In December 1934, both, Semke and Sievers, participated in the *Exposição de Arte Moderna* at the SNBA in Lisbon, where Sievers took some impressive pictures of the exhibition's setting (fig. 24). Furthermore, the young photographer captured pictures of the German Protestant Church and portrayed Semke while working on the sculptural group *Kameradschaft des Untergangs* [Comradeship in the Downfall] (fig. 99), finalized in May 1935.

In November 1935, Semke published the autobiographical text *Escultura*¹³³ in the magazine *Sudoeste Europa Portugal – Revista Portuguesa* edited by José Sobral de Almada Negreiros (1893-1970), a versatile Portuguese artist and an already established name in the Portuguese art scene. Around the same time, Semke went on a study trip to Paris. Through the agency of the bookseller Ferdinand Ostertag,¹³⁴ who ran a German-French bookstore called *Au Pont de l'Europe*¹³⁵ in Paris, he met André Gide (1869-1951), Pablo Picasso (1881-1973) and Alberto Giacometti (1901-1966). When remembering these acquaintances in his diary, Semke writes on October 1, 1950:

In Paris I got to know the German bookbinder Ostertag, who later on went to New York. He was the co-owner of a bookstore, in which Picasso was introduced to me and whom I visited twice in his atelier, both times accompanied by Ostertag. I found Picasso to be a bit arrogant. For the rest I see in him, even if in a very criticizable way, one of the most typical

Hans Freytag, Lieber Herr Semke [Dear Mister Semke], January 19, 1934, HS 06-HS 10-Corresponência HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte

On September 3, 1934, the Envoy thanked Semke in a handwritten letter for an unspecified “figure”, which he praises as “mature work” and “outstandingly accomplished”. His housekeeper, “a very simple person”, would have looked at the piece and said: “One wishes to caress and console it.”.

Hans Freytag, Lieber Herr Semke [Dear Mister Semke], September 3, 1934, HS 06-HS 10-Corresponência HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte

[*die Figur*]; [*reifes Werk*]; [*ausgezeichnet gelungen*]; [*eine[r] sehr einfache[n] Frau*]; [*Die möchte man streicheln und trösten.*]

¹³³ Semke, “Escultura, 1935,” 31–35

¹³⁴ Ferdinand Ostertag (*1893) is difficult to trace. He was the owner or joint owner of several bookshops, publishing houses and printing houses in Berlin, at least one of them specialized in Judaica. In March 1933, he founded the bookstore *Au Pont de l'Europe* in Paris. Between 1933 and 1940, the store was a meeting point for German artists and authors escaping the National Socialist regime. When Germany occupied France in 1940, the bookstore was closed and Ostertag escaped to New York.

It seems, that the visitor's book of *Au Pont de l'Europe* survived times. It will be published as a facsimile reproduction in October 2018. If Hein Semke has registered in this book during his stay in Paris, could not be confirmed.

Cf. Inge Thöns and Herbert Blank, *Librairie Au Pont de l'Europe: Die erste Exilbuchhandlung in Paris [The First Exile Bookstore in Paris]*, 1.th ed. (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2018)

On Ferdinand Ostertag: Werner J. Schweiger, Buchhandlung und Verlag Ferdinand Ostertag (Eintrag für geplante Publikation "Lexikon des Kunsthandels der Moderne im deutschsprachigen Raum 1905-1937") [Bookstore and Publishing House Ferdinand Ostertag (Entry for the Planned Publication "Encyclopedia of Art Dealers of Modernity in the German-speaking area 1905-1937)], BG-WJS-M-1,51, Berlinische Galerie, Landesmuseum für Moderne Kunst, Fotografie und Architektur [Museum of Modern Art, Photographic and Architecture].

¹³⁵ Cf. Harry Graf Kessler, *Das Tagebuch (1880 – 1937), Band 9 1926 – 1937 [the Diary (1880-1937), Volume 9 1926-1937]*, 1st ed., 9 vols., ed. Sabine Gruber and Ulrich Ott 50,9 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010), 932

Myths, Curious Incidents and Obstacles—Becoming an Artist in Portugal.
The Early Career of German Sculptor Hein Semke

artists of our time. I have been introduced to innumerable leading names of Paris, among them André Gide of whom I think very highly as a poet. My impression of André Gide now, after 15 years, is blurred. George¹³⁶, the art critic, I met as well—Later on, I still was in written contact with different acquaintances of Paris. For years lasted the correspondence with a Bohemian architect—I forgot the name—his name was Bartosch¹³⁷—who made animated films. [...] Around this time, I have been several times, together with this Bohemian, in the house of the art dealer and art critic Hermann Uhde¹³⁸. He lived all his life with his sister in Paris. He was one of the discoverers of Picasso.”¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Waldemar George (1893-1970), born as Jerzy Waldemar Jarocinski in Poland, was considered one of the most important art critics in Paris between the two World Wars. He was a mediator for German art in France and collaborated in several art magazines, as for example, *Beaux-arts* [Fine Arts] and *L'Amour de l'art* [The Love for Art], of which he was the chief editor. In Germany he worked as Paris correspondent for the *Kunstblatt* [Art Print] and for *Der Querschnitt* [The Cross Section], published by the German art dealer Alfred Flechtheim (1878-1937) in Berlin.

Cf. Friederike Kitschen and Julia Drost, *Deutsche Kunst-französische Perspektiven 1870-1945: Quellen und Kommentare zur Kunstkritik* [German Art - French Perspectives 1870-1945. Sources and Commentaries on Art Critic], Passagen / Deutsches Forum für Kunstgeschichte Passages / Centre allemand d'histoire de l'art Bd. 9 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2007), 85f, 98

¹³⁷ Berthold Bartosch (1893-1968), born in Bohemia—the present-day Czech Republic—worked throughout the 1920s for the film director Lotte Reiniger (1899-1981). Among others he participated in the production of the animated film *Die Abenteuer des Prinzen Achmed* [The Adventures of Prince Achmed], that premiered in 1926 and today is considered the oldest surviving animated film. Bartosch went to Paris in 1930, where he worked with the graphic artist and painter Frans Masereel (1889-1972) on the animation movie *L'Idee* [The Idea].

Cf. Hans Emons, *Film - Musik - Moderne: Zur Geschichte Einer Wechselhaften Beziehung* [Film - Music - Modernity. On the History of a Variabel Relationship], Kunst-, Musik- und Theaterwissenschaft Band 14 (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2014), 63ff

On Lotte Reiniger cf. David Currell, *Shadow Puppets and Shadow Play* (Marlborough: The Crowood Press, 2015).

¹³⁸ Hein Semke erred in the name. Wilhelm Uhde (1874-1947), was a German gallery owner, art dealer, art expert and author. After having studied in Germany, Uhde settled in Paris and opened a gallery at Montparnasse. As he started to purchase works of Picasso and Georges Braque (1882-1963) in an early stage of their artistic creation, he is considered as one of their discoverers. Between 1908 and 1910, Uhde was married to the Russian-french artist Sonia Terk (1885-1979), later wife of Robert Delaunay (1885-1941), with whom she cofounded the Orphism art movement. Upon the outbreak of the First World War, Wilhelm Uhde had to leave Paris, his collection of modern art was sold by the French government in 1921. In 1924, he returned to Paris. Wilhelm Uhde, deprived of his German citizenship, survived the Second World War, hiding from the German occupation in Southern France. Cf. Lee Sorensen, “Uhde, Willy,” *Dictionary of Art Historians*, accessed August 12, 2018, <http://arthistorians.info/uhdew>; Jörg Schilling, “Uhde, Wilhelm,” in *Hamburgische Biografie-Personenlexikon* [Hamburg Biography - Biographical Dictionary], ed. Franklin Kopitzsch and Dirk Brietzke, 6 vols., Hamburgische Biografie 2 (Hamburg: Wallstein Verlag, 2001-2012), 422; Bernd Roeck, ““Von Bismarck bis Picasso”: Wilhelm Uhde und die Geburt der Avantgarde [“From Bismarck to Picasso”. Wilhelm Uhde and the Birth of Avantgarde],” in *Ordnungen in der Krise: Zur politischen Kulturgeschichte Deutschlands 1900-1933* [Routines in Crisis. On the Political History of Culture in Germany 1900-1933], ed. Wolfgang Hardtwig, Ordnungssysteme 22 (München: De Gruyter, 2007), 481-500 and Axel Madsen, *Sonia Delaunay: Artist of the Lost Generation* (New York: Open Road Distribution, 2015).

¹³⁹ Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 76

[In Paris lernte ich den deutschen Buchbinder Ostertag, der später nach New York ging, kennen. In der ihm mitgehörigen Buchhandlung ist mir Picasso vorgestellt worden, den ich 2 mal in seinem Atelier aufsuchte, beide Male in Begleitung Ostertags. Ich fand Picasso etwas überheblich. Sonst sehe ich in ihm, wenn auch sehr kritisierbar, einen der typischsten Künstler unsrer Zeit. Ich wurde unzähligen Pariser Größen vorgestellt, darunter André Gide, den ich als Dichter sehr schätze. Mein Eindruck von André Gide ist jetzt nach 15 Jahren verwischt. George, den Kunstkritiker, lernte ich auch kennen. – War nachher noch mit verschiedenen Pariser Bekannten in schriftlichem Verkehr. Lange Jahre dauerte die Korrespondenz mit einem böhmischen Architekten – der Name entfiel mir – er hieß Bartosch -, der Zeichen-Filme drehte. [...] War zu der Zeit auch mehrmals mit diesem Böhmen im Hause des Kunsthändlers und Kunstkritikers Hermann Uhde. Er wohnte mit seiner Schwester sein ganzes Leben in Paris. War einer der Entdecker Picassos.]

When Semke returned to Lisbon, he found himself in a bitter controversy regarding the removal of his sculptures from the *Commemorative Courtyard for the German Soldiers of the Community Killed During the First World War* at the German Protestant Church. After some disputes, he received a financial compensation in May 1936, coupled with the condition that he would return to Germany. In June 1936, Semke still participated in the festivities celebrating the 175th anniversary of the Protestant community in Lisbon (fig. 108, 109), but he eventually left Portugal in July, heading for Germany. However, contrary to the agreement, he returned to Linda-a-Pastora by the end of the same year.

After the sobering experiences with the work for the German Protestant Church, the following year brought a first success for Semke in his adopted home. The *Agência Geral das Colônias* [General Colonial Office] commissioned the artist to produce a total of three sculptural works for the exhibition *Exposição Histórica da Ocupação Portuguesa no Século XIX* [Historic Exhibition of the Portuguese Occupation in the 19th Century]. On February 27, 1937, he signed a contract for two sculptures, one “about Saint Anthony and the other S[aint] Francis Xavier for the ‘Sala da Cruz’ [Hall of the Cross], with the dimension of two meters in height [...] A prize of 10.000\$00 (ten thousand *escudos*) has been agreed for the entire work.”¹⁴⁰ (fig. 25 a) A contract for a second commission followed on March 17, 1937. This time “a block about the ‘Heroism of the Colonial Soldier’ with the dimensions of (1.50 square meters). [...] The prize will be 12.000\$00 (twelve thousand *escudos*).”¹⁴¹ (fig. 25 b)

The exhibition was inaugurated on June 19, 1937, in the *Pavilhão de Exposições do Parque Eduardo VII* [Exhibition Hall of Eduardo VII Park] and consisted of various rooms, each one dedicated to a different subject related to the “endeavors” Portugal had taken to build, maintain and defend its colonies.¹⁴² The ‘block’ mentioned in the second contract, was the sculptural group *O Drama Colonial* [The Colonial Drama], which formed the center of the

¹⁴⁰ Comissão Executiva da Exposição Histórica da Ocupação and Hein Semke, Contrato (S. Antonio / S. Francisco Xavier) [Contract (St Anthony / St Francis Xavier)], February 27, 1937, HS 06 - HS 10 - Correspondência HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte, 1

[*sobre Santo Antonio e a outra S. Francisco Xavier para a “Sala da Cruz” com as dimensões de dois metros de altura [...] Fica estipulado o preço de 10.000\$00 (dez mil escudos) para todo o trabalho*]

¹⁴¹ Comissão Executiva da Exposição Histórica da Ocupação and Hein Semke, Contrato (Heroismo do Soldado Colonial) [Contract (Heroism of the Colonial Soldier)], March 17, 1937, HS 06 - HS 10 - Correspondência HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte, 1

[*um bloco sobre o “Heroismo do Soldado Colonial” com as dimensões de (quadro de 1,50 metros). [...] O preço será de 12.000\$00 (doze mil escudos)*]

¹⁴² Agência Geral das Colônias, *Catálogo da exposição histórica da ocupação* [Catalogue of the Historical Exhibition of the Occupation]: I Volume (Lisbon: Editorial Atica / Ministério das Colônias Agência Geral das Colônias, 1937), VI

[*esforços*]

room *Sala do Drama da Ocupação* [Hall of the Drama of Occupation].¹⁴³ It depicted a Portuguese soldier and a converted African native soldier advancing over a battlefield. While the Portuguese soldier holds up the flag of the Portuguese Armed Forces, the African native tramples on a countryman lying on his back directly under him. The only two existing photos of the sculptural group (fig. 26 a-b) have been taken from the front, but they allow a limited view on a fourth figure on the back side of the sculpture, which supposedly delineates a dead or dying Portuguese soldier. Although Semke included this violent side of colonization into his artwork, it was considered to embody “the spirit that always encouraged the Portuguese colonization: the intent of lifting the savage tribes to the level of a higher belief and of a more compassionate culture.”¹⁴⁴

The two reliefs *Santo Antonio* and *São Francisco Xavier* (fig. 27 a-b) were located in the *Sala da Fé* [Hall of Faith]—in the contract of February 27, 1937 named “*Sala da Cruz*”¹⁴⁵—a room recreating a church. Both depictions portray the saints in high relief, standing in an upright position in frontal view next to a column. Both figures are characterized by a halo and identified by attributes; *Santo Antonio* is dressed in the habit of the Franciscan Order, accompanied by Infant Jesus holding a lily; *São Francisco Xavier* wears a Jesuit-style cassock, holding a crucifix, a bell and a book, and the column shows the Latin inscription *Ad maiorem Dei gloriam* [For the greater glory of God], the motto of the Society of Jesus.

Semke executed the work—the subject had been chosen by the General Colonial Office to underline “the primacy of Faith in the Portuguese colonial activity [...]. No other colonizing nation of Europe can be proud about that.”¹⁴⁶ While Saint Anthony is the patron saint of

¹⁴³ Relevant information necessary to trace this sculptural group is not available. According to Teresa Balté, the artwork has been stored “for a long time” [*durante muito tempo*] in the warehouse of *Agência Geral das Colónias* [General Agency of Colonies], but the current whereabouts are unknown.

Teresa Balté, Catalogue of Works by Hein Semke, 1937, August 25, 2006, HS-Esculturas-E37, Private archive Teresa Balté - Estate Hein Semke, 29f.

¹⁴⁴ *Agência Geral das Colónias, Catálogo da exposição histórica da ocupação [Catalogue of the Historical Exhibition of the Occupation]: I Volume* (Lisbon: Editorial Atica / Ministério das Colónias Agência Geral das Colónias, 1937), 234

[*está encarnado o espírito que sempre animou a colonização portuguesa: o propósito de elevação das tribos selvagens ao nível moral duma crença mais alta e de uma cultura mais generosa.*]

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Comissão Executiva da Exposição Histórica da Ocupação and Semke, Contrato (S. Antonio / S. Francisco Xavier) [Contract (St Anthony / St Francis Xavier)].

¹⁴⁶ *Agência Geral das Colónias, Catálogo da exposição histórica da ocupação [Catalogue of the Historical Exhibition of the Occupation]: I Volume* (Lisbon: Editorial Atica / Ministério das Colónias Agência Geral das Colónias, 1937), 97

[*A preponderância da Fé, na actividade colonial portuguesa [...] Nenhum outro povo colonizador da Europa se pode orgulhar disso.*]

Portugal and Lisbon,¹⁴⁷ Saint Francis Xavier is the patron of foreign missions and missionaries, who had worked as missionary in Goa during his lifetime.¹⁴⁸

1.5 Lisbon, City of Refugees and *O Mundo Português*—the Portuguese World Exhibition in 1940

In October 1937, Semke rented a studio at *Avenida 24 de Julho, 96-F*, in Lisbon. The building is located close to the river Tagus; nearby the railway line *Linha de Cascais*¹⁴⁹ [Cascais Line] leads along the river and the coastline of the Atlantic Ocean. From the building of his studio, it is just a quick walk to the *Docas de Lisboa* [Docks of Lisbon] in *Alcântara* and to the city center, where the *Café A Brasileira*¹⁵⁰ is located. (fig. 28)

Meanwhile, in Germany the National Socialists were ever more brazenly and blatantly imposing their politics and doctrines in every sphere of life. The cultural elite, hit hard by an ideological selection through mandatory membership in the subdivisions of the *Reichskulturkammer*¹⁵¹ [Reich Chamber of Culture], emigrated in droves, many via Lisbon. The Anglo-Hungarian writer Arthur Koestler (1905-1983), who passed through Lisbon on his way to England in 1940, described the situation in the town with the apposite remark: “Lisbon was the bottle-neck of Europe, the last open gate of a concentration camp extending over the greater part of the Continent’s surface. By watching that interminable procession, one realized

¹⁴⁷ Saint Anthony of Padua, resp. Saint Anthony of Lisbon, born as Fernando Martins de Bulhões (1195-1231) in Lisbon.

Cf. Hiltgart L. Keller, *Reclams Lexikon Der Heiligen Und Biblischen Gestalten: Legende Und Darstellung in Der Bildenden Kunst* [Reclams Encyclopedia of Saints and Biblical Characters. Legend and Depiction in Visual Arts], 9th ed. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2001), 53f.

¹⁴⁸ Saint Francis Xavier, born as Francisco de Jasso y Azpilicueta (1506-1552) in Javier, Spain.

Cf. *ibid.*, 236f.

¹⁴⁹ The *Linha de Cascais* connects the railway station *Cais do Sodré* in Lisbon with the seaside resorts *Estoril* and *Cascais*.

¹⁵⁰ The *Café A Brasileira* [The Brazilian Lady Café] in *Rua Garrett 120* is Lisbon’s most famous coffeeshop. Founded in 1905, it soon became meeting point of the Lisbon cultural elite. In 1924-25, after its refurbishment, the coffeehouse was decorated with paintings by contemporary Portuguese modernists (e.g. José Sobral de Almada Negreiros (1893-1970), Eduardo Afonso Viana (1881-1967), Jorge Nicholson Moore Barradas (1894-1971), Bernardo Loureiro Marques (1898-1962)), which initially lead to harsh criticism by customers and art critics. Nevertheless, by using the taproom of *A Brasileira* as exhibition area, “this coffee room was made the museum of modern painting which Lisbon did not have” by that time.

[*fez desta sala de café o museu de pintura moderna que Lisboa não tinha*]

França, *Arte em Portugal*, 2009, 83

Cf. as well Joana Bértholo, “Lojas Com História - a Brasileira [Shops with History - a Brasileira],” accessed August 14, 2018, <http://www.lojascomhistoria.pt/lojas/a-brasileira> and Paulo Henriques and Serra, João B., Siebelist de Vasconcelos, Veronika, *Portugals Moderne 1910-1940: Kunst in Der Zeit Fernando Pessoa* [Portugal’s Modern Era 1910-1940. Art at Times of Fernando Pessoa] (Kilchberg, Zürich: Stemmler, 1997), 43

¹⁵¹ The *Reichskulturkammer* was established in 1933, with Paul Joseph Goebbels (1897-1945; Reich Minister of Propaganda from 1933 to 1945) as its president. Initially, the *Reichskulturkammer* was separated in the subdivisions “for literature, theater, music, film, fine arts, press, and radio. The radio chamber proved superfluous and was eliminated after the outbreak of the war.”

Cf. Randall L. Bytwerk, *Bending Spines: The Propagandas of Nazi Germany and the German Democratic Republic*, Rhetoric and public affairs series (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 2004), 61

that the catalogue of possible reasons for persecution under the New Order was much longer than even a specialist could imagine; in fact, it covered the entire alphabet, from A, for Austrian Monarchist, to Z, for Zionist Jew. Every European nation, religion, party was represented in that procession, including German Nazis of Strasser's oppositional faction and Italian Fascists in disgrace."¹⁵² For the years between 1933 and 1942, estimations point to a number of more than 80.000 emigrants,¹⁵³ among them businessmen, scientists, artists and writers.¹⁵⁴ The city centre of Lisbon was crowded with emigrants; sometimes one could hardly hear a Portuguese word.¹⁵⁵ At the Docks of Lisbon in *Alcântara*, from where the ships departed in direction of the Atlantic Ocean, the refugees "slept up against their luggage as they waited the seemingly endless hours to board a ship. The offices of shipping companies were scenes of great chaos and noise as people tried to secure their onward passage."¹⁵⁶

Many of those involuntary travellers visited the café *A Brasileira*, a meeting place of Portuguese artists and, in those times, also considered as a point of contact for communists.¹⁵⁷ Semke visited this place in the city centre of Lisbon regularly, yet there is no reference in the artist's estate relating to the situation of the refugees. There is only one statement by Semke from the year 1961, which reveals that the artist was aware of their presence in Portugal. When claiming financial compensation as a victim of Nacional Socialism to the German authorities, Semke explained that the "many emigrants" were the reason for a law issued by the Portuguese State, in 1941, "stating that no foreign artist was allowed to receive artists' commissions" and therefore his "opportunity to earn money was cut off."¹⁵⁸

¹⁵² Arthur Koestler and Roland Laqueur, *Scum of the Earth* (London: Eland Publishing, 2012), 158

¹⁵³ Absolute figures do not exist as many emigrants crossed the borders illegally.

Cf. Patrik von Zur Mühlen, *Fluchtweg Spanien - Portugal: Die Deutsche Emigration Und Der Exodus Aus Europa 1933 - 1945 [Escape Route Spain - Portugal. The German Emigration and the Exodus from Europe 1933 - 1945]*, Reihe: Politik- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte 28 (Bonn: Dietz, 1992), p. 152.

¹⁵⁴ On the long list of emigrants, who entered Portugal in order to leave the European continent, stand names such as Heinrich Mann (1871-1950, author and brother of Thomas Mann (1875-1955)) and his nephew Golo Mann (1909-1994, historian, author and essayist), Alma Mahler-Werfel (1879-1964, composer, author, socialite), Stephan Zweig (1881-1942, author), Alfred Döblin (1878-1957, writer, psychiatrist), Lion Feuchtwanger (1884-1958, author). Some of the emigrants from Germany stayed in Portugal and built a new life; these include Max Braumann (1880-1969, painter, photographer) and Ilse Losa (1913-2006, author and translator).

Cf. *ibid.*, 163 ff.

The novelist Erich Maria Remarque (1898-1970) established a poignant written memorial of Lisbon as transit station with his novel *Die Nacht von Lissabon* [The Night in Lisbon].

Cf. Erich Maria Remarque, *Die Nacht Von Lissabon [the Night of Lisbon]*, KiWi 471 (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2009).

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Norbert Abels, *Franz Werfel*, Rowohlts Monographien 472 (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1990), 125

¹⁵⁶ Lochery, *Lisbon, 2011*, 1531

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Zur Mühlen, *Fluchtweg*, 1992, 162

¹⁵⁸ Hein Semke and Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Sozialbehörde Amt für Wiedergutmachung [Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg Social Security Office German Restitution Office], Wiedergutmachungsakte für Semke, Heinrich [Restitution File for Semke, Heinrich], 1961/1962, 22638_351-11, Staatsarchiv Hamburg [sehr viele Emigranten [...] dass kein ausländischer Künstler künstlerische Aufträge erhalten darf [...]. war mir meine Verdienstmöglichkeit abgeschnitten]

Despite the difficult situation for artists of all disciplines in Germany—of which Semke must have known, especially as he visited his home country in 1936—and in view of the growing number of refugees present in Portugal, he applied to participate in the *Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung* [Great German Art Exhibition],¹⁵⁹ an exhibition that supported the ideology of the national socialist artistic criteria. His motion was rejected, as he did not meet “the necessary standards.”¹⁶⁰

On September 1, 1939, the Second World War started with the German invasion of Poland. Besides the flood of emigrants coming to Portugal and forcing it into the role of Europe’s waiting room for the ones wishing to leave the continent,¹⁶¹ the country was barely touched by the armed conflict that churned up practically the whole world. During the entire length of the war—that covered the extensive period of almost six years—Portugal’s politics endeavoured not to get involved into it and to keep the effects on the country as low as possible.¹⁶² “While the lights were going out across the rest of Europe, Lisbon remained brightly lit, with neon advertising signs glowing from the top of buildings lending additional illumination to the brilliant white light of the street lamps.”¹⁶³ (fig. 29, 30)

In 1940, Portugal celebrated a double centennial: 800 years since the foundation of the country in 1140, and 300 years since the restoration of the independence from Spain in 1640. Already two years earlier, on March 27, 1938, the daily newspaper *Diário de Notícias* [Daily News] had announced on its cover page that this event would be “commemorated with magnificent national festivities and international impact.”¹⁶⁴

After two years of preparation, the decisively nationalistic exhibition *O Mundo Português* [The Portuguese World] finally took place between June 23 and December 2, 1940, in Belém, a parish situated around six kilometers southwest of Lisbon.¹⁶⁵ Similar to the show *Exposição Histórica da Ocupação Portuguesa no Século XIX* of 1937, the exhibition area of *O Mundo Português* was divided into different categories, like history, colonization, discoveries

¹⁵⁹ The exhibition took place between July 18, and October 31, 1937, in the *Haus der Deutschen Kunst* [House of German Art] in Munich.

¹⁶⁰ Karl Kolb and Haus der Deutschen Kunst [House of German Art], *Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung 1937* [Great German Art Exhibition 1937], April 24, 1937, HS 06 - HS 10 - Correspondência HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte [einschlägigen Vorschriften]

¹⁶¹ Cf. Zur Mühlen, *Fluchtweg*, 1992, 154

¹⁶² Cf. Friedrich, *Salazars Estado Novo*, 2016, 189ff

¹⁶³ Lochery, *Lisbon*, 2011, 180

¹⁶⁴ *Diário de Notícias*, “O Duplo Centenario Da Fundação E Restauração De Portugal [the Double Centennial of Foundation and Restoration of Portugal],” March 27, 1938, 25910, 1 [vai ser comemorado com festas nacionais grandiosas e de repercussão internacional]

¹⁶⁵ On the background and the development of the exhibition *O Mundo Português* cf. Acciaiuoli, *Exposições*, 1998.

or ethnography. (fig. 31, 32, 33) Semke participated with four large-scale reliefs showing scenes from Portuguese history,¹⁶⁶ each one with a size of 3x3 meters,¹⁶⁷ in the *Sala da Organização do Estado Colonizador* [Room of the Organization of the Colonizing State], the second room of the *Pavilhão da Colonização* [Hall of Colonization]. (fig. 34, 35)

Semke's participation in this "massive marketing operation" that "promoted an image of a humble nation committed to its civilizing mission in the world,"¹⁶⁸ in which "[n]ation, empire and of course the regime should be presented in the best light"¹⁶⁹ might surprise at first. But already at the initial planning stage, António de Oliveira Salazar had published an official statement defining the specific nature and the intention of the festivities. In this communiqué, Portugal's leader emphasized:

Being eight hundred years old is a rare or single case in Europe and in the entire world [...]. Almost from the beginning, with the effort of the first kings our frontiers on the Iberian Peninsula have been defined and fixed. Wars, many: but neither invasion or commingling of the races, nor annexations of territories, nor replacement of the ruling dynasty, nor shifting the borders [...]. Free from all the disorders of Europe, from where—one after the other—the modern states arose. Portugal has seen the birth of many, some have joined together or have fallen apart, several have disappeared.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ According to the exhibition catalogue, the titles of the reliefs were: "*A Fundação do Castelo da Mina*" [The Foundation of Elmina Castle], "*Lisboa, Metrópole do Novo Estado Marítimo e Colonizador*" [Lisbon, Metropolis of the New Maritime and Colonizing State], "*A chegada dos Portugueses ao Congo*" [The Arrival of the Portuguese in Congo] and "*A Actividade Informativa dos Portugueses: Pêro da Covilhã e Afonso de Paiva em Demanda do Prestes João*" [The Information Activity of the Portuguese: Pêro da Covilhã and Afonso de Paiva in Quest for Prester John].

Unfortunately, the existing photographic material does not allow an accurate description of the art pieces. According to Teresa Balté, the fate of the artworks or the whereabouts is unknown. Cf. Teresa Balté, Catalogue of Works by Hein Semke, 1940, October 25, 2006, HS-Esculturas-E40, Private archive Teresa Balté - Estate Hein Semke, 67–74.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. *ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ Ellen Sebring, "1940 Exposition of the Portuguese-Speaking World," Visualizing Cultures, accessed August 15, 2018, <http://visualizingportugal.com/1940-exposition-of-the-portuguese-speaking-world/>.

¹⁶⁹ Friedrich, *Salazars Estado Novo*, 2016, 237

[*Nation, Imperium und natürlich das Regime sollten im besten Licht präsentiert werden.*]

¹⁷⁰ *Diário de Lisboa*, "Oito Seculos De Nacionalidade. A Fundação De Portugal E a Restauração Da Independencia Serão Comemoradas Com O Maior Relevo Em 1939 E 1940 [Eight Centuries of Nationality. The Foundation of Portugal and the Restoration of Independence Will Be Commemorated with the Strongest Relevance in 1939 and 1940]," March 27, 1938, 5512, 1

[*Ter oito seculos de idade é caso raro ou unico na Europa e em todo o mundo [...] Quase desde o principio, com o esforço dos primeiros reis ficaram definidas e fixadas na peninsula iberica as nossas fronteiras. Guerras, muitas: mas nem invasão ou confusão de raças, nem anexações de territorios, nem substituição de casas reinantes, nem variação de fronteiras [...]. Liberto de todas as perturbações da Europa donde foram surgindo uns após outros os Estados modernos. Portugal viu nascer muitos, juntarem-se ou desmembrarem-se alguns, desaparecerem uns tantos.*]

Salazar issued this communiqué only two weeks after the German annexation of Austria on March 12, 1938. It seems, that he—at the sight of Germany's overt sabre-rattling attitude and its unconcealed preparations for a war—again clarified the neutral course he had chosen for Portugal and announced in 1935: "the traditional line of our foreign policy, matching the real interests of the Portuguese Homeland, bases itself in not getting involved, may it be in the European disorder, in maintaining the peninsular friendship, in developing the possibilities of our Atlantic strength."

Salazar continued, that the centennials would be a

big family celebration, not only the capital matters: the province, the islands, all the areas have to participate in it. And not only us. As this is an unusual event, it is not ambitious to hope that foreign countries wish to have the kindness to join the commemorative festivities through the many ways homage can be paid to an old civilizing nation or cooperate in the brilliance of a solemnity.¹⁷¹

With this announcement, Salazar had opened a bridge for foreign artists by officially inviting international participants to the event.

Although Salazar was sure that “this kind of solemnities will have [...] international repercussions” and “[o]ut of duty, out of curiosity, out of interest many foreigners will visit Portugal”, he stated that “(w)e should not want that the foreigners are visiting us in swarms, nor do we want to orientate the centennial festivities towards a way of touristic exploration, let us clearly state this.”¹⁷² Consequently, Portugal tightened the entry requirements for refugees after the armistice between Germany and France of June 22, 1940, and the following occupation of the latter, as “[d]estitutes, despaired and refugees in fear of death in no way fitted into the picture of the Portuguese capital.”¹⁷³

In the midst of the preparation phase for the ‘big family celebration’ in 1939, a fervent discussion sparked the Portuguese art scene. Arnaldo Cardoso Ressano Garcia (1880-1947), “caricaturist and illustrator, military engineer, colonel and teacher at the school of the army and the Faculty of Science in Lisbon”¹⁷⁴ and by that time the president of SNBA, attacked modernism and modern art, thereby causing a scandal. With his demands for a Portuguese art

[a linha tradicional da nossa politica externa, coincidente com os verdadeiros interesses da Patria portuguesa, está em não nos envolvermos, podendo ser, nas desordens europeias, em manter a amizade peninsular, em desenvolvermos as possibilidades do nosso poderio atlantico.]

In: *Diário de Lisboa*, “Um Documento Importante. A Declaração Política Do Chefe Do Governo [an Important Document. The Political Declaration of the Head of Government],” September 20, 1935, 4613, 5

¹⁷¹ *Diário de Lisboa*, “Um Documento Importante, 20.09.1935”, 1

[grande festa da familia, não interessa só a capital: a provincia, as ilhas, todos os dominios tem de participar nela. E não só nós. Tratando-se de acontecimento invulgar, não é ambiciosa a esperança de que países estrangeiros queiram ter a gentileza de se associarem ás comemorações festivas pelas muitas formas por que pode render-se homenagem a uma velha Nação civilizadora ou cooperar-se no brilhantismo duma solenidade.]

¹⁷² *Diário de Lisboa*, “Oito Seculos, 27.03.1938”, 1

[tais solenidades terão [...] repercussão internacional], [Por dever, por curiosidade, por interesse muitos estrangeiros visitarão Portugal], [Não devemos querer que os estrangeiros nos visitem em multidão, nem nós desejamos orientar as celebrações centenarias no sentido da exploração turistica, digamos claramente a palavra.]

¹⁷³ Friedrich, *Salazars Estado Novo*, 2016, 238

[Mittellose, verzweifelte und Todesangst ausstehende Flüchtlinge passten da in keinster Weise in das Bild der portugiesischen Hauptstadt.]

¹⁷⁴ Paulo F. de Oliveira Fontes and António Matos Ferreira, *Protestantismo e Catolicismo em Portugal nos Séculos XIX e XX [Protestantism and Catholicism in Portugal During the 19th and 20th Century]* (Lisboa: Universidade católica portuguesa, Centro de estudos de história religiosa, 2000), 425

[caricaturista e desenhador, engenheiro militar, coronel e professor da escola do Exército e da Faculdade de Ciências de Lisboa]

“on behalf of Christianity, nationalism and normality,”¹⁷⁵ underlined by anti-Semitic and anti-communist arguments,¹⁷⁶ Ressano Garcia did not only provoke national artists and architects to publicly protest,¹⁷⁷ but also directly attacked António Ferro, since 1933 director of SPN¹⁷⁸ and enthusiastic supporter of modernism.¹⁷⁹ At the end of the dispute, the “colonel president of SNBA lost the battle and with him the academics lost the war of contemporary art....”¹⁸⁰

António Ferro clarified his point of view and his approach to a modern Portuguese art—and thus to the program of the exhibition *O Mundo Português*—already before Ressano Garcia’s attempted campaign. In an open letter, published in the daily newspaper *Diário de Notícias* on June 17, 1938, Ferro mapped out the route from which he did not deviate:

The artists—who should be the princes of the commemorations because on them depends, mainly, its success—will do the possible to reach what appears to be impossible: create in painting, in sculpture, in architecture, the Portuguese style of 1940, not an *art nouveau* style but a modern style, strong, new, healthy, that comes from the past, shaking off the dust of the journey.¹⁸¹

The art of Semke, which was the most recent addition to the Portuguese art scene “and soon impressed everybody with the vigor and the strange beauty of his work,”¹⁸² was considered modern and expressive; his sculptures would “have strongest artistic expression”¹⁸³ and

¹⁷⁵ Acciaiuoli, *Exposições, 1998* 121

[*Em nome do cristianismo, do nacionalismo e da normalidade*]

¹⁷⁶ Cf. França, *Arte em Portugal, 2009*, 154; Acciaiuoli, *Exposições, 1998*, 121.

¹⁷⁷ The weekly newspaper *O Diabo* [The Devil] did not only publish a protest note of the architect Francisco Caetano Keil do Amaral (1910-1975) on the frontpage, but as well a list of remonstrative letters on a double-page. Cf. Keil Amaral, “Sobre Uma Conferência De Ressano Garcia [About a Conference of Ressano Garcia],” *O Diabo*, April 29, 1939, 240 1; *O Diabo*, “Depõem Críticos E Artistas. Acêrca Da Gênese E Da Universalidade Da Arte Moderna [Critics and Artists Testify. About the Origin and the Universality of Modern Art],” April 29, 1939, 240 4f.

¹⁷⁸ Renamed to *Secretariado Nacional de Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo* (SNI) [National Ministry of Information, Popular Arts and Tourism] in 1945

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Acciaiuoli, *Exposições, 1998* 121

¹⁸⁰ França, *Arte em Portugal, 2009* 155

[*O coronel presidente da SNBA perdeu a batalha e com ele perderam a guerra da arte contemporânea os académicos...*]

¹⁸¹ António Ferro’s open letter was reprinted in January 1939. Cf. António Ferro, “Carta Aberta Aos Portugueses De 1940 [Open Letter to the Portuguese of 1940],” *Revista dos Centenários* [Journal of the Centennials] 1, no. 1 (1939) 22

[*Os artistas – que devem ser os principes das comemorações porque dêles dependerá, em grande parte, o seu êxito – farão o possível para chegar ao aparente impossível: criar, na pintura, na escultura e na arquitectura, o estilo português de 1940, não um estilo arte-nova mas um estilo moderno, forte, novo, saudável, que venha do passado sacudindo a poeira do caminho.*]

¹⁸² Augusto Pinto, “Um Escultor Alemão Que Teve Por Mestre a Paisagem Portuguesa [a German Artist Who Had the Portuguese Landscape as Master],” *O Notícias Ilustrado*, February 3, 1935

[*e logo impressionou toda a gente com a pujança e a beleza estranha dos seus trabalhos*]

¹⁸³ A. P., “Artes Plásticas. Exposição De Pintura, Escultura E Arquitectura, Na Sociedade Nacional De Belas Artes [Visual Arts. Exhibition of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture in the National Society of Fine Arts],” *Diário de Notícias*, November 21, 1933
[*têm alta expressão de arte*]

“mystical grandeur.”¹⁸⁴ Journalists and art critics repeatedly emphasized the radical difference Semke would show comparing to his Portuguese colleagues: “Semke is a sculptor! His works [...] are of the best and (due to the liberty of expression) the most up-to-date the Portuguese might have seen in their country.”¹⁸⁵

Already in 1933, a journalist of the newspaper *República* [Republic] feared: “Semke is not Portuguese. Our audience, which can buy sculptures, is more interested in superficial things. If the State does not buy any work from Semke, he will leave one day, and nothing will be left behind that later on could remind of such a great artist who passed through here.”¹⁸⁶ Around one year later, a journalist of the weekly magazine *O Diabo* [The Devil] stated: “Hein Smke [sic] would be a great sculptor in any country and at any time.”¹⁸⁷

At this point it is necessary to mention that in Portugal of the 1930s and 1940s “[t]he presence of sculpture in the modern art exhibitions remained frequent, with a predictable predominance of busts and portraits in an art scene more than reasonably innovative.”¹⁸⁸ Semke’s distinguishing feature of being an expressionist sculptor “seems to have been almost a guarantee for participation”¹⁸⁹ in the Lisbon exhibitions of modern art. Especially, because—by that time—only few sculptors participated in the exhibitions, a fact that becomes particularly obvious in the newspapers’ reporting on the exhibitions. In *Diário de Lisboa* can be read about the exhibition *O Salão dos Independentes* in 1933: “Now turning to sculpture. Only five exhibitors. António Duarte [...], Antonio da Costa [...], Diogo de Macedo is in the catalogue but not in the gallery [...], Hein Semke [...], Rui Gameiro [...]. Finally, Salvador Feio.”¹⁹⁰ Around

¹⁸⁴ Artur Portela, “A Exposição De Belas Artes. A Obra Dos “Independentes”. As Suas Tendencias E Os Seus Defeitos. [the Exhibition of Fine Arts. The Work of the “Independent”. Their Tendencies and Their Shortcomings.],” *Diário de Lisboa*, November 20, 1933, 3960, 5
[*grandeza mística*]

¹⁸⁵ Rui Santos, “Apontamentos. O Conceito Da Arte Moderna [Appointments. The Concept of Modern Art],” *República*, April 29, 1933
[*Semke é um escultor! Os seus trabalhos [...] são do melhor e (pela liberdade de expressão) de mais actual que os portugueses devem ter visto na sua terra.*]

¹⁸⁶ Rui Santos, “Apontamentos. Hein Semke No Salão De Outono [Appointments. Hein Semke in the Autumn Salon],” *República*, November 26, 1933
[*Semke não é português. O nosso público, que pode comprar esculturas, interessa-se mais por coisas fúteis. Se o estado não comprar qualquer trabalho de Semke, ele partirá um dia, e nada ficará na nossa terra que possa evocar mais tarde um tão grande artista que por cá passou.*]

¹⁸⁷ Nogueira de Brito, “A Exposição De Arte Moderna Nas Belas Artes. Os Escultores [the Exhibition of Modern Art in the [National Society of] Fine Arts],” *O Diabo*, December 30, 1934, 27, 3
[*Hein Smke [sic] seria um grande escultor em qualquer terra e em qualquer época.*]

¹⁸⁸ Matos, *Escultura em Portugal*, 2007, 259

[*A presença da escultura nas exposições de arte moderna manteve-se com regularidade, com uma previsível preponderância de bustos e retratos num cenário artístico mais do que moderadamente inovador*]

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 260

[*parece ter sido quase uma garantia de participação*]

¹⁹⁰ Portela, “Exposição, 20.11.1933”, 5

[*Passámos á escultura. Apenas cinco expositores. António Duarte [...], Antonio da Costa [...], Diogo de Macedo está no catalogo, mas não na galeria [...], Hein Semke [...], Rui Gameiro [...]. Por ultimo, Salvador Feio*]

one year later, *O Diabo* laconically addressed the same issue: “the sculptors that have productions in the Exhibition of Modern Art. There are seventeen works exhibited and there are four authors. Let’s say the names: António Duarte, Hein Smke [sic], Maria Ramos and Salvador B. Feio. Few artists of sculpture in the Exhibition of Modern Art, isn’t that true?”¹⁹¹

Under those circumstances, Semke could easily integrate himself into the Portuguese contemporary art scene and take over a unique position: not only a foreigner, but also a modern artist and sculptor—with these features he closed an existing gap in the local artist community. Moreover, it seems that António Ferro must have become aware of Semke early on.¹⁹² On November 14, 1956, the latter recollects one of his encounters with the Director of SPN in 1935:

I owe to him that I had a quiet asylum in Portugal during the worst *Nazi*-years. In 1935, on the occasion of an exhibition, I have been accused of being a dangerous communist and defamed on a personal level towards [...] António Ferro by a German diplomat—António Ferro sent for me, spoke to me, and I stayed in Portugal. If this was his doing, I do not know with certainty, but I assume it. He always had a positive attitude towards the artist Hein Semke and as well owned several works by me.¹⁹³

Finally, the exhibition *O Mundo Português* was not only officially opened to foreign participants, as Salazar announced in 1938. It also offered a platform for artists of all disciplines to “create in painting, in sculpture, in architecture, the Portuguese style of 1940, [...] a modern style, strong, new, healthy,”¹⁹⁴ as António Ferro claimed. Semke, who became a solid parameter in the Portuguese modern art scene, and whose oeuvre was considered as “oscillating between an obviously very brute medievalism and a geometric constructivism of the utmost modern expression”¹⁹⁵ fitted exactly into the frame Ferro had prescribed.

¹⁹¹ Nogueira de Brito, “exposição, 30.12.1934,” 3

[os escultores que têm produções na Exposição de Arte Moderna. São dezassete os trabalhos expostos e são quatro os autores. Digam-se os nomes: António Duarte, Hein Smke [sic], Maria Ramos e Salvador B. Feio. Poucos artistas de escultura na Exposição de Arte Moderna, não é verdade?]

¹⁹² According to Hein Semke’s biography, edited by Teresa Balté, António Ferro belonged to a group of “intellectuals and artists” who visited Hein Semke regularly in his house in Linda-a-Pastora.

Cf. Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 16

[*intelectuais e artistas*]

¹⁹³ Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 178

[*Ich habe ihm zu verdanken, dass ich während der schlimmsten Nazijahre ein ruhiges Asyl in Portugal hatte. 1935, anlässlich einer Ausstellung, wurde ich von einem deutschen Diplomaten gegenüber Eça de Queiroz und António Ferro als gefährlicher Kommunist bezichtigt und menschlich verleumdet. – António Ferro ließ mich kommen, sprach mit mir, und ich blieb in Portugal. Ob dies das Werk António Ferros war, weiß ich nicht bestimmt, nehme es aber an. Er war dem Künstler Hein Semke immer gut gesinnt und besaß auch mehrere Arbeiten von mir.*]

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Ferro, “Ferro, Carta, 1939,” 22

¹⁹⁵ *Diário de Lisboa*, “Vida Artística. O II Salão De Arte Moderna Na Sociedade Nacional De Belas Artes [Artistic Life. The 2nd Salon of Modern Art in the National Society of Fine Arts],” October 20, 1938, 5717 5

[*A sua obra oscila entre um medievalismo aparentemente brutesco, e um construtivismo geométrico, de expressão moderníssima.*]

On December 2, 1940, the solemn closing ceremony took place at the *Pavilhão de Honra e de Lisboa* [Pavilion of Honor and of Lisbon]. During the event, “the head of State [...] awarded engineers, architects, artists and laborers who worked in the Exhibition.”¹⁹⁶ Different medals and decorations were conferred in a “long and much applauded”¹⁹⁷ ceremony, but as pointed out in the investigation of Margarida Acciaiuoli,¹⁹⁸ Semke was not among the ones who received this kind of official recognition.¹⁹⁹

According to a newspaper report of *Diário de Lisboa* [Lisbon Daily], published four days after the exhibition ended, “a number of around 2,800,000 entry tickets”²⁰⁰ were sold. A total of “twelve architects, nineteen sculptors and forty-three painters”²⁰¹ had participated, in what covered “[a]ll the modern artists, with rare exceptions.”²⁰² Literally all the big names of the Portuguese art scene were present, among them Hein Semke.

If participating in the Great German Art Exhibition in Munich—into which Semke had not been admitted in 1937—“was almost indispensable for the career of an artist in the National Socialist State,”²⁰³ this statement cannot be applied directly to the Portuguese exhibition *O Mundo Português*. The exhibition “admirably orchestrated on the magnificent stage of Belém, with the Hieronymites [Monastery] in the background and its pavilions in which Modernism stylized cultural details of the past, within the mapped out ideological orientation, it is a point of arrival and not of departure,”²⁰⁴ as afterwards commissions by the Portuguese state decreased drastically, what equaled a withdrawal of the support for artists.

¹⁹⁶ “Anais Da Câmara Municipal De Lisboa, Ano De 1940 [Annual of the City Council of Lisbon, Year 1940]” (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa [Municipal Chamber of Lisbon], Lisbon, 1941), 229

[o *Chefe do Estado* [...] *condecorou engenheiros, architectos, artistas e operários que trabalharam na Exposição.*]

¹⁹⁷ Acciaiuoli, *Exposições*, 1998, 216

[*longa e muito aplaudida*]

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 216

¹⁹⁹ The Swiss artist Fred Kradolfer (1903-1968), a painter, illustrator and graphic artist, who lived in Portugal since 1924, was awarded with the *Ordem Militar de Sant'Iago da Espada* [Military Order of Saint James of the Sword] due to his participation in the *Exposição do Mundo Português*. Cf. *ibid.*, 216

On Fred Kradolfer cf. Hannelore Correia, *Design Aus Portugal: Eine Anthologie* [Design from Portugal. An Anthology] (Stuttgart: Ed. Menges, 1998), 73 ff. and José Bártolo, *Fred Kradolfer: Design De Comunicação E Expositivo* [Fred Kradolfer. Communication Design and Exhibition Design], D 6 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda, 2012), accessed April 5, 2018.

²⁰⁰ *Diário de Lisboa*, “Uma Obra Nacional. O Custo Da Exposição E O Destino Que Vão Levar as Obras De Arte E Os Pavilhões [a National Production. The Costs of the Exhibition and the Destiny of the Art Works and the Pavilions],” December 6, 1940, 6481 4

[*Foram cerca de 2.800.000 o numero de bilhetes de entradas*]

²⁰¹ França, *Arte em Portugal*, 2009, 156

[*doze architectos, dezanove escultores e quarenta e três pintores operaram na exposição*]

²⁰² Ibid., 156

[*Todos os modernos, com raras excepções*]

²⁰³ Lutz Walter, “Die Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung [the Great German Art Exhibition],” Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, accessed June 24, 2018, <https://www.dhm.de/lemo/kapitel/ns-regime/kunst-und-kultur/grosse-deutsche-kunstausstellung.html>

[*Die Teilnahme an der Kunstschau war fast unverzichtbar für die Karriere eines Künstlers im NS-Staat.*]

²⁰⁴ França, *Arte em Portugal*, 2009, 157

1.6 An Exhibition to ‘All Artists That Suffered from Intolerance’ (1941): War and Postwar Period (1941 to 1949)

At the beginning of 1941, Semke gave up his studio at *Avenida 24 de Julho*, but before moving out, he organized a retrospective exhibition titled *Exposição de Hein Semke – Trabalhos em Portugal 1932-1941* [Exhibition of Hein Semke—Works in Portugal 1932-1941]. (fig. 36) In the booklet, which the artist had printed on this occasion, a total of 67 art works—mainly studies in cement and plaster—is listed chronologically by the year of completion.²⁰⁵

Curiously, Semke had written the following sentence, in large black letters and easily visible for visitors, on the wall of the studio:

*ESTA EXPOSIÇÃO É DEDICADA A TODOS OS ARTISTAS QUE
SOFRERAM COM AS INTOLERÂNCIAS DO SEU TEMPO*
[This exhibition is dedicated to all artists that suffered from the
intolerance of their time]²⁰⁶

Unfortunately, there is no statement of the artist regarding this slogan. The press coverage of the exhibition does neither mention this inscription nor does it attempt²⁰⁷ to question the motivation of Semke’s chosen motto. In fact, it is only mentioned in two articles. First, in *Diário de Lisboa*, which puts it into context of the studio space:

A huge inscription fills the attic of the sculptor: «This exhibition is dedicated to all artists that suffered from the intolerance of their time». As if to say: leave all the hope here, oh you who enter. Indeed, it is narrow, high and steep the stairs of the «atelier» in Avenida 24 de Julho, 96-F. But the artist has climbed them!²⁰⁸

The second article, in the magazine *Portvcafe*,²⁰⁹ also mentions the motto, but explains a general societal approach towards artists: “The artist, especially because he is not a case that

[admiravelmente agenciada no palco magnífico de Belém, com os Jerónimos como pano de fundo, e os seus pavilhões onde o Modernismo estilizava dados culturais do passado, dentro do rumo ideológico traçado, é um ponto de chegada e não de partida]

²⁰⁵ Cf. Hein Semke, *Exposição De Hein Semke: Trabalhos Em Portugal 1932-1941* [Exhibition of Hein Semke: Works in Portugal 1932-1941] (Lisbon: Editorial Império, 1941).

²⁰⁶ Cf. fig. 39. and Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 75

²⁰⁷ The Portuguese media were officially subject to censorship since 1933. Cf. Friedrich, *Salazars Estado Novo*, 2016, 141 ff.

²⁰⁸ *Diário de Lisboa*, “Vida Artística. Hein Semke Escultor Gotico. Exposição Ciclica Da Sua Obra [Artistic Life. Hein Semke Gothic Sculptor. Cyclical Exhibition of His Work],” March 5, 1941, 6566, 4

[Uma legenda enorme enche o sótão do escultor: «Esta exposição é dedicada a todos os artistas que sofreram com as intolerâncias do seu tempo». Como se dissesse: deixai aqui toda a esperança, ó vós que entraís. De facto é estreita, alta, e íngreme, a escada do «atelier» da avenida 24 de Julho, 96-F. Mas o artista, subiu-a!]

²⁰⁹ Carlos Parreira, “Exposição De Esculturas De Hein Semke [Exhibition of Sculptures by Hein Semke],” *Portvcafe. Revista ilustrada de cultura literária, científica e artística* [Illustrated Magazine for Literary, Scientific and Artistic Culture], March to June 1941, 80-81; XIV.

occurs quite often in his neighborhood, [...] necessarily has to be considered as a social abnormality, a leap in the rhythm of civil customary.” Therefore, the neighbors would consider the artist as “crazy” and “label him as lunatic, as poet, as weird.”²¹⁰

Obviously, Semke must have invited the media representatives himself, as he organized the exhibition in his studio and not in a public place with the support of, for example, a gallery. Therefore, he must have been well aware that the letters would be recognized. With which intention Semke, after all, affixed the lettering to the wall is difficult to decide, as the artist did not comment on his ulterior motives. One attempted explanation could be, as Teresa Balté claims, that the artist had to give up his studio due to the fact that the Portuguese Government reinforced laws for the protection of domestic artists, which prohibited orders to non-national or foreign artists.²¹¹ Whether such a law was, de facto, issued will be analyzed in the fourth chapter of the present study.

Immediately after the outbreak of the Second World War, Portugal declared its neutrality and was able to keep this status until the unconditional surrender of the German Reich on May 8, 1945.²¹² Through clever diplomacy and skillful politics, Salazar could spare his country from being involved in the military conflict.²¹³ Nevertheless, the war was present as well in Portugal, as newspapers and magazines commented and reported on it—albeit filtered by censorship—and visible, especially in the capital, through the refugees. With the end of the exhibition *O Mundo Português*, which had “allowed the State to act as a sponsor of artistic life, providing contracts, orders, and personal contacts,”²¹⁴ the number of commissions by the State decreased drastically.

Although Semke regularly participated in the annual Modern Art Exhibitions of SPN, he depended on private commissions, which were rare. Finally, in 1944, he was commissioned to create the grave of Charlotte Kristeller, who was a member of the German community in Lisbon, at the *Cemitério dos Prazeres* [Cemetery of Prazeres]. (fig. 37 a-c) The widower, Fritz Kristeller, decided to commission Semke for the decoration of the grave in order to support the

²¹⁰ Ibid.

[*O artista, exactamente porque não é um caso, que acontece com frequência no seu bairro; [...] tem, por força, de ser considerado uma anomalia social, um salto de ritmo no consuetudinário civil. [...] os vizinhos do seu prédio tomam-no por maluco. [...] o etiquetar de lunático, de poeta, de esquisito.*]

²¹¹ Cf. Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 75 and Teresa Balté, Documentação Hein Semke (1899-1995), HS1941-50 [Documentation on Hein Semke (1899-1995), HS1941-50], June 25, 2007, Private archive Teresa Balté - Estate Hein Semke, 59

²¹² Cf. Friedrich, *Salazars Estado Novo*, 2016, 190.

²¹³ Ibid., 189 ff. and Meneses, *Salazar*, 2009, 223 ff.

²¹⁴ Meneses, *Salazar*, 2009, 188

artist financially.²¹⁵ Initially, Semke was tasked with designing the entire grave, but when he presented his plans to Kristeller, they were considered too costly.²¹⁶ Under those circumstances, only Semke's sculpture of a female figure was integrated into the design of the burial plot. The depiction is a variation of the sculpture *A Dor* [The Pain] (fig. 95), which the artist had created ten years earlier for the German Protestant Church of Lisbon. The posture of the hands—one laid on top of the other—is similar, as is the gown with wide sleeves. In contrast to *A Dor*, the sculpture for the grave stands upright and seems to look at the beholder, a design adapted from figuratively shaped medieval tombstones. (fig. 38)

After the end of the war in 1945, Semke established contact with the *Union deutscher sozialistischer Organisationen in Großbritannien* [Union of German Socialist Organizations in Great Britain],²¹⁷ an exile organization of German socialists and social democrats who had fled the Nazi regime to London. From there, the exiled tried to organize aid collections for the “men and women of the concentration camps and penitentiaries, the children of the victims who have fought against the dictatorship, many of them homeless, shelterless and destitute.”²¹⁸ In order to assist this organization, Semke requested support from the *Bartholomäus-Brüderschaft der Deutschen in Lissabon* [German Brotherhood of Bartholomew in Lisbon]²¹⁹ and the Pastor of the German Protestant Church in Lisbon. The latter informed Semke that he would have already initiated an aid campaign, but would be happy to join the efforts.²²⁰ In 1961, Semke claimed that he would have “[i]n the year 1945-1946 initiated the first aid collection,” which failed due

²¹⁵ Cf. Teresa Balté, Catalogue of Works by Hein Semke, 1944, March 20, 1997/2003, HS-Esculturas-E44, Private archive Teresa Balté - Estate Hein Semke, 2.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 2

²¹⁷ Cf. Wilhelm Sander, Lieber Freund [Dear Friend], December 1945, HS 06 - HS 10 - Correspondências HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte.

²¹⁸ Wilhelm Sander, Flugblatt 'Hungern und Frieren' [Flyer 'Starving and Freezing'], 1945, HS 06 - HS 10 - Correspondências HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte
[*Den Männern und Frauen aus den Konzentrationslagern und Zuchthäusern, den Kindern der Opfer im Freiheitskampf gegen die Diktatur, viele von ihnen heimat-, heim- und mittellos*]

²¹⁹ The *Bartholomäus-Brüderschaft der Deutschen in Lissabon* [German Brotherhood of Bartholomew in Lisbon] was founded in the 13th century, originally to support German crusaders facing a position of need due to staying in Lisbon after the liberation of the country from the Moors. Still today, this organization provides assistance to German citizens residing in Lisbon and has committed itself to the promotion of social and cultural activities, as well as to the preservation of German institutions.

Cf. Bartholomäus-Brüderschaft der Deutschen in Lissabon, “Der Deutschen Heimat Verbunden, Die Portugiesische Hauptstadt Im Blick [Connected to the German Home, with an Eye on the Portuguese Capital],” Bartholomäus-Brüderschaft der Deutschen in Lissabon, accessed April 23, 2018, <https://www.bartolomeu.org/>
About the history of *Bartholomäus-Brüderschaft* and its self-imposed obligations cf. Ingeborg Loether-Tomás, “Die Bartholomäus-Brüderschaft [the Brotherhood of Bartholomew],” *Portugal-Post*, no. 27 (2004), accessed November 28, 2016.

²²⁰ Cf. Lothar Thomas, Sehr geehrter Herr Semke [Dear Mister Semke], November 15, 1945, HS 06 - HS 10 - Correspondências HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte and Lothar Thomas, Sehr geehrter Herr Semke (gemeinsame Hilfsaktion) [Dear Mister Semke (Joint Aid Campaign)], December 13, 1945, HS 06 - HS 10 - Correspondências HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte.

to the fact that, as Semke described it, it was “prohibited by the allied forces, because a helping hand for starving Germany was not yet wanted.”²²¹

Nevertheless, Semke maintained contact with the exiled politicians of the *Union deutscher sozialistischer Organisationen in Großbritannien*, who were, to a large extent, involved in the foundation of the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* [SPD, Social Democratic Party of Germany] in 1946.²²² At least until 1955, the artist repeatedly requested support and asked for employment opportunities as art teacher in Germany, but his inquiries in this regard all received a negative answer.²²³ He even sent poems written by him to members of the SPD and the *Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund* [Federation of German Trade Unions] in order to request support in finding an editor or publisher, but those attempts as well were ineffective.²²⁴

In 1947, Semke published an article about the German artist Ernst Barlach (1870-1938) in the Portuguese magazine *O Mundo Literário*²²⁵ [The Literary World] (fig. 39), which appeared in two parts in January and February. The text offers a brief overview of Barlach’s life and mentions his comprehensive literary and artistic opus. This “quiet propaganda for real German culture,”²²⁶ as Semke called his article in 1961, was—from his point of view—supposed to make Barlach known to a Portuguese audience. Furthermore, it shows the importance of this artist for Semke and even justifies his own art. By highlighting similarities between Barlach and himself (origin, education, being misunderstood as an artist), Semke

²²¹ Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 351-11, Wiedergutmachungsakte Hein Semke, Amt für Wiedergutmachung Nr. 22638 [Im Jahre 1945-1946 leitete ich die erste Hilfssammlung ein [...], die später von den Alliierten untersagt wurde weil man zu dieser Zeit noch keine helfende Hand fürs hungernde Deutschland haben wollte]

²²² Cf. Uwe Knüpfer, “Für Ein Besseres Deutschland [for a Better Germany],” accessed August 22, 2018, https://www.150-jahre-spd.de/meilensteine/85956/1945_fuer_ein_besseres_deutschland.html.

²²³ Cf. Ollenbauer, Erich / Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, Parteivorstand [Social Democratic Party of Germany, Party Executive], Lieber Herr Semke!, September 4, 1947, HS 06 - HS 10 - Correspondências HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte; Sander, Wilhelm / Sozialdemokratische Fraktion des Deutschen Bundestages [Socialist Group in the German Parliament], Lieber Genosse Semke! [Dear Comrade Semke!], June 17, 1950, HS 06 - HS 10 - Correspondências HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte.

²²⁴ Cf. Sander, Wilhelm / Sozialdemokratische Fraktion des Deutschen Bundestages [Socialist Group in the German Parliament], Lieber Genosse Semke! [Dear Comrade Semke!]; Sander, Wilhelm / Sozialdemokratische Fraktion des Deutschen Bundestages [Socialist Group in the German Parliament], Lieber Genosse Semke! [Dear Comrade Semke!], August 23, 1950, HS 06 - HS 10 - Correspondências HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte and Rosenberg, Ludwig / Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, Bundesvorstand [Federation of German Trade Unions, Federal Board], Lieber Freund Semke!, July 17, 1951, HS 06 - HS 10 - Correspondências HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte.

²²⁵ Hein Semke, “Ernst Barlach,” *O Mundo Literário - Semanário de Crítica e Informação* [The Literary World - Weekly Publication for Critics and Information] 38 (1947) and Hein Semke, “Ernst Barlach,” *O Mundo Literário - Semanário de Crítica e Informação* [The Literary World - Weekly Publication for Critics and Information] 39 (1947).

²²⁶ Semke and Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Sozialbehörde Amt für Wiedergutmachung [Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg Social Security Office German Restitution Office], Wiedergutmachungsakte für Semke, Heinrich [Restitution File for Semke, Heinrich] [stille Propaganda für die echte deutsche Kultur]

describes what he actually wanted to achieve in his work: “As a man from the north of Germany, Barlach wanted to explore what lies behind things, he wanted the inner truth, but he wanted it in its entirety.”²²⁷

In fact, Semke was strongly influenced by Barlach’s oeuvre, especially during the initial years of his career in Portugal, as will be discussed further when analysing the artist’s work for the German Protestant Church of Lisbon. When Semke, mainly for financial reasons, had to refrain from sculpture and shifted his activity to ceramics, the influence of Barlach became less pronounced.

1.7 A New Field of Activity: Ceramics (1947)

Soon after publishing his article on Ernst Barlach, Semke presented his first institutional solo exhibition, which was also a sales exhibition. (fig. 40) The *Exposição de Escultura e Cerâmica de Hein Semke* [Exhibition of Sculpture and Ceramics by Hein Semke] in the *Estúdio do SNI* [Studio of SNI²²⁸] took place from May 1 to May 11, 1947. The presentation was much noticed by the Portuguese press, especially because Semke mainly showed ceramic works. The exhibition catalogue contains a list of art works on display: 50 pieces of glazed ceramics, 10 busts, 25 masks, nine “experiments and leftovers,”²²⁹ 35 pieces of pottery and nine sculptures.

The exhibition reviews were predominantly positive and his works in ceramics were greatly admired: “Semke, it is not exaggerated to say this, performs a revolution in the ceramic process. The modelling is excellent, full of strength that does not exclude delicate elegance, and the decorative effects [...] are most valuable.”²³⁰ Another article reads as follows: “The exhibition was, in our opinion, the message that we spoke about... it brought us a new light to life and lifted our soul!”²³¹ It was even assumed that Semke’s work would provoke a “true

²²⁷ Semke, “Semke, Barlach I, 1947,” p. 16

[*Como homem da Alemanha do Norte, Barlach quer [sic] prescrutar para além das coisas, quer [sic] a verdade interior, mas quer-a [sic] na sua plenitude*]

²²⁸ (*Secretariado Nacional de Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo* [National Ministry of Information, Popular Arts and Tourism])

²²⁹ Hein Semke and Miguel da Silveira, *Exposição De Escultura E Cerâmica De Hein Semke No Estúdio Do S.N.I. [Exhibition of Sculpture and Ceramics by Hein Semke in the Studio of S.N.I. 1947]* (Lisbon: Oficina Gráfica Limitada, 1947)

[*Experiências e Restos*]

²³⁰ *Diário Popular*, “Cerâmica Foi Revolucionada, 30.04.1947”

[*Semke, não é exagero dizê-lo, realiza uma revolução no processo da cerâmica. A modelação é excelente, cheia de vigor que não exclui delicada elegância, e os efeitos decorativos [...] são bastante valiosos.*]

²³¹ José M. Ferreira, “Escultura [Sculpture],” *O Cezimbrense*, May 11, 1947

[*A exposição de Hein Semke foi, para nós, a mensagem de que falámos... Trouxe-nos uma luz nova à Vida e elevou-nos a alma!*]

revolution”²³² in the field of ceramics. Nevertheless, there were also critical comments: “Hein Semke presents himself to us now as an art ceramist [...] Semke [...] doesn’t really have the charm of a Latin. He devotes himself thoroughly to the most dense and serious forms. In other words, he hardly looks happy.”²³³

In an interview with the Portuguese newspaper *República* [Republic], Semke claimed that he chose ceramics as a new field of activity due to its possibilities of experimenting: “Ceramics is an open field for new paths. If it wouldn’t sound pretentious, I would say that ceramics is a wide-open field of study.”²³⁴ Indeed, he started to commit himself mainly to the production of ceramic items as he could hardly survive from his work as a sculptor, as he admits in 1961: “Until then [1947, note by the author] I almost only produced sculptural work, of which I, though, could not take an economical advantage, I started to concentrate on ceramics and like this I had a very small source of income.”²³⁵ Nevertheless, due to this change, Semke succeeded in regaining the attention of journalists and art critics, which is an important factor for the career of an artist in order to maintain the sympathy of the audience. He was well aware that an artist is only considered an artist as long as he remains under discussion and in contact with the art-interested public, which includes possible customers.²³⁶

The positive media response soon convinced Semke to consider himself as a renovator of Portuguese ceramic art.²³⁷ In an interview of 1955, he even goes so far as to state:

²³² *República*, “Hein Semke Fala-Nos Do Processo Inovador Da Sua Escultura a Propósito Da Exposição Que Vai Fazer [Hein Semke Tells Us About the Innovation Process of Sculpture He Intends with the Exhibition He Will Make],” April 13, 1947

“Semke will, now, provoke a true revolution”

[*Semke vai provocar, agora, uma autêntica revolução*]

²³³ *Diário de Lisboa*, “Vida Artística. Exposição De Escultura E Cerâmica De Hein Semke [Artistic Life. Exhibition of Sculpture and Ceramics by Hein Semke],” May 9, 1947, 8780

[*Hein Semke surge-nos agora como ceramista de arte. [...] Semke [...] não tem, propriamente, a graça de um latino. Emprega-se a fundo nas formas mais densas e graves. Por outras palavras, raramente sorri.*]

²³⁴ *República*, “Hein Semke Fala-Nos, 13.04.1947”

[*A cerâmica é um campo aberto a novos rumos. Se não fosse petulância diria que a cerâmica é um campo rasgado para a investigação. Por isso procurarei ir o mais longe possível.*]

²³⁵ Semke and Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Sozialbehörde Amt für Wiedergutmachung [Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg Social Security Office German Restitution Office], Wiedergutmachungsakte für Semke, Heinrich [Restitution File for Semke, Heinrich]

[*Da ich bis dahin fast nur Bildhauerarbeiten machte, diese ich aber wirtschaftlich nicht auswerten konnte, verlegte ich mich ganz auf Keramik und hatte so eine ganz kleine Einnahmequelle*]

²³⁶ There would be no other way to explain why else Hein Semke throughout the years made himself available for several ‘background reports’ in tabloids, as for example: Carlos Queiroz, “A Casa Do Escultor Hein Semke [the House of the Sculptor Hein Semke],” in Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional, *Panorama. Revista Portuguesa De Arte E Turismo* [Panorama. Portuguese Magazine for Art and Tourism], 17; *O Século Ilustrado*, “A Vida Simples De Hein Semke [the Simple Life of Hein Semke],” May 11, 1957, 1010

²³⁷ In: L. de B., “A Exposição De Hansi Stael E De Hein Semke Nas Belas-Artes [the Exhibition of Hansi Stael and Hein Semke in the Fine Arts],” *O Século*, March 23, 1951 can be read:

“His activity amongst us is good for the Portuguese ceramic art. [...] What is done and sold here, in the best shops and in the most pretentious places is unfortunately of a lamentable delay and of a challenging bad taste. Not even the richest materials of our porcelain or our glass escape from a wave of tiring mediocrity. We needed a Semke for the crystal, as well as for the ceramics and the porcelain.”

Myths, Curious Incidents and Obstacles—Becoming an Artist in Portugal.
The Early Career of German Sculptor Hein Semke

—By that time there were few modern artists thinking about being ceramists. It is enough to tell you, that in 1935, in a German bookstore which I visited in Paris and that as well was frequented by André Gide and Picasso, I showed some of my works to this artist, who seemed not to pay much attention to it and who explained to me that he would not be interested in ceramics. The truth is, however, years later he turned up as a ceramist...

And Hein Semke, with a malicious smile sparkling in his small blue eyes, comments:

—Picasso has always been like that. He uses from others everything he can. That is why he became the «inventor» of modern art... Lately I have been to Barcelona, and there I saw, in a museum of pre-history, the famous goat with which he wanted to dazzle the world...²³⁸

Indeed, and this is important to mention, Portugal has a very long tradition in the production of pottery, ceramics and tiles. One of the centers of Portuguese ceramic pottery is the city Caldas da Rainha, where the famous *Fábrica de Faianças das Caldas da Rainha* [Factory of Stoneware of Caldas da Rainha], founded by the illustrator, sculptor and ceramist Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro (1846-1905) was located.²³⁹

Since the early 1940s, a modern artistic impulse for Portuguese ceramics was already provided by Jorge Nicholson Moore Barradas (1894-1971), an artist who had gained “recognition by the official entities as well as by the audience” for his work as illustrator, caricaturist and painter.²⁴⁰ When, in 1943, the Portuguese magazine *Panorama* published an article about “the house of Semke (pronounced: *Sêmeque*),”²⁴¹ a few pages further an article about “a new thing by

[A sua actividade entre nós faz bem à arte portuguesa de cerâmica. [...] Estamos muito atrasados em artes decorativas. O que por aí se faz, e se vende, nas melhores lojas e nos mais pretensiosos locais, infelizmente, é de um lamentável atraso e de um mau gosto desafiante. Nem os riquíssimos materiais da nossa porcelana ou do nosso vidro [...] escapam à onda de mediocridade fatigada. Precisávamos de um Semke para o cristal, como para a cerâmica e a porcelana.]

²³⁸ *Diário de Notícias*, “De Atelier Em Atelier. A Arte De Hein Semke, Escultor E Ceramista [About the Studio in the Studio. The Art of Hein Semke, Sculptor and Ceramist],” December 9, 1955

[- Nessa altura ainda poucos artistas modernos pensavam em ser ceramistas. Basta que lhe diga que em 1935, numa livraria alemã que eu frequentava em Paris, onde também iam André Gide e Picasso, mostrei algumas peças minhas a este artista, que pareceu não lhes ligar grande importância, declarando-me não lhe interessar a cerâmica. A verdade, porém, é que, anos depois, nos aparece ceramista...

E Hein Semke, com o seu malicioso sorriso a brilhar dentro dos pequeninos olhos azuis, comenta:

- Picasso sempre foi assim. Aproveita dos outros tudo o que pode. Por isso se tornou o «inventor» da arte moderna... Estive há pouco em Barcelona, e lá vi, num museu de pré-história a célebre cabra com que ele pretendeu deslumbrar o Mundo...]

²³⁹ Cf. José Leite, “Fábrica De Faianças Das Caldas Da Rainha [Factory for Faience in Caldas Da Rainha],” <http://restosdecoleccion.blogspot.com/2011/09/fabrica-de-faiancas-das-caldas-da.html>.

²⁴⁰ Paulo Henriques and Serra, João B., Siebelist de Vasconcelos, Veronika, *Portugals Moderne 1910-1940: Kunst in Der Zeit Fernando Pessoa* [Portugal's Modern Era 1910-1940. Art at Times of Fernando Pessoa] (Kilchberg, Zürich: Stemmler, 1997), 296

[Anerkennung von offizieller Seite wie vom Publikum]

²⁴¹ Carlos Queiroz, “A Casa Do Escultor Hein Semke [the House of the Sculptor Hein Semke],” in Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional, *Panorama. Revista Portuguesa De Arte E Turismo* [Panorama. Portuguese Magazine for Art and Tourism], 17:18

[a casa de Semke (pronuncia-se: Sêmeque)]

Barradas!”²⁴² could be read, extoling his recent developments in the area of pottery. (fig. 41) But only in December 1945, Barradas had an individual exhibition of his ceramic work at *Estúdio do SNI*²⁴³ in Lisbon—a show that “immediately won the audience”²⁴⁴ and laid the foundation for Barrada’s career as ceramist. The works on display—“some dozen pieces of faience and terracotta, sculptures, tiles and reliefs, of natural, painted and glazed earthenware”²⁴⁵—were entirely sold.²⁴⁶ The daily newspaper *Diário de Lisboa* reported in an article that

a new thing was born in Portugal: artistic faiences, full of endless opportunities, which will have to substitute the inexpressive foreign »knickknacks« populating the luxury showcases. Jorge Barradas, as if another Donatello of sculpture, but with simple clay, glazed or multi-colored, sensitive to form and elegance and as delicate as capricious, he gives us a series of fragile wonders that seem to fly, smile, dance.²⁴⁷

The work of Barradas, the success and the recognition he earned as a ceramist seem to have influenced Semke to also shift his main activity to this field, especially due to the better income opportunities. And, although it was not Semke who introduced ceramics as artistic working material in the Portuguese art scene, he nevertheless provided new impulses through his “natural harshness,” “original Germanism”²⁴⁸ and his “decisive influence of a barbaric naïve medievalism.”²⁴⁹

²⁴² Diogo de Macedo, “A Arte Moderna Nas Indústrias Decorativas. Faianças De Jorge Barradas [Modern Art in Industrial Arts. Faiences by Jorge Barradas],” in Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional, *Panorama. Revista Portuguesa De Arte E Turismo* [Panorama. Portuguese Magazine for Art and Tourism], 17:27 [uma coisa nova do Barradas!”]

²⁴³ Cf. Augusto Ferreira Gomes, *Jorge Barradas Expõe as Suas Criações Em Faianças De Arte* [Jorge Barradas Exhibits His Creations in Artistic Faience] (Lisbon: Secretariado Nacional de Informação, 1945).

²⁴⁴ França, *Arte em Portugal*, 2009, 117 [conquistou imediatamente o público]

²⁴⁵ Luís Reis Santos, “As Cerâmicas De Jorge Barradas [Ceramics by Jorge Barradas],” *Panorama - Revista Portuguesa de Arte e Turismo* 5, no. 27 (1946): 20 [algumas dezenas de peças de faiança e terracotta, esculturas, azulejos e relevos, de barro natural cozido, pintado e vidrado]

²⁴⁶ Cf. Artur Maciel, “Jorge Barradas,” *Colóquio. Revista de Artes e Letras* [Colloquium. Art and Literature Magazine], no. 12 (1961): 24.

²⁴⁷ *Diário de Lisboa*, “A Faiança Artística. Jorge Barradas Criou Uma Nova Arte Em Portugal. [Artistic Faience. Jorge Barradas Created a New Art in Portugal],” December 7, 1945, 8274, 4 [uma coisa nova nasceu em Portugal: a faiança artística, cheia de infinitas possibilidades, que deve substituir o inexpressivo »bibelot« estrangeiro, que peja os escaparates luxuosos. Jorge Barradas, qual outro Donatello da escultura, apenas com barro humilde, vidrado ou policromado, sensível à forma e à elegancia, e tão fino, como caprichoso, dá-nos uma série de frageis maravilhas que parecem voar, sorrir, dançar]

²⁴⁸ M.S., “Vida Artística. Exposição De Escultura E Cerâmica De Hein Semke No S.N.I. [Artistic Life. Exhibition of Sculpture and Ceramics by Hein Semke in SNI],” *O Século*, May 3, 1947 [rudeza natural]; [germanismo originário]

²⁴⁹ *Novidades*, “Arte E Artistas. Hein Semke Expõe No S.N.I. [Art and Artists. Hein Semke Exhibits in SNI],” May 6, 1947 [influência decisiva de um medievalismo bárbaro e ingénuo]

1.8 Relocation to Lisbon (1949): A Fresh Start with Margarida Schimmelpfennig and Difficult Years as an Artist (1949 to 1957)

In 1949, Semke left Linda-a-Pastora and Martha Ziegler, his companion of many years. He moved to Lisbon to live with the young artist Margarida Schimmelpfennig (*1925), daughter of German immigrants and by that time an art student. About two years later, on September 24, 1951, he noted in his diary:

I went away from Linda[-a-Pastora] for two reasons. The main reason was the impossibility of continuing life in its previous form. The second was my love—existing almost since 1945 and making its way deeper and deeper inside of me—for the slightly boyish girl [Margarida Schimmelpfennig; note by the author] in whom I assumed a huge artistic energy.²⁵⁰

After working for several decades as a radiology assistant in a doctor's office, Martha Ziegler became seriously ill due to the lack of protection. (fig. 42) In 1949, she was hospitalized, “with my consent,”²⁵¹ as the author stated in a 1950 diary entry, in a mental hospital. During her stay in this institution, Semke moved out of the common home in Linda-a-Pastora and moved in with Schimmelpfennig, renting a small room in Lisbon. Looking back on those days he wrote:

That I left all my things (16 years of work—my books—my letters etc.) in Linda[-a-Pastora] is presented as if I would have been surprised by Martl's [Martha Ziegler; note from the author] return and then would have ruefully dropped everything, because I would have known, that everything would be owned by Martl—The contrary is the truth: I have had two months to bring everything away [...]. But I did not do it because I did not want to destroy the ambience for Martl—I intentionally left everything behind to start all over again with Gret.²⁵²

Born and raised in Oporto, Schimmelpfennig studied sculpting at the *Escola Superior de Belas Artes* [School of Fine Arts] in Lisbon, completing her degree in 1953.²⁵³ In 1959, she spent several months in Munich, where she learned about the arts of enameling; a technique

²⁵⁰ Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 112

[*Ich ging aus Linda weg aus zwei Gründen. Der Hauptgrund war die Unmöglichkeit des Weiterlebens in der bisherigen Form. Der zweite war meine seit fast 1945 bestehende, immer tiefer sich in mich hineinbohrende Liebe zu dem etwas jugenhaften Mädels in dem ich große künstlerische Kraft vermutete.*]

²⁵¹ Ibid., 60

[*mit meinem Einverständnis*], diary entry of September 1, 1950

²⁵² Ibid., 139

[*Dass ich alle meine Sachen (16 Jahre Arbeit – meine Bücher – meine Briefschaften etc.) in Linda ließ, wird so dargestellt, als wenn ich von dem Zurückkommen Martls überrascht worden wäre und schuldbewusst hätte alles stehen und liegen lassen, zumal ich wüßte, dass Martl alles gehöre. – Das Gegenteil ist die Wahrheit: ich habe 2 Monate Zeit gehabt, um alles [...] wegzuschaffen. Tat es aber nicht, weil ich der Martl nicht das Ambiente nehmen wollte. – Ich ließ bewusst alles zurück, um mit Gret ganz neu von vorne anzufangen.*]

²⁵³ Cf. “Galeria De Sant’iago. Pintura, Escultura, Cerâmica, Desenho. Desde 1986 [Gallery Sant’iago. Painting, Sculpture, Ceramic, Drawing. Since 1986]” (Galeria de Sant’Iago, Lisboa, 2017), 53.

that, according to her, was not possible to learn in Portugal, as the material and the way of dealing with it was unknown.²⁵⁴

In 1953, Semke rented a studio at *Praça António Sardinha, n.º 8*, actually a basement flat, where he and Schimmelpfennig both lived and worked in restricted spatial conditions. The couple travelled on a motorcycle, a *Zündapp Bella*, across Europe in 1955. They followed a route of Romanesque and Gothic Art through Spain, France, Luxemburg and Germany up to Semke's home town Hamburg, where he had not been for almost 20 years.²⁵⁵ This voyage was probably connected with the artist's participation in the *Premier Festival International de la Céramique* [First International Festival of Ceramics] in the French city of Cannes, in which he participated as a member of the Portuguese delegation.²⁵⁶

Up to this day, Schimmelpfennig has received little attention as an artist, although she has been the first one in Portugal to work with enamel and glass in secular art pieces. Throughout her career, she dedicated herself to sculpting (fig. 43), jewelry production (fig. 44), pottery and stained glass windows (e.g. for the church *Igreja do Calhariz* in Benfica, Lisbon).

In addition to her activities as an artist, Schimmelpfennig runs a shop for arts and crafts in Sintra, approximately 25 km west of Lisbon, for around 40 years.²⁵⁷ Semke, with whom she spent 11 years of her life, was deeply impressed by her capabilities of drawing and her "almost masculine force"²⁵⁸ when working.

On the suggestion of his companion 'Gret' (Margarida Schimmelpfennig), the almost 26-year older Semke started to work as an author.²⁵⁹ Already in 1950, he published a volume of poems with a Portuguese editor at his own expense²⁶⁰ and thus got into further debts. However, his attempt to start another career failed, mainly because the poems were written in German. On November 16, 1950, the artist thought about withdrawing the book from the market, as only six

²⁵⁴ Margarida Schimmelpfennig, oral to Nina Blum de Almeida, June 15, 2014.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Cf. Luis L. Franco, "Guilherme Camarinha, Hansi Staël, Hein Semke," *Arte Teoria [Art Theory]*, 14/15 (2011/12) (2012): 168; Rita Gomes Ferrão, *Hansi Staël: Cerâmica, Modernidade E Tradição [Ceramics, Modernity and Tradition]* (Lisboa: Objectismo, 2014), 28

The delegation consisted of Fernando Abranches, António Pedro (1909-1966), Manuel Cargaleiro (*1927), Maria Luísa Fragoso (1917-1985), Hansi Stael e Tom (Thomaz de Mello (1906-1990)). The group was awarded with a gold medal, Semke received an honorary diploma. Cf. Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 172.

²⁵⁷ Margarida Schimmelpfennig, oral to Nina Blum de Almeida and Cf. Luís Filipe Sebastião, "Sintra Comemora Dez Anos Como Paisagem Cultural [Sintra Celebrates Ten Years of Cultural Landscape]," *Público*, December 4, 2005.

²⁵⁸ Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 13.

²⁵⁹ Cf. ibid., 43

²⁶⁰ Hein Semke, *Und... Gedichte [and... Poems]* (Lisbon: Portugália Editora, 1950).

copies had been sold.²⁶¹ Meanwhile, he had arranged to arouse the attention of the media and several articles about the book appeared in different newspapers.²⁶²

Between 1950 and 1960, Semke started writing several short stories, worked on narrations and an “attempted novel.”²⁶³ The majority of these literary efforts remained incomplete. As mentioned before, Semke’s efforts to establish contacts with publishers and editors in Germany in the early 1950s were unsuccessful.

In the context of his literary activities, Semke decided to regularly keep a diary, a habit he maintained almost all his remaining life. Already since 1930, he had frequently used notebooks and loose sheets to write down his thoughts, ideas and sketches. (fig. 45, 46) In total, there are about 17 books and a huge number of individual sheets;²⁶⁴ some diaries are only fragmentarily preserved, others have partially or entirely disappeared or been given away as a present.²⁶⁵ Semke wrote those diaries with the ulterior motive of publishing, one day, his biography, using his records as a basis, noting on June 16, 1957: “If I personally cannot put it into a polished style, then Gret must modify it later on (after my death).”²⁶⁶

In 1958, Semke created his first artist’s book, called “*Blume—Unbekannt*”²⁶⁷ [Flower—Unidentified], consisting of watercolor drawings combined with his own poems. (fig. 47) Until 1986, 34 books were completed (cf. Annex I), each supporting his own texts with drawings, collages, prints and watercolor paintings. The contents are reflexions on subjects that occupied the artist: religion (fig. 48), love (fig. 49), politics (fig. 50 a-c) and nature (fig. 51). Through those books, Semke was able to reveal a satirical aspect which he could not express in a similar way in his sculptures or in the ceramic items on which he concentrated since 1947. Until today, only one of those artist’s books has been published. Thirteen years after the artist’s death, his widow Teresa Balté edited the book *Bestiarium-Calendarium* in a German publishing house.²⁶⁸ Its structure resembles a calendar, each month is represented by a caricature supported by an

²⁶¹ Cf. Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 122

²⁶² Cf. *A Voz*, “Dos Livros. «Und». Poemas De Hein Semke [About Books. «And». Poems by Hein Semke],” March 31, 1951; *A Voz*, “«Und», 31.03.1951”; *Diário de Lisboa*, “Poesia. ‘Und...’ De Hein Semke [Poetry. ‘and...’ by Hein Semke],” April 19, 1951.

²⁶³ Semke, “Hannes, 1950-1952”

²⁶⁴ Cf. Hein Semke, Diaries 1-8, 1930-1998, HS 3--I Diário Cadernos (Hefte) 1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte; Hein Semke, Diaries 9-15, 1930-1998, HS 9-- II Diário Cadernos (Hefte) 9-10-11-12-13-14-15, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte and Hein Semke, Diaries 16-17, 1930-1998, HS 8-- III Diário Cadernos (Hefte) 16-17, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte.

²⁶⁵ Teresa Balté, oral to Nina Blum de Almeida, June 16, 2014.

²⁶⁶ Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 196

[*Wenn ich es selbst nicht druckreif machen kann, muss es halt später (nach meinem Tode) Gret umschreiben.*]

²⁶⁷ Hein Semke, *Blume - Unbekannt* [Flower - Unidentified], 1958, HSL 1, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte.

²⁶⁸ Hein Semke, *Bestiarium-Calendarium*, 1. Aufl. (Leipzig: Erata-Literaturverlag, 2008).

explanatory poem. The main subject are different kinds of characters and people, which are sarcastically exaggerated in their description.

From the moment that Semke moved away from Linda-a-Pastora, he had to face financial difficulties, many times not knowing how to come by with money for the next meal or how to pay back debts related to the acquisition of working materials. The artist's hope to "regain the influence, which I had before 1940" to "procure commissions for me"²⁶⁹ was disappointed. Out of the need to earn enough money to live and continue working, Semke started to organize sales exhibitions, but usually the revenue was small. He had to borrow money from friends, buy working material on credit and run up debts. The only regular income the artist had since 1945, was a financial support of "Esc. 1.000"²⁷⁰ by the *Bartholomäus-Brüderschaft der Deutschen in Lissabon*.

Although the artist desperately tried to arrange commissions and worried about the future²⁷¹ due to the financial difficulties, he showed himself averse to ask for work:

Yesterday in the evening I sat down with the sculptor Braga. Through him I got to know about all those practices that the artists here are using in order to get work and money. —Now I understand why the artists here are so unpopular. They are seen as beggars, as racketeers, as intriguers—yes, even as prostitutes that daily sell themselves and their art shamelessly and are ready for every kind of art-perversity only because of the money. I always excluded myself from this kind of hustle. Surely, they think I am very stupid. From their point of view—yes.²⁷²

After living in Portugal for almost 20 years, Semke, many times, struggled with himself, his art and even with his adopted country while facing the difficulties of living solely out of his profession. The cultural differences between the society in which he lived and his own mindset,

²⁶⁹ Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 112

Diary entry of September 24, 1951: "In one thing I was wrong.—I thought, I could regain the influence, which I had before 1940 to procure commissions for me"

[*In einem irrte ich mich. - Ich habe geglaubt, ich könnte den Einfluss, den ich vor 1940 hatte, wieder zurückerobern, um Aufträge für mich zu beschaffen.*]

²⁷⁰ Wimmer, Hans / Bartholomäus-Vereinigung der Deutschen in Lissabon, Ihr Unterstützungsantrag [Your Request for Assistance], August 20, 1945, HS 06 - HS 10 - Correspondência HS 10, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte.

²⁷¹ Cf. Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 12.

²⁷² Diary entry on July 19, 1950, in: *ibid.*, 33

[*Gestern Abend saß ich mit dem Bildhauer Braga zusammen. Durch ihn erfuhr ich all die Praktiken, die hier die Künstler anwenden, um Arbeit und Geld zu erhalten. – Nun verstehe ich auch, warum die Künstler hier so niedrig im Kurs stehen. Man sieht sie als Bettler, als Immer-nur-Geschäfte-macher, als Intriganten – ja sogar als Prostituierte an, die täglich sich und ihre Kunst schamlos verkaufen und zu jeder Kunst-Perversität bereit sind nur des Geldes wegen. Ich habe mich diesem Treiben immer fern gehalten, sicher nimmt man an, dass ich sehr dumm bin. Von ihrem Standpunkt aus – ja.*]

in combination with his financial situation, appeared to be an insurmountable obstacle for him.

On June 2, 1950, he wrote in his diary:

My artistical production is unfamiliar to the Portuguese. For them it is too modern and too strict. I play *too less* with the superficial and do not care at all about the taste of the audience. The audience loves the baroque playfulness, elegant and easy to understand. Just do not start thinking—Maybe I am wrong with this assumption of mine, and it might be that my work is considered as non-art by the Portuguese—In either case I am too heavy, too brooding for the *Latin*, the Portuguese. Partially my failure is caused by the fact that I do not have an own ceramic workshop and like this I always am depending on the goodwill—or the unwillingness of the workshop owners. With an own kiln, with own material (but that includes money and this I do not own) everything would look differently.²⁷³

In view of these circumstances, Semke published an article about the “renewal of ceramics”²⁷⁴ in the magazine *Cidade Nova* [New City], in which he complained about the fact that small potter’s workshops would not be capable of “competing technically with big factories.”²⁷⁵ Therefore, he demanded, that “the State should intervene,”²⁷⁶ and added that this should happen “[o]f course only in collaboration with artists that are aware of their responsibility.”²⁷⁷ However, the suggestion of the artist celebrated as innovator of Portuguese ceramics in his 1947 exhibition,²⁷⁸ passed unnoticed.

Finally, in 1956, Semke was entrusted with a major project: the creation of a wall decoration for the residence of the architect Carlos Lino Gaspar (1889-1966) in Figueira da Foz, (fig. 52 a-c).²⁷⁹ The building has been erected under the direction of the modernist architect João

²⁷³ Ibid., 13

[*Meine Kunstproduktion in Keramik ist den Portugiesen fremd. Sie ist ihnen zu modern und zu streng. Ich spiele zu wenig mit dem Oberflächlichen und kümmere mich gar nicht um den Publikumsgeschmack. Das Publikum liebt barocke Spielerei, elegant und leicht verständlich, nur nicht nachdenken. – Vielleicht irre ich mich auch mit meiner Auffassung, und es kann sein, dass meine Arbeiten von den Portugiesen als Nicht-Kunst angesehen werden. – Auf alle Fälle bin ich dem Lateiner, dem Portugiesen, zu schwer, zu grüblerisch. – Zum Teil liegt mein Misserfolg daran, dass ich keine eigene keramische Werkstatt habe und somit immer von dem guten – oder bösen Willen der Werkstätteninhaber abhängen. Mit eigenem Ofen, mit eigenem Material (dazu gehört aber Geld, und das besitze ich nicht) sähe die Sache etwas anders aus.*]

²⁷⁴ Hein Semke, “Da Vida Nacional. Renovação Da Cerâmica [About National Life. Renewal of Ceramics],” *Cidade Nova. Revista de Cultura* [New City. Magazine of Culture] 2, no. 2 (1950).

²⁷⁵ *Diário Popular*, “Cerâmica Foi Revolucionada, 30.04.1947”, 106

[*nunca podem concorrer tècnicamente com as grandes fábricas*]

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 107

[*deveria interferir o Estado*]

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 107

[*Naturalmente, só em colaboração com artistas conscientes da sua responsabilidade.*]

²⁷⁸ Cf. *ibid.*: “The exhibition of Hein Semke determines a renewal of ceramics” [*A exposição de Hein Semke marca [...] uma renovação da cerâmica*]

²⁷⁹ Cf. Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 180ff.

Henrique de Mello Breyner Andresen (1920-1967) and is today considered a *Monumento de Interesse Público* [Monument of Public Interest].²⁸⁰

1.9 Collaboration with Hansi Staël

In March 1951, Semke organized a first sales exhibition together with Hansi Staël von Holstein (1913-1961) (fig. 53), a Hungarian artist living in Portugal between 1946 and 1957.²⁸¹ Staël studied at the *Kunstgewerbeschule Wien* [Vienna School of Arts and Crafts] and at the Hungarian University of Fine Arts in Budapest between 1927 and 1932.²⁸² After working and exhibiting in Vienna, Hamburg, Budapest and Stockholm, she moved to Cascais,²⁸³ to where her husband was transferred.²⁸⁴ Soon after her arrival in 1946, she started to work at one of the oldest ceramic factories of Portugal, the *Fábrica de Cerâmica Viúva Lamego* [Factory of Ceramics Viúva Lamego]²⁸⁵ and participated in the *Exposição de Quadros e de Cerâmica* [Exhibition of Painting and Ceramics] of SNI in Lisbon. Her success is stunning, as she “sells all her work, achieved visibility and positive critics, what enabled her to receive commissions for regular work.”²⁸⁶ With the objective of satisfying the amount of orders she received, Staël moved to Lisbon and cooperated with the *Fábrica de Sant’Anna*²⁸⁷ [Factory of Sant’Anna], where Semke had his ceramic production fired.²⁸⁸

Within around one year, Staël became a popular ceramic artist and was even offered a position at ECA/EEC–*Estúdio de Cerâmica Artística/Escola de Cerâmica* [Studio for Artistic

²⁸⁰ Casa Lino Gaspar [Residence Lino Gaspar], Ipa.00025562, Direcção Geral do Património Cultural [General Directorate of Cultural Heritage] (2007); and Anúncio n.º 17541/2011 [Announcement 17541/2011], Presidency of the Council of Ministers-Institute for the Management of the Portuguese Architectural and Archaeological Heritage (Presidência do Conselho de Ministros - Instituto de Gestão do Património Arquitectónico e Arqueológico) Diário da República 46580 (2011).

²⁸¹ Born as Johanna Ilona Emilia Lénárd in Budapest, her nickname was ‘Hansi’. In 1938 she married the Swedish aristocrat Jacob Oskar Diedrik Staël von Holstein (1914-1969) and assumed his surname. In 1950, they got divorced, but the artist kept the name.

Cf. Ferrão, *Hansi Staël*, 2014, 10, 16, 22

²⁸² Cf. *ibid.*, 16.

²⁸³ Cascais is located around 25 kilometres west of Lisbon.

²⁸⁴ Cf. Ferrão, *Hansi Staël*, 2014, 19.

²⁸⁵ Viúva Lamego, “History – Viúva Lamego,” accessed August 24, 2018, <http://www.viuvalamego.com/en/handmade/history/>.

²⁸⁶ Ferrão, *Hansi Staël*, 2014, 21

[*Vende a totalidade das obras, grangeando visibilidade e críticas favoráveis, o que lhe permite começar a receber encomendas de trabalhos regulares.*]

²⁸⁷ Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain information from the factory regarding the time in which Hein Semke and Hansi Staël collaborated. Fábrica Sant’Anna, “Fábrica Sant’Anna - Homepage,” accessed August 24, 2018, <http://www.santanna.com.pt/pt/home>.

²⁸⁸ Cf. Hein Semke and Miguel da Silveira, *Exposição De Escultura E Cerâmica De Hein Semke No Estúdio Do S.N.I. [Exhibition of Sculpture and Ceramics by Hein Semke in the Studio of S.N.I. 1947]* (Lisbon: Oficina Gráfica Limitada, 1947)

Ceramics/School for Ceramics] (fig. 54), founded in 1947 by the visual artist João Fragoso (1913-2000).²⁸⁹

It is likely, that Staël and Semke first met soon after her arrival in Portugal. It is not verifiable if Semke was inspired by Staël's success to shift his field of activity to ceramics. Nevertheless, besides Barradas, it might have been Staël's achievements that encouraged him to continue and deepen his activities as ceramist.

Between 1950 and 1957, Staël cooperated intensively with SECLA (*Sociedade de Exportação e Cerâmica, Lda.* [Society of Export and Ceramics, Lt.]),²⁹⁰ one of the most important factories for ceramics and porcelain in Portugal, where she founded the *Estúdio SECLA* [SECLA Studio], a space for artists to experiment with ceramics and develop new forms and patterns. (fig. 55) In 1954, she became head of the artistic department and, thereupon, could take an influence on the esthetics and characteristics of the products.²⁹¹ She furthermore participated in numerous exhibitions and carried out private commissions.

Around 1957, Staël was diagnosed with multiple sclerosis,²⁹² an illness that made it increasingly difficult for her to work. At the same time, she had to give up her position at SECLA for medical reasons and travelled to London, where she lived until her death, although frequently visiting Portugal, where she kept her Lisbon studio until 1960.

In 1951, Staël and Semke had a successful joint sales exhibition (*Exposição de Hansi Stael e Hein Semke* [Exhibition of Hansi Stael and Hein Semke]) at SNBA. (fig. 56, 57) The art critics were impressed by the show. In the daily newspaper *República* one could read: "Without the slightest doubt a highly noteworthy exposition"²⁹³ and the journal *Novidades* [News] commented: "Indeed, the presented works by any of the artists command respect due to the achieved high level."²⁹⁴

²⁸⁹ Cf. Ferrão, *Hansi Staël*, 2014, 21f.

²⁹⁰ As evident in the name, one of the main targets of the enterprise was exporting. SECLA was active from 1947 until 2008, when the factory was closed. The demolition of the building started in February 2019.

Cf. Helena G. Pinto et al., *Estúdio SECLA: Uma Renovação Na Cerâmica Portuguesa* [SECLA Studio. A Renewal in Portuguese Ceramics], ed. Paulo Henriques (Lisboa: Ministério da Cultura. Instituto Português de Museus, 1999), 11 ff. and Francisco Gomes, "Começou a Demolição Da Secla: [the Demolition of SECLA Started]," *Jornal das Caldas*, February 20, 2019.

²⁹¹ Cf. Ferrão, *Hansi Staël*, 2014, 23ff; Franco, "Franco, Guilherme, 2012," 166f.

²⁹² Cf. Ferrão, *Hansi Staël*, 2014, 30.

²⁹³ J.Q., "Exposições De Arte. [Exhibition of Art]," *República*, March 27, 1951

[*Sem a menor dúvida, uma notabilíssima exposição*]

²⁹⁴ *Novidades*, "Arte & Artistas. Na Sociedade Nacional De Belas Artes. Exposição De Hansi Stael E Heine Semke [Art and Artists. In the National Society of Fine Arts. Exhibition of Hansi Stael and Heine Semke]," March 23, 1951

[*Com efeito, os trabalhos apresentados por qualquer dos artistas impõem-se pelo alto nível atingido.*]

A few months later, in June, the two artists again exhibited together, this time in *Livraria Portugália* [Bookstore Portugália] in Oporto. On May 23, 1951, Semke noted in his diary: “I am making an exhibition in Oporto with Hansi Staël from June 1 to 10. [...] Hopefully, something will be sold, otherwise I do not know on what we are supposed to live on this summer—If only a commission would come in soon.”²⁹⁵ On the last day of the exhibition, on June 9, Semke recorded: “So far the exhibition is a pecuniary failure.”²⁹⁶

As Staël knew about the difficult situation of her colleague, she bought works from Semke,²⁹⁷ offered financial assistance,²⁹⁸ supplied him with working material²⁹⁹ and, in 1951, he hoped in vain that she might be able to arrange work for him at SECLA.³⁰⁰ In 1952, Staël would let Semke organize an exhibition in her studio in Lisbon, which she maintained, while she travelled for six months.³⁰¹

Although the collaboration of the two artists initially went very well, Semke changed his approach towards Staël over the years. After Staël left Portugal in 1960 and gave up her studio in Lisbon, Semke recorded in his diary on October 15:

she had so many big human mistakes that she will fast and gladly be forgotten here by many. [...]

To prevent Hansi from being forgotten quickly, I suggested at SNI to soon organize an exhibition of her work—Yesterday Dr. Francisco Avilez and I were choosing works for the exhibition—I am, after I have seen all the works of her estate, appalled by the lack of their artistic character. As soon as the exhibition is hung up, Hansi is hanged, because it could as well be an exhibition of 30, 40, 50 or more artists. Hansi is not a personality, but a skillful hand, a great illustrator, but just only an artisan. One will receive the impression of facing a great clever art-liar, an art-impostor—[...]

²⁹⁵ Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 100

[*Ich mache vom 1.-10. Juni mit Hansi Staël eine Ausstellung in Porto. [...] Hoffentlich wird etwas verkauft, sonst weiß ich nicht, wovon wir in diesem Sommer leben sollen. – Wenn doch nur bald einmal ein Auftrag käme -*]

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 101

[*Bisher ist die Ausstellung ein materieller Misserfolg.*]

²⁹⁷ Diary entry of November 21, 1950: “Hansi Staël [...] just came with the purpose to buy one of my works. She took two bookends and paid \$500, the rest I will receive in Dec[ember]. The help came at just the right time.”

In: *ibid.*, 89

[*Hansi Staël [...] kam extra, um eine Arbeit von mir zu kaufen. Sie nahm 2 Bücherstützen und zahlte \$500 an, den Rest bekomme ich im Dez[ember]. Die Hilfe kam gerade zur rechten Zeit.*]

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 128

²⁹⁹ Ibid., 139

³⁰⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 99.

³⁰¹ Ibid., 140

Diary entry on May 5, 1952: “Yesterday Hansi and Courtney [Bryson, second husband of Staël; note by the author] left for their 6-month-journey. I will miss those two, because they have been great friends. –I am now in the preparatory work for my exhibition. It will take place in the atelier of Hansi Staël.”

[*Am gestrigen Tage sind Hansi und Courtney auf ihre 6 Monatsreise gegangen. Die beiden werden mir fehlen, denn sie waren gute Freunde. – Ich bin jetzt in der Vorbereitungsarbeit für meine Ausstellung. Sie findet im Atelier von Hansi Staël statt.*]

Myths, Curious Incidents and Obstacles—Becoming an Artist in Portugal.
The Early Career of German Sculptor Hein Semke

Many times, she injured me professionally, but I stayed her friend. [...] In the end, Hansi has achieved nothing. She did not become an artist.³⁰²

In which ways Staël might have harmed Semke, he does not elaborate.

Although both artists, at first sight, had a common ground—they both were foreigners working in the same artistic field in Portugal—a more detailed examination reveals major differences. Obviously, Staël was able to adapt her artistic creations to the Portuguese audience and had the necessary skills to enable new ways and methods for her production. Indeed, her versatility was her key to success in Portugal and opened the doors for her to obtain a permanent position at SECLA. Her color language and her stylistic idiom were broadly diversified (fig. 54, 55, 58); she designed colorful sceneries of Portuguese daily life (fig. 59), varied motifs and adapted them to different shapes (fig. 60). Semke, invariable in his stylistic idiom, did not have the same artistic diversity as his colleague. His production, stylistically and technically, remained in a certain frame which he could not overcome. His artistic style showed little variation, he chose dark colors and abstract shapes (fig. 61, 62, 63). Therefore, praise and criticism of journalists, art critics and the audience are replicated in various ways throughout the years. An article in the newspaper *A Voz* [The Voice] captures well the visitors' different responses to Semke's exhibitions: "From the «unusual!» we heard from an English couple that visited this sales exhibition with us, up to the bored gestures we saw from some girls that probably do not even know what ceramics is, there is a wide range of contradictory reactions."³⁰³

³⁰² Ibid., 284f.

[hatte sie so große menschliche Fehler, dass sie von vielen Menschen hier schnell und gerne vergessen wird. [...]. Damit Hansi nicht schnell vergessen wird, schlug ich beim S.N.I. vor, dass bald eine Ausstellung ihrer Arbeiten veranstaltet wird. – Gestern suchten Dr. Francisco Avilez und ich die Arbeiten zusammen für die Ausstellung. – Ich bin, nachdem ich alle ihre nachgelassenen Arbeiten gesehen habe, entsetzt über deren künstlerische Charakterlosigkeit. Wenn die Ausstellung gehängt ist, ist Hansi Stael gehängt, denn es könnte ebenso eine Ausstellung von 30, 40, 50 oder mehr Künstlern sein. Hansi ist keine Persönlichkeit, sondern eine geschickte Hand, eine große Zeichnerin, aber doch nur Kunstgewerblerin. Man wird den Eindruck haben, einer großen geschickten Kunstflügerin, einer Kunsthochstaplerin gegenüber zu stehen. – [...]. Sie hat mich sehr oft beruflich geschädigt, aber ich blieb ihr Freund. [...] Zum Schluss hat Hansi nichts erreicht. Künstlerin ist sie nicht geworden]

³⁰³ C.A., "Hein Semke Expõe No S.N.I. Um Admirável Conjunto De Cerâmicas [Hein Semke Presents an Admirable Set of Ceramics at S.N.I.]," *A Voz*, March 30, 1953

[Entre o «unusual!» que ouvimos a um casal inglês que conosco visitou este certame, até aos ademanos enfatiados que observámos de algumas meninas bem que nem talvez sabem o que é cerâmica, há uma gama de apreciações contraditórias]

1.10 Hein Semke’s Work for *Hotel Ritz* in Lisbon (1957 to 1958) and *Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian*

Between 1957 and 1958, Semke worked for several months on a project of substantial dimensions: the decoration of the winter garden at the luxury *Hotel Ritz* in Lisbon.³⁰⁴ The artist, in collaboration with his companion, Margarida Schimmelpfennig, created three ceramic panels with the titles *África*, *Índia* and *Macau* (fig. 64, 65, 66, 67, 68). Together they accomplished a wall decoration consisting of different elements, representing the country of Portugal and its colonies.

Each of the three panels, measuring 127 cm (height) by 183 cm (width) by 3,5 cm (depth), is equally composed of 16 tiles. Depicted are scenes from the respective countries, including elements that are considered typical: the panel *Índia* shows an elephant and two figures in dance positions. *África* shows a hut in the background, lightly dressed male hunters, women performing domestic work, palm trees and as well a missionary, characterized by a cape. The third panel, *Macau*, depicts elements of Chinese architecture in the background, and a dragon dance, including participants of a parade, in the foreground. Above those three panels, two additional panels, divided by a large figure of an allegorical *Pátria* [Homeland], are situated. The three upper elements were mainly executed by Schimmelpfennig and differ fundamentally in style, representation and colorfulness. While Semke chose to create his panels in sunk relief, Schimmelpfennig depicted the central figure *Pátria* and the two accompanying panels portraying the Portuguese countryside on the left and the maritime life on the right (seen from the observer’s point of view) in mid-relief. There is a clear opposition between the art works, distinguishing not only between European Portugal and its colonies, but also their creators.

The year 1956 brought a major change to the Portuguese art scene, as the *Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian* [Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation] was established. Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian (1869-1955) was an Armenian businessman interested in the arts and active as philanthropist. During the Second World War, he settled in Portugal due to the country’s neutrality.³⁰⁵ In his last will and testament, Gulbenkian stipulated that his fortune be used to establish a “foundation for the whole of humanity,” focusing “on fostering knowledge and raising the quality of life of persons throughout the fields of the arts, charity, science and

³⁰⁴ On the development of the panels cf. Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 216–40.

³⁰⁵ On Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian Cf. Caroline Beamish and Astrig Tchamkerten, eds., *Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian: The Man and His Work*, New edition (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Armenian Communities Department, 2012).

education.”³⁰⁶ The *Museu Calouste Gulbenkian* [Calouste Gulbenkian Museum] opened in 1969, but the foundation already organized exhibitions before.

Semke participated for the first time in an event organized by this new cultural institution in 1957. He presented his self-portrait of Portuguese marble (fig. 69) in *I Exposição de Artes Plásticas da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian* [First Exhibition of Visual Arts of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation]. Displaying confidence and poise, the artist's portrait of white marble dates back to the time between 1935 to 1937. In his diary, Semke noted on December 30, 1957:

Today, the exhibition of Gulbenkian will be closed. The exhibition created great excitement in the Portuguese cultural world. The selection of the works to be exhibited has not always been entirely fair. [...] Political suspicions have been invented to expose those artists who work in a different way. Around the exhibition a lot of dirty linen has been washed in public—The admission committee as well was dodgy—One thing turned out in all of this: the Portuguese consider the Gulbenkian Foundation a milk cow and not an effective cultural institute that finally provides money to Portugal to create a strong (not existing) cultural basis.³⁰⁷

Throughout the following years, Semke regularly participated in the exhibitions organized by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. In 1966, the Foundation provided the artist for one year with a grant of 2.000 *Escudos* per month.³⁰⁸ The works he created during this time were then shown—together with a selection of his earlier art pieces—in the exhibition cycle *Hein Semke – 40 anos de Actividade em Portugal* [Hein Semke—40 Years of Activity in Portugal] in the *Exposições de Bolseiros*” [Exhibitions of Grantees]³⁰⁹ at the *Galeria de Exposições Temporárias* [Gallery of Temporary Exhibitions] of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. A total of 243 works by Semke was presented in this retrospective exhibition,

³⁰⁶ Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, “About Us | Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation,” <https://www.facebook.com/fundacaocaloustegulbenkian/>, accessed August 26, 2018, <https://gulbenkian.pt/en/the-foundation/about-us/>.

³⁰⁷ Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 202

[Am heutigen Tag wird die Gulbenkian-Ausstellung geschlossen. Die Ausstellung verursachte große Aufregung innerhalb der portugiesischen Kulturschicht. Bei der Auswahl der auszustellenden Arbeiten ist es nicht immer ganz stubenrein zugegangen. [...] Politische Verdächtigungen wurden erfunden, um die anders arbeitenden Künstler bloßzustellen. Rund um die Ausstellung wusch man viel schmutzige Wäsche. – Die Aufnahmekommission war auch nicht ganz stubenrein. – Eines stellte sich dabei heraus: die Portugiesen betrachten die Gulbenkian-Stiftung als Milchkuh und nicht als wirksames Kulturinstitut, welches Portugal endlich die Geldmittel gibt, eine feste (nicht vorhandene) Kulturbasis zu schaffen.]

³⁰⁸ Cf. Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 231; Teresa Balté, *Documentação Hein Semke (1899-1995)*, HS1961-70 [Documentation on Hein Semke (1899-1995), HS1961-1970], June 25, 2007, Private archive Teresa Balté - Estate Hein Semke.

³⁰⁹ Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, *Hein Semke, 40 Anos De Actividade Em Portugal* (1972).

among them 24 sculptures, 44 ceramic items, 42 drawings, 14 paintings, 35 watercolor paintings, 50 monoprints, 14 woodcuts and 20 artist's books.³¹⁰

1.11 Private, Professional and Political Changes (1961 to 1974)

Around Christmas 1961, Semke and Schimmelpfennig ended their relationship. While 'Gret' moved out, Semke stayed in the studio at *Praça António Sardinha, n.º 8*, which he had rented in 1953. At about the same time, he attempted to be recognized as victim of the National Socialist regime,³¹¹ because he felt hindered in his professional advancement due to what had happened to his work for the German Protestant Church. His request for a compensation in the form of a monthly life annuity failed because he had exceeded the application period for more than two and a half years. Additionally, he could not provide clear evidence that his professional or personal development actually had suffered from persecution by National Socialist politics or members of the National Socialist party in Lisbon. Indeed, it needs to be mentioned that, "if adhering strictly to the time marker of 1933 as start of the emigration movement, Semke was not an emigrant."³¹² He left Germany on a voluntary basis and—a fact that he did not mention in the application—he tried several times to return to his home country, also between 1933 and 1945.

When Semke, in 1963, was diagnosed with silicosis,³¹³ his state of health did not allow him to continue his intense dedication to ceramics. After changing from sculpture to ceramic art in 1947, he had to rearrange his main field of activity once again. As he already experimented with other artistic manifestations in his artist's books, he started to predominantly focus on watercolor, oil painting, linocut and xylography. This, of course, meant a severe change in his way of working, considering that Semke perceived himself as sculptor throughout his life. By using the technique of linocut and xylography, he nonetheless found a way of shaping and carving his motifs and to continue working in a three-dimensional way (fig. 70).

It seems that in 1964, after Semke's attempt to be recognized as a victim of the National Socialist regime had failed, the German Embassy in Lisbon requested support for the artist at the *Deutsche Künstlerhilfe* [German Association for the Support of Artists]. This association,

³¹⁰ Cf. Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, *Hein Semke, 40 Anos De Actividade Em Portugal* (1972).

³¹¹ Cf. Semke and Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Sozialbehörde Amt für Wiedergutmachung [Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg Social Security Office German Restitution Office], *Wiedergutmachungsakte für Semke, Heinrich* [Restitution File for Semke, Heinrich].

³¹² Zur Mühlen, *Fluchtweg*, 1992, 166

[*Sofern man streng an der Zeitmarke des Jahres 1933 als Beginn der Emigrationsbewegung festhält, war Hein Semke kein Emigrant.*]

³¹³ Silicosis is a lung disease caused by inhaling crystalline silica dust. It is a common illness of people working with ceramics. Cf. "Staublunge Krankheitsbilder [Pneumoconiosis Pathologies]," accessed August 26, 2018, <https://www.lungenaerzte-im-netz.de/krankheiten/staublunge/krankheitsbilder/>.

founded in 1953 by the then President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Theodor Heuss (1884-1963),³¹⁴ supports—until today—artists that foster cultural objectives for Germany but are afflicted with financial or social difficulties due to external circumstances (e.g. illness, age). A letter in the artist's estate documents that Semke was granted a financial assistance of 1.800 *Deutsche Mark* [German Mark] per year.³¹⁵ At least once more, in 1976, Semke received a special payment intended for the acquisition of working material.³¹⁶ Upon his own request, he was informed in 1979, that the financial support by the Office of the Federal President would continue, even if he would return to Germany.³¹⁷

In 1967, Semke met Teresa Balté (*1942), an author, translator and lecturer for translation, with whom he spent the remaining, almost 30 years of his life. Throughout the next years, they travelled together across Europe and visited inter alia England, Austria, Germany, Norway and Hungary.³¹⁸

In 1974, the *Revolução de 25 de Abril de 1974* [Revolution of 25 April 1974], also called *Revolução dos Cravos* [Carnation Revolution], peacefully ended the Portuguese dictatorship that had lasted since around 1926 and marked a turning point: the country busily reinvented itself and found its way into democracy. These historical developments inspired Semke to create the artist's book *Apocalypse à Portuguesa* [Apocalypse in the Portuguese way] (fig. 50 a-c). In an explanation attached to the book he wrote:

In the years between 1926 and 1974 there were uncountable attempts to end, for good or for worse, the claims of a well-defined social class (the class of the privileged), that authorized itself the exclusive right for absolute domination (totalitarian dictatorship) over the Portuguese people. [...]

Liberty = democracy—equal social right for everybody, without privileges for anybody, can only raise from the basis and the spirit and the necessities of today—from the time in which we live.³¹⁹

³¹⁴ Theodor Heuss was the first President of the Federal Republic of Germany; he carried out this function between 1949 and 1959.

Cf. Silke Bittkow and Eva Deligiannis, "Der Bundespräsident Theodor Heuss (1949 - 1959) [the Federal President Theodor Heuss (1949-1959)," accessed August 26, 2018, <http://www.bundespraesident.de/DE/Die-Bundespraesidenten/Theodor-Heuss/theodor-heuss.html>.

³¹⁵ Cf. Bundespräsidialamt [Office of the Federal President], Deutsche Künstlerhilfe [German Association for the Support of Artists], June 2, 1964, HS 20 - HS 5 - Correspondência HS 5, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte.

³¹⁶ Cf. Bundespräsidialamt [Office of the Federal President], Deutsche Künstlerhilfe [German Association for the Support of Artists] - Sonderzuwendung [Special Payment], December 1, 1976, HS 20 - HS 5 - Correspondência HS 5, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte.

³¹⁷ Cf. Bundespräsidialamt [Office of the Federal President], Deutsche Künstlerhilfe [German Association for the Support of Artists] - Support for Return, October 1, 1979, HS 20 - HS 5 - Correspondência HS 5, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte.

³¹⁸ Teresa Balté, oral to Nina Blum de Almeida.

³¹⁹ Hein Semke, *Apocalypse à portuguesa* [Apocalypse in the Portuguese Way], 1974, 13GP2643, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian

Additionally, in June 1974, he participated in the exhibition *Maias Para o 25 de Abril*³²⁰ at the *Galeria São Mamede* [São Mamede Gallery] in Lisbon.³²¹ In the preface of the catalogue one can read that the gallery's aim was to show a

Display of works difficult or conflictive to exhibit during the lifetime of the regime that has been dismissed on April 25. In this framework, the Exhibition will try to shelter especially works made before April 25, 1974, seeking to free itself from particularism, disclosing it to the public freedom: [...] Drawings and paintings or any other artistic forms resting in the ateliers, safeguarded against the now extinct restraining forces; drawings and paintings or any other artistic forms that have suffered from the persecution of the fascist regime³²²

Semke exhibited two monoprints (fig. 71) and one woodcut (fig. 72); all three works were created after and under the impression of the Revolution of 25 April 1974.

1.12 Late Honors: Until 1995 and Beyond

In 1978, Semke was honored with the *Bundesverdienstkreuz 1. Klasse* [German Federal Cross of Merit, first class]. This decoration is awarded upon nomination,³²³ but it is not known who nominated him. Twelve years later, in 1990, the State of Portugal honored the artist with the *Ordem do Infante Dom Henrique* [Order of Prince Henry the Navigator]. One year earlier, in 1989, his life companion published, in collaboration with Semke, the artist's biography.

[In den Jahren zwischen 1926 und 1974 sind viele, viele Versuche gemacht worden den Anspruch einer abgegrenzten Volksschicht (Oberschicht der Nur-Privilegierten) auf das Recht zur Ausübung einer totalen Herrschaft (absoluter Diktatur) über die Gesamtheit des port. Volkes zu überwinden oder zu brechen. [...] Freiheit = Demokratie - gleiches sociales Recht für Alle, ohne Vorrechte für gleich wen, können sich dem Geist von der Basis her entwickeln und aus dem Geist und den Notwendigkeiten des = Heute =, also unserer Zeit.]

³²⁰ The name of the exhibition is connected to an old Portuguese tradition. *Fazer o Maio* means to build a wooden structure (the *Maio*, usually in the shape of a cross or a wreath) decorated with flowers and attaching it to the doors or windows of the house or setting it up in the surrounding garden. According to the popular belief, the *Maio* keeps away evil spirits. Additionally, this tradition is connected to rituals of fertility, minding the new cycle of nature starting in springtime.

Cf. "As «Maias» E Os «Maio» [the «Maias» and the «Maio»]," Portal do Município de Mirandela [Portal of the Municipality of Mirandela], <https://www.cm-mirandela.pt/pages/326>.

³²¹ Mario Cesariny, *Maias Para O 25 De Abril* [Maia for April 25] (Lisbon, 1974).

³²² Mario Cesariny, *Maias Para O 25 De Abril* [Maia for April 25] (Lisbon, 1974), 4

[Mostra de obras de exposição difícil ou problemática durante a vigência do regime destituído em 25 de Abril. Dentro deste critério, a Exposição procurará abrigar sobretudo obras feitas anteriormente a 25 de Abril de 1974 buscando-se nisso libertar do particularismo, trazendo à luz da liberdade pública: [...] Desenhos e pinturas ou quaisquer outras formas plásticas que jazam nos ateliers acauteladas das forças de repressão agora extintas; desenhos ou pinturas ou quaisquer outras formas plásticas que hajam sofrido a perseguição do regime fascista]

³²³ Bundespräsidialamt [Office of the Federal President], "Verdienstorden Der Bundesrepublik Deutschland [Orders of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany]," Bundespräsidialamt, <http://www.bundespraesident.de/DE/Amt-und-Aufgaben/Orden-und-Ehrungen/Verdienstorden/verdienstorden-node.html>.

Myths, Curious Incidents and Obstacles—Becoming an Artist in Portugal.
The Early Career of German Sculptor Hein Semke

Despite his advanced age, Semke regularly participated in exhibitions in various galleries and museums. In an interview between the Austrian magazine *Ikarus* and the “old wise artist,”³²⁴ one can read:

The Hamburg born already turned his back on Germany, when the Nazis had just grown out of their children’s shoes and still diligently practiced kicking. In his old home he soon was considered degenerate, in his new slightly old-fashioned home at the Tagus he was rated as pioneer of modernism. Curiosity and conviction quickly brought him together with those men who thought against Salazar, the dictator. The forbidden anarchists and syndicalists became his early friends, who permanently made plans but never exerted influence. [...]

«Salazar’s politics has been fascism in slippers», says Semke [...]

«For me Portugal does not exist. And it never has existed.»

[...] His sentences turn into stings.

«The huge problem of this country has never been the immigrants» the old one says and energetically hits with his hand on the table; «never the foreign immigrants, but always the own emigrants».³²⁵

Hein Semke died on August 5, 1995, in Lisbon. Throughout his life, he created an enormous oeuvre, consisting of sculptures, ceramics, paintings, drawings, artist’s books, prints, sketches, narrations and poems. After his death, Teresa Balté began to administer and sort his estate.

In Germany—where Semke never became known to a wider audience—the artist was given a provisional final recognition in the 1997 exhibition *Portugals Moderne 1910-1940. Kunst in der Zeit Fernando Pessoa* [Modernism in Portugal 1910-1940. Art at times of Fernando Pessoa] which was shown at the *Städel Museum*, Frankfurt am Main, on the occasion of the Frankfurt Book Fair.

Lisbon honored Semke with four simultaneously organized exhibitions on the 10th anniversary of the artist’s death. According to the *Portugiesisch-Hanseatische Gesellschaft* [Portuguese-German Hanseatic Association] this was a unique event in the cultural scene of the

³²⁴ Walter Weiss, “Fluchtpunkt Lissabon [Area of Possible Escape Lisbon],” *Ikarus. Das Reportagemagazin*, no. 5 (1986/87)

[alter weiser Künstler]

³²⁵ Ibid.

[Der gebürtige Hamburger kehrte Deutschland schon den Rücken, als die Nazis eben den Kinderschuhen entwachsen waren und das Treten noch fleissig übten. In seiner alten Heimat galt er bald als entartet, in seiner etwas altmodischen Neuen am Tejo als Pionier der Moderne.

Neugier und Überzeugung brachten ihn rasch mit jenen Männern zusammen, die gegen Salazar, den Diktator, andachten. Die verbotenen Anarchisten und Syndikalisten wurden ihm zu frühen Freunden, die ständig Pläne schmiedeten, jedoch nie Einfluss übten.

«Salazars Politik war Faschismus in Pantoffeln», sagt Semke [...]

«Für mich existiert Portugal nicht. Und es hat auch nie existiert.»

[...] Seine Sätze werden zu Stacheln.

«Das grosse Problem dieses Landes waren nie die Einwanderer», sagt der Alte und schlägt mit der Hand energisch auf die Tischplatte; «nie die fremden Einwanderer, sondern immer die eigenen Auswanderer.»]

Portuguese metropolis:³²⁶ the *Museu Nacional do Azulejo* [National Tile Museum], the *Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal* [National Library of Portugal], the *Museu Arpad Szenes e Vieira da Silva* [Arpad Szenes and Vieira da Silva Museum] and the *Museu Nacional de Arte Contemporânea do Chiado* [National Museum of Contemporary Art at Chiado] showed the work of the deceased artist from different angles. Finally, in 2010, an application for naming a street after Semke was submitted by Teresa Balté at Lisbon's City Hall³²⁷: *Rua Hein Semke* [Hein Semke Street] is located in the Lisbon parish *Santa Clara*. In 2015, the provisional last exhibition of Semke's work took place. On the occasion of his 20th year of death, the *Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian* showed the exhibition *Hein Semke: Um Alemão em Lisboa* [Hein Semke: A German in Lisbon].³²⁸

³²⁶ Cf. Portugiesisch-Hanseatische Gesellschaft e.V. - Associação Luso-Hanseática, "Lissabon Stellt Hein Semke Groß Heraus [Lisbon Highlights Hein Semke]," *Portugal-Post*, no. 32 (2005).

³²⁷ Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, Proposta N° 731/2010, 16. Dezember 2010

³²⁸ Ana Vasconcelos, *Hein Semke: Um Alemão Em Lisboa / a German in Lisbon* (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian. CAM, 2015).

2. Myth and Truth—a Critical Examination of Hein Semke's Biography

Hein Semke's biography was published repeatedly in different exhibition catalogues, newspapers and journal articles in Portugal and Germany. Usually, those texts were written under the influence of the artist or even by himself—and later under the critical eye of his widow Teresa Balté. It becomes obvious that the artist took an active part in influencing the published versions of his biography and eagerly worked on the image he wanted to create of himself.

Many of those biographies are fragmentary, contain substantial gaps or misinformation. To rectify this situation, Teresa Balté published *A Coragem de Ser Rosto*, the only existing extensive biography of the artist, which contains “suggest[ed] facts and texts, especially pictures.”³²⁹ It is noticeable that especially the early years, before Semke emigrated to Portugal, are paid little attention to in *A Coragem de Ser Rosto*. The description of the years between 1899, the artist's birth year, and 1932, the year in which Semke finally moved to Linda-a-Pastora, comprises three pages, skips years and leaves out or changes information such as, for example, the years Semke spent in prison. By omitting (or adjusting) the life events in those approximately 33 years, it appears that Semke started to exist concurrently with his career as an artist.

To understand a person in its entirety, it is essential to go beyond the biography introduced by the limited view of selected press articles. A mere curriculum vitae hardly provides an insight into the personality and the conceptual world of an individual. External factors such as the political and economic situation an individual is exposed to or societal and historical events as well exert an influence.

Fortunately, in the case of Semke, it is possible to consult his diaries,³³⁰ which represent an important source and provide the opportunity to understand the artist as a unit of his own experiences, opinions and his surroundings. In his diaries, the artist alludes in several passages to those ‘missing’ early years when reflecting upon his life.³³¹ Nevertheless, Semke worked eagerly on creating a certain image of himself. This becomes especially obvious in 1935, when

³²⁹ Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 8.

[*Proponho factos e textos, sobretudo imagens*]

³³⁰ Altogether there are about 12 books and a huge number of loose sheets in the artist's estate. Some diaries are only fragmentarily preserved, as pages are missing, others disappeared throughout the years and may have been given away as a present. In his diaries, Hein Semke describes everyday situations, like his life with his different partners, Martha Ziegler (‘Martl’) or Margarida Schimmelpfennig (‘Gret’). He as well provides an insight into his state of health, his housing conditions and discusses questions about art, notes down his opinion about how a ‘genuine’ artist should live and work. Moreover, he reports on the art market, speaks his mind about his Portuguese colleagues and describes the difficulties artists have to deal with in Portugal. Of special interest are the diaries Semke wrote between 1950 and 1961, although there is a gap of around four years for which no records exist. It remains unclear if he did not keep a diary during this time or if those books disappeared.

³³¹ As examples cf. Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 32, 50, 191.

rumors in the German community of Lisbon indicated that Semke would have been linked to communism back in Germany—an assumption that also played a major role in the curious incident at the German Protestant Church in Lisbon, as will be discussed in the third chapter of this study.³³² The gossip circulating in the German community was quickly passed on to the Portuguese and countered by Semke by publishing the autobiographical text *Escultura* [Sculpture] in the magazine *Sudoeste Europa Portugal* [Southwest Europe Portugal].³³³ In this essay, he described the circumstances under which he became an artist and, by writing in Portuguese, made his account available to a large audience: to the Portuguese as well as to the Portuguese-speaking Germans.

Interestingly, Semke revived several details from this text about 15 years later, when drafting the narration *Hannes, der Rammer* [Hannes, the Pile Driver], an essay subtitled “a biographical novel”³³⁴ that refers to events in his youth during the turbulent early years of the Weimar Republic in Hamburg.

Obviously, every self-written account of the life of a person should be treated with caution. Over the years, and with some distance, memories might change, mix or adapt, as much as the attitude towards historical events. In particular, this may be deduced under the impression of a diary entry made by Semke on October 4, 1959:

Today I bought an empty large book to write down my autobiography, resp. parts of my life. It will be hard for me to always write down the absolute truth, because I created a life, by concealing and highlighting half-truths (all for security reasons, because otherwise the so-called society would have pushed me relentlessly into the abyss), that is a bit aloof from the real internal and external truth—but I will try—Let’s see what will come of it.³³⁵

Therefore, the following analysis, especially of the years between 1919 and 1929, is based on original documents and diary entries, as well as on manuscripts and texts written by Semke. It

³³² Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 66

Gisela Bach (*1929), of German descent, but born and raised in Portugal’s capital and a member of the German community in Lisbon, confirmed this suspicion and told the author that she was instructed by her parents not to greet Hein Semke as he would be a communist. Gisela Bach, oral to Nina Blum de Almeida, June 15, 2014

³³³ Semke, “Escultura, 1935,”

³³⁴ Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 16

[*biographischer Roman*]

³³⁵ Hein Semke, *Die innere Stimme: Aus dem Tagebuch: 1950 - 52//1956 - 61*, 1. Aufl., ed. Teresa Balté (Leipzig: Leipziger Literaturverlag, 2014), 266

[Heute kaufte ich mir ein leeres großes Buch, um meine Autobiographie, resp. Teile meines Lebens niederzuschreiben. Wird mir schwer fallen, immer die absolute Wahrheit niederzuschreiben, da ich durch Verschweigen und Herausstellen von Teilwahrheiten (alles aus Sicherheitsgründen, weil sonst die sogenannte Gesellschaft mich unerbittlich in den Abgrund gestoßen hätte) ein Leben kreiert habe, was etwas abseits der wirklichen inneren und äußeren Wahrheit ist, - aber ich will es versuchen. – Mal sehen, was dabei herauskommt.]

is supposed to fill the time gaps left by his biography *A Coragem de Ser Rosto* and will, simultaneously, lead to a better understanding of the artist's mindset.

2.1 The Self-Descriptive Text *Escultura*

In 1935, Hein Semke published a text titled *Escultura* in the Portuguese magazine *Sudoeste*.³³⁶ He opens the essay with the following words: “Dear friend and master Diogo de Macedo, while reading your article about my work in the *Diabo*, I had the idea of giving you a short account of my life,”³³⁷ suggesting a debate of an extolling article written by his artist colleague Diogo Cândido de Macedo (1889-1959) for the magazine *O Diabo* [The Devil].³³⁸ However, Semke neither elaborates further on Macedo's text nor does he relate to his sculptures, as the title would suggest. Instead, he solely delivers a description of his life prior to moving to Portugal.

In his account, Semke portrays himself as one out of eight children in a poor family with a mother dying prematurely of pulmonary tuberculosis. After her death, all other siblings “were sent to live with relatives, but I was put into an orphanage,”³³⁹ enduring difficult years characterized by unfair treatment. Nevertheless, he stayed a rebellious person with a strong sense of justice and, while the majority of the foster children and teachers harassed him, only his class teacher offered some support, “because he considered me the best pupil of the institution.”³⁴⁰

Semke briefly mentions his training as a retail salesman and his time as a soldier in the First World War, from which he returned “apathetic”³⁴¹ to Hamburg in March 1919. Afterwards, he worked for months in different jobs, but could not find fulfillment. Therefore, he started to visit evening lectures and became an auditor at the university; “searching and searching—but only finding human arrogance and opportunism.”³⁴² When “Hamburg finally sickened me,”³⁴³ he decided to go to the Ruhr area to become a mine worker. A fatal accident of a colleague, which he would have eyewitnessed, deeply shocked him and made him aware

³³⁶ Semke, “Escultura, 1935,”

³³⁷ Diogo de Macedo, “Hein Semke,” *O Diabo*, September 15, 1935, 64, 31

[*Estimado amigo e mestre Diogo de Macedo, Ao lêr no «Diabo» o seu artigo sobre a minha obra, veio-me à ideia dar-lhe uma curta narração da minha vida.*]

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ Semke, “Escultura, 1935,” 31

[*foram viver com parentes, eu porém fui metido num orfanato*]

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 32

[*porque me considerava o melhor aluno do instituto*]

³⁴¹ Ibid.

[*apático*]

³⁴² Ibid.

[*procurava e procurava – mas só encontrava a presunção humana e a cubiça do poder*]

³⁴³ Ibid.

[*Hamburgo enjoava-me por fim*]

of how low a human life was valued. Thereupon, he wordlessly left his workplace and started travelling across Germany: “Not for one day, but for a long, long time.”³⁴⁴ While “walking”³⁴⁵ across the country, he met “[m]any with changeful destinies, some without redemption, others like mine: restless fighters.”³⁴⁶ For several weeks he lived with gypsies and met “universal benefactors and apostles [...] many despicable persons, gluttons and drunkards”³⁴⁷ on his journey. After returning to Hamburg, he became acquainted with different “saints,”³⁴⁸ among them “Lon Häusser [sic], the biggest villain among them,”³⁴⁹ claiming to be the true successor of Christ while siphoning off money from the foolish ones, living a comfortable life and, finally, becoming declared candidate for both the German *Reichstag* [Parliament] and the presidency of the *Reich*. Meanwhile, Semke recounts, he went on travelling, sometimes working, but always reading. No work was too uncomfortable or ordinary for him; but still, nowhere he found his inner peace.

In 1929, at the age of 30, he grew tired of his life. Therefore, one day, he sold all his belongings, gathered his money and embarked on a ship to Portugal, a country “completely unknown” to him.³⁵⁰ He found work in a factory, in which he became a “simple worker. [...] My salary was exactly as small as that of everybody else at the plant.”³⁵¹ In his leisure time, he would have discovered the country and its people, acquiring soon a liking for both.

At the factory, his salary was raised and he became “something like a foreman [...] I worked a lot, without recognition.”³⁵² After a refused sick leave, he returned to Hamburg in 1930, where he was admitted to a hospital and, several weeks later, attested as incapable of working. During this time, he underwent a fundamental change: he now became willing to act and to help reconstruct the future and developed a keen desire: “I should not, however, be a ‘backward’, but rather a ‘forward’.”³⁵³ A friend suggested that he should find a way to shape

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 33

[*Não por um dia, mas durante muito, muito tempo*]

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

[*andar*]

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

[*Conheci muitos fadários, uns sem salvação, outros como o meu: de lutadores sem socêgo.*]

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

[*bemfeitores universais e apóstolos [...] muita gente vil, comilões e bêbedos*]

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

[*santos*]

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

[*Lon Häusser, o maior dos intrujões entre eles*]

³⁵⁰ Ibid., 34

[*país que me era completamente desconhecido*]

³⁵¹ Ibid.

[*simples operário [...]. O meu ordenado era exactamente tão pequeno como o de todos na fábrica.*]

³⁵² Ibid.

[*qualquer coisa como contra-mestre [...] Trabalhei muito, sem agradecimento.*]

³⁵³ Ibid.

something with his hands: “Like a lightning bolt I recognized clearly that she was right. ‘Create’ new things, working with the own hands.”³⁵⁴ On the next day, Semke went to the Art Academy in Hamburg and, although he could not present any artistic realization, was admitted into the class of ceramics; already two weeks later the teacher for fine arts allowed him to attend his class.

For health reasons, Semke went to Stuttgart in 1931, but because of new health problems, he returned to Lisbon in October 1932 “with the help of friends” to “recover my strength here and to make progress in the field of art.”³⁵⁵ Finding a new home in Linda-a-Pastora, he “healed moral[ly] and physically.”³⁵⁶ Finally, he explains, that the plastic arts became his way of life, a fact that he would owe to God: “nothing happens without God knowing and wanting it.”³⁵⁷ Semke concludes his text by addressing again Diogo de Macedo, he writes: “Perhaps those lines are telling you something, or maybe you are laughing. However, I consider you a friend.”³⁵⁸

2.2 Self-Presentation and Reality in Hein Semke’s Text *Escultura*

In his text *Escultura*, Hein Semke presents himself as a widely travelled man, a “restless fighter”³⁵⁹ and “combative artist.”³⁶⁰ He attributes him becoming an artist to fate, to a divine destiny, and asserts that “the artist [...] only has one responsibility: the responsibility before God, of that I will always want to remind myself.”³⁶¹ By stating this, he steals all critics’ thunder, especially when keeping in mind that the text was published in the context of the ongoing incident at the German Protestant Church in Lisbon—which will be analyzed in detail in the following chapter. Meanwhile, this statement seems to be the attempt of stifling further criticism of his works, as God and purpose are ultimately higher entities than those deprecating

[*Não deveria porém, ser um «para trás», mas sim um «avante».*]

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

[*Como um relâmpago reconheci claramente que ela tinha razão. «Criar» coisas novas, colaborar por mão própria.*]

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 35

[*com ajuda de amigos*]; [*rehaver aqui a minha saúde e avançar no campo das artes*]

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

[*me curei moral e corporalmente*]

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

[*nada acontece, sem que Deus o saiba e queira*]

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

[*talvez estas linhas lhe digam alguma coisa, ou talvez se ria. Seja como fôr considero-o um amigo*]

³⁵⁹ ibid., 33

[*lutador(es) sem socêgo*]

³⁶⁰ ibid., 35

[*artista lutador*]

³⁶¹ Semke, “*Escultura*, 1935,” 35

[*o artista também só tem uma responsabilidade: a responsabilidade perante Deus, disso me querei lembrar sempre*]

his art. The reverse conclusion is that Semke's ambitions are all but worldly or mundane because he aspires to achieve nothing less than God's approval through his creations. Semke and his art therefore were, according to his description, beyond the reach of simple-minded critics.

His feeling of following a path of spiritual enlightenment also becomes obvious in the description of his life journey prior to settling in Linda-a-Pastora: although he was brought to an orphanage after his mother's death—instead of being sent to live with relatives, as his siblings—he never lost his sense of justice and his free spirit. Talented and inquisitive, but at the same time misunderstood and reprimanded, he was forced to start an apprenticeship as a retail salesman. This, in his eyes, tedious task was eventually interrupted by him fighting in the First World War. And even though he initially felt happy to become a soldier, he soon started to question his own faith and to ask himself: "Is there no God intervening when humanity and material go crazy?"³⁶²

After returning from military service, Semke's feeling for righteousness would have grown ever stronger: "My eyes had turned more clairvoyant. What had been resting deep inside of me while I was a child now erupted from me unambiguously and strongly."³⁶³ Repelled by "[a]ll this brutal struggle for privileges,"³⁶⁴ he repeatedly lost his job because he refused membership in any kind of trade union or political party. Even a change of location, from Hamburg to the Ruhr area where he began to work as a miner, only strengthened his beliefs—especially after realizing the low value of a human life when he saw that work had immediately to continue after a colleague's death in an occupational accident. In that precise moment, as Semke recounts, he started his voyage across Germany: walking, thinking and searching. On his way, he met gypsies with whom he lived for a while. If this alleged voyage indeed took place, is difficult to decide. The archival documentation regarding Semke at nowadays *thyssenkrupp* does not reveal an unauthorized absence from work.³⁶⁵ Anyway, it is clear that the description of Semke, straying across Germany, underlines the intention to create the picture of a much-travelled man with a wide range of experiences and insight into human nature. In

³⁶² Ibid., 32

[*Não há um Deus, que intervenha quando homens e material endoidecem?*]

³⁶³ Ibid.

[*Os meus olhos tinham-se tornado mais videntes. O que inconscientemente jazera no meu fundo quando criança irrompeu então de mim clara e firmemente.*]

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

[*Tôda esta luta brutal por privilégios*]

³⁶⁵ Zilt, Andreas / Corporate Archives thyssenkrupp AG, e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida.

addition, as he does not indicate a timeframe for this adventure but the blurry time range of “during a long, long time,”³⁶⁶ he also managed to avoid mentioning his time in prison.

Of great interest are the descriptions of the different ‘apostles’ and ‘saints’ with whom he got acquainted. His remark: “Stop!, also you saints I must not forget”³⁶⁷ assigns a fair amount of relevance to those “strange people”³⁶⁸ and reveals a certain enthusiasm, especially for one he describes in detail and whom he calls ‘Lon Häusser’. To what extent these personalities are of interest to the Portuguese audience is questionable. Yet, it is interesting that Semke draws a connection between himself and those ‘strange people’. However, even though he considered himself as someone chosen and destined to become an artist, as mentioned above, he maintains a distance to the self-proclaimed ‘saints’ and ‘apostles’, who only pretend and resume a role in order to achieve “a bountiful harvest” and take “the money from the stupid bourgeois.”³⁶⁹ Finally, Semke mentions that he additionally had a kind of scientific interest in these characters and “listed just some cases I could thoroughly study and with which I spent some time.”³⁷⁰

Once again, Semke describes his struggles when mentioning his first trip to Portugal. Tired of his life, he sold all his belongings and tempted his fate by buying a ship passage— “I really did not care where to go”³⁷¹—to Lisbon, a city name read on the list of destinations. Although Portugal was unknown to him, he received a recommendation for a job in a local factory and started as a simple worker operating a knitting machine. During his leisure time, he explored the country and became acquainted with “the simple man of the Portuguese people, who earned my sympathy and my consideration.”³⁷² Having stated his insight into human nature before, he then prophetically adds: “Portugal, the country located at the outermost of Europe, has again to comply its great mission and—I feel—it will because enormous forces lay dormant in the Portuguese people.”³⁷³

³⁶⁶ Semke, “Escultura, 1935,” 33

[*durante muito, muito tempo*]

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

[*Alto!, também a vós santos não devo esquecer.*]

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

[*gente curiosa*]

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

[*farta colheita*]; [*o dinheiro aos parvos dos burgueses*]

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

[*Enumerei apenas alguns casos de pessoas que pude estudar minuciosamente e com quem convivi algumas vezes*]

³⁷¹ Ibid., 34

[*era-me indiferente para onde ir*]

³⁷² Ibid.

[*o simples homem do povo português, que ganhou a minha simpatia e a minha consideração*]

³⁷³ Ibid.

[*Portugal, o país situado no extremo da Europa, terá novamente de cumprir a sua grande missão e – eu sinto – êle cumpri-la-á, porque forças enormes encontram-se em estado latente no povo português.*]

After being promoted and, in his opinion, working a lot without recognition, Semke again developed health-related problems. Therefore, he requested a leave of absence in order to “recover my working capacity,”³⁷⁴ which was denied. In 1930, he returned to Hamburg and spent several weeks in a hospital to finally be considered incapacitated for work. Meanwhile, he also had an inner transformation: his will to act and reshape the future would have become an urgent need. Without knowing how to achieve this goal, Semke would have had long conversations with a friend, who finally advised him to shape something with his hands. Immediately, Semke writes, had the feeling of enlightenment and, on the next day, enrolled at the Art Academy of Hamburg. By introducing this version of him becoming an artist, Semke again underlined his predestination. To support his conception, he even mentions that he would have been accepted without presenting a portfolio of works and without having ever before “drawn, never painted, never shaped.”³⁷⁵ Nevertheless, he was accepted to the class of ceramics and only two weeks later the teacher for fine arts admitted him to his lessons, what—in his description—equals an improvement.

This account by Semke stands in sharp contrast to the documents preserved at the archive of the State School of Fine and Applied Arts in Hamburg. On the registration form one can read that Semke was enrolled as a “*Bildhauer*”³⁷⁶ [sculptor] (fig. 8) and therefore must have presented proof of his work. With this, it once again becomes evident that his account serves the purpose of demonstrating his unwavering belief that fate leads the way, disregarding the fact that he did not have any artistic experiences. Neither the lack of artistic education, nor the setbacks caused by his poor medical condition detained him on his way to fulfilling his true calling. On the contrary, after two more health related collapses and an intermediate stay at the Art Academy in Stuttgart, he finally returned to Portugal, where his body and soul would have healed, as he states. In Linda-a-Pastora he would have found more than a second home: its hills would also have given him back tranquility “in a way, which I today consider, as an artist and as a person, as my path lying ahead of me.”³⁷⁷

To summarize, it can be noted that Semke, in his text *Escultura*, does not solely gave “a short narration”³⁷⁸ of his life but also delivered a justification for becoming an artist. His calling

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

[*reaver a minha capacidade de trabalho*]

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

[*Eu não tinha ainda nunca desenhado, nunca pintado, nunca modelado.*]

³⁷⁶ Landeskunstschule Hamburg [Hamburg State School of Art], Registration Form Heinrich Albert Semke.

³⁷⁷ Semke, “*Escultura*, 1935,” 35

[*As colinas de Linda-a-Pastora deram-me de novo o meu socêgo, de maneira que hoje vejo como artista e como homen claramente o meu caminho em minha frente.*]

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 31

[*uma curta narração*]

led him through a long and challenging road, but on his way, he never gave up and eventually found his fulfillment, not only in art but also in Linda-a-Pastora. He skillfully manages to circumvent the difficult subject of his imprisonment and his commitment to the anarchist movement in Hamburg by declaring that he even had professional disadvantages due to his aversion to all forms of organization. He mentions his contact with certain ‘false prophets’, but only to distance himself from them since he, at least, would have had a true and sincere mission; his interest would furthermore only have been to study them in detail.

Finally, it is necessary to mention that Semke, although addressing the essay to his artist colleague Diogo de Macedo, obviously wrote and intended it for the wider public. By publishing the essay in a magazine, he did not only lay the foundation for his own myth but also tried to silence the critics and opponents of his art.

2.3 The Narration *Hannes, der Rammer* (1950-1952)

The novel *Hannes, der Rammer* [Hannes, the Pile Driver] is a narration by Hein Semke, written between August 15, 1950 and June 6, 1952;³⁷⁹ the manuscript is included in his diaries.³⁸⁰ The essay comprises approximately 129 handwritten pages, nearly letter sized. The story describes various events in the life of 21-year-old Hannes in Hamburg during the politically unstable year of 1919.

Hannes, the main character, works as a road worker in Hamburg. Prior to this physically demanding position, he had joined the Army at the age of 17 to fight in the First World War. By that time considered mature enough “for the manslaughter of other fellow human beings,”³⁸¹ he now, at the age of 21, struggles with the fact that he is seen as “less valuable” after returning from the war—“Unmarried, he only got a job after the married ones could make a living, and if he then could get hold of a job, he received the salary of a minor for the same work.”³⁸² Feeling unfairly treated, Hannes gets actively involved in a group called *Freie Sozialisten* [Independent/Free Socialists], led by the non-unionist Fritz Kurz. This group meets in a cellar (the so-called ‘Alarm cellar’) in the evenings, forging plans for “the real revolution, which

³⁷⁹ Semke, “Hannes, 1950-1952”

³⁸⁰ In February 2018, the narration was edited as a book by Teresa Balté. In order to ensure legibility, the text was changed and partially adapted. Therefore, the author chose to base the investigations on the original handwritten manuscript by Hein Semke.

Cf. Hein Semke, *Hannes, der Rammer: Romanversuch 1950-1953* [*Hannes, the Pile Driver. Attempted Novel 1950-1953*] (Leipzig: Leipziger Literaturverlag, 2018).

³⁸¹ Semke, “Hannes, 1950-1952,” 7f.

[für den Totschlag an den andren Mitmenschen]

³⁸² *ibid.*, 7

[/Er] war plötzlich minderwertvoll geworden. – Unverheiratet wie er war, bekam er erst Arbeit, wenn die Verheirateten schon Brot verdienten und wenn er dann doch Arbeit bekam, erhielt er für die gleiche Arbeit den Lohn der Minderjährigen.]

should bring a fair and socially orientated state to the worker.”³⁸³ At work, Hannes tries to convince his colleagues of the worth of equality for all people and the need for the eradication of any kind of privileges. Yet, his colleagues either belittle his ideas due to his youth or fear the unpredictability of changing the status quo.

One evening in February, some days after a considerable discontent among the unemployed people of Hamburg erupted in protests, Hannes pays a visit to his friends at the ‘Alarm cellar’. After discussing the past unrest, the group devises a course of action: attempting to storm the Hamburg townhall. Through the night, the group of *Freie Sozialisten* gets in contact with all left-wing terrorist groups of Hamburg, which confirm their support. On the day of the attempted coup, “more than 100.000 unemployed”³⁸⁴ gather to demonstrate. Protest marchers from different parts of Hamburg make their way to the city center, looting businesses and shops, taking advantage of the inability of the local police to react to the large number of demonstrators.

At nightfall, the insurgents decide to use firearms. They storm several police stations, where they capture guns and free their already imprisoned fellow protesters. Upon arriving at *Reeperbahn*, the burlesque and red-light district of Hamburg, the group around Hannes gets involved in an armed conflict with the police. Hannes—afraid of stray bullets—flees and jumps into a basement entrance. Taking advantage of a short ceasefire, he rushes towards a side street and suddenly notices policemen cordoning off the neighborhood. In this moment of despair, the door of one of the brothels opens and Hannes gets pulled in. Tine, a prostitute, brings him to the safety of her apartment and hides him for the night.

The next morning, after realizing that the fighting carried on all night and the police still controls the neighborhood, Tine persuades her protégé to stay with her for a few more days. Meanwhile, Hannes finds out about the more than 20 killed rioters, of whom he knew twelve personally.

In the evening, Tine and Hannes dive into the nightlife of the *Reeperbahn*, exploring the nightclub area of St. Pauli and finally realizing that they fell in love with each other. Tine, “the well-known prostitute,”³⁸⁵ feels excited, regardless of knowing that Hannes is engaged to another girl. She decides not to tell him that she suffers from a terminal lung disease; instead, she keeps it a secret from her newly found love. Hannes, on the other hand, reflects on the fact

³⁸³ *ibid.*, 12

[*um die wirkliche Revolution, die dem Arbeiter [...], den gerechten sozialen Staat bringen sollte*]

³⁸⁴ *ibid.*, 19

[*über 100.000 Arbeitslose*]

³⁸⁵ *ibid.*, 46

[*die bekannte Dirne*]

that Tine saved his life. Although he feels close at heart to Tine, he decides not to tell his fiancée about her.

After having spent several days with Tine, Hannes heads home, coming across his brother, Adje, on the way. Upon arriving—Hannes lives in the apartment of his father—he meets his 15-year-old sister, who runs the household after their mother's death. Also present are his father, who works on a shipyard, and his oldest brother Ernst, a devoted policeman. The family discusses the riot and Ernst is satisfied not to have seen either Adje or Hannes amongst the protesters. Nevertheless, he asks where Hannes spent that night because he knows, he usually would seize the opportunity of participating in this kind of events. Hannes manages to talk his way out of the situation without revealing his involvement.

In the evening of the same day, Hannes sets out to visit the 'Alarm cellar', but on arriving, he realizes that the door is officially sealed by the police. Therefore, he hastens to a bar in which the most well-known extreme left-wing persons are usually gathering. There he is informed that Fritz Kurz has disappeared and that a raid in the 'Alarm cellar' had been ineffectually carried out, not revealing any compromising information about the participants of the riot.

When Hannes and Tine meet the next time, he asks her if she would like to move in with him; but she talks his idea down, reminding him of his fiancée, let alone the fact that she has been a prostitute for nearly ten years and is older than him. Still, Tine admits that she has given up her work ever since they met: "You, stupid guy, with your child's face, your child's heart, showed me that not everything can be bought, that not everything is for sale."³⁸⁶

At work, Hannes now withdraws from his colleagues and neglects his friends of the revolutionary left. Politics and his activities as an activist become less important to him, as his thoughts revolve around Tine and his dream of a bright future with her. When her state of health deteriorates noticeably, she excuses herself by claiming she would be pregnant, and Hannes is delighted to hear that news. Soon after Tine has successfully deceived him, he is informed about her death.

At night, the deeply shocked Hannes visits a bar where he meets the father of one of his fellow soldiers of the First World War, who upon hearing about the grief, turns to his companions to narrate about the "oddball"³⁸⁷ Hannes: "There were many funny ideas in his head, but everybody liked him because he was an unobtrusive comrade. [...] Nevertheless, he

³⁸⁶ *ibid.*, 80

[*Du, dummer Kerl, mit deinem Kindergesicht, mit dem Kinderherzen, hast mir gezeigt, dass nicht alles käuflich, verkäuflich ist.*]

³⁸⁷ *ibid.* 106

[*komischer Kauz*]

got infected by typhus at the end of the war [...] —Nowadays he is an opponent of war and every kind of soldierly affairs.”³⁸⁸

After a brief period of mourning, Hannes meets again with his friends of the *Freie Sozialisten* group. Together they discuss further political actions and analyze the mistakes made in the attempted coup a few weeks before. One evening, Hannes and his comrades visit a meeting of the KPD (*Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* [Communist Party of Germany]), in which Ernst Uhlmann³⁸⁹ is about to speak. Willing to disrupt the event, they interfere by heckling the speakers. Fritz Kurz even starts a discussion with Ernst Uhlmann, provoking great confusion among the audience. Before a brawl breaks out, the ‘Alarm group’ leaves the location.

A few days later, Hannes and his friend Kuddel visit Jochen Nolte, a wartime comrade, who owns a small cigar shop. For additional income, he deals with stolen goods (“the most unlikely things at a very low price”³⁹⁰), forbidden erotic literature, revolutionary magazines and books. In addition, he publishes a journal for prostitutes and together with his wife, a former prostitute herself, actively supports an organization for their protection.³⁹¹ Nolte and his wife are subscribed to a blurred anarchism, characterized by mystical and Christian influences.³⁹²

After entering Nolte’s house, they hear a loud voice saying: “I am the Lord, the successor—no, the reappearance of Christ.”³⁹³ Immediately, Hannes recognizes the voice of Lon Häusser, a well-known, self-proclaimed itinerant preacher wearing a white habit and sandals, with long grey hair and beard. Häusser, a former champagne manufacturer, started his career as self-proclaimed prophet after the First World War and soon found adherents. Several times he was targeted by the police and even committed to a psychiatric ward, but as no indication of a disturbance could be determined, he each time had to be released. Soon

³⁸⁸ *ibid.* 106

[*Er hatte viele Späne im Gehirn, war aber bei allen beliebt, weil er unaufdringlich Kamerad [war]. [...] Bekam trotzdem Typhus am Ende des Krieges [...] – Ist heute Gegner des Krieges und jeder Soldatenspielererei.*]

³⁸⁹ Semke, “Hannes, 1950-1952,” 111

Semke initially wrote *Ernst Thälmann*, but then crossed out the last name, replacing it with ‘Uhlmann’.

³⁹⁰ Semke, “Rammer”, 118

[*die unwahrscheinlichsten Dinge sehr billig*]

³⁹¹ *ibid.* 118.

Semke mentions a magazine called “*Organ zum Schutz der Strassenmädel*” [Institution for the Protection of Call Girls], which actually existed. The weekly magazine was called *Der Pranger–Organ der Hamburg Altonaer Kontrollmädchen* [The Pillory–Organ of the Hamburg Altona Prostitutes] and published between 1920 and 1921. Cf. Petra Schmackpfeffer, *Frauenbewegung Und Prostitution: Über Das Verhältnis Der Alten Und Neuen Deutschen Frauenbewegung Zur Prostitution [Women's Movement and Prostitution. On the Relationship Between the Old and New Women's Movement and Prostitution]* (Oldenburg: BIS, 1989), 84; Botz, Brandstetter and Pollak, *Im Schatten der Arbeiterbewegung, 1977*, 110, 157.

³⁹² *ibid.* 118.

³⁹³ *ibid.* 121.

[*Ich bin der Herr, der Nachfolger -, nein, das Wiedererscheinen Christi*]

thereafter, Häusser moved his headquarters to St. Pauli in Hamburg, where he now lived with six women.

The objective of Häusser's visit in Jochen Nolte's house is to convince him that he would be one of his chosen disciples and therefore should publish his magazine for free. Nolte rejects this offer and Häusser leaves empty-handed. Thereupon, Hannes tells his friends about his experiences with the self-proclaimed Messiah: soon after Häusser's arrival in Hamburg, Hannes and some of his friends of the *Alarm* group attended one of his presentations. Häusser, obviously drunk, entered the stage and—in order to get the full attention of the audience—started insulting the attendees in the worst way. Only afterwards he gave his speech, followed by an open discussion that impressed Hannes deeply: “something like that I had never experienced before. The kind of people appearing there—Followers of the “free economy” movement—theosophists of all kinds, [...], etc. etc. [...] our anthroposophical dentist lectured as well.”³⁹⁴ The event ended in a commotion and a severe fit of rage of Häusser because he was pelted with a potato and struck on the head. Hannes even met Häusser once in person, as he recounts: a few days after this incident, Hannes visited the self-proclaimed Messiah to offer his service as an assistant. Curious about the kind of assistance Hannes would have in mind, Häusser asked in which ways he might be able to support him. Hannes responded that there would be too many women for Häusser “to deal with this alone,”³⁹⁵ whereupon Häusser went on a rampage.

Soon after this episode with Lon Häusser, Hannes more and more withdraws from being a political activist and, instead, starts to visit adult education classes on history, philosophy, religion and literature, in which he learns about different kinds of world views and ideologies. “Sometimes Hannes could not absorb all the knowledge [...], but his natural, unspoiled, vivid point of view helped him as well to assimilate the lessons.”³⁹⁶

2.4 The Connection between Facts and Reality in *Hannes, der Rammer*

In his narration *Hannes, der Rammer*, Hein Semke created a plot that can—to a great extent—be read autobiographically. Although the storyline is mainly based on a love story, the significance lies between the lines, especially in the description of events and certain persons.

³⁹⁴ *ibid.* 125.

[sowas hatte ich noch nie erlebt. Was da alles für Leuten auftraten. – Freiwirtschaftler – Theosophen aller Richtungen, [...], etc. etc. [...] unser anthroposophischer Zahnarzt dozierte auch]

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 127

[können Sie doch nicht alleine schaffen]

³⁹⁶ Semke, “Hannes, 1950-1952,” 128

[Manchmal konnte Hannes nicht [...] alle Wissenmaterie aufnehmen, aber eine urwüchsige, unverbildete bildhafte Anschauungsgabe half ihm, so dass er den Kurs auch verarbeiten konnte.]

The similarities between the author and the protagonist are obvious: Hein Semke and Hannes have the same age, the same experiences regarding the First World War, they both are Hamburg natives, they both have at least two brothers and one sister, their mother died early and the father works on a shipyard. Although there are several chronological inaccuracies, the narration provides an interesting insight into Semke's life and mindset in Hamburg of the early 1920s.

After the end of the First World War, in March 1919,³⁹⁷ Semke returned to his hometown Hamburg. The old order, the German Empire, had disappeared and the city and its inhabitants suffered from the consequences of war, as described in *Hannes, der Rammer*: "The time around 1919 was, politically speaking, very vague. Once in a while and out of any kind of discontent, minor spontaneous turmoil flared up in Hamburg."³⁹⁸ The ongoing food shortage and the resulting food riots added to the uncertainty regarding the political instability after the November Revolution in 1918, unsettled the population. Demonstrations, street battles and heated conflicts between proponents and opponents of the political turn were a daily occurrence. The narration *Hannes, der Rammer* starts at this particular point and describes how Hannes, the former soldier and now activist for the anarchist group *Freie Sozialisten*, participates in a demonstration resulting in a violent confrontation between protesters and police. The attempt of unravelling which uprising is referred to, does not lead to a final conclusion. According to the description of Teresa Balté, Semke "participates in the May riots (Uprising of the Unemployed)"³⁹⁹ in 1920. But the description of events in *Hannes, der Rammer*—the gathering of protestors in front of the townhall, the looting of shops, the use of firearms and the storming of police stations⁴⁰⁰—would fit best the food crisis that eventually lead to uproar, riots and demonstrations climaxing in April and June 1919.⁴⁰¹

During the years of the Weimar Republic, Hamburg was an important stronghold of the workers' movement.⁴⁰² This was particularly the case for the Hamburg district St. Pauli, where

³⁹⁷ Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 12 and Semke, "Escultura, 1935," 32.

³⁹⁸ Semke, "Hannes, 1950-1952," 6

[*Die Zeit um 1919 war politisch sehr unklar. Ab und zu flammten in Hamburg, aus irgendeiner Unzufriedenheit heraus kleine spontäne [sic] Unruhen auf.*]

³⁹⁹ Balté, *Hein*, 2009, 12

[*1920 Em Hamburgo, participa na revolta de Maio (Aufstand von den Arbeitslosen)*]

⁴⁰⁰ Semke, "Hannes, 1950-1952", 19 ff

⁴⁰¹ A detailed description and thorough analysis of the events in Hamburg in 1919 can be found in: Uwe Schulte-Varendorff, *Die Hungerunruhen in Hamburg im Juni 1919 - eine zweite Revolution? (The Food Riots in Hamburg in June 1919 - a Second Revolution?)*, Beiträge zur Geschichte Hamburgs 65 (Hamburg: Hamburg University Press / Verlag der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, 2010) and Sven Philipski, *Ernährungsnot und sozialer Protest: Die Hamburger Sülzeunruhen 1919 [Nutritional Emergencies and Social Protest: The Aspic Riots in Hamburg in 1919]* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2010), http://www.kaufmannstiftung.de/0904_Suelzeunruhen_K1.pdf.pdf

⁴⁰² Axel Schildt and Roland Jaeger, "Schafft Uns Die Mehrheit! Arbeiterbewegung Zwischen Parlament Und Straße [Give Us the Majority! Labor Movement Between Parliament and Street]," in Projektgruppe Arbeiterkultur Hamburg [Project Group Blue Collar Culture Hamburg], *Vorwärts - Und Nicht Vergessen*, 112

Semke grew up. The area was, by that time, known as “*Klein-Moskau*” [Little Moscow] and considered as a “*rote Hochburg*” [red heartland].⁴⁰³ In addition, Hamburg—with its harbour and the related connections to many cities worldwide—was “an ideal transit point for forbidden anarchistic literature.”⁴⁰⁴ This combination made the city a melting pot and meeting point for anarchists,⁴⁰⁵ in particular for those from the German-speaking countries of Europe.

Nevertheless, St. Pauli was more than a left-wing orientated neighbourhood. It was as well the locality of many nightclubs, the red-light district and the *demimonde*. Sailors from all over the world spent their spare time in the bars, pubs and brothels, shady characters and bizarre individuals felt attracted to this environment. The plot of *Hannes, der Rammer* is placed exactly in the above-mentioned environment of St. Pauli. Unemployment, labor movement, anarchism, insurgency and extraordinary personalities populate the narration. On closer examination, it becomes obvious that Semke mentions a considerable number of persons who indeed existed and played a certain—sometimes also a rather dubious—role in the Hamburg society of the early 1920s. Some of them were influential in the political sphere, others took an active role at societal level since their public appearance left a lasting impression on the bourgeois society and gave them considerable fame. The link between Semke—or his alter ego Hannes—and those characters reveals an intellectual and political background that affected his thinking throughout his life. Therefore, it is necessary to take a closer look at the political mindset described and some of the minor characters appearing in *Hannes, der Rammer*.

2.4.1 Political Influences: Anarchism and Alarm

When speaking about anarchism in the Weimar Republic, it is important to keep in mind that this movement covered a wide spectrum of political, ideological and social ideas, as it “does not provide, in both theory and practice, a uniform, static picture.”⁴⁰⁶ It cannot be limited to

⁴⁰³ In this case the word ‘red’ must be perceived as ‘politically left’, as the majority of the inhabitants of that area were followers of the Social Democratic Party or the Communist Party.

Cf. Hermann Hipp and Roland Jaeger, “Wo Wohnt Das Proletariat? Wohnverhältnisse Der Arbeiterschaft [Where Does the Proletariat Live? Living Conditions of the Working Class],” in Projektgruppe Arbeiterkultur Hamburg [Project Group Blue Collar Culture Hamburg], *Vorwärts - Und Nicht Vergessen*, 65

⁴⁰⁴ Heidi Heinzerling, “Anarchisten in Hamburg. Beiträge Zu Ihrer Geschichte 1890-1914 [Anarchists in Hamburg. Contributions to Their History 1890-1914],” in *Hamburger Zustände: Jahrbuch Zur Geschichte Der Region Hamburg* [Conditions of Hamburg. Yearbook on the History of the Area Hamburg], ed. Verein Hamburg-Jahrbuch e.V., Jahrbuch zur Geschichte der Region Hamburg 1 (Hamburg: Junius - Verlag, 1988), 96
[*ein idealer Umschlagplatz für die verbotene anarchistische Literatur*]

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 96

⁴⁰⁶ Gerhard Botz, Gerfried Brandstetter and Michael Pollak, eds., *Im Schatten der Arbeiterbewegung: Zur Geschichte des Anarchismus in Österreich und Deutschland* [In the Shadow of the Labor Movement. On the History of Anarchism in Austria and Germany], Schriftenreihe des Ludwig-Boltzmann-Instituts für Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung 6 (Vienna: Europaverlag, 1977); Gerfried Brandstetter, “Sozialdemokratische Opposition und Anarchismus in Österreich 1889-1918,” in Botz; Brandstetter; Pollak, *Im Schatten der Arbeiterbewegung*, 29 [Der Anarchismus bietet sowohl als Theorie wie auch in seiner Praxis kein einheitliches, statisches Bild.]

“throwing bombs, terror, putschism, pointless destruction and pleasure of chaos, even though all this undoubtedly plays an important and fatal role for some anarchists.”⁴⁰⁷ Therefore, equating the words ‘anarchism’ and ‘chaos’ does not capture the spirit,⁴⁰⁸ as there is a variety of trends and developments, including communism, socialism, individualism, syndicalism and further political philosophies, which in themselves overlap or diverge. The term ‘anarchism’ designates a manifold range of political theories and social revolutionary movements. The core idea of anarchism is “a fundamental criticism of every kind of social constraint—political, social, economic, legal, ethical and religious.”⁴⁰⁹ The major effort is put into the creation of a society, which is free from any kind of domination and characterized by informal groups of autonomous and free individuals, who live their lives in a spirit of solidarity. The utopia of anarchism foresees life in harmony and mutual help, exploitation and oppression do not exist.⁴¹⁰ A detailed description of all anarchistic varieties would go beyond the scope of this study. For this reason, I focus on areas that are of particular relevance for Semke and his political and intellectual views and can be found in *Hannes, der Rammer*.

Protagonist Hannes is described as a young man looking for answers to the injustice of life. By visiting meetings and lectures, he would have only detected the “prerogative of the elderly,”⁴¹¹ and therefore, “[w]herever there could be found a political upheaval, Hannes was to be found being actively involved.”⁴¹² While seeking solutions, he met people “claiming to

⁴⁰⁷ Karl R. Stadler, “Einleitung: Anarchismus Und Arbeiterbewegung [Introduction: Anarchism and Labor Movement],” in Botz; Brandstetter; Pollak, *Im Schatten Der Arbeiterbewegung. Zur Geschichte Des Anarchismus in Österreich Und Deutschland. [in the Shadow of the Labor Movement. On the History of Anarchism in Austria and Germany]*, 14

[*Anarchismus ist keineswegs identisch mit Bombenwerfen, Terror, Putschismus, sinnloser Zerstörung und Lust am Chaos, wenn dies alles auch bei einigen Anarchisten zweifellos eine große und verhängnisvolle Rolle spielt.*]

⁴⁰⁸ “Reducing ›anarchism‹ to ›chaos‹, ›terror‹, ›lower middle class‹ does not only mean simplification and thus falsification, ultimately giving up the aspiration of analyzing a social and political phenomenon, but as well it means to omit the ›constructive aspect‹ of anarchism [...], namely to discover anarchism as a fruitful area for visionary social perceptions” Peter Lösche, “Anarchismus – Versuch Einer Definition Und Historischen Typologie [Anarchism - a Tentative Definition and Historical Typology],” *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 15, no. 1 (1974): 53

[*›Anarchismus‹ auf ›Chaos‹, ›Terror‹, ›Kleinbürgertum‹ zu reduzieren, bedeutet nicht nur Vereinfachung und damit Fälschung, letztlich Aufgabe des Anspruchs, ein soziales und politisches Phänomen zu analysieren, sondern heißt auch, die ›konstruktive Seite‹ des Anarchismus [...] zu unterschlagen, nämlich Anarchismus als fruchtbares Feld für phantasievolle soziale Erkenntnis zu entdecken]*

⁴⁰⁹ Hubert van den Berg and Walter Fähnders, eds., *Metzler Lexikon Avantgarde* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2009), 31

[*Kern des A.[narchismus] ist eine grundsätzliche Kritik gesellschaftlicher Zwänge jeglicher Art –politisch, sozial, wirtschaftlich, juristisch, ethisch und religiös.*]

⁴¹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 31 f.

A more precise overview of the history of anarchism in Germany is offered by: Elun T. Gabriel, *Assassins & Conspirators: Anarchism Socialism and Political Culture in Imperial Germany* (DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 2014) and; E. V. Zenker, *Anarchism: A Criticism and History of the Anarchist Theory* (Auckland: The Floating Press, 2012).

⁴¹¹ Semke, “Hannes, 1950-1952,” 8

[*Vorrecht der Älteren*]

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, 9

fight against all unfair privileges”⁴¹³ and therefore joined them; however, “[w]ithout forming an organization they named themselves ‘free socialists’.”⁴¹⁴ This group held regular meetings in a cellar in the street *Marienstrasse*, where also the “revolutionary weekly magazine ‘*Der Alarm*’”⁴¹⁵ was edited, hence the name *Alarm* group.

This magazine, as much as the meeting room in *Marienstrasse*, did in fact exist. The *Alarm* was published between 1919 and 1930—apart from a short interruption at the end of 1919, when the publication was forbidden due to national regulations.⁴¹⁶ In 1922, the header of the *Alarm* magazine indicates “*Marienstrasse 26*” as the location of the central office,⁴¹⁷ exactly as described in Semke’s narration.⁴¹⁸ (fig. 73) He furthermore provides a rather detailed description of the circle meeting at the *Alarm* cellar and mentions that there “was always something planned because the general opinion was that the revolution of 1918 would be a middle-class movement coming to nothing and that every opportunity would have to be used to prepare the true revolution bringing the social state to the worker and to the one living without privileges.”⁴¹⁹ Not only workers would have belonged to the group, but also academics such as university professors, teachers and lawyers. Due to his age, Hannes, the main character, would initially have been considered as a youngster in the group, but he soon became one of its main pillars in supporting their activities.

[Überall da, wo in Hamburg irgendeine politische Unruhe war, fand man auch Hannes aktiv tätig]

⁴¹³ Ibid.

[die behaupteten gegen alle ungerechten Vorrechte zu kämpfen]

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

[Ohne eine Organization zu bilden, hatten sie sich den Namen “Freie Sozialisten” gegeben.]

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., 10

[revolutionäre Wochenschrift “*Der Alarm*”]

⁴¹⁶ During this time the paper was issued under the title *Die weiße Fahne* [The White Flag]. Additionally, the subtitle changed several times, while the main title ‘*Alarm*’ remained. Like this, the slogan changed between ‘Weekly Publication for Free Socialism’ [*Wochenschrift für freien Sozialismus*, 1919], ‘Journal for Free Socialism’ [*Organ für freien Sozialismus*, 1922], ‘Publication Medium of the Free Anarchistic Federation and the Free Workgroups’ [*Publikationsorgan des Anarchistischen Freibundes und der Freien Arbeitsgemeinschaften*, 1923], ‘Journal for Natural Order’ [*Zeitschrift für natürliche Ordnung*, 1924].

Cf. Regionales Archiv zur Dokumentation des antiautoritären Sozialismus – RADAS Hamburg [Regional Archive for the Documentation of Anti-Authoritarian Socialism - RADAS Hamburg], “ALARM – 1919-24: Die Anarchistisch-Sozialistische Und Individualistische Wochenzeitung ALARM Aus Hamburg - 1919 Bis 1924 [the Anarchist-Socialistic and Individualistic Weekly Magazine ALARM from Hamburg - 1919 to 1924],” <https://archivkarloche.wordpress.com/alarm/>.

On the history of *Alarm* cf. Anarchistische Gruppe/Rätekommunisten (AG/R) [Anarchistic Group/Council Communists], “Der Antikommunismus War Schon Immer Ein Klotz Am Bein Des Anarchismus! Die Hamburger Zeitung “Alarm” Der Freien Sozialisten-Anarchisten (1919-1922) [Anticommunism Has Always Been a Milestone Around the Neck of Anarchism! The Hamburg Journal “Alarm” of the Free Socialist-Anarchists (1919-1922)],” accessed December 26, 2017, <https://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agr/alarm.html>.

⁴¹⁷ Carl Langer *Alarm - Organ für freien Sozialismus* [*Organ for Free Socialism*], 1922, 12.

⁴¹⁸ Cf. Semke, “Hannes, 1950-1952,” 11, 16, 18, 68, 110.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 12

[Im “*Alarm-Keller*”] wurde immer etwas geplant, denn man war der Meinung, die Revolution von 1918 wäre eine im Sand verlaufene bürgerliche Bewegung und es müsste jede Gelegenheit benutzt werden, um die wirkliche Revolution, die dem Arbeiter und dem ohne Vorrechtelbenden, den gerechten sozialen Staat bringen sollte, vorzubereiten.]

It is rather unclear if Semke indeed has been as active in the so-called *Alarm* group as was his protagonist Hannes. Teresa Balté mentions in Semke's biography that he would have collaborated with the magazine,⁴²⁰ but there is no evidence indicating his active involvement.⁴²¹ In *Hannes, der Rammer*, however, it is mentioned that the main character usually "on Sundays [...] sold the 'Alarm' with 2 or 3 friends in the working-class districts of Hamburg."⁴²² Thus, it can be assumed that Semke's occupation as a newspaper vendor, mentioned in the biography and in the text *Escultura*,⁴²³ was connected to the *Alarm*.

2.4.1.1 Carl Langer and 'Direct Action'

In *Hannes, der Rammer*, a certain "Fritz Kurz" is mentioned in the role of "head of those cellar socialists"⁴²⁴ and editor of the magazine *Alarm*. Although Semke changed the name in the manuscript, he obviously refers to Carl Langer (1881-1958) who, during his lifetime, was considered one of the most well-known anarchists in Germany.⁴²⁵ Around Langer and the *Alarm* gathered "the 'free socialists' [...], who practically represented the entire anarchism of Hamburg."⁴²⁶ This group reflected a heterogeneous ideological spectrum, mainly oscillating between anarcho-communism and individualist anarchism.⁴²⁷ The number of supporters is difficult to determine,⁴²⁸ especially since the individualist anarchists refused any kind of organization.

Semke's description of Langer matches the sparse information that can be found about him:⁴²⁹ a former cabinetmaker who became a non-unionist and turned away from social

⁴²⁰ Cf. Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 12.

⁴²¹ Original copies of the magazine can be accessed at the *Staatsarchiv Hamburg* [National Archive Hamburg]. Cf. Carl Langer, *Alarm - Organ für freien Sozialismus* [Organ for Free Socialism], 1919 Nr. 1-5, 7-16, 19-26; 1920 Nr. 1-3, 5- 8/9, 11, 14-16, 18-46; 1921 Nr. 1-51/52; 1922 Nr. 1-27, Z 440/0007, *Staatsarchiv Hamburg* [National Archive Hamburg].

⁴²² Semke, "Hannes, 1950-1952," 72

[*Sonnabends [...] verkaufte mit 2 od 3 Bekannten den "Alarm" in den Arbeitervierteln Hamburgs*]

⁴²³ Cf. Semke, "Escultura, 1935," 32 and Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 12.

⁴²⁴ Semke, "Hannes, 1950-1952," 9

[*Der Kopf dieser Keller-Sozialisten*]

⁴²⁵ Hartmut Rübner, *Freiheit Und Brot: Die Freie Arbeiter-Union Deutschlands. Eine Studie Zur Geschichte Des Anarchosyndikalismus* [Freedom and Bread. The Free Workers' Union of Germany. a Study on the History of Anarcho-Syndicalism], Archiv für Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte 5 (Berlin: Libertad-Verl., 1994), 85

⁴²⁶ Botz, Brandstetter and Pollak, *Im Schatten der Arbeiterbewegung*, 1977, 106

[*die »freien Sozialisten« [...], die praktisch den gesamten Hamburger Anarchismus ausmachten*]

⁴²⁷ Cf. Gerhard Botz, "Der Arbeiter-Schriftsteller Carl Dopf (1883-1968) Und Die Anarchistische Subkultur [the Working-Class Author Carl Dopf (1883-1968) and the Anarchist Subculture]," in Botz; Brandstetter; Pollak, *Im Schatten Der Arbeiterbewegung. Zur Geschichte Des Anarchismus in Österreich Und Deutschland. [in the Shadow of the Labor Movement. On the History of Anarchism in Austria and Germany]*, 106

⁴²⁸ "1919 and 1920 the number of »free socialists«, including their sympathizers, temporarily is likely to have reached several thousand" [1919 und 1920 dürfte die Zahl der »freien Sozialisten« mit ihren Sympathisierenden zweitweise mehrere tausend betragen haben]. Cf. *ibid.*, 105

⁴²⁹ See: Rübner, *Freiheit und Brot*, 1994, 85; Botz, Brandstetter and Pollak, *Im Schatten der Arbeiterbewegung*, 1977, 105 ff. and Anarchistische Gruppe Hamburg/Bund Freier Sozialisten und Anarchisten, "Carl Langer,"

democracy after a lost election to a union secretary. Imprisoned during the First World War for refusing to perform military service, he became a political agitator and reciter of revolutionary poems after the war and actively participated in the proclamation of the German Republic.⁴³⁰

In *Hannes, der Rammer*, Fritz Kurz, respectively Carl Langer, gets into a dispute with a certain communist called Ernst Uhlman (described in more detail in the next section) during one of the frequent open discussion sessions that rallied advocates and campaigners of revolutionary ideas. They accuse each other of their respective political beliefs: a quarrel finally leading to a scuffle among the attendants, provoked by a cheeky remark of Hannes.⁴³¹ At this point, Semke lets his protagonist take an unequivocal stand and positions his alter ego in the camp of the anarchists. In addition, Semke states—through Langer—the main objective of the Hamburg anarchists: “against the participation of the workers in any form of parliamentary work, he considered the necessity of a political general strike and the resulting direct social action.”⁴³² ‘Direct action’ is a key concept of anarchism and stands for pushing through the own interests by own activity: “Examples of direct action include blockades, pickets, sabotage, squatting, tree spiking, lockouts, occupations, rolling strikes, slowdowns, the revolutionary general strike.”⁴³³ The modus operandi of ‘direct action’ does not simply remain mentioned in *Hannes, der Rammer*. Instead, this characterization of anarchist mentality by the artist seems to have prevailed throughout his life as a frame of reference, mirroring itself time and again.

In 1941, Semke organized an exhibition in his studio in Lisbon, entitled *Hein Semke. Trabalhos em Portugal 1932-1941* [Hein Semke. Works in Portugal 1932-1941]. In large black letters he wrote on the wall that this art show would be “dedicated to all artists that suffered

'Information' - Anarchistische Gedanken zur Politik, Geschichte, Wirtschaft und Literatur der Gegenwart [Information'-Anarchist Thoughts on Politics, History, Economy and Contemporary Literature] 4 (1958), 25 f.

⁴³⁰ Semke, “Hannes, 1950-1952”, 9 f.

Heidi Heinzerling reports that Langer had been an active anarchist already before the First World War and that he was, in 1909, involved in disputes which finally led to a splintering of the movement into several groups fighting each other.

Cf. Heinzerling, “Anarchisten, 1988”, 115 f.

⁴³¹ ~~Thälmann~~ Uhlmann finished his speech with a threat, while pointing at Fritz Kurz (C.L.), Otto and Hannes [...]: ‘And once, after the parliamentary era, we have established a full dictatorship of the proletariat, you will be the first ones to be hung’—Hannes exclaimed: ‘Ernst, I am letting you go first, because once the day arrives, you will be dangling along with us.’”

Semke, “Hannes, 1950-1952”, 112

[~~Thälmann~~ Uhlmann schloss seine Rede mit der Drohung, indem er auf Fritz Kurz (C.L.), Otto und Hannes [...] zeigte: „Und wenn wir nach der parlamentarischen Periode die volle Diktatur des Proletariats errichtet haben, seid ihr die Ersten, die wir aufhängen werden.“—Hannes rief: “Ernst, ich lass dir den Vortritt, denn wenn’s so weit ist, baumelst du mit uns.“]

⁴³² Ibid., 112 [gegen die Teilnahme der Arbeiterschaft an jeder parlamentarischen Arbeit, vertrat den Standpunkt der Notwendigkeit des politischen Generalstreiks und der daraus resultierenden direkten sozialen Aktion]

⁴³³ Rob Sparrow, “Anarchist Politics & Direct Action,” accessed February 15, 2018, <http://www.spunk.org/library/intro/sp001641.html>.

from the intolerance of their time.”⁴³⁴ Supposedly, this was a ‘direct action’ to protest against a law passed, in that year, by the Portuguese Government for the protection of domestic artists, prohibiting orders to non-national or foreign artists.⁴³⁵ As will be discussed in the last chapter of this study, this law did de facto not exist. Therefore, it can be assumed that Semke wrote the sentence as a general statement on the wall, or in different words, it was a ‘direct action’ in order to attract attention.

2.4.1.2 Communism and Ernst Thälmann

In *Hannes, der Rammer*, Semke describes in detail events like the uprising, in which he participated and the persons he met in Hamburg during the early 1920s. One of those acquaintances is Ernst Thälmann (1886-1944),⁴³⁶ who is not referred to under his actual name but as *Ernst Uhlmann*: “Hannes knew Ernst ~~Thälmann~~ Uhlmann already from his childhood, when he had been delivering the laundry for the laundry service in which his/one aunt had been an ironer.”⁴³⁷ Semke briefly mentions that the latter would be a member of a transport workers' federation and working as an official in the KPD. This description matches the biography of Ernst Thälmann who actually worked as coachman before being called up for military service in 1915.⁴³⁸

Semke recounts that Hannes would have been appearing as speaker opposing Thälmann in panel discussions. “Of course, he was no match for Ernst ~~Thälmann~~ Uhlmann, who showed

⁴³⁴ Cf. fig. 39. and Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 75

[dedicada a todos os artistas que sofreram com as intolerâncias do seu tempo]

⁴³⁵ Balté, *Coragem*, p. 75

⁴³⁶ Ernst Thälmann (1886-1944) was the leader of KPD and *Roter Frontkämpferbund* (Alliance of Red Front-Fighters) between 1925 and 1933. He ran for the position of *Reichspräsident* (President of the Reich) in 1925 and 1932. In 1933 he was arrested by the Secret State Police of Nazi Germany and sent to jail, where he spent eleven years in solitary confinement. In 1944 he was transferred to the Buchenwald concentration camp where he was shot. Thälmann played a crucial role in the organization of the bloodily suppressed *Hamburger Aufstand* [Hamburg Uprising], which took place between October 23 and October 26 in 1923. After his death, Thälmann achieved particular importance in the German Democratic Republic (GDR), where he was honored as a role model for communist resistance.

Cf. “Ernst Thälmann,” Zentralkomitee der MLPD, accessed August 22, 2017, <https://www.mlpd.de/themen/deutsche-arbeiterbewegung/ernst-thalmann> and Stefanie Eimermacher, “Ernst Thälmann 1886-1944,” accessed August 22, 2017, <https://www.dhm.de/lemo/biografie/ernst-thaelmann>.

⁴³⁷ In the original text, Hein Semke usually addresses Ernst Thälmann as follows: “Ernst ~~Thälmann~~ Uhlmann,” applying a strikethrough to the name “Thälmann”. For what reason Semke changed the name is not known.

Cf. Semke, “Hannes, 1950-1952”, 111

[Hannes kannte Ernst ~~Thälmann~~ Uhlmann schon aus seiner Kindheit, als er in der Wäscherei, in der seine / eine Tante Plätterin war, Wäsche von und zu den Kunden fuhr – Jetzt war er im Transportarbeiterverband und in der K.P.D. Funktionär. – Nach dem Krieg war Hannes schon mehrmals gegen Ernst ~~Thälmann~~ Uhlmann als Diskussionsredner aufgetreten.]

⁴³⁸ Cf. Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur [Federal Foundation for the Reappraisal of the SED Dictatorship], “Thälmann, Ernst,” Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur [Federal Foundation for the Reappraisal of the SED Dictatorship], accessed July 27, 2019, <https://www.bundesstiftung-aufarbeitung.de/wer-war-wer-in-der-ddr-%2363;-1424.html?ID=5281>.

a natural eloquence, but did not let himself be intimidated.”⁴³⁹ An analogy between this remark and the artist’s real life cannot be verified. Nevertheless, it underlines Semke’s mindset as an anarchist since communists and anarchists of Hamburg had estranged already before the First World War.⁴⁴⁰ After an initial collaboration during the German Revolution in 1918, which finally led to the abolishment of the German Monarchy and the establishment of a democratic parliamentary republic, the situation between communists and the anarchists around Carl Langer exacerbated between 1919 and 1922, with the two groups drifting further and further apart.⁴⁴¹ By letting his main character Hannes visit an event of the KPD as a speaker opposing Thälmann—with his fellow campaigners of the *Alarm* group tackling and disrupting the latter—Semke clearly dissociates himself from communism.

The accusation of being a communist indeed followed him for many years and lingered in the minds of several members of the German community in Lisbon.⁴⁴² Semke wrote the narration *Hannes, der Rammer* in the course of his ambitions as a writer and with the aim to publish it. By doing so, he would have been able to silence the rumors about his connection to communism, but at the same time he would have revealed his connection with the anarchist movement in his early twenties.

2.4.1.3 Inflation Saints: Ludwig Christian Haeusser

One of the most decisive figures appearing in *Hannes, der Rammer* is a character Semke names ‘Lon Häusser’, to whom he dedicates a rather detailed description. With the information Semke provides regarding this “itinerant preacher,”⁴⁴³ one of the most fascinating personalities among the so-called *Inflationseiligen* [Inflation Saints] can be identified: Ludwig Christian Haeusser (1881-1927).

Inflation saints were a phenomenon occurring mainly during the time of the Weimar Republic in Germany. As the name suggests, their activities are closely connected to the inflation periods and had two peaks, the first between 1919 and 1923, the second between 1929 and 1933. An immediate predecessor of this movement was the community of *Monte Verità* in Ascona, Switzerland,⁴⁴⁴ established as center for the life reform movement and place for

⁴³⁹ Semke, “Hannes, 1950-1952”

[*Natürlich war er Ernst Thälmann Uhlmann, der eine natürliche Rednerbegabung hatte nicht gewachsen, aber er liess sich nicht von ihm einschüchtern.*]

⁴⁴⁰ Heinzerling, “Anarchisten, 1988”, 113

⁴⁴¹ Anarchistische Gruppe/Rätekommunisten (AG/R) [Anarchistic Group/Council Communists, “Antikommunismus, 25.03.2001”]

⁴⁴² Gisela Bach, oral to Nina Blum de Almeida.

⁴⁴³ Semke, “Hannes, 1950-1952,” 121

[*Wanderprediger*]

⁴⁴⁴ Today a convention and culture center that as well maintains a museum.

alternative living around the artist Gustav Arthur Gräser (called 'Gusto', 1879-1958) and his fellow campaigners in the year 1900.⁴⁴⁵

Ludwig Christian Haeusser, born as a farmer's son near Stuttgart, went to Paris in 1900, where he became a successful businessman. Even though his activities were partially based on shady deals,⁴⁴⁶ he managed to establish a sparkling wine and champagne enterprise, selling to leading hotels and exporting mainly to the Orient.⁴⁴⁷ While on a business trip in Frankfurt am Main, Haeusser experienced a night of enlightenment: concerns about the welfare of humanity tormented him, but "[f]or the time being, Haeusser shelved those thoughts and continued the mission that had preoccupied him for the past eleven years: running the lucrative champagne distributorship he had set up in Paris."⁴⁴⁸ Only in 1918, after his business gradually deteriorated, Haeusser finally decided to radically break with his current life. He left his wife and son and started a life as a rover. He visited the *Monte Verità* and Gusto Gräser, who introduced him to the teachings of the ancient Chinese philosopher and writer Lao Tzu. Inspired by Gräser, Haeusser changed his outer appearance; according to his calling as a modern-day Christ, he cut neither his beard nor his hair and dressed in a cape and sandals. (fig. 74)

In 1919, Haeusser returned to Germany, where he busily gathered supporters. His engaging personality helped him to win loyal followers "ready to leave family and possessions behind and to go along with him."⁴⁴⁹ Considering himself a religious leader, Haeusser and a group of his adherents travelled across Germany organizing performances and announcing them with strikingly designed posters. (fig. 75, 76) Through his martial behavior on stage and his targeted publicity work, Haeusser gained wider recognition. During his speeches, considered "absolutely megalomaniac and without any logic and reason"⁴⁵⁰ by German authorities, he insulted the audience and did not refrain from publicly mocking followers he had grown weary of.⁴⁵¹

Cf. Fondazione Monte Verità [Monte Verità Foundation], "Geschichte [History]- Monte Verità Ascona," Fondazione Monte Verità, accessed July 28, 2019, <https://www.monteverita.org/de/monte-verita/geschichte>.

⁴⁴⁵ The founding members were, besides Gusto Gräser, his brother Karl Gräser (1875-1920), a commissioned officer, the merchant Henri Oedenkoven (1875-1935) and the pianist Ida Hofmann (1864-1926)

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. Linse, *Barfußige Propheten*, 1983, 149.

⁴⁴⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 150.

⁴⁴⁸ Pamela Kort and Max Hollein, *Künstler Und Propheten: Eine Geheime Geschichte Der Moderne 1872 - 1972* [Artists and Prophets. A Secret History of Modernity 1872-1972] (Köln: Snoeck, 2015), 483.

⁴⁴⁹ Linse, *Barfußige Propheten*, 1983, 166

[die bereit waren, Familie und Besitz für ihn aufzugeben und ihm nachzufolgen.]

⁴⁵⁰ Hermann E. Kuenzer, Lageberichte des Reichskommissars für Überwachung der öffentlichen Ordnung, Nr. 86 [Statusreport by the Commissioner of the Reich for Monitoring the Public Order, No. 86], May 11, 1923, FA N 6697, 4, Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, 13

[absolut grössenwahnsinnig und ohne jede Logik und Vernunft]

⁴⁵¹ Cf. Linse, *Barfußige Propheten*, 1983, 172 and Pamela Kort and Max Hollein, *Künstler Und Propheten: Eine Geheime Geschichte Der Moderne 1872 - 1972* [Artists and Prophets. A Secret History of Modernity 1872-1972] (Köln: Snoeck, 2015), 486.

Until 1920, Haeusser's official residence had been Stuttgart. After the local authorities considered him a threat to the public order and put him under police surveillance, he left the capital of Baden-Wuerttemberg and moved to *Karolinenstraße* 6/IV in Hamburg.⁴⁵² "In the liberal climate of the Hanseatic city, he was tolerated. He returned the favor by declaring Hamburg—and not as initially Stuttgart—as the capital of the movement."⁴⁵³ Two years later, in 1922, Haeusser founded the *Christlich-radikale Volkspartei* [Christian-radical People's Party] and started to extend his 'mission' on becoming the "savior of Germany."⁴⁵⁴ He even participated in the presidential elections in 1924 and 1925, but failed each time due to a lack of votes.

Throughout his career, Haeusser repeatedly was imprisoned and—due to his passion for deliberate provocation—constantly quarreled with the German authorities. Since he had started his life as itinerant preacher in 1918, his health gradually deteriorated and declined further with each stay in prison.⁴⁵⁵ The self-proclaimed "People's Emperor" and "President of the Earth and Universe"⁴⁵⁶ died in 1927 in Berlin of a heart muscle inflammation.⁴⁵⁷ However, the movement of inflation saints did not end at this point. Haeusser's success had, already during his lifetime, inspired different impersonators and successors.⁴⁵⁸ "No inflation saint fascinated his contemporaries as much as Ludwig Christian Haeusser. Anecdotes linked to him are legion, he was wrapped in secrecy. Savior, fool, cheater, criminal, statesman, sexual boaster? He probably was a bit of all of that, but that he was in each case entirely."⁴⁵⁹ The German-Swiss author Hermann Hesse (1877-1962), devotee of the life reform movement and contemporary witness, provided an explanation for the success of the self-proclaimed prophets of the 1920s in his short novel *Die Morgenlandfahrt* [Journey to the East]:

⁴⁵² Linse, *Barfüßige Propheten*, 1983, 190.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

[*Im liberalen Klima der Hansestadt wurde er geduldet. Er revanchierte sich, indem er Hamburg – und nicht mehr wie anfangs Stuttgart – zur Hauptstadt der Bewegung erklärte.*]

⁴⁵⁴ Bernadett Bigalke, "Psychopathisch Und Gemeingefährlich: Die Behörden Und Ludwig Haeusser [Psychopathic and Public Menace: Authority and Ludwig Haeusser]," in *Religion Und Wahnsinn Um 1900: Zwischen Pathologisierung Und Selbstermächtigung [Religion and Insanity Around 1900: Between Pathologisation and Self-Empowerment]*, ed. Lutz Greisiger, Alexander van der Haven and Sebastian Schüler, Diskurs Religion Band 14 (Baden-Baden: Ergon, 2017), 312

[*Retter Deutschlands*]

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. Linse, *Barfüßige Propheten*, 1983, 105.

⁴⁵⁶ Ludwig C. Haeusser, Wahlplakat [Election Poster], 1924, Stadtarchiv Bönningheim [Municipal Archive Bönningheim]

[*Volkskaiser*], [*Präsident des Erd- und Weltballs*]

⁴⁵⁷ Cf. Linse, *Barfüßige Propheten*, 1983, 198.

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, 201 ff.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., 156

[*Kein Inflationsheiliger hat so seine Zeitgenossen fasziniert, wie Ludwig Christian Haeusser. Viele Anekdoten ranken sich um ihn, viele Rätsel gab er auf. Was war er? Erlöser, Narr, Schwindler, Verbrecher, Staatsmann oder Sexualprotz? Er war wohl von allem etwas, aber das dann auch jeweils ganz.*]

At the time [...]—that is, immediately after the end of the [First; note by the author] World War—our country was full of saviors, prophets and disciples, of presentiments about the end of the world, or hopes for the dawn of a Third Empire. Shattered by the war, in despair as a result of deprivation and hunger, greatly disillusioned by the seeming futility of all the sacrifices in blood and goods, our people at that time were lured by many phantoms, but there were also many real spiritual advances. There were Bacchanalian dance societies and Anabaptist groups, there was one thing after another that seemed to point to what was wonderful and beyond the veil.⁴⁶⁰

It seems that Semke was also intrigued by Haeusser. This becomes evident because he mentions the latter extensively on two different occasions: firstly, in the text *Escultura*, published in 1935, and secondly, in his narration *Hannes, der Rammer*, written around 15 years later. In how far Semke indeed was in direct contact with Haeusser cannot be determined. However, fact is that Haeusser and his devotees, after transferring their residence to Hamburg and declaring the city as “capital of the movement,” lived in Semke’s immediate vicinity.⁴⁶¹ Semke’s father, with whom he lived in the early 1920s, can be traced as residing in *Sternstrasse* between 1916 and 1926,⁴⁶² a street within a few minutes’ walk from *Karolinenstraße*, the domicile of Haeusser. Considering that the ‘itinerant preacher’ attracted considerable attention, it is very likely that Semke witnessed Haeusser on the streets and—as described in *Hannes, der Rammer*—visited one of his performances announced by the eye-catching advertisements. Additionally, there were several points of contact between the anarchism represented by the *Alarm* group and the “Spiritual Monarch”⁴⁶³: Haeusser lived an anarchistic life, free from social constraints, not even awed by the authorities.⁴⁶⁴ He lived with several women at the same time,

⁴⁶⁰ Hermann Hesse and Hilda Rosner, *The Journey to the East*, 1st Picador ed. (New York: Picador, 2003), 6 f.

⁴⁶¹ Linse, *Barfüßige Propheten*, 1983, 190

[*Hauptstadt der Bewegung*]

⁴⁶²For example Cf. *Hamburger Adressbuch 1916* [*Addressbook of Hamburg 1916*] 130 (Hamburg: Hermanns Erben, 1916), 827-II; *Hamburger Adressbuch 1917* [*Addressbook of Hamburg 1917*] 131 (Hamburg: Hermanns Erben, 1917), 643-IV; *Hamburger Adressbuch 1921* [*Addressbook of Hamburg 1921*] 135 (Hamburg: Hamburger Adreßbuch-Verlag, 1921), 714-IV; Gustav H.C. Wulff, *Hamburger Adressbuch 1926* [*Adressbook of Hamburg 1926*] 140 (Hamburg: Hamburger Adreßbuch-Verlag, 1926), 734-IV.

⁴⁶³ Pamela Kort and Max Hollein, *Künstler Und Propheten: Eine Geheime Geschichte Der Moderne 1872 - 1972* [*Artists and Prophets. A Secret History of Modernity 1872-1972*] (Köln: Snoeck, 2015), 483.

⁴⁶⁴ When Haeusser was sentenced to pay a fine due to improper conduct, he replied on a postcard insulting the responsible official in his typical language style: “You are an outright ox! Don’t you—nincompoop—see that I shit on your dull lazy mindless paragraph, yes, I shit, namely a huge pile! –You are not worth that the sun shines on you or a poodle pees on you! You wet chicken, bed wetter! You deserve to be pissed upon and placed in the shadow so that you do not dry up that fast! [...] Hopefully, I am now getting a fine of two billion dollars or four billion days of prison! Yours Haeusser”

[*Du bist ein glattes Rindvieh! Siehst Du – Hornochse - denn nicht - dass ICH auf deine öden faulen stumpfsinnigen Paragraphen scheisse, ja scheisse und zwar einen großen Haufen! - - Du bist nicht wert, dass dich die Sonne bescheint, oder ein Pudel bepisst! Du nasses Huhn, Bettsaicher! Du verdienst angebrunzt und in den Schatten gestellt zu werden, damit du nicht so schnell trocknest! [...] Hoffentlich bekomme ich nun zwei Milliarden Dollars Geldstrafe oder vier Milliarden Tage Gefängnis! - Dein Haeusser!*]

spoke his mind freely, travelled across the country and earned his living by performing speeches, criticizing the state, the existing order and demanding a “moral revolution of the consciousness.”⁴⁶⁵ Like this, Haeusser surely was an impressive character and fascinating appearance for a young anarchist searching for his place in life.

Nevertheless, it needs to be mentioned that Semke consistently errs when referring to the ‘prophet’s’ name. No document regarding Haeusser, in which he would have been addressed as “Lon,” could be discovered.⁴⁶⁶ It can be assumed that Semke would hardly have mistaken the name if the connection had exceeded mere admiration.

2.5 The Self-Descriptive Text *Escultura* and the Narration *Hannes, der Rammer* in Context

Between the publication of the text *Escultura* and the initial creation of the narration *Hannes, der Rammer* lies a period of approximately 15 years. Both texts were intended to be published and contain valuable information about the artist Hein Semke. While the text *Escultura* aims at providing a biographical self-representation, Semke, in his essay *Hannes, der Rammer*, employs a protagonist who makes experiences similar to his own personal history.

Already when introducing the “young lad”⁴⁶⁷ in *Hannes, der Rammer*, he mentions that he would radically reject any form of organization and “wanted to change the very pillars of the existing social order.”⁴⁶⁸ This description appears, albeit in an alleviated variation, also in Semke’s text *Escultura*,⁴⁶⁹ but without mentioning any relations to the magazine *Alarm*, the anarcho-syndicalist movement, or even his time in prison. On the contrary, in *Escultura*, he presents himself as a widely-travelled man, a “restless fighter”⁴⁷⁰ and “combative artist.”⁴⁷¹ This picture of a fierce personality standing up for his ideals and even enduring a prison sentence of five years in solitary confinement for his political beliefs has been passed on—in

See: Dieter Gerlinger, “Louis Haeusser, Der „Bönnigheimer Heiland“: Facetten Aus Seinem Leben [Louis Haeusser, the “Saint of Bönnigheim”. Facets from His Life],” Stadtverwaltung Bönnigheim, accessed August 31, 2017, http://www.boennigheim.de/website/de/stadt_boennigheim/geschichte_und_wappen/louis_haeusser.

⁴⁶⁵ Linse, *Barfußige Propheten*, 1983, 176

[*moralische Bewußtseinsrevolution*]

⁴⁶⁶ Semke, “Hannes, 1950-1952”, 121 and Semke, “Escultura, 1935,” 33

⁴⁶⁷ Semke, “Hannes, 1950-1952”, 4

[*ein junger Burscher [...] er lehnte jegliche Form einer Organisation die nicht absolut freiwillig war, grundsätzlich ab*]

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., 15

[*Er wollte die Grundpfeiler der gültigen Gesellschaftsordnung ändern*]

⁴⁶⁹ Hein Semke, “Escultura [Sculpture],” *Sudoeste Europa Portugal – Revista Portuguesa [Southwest Europe Portugal - Portuguese Magazine]*, no. 3 (1935)

⁴⁷⁰ *ibid.*, 33

[*lutador(es) sem socêgo*]

⁴⁷¹ *ibid.*, 35

[*artista lutador*]

slightly modified variations—for decades.⁴⁷² Only one source suggests that there might be a different version behind this well-developed image. In 1992, still during Semke's lifetime, Patrick von zur Mühlen wrote: "the painter and sculptor Hein Semke: Born 1899 in Hamburg, he repeatedly participated in the political battles of his hometown in the 1920s and had to serve several prison sentences."⁴⁷³ That Semke indeed has spent time in prison could already be verified in the first chapter of this study. Of special interest in this context is the mentioned newspaper article of October 18, 1923, as it contains manifold hints regarding Semke's activities between 1923 and 1925. (fig. 7) Under the heading "An Anarchist," the article describes the trial against "the worker Heinrich Albert Semke, born in 1899 in Hamburg, [...] accused of an offence against the Explosives Act."⁴⁷⁴ Before Semke was arrested, he lived, as his alter ego *Hannes*, at his father's place. When the police searched the latter's house, they found "a tin box with a fuse, containing explosive material, and in addition a parcel with several boxes like this in the attic."⁴⁷⁵ Thereupon, Semke was detained and remained in custody for eleven months prior to his trial on October 15, 1923. According to the article, Semke admitted to be an anarchist, stating during the interrogation that "if the propaganda of the anarchists does not lead to success the deed would need to follow."⁴⁷⁶ Consequently, the article does not only

⁴⁷² As for example:

"Hein Semke is committed to a political solution for the social disharmonies by adopting anarchist attitudes, with the result of imprisonment between 1923 and 1928"

[*Hein Semke envolve-se numa solução política para as desarmonias sociais encontrada numa atitude anarquista que o levou à prisão entre 1923 e 1928*]

Paulo Henriques, "Hein Semke. Esculturas [Sculptures]," in *Hein Semke: Esculturas [Sculptures], 1899-1995*, ed. Teresa Balté, João Pinharanda and Paulo Henriques, 1.th ed. (Lisbon, Caldas da Rainha: Instituto Português de Museus; Museu de José Malhoa, 1997), 17

"radically active on a political level; in 1923 prison after the Hamburg Uprising of the communists"

[*politisch radikal engagiert, 1923 nach dem Hamburger Aufstand der Kommunisten Gefängnis*]

Portugiesisch-Hanseatische Gesellschaft e.V. - Associação Luso-Hanseática, ed., "Hein Semke em Lisboa," special issue, *Portugal-Post*, no. 28 (2004), accessed November 28, 2016, http://info.phg-hh.de/PP_PDF/Portugal_Post/PP28/s_pp28_heinSemke.html;

"An anarchist, he had taken part in the October uprising in Hamburg in 1923, and was sentenced to six years in prison, to be spent in solitary confinement"

Jorge Calado and Wolfgang Sievers, *Linha de Vida / Life Line: A Fotografia de Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993 / The Photography of Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993* (Lisbon: Departamento de Património Cultural, 2000), 39

"Due to his anarchistic activities he serves a five-year prison term" [*Aufgrund seiner anarchistischen Umtriebe verbüßte er eine fünfjährige Gefängnisstrafe*] See: "Hein Semke," accessed December 12, 2017, <https://de.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?oldid=152956780>

⁴⁷³ Patrik von Zur Mühlen, *Fluchtweg Spanien - Portugal: Die deutsche Emigration und der Exodus aus Europa 1933 - 1945*, Reihe: Politik- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte 28 (Bonn: Dietz, 1992), 166

[*der Maler und Bildhauer Hein Semke. 1899 in Hamburg geboren, nahm er in den 1920er Jahren wiederholt an den politischen Kämpfen seiner Vaterstadt teil und mußte mehrere Gefängnisstrafen absitzen.*]

⁴⁷⁴ *Hamburgischer Correspondent und neue hamburgische Börsen-Halle, Morgenausgabe, 2. Beilage [Hamburg Correspondent and New Stock Market of Hamburg, Morning Edition, 2. Supplement]*, "Anarchist, 18.10.1923," 2 [den 1899 in Hamburg geborenen Arbeiter Heinrich Albert Semke [...] wegen Vergehens gegen das Sprengstoffgesetz angeklagt]

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

[*eine Sprengstoff enthaltende Blechdose mit einer Zündschnur und ferner auf dem Hausboden ein Paket mit mehreren solcher Dosen*]

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

prove an ideological grounding of Semke to anarchism, it simultaneously verifies that he spent time in prison because of his political stance, even though he evidently was convicted of being involved in the preparations of a bomb attack. Additionally, the press article allows to draw a conclusion regarding the uprising Semke refers to in *Hannes, der Rammer*. In combination with his criminal record issued in 1954 (fig. 6),⁴⁷⁷ the following timeline can be derived: Semke was arrested for the first time in November 1922 and released from prison on May 7, 1925. On January 22, 1926, he was sentenced to three weeks in prison for receiving and handling stolen goods. And finally, on January 22, 1927, he was sentenced to two years in penal servitude for burglary and then released from prison on June 1, 1928.⁴⁷⁸ A closer look at these facts, makes clear that it is impossible that Semke would actually have participated in the *Hamburger Aufstand*, which started on October 23, 1923,⁴⁷⁹ as Teresa Balté maintains.⁴⁸⁰ Similarly, the statement that Semke would have spent five years in solitary confinement for his political beliefs cannot be verified.

The newspaper article about Hein Semke's court case, nonetheless, reveals more information. It points out that "in 1920, he was dismissed as strike leader in Hamborn."⁴⁸¹ In his text *Escultura*, Semke mentions his time in the Ruhr area and explains that he worked "in mines, in quarries and in a foundry," in which he was employed as a locksmith's assistant.⁴⁸² The place name 'Hamborn' is a reference not only to the Ruhr area, but also to the steel manufacturer *Thyssen AG*, nowadays *thyssenkrupp*, which, still today, has its headquarters in Duisburg. An inquiry to the company's archives confirmed that Semke worked indeed as a laborer for the firm between July 1, 1920 and January 22, 1921.⁴⁸³ However, there is no evidence of his dismissal.

The text *Escultura* presents the years Semke spent in prison as a time in which he would have roamed across the country, occasionally living "with gypsies,"⁴⁸⁴ thus avoiding

[wenn die von den Anarchisten geführte Propaganda keinen Erfolg habe, dann müsse die Tat folgen]

⁴⁷⁷ Cf. Semke, Antrag auf Erteilung eines Heimatscheines [Application for a Certificate of Nationality].

⁴⁷⁸ Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Heimatschein, 332-7, Staatsangehörigkeitsaufsicht, BVII b 1954/8561, Heinrich Albert Semke, 12

⁴⁷⁹ About the Hamburg Uprising see: Geschichtswerkstatt-Billstedt, "Der Hamburger Aufstand, seine politischen Hintergründe und das Nachspiel [The Hamburg Uprising, its Political Backgrounds and the Consequences]," Geschichtswerkstatt-Billstedt, accessed November 23, 2017, <http://www.geschichtswerkstatt-billstedt.de/pages/geschichtspfad/hamburger-aufstand.php> and Wolf D. Hund, "Der Aufstand der KPD 1923 [The Hamburg Uprising of the Communist Party of Germany 1923]," in *Hamburg-Studien*, ed. Werner Beekhuis, Jahrbuch fuer Sozialökonomie und Gesellschaftstheorie 1983 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1983), 32-61

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 12.

⁴⁸¹ Cf. *Hamburgischer Correspondent und neue hamburgische Börsen-Halle, Morgenausgabe*, 2. Beilage, "Anarchist, 18.10.1923", 2.

⁴⁸² Semke, "Escultura" 32

[Trabalhei em minas, em pedreiras e numa fundição. Aqui estava empregado como serralheiro auxiliar.]

⁴⁸³ Zilt, Andreas / Corporate Archives thyssenkrupp AG, e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida, December 18, 2017

⁴⁸⁴ Semke, "Escultura, 1935," 33

mentioning his imprisonment. His idea of presenting himself as a vagabond might be based on his enthusiasm for the so-called inflation saint Ludwig Christian Haeusser, who is not only mentioned in *Escultura*, but also described in the narration *Hannes, der Rammer*.

Haeusser did not only live in Semke's neighborhood in Hamburg but was also a well-known figure in Germany in the period between the First World War and his death.⁴⁸⁵ Haeusser assiduously worked on his image, he crossed normative borders and lead a lifestyle outside societal norms, arousing both suspicion and curiosity. With this in mind, Semke might have perceived that remaining under discussion (for example by being present in the media) is one of the key concepts for success and gaining recognition. As an artist, he followed this path, underlining a certain otherness throughout his life and career, in which he finally could run free in Portugal. The fact that he was a foreigner establishing a certain position in the Portuguese art scene already attracted attention, but his persistence in pursuing a style of art contradicting the Portuguese taste made him a unique appearance and became his distinguishing feature.

In summary, one can say that both texts, *Escultura* and *Hannes, der Rammer*, contain biographical elements. At the same time, *Escultura* provided the basis for the myth and legends Semke tried to create around his person. It was supposed to shatter the rumors about his communist political background prevailing in the memory of the members of the German community. Simultaneously, it disguises that he had been an adherent of the anarchist movement in the early 1920s. By presenting himself as a rover searching for his path in life, he refrained from any political commitment and could even cover up his time in prison.

His own description of his struggle for recognition and being understood in his long and arduous process of becoming an artist lets Semke appear as a person chosen by divine fate. By taking a second look at the text and comparing it with the existing documentation, it becomes obvious that Semke's version presented in *Escultura* is partially theatrical, exaggerated and fictional. For example, the descriptions of his life as a vagabond, his first voyage to Portugal and the moment of enlightenment, in which he realized that becoming an artist would be his

[com ciganos]

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. Eckhard Jesse, "Mehr Wunderlich Als Wundersam: 'Inflationsheilige'. Politisch-Religiöse Sektierer Versprochen Die Erlösung [More Astonishing Than Miraculous: 'Inflation Saints'. Political-Religious Sectarrians Promised Redemption]," <http://www.zeit.de/1984/23/inflationsheilige/komplettansicht>, Robert Schurz, "Wahrheitsmensch Und Tanzender Messias: Die Hochkonjunktur Der Inflationsheiligen [Human of Truth and Dancing Prophet. The Boom of Inflation Saints]," October 19, 2010, Das Feature, <http://www.deutschlandfunk.de/schurz-wahrheitsmensch-und-tanzender-messias.media.d0f76102dce427003c56e1267104a580.pdf>, Verena Freyschmidt, "Max Schulze-Sölde Und Die Inflationsheiligen," Linse, *Barfüßige Propheten*, 1983, Pamela Kort and Max Hollein, *Künstler Und Propheten: Eine Geheime Geschichte Der Moderne 1872 - 1972 [Artists and Prophets. A Secret History of Modernity 1872-1972]* (Köln: Snoeck, 2015).

inner calling, concurrently provided him and his career with a background allowing him to declare himself an artist of conviction.

The narration *Hannes, der Rammer*, on the other hand, allows an insight into Hein Semke's youth prior to his imprisonment. Hidden beneath a love story, the reader gains access to Hamburg in the early 1920s and learns about the riots, the hustle of its nightlife on Reeperbahn, but also about the political engagement of the working class. The detailed descriptions of several members of the political scene and the activists, as much as the references to the inflation saint Ludwig Christian Haeusser, allow locating Semke, at least in his early years, among the Hamburg anarchists. How far he contributed indeed to this scene is questionable. The article published on the occasion of his trial only reveals that he was in the possession of explosives and openly admitted being an anarchist; the use of the blasting agent could not be verified.⁴⁸⁶

The inflation saint Haeusser seems to have inspired Semke to create a similar curriculum vitae for himself. Many similarities can be found between the two, as for example the life of a rover and the experience of enlightenment, even though appearing in a different order in each case. Above all, Haeusser's approach to public outreach seems to have left a lasting impression on Semke: he used the concept of attracting media attention throughout his career.

To conclude, the narration *Hannes, der Rammer* appears to be the well-meaning record of Semke's own memories regarding his youth and as well a supplement to the self-descriptive text *Escultura*. After subtracting several fantastic elements, both essays allow to gain an insight into Semke's path of becoming an artist and provide an indication of the actual person beneath the well-crafted myth.

⁴⁸⁶ *Hamburgischer Correspondent und neue hamburgische Börsen-Halle, Morgenausgabe, 2. Beilage [Hamburg Correspondent and New Stock Market of Hamburg, Morning Edition, 2. Supplement], "Anarchist, 18.10.1923"*

3. A Curious Incident: The Events around the Sculptures at the German Protestant Church of Lisbon

In 1934, Hein Semke received a promising major order by the German Protestant Church in Lisbon (*Deutsche Evangelische Kirche in Lissabon*—DEKL): the laying-out of a commemorative courtyard for the German soldiers of the community killed during the First World War. And yet, what initially looked like his artistic breakthrough, soon developed into the opposite. Between 1934 and 1936, a lengthy debate took place in Lisbon's German colony, at the end of which the pastor of the German Protestant Church was forced to return to Germany and one of Semke's sculptures for the courtyard disappeared without a trace.

To date, only one study has looked specifically at the occurrences evolving around the commemorative courtyard, the related events and the involved persons. In the year 2003, Christiane Tichy and Jürgen Krüger endeavored to shed light on the matter by analyzing documents and files in the archive of DEKL. Indeed, they could break with many speculations and establish a likely sequence of events. Nevertheless, Tichy stated in her results that the presented "version of the events would presuppose that one assumes the maximum of honesty of all persons and expects subjectively truthful statements in the reports and letters."⁴⁸⁷

Starting point for the investigations of Tichy and Krüger were the abiding rumors in the church community that members of the Lisbon branch of *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* [National Socialist German Workers' Party—NSDAP] would have destroyed one of Semke's sculptures in a "cloak-and-dagger operation."⁴⁸⁸ Reason for this act of violence would have been a protest by the then Pastor, who objected to propaganda by NSDAP directed at the church.⁴⁸⁹

Although, the study by Tichy and Krüger correctly observes that there has not been a sudden and unanticipated attack on Semke's art, but a lengthy process leading to its removal, it supports the theory that Semke's artworks would have been a means to an end and used to exert pressure on the—in the eyes of the NSDAP—unpopular Pastor, who finally left Lisbon and returned to Germany.

This assumed course of the events, and as well the investigations by Tichy and Krüger, relegates Semke and his artworks to a secondary role. Furthermore, several pieces of important

⁴⁸⁷ Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 70

[Diese Version der Ereignisse würde voraussetzen, dass man von einer maximalen Ehrlichkeit aller Personen ausgeht und subjektiv wahrheitsgemäße Aussagen in den Berichten und Briefen annimmt.]

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., 63

[Nacht- und Nebelaktion]

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., 63

information included in the original documents have not been taken into consideration, what presents a further complication for their description of the affair.

Contrary to the version of Tichy and Krüger, Teresa Balté sees Semke as the main target of the Party's encroachment.⁴⁹⁰ The Court of Honor with its works of art, designed and executed by Semke, would have been a bone of contention for the members of NSDAP from the outset; not only due to the political past of the artist, but as well because the pieces would have been "classified as 'degenerate art'".⁴⁹¹ In Balté's version, the conflict resulted in the resignation and retirement of the German envoy, in addition to the forced relocation of the Pastor.⁴⁹²

Balté bases her description⁴⁹³ of the events solely on the memories of Semke, supported by a chosen passage from a letter sent by the Pastor to the artist.⁴⁹⁴ She states that the artworks would have been removed from the Court of Honor without Semke's knowledge and,⁴⁹⁵ with the help of the above mentioned citation, she elevates the artist and his work to the central point in a "fight that took on religious dimensions insofar as the Nazis, mostly Catholics, regarded the protestant community with distrust."⁴⁹⁶

For both versions, the one by Tichy and Krüger and the one by Balté, important questions regarding the role of Semke in the course of the events at DEKL remain unanswered. As, for example, in how far was Semke aware of the ongoing discussions regarding the Court of Honor? And, more importantly, what was his attitude towards the NSDAP? Was he indeed a victim of the National Socialist rule, as he tried to claim in 1961, stressing in the application sent to the German Restitution Office: "Naturally, I always emphasized my hostility towards the Hitler regime"?⁴⁹⁷

The following study seeks to provide detailed information on the role of Hein Semke in the events around the Court of Honor at the German Protestant Church of Lisbon. Therefore, it is necessary to provide an overview over the course of the affair from the outset, introduce the

⁴⁹⁰ Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 37 ff.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., 37

[*foram classificados como «arte degenerada»*]

⁴⁹² Cf. *ibid.*, 37

⁴⁹³ Ibid., 35 ff.

⁴⁹⁴ Paul W. Gennrich, Letter to Hein Semke in Paris, October 29, 1935, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon].

⁴⁹⁵ Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 37

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., 37 f.

[*luta que assumiu carácter confessional na medida em que os nazis, na sua maioria católicos, olhavam com desconfiança a comunidade evangélica.*]

⁴⁹⁷ Semke and Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Sozialbehörde Amt für Wiedergutmachung [Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg Social Security Office German Restitution Office], Wiedergutmachungsakte für Semke, Heinrich [Restitution File for Semke, Heinrich]

[*Selbstverständlich betonte ich immer meine Feindschaft dem Hitlerregime gegenüber.*]

main protagonists and provide a classification into historical circumstances. The investigation is based on original documents, discovered both in the estate of Semke and in the archive of the German Protestant Church of Lisbon.

3.1 The Commemorative Courtyard for the German Soldiers of the Community Killed During the First World War in Its Present Appearance

The German Protestant Church of Lisbon is located at *Avenida Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro* in the district Palhavã. (fig. 77) The building itself consists of two parts, the church and the parsonage, connected through the steeple (fig. 78). By setting back the nave from the street for the depth of the parsonage (fig. 79), a forecourt is created. Through this forecourt the commemorative courtyard, located on the western side of the church nave, can be accessed (fig. 80).

Today, when entering the forecourt and looking to the left, one immediately spots the freestanding sculpture *A Dor* [The Pain], placed on a pedestal, marking the entrance to the Commemorative Courtyard (fig. 80). The figure has a height of 188 cm, a width of 73 cm and a depth of 110 cm; the rectangular pedestal measures 82 cm x 112 cm x 97 cm (height x width x depth). The sculpture is the representation of a female figure that seems to remain in a striding position, treading weighed down by grief. The dress, a gown with wide sleeves and hood, does not reveal details of the body shape. Only the hands with large palms and long fingers, the face and parts of the heavy seeming shoes are visible. The right leg is put on front, the arms are completely extended and rest—with the left hand laid over the right hand—at the height of the right knee (fig. 81). The back is leaned forward and the head bent, as if the figure would look to the ground (fig. 82). Details of the face can only be seen by the observer when standing directly under the sculpture: the eyes seem empty, the facial expression is haggard (fig. 83 a-b), the hood partially covers the left cheek.

The overall impression of *A Dor* is blocky and it seems as if the heaviness of the entire world would rest on its back. The averted gaze underlines this sensation and simultaneously isolates the sculpture from the viewer. Nevertheless, with its lack of details and the smoothness of the surface, the figure allows the observer to develop own interpretations regarding ‘the pain’ the figure seems to endure.

Behind the sculpture *A Dor*, four steps lead down to the walled, oblong courtyard (fig. 84, 85), the core element of the Court of Honor. To the right lies the wall of the church nave, to the left and in the back a tiled wall limits the court. Near the steps grows a palm tree and two cypresses stand in the rear third of the site.

At the end of the court, opposite to its entrance and next to a gate, fixed to the back wall and exceeding it by several centimeters, the relief *Himmelfahrt des Kriegers* (The Warrior's Ascension) is located. Encircled by a wide frame which reminds of a church window in the shape of a round arch, it shows a composition of three figures (fig. 86, 87). Two of which are characterized as angels by halo, wings and long garments, carrying the naked, weary and collapsed body of a male figure holding a broken sword in his sagging right hand.

The overall depiction of the relief appears rather stylized, blocky and static. The figures' faces seem rigid and lifeless like masks, an impression particularly intensified by the eyes of the angels, as those are replaced by holes (fig. 88). Especially the extremities and the hair of all figures are depicted in a simplified scheme. Instead of feet, the angels seem to have oval shaped balls (fig. 89), while the halos and wings evoke the impression of massive heaviness. Another curious detail are the hands of the left (seen from the observer's point of view) angel: logically considered, its arms would need to have almost body length to hold the male figure in this position (fig. 90). Created with more detail is only the chest area of the male figure carried by the angels, though the proportions of the latter are incorrect: the arm holding the sword seems to be too short, the head too big and the lower body, including the feet, appears to be too massive for the torso.

The presentation of the scene apparently is a conflation of various sujets. At first glance, the depiction shows an ascension of Jesus. This assumption, however, is contradicted by the fact that the male figure is not characterized by a halo—like the angels—and additionally carries a sword, albeit broken. This weapon suggests that a *miles Christianus* [Christian soldier] is pictured in the relief, whereby a connection to the site (the yard of the church) and simultaneously to the purpose (a war memorial for the soldiers of the community killed in action) is established. The fact that Semke waived obvious references to the First World War, warfare in general or military attributes and instead depicts the killed soldier as dignified for an ascension, may have contributed to save the relief from the controversy ensuing after the erection of the third work of art he created for the court: the vanished sculptural group *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*, described in detail in the following sub-chapter.

Fixed to the wall of the church nave are two commemorative plaques made of marble and carrying lapidary inscriptions (fig. 92, 93 a-b). The first, when entering the court, remembers the soldiers of the German community killed in action during the Second World War. The inscription, written in the font *Fraktur*, reads:

Wir gedenken der Toten des zweiten Weltkrieges 1939–1945

Chapter 3: A Curious Incident

Wo Menschen Blut vergießen, laß Friedensströme fließen!

[We commemorate the dead of the Second World War 1939-1945
Where people shed blood, let streams of peace flow!]

The second plaque, as well in the font *Fraktur*, states:

*Es fielen aus der Deutsch-Evang.[elischen] Gemeinde fürs Vaterland
1914-1918*

[Members of the German-Prot.[estant] Community killed in action for
the homeland 1914-1918]

followed by the names of the victims: “Willi Jerosch, Oskar Wermuth, Erich Wermuth, Kurt Eisen.”

Both plaques were neither designed nor executed by Semke. In his diary, on October 11, 1950, he comments on the second plaque: “The painter Fritz Braus, living here by that time, took on the order and executed it.”⁴⁹⁸

Opposite to the above-mentioned plaques, a third marble tablet is fixed to the tiled wall (fig. 94). It differs from the ones described through a round shape and an inscription in an *Antiqua* type with only capital letters:

1935
IN DIESEM HOF STAND EINE WEITERE SKULPTURENGRUPPE
VON
HEIN SEMKE
IN DER ZEIT, ALS SIEGE MEHR GALTEN ALS LIEBE UND TRAUER,
WURDE SIE ZERSTÖRT.
1995.

[1935. In this court was located another sculptural group by Hein Semke.
In a time when victories were considered more important than love and
grief, it has been destroyed. 1995]

The third plaque was donated in 1995, the year of Semke’s death, by Professor Bernardo Jerosch Herold (*1933), the chairman of the church council at that time.⁴⁹⁹ It is not only a gesture of remembrance for Semke and his sculptural group *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*, but also a reminder of the assumed injustice inflicted upon the artist by the local branch of the National Socialist Party in 1935. It represents a version of the events circulating in the church community for decades:⁵⁰⁰ the wanton destruction of the sculptural group *Kameradschaft des*

⁴⁹⁸ Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 80

[*Der damals hier lebende Maler Fritz Braus übernahm den Auftrag und führte ihn aus*]
A certain artist Fritz Braus could not be determined, neither in Germany nor in Lisbon.

⁴⁹⁹ Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 63

⁵⁰⁰ Gisela Bach (*1929), daughter of German immigrants in Portugal and born in Lisbon, mentioned this version as still present in the German community. Gisela Bach, oral to Nina Blum de Almeida.

Untergangs in a “cloak-and-dagger operation”⁵⁰¹ carried out by members of the National Socialist party. Directly related to this interpretation is the victimization of Semke, to whom is attributed the role of an unsuspecting and innocent target in a bitter controversy between the Pastor and members of the NSDAP. Simultaneously, the plaque recalls the fact that the Court of Honor had a different appearance in 1935, due to the presence of the *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*.

3.2 The Appearance of the Court of Honor in 1935

Throughout the years, the visual appearance of the Court of Honor has changed. The way it looks today does not reflect the original design by Semke. This is indicated by a photograph (fig. 95) that factually presents the only source showing the entire court in its completed arrangement.

The original design by Semke envisaged the following structure. As today, the female figure *A Dor* was supposed to be positioned at the entrance of the commemorative court, facing the forecourt. Instead of a natural stone base, on which the sculpture is positioned nowadays, Semke had created a smooth pedestal. Integrated into the court itself were two tall cypresses, which had already been growing there before the church was built (fig. 96, 97, 98). The relief *Himmelfahrt des Kriegers*, was not—as today—attached to the back wall, but to the tiled wall on the left, opposite to the commemorative plaque for the soldiers killed during the First World War. The floor was laid with natural stone and not spread with gravel, as it currently is. The surrounding walls were equally tiled as nowadays, but there was no gate in the back wall. The vanished sculptural group *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*, the cause that triggered the subsequent development, was situated in front of the back wall.

Due to the fact that the group *Kameradschaft des Untergangs* has disappeared since 1935, and only few photographs of it (fig. 99, 101, 102) survived times, it is difficult to provide a detailed description. Besides one sketch showing Semke’s rough idea of the group (fig. 100), no detailed draft indicating dimensions or the arrangement of the art works in the court could be discovered—neither in the archives of DEKL nor in the artist’s estate. The existing illustrated documentation, nevertheless, allows to gain an impression of the entire sculptural group and its relation to the surroundings.

The *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*, a freestanding, larger-than-life sculpture visible in the round, depicted a group of three soldiers. One soldier, characterized by steel helmet, coat

⁵⁰¹ Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 63
[*Nacht- und Nebelaktion*]

and military boots, stands upright, gazing into the distance. With his hands he supports a second soldier, as well dressed in coat and military boots, whose head is partially concealed by a head bandage. This second soldier seems to lift up a third one, sunk on his knees and with arms hanging loose. From the remaining pictorial material, it is not possible to draw a conclusion regarding this soldier's face, as it appears to be entirely hidden beneath a steel helmet.

The estimated dimensions⁵⁰² of this group are 2,80 meters of height and approximately 1,70 meters of each width and depth—photographs of Semke working on the sculpture (fig. 101, 102) support this indication of size. Especially interesting in the overall design is the arrangement of the scene: the bodies of the soldiers seem to describe a semicircle, whereby the viewer is invited to walk around the group in order to capture it as a whole picture.

Through the clothing and the helmets, the portrayed figures are characterized as soldiers of the First World War, albeit not carrying any weapons. While one of the soldiers stands upright, the second one seems to suffer from a severe head injury, indicated by the massive head bandage. Nevertheless, he seems to support a third soldier, who has sunk—probably mortally wounded⁵⁰³—to his knees, with his helmet slid down and covering his face.

The group seems to depict a possible evolutionary development of soldiers in war: bravery, injury, death. Simultaneously, the scene can be understood as an open criticism of warfare, because even the bravest soldier might return injured, scarred for life or die on the battlefield. Instead of showing a direct combat action, Semke refers to the possible results and the effects a war can have on the participants. He underlines this statement through the vast size of the *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*, visualizing in excessive dimensions the horrors of war, personified by three anonymous soldiers.

Semke worked on the sculptures for the Commemorative Courtyard for the German Soldiers of the Community Killed During the First World War between April 1934 and May 1935. Since it was a commissioned work for the newly built Protestant church in Lisbon, it is interesting to examine the circumstances in which the artist received the order and to retrace the developments leading to the removal of the *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*.

⁵⁰² The size indication is based on the information provided in: Teresa Balté, Inventory E35; N° INVENT. EF335/35-1, September 25, 2003, HS-Esculturas E35, Private archive Teresa Balté - Estate Hein Semke, 1

⁵⁰³ Unfortunately, this assumption cannot be verified, although it appears to be reasonable. Detailed contemporary, or even modern, descriptions of the group do not exist, the photos do not allow a definitive conclusion and in the records of the artist there is no indication regarding the condition of the soldier.

3.3 The Decision to Build a New Protestant Church and Include a Commemorative Courtyard

The connection between Germany and Portugal dates back around 800 years and initially was based on merchants and craftsmen. The first religious association, founded by a German tradesman in 1290, was the still existing *Bartholomäus-Brüderschaft* [Brotherhood of Bartholomew]. Soon after the Reformation, the members of the brotherhood tended towards Protestantism, but an independent Protestant German speaking church congregation was only founded in 1761.⁵⁰⁴

With the entry of Portugal into the First World War in 1916, German institutions and associations were dissolved—among them the Protestant community—German citizens were expelled, and the possession of German institutions was confiscated.⁵⁰⁵ Although many of the previously banished Germans returned to Portugal after the war, the community had to reorganize and make a fresh start. The church building, formerly used as center of communal life, was lost, as well as the buildings of the German school, the hospital, the embassy, the consulate and the *Bartholomäus-Brüderschaft*.⁵⁰⁶ Soon, the community started to search for an appropriate property to build a new community center. Finally, in 1927, a plot of land in the new expanding area of Palhavã could be acquired.⁵⁰⁷

The project gained momentum when Paul Wilhelm Gennrich (1902-1981, fig. 103), a young and freshly graduated theologian, arrived in Lisbon in 1929 to take over the vacant position of a pastor.⁵⁰⁸ A hospital and a school had already been completed on the property in Palhavã in 1930, now the community only lacked a church building. Gennrich developed own ideas, drew first sketches (fig. 104) and got into contact with Otto Bartning (1883-1959), an important and influential architect for modern Protestant church construction—and in addition a friend of the young pastor's father, Paul Gennrich (1865-1946).⁵⁰⁹ Bartning was experienced

⁵⁰⁴ An extensive description can be found in: Paul Wilhelm Gennrich, *Geschichte der Evangelischen Gemeinde Deutscher Sprache zu Lissabon [History of the Evangelical German-Speaking Congregation in Lisbon]*, Studien und Dokumente 33/36 (Bad Rappenau-Obergimpfern: Johannes-Mathesius-Verlag, 1978); a good overview is offered by: Andreas Dornseifer, "Einige Gedanken Zu Der Geschichte Der Deutschen in Lissabon Und Einer Europäischen Integration Und Bürgerschaft [Some Thoughts on the History of Germans in Lisbon and a European Integration and Citizenship]," Portugiesisch-Hanseatische Gesellschaft e.V., accessed April 23, 2018, http://info.phg-hh.de/PP_PDF/Portugal_Post/PP26/s_pp26_geschichteDerDeutschen_Komplett.html and Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 221-228

⁵⁰⁵ Gennrich, *Geschichte*, 1978, 80

⁵⁰⁶ Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 229

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid., 230

⁵⁰⁸ At first, Gennrich took this position provisionally; he officially was elected pastor in spring 1930.

Cf. ibid., 234 and Gennrich, *Geschichte*, 1978, 86

⁵⁰⁹ Jürgen Krüger assumes that Paul Gennrich was involved in the doctorate procedure of Otto Bartning, who received an honorary doctorate at the theological faculty of the university of Königsberg (today: Kaliningrad, Russia), where Paul Gennrich worked as a honorar professor. Cf. Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 233

in the construction of diaspora churches, as he had designed several church compounds not only in Germany, but as well in Austria and in today's Czech Republic.⁵¹⁰ In November 1931, he visited Lisbon to examine the building site, and thereupon developed architectural drawings and a model based on Gennrich's initial ideas. After having secured financing, Bartning was officially commissioned on December 28, 1932. The laying of the foundation stone took place almost one year later, on November 19, 1933; in the meantime, bureaucratic, organisational, linguistic and technical obstacles, like the contracting of a construction company, the translation of the sketches and their adaption to Portuguese standards, were overcome.⁵¹¹

While the project itself took shape—and this must be expressively mentioned in this context—substantial changes in German politics took place. Adolf Hitler's rise to power on January 30, 1933, and the related changes soon reached the German colony in Lisbon and entailed a struggle for political influence among its members. In retrospect, Pastor Gennrich summarized:

Initially welcomed with great pleasure and hope, the so-called national uprising in the German fatherland over time proved to be a disastrous development [...]. In Lisbon the party's [NSDAP; note from the author] representatives—with growing self-confidence—acted as the actual representatives of a true Germany, seeking as well to gain influence on the German Protestant community.⁵¹²

Subsequently, intense discussions ensued, especially fuelled by the artistic arrangement of the developing court of honor designed by Semke.

3.4 A Major Project: The Order for the Design and Decoration of the Court of Honor

Semke, who had arrived in Portugal in October 1932, and already had established close connections with the German community in Lisbon due to his earlier stay in 1929, soon was included into the project around the new church building.

⁵¹⁰ A detailed overview (also under various criteria and keywords) of the various churches planned by Otto Bartning can be found at Otto Bartning-Arbeitsgemeinschaft Kirchenbau e.V., "Bartnings Kirchen [Churches by Bartning]," Otto Bartning-Arbeitsgemeinschaft Kirchenbau e.V. (OBAK), <http://www.otto-bartning.de/ob-w-auswahl.htm>

On Bartnings theoretical considerations: Otto Bartning, *Vom Neuen Kirchenbau [on New Church Construction]* (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1919) and Joseph Imorde, "Otto Bartning: Spiritualität Und Modernes Bauen [Otto Bartning. Spirituality and Modern Architecture]," in *Raum Für Bildung: Ästhetik Und Architektur Von Lern- Und Lebensorten [Space for Education. Esthetics and Architecture of Places for Learning and Living]*, ed. Hildegard Schröteler-von Brandt et al., Kultur- und Medientheorie (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2012).

⁵¹¹ Cf. Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 237

⁵¹² Gennrich, *Geschichte*, 1978, 97

[Die anfangs mit Freude und Hoffnung begrüßte sogenannte nationale Erhebung im deutschen Vaterland erwies sich mit der Zeit als unheilvolle Entwicklung [...]. In Lissabon traten die Vertreter der Hitlerpartei mit steigendem Selbstbewußtsein als die eigentlichen Repräsentanten des wahren Deutschland auf und suchten auch auf die deutsche evangelische Gemeinde Einfluß zu gewinnen]

Initially, the German Envoy at that time, Hans Freytag (1869-1954, fig. 105), expressed in 1933 his wish that “a young gifted German sculptor”⁵¹³ should be involved in the decoration of the church:

When the construction of the German Protestant church in Lisbon was about to be started and the architect, Professor Dr. Otto Bartning—Berlin, at the end of July 1933, sojourned in Lisbon on the occasion of the conclusion of the contracts, a meeting of the architect, members of the church council and the sculptor Hein Semke, was held in the German embassy at the invitation of Envoy Dr. Freytag; the aim was—upon special request of the Envoy—to bring about a participation of the artist Semke in the construction.”⁵¹⁴

Freytag also already had in mind in which way the artist might be able to contribute and imagined reliefs for the interior of the building. Semke immediately prepared first drafts and was contracted on January 26, 1933.⁵¹⁵ However, Otto Bartning categorically rejected Semke’s proposal as it would oppose his concept of a church dominated by architecture. In his opinion, every kind of decoration or embellishment would disturb the harmony of the building, which he compared with music: reliefs or sculptures in the church hall would “interrupt this organ sound at a crucial point through [...] drum strokes,”⁵¹⁶ as he explained in a letter to the artist. Nevertheless, Bartning in general agreed on a participation of Semke and suggested on April 21, 1934,⁵¹⁷ that he should be responsible for the artistic design of the courtyard. Thereupon, a previous idea was picked up:

At this point in time, there was taken up an idea which already had been expressed earlier by party member [member of NSDAP, note from the author] and Skilled Worker for Historical Matters of the Colony, Mister Paul Müller—namely to create a tribute to those killed in action, as it is common in all German churches and as well existing in many German Protestant churches abroad. [...]

⁵¹³ Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 237 [ein junger talentvoller deutscher Bildhauer]

⁵¹⁴ Paul W. Gennrich, Bericht, betreffend den Ehrenhof zum Gedächtnis der Gefallenen der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde in Lissabon [Report, Concerning the Commemorative Courtyard for the Members of the German Protestant Church Community Lisbon Killed in Action], August 8, 1935, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon], 1

[Als der Bau der Deutschen evangelischen Kirche in Lissabon begonnen werden sollte und der Architekt, Professor Dr. Otto Bartning-Berlin, zum Abschluss der Bauverträge Ende Juli 1933 in Lissabon weilte, fand auf Einladung des Herrn Gesandten Dr. Freytag eine Zusammenkunft des Architekten, Mitgliedern des Kirchenvorstandes und des Bildhauers Hein Semke auf der Deutschen Gesandtschaft statt, um auf den besonderen Wunsch des Herrn Gesandten eine Beteiligung des Künstlers Semke an dem Bau herbeizuführen.]

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., 1

⁵¹⁶ Otto Bartning, Letter to Hein Semke, March 19, 1934, 511-2 Kirchbau Pläne, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon]

[an entscheidender Stelle dieser Orgelklang durch [...] Paukenschläge unterbrochen]

⁵¹⁷ Gennrich, Bericht, betreffend den Ehrenhof zum Gedächtnis der Gefallenen der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde in Lissabon [Report, Concerning the Commemorative Courtyard for the Members of the German Protestant Church Community Lisbon Killed in Action], 2

For the execution of this idea arose an extremely suitable place next to the church, which already had a solemn character due to two cypresses, and all the persons involved agreed that there could not be found a more attractive place in all Lisbon for this purpose; this plan was as well explicitly supported by the Envoy.⁵¹⁸

Meanwhile, rumours about Semke's dubious past spread out in the community and soon were passed on to Envoy Freytag, who consequently requested information on the artist at the competent authorities in Hamburg and Stuttgart.⁵¹⁹ The result was unequivocal: Semke had served several prison sentences, among them a penal servitude. Freytag informed Pastor Gennrich—on the premise of confidentiality—about the findings,⁵²⁰ but irrespective of this new development, Semke was commissioned and immediately started to develop his ideas. In retrospect, Gennrich wrote in 1935,⁵²¹ answering questions by his superior:

4. Question: Did you get insight into the [...] political files on Semke? And if so, was it before or after issuing the order?

Answer: Yes! In fact, before placing the order with Semke.

As the envoy declared that the confidential character of the information on Semke should be ensured, it was of no significance for our relationship with Semke [...]. The Envoy himself as well did not withdraw the patronage for Semke in any way after acquiring the political information, because he had realized Semke's value as a person and as an artist."⁵²²

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., 2

[Da wurde nun ein Gedanke aufgegriffen, den schon früher der Parteigenosse und Facharbeiter für historische Angelegenheiten der Kolonie, Herr Paul Müller, geäußert hatte, nämlich, eine Gefallenenehrung zu schaffen, wie sie in allen deutschen Kirchen üblich und auch in vielen deutschen evangelischen Kirchen des Auslands vorhanden ist. [...]

Zur Ausführung dieser Idee ergab sich neben der Kirche ein äusserst geeigneter Platz, der durch zwei alte Zypressen schon einen weihvollen Charakter bekam, und alle Beteiligten waren sich darüber einig, dass kein schönerer Platz für diesen Zweck in ganz Lissabon gefunden werden könne, von dem Herrn Gesandten wurde dieser Plan auch ausdrücklich gutgeheissen.

Somit wurde Hein Semke die Schaffung dieses Ehrenhofes übertragen und dessen künstlerische Ausgestaltung ihm dabei vollkommen überlassen.]

⁵¹⁹ Freytag mentions the request in a letter to Hein Semke: "from the police authority in Stuttgart I did not yet receive the information requested"

[von der Polizeibehörde in Stuttgart habe ich die erbetene Auskunft noch nicht erhalten]

Cf. Freytag, Lieber Herr Semke [Dear Mister Semke].

⁵²⁰ Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 66

⁵²¹ Bishop Theodor Heckel (1894-1967), by that time head of the department "Kirchliches Amt für auswärtige Angelegenheiten bei der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirche" [Church Office for Foreign Affairs at the German Protestant Church], had sent a questionnaire to Pastor Gennrich on September 26, 1935. This questionnaire was supposed to contribute to the clarification of the recent events and was connected to an invitation of Gennrich to Berlin, where Heckel wanted to discuss the incident verbally.

Cf. Theodor Heckel, Bericht vom 8. August 1935 über die Frage des dortigen Ehrenhofes und die damit verknüpften Vorgänge in der deutschen Kolonie; Fragebogen [Report of August 8, 1935, regarding the local Court of Honor and the related events in the German colony; questionnaire], September 26, 1935, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon].

⁵²² Paul W. Gennrich, Betrifft Schreiben des Herrn Bischof D. Heckel vom 26.9.1935. (A.8266) [Concerning Letter of Bishop D. Heckel of 26.9.1935. (A8266)], September 30, 1935, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon], 1

For Envoy Freytag and Pastor Gennrich the past of Semke apparently played no further part, nor was it a reason for them to exclude the artist from the project. It even seems as if the wish to bring about a participation of the artist was a very strong motivation, as another detail during the awarding process demonstrates. After Bartning had rejected the inclusion of works by Semke in the interior of the church building, one more obstacle had to be tackled but was resolved unceremoniously by the envoy: initially it was planned that the financing of Semke's work would be ensured through "a specific sum as a gift from the President of the Reich von Hindenburg and the Government of the Reich."⁵²³ This gift was based on the initiative of Freytag, who had suggested a financial contribution to the *Auswärtiges Amt* [Federal Foreign Office] already in 1933. But now, knowing about the young artist's inglorious past, the envoy did not find himself in the position to provide Semke with such an honorable support. Therefore, he developed a solution:

however, he did not want to withdraw support from the artist, because his personal appreciation and the human interest for him could not be affected by this information. Therefore, it was combined with the parish council that the sum provided by *Auswärtiges Amt* should be used directly for the church building; namely for the church windows and the altar utensils—and the money of the construction costs freed by doing so should be used in a corresponding amount by the community for the artist Semke. [...]

Like this, the community had bound itself to the artist and was additionally, with regard to the support of *Auswärtiges Amt* for the church building provided by the Envoy, morally committed to maintain the participation of Hein Semke and to employ him.⁵²⁴

⁵²³ Gennrich, Bericht, betreffend den Ehrenhof zum Gedächtnis der Gefallenen der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde in Lissabon [Report, Concerning the Commemorative Courtyard for the Members of the German Protestant Church Community Lisbon Killed in Action], 1

[eine[r] bestimmten Summe als Geschenk des Herrn Reichspräsidenten von Hindenburg und der Reichsregierung] Hans Freytag had requested financial support from the *Auswärtiges Amt* [Foreign Office] for the artistic decoration of the interior. In response the Foreign Office suggested a donation from President of the Reich Paul von Hindenburg (1847-1934). Cf. Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 237 f.

⁵²⁴ Gennrich, Bericht, betreffend den Ehrenhof zum Gedächtnis der Gefallenen der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde in Lissabon [Report, Concerning the Commemorative Courtyard for the Members of the German Protestant Church Community Lisbon Killed in Action], 1

[er wollte jedoch damit die Unterstützung dem Künstler nicht entziehen, da dessen persönliche Wertschätzung und das menschliche Interesse für ihn durch jene Auskunft nicht beeinträchtigt werden konnte. Es wurde darum mit dem Vorstand der Gemeinde ausgemacht, dass die vom Auswärtigen Amt zur Verfügung gestellte Summe unmittelbar für den Kirchbau, und zwar für die Kirchenfenster und die Altargeräte [sic] bestimmt werden sollte und dafür das von der Bausumme dadurch freigewordene Geld in entsprechender Höhe für den Künstler Semke von der Gemeinde aufgewendet werden sollte. [...]

Damit hatte sich die Gemeinde dem Künstler gegenüber gebunden und war ausserdem im Hinblick auf die vom Herrn Gesandten vermittelte Unterstützung des Auswärtigen Amtes für den Kirchbau moralisch verpflichtet, die Beteiligung Hein Semkes aufrecht zu erhalten und ihn zu beschäftigen.]

Finally, after all hurdles preventing a participation of the artist in the project had cunningly been resolved, “Hein Semke was tasked with the creation of the Court of Honor and he was given entire freedom with its artistic design.”⁵²⁵

3.5 Growing Opposition against the Court of Honor

At about the same time as Freytag requested the criminal record of the artist, “Semke—upon solicitation by the NSDAP—applied for membership in the local branch, providing all information required regarding his previous conviction to the party leadership.”⁵²⁶ Notwithstanding, resistance against the court of honor began to grow among the party representatives of NSDAP. However, at this very moment, it was not the works of art by Semke that caused nuisance but the place itself, since the party preferred a more neutral location than the yard next to the church and suggested the square in front of the German school for the war memorial.⁵²⁷ Additionally, members of the party attempted more and more to exercise influence on the existing German organizations and institutions—the Protestant church, needless to say, was no exception. Already in May 1934, the church council had to accept a henchman of NSDAP within their ranks,⁵²⁸ who represented the interests of the party and openly opposed the church yard as suitable location for a tribute to those killed in action.⁵²⁹ Both Pastor Gennrich and Envoy Freytag showed little receptiveness towards those attempts. Looking back, Wolfgang Sievers (1913-2007),⁵³⁰ who resided at the German embassy during this time,

⁵²⁵ Ibid., 2

[*Somit wurde Hein Semke die Schaffung dieses Ehrenhofes übertragen und dessen künstlerische Ausgestaltung ihm dabei vollkommen überlassen.*]

⁵²⁶ Gennrich, Betrifft Schreiben des Herrn Bischof D. Heckel vom 26.9.1935. (A.8266) [Concerning Letter of Bishop D. Heckel of 26.9.1935. (A8266)]

[*Zur selben Zeit stellte Semke auf Aufforderung von Seiten der NSDAP. den Antrag auf seine Aufnahme in die Orstgruppe, wobei er unter den erforderlichen Angaben von seiner Vorbestrafung der Parteileitung Kenntnis gab.*]

It seems that Semke never received an answer regarding his application. In the letter by Pastor Gennrich is mentioned: “Thus far the application, despite repeated inquiry, remained unanswered; Semke also was not informed about a negative decision, so that an official rejection by the party did not apply.”

Neither in the artist’s estate, nor in the eligible archives in Germany could be found evidence that Hein Semke became a member of the NSDAP. It remains questionable, however, whether Semke has been rejected or withdrew the application.

[*Der Antrag ist bis jetzt, trotz mehrfacher Rückfrage, unbeantwortet geblieben, man hat Semke aber auch keinen abschlägigen Bescheid erteilt, sodass eine offizielle Ablehnung Semkes von Seiten der Partei nicht vorlag.*]

Cf. Kiesling, Lydia / Landesarchiv Berlin, e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida, October 20, 2015; Matelowski, Anke / Archiv Bildende Kunst, Akademie der Künste, e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida, November 10, 2015; Zarwel, Torsten / Bundesarchiv Berlin [Federal Archive Berlin], e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida, May 7, 2018.

⁵²⁷ Julius Claussen, Sehr geehrter Herr Wimmer [Dear Mister Wimmer], October 14, 1935, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde - Baukommission [German Protestant Church Parish - Building Committee], 1

⁵²⁸ Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 66

⁵²⁹ Claussen, Sehr geehrter Herr Wimmer [Dear Mister Wimmer], 1

⁵³⁰ Wolfgang Sievers, today known as an influential Australian photographer, was born in Berlin. Due to the fact that Siever’s mother was of Jewish descent and the parents feared for their son in the changing political climate after 1933, they sent him to Lisbon. Envoy Freytag was a friend of the Sievers family and hosted the young

remembered that Freytag, “who made no secret of his antipathy towards the Nazi regime,” was soon “dismissed and forced to return to Germany at the end of 1934, for having punched a Nazi underling during an official visit to Lisbon by one of Hitler’s emissaries”⁵³¹—but the veracity of this anecdote cannot be confirmed. In Semke’s biography, contrary to Sievers’ explanation, the impression is created that the Envoy was forced to resign from his position and to retire due to his involvement with the artist.⁵³² Finally, a third, and probably the most likely version, assumes that Freytag, at the age of 64, had reached retirement age and therefore was called back to Germany.⁵³³

In October 1934, Freytag’s successor arrived: Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene (1885-1963, fig. 106), a “sharp, clever and diplomatically astute”⁵³⁴ networker driven by careerism and political opportunism who “promptly began to exhibit his impeccable Nazi credentials.”⁵³⁵ Von Hoyningen-Huene immediately joined the prevailing opinion of the local NSDAP members and also opposed the location for the court of honor.⁵³⁶ Moreover, according to Pastor Gennrich, the recent envoy,

assumed, that he would have to have a different attitude towards the person of the artist Semke than his predecessor had, and that he would not wish to be involved into the whole matter, even though he would not have wanted to prevent it or put obstacles in the artist’s path.⁵³⁷

photographer for around one year. During this time, he became friends with Hein Semke. Both, Sievers and Semke, called Envoy Hans Freytag by his nickname ‘Pappi’ [Daddy].

Cf. Jorge Calado and Wolfgang Sievers, *Linha De Vida / Life Line: A Fotografia De Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993 / the Photography of Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993* (Lisbon: Departamento de Património Cultural, 2000), 39 and Ennis, *Sievers*, 2011, 8f.

⁵³¹ Jorge Calado and Wolfgang Sievers, *Linha De Vida / Life Line: A Fotografia De Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993 / the Photography of Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993* (Lisbon: Departamento de Património Cultural, 2000), 38

⁵³² Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 37

⁵³³ Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 75

⁵³⁴ Lochery, *Lisbon*, 2011, 397

⁵³⁵ Jorge Calado and Wolfgang Sievers, *Linha De Vida / Life Line: A Fotografia De Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993 / the Photography of Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993* (Lisbon: Departamento de Património Cultural, 2000), 39

Hoyningen-Huene became a member of NSDAP only in 1939, but it seems that he was very flexible if imposed by external circumstances. He held the position as German ambassador in Lisbon between 1934 and 1944; during this time, he developed close ties with Salazar. At the beginning of the 1950s, Salazar even suggested several times to the German government to reinstate Hoyningen-Huene. Cf. *Der Spiegel*, “Panorama,” March 19, 1952, 12

Regarding Oswald Hoyningen-Huene, see: Duarte de Jesus, José Manuel, *Dança*, 2017 and Eckart Conze et al., *Das Amt und die Vergangenheit: Deutsche Diplomaten im Dritten Reich und in der Bundesrepublik. [The Agency and the Past. German Diplomats during the Third Reich and in the Federal Republic]* (München: Karl Blessing, 2010).

⁵³⁶ Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 66

⁵³⁷ Gennrich, Bericht, betreffend den Ehrenhof zum Gedächtnis der Gefallenen der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde in Lissabon [Report, Concerning the Commemorative Courtyard for the Members of the German Protestant Church Community Lisbon Killed in Action], 3

[der eine andere Einstellung zu der Person des Künstlers Semke einnehmen zu müssen glaubte, als sie sein Vorgänger gehabt hatte, und mit der ganzen Angelegenheit nichts zu tun zu haben wünschte, wenn er sie auch nicht verhindern und dem Künstler nichts in den Weg legen wollte.]

Meanwhile, the first sculpture was finalized and already erected at its destination. The female figure *A Dor* (fig. 95) was neither covered nor held secret, as can be inferred from photographs in the archive of DEKL, proving that the sculpture was situated next to the church building even before its construction had been completed. (fig. 97, 98) When the church was officially inaugurated on November 4, 1934,⁵³⁸ *A Dor* was placed at the entrance to the courtyard and visible to the participants of the ceremony, although the Court of Honor was yet to be completed and its official opening was supposed to take place at a later stage.

3.6 Escalation of the Situation: The Court of Honor as Point of Contention

After the inauguration of the church on November 4, 1934, the ambience in the German colony changed. Gradually, members of the National Socialist Party had gained access to the German associations and institutions in Lisbon. “In the *Deutscher Verein* [German Club] and the *Bartholomäus-Brüderschaft*, as well as in the hospital, already sufficient party members were part of the board,”⁵³⁹ and, as mentioned, solely the parish council along with Pastor Gennrich still tried to resist the influence: only one out of eight members of the council was a NSDAP member.⁵⁴⁰

In spring 1935, the second work by Semke, the relief *Himmelfahrt des Kriegers* (fig. 86), was positioned in the court: in plain sight and just as undisguised as *A Dor*. During this period, the court was open to the public, “so that it was accessible to everyone and visited by many churchgoers.”⁵⁴¹ However, in May 1935, after Semke had finished and erected the larger-than-life sculpture *Kameradschaft des Untergangs* (fig. 99), his last contribution, the court was separated by a fence.⁵⁴²

Up to this moment, the creation and the installation of the works in the court happened with no apparent need for secrecy. On the contrary, for the creation of *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*, as well as for the creation of *A Dor* and *Himmelfahrt des Kriegers*, Semke used the warehouse (fig. 101) of merchant Hans Konrad Wimmer (1873-1956, fig. 105), Austrian Consul and member of the parish council of the German Protestant Church. His warehouse was

⁵³⁸ Ibid., 2

⁵³⁹ Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 67

[In den Vorständen des Deutschen Vereins und der Bartholomäus-Bruderschaft, sowie des Krankenhauses saßen inzwischen genügend Parteimitglieder]

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid., 71

⁵⁴¹ Gennrich, Bericht, betreffend den Ehrenhof zum Gedächtnis der Gefallenen der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde in Lissabon [Report, Concerning the Commemorative Courtyard for the Members of the German Protestant Church Community Lisbon Killed in Action], 3

[sodass er jedermann zugänglich war und von vielen Kirchgängern besichtigt wurde]

⁵⁴² Ibid., 3

not cut off from the public, but a place “where everyone with business relationships passed by and many members of the German colony already observed the work’s genesis.”⁵⁴³

While Semke worked on the *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*, a meeting of the local branch of NSDAP must have taken place.⁵⁴⁴ During the event, the church in its role as an institution was fiercely attacked;⁵⁴⁵ an occurrence leading Pastor Gennrich to raise his voice and publicly protest against this assault. However, his attempt of defending his convictions did not stay without consequences, as members of NSDAP thereupon submitted a complaint about Gennrich to the Federal Foreign Office. Yet, it had not been the first time that Gennrich came into conflict with the party. Already a few months earlier, in January 1935, he obtained the board decision that decorations and inscriptions on gravestones to be erected on the German cemetery would have to be approved by the church council. Reason for this approach was a gravestone decorated with a swastika and laurel, “symbols of pagan ideology,”⁵⁴⁶ recently set up by a member of NSDAP.⁵⁴⁷

In May 1935, after the third sculpture by Semke was erected, the court obtained—according to Hein Semke’s concept—its final appearance, but an official inauguration of the Court of Honor was repeatedly delayed and the sculptural group *Kameradschaft des Untergangs* remained hidden behind the fence. This decision was made due to Envoy von Hoyningen-Huene’s refusal to participate in a formal opening, since he “deliberately and clearly distanced himself from Semke, as well as from Pastor Gennrich.”⁵⁴⁸ Therefore, it was decided to “one day quietly hand the court over to the community by simply removing the wooden wall.”⁵⁴⁹ Initially, however, no date could be found for this unostentatious solution. Semke, meanwhile, eagerly anticipated the moment in which he would formally present his work to the public. But given the fact that the opening continually was postponed and moved to the future,

⁵⁴³ Ibid., 3

[wo jedermann, der dort geschäftlich zu tun hatte, vorbeikam und viele Mitglieder der deutschen Kolonie die Entstehung des Werkes bereits beobachteten]

⁵⁴⁴ Unfortunately, no official records regarding this meeting remained. Therefore, it is not possible to state an exact date.

Cf. Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003.

⁵⁴⁵ In her report on the events, Christiane Tichy speaks of “strong anti-ecclesiastical propaganda”

[starke antikirchliche Propaganda]. Cf. *ibid.*, 67

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid., 142

[Symbole(n) der heidnischen Weltanschauung]

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., 142

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., 67

⁵⁴⁹ Gennrich, Bericht, betreffend den Ehrenhof zum Gedächtnis der Gefallenen der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde in Lissabon [Report, Concerning the Commemorative Courtyard for the Members of the German Protestant Church Community Lisbon Killed in Action], 3

[den Hof in aller Stille eines Tages der Gemeinde zu übergeben, indem einfach die Bretterwand entfernt würde]

the artist decided to take matters into his own hands and organized a press conference on July 25, 1935, inviting Portuguese art critics, journalists and artists.⁵⁵⁰

Several newspapers commented on the court and the sculptures, providing an extremely positive feedback. While the *Diário de Lisboa* stressed “the perfect harmony” in which the sculpture *A Dor* would adapt to the church building and—after a brief description of the court and its sculptures—concluded that “Heim [sic] Semke, author of a work full of strength and spirituality and who deserves to be seen not only by members of the German colony but as well by the Portuguese,”⁵⁵¹ the *Diário de Notícias* reported particularly advantageous on Semke’s work. One could read that the participants of the pre-visit would have been “enchanted,” whereas the unnamed journalist showed himself especially enthusiastic about the sculptural group *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*:

They are figures of war, simultaneously set in stone with harshness and with smoothness, dramatic, in perfect vibration of the plastic material anointed by the talent of this unique artist. The now erected monument in the Commemorative Courtyard for the Killed Germans of the Great War will be highly appreciated.⁵⁵²

At a first glance, so it seemed, the press conference was a success. Semke’s work was praised extensively in the most important Portuguese newspapers, what supposedly might as well have shed a positive light on the German Protestant Church. Nevertheless, there were several snags to the coverage. Apart from the laudatory review of Semke’s sculptures, the article in *Diário de Lisboa* mentioned: “The official inauguration will soon take place in presence of

⁵⁵⁰ In Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 67, the author states that the press conference would have been “unofficial, so to speak”. But Gennrich writes that Semke “requested permission” and Semke on his side states he would have shown the court to the media representatives “after obtaining permission to the Portuguese press, as well as to artists”

[*eine sozusagen inoffizielle Pressekonferenz*]; [*zeigte ich nach Einholung der Erlaubnis denselben der portugiesischen Presse, sowie Künstlern*]; [*er bat [...] um die Erlaubnis*]

Cf. Gennrich, Bericht, betreffend den Ehrenhof zum Gedächtnis der Gefallenen der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde in Lissabon [Report, Concerning the Commemorative Courtyard for the Members of the German Protestant Church Community Lisbon Killed in Action], 3 and Hein Semke, Abschrift Brief des Bildhauers Hein Semke an Pfarrer Lic. Gennrich-Lissabon [Copy Letter of the Sculptor Hein Semke to Pastor Licentiate Gennrich-Lisbon], March 2, 1936, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon], 1

⁵⁵¹ *Diário de Lisboa*, “Inaugurou-Se Hoje Um Patio Em Honra Dos Mortos Da Colonia Alemã De Lisboa,” July 25, 1935, 4556

[*perfeita harmonia*]; [*Heim [sic] Semke, autor duma obra cheia de força e espiritualidade, e que merece ser vista, não só pelos membros da colonia alemã como também pelos portugueses*]

⁵⁵² *Diário de Notícias*, “O Patio De Honra Dos Mortos Alemães Da Grande Guerra: [the Commemorative Courtyard for the Killed Germans of the Great War],” July 23, 1935

[*encantados*]; [*São vultos da Guerra, cinzelados simultaneamente com rudeza e com suavidade, emocionantes, em plena vibração da materia plastica ungida pelo talent desse artista singular. O monumento erguido agora no Pátio de Honra aos Mortos Alemães da Grande Guerra vai ser altamente apreciado.*]

the respective minister,”⁵⁵³ although von Hoyningen-Huene already had categorically opposed his participation in an opening ceremony and as yet no agreement on how exactly the court should be made accessible to the public was found.

Even more serious was the open criticism in an article published in the magazine *Ilustração*. Besides giving a rather unemotional description of the court and the works of art, the article touched a nerve of the NSDAP’s doctrines:

On a gravestone placed on the wall of the church are inscribed the names of four members of the German colony of Lisbon who fell on the battlefields while defending their homeland. A disgrace is that a fifth has been forgotten—Arthur Adler, who fought like them, finding death near Lille in 1918. Adler, who professed the religion of Israel, was awarded the Iron Cross. Many Lisboetas who have been friends with him before the war still remember him with longing.⁵⁵⁴

Consequently, the press coverage severely enraged von Hoyningen-Huene. The remaining documents do not clearly indicate whether his announced participation in an allegedly formal opening or the criticism of the commemorative plaque (termed ‘gravestone’ by the journalist) aroused his anger. However, it is known that the plaque had already caused a controversy during its early planning stage. Pastor Gennrich mentioned that the compilation of names to be included in the inscription was made under the following conditions: “persons killed in action [...], as far as it concerns the ones having resided in Lisbon, among whom are exclusively members of the Protestant church community, apart from one Jew who was ruled out.”⁵⁵⁵ Semke, on the other hand, mentions another version when reviewing the events and circumstances of this incident in his diary on October 11, 1950:

When I, in 1935, created the Court of Honor for the ones fallen in the [First, note from the author] World War, I ought to have carried out the commemorative plaque with the ones of the community killed in action. —But as they only handed me over the names of the Aryan persons killed in action, I demanded the missing names of the Jews (baptized Protestant

⁵⁵³ *Diário de Lisboa*, “Inaugurou, 25.07.1935”

[*A inauguração oficial realizar-se-á brevemente, com a assistência do respectivo ministro.*]

⁵⁵⁴ *Ilustração*, “Pátio De Honra Dos Alemães Mortos Na Guerra,” August 1, 1935, 231

[*Sobre uma lápida colocada na parede da igreja estão inscritos os nomes de quatro membros da colônia alemã de Lisboa que caíram mortos no campo de batalha em defesa da sua Pátria. Pena é que fôsse esquecido um quinto — Arthur Adler, que como eles lutou, tendo encontrado a morte perto de Lille em 1918. Adler, que professava a religião de israelita, era condecorado com a Cruz de Ferro. Muitos lisboetas que foram seus amigos antes da guerra recordam-no ainda com saudade.*]

⁵⁵⁵ Gennrich, Bericht, betreffend den Ehrenhof zum Gedächtnis der Gefallenen der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde in Lissabon [Report, Concerning the Commemorative Courtyard for the Members of the German Protestant Church Community Lisbon Killed in Action], 2

[*Gefallene [...], soweit es sich um die in Lissabon ansässig gewesenen handelt, unter denen sich ausschließlich Angehörige der evangelischen Kirchengemeinde befinden, abgesehen von einem Juden, der hierfür nicht in Betracht kam.*]

Christians), among them a [person called, note from the author] Adler. They would have to be in there as well. This I was refused, and I rejected the creation of the plaque.⁵⁵⁶

A third version introduces an initial number of eight names and assumes that four of them—including Arthur Adler—were Jews and therefore excluded.⁵⁵⁷

Neither of the three versions described above can be verified from the remaining documents. However, it becomes apparent that Pastor Gennrich could not only calm down the critical situation, but as well the outraged envoy by convincing him that there must have occurred a misunderstanding.⁵⁵⁸ Moreover, Pastor Gennrich solely referred to the incorrect newspaper report of an inauguration by Envoy von Hoyningen-Huene when reporting⁵⁵⁹ on the incident and additionally tried to protect Semke by stressing the positive results of the press conference:

All the publications did definitely not contain a single derogatory remark about the works; on the contrary, Semke's work has been extolled and paid special tribute to by the most important art critics of the country. He already has received an order for a work in a Portuguese church which will be inaugurated soon by the Cardinal-Patriarch, and further commissions have been promised to him.⁵⁶⁰

3.7 The 'Unfortunate Lisbon Affair'—the Court of Honor in Crossfire

In the following weeks after the press conference, a veritable net of intrigues started to develop in the German community. Initially, Pastor Gennrich was asked by Julius Claussen (1892-1940), leader of the local branch of NSDAP, to submit a statement about the Court of Honor and the reporting on it by the Portuguese media. Gennrich met the demand and additionally sent his report to his superior at the *Kirchliches Außenamt* [Department for External Church

⁵⁵⁶ Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 80

[*Als ich 1935 den Ehrenhof der im Weltkrieg-Gefallenen machte, sollte ich auch die Gedenktafel mit den Gefallenen der Gemeinde ausführen. – Da man mir nur die Namen der arischen Gefallenen gab, verlangte ich die fehlenden Namen der Juden (getaufte, evangelische Christen), darunter auch einen Adler. Sie müssten darin stehen. Dies wurde mir verweigert, und ich lehnte ab, die Tafel auszuführen.*]

⁵⁵⁷ Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 143

⁵⁵⁸ Gennrich, Bericht, betreffend den Ehrenhof zum Gedächtnis der Gefallenen der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde in Lissabon [Report, Concerning the Commemorative Courtyard for the Members of the German Protestant Church Community Lisbon Killed in Action], 4

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid. and Gennrich, Betrifft Schreiben des Herrn Bischof D. Heckel vom 26.9.1935. (A.8266) [Concerning Letter of Bishop D. Heckel of 26.9.1935. (A8266)].

⁵⁶⁰ Gennrich, Bericht, betreffend den Ehrenhof zum Gedächtnis der Gefallenen der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde in Lissabon [Report, Concerning the Commemorative Courtyard for the Members of the German Protestant Church Community Lisbon Killed in Action], 4

[*In allen Veröffentlichungen war jedenfalls nicht eine einzige abfällige Äußerung über das Werk, im Gegenteil wurden Semkes Arbeiten im höchsten Masse gelobt und ihm die besondere Anerkennung von ersten Kunstkritikern des Landes ausgesprochen. Er hat auch bereits einen Auftrag für eine Arbeit an einer portugiesischen Kirche erhalten, die nächstens durch den Kardinal-Patriarchen eingeweiht wird, und weitere Aufträge sind ihm in Aussicht gestellt.*]

Relations] in Berlin.⁵⁶¹ Simultaneously, Claussen sent his own account to the foreign department of NSDAP. Thereupon, Gennrich was called to an urgent meeting in Berlin, where he was supposed to answer a questionnaire previously sent to him along with the invitation to Berlin.⁵⁶² In cooperation with the remaining members of the building committee, Gennrich scripted the answers,⁵⁶³ departed soon afterwards and arrived in Berlin on October 2, staying there until October 11, 1935.⁵⁶⁴

While Pastor Gennrich was on his voyage to Berlin, an unknown member of the local branch of NSDAP replied to a—today missing—letter of the foreign department of the party. Dated October 1, 1935, the account offers an interesting insight into the proliferating new mindset in the German colony—not only regarding the Court of Honor but especially in terms of Pastor Gennrich.

Without further ado the unknown author comes straight to the point and states that “[t]he building committee of the church and Pastor Gennrich have to be held accountable,”⁵⁶⁵ because they would have wasted money. As immediate example for his accusation serve the statues in the Court of Honor: the originator of the art works, namely Semke, would previously have been “an anarchist, communist, or something similar; has been, among other things, punished with penitentiary”⁵⁶⁶, resuming “that such a man [...] should be the right man to create a monument for German soldiers killed in action, I doubt it.”⁵⁶⁷ Furthermore, the memorial would leave the impression of “an unsatisfied spirit of horror, nothing uplifting and dimensions which appear downright ridiculous”⁵⁶⁸ since the court would be too small; in sum that would lead to an effect “roughly similar to a medal of 50 cm in diameter on the chest.”⁵⁶⁹ The anonymous writer

⁵⁶¹ Ibid.

⁵⁶² Heckel, Bericht vom 8. August 1935 über die Frage des dortigen Ehrenhofes und die damit verknüpften Vorgänge in der deutschen Kolonie; Fragebogen [Report of August 8, 1935, regarding the local Court of Honor and the related events in the German colony; questionnaire].

⁵⁶⁴ Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 67

⁵⁶⁵ Anonymous, Betrifft: Pfarrer Gennrich [Concerns: Pastor Gennrich], October 1, 1935, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon], 2
[*Die Baukommission der Kirche und Pfarrer Gennrich sind zur Verantwortung zu ziehen*]

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., 2

[*Dieser Mann war ein Anarchist, Kommunist, oder aehnliches, wurde auch u.a. wegen Einbruchsdiebstahls mit Zuchthaus bestraft.*]

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., 2

[*Dass aber ein solcher Mann [...] der richtige Mann sein soll, um fuer gefallene deutsche Soldaten ein Denkmal zu schaffen, bezweifle ich.*]

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid., 2

[*Das Denkmal hinterlaesst einen unbefriedigten Geist des Grauens, nichts erhebendes und Dimensionen, die geradezu laecherlich wirken.*]

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., 2

[*Das wirkt ungefaehr so wie ein Orden von 50 c/m Durchmesser auf der Brust.*]

continues, that the building committee would have arranged—without prior agreement—a visit of locals, resulting in the fact that the matter appeared in a Portuguese humorous magazine. “Responsible for all this, if he is not even the main culprit, is Pastor Gennrich.”⁵⁷⁰ Therefore the unknown author calls for the quickest possible replacement of the Pastor as the latter would be

arrogant and stubborn [...]. He has not captured yet anything of our new spirit [...], is too young for a position abroad and first needs to learn in-depth back home what we, the German expatriates, expect from a Pastor. He is not sufficiently masculine. What we need here is a Pastor [...] who understands the new times and as well knows how to hold a beer glass.⁵⁷¹

The letter finally ends with the words: “The reckoning with the responsible parish council and the building committee we will carry out here.”⁵⁷²

Indeed, those words were soon followed by action. On the occasion of the harvest festival on October 6, 1935, the local branch of NSDAP took advantage of the pastor’s absence and provoked a scandal. During the festivities, Claussen discoursed on resistances within the Protestant church community to the Party and criticized the esthetics of the sculptures in the Court of Honor by using the same arguments as the unknown author of the above-mentioned letter: “This monument, disproportionate in its dimensions, [...] placed on a space not much larger than a dining room.”⁵⁷³

Even stronger criticism was expressed by the keynote speaker, a so-called *Reichsredner* [National Speaker],⁵⁷⁴ who also addressed the monument in the course of his speech:

He used far more drastic expressions than the leader of the local branch [of NSDAP (Claussen), note from the author]. He said that he would have been horrified by the terrible grotesque face originating from a time

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid., 2

[*An all diesem ist der Pfarrer Gennrich einer, wenn nicht gar der Hauptschuldige.*]

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., 3

[*arrogant[er] und halsstarrig[er] [...] Er hat von unserem neuen Geist noch nichts erfasst [...], ist er zu jung fuer einen Auslandsposten und muss erst gruendlich in der Heimat lernen, was wir Auslandsdeutsche vom Pfarrer erwarten. Er ist zu wenig maennlich. Wir brauchen hier einen Pfarrer [...], der die neue Zeit versteht und auch weiss, wie man ein Bierglas anfasst.*]

⁵⁷² Ibid., 3

[*Die Abrechnung mit dem verantwortlichen Kirchenvorstand und der Baukommission werden wir hier vornehmen.*]

⁵⁷³ Otto Gelshorn, Bericht über die Feier am Erntedanktag in der Deutschen Gesandtschaft zu Lissabon am 6. Okt. 1935 [Report on the Ceremony at Harvest Festival Day in the German Legacy in Lisbon on 6. Oct. 1935], October 9, 1935, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon], 1

[*Dieses in seinen Ausmassen unproportionierte Denkmal [...] auf einem Raum, nicht viel grösser als ein Esszimmer.*]

⁵⁷⁴ *Reichsredner* were rhetorically trained speakers of NSDAP who were employed for propaganda purposes. Cf. Bytwerk, *Bending Spines*, 2004, 73 f

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to which the *Führer* would have referred to as the time of lunatic asylums and hydropathic establishments. If members of S.A. [abbreviation for *Sturmabteilung* [Storm Detachment], note from the author] would have seen the monument in 1933, they would have torn it to shreds, because they would not have considered it a tribute. Because this monument would be an insult to the soldiers killed in action. But the sad fact about all this would be that the Portuguese, who would see the monument, would say: That would be German art and German hero worship.⁵⁷⁵

Pastor Gennrich, who at this very moment was in Berlin in order to resolve the difficulties already existing, was immediately informed by telegram about the verbal attacks (fig. 107). Semke, at least for the moment, remained unaware of the evolving, increasingly critical situation, as he as well was far away from Lisbon: throughout the entire autumn months he sojourned in Paris for study purposes and returned only on November 12, 1935.⁵⁷⁶

Meanwhile in Lisbon, the response to the verbal attacks was swift. On October 8, 1935, two members of the church council—both of them also members of the building committee—announced their resignation.⁵⁷⁷

In an emergency meeting on October 9, the church council decided to send a letter of protest to Envoy von Hoyningen-Huene to oppose the content of the speeches. Nevertheless, one of the members of the church council and simultaneously member of NSDAP, strongly criticized Pastor Gennrich and “[f]inally he says, that the Party and as well the legation would not want to have Pastor Gennrich here anymore.”⁵⁷⁸ And although the question was raised during the meeting, the church council rejected the removal of the monument from the courtyard.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁵ Gelshorn, Bericht über die Feier am Erntedanktag in der Deutschen Gesandtschaft zu Lissabon am 6. Okt. 1935 [Report on the Ceremony at Harvest Festival Day in the German Legation in Lisbon on 6. Oct. 1935], 1

[*Er gebrauchte weit schärfere Ausdrücke, als der Landesgruppenleiter. Er sagte er sei entsetzt gewesen über die furchtbare Fratze, die aus einer Zeit stamme, die der Führer bezeichnet hätte als Zeit der Irren= und Kaltwasserheilanstalten. Wen [sic] S.A.=Leute 1933 das Denkmal gesehen hätten, so hätten sie es in Stücken [sic] gehauen, da sie darin keine Ehrung erblickten. Denn dieses Denkmal sei eine Beleidigung der gefallenen Soldaten. Das Traurige aber an der Sache sei, dass die Portugiesen, die das Denkmal sähen, sagten: Das sei deutsche Kunst und deutsche Heldenehrung.*]

⁵⁷⁶ Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 68

⁵⁷⁷ Cf. Hans Wimmer, An den Vorstand der Deutsch-Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde zu Haenden des Herrn Konsul Daehnhardt, Lissabon [To the Church Council of the German Protestant Parish, for the Attention of Consul Daenhardt, Lisbon], October 8, 1935, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon] and Hermann Zum Hingste, An den Vorstand der Deutsch-Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde zu Haenden des Herrn Konsul Daehnhardt, Lissabon [To the Church Council of the German Protestant Parish, for the Attention of Consul Daenhardt, Lisbon], October 8, 1935, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon].

⁵⁷⁸ Church Council of the German Protestant Church in Lisbon, Auszug aus dem Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung am 9. Oktober 1935 - 15 Uhr. [Extract from the Minutes of the Board Meeting on October 9, 1935 - 15 O'Clock], October 9, 1935, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon], 1

[*Zum Schluss sagt er, dass die Partei und auch die Gesandtschaft Herrn Pfarrer Gennrich hier nicht mehr haben wolle.*]

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., 2

Finally, the bishop at *Kirchliches Außenamt* [Department for External Church Relations] in Berlin could convince the two recently resigned members of the church council not to take this step and to resume their positions. Moreover, the bishop decided to send an official representative to Lisbon,⁵⁸⁰ entrusted with the task of finding a solution for the complicated situation and to ensure the peace in the church community. The representative arrived on October 14, 1935, and started immediately with an intensive shuttle diplomacy, traveling back and forth between all parties concerned (Pastor Gennrich, the building committee, the envoy, the church council, Julius Claussen). Finally, the following decisions were agreed on by all sides: the building committee and the church council dispensed with the artist Hein Semke and his works of art “for the sake of general peace;”⁵⁸¹ additionally, the local NSDAP would become involved in the process of selecting candidates for the election of the church council and, finally, “Pastor Gennrich wants and will in the not too distant future, around spring next year, return to a native rectory.”⁵⁸² In his final report on his activities in Lisbon, the representative concluded that he would have received the confirmation from all parties involved that “fortunately now everything got straightened out.”⁵⁸³

On a superficial level, a mutually acceptable settlement was achieved, and the situation calmed down. However, Hein Semke, the creator of the art pieces about to be removed, had not been involved in this process. Neither had he been heard, nor was he integrated in the entire process of discussion about the sculptures’ suitability for the Court of Honor or even their removal. While the agreements were made in Lisbon, he still resided in Paris, where he was notified in written form by Pastor Gennrich about the decisions already taken. Immediately Semke tried to raise an objection against the deconstruction, but Gennrich calmed him down in a letter dated October 29, 1935,⁵⁸⁴ informing Semke that his sudden return to Lisbon would not be necessary: “[w]e are waiting calmly for your return, [...] a change in the Court of Honor, resp. a removal of the figures” would only be done “under your supervision.”⁵⁸⁵ Besides his

⁵⁸⁰ Theodor Heckel, An den Kirchenvorstand der deutschen evangelischen Gemeinde Lissabon [To the Church Council of the German Protestant Parish Lisbon], October 11, 1935, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon].

⁵⁸¹ Ernst Schubert, Kurzbericht [Summary Report], October 16, 1935, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon]
[*um des allgemeinen Friedens willen*]

⁵⁸² Ibid.

[*Herr Pfarrer Gennrich will und wird in nicht zu ferner Zeit, etwa im Fruehjahr naechsten Jahres, in ein heimatliches Pfarr-Amt zurueckkehren.*]

⁵⁸³ Ibid.

[*dass nun erfreulicherweise alles in Ordnung*]

⁵⁸⁴ Semke, Abschrift Brief des Bildhauers Hein Semke an Pfarrer Lic. Gennrich-Lissabon [Copy Letter of the Sculptor Hein Semke to Pastor Licentiate Gennrich-Lisbon].

⁵⁸⁵ Gennrich, Letter to Hein Semke in Paris

attempts to pacify the situation regarding the “unfortunate Lisbon affair”⁵⁸⁶, Gennrich as well justified the dismantling of the sculptures by stating a reason that goes beyond the political level and brings esthetics into play:

Actually, there is nobody in the entire colony who completely agrees on the mere outer appearance [...]. And indeed, the effect is strongly affected by the wall cutting through the head of the warrior standing upright.⁵⁸⁷

In mid-November, after the artist’s return from France, the deconstruction of the sculptures started.⁵⁸⁸ Nevertheless, the settlement of the conflict was still pending. Semke, who felt unfairly treated and sensed a conspiracy against him, complained to Julius Claussen about the “agitation against me from among the ranks of the Party,”⁵⁸⁹ but obviously his protest was to no avail, since the dismantling of the art pieces continued. At the same time, Pastor Gennrich and the building committee attempted to save at least the sculptures *A Dor* and the relief *Himmelfahrt des Kriegers* from being removed, because ab initio the main criticism was directed at the larger-than-life sculpture *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*.⁵⁹⁰ Either way, despite all rescue attempts, all art pieces eventually were removed from the courtyard in the course of December 1935.

Down to the present day it remains unclear where exactly Semke’s art works were stored after their removal from the court. It is likely that they were brought to the *quinta* [manor] of one of the members of the church council,⁵⁹¹ where an interim storage was set up. The remaining documents do not reveal any indication of a storage location different from the aforementioned *quinta* or even, as Teresa Balté claims, a destruction of the *Kameradschaft des Untergangs* and an ensuing burial of the sculpture’s remains.⁵⁹² Nevertheless, Semke

[Wir warten ruhig Ihre Rückkehr ab, [...] eine Veränderung des Ehrenhofs, bzw. Entfernung der Figuren nur unter Ihrer Aufsicht]

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid., 1

[*unselige Lissabonner Affaire*]

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid., 2

[*Es gibt tatsächlich niemanden in der ganzen Kolonie, der rein mit der äußeren Form ganz einverstanden ist [...]. Die Wirkung ist ja auch in der Tat stark beeinträchtigt durch die den Kopf des stehenden Kriegers durchschneidende Mauerwand.*]

⁵⁸⁸ Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 68

⁵⁸⁹ Semke, Abschrift Brief des Bildhauers Hein Semke an Pfarrer Lic. Gennrich-Lissabon [Copy Letter of the Sculptor Hein Semke to Pastor Licentiate Gennrich-Lisbon], 2

[*Hetze gegen mich aus den Reihen der Partei*]

⁵⁹⁰ Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 69

⁵⁹¹ In his letter to Paris, Gennrich mentions the *quinta* of Hermann zum Hingste as repository.

Cf. Gennrich, Letter to Hein Semke in Paris.

⁵⁹² Balté claims that “the sculptural group Comradeship in the Downfall was destroyed and buried, probably on the site behind the church.”

Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 37

[*o grupo escultórico Camaradagem na Derrota foi destruído e enterrado provavelmente no terreno atrás da igreja*]

mentioned in his request for financial compensation as victim of Nacional Socialism in 1961: “The Port.[uguese] stonemason who, by order of the Nazis, shattered and removed the works is still alive”⁵⁹³

After the court was cleared, Semke again spoke to the leader of the local branch of NSDAP in order to inform him about the completion of the works. During this conversation, the artist received an unexpected information from Claussen:

Never would he have demanded the removal of all the works. During the negotiations [with the official representative from Berlin; note from the author] he would have demanded an evidence that the works of Semke would be art [...]. Additionally, Claussen said, that he would never have requested a removal of all works from Consul Wimmer, but only of the group of warriors [the sculpture *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*; note from the author].⁵⁹⁴

Thereupon, Semke—supposedly not yet fully paid for his work⁵⁹⁵—immediately sent an invoice, dated December 23, 1935, to the building committee of the Protestant church in Lisbon, in which he stated:

After everything has been performed according to your demands, I would like to claim my remuneration[.]

⁵⁹³ Semke and Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Sozialbehörde Amt für Wiedergutmachung [Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg Social Security Office German Restitution Office], Wiedergutmachungsakte für Semke, Heinrich [Restitution File for Semke, Heinrich]

[*Der port. Steinmetz, welcher im Auftrag der Nazis die Arbeiten zerschlug und entfernte, lebt noch.*]

⁵⁹⁴ Semke, Abschrift Brief des Bildhauers Hein Semke an Pfarrer Lic. Gennrich-Lissabon [Copy Letter of the Sculptor Hein Semke to Pastor Licentiate Gennrich-Lisbon], 3

[*Er hätte niemals die Entfernung der ganzen Arbeiten verlangt. Er hätte in der Verhandlung den Beweis verlangt, dass die Arbeiten Semkes Kunst sind [...]. Claussen sagte ausserdem, er hätte von Herrn Konsul Wimmer niemals eine Entfernung aller Arbeiten, sondern nur der Kriegergruppe verlangt.*]

⁵⁹⁵ In the remaining documents in the archive of *Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon* [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon] and in the artist's estate no official documents regarding the work assignment (such as a contract or other written arrangements) could be detected. Therefore, it is not possible to provide any information regarding the agreed remuneration. In his letter, dated March 2, 1936, to Pastor Gennrich the artist only mentions that “My contribution to the construction of the Court of Honor was based on the request of the former Envoy in Lisbon, Dr. Hans Freytag.—He chose the sum known to you.”

In 1961, when Semke claimed financial compensation as victim of Nacional Socialism, he wrote in a letter to the German Restitution Office [*Amt für Wiedergutmachung*]: “In 1934 the Protestant church community in Lisbon, on the initiative of the then Envoy Dr. H. Freytag, provided me with a work assignment for the new church of the Protestant church in Palhava. Those assignments, they involved the Court of Honor for Those Killed in Action in 1914/18, were provided orally.”

Cf. *ibid.*, 1

[*Meine Beteiligung am Bau des Ehrenhofs ist auf Wunsch des früheren Gesandten in Lissabon, Herrn Dr. Hans Freytag, geschehen. – Er setzte die Ihnen bekannte feste Summe aus.*]

Cf. Semke and Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Sozialbehörde Amt für Wiedergutmachung [Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg Social Security Office German Restitution Office], Wiedergutmachungsakte für Semke, Heinrich [Restitution File for Semke, Heinrich].

[*Im Jahre 1934 gab mir die ev. Kirchengemeinde in Lissabon, veranlasst durch den damaligen Gesandten Dr. H. Freytag [...] Arbeitsaufträge für den Kirchenneubau der ev. Kirche in Palhava. Diese Aufträge, es handelte sich um den Ehrenhof der Gefallenen von 1914/18 wurden mündlich erteilt.*]

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It is, after subtracting the advance payment of approximately Esc. 4.500\$00, which has been kindly granted to me within two years, One Hundred Fifteen Thousand Escudos (Esc. 115.000\$00).⁵⁹⁶

Besides, he reserved the right to claim compensation, because he would have suffered “moral and artistical degradation and consequential economic loss”⁵⁹⁷ due to the removal of his works and stated that Claussen would have given his word of honor for not having demanded the dismantlement of the relief and the female figure *A Dor*. Therefore, Semke now demanded the “immediate restoration of the Court of Honor,”⁵⁹⁸ especially, because the “German Chamber of Art has recognized my works as ‘artistically valuable’.”⁵⁹⁹ Regarding this official recognition of his art he added the handwritten remark: “According to private information (I do not yet vouch for this) the notification can be found at the ‘German Legation Secretary’ in Lisbon.”⁶⁰⁰

One day later, the building committee complained to Claussen and reminded him in a letter, that he expressively insisted on the removal of all artworks by Semke from the Court of Honor.⁶⁰¹ Claussen replied in writing on the same day endeavoring to demonstrate that there would have been a misunderstanding: his protest would have been directed solely at the sculpture *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*.⁶⁰² The fact that all artworks by Semke were removed he explained as follows:

It is correct that we spoke about a figure on the phone. You spoke about the difficulties experienced in the dismantlement und you asked me whether the front figure of a woman may be unchanged, what I denied. But I thought—after we had spoken about the monument for those killed in action—you would refer to the front figure of this monument which as well shows a woman.⁶⁰³

⁵⁹⁶ Hein Semke, Honorarforderungen [Fee Receivables], December 23, 1936, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon]

[*Nachdem alles Ihren Anforderungen gemaess ausgefuehrt ist, moechte ich meine Honorarforderungen anmelden [.] Sie betragen, nach Abzug des mit innerhalb zweier Jahre liebenswuerdigerweise gegebenen Vorschusses von circa Esc. 4.500\$00, Einhundertfuenfzehntausend Escudos (Esc. 115.000\$00).*]

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid.

[*moralische und kuenstlerische Herabsetzung und sich daraus ergebender wirtschaftlicher Schaden*]

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid.

[*sofortige Wiederherstellung des Ehrenhofs*]

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid.

[*von der Deutschen Kunstammer meine Arbeiten als „kuenstlerisch wertvoll“ anerkannt worden sind.*]

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

[*Nach Privat-Information (Gewähr dafür übernehme ich noch nicht) liegt dieser Bescheid bei der „Deutschen Gesandtschaft“ [sic] in Lissabon.*]

⁶⁰¹ Bau-Kommission [Building Committee], Letter to Julius Claussen, December 24, 1935, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon].

⁶⁰² Julius Claussen, Letter to the German Protestant Church Parish, December 24, 1935, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon].

⁶⁰³ Ibid.

[*Es ist richtig, dass wir telefonisch uns ueber eine Figur unterhalten haben. Sie sprachen von den Schwierigkeiten des Abmontierens und fragten mich, ob nicht die vordere Figur einer Frau erhalten bleiben koennte, was ich verneinte.*

Claussen added that he would not even have pondered on *A Dor* or the relief *Himmelfahrt des Kriegers* and therefore he would not object to those works staying in the court.

If there factually was a misunderstanding is difficult to estimate from today's perspective. Certain is, however, that Claussen's explanation is a subjective and hence problematic approach, since the *Kameradschaft des Untergangs* obviously does not include a female figure. However, his sudden change of mind cannot be explained in view of the existing archival material but was probably connected to upcoming claims for compensation. As already for the very next day, January 3, 1936, a meeting was scheduled in which Semke took part as well. In the course of this reunion, the building committee denied all kind of responsibility and decided to forward the artist's claims to Claussen and to the Department for External Church Relations in Berlin.⁶⁰⁴ Semke on his part declared that he would not have any claims towards the Protestant church parish, but wanted to set the scene for negotiations about a compensation for "the moral and material loss entailed by the removal of [the] [...] artistic creations."⁶⁰⁵

Semke's estate includes a letter to Wolfgang Sievers,⁶⁰⁶ dated January 5, 1936, in which he showed himself extremely self-confident, stating that "[a]ccording to Portuguese law—all advantages are on my side,"⁶⁰⁷ even though a written agreement would not exist. He explained that he could demand the reconstruction of the Court of Honor and claim damages and that an art expert would consult the situation: "the law will take ownership of his opinions (until now for 100 percent)—The expert is the sculptor Diogo de Macedo. You know what this means."⁶⁰⁸

The reference to Diogo de Macedo (1889-1959) was not without a reason. Macedo was an important personality in the Portuguese art scene and already showed impressively his

Ich habe aber geglaubt, nachdem wir von dem Denkmal der Gefallenen sprachen, sie meinten die Vorderfigur dieses Denkmals, die ja auch eine Frau darstellt.]

⁶⁰⁴ Bau-Kommission [Building Committee], Protokoll der Sitzung der Bau-Kommission mit Herrn Hein Semke am 3. Januar 1936 [Minutes of the Meeting of the Building Committee with Hein Semke on January 3, 1936], January 3, 1936, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon].

⁶⁰⁵ Bau-Kommission [Building Committee], Brief an Hein Semke, 'Auf Ihr Schreiben vom 23. Dez 35' [Letter to Hein Semke 'Concerning Your Letter Dated Dec. 23, 35'], January 9, 1935, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon]

[*der moralischen und materiellen Schäden, welche die Entfernung [der] [...] Kunstschöpfungen für Sie nach sich zog*]

⁶⁰⁶ Wolfgang Sievers and Hein Semke became friends in 1934, when Sievers lived in the German embassy in Lisbon. It is not possible to reconstruct why the letter today is part of Semke's estate. Probably Sievers returned the letter to Semke on the occasion of a visit in 1969. Cf. Jorge Calado and Wolfgang Sievers, *Linha De Vida / Life Line: A Fotografia De Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993 / the Photography of Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993* (Lisbon: Departamento de Património Cultural, 2000), 37 ff.

⁶⁰⁷ Semke, Letter to Wolfgang Sievers, 2

[*Nach portugiesischem Recht – alle Plusteile stehen auf meiner Seite*]

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., 2

[*seine Urteile macht sich das Gesetz (bisher 100prozentig) zu eigen. – Der Sachverständige ist der Bildhauer Diogo de Macedo. Sie wissen was das bedeutet.*]

commitment to supporting the concerns of culture professionals by founding the *Comissão de Defesa dos Interesses dos Artistas* [Defense of Artists Interests Committee] in 1931, and belonged, in addition, to the circle of Portuguese “intellectuals and artists”⁶⁰⁹ regularly visiting Semke’s house in *Linda-a-Pastora* by that time. Besides being an artist colleague, Macedo worked for the journal *O Diabo*, in which he published an article about Semke in September 1935,⁶¹⁰ praising the sculpture *A Dor* and its creator: “[t]his figure, just by itself, like a revivification of primitive sculpture, would build the reputation of a great artist. In many other works he is a wise stonemason builder, but here he was the translator of human pain.”⁶¹¹ Moreover, the sculpture, “bent and in deep sorrow,”⁶¹² would remind him of the female figure in the bronze group *Le Grisou* by the Belgian painter and sculptor Constantin Meunier (1831-1905) and “exactly through the expressed movement and feeling he [Semke, note by the author] latinized himself to the extent of better touching our sympathy.”⁶¹³ Consequently, Semke could be assured and count on the support from Portuguese side.

In his letter to Sievers Semke goes on reporting that Macedo—in his role as an expert—estimated the value of the overall loss for the three works at “400 *contos*.”⁶¹⁴ The church council would already have offered 2.000 *Sperrmark*,⁶¹⁵ in addition to the re-erection of the sculpture *A Dor* and the relief, while Claussen offered reference letters to his superior department in Germany and the German Office for Remigration,⁶¹⁶ but in return “they demand my declaration of renunciation and my remigration to Germany.”⁶¹⁷ Nevertheless, it seems as if Semke had

⁶⁰⁹ Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 16

⁶¹⁰ Diogo de Macedo, “Hein, 15.09.1935”

⁶¹¹ Ibid.

[*Essa figura, só por si, como uma vivificação da escultura primitiva, faria a reputação de um grande artista. Em muitos outros trabalhos ele é um sábio canteiro construtor, mas aqui foi o tradutor da dor humana.*]

⁶¹² Ibid.

[*curvada e plantiva*]

⁶¹³ Ibid.

[*exactamente pelo movimento e sensação expressos, se latinizou ao ponto de melhor nos tocar na simpatia.*]

⁶¹⁴ Semke, Letter to Wolfgang Sievers, 2

In brackets Semke mentions: “400 *contos* converted into *Sperrmark* are 80000 *Mark*”.

[*400 contos sind in Sperrmark umgerechnet 80000 Mark*]

⁶¹⁵ *Sperrmark* [blocked mark] was introduced during the financial crisis in 1931 and intended to reduce the capital flow out of Germany. Outside Germany this currency was of little value because high taxes were due for exchanging to foreign currencies. Within Germany the exchange rate was 1 *Sperrmark* = 1 *Reichsmark*.

Cf. Bernhard Müller, “Alltag Im Zivilisationsbruch: Das Ausnahme-Unrecht Gegen Die Jüdische Bevölkerung in Deutschland 1933 - 1945 [Daily Life During Rupture in Civilization. The Exceptional Injustice Against the Jewish Population in Germany 1933 - 1945]” (Bielefeld, Univ., Diss., 2002, Fakultät für Rechtswissenschaft, Universität Bielefeld, 2003), 284 f.; Rosemarie Bodenheimer, *Edgar and Brigitte: A German Jewish Passage to America*, Jews and Judaism: History and Culture (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2016), 36; Mark Spoerer and Jochen Streb, *Neue Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte Des 20. Jahrhunderts [Modern German Economic History of the 20th Century]* (München: Oldenbourg, 2013), 113 and Georg Kreis, *Vorgeschichten zur Gegenwart - Ausgewählte Aufsätze Band 2, Teil 1: Kampf an allen Fronten [History to the Present - Chosen Essays Volume 2, Part 1. Fighting on all Fronts]* (Basel: Schwabe Verlag Basel, 2017), 142

⁶¹⁶ Semke, Letter to Wolfgang Sievers, 3

⁶¹⁷ Ibid., 3

own ideas regarding a final settlement and a compensation. Convinced and in a highly assertive stance he describes his claims:

My solution is as follows: 12 contos (the rest of the sum Pappi [Envoy Hans Freytag; note from the author] left for me at the parish and of which I have been deprived until now) here—additionally, 6-8.000 Mark in Berlin. 1.000 Mark on my return to Germany and then 250 *Reichsmark* every month for 2 years. In addition, a statement by the church authority that in Germany no obstacles are put in my path, and as satisfaction: the mourner [*A Dor*; note from the author] and the relief are re-erected and publicly inaugurated by the parish. Written recommendations and a statement by the Party that I will not suffer injury in G.[ermany] due to this matter—Everything has to be done here at the consulate—all documents have to be in my hands here in Lisbon—

For that I offer the following: I renounce all legal claims—(with the proviso that all my claims are fully met, and I will not have any damage deriving therefrom) return to Germany. The church authority is entitled to one work I create during the first two years in G.[ermany], in addition the right of first refusal on all my work within 5 years.⁶¹⁸

Even though Semke expressed doubts regarding a return to Germany, he mentioned that he “would love to do so,”⁶¹⁹ because he would like to continue his studies. His companion, Martha Ziegler, would not yet know about his plans, but would hopefully understand the necessity: “Both of us are very fond of Portugal, but as an artist I cannot see a way of professional growth here.”⁶²⁰

Throughout the following weeks, the artist waited for a decision, or at least an arrangement. Finally, on March 2, 1936, Semke addressed Pastor Gennrich in a letter,⁶²¹ pointing out once again the legal situation in Portugal by stating that a piece of art would remain

[*Man verlangt meine Verzichtserklärung und meine Rückwanderung nach Deutschland.*]

⁶¹⁸ Ibid., 3 f.

[*Die Lösung die ich sehe ist Folgende: 12 contos (der Rest der Summe die Pappi für mich der Gemeinde gab und die mir bisher vorenthalten wurde) hier – außerdem in Berlin 6-8000 Mark. 1000 Mark bei meiner Rückkehr nach Deutschland und dann über 2 Jahre monatlich 250 Reichsmark. Außerdem eine Erklärung der Kirchenbehörde das man mich [sic] in Deutschland nicht Steine in den Weg legen wird und als Genugtuung: die Trauernde und das Relief wird wieder aufgestellt und durch die Gemeinde öffentlich eingeweiht. Von der Partei die schriftlichen Empfehlungen und eine Erklärung, daß durch diesen Fall ich keine Schädigung in D.[eutschland] erleide. – Alles muß hier auf dem Konsulat erledigt werden – sämtliche Schriftstücke müssen hier in Lissabon in meinen Händen sein. - -*

Ich biete dafür Folgendes: Verzichte auf alle Rechtsforderungen – (unter dem Vorbehalt, daß alle meine Forderungen auch voll erfüllt werden und ich daraus keinen Schaden habe) kehre nach Deutschland zurück. Die Kirchenbehörde hat Anspruch auf eine Arbeit die in den ersten zwei Jahren in D.[eutschland] entsteht, außerdem Vorkaufsrecht auf alle meine Arbeiten innerhalb 5 Jahre]

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., 4

[*Ich täte es gerne.*]

⁶²⁰ Ibid., 5

[*Wir Beide haben Portugal sehr gern, aber als Künstler sehe ich hier nicht recht wie ich mich weiterentwickeln soll.*]

⁶²¹ Semke, Abschrift Brief des Bildhauers Hein Semke an Pfarrer Lic. Gennrich-Lissabon [Copy Letter of the Sculptor Hein Semke to Pastor Licentiate Gennrich-Lisbon].

the artist's property until it would have been fully paid. Any changes without consent of the artist could lead to an obligation of indemnifying the latter. Furthermore, as he stressed right at the outset, the Protestant church and the Protestant faith would have suffered harm due to the "Court of Honor-issue."⁶²² In his description of the events—which are, as Semke underlines, deliberately portrayed from his personal point of view—he considers himself a victim and not the actual target in a crusade against Protestantism; his art would have only been a feigned reason.⁶²³ The removal of the two sculptures and the relief from the Court of Honor would have destroyed his livelihood, although he would have just wanted, "after big fails for many years," to live and work for his "entire later life in Protestant faith."⁶²⁴ And lastly, Semke brings a new suspect, in his opinion responsible for the entire 'Lisbon affair', into play:

Please allow me, dear Sir Pastor, to tell you something 'well-known'—
The entire campaign against the Protestant community, its Pastor and the
Court of Honor originates from Catholic circles—The Protestant faith is
their target. [...] Like this the Catholics won—not the Party, but the
Catholicism."⁶²⁵

Pastor Gennrich forwarded the letter to the Department for External Church Relations in Berlin,⁶²⁶ whereupon, an official response, dated March 17, 1936, arrived by mail. The Department rejected all kinds of financial or legal obligation and, at the same time, left further decisions regarding the Court of Honor to the church council in Lisbon. If the sculptures would be re-erected, the Department "would not have a reason to object," as long as the "community life is not damaged and all the entities formerly requesting the removal explicitly give their approval in written."⁶²⁷

⁶²² Ibid., 1

[*Ehrenhof=Angelegenheit*]

⁶²³ Ibid., 1 f.

[*denn meine Arbeit ist nur ein vorgetäuschter Grund*]

⁶²⁴ Ibid., 3

[*nach grossen Irrungen sei[t] vielen Jahren und für sein ganzes späteres Leben weiter nichts will wie im evangelischen Glauben leben und arbeiten*]

⁶²⁵ Ibid., 4

[*Gestatten Sie, lieber Herr Pfarrer, dass ich Ihnen etwas ‚Bekanntes‘ erzähle. – Die gesamte Aktion gegen die evangelische Gemeinde, ihren Pfarrer und den Ehrenhof geht von katholischen Kreisen aus. – Man will den evangelischen Glauben treffen. [...] So aber gewannen die Katholiken,- nicht die Partei, sondern der Katholizismus.*]

⁶²⁶ In his letter, Semke had given his consent for this step: "If you are of the opinion, dear Sir Pastor, that it is in the interest of an amicably settling of the affair, [...] you are welcome—with all due caution—to show my today's letter to friends of the Protestant work."

Cf. *ibid.*, 4

[*Wenn Sie meinen, Lieber Herr Pfarrer, dass es im Interesse der gütlichen Regelung der Angelegenheit ist, [...] dürfen Sie gerne – mit der gebotenen Vorsicht – Freunden der evangelischen Arbeit meinen heutigen Briefzeigen.*]

⁶²⁷ Theodor Heckel, An die deutsche evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [To the German Protestant Parish Lisbon], March 17, 1936, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon]

Based on this confirmation, the building committee obtained a written confirmation by Julius Claussen, stating that the works by Semke, except the *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*, could be re-erected in the courtyard. Swiftly the task was carried out and already on April 5, 1936, the court was opened to the public,⁶²⁸ and Pastor Gennrich reported to Berlin that the Court of Honor at last was restored in a modified version and the “issue finally is settled.”⁶²⁹ However, an agreement with Hein Semke had still not been found.

3.8 Final Closure of the ‘Lisbon Affair’

After the sculpture *A Dor* and the relief *Himmelfahrt des Kriegers* were re-erected in the Court of Honor, the matter was officially regarded as closed—just in time for the preparations of a special festivity: on June 7, 1936, the Protestant community celebrated its 175th anniversary. Several high-level guests were expected to participate, among them the leader of the Department for External Church Relations in Berlin and Envoy Baron von Hoyningen-Huene. Initially, the latter had refused his attendance, but now—after all problems were solved—had confirmed his presence.⁶³⁰

The festivity simultaneously was the Pastor’s term of office, as Paul Wilhelm Gennrich was relieved of his duties in Lisbon and a new position in Bavaria already awaited him.⁶³¹ Despite the adverse circumstances, Gennrich remained closely associated with the parish in Lisbon.⁶³²

Hein Semke as well participated in the festivities, accidentally captured in the official photograph of the event (fig. 108, 109). Only shortly before, finally a financial resolution was found: the building committee had offered the artist 2.000 *Reichsmark*⁶³³ as compensation. But upon receiving this sum, the artist had to fulfill certain conditions. In a written document Semke

[*Das Kirchliche Aussenamt hat keine Veranlassung etwa dagegen Stellung zu nehmen, falls durch die Wiederaufstellung dem Gemeindeleben kein Schaden erwächst und von den Instanzen, die seiner Zeit die Beseitigung wünschten, ausdrücklich schriftlich gut geheissen wird.*]

⁶²⁸ Paul W. Gennrich, Betr. A.6575/; Betreffs der Ehrenhofangelegenheit [Re: A.6575/; Concerning the Matter of the Court of Honor], April 12, 1936, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon].

⁶²⁹ Ibid.

[*Angelegenheit endgültig beigelegt*]

⁶³⁰ Ibid.

⁶³¹ Gennrich, *Geschichte*, 1978, 98

⁶³² On the occasion of the 175th anniversary of the Protestant community, Pastor Gennrich had authored a chronicle of its history, but was forced to change several text passages regarding the Court of Honor. In 1978, Gennrich edited a revised and expanded version, in which he provided an overview of the events and reported—looking back—from his personal point of view.

Cf. Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 69 and Gennrich, *Geschichte*, 1978.

⁶³³ Krüger and Tichy assume that this sum would have been a private initiative of Hermann zum Hingste, one of the members of the building committee, on whose *quinta* the sculptures probably had been stored after their removal. This role would only apply to Hermann zum Hingste, but although zum Hingste undertook the financial processing, the remaining documents at DEKL let him rather appear as an intermediary than as an initiator.

Cf. Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 69

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agreed on the terms set out “on behalf of my artistic development,”⁶³⁴ summarizing the following requirements:

I am willing to return to Germany if the following things meet:

- 1.) Delivery of 2.000.- *Sperrmark*, payable in Germany,
 - 2.) The travel expenses will be reimbursed by you, Mister zum Hingste, as you offered in courteous manner.
 - 3.) The church community (building committee) provides me with an attestation of the works accomplished for the Court of Honor—
 - 4.) I will receive a certificate of conduct from the consulate. (This I will get myself.)
 - 5.) Mister Claussen issues reference letters, one each for *Rückwandereramt* [Office for Remigration] as well as for his superior department in Germany. (I am willing to ask Mister Claussen for this.)
- I would then return to Germany for further study by the end of June / beginning of July.⁶³⁵

In fact, those were exactly the terms offered to Semke already in January 1936.⁶³⁶ None of the conditions Semke confidently had mentioned in the letter to Wolfgang Sievers appeared in the final settlement cited above. Nevertheless, on May 21, 1936, Semke acknowledged the reception of the above-mentioned sum.⁶³⁷ Four days later, Hermann zum Hingste sent a letter to the building committee announcing the disbursement and asking for an official document stating that all demands would be settled upon the delivery of the payment to the artist.⁶³⁸ Over the next days, Semke received the requested letters of reference,⁶³⁹ implying that he would have carried out the work with “devoted effort, deepest compassion for the interests of the parish and

⁶³⁴ Hein Semke, Sehr geehrter, lieber Herr zum Hingste [Dear Mister zum Hingste], May 8, 1936, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon]
[*Im Interesse meiner künstlerischen Entwicklung*]

⁶³⁵ Ibid.

[*Ich bin gewillt, nach Deutschland zurueckzukehren, wenn nachstehende Dinge zusammentreffen:*

- 1.) *Aushaendigung von 2.000—Sperrmark, die in Deutschland realisierbar sind,*
- 2.) *Die Unkosten der Reise vergueten Sie mir, Herr zum Hingste, wie Sie es mir in zuvorkommender Weise anboten.*
- 3.) *Die Kirchengemeinde (Bauausschuss) gibt mir ein Attest ueber die fuer den Ehrenhof ausgefuehrten Arbeiten. —*
- 4.) *Ich erhalte ein Fuehrungszeugnis vom Konsulat. (Dieses besorge ich selbst.)*
- 5.) *Herr Claussen stellt mir je ein Empfehlungsschreiben aus, an Rueckwandereramt, sowie an seine vorgesetzte Amtsstelle in Deutschland. (darum bin ich gewillt, Herrn Claussen zu bitten.)*

Ich wuerde dann Ende Juni / Anfang Juli nach Deutschland zum Weiterstudium zurueckkehren.]

⁶³⁶ Cf. Semke, Letter to Wolfgang Sievers,²

⁶³⁷ Hermann Zum Hingste and Hein Semke, Confirmation of Receipt, May 21, 1936, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon].

⁶³⁸ Hermann Zum Hingste, Re. Hein Semke, May 25, 1936, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon].

⁶³⁹ Cf. Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde - Baukommission, Empfehlungsschreiben [Letter of Reference], May 27, 1936, 518 Ehrenhof, Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabon [German Protestant Church Parish Lisbon].

out of a profound Protestant understanding.”⁶⁴⁰ Now finally, the case was—at least on the part of the German Protestant Church of Lisbon—considered as closed.

3.9 Postlude: Hein Semke’s Presumed Voyage to Germany

After many months of debate, the “Lisbon affaire”⁶⁴¹ now officially had come to an end. Semke had received a “compensation (or fee),”⁶⁴² two of three artworks were re-erected, and the parties involved seemed reconciled.

Around one month after the 175th anniversary of the Protestant community, Semke, it seems, fulfilled his part of the agreement,⁶⁴³ by starting his voyage to Germany in July 1936. According to the description of Teresa Balté, the artist initially planned traveling across Europe,⁶⁴⁴ including study visits to “Spain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, England, Norway and Denmark”⁶⁴⁵ to finally arrive in Germany. However, he then was unpleasantly surprised by the Spanish Civil War,⁶⁴⁶ forcing him to stay in Spain for several months. Eventually he arrived in Berlin, “where he protests at the *Reichskunstkammer* [*Reichskammer der Bildenden Künste* [Reich Chamber of Fine Arts]; note from the author] against the persecution by the German authorities in Lisbon to which he, as an artist, is subjected.”⁶⁴⁷ Balté as well mentions a random encounter with a former colleague from Stuttgart, who advised him to “either stay and accept all the consequences that might follow or leave Germany immediately.”⁶⁴⁸ Supposedly, this friend helped him to return to Lisbon in the beginning of 1937.⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid.

[*Herr Semke hat alle diese Arbeiten mit hingebendem Fleiss, innerster Anteilnahme an den Interessen der Gemeinde und aus tiefstem evangelischen Verständnis heraus durchgeführt.*]

⁶⁴¹ Gennrich, Letter to Hein Semke in Paris, 1

[*Lissabonner Affaire*]

⁶⁴² Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 69

[*Entschädigung (oder Honorar)*]

⁶⁴³ Semke, Sehr geehrter, lieber Herr zum Hingste [Dear Mister zum Hingste].

⁶⁴⁴ Semke had prepared a travel plan indicating all sights (places, cities, museums, cathedrals, etc.) he wanted to visit. Interestingly enough, the itinerary is titled: “Travel Itinerary July - September 1936” [Reiseplan Juli – September 1936]. The list does not provide dates or an envisaged timetable, therefore it is not possible to assess whether this list described the intended route for the one-way trip to Berlin—stated as destination—or if the time range referred to the entire trip, including the voyage home to Linda-a-Pastora.

Cf. Hein Semke, Diary/Notebook 1931-32 and 1936, HS 3, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte.

⁶⁴⁵ Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 56

[*Espanha, França, Bélgica, Holanda, Inglaterra, Noruega e Dinamarca, até à Alemanha*]

⁶⁴⁶ The Spanish Civil War lasted from July 18, 1936, to April 1, 1939 and resulted in a military dictatorship under Francisco Franco (1892-1975). Regarding the Spanish Civil War cf. Enrique Ávila López, *Modern Spain: Understanding Modern Nations*, Understanding modern nations (Santa Barbara, California, Denver, Colorado: ABC-CLIO, 2016).

⁶⁴⁷ Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 56

[*protesta junto da Reichskunstkammer (Câmara de Arte do Reich) contra a perseguição de que, como artista, é alvo por parte das autoridades alemãs em Lisboa*]

⁶⁴⁸ Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 75

[*Dieser riet ihm, entweder dort mit allen Konsequenzen zu bleiben, oder sofort Deutschland zu verlassen.*]

⁶⁴⁹ Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 56

Unfortunately, it is not possible to confirm any detail of Balté's description of Semke's presumed voyage to Berlin. Although it can be assumed that a protest as described by Balté would have led to a file entry regarding Semke, several enquiries to competent archives in Germany were unsuccessful.⁶⁵⁰ Whether Semke indeed travelled to Berlin in order to lodge a complaint therefore remains speculative.

As supporting documents for Semke's voyage to Germany in 1936, Balté adduces two books with personal dedication by William Quindt:⁶⁵¹ one carries the place and date "Hamburg 2.11.36," the other "1.9.36 Blankenese."⁶⁵² Balté assumes that those books would have been handed over during a personal meeting. Nevertheless, it is as well likely that those books were sent by mail to Semke.

Finally remains to be mentioned a diary entry Semke made in 1950: "Also I once thought about returning to Germany with Martl [Martha Ziegler; note from the author]. 1936 and then 1937 Martl did not want that."⁶⁵³ Therefore it can be assumed that Semke started a voyage—probably travelling up to Spain—but at this moment in time did not at all have the intention of permanently returning to Germany.

3.10 Significant Details of the 'Lisbon Affair'

The present summary regarding the events around the Court of Honor of the German Protestant Church in Lisbon between 1933 and 1936 was based on original documents and undertaken to identify the role of Hein Semke in the course of the occurrences. Obviously, in a final evaluation has to be taken into consideration that history proceeds in non-linear ways, especially, if several persons with different intentions are included. It needs to be mentioned as well that verbal arrangements—as long as there are no references in the written sources—could not be

⁶⁵⁰ Kiesling, Lydia / Landesarchiv Berlin, e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida; Matelowski, Anke / Archiv Bildende Kunst, Akademie der Künste, e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida; Zarwel, Torsten / Bundesarchiv Berlin [Federal Archive Berlin], e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida; Petershans, Tim / Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Abt. Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg [National Archive Baden-Wuerttemberg, Dep. State Archive Ludwigsburg], e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida, March 24, 2015; Mügge, Helga / Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Staatsarchiv, e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida.

⁶⁵¹ Teresa Balté, Hein Semke's Voyage to Germany in 1936, HS1899-40, Teresa Balté - Estate Hein Semke.

⁶⁵² Blankenese is a district of Hamburg.

Cf. William Quindt, Two books by William Quindt carrying personal dedications to Hein Semke: *Der Tiger Akbar* [The Tiger Akbar] and *Der Wildpfad* [The Game Drive], both: Dresden: Wilhelm Heyne Verlag, 1936, 1936, EHS 75, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte.

⁶⁵³ Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 67; diary entry "In the night of 17./18. Sept." [*In der Nacht vom 17. auf den 18. Sept.*]

[*Auch ich dachte einmal daran, mit Martl nach Deutschland zurückzugehen. 1936 und dann 1937 wollte Martl es nicht*]

consulted, although they obviously existed.⁶⁵⁴ Nevertheless, it is possible to reveal existing trends and, based on all the facts available, reconstruct the main motivation for the removal of Semke's works of art and the artist's part in the incident.

It became evident once more, as already proved by Tichy and Krüger, that the sculptures were definitely not removed in a nocturnal assault—an idea which erroneously circulated in the German community for decades. Despite the rumors, the dismantlement was quite the contrary to a 'cloak-and-dagger operation' as it was preceded by a process of discussions and disputes involving several members of the German community. In addition, the removal was publicly performed and lasted several days while Semke was present in the courtyard, supervising the course of work and the transportation. He even informed Claussen himself about the completion of the task.

Nevertheless, there are two factors in the course of events worth examining with increased attention, because both considerably shaped the developments. For one thing, the relationship between Pastor Gennrich and the NSDAP and for another, the momentous press conference organized by Semke yield further indications for the intensification of the overall situation.

The hypothesis of Krüger and Tichy—introduced at the outset of the present examination—that the entire incident of the 'Lisbon affair' had been "used as opportunity by the members of the local branch [of NSDAP; note from the author] to send the disliked Pastor back to Germany"⁶⁵⁵ could partially be confirmed. Pastor Gennrich indeed repeatedly incurred the Party's displeasure; not only through his support for Semke and his art, but especially by openly objecting the new ideology represented by NSDAP. This becomes evident when he objected the decoration of gravestones on the German cemetery with "symbols of pagan ideology,"⁶⁵⁶ like swastika and laurel.

As well Gennrich, in retrospective, considered his part in the entire course of the events as decisive and explained that the reason for opposing the Court of Honor and its design would have occurred because he would not only have opposed the party, but as well acted as patron

⁶⁵⁴ This becomes especially obvious in the fact that a contract between Semke and the Protestant Church, resp. Envoy Freytag, did not exist and in the final agreement between Julius Claussen as representative of NSDAP, Semke and Hermann zum Hingste as representative of the church council.

⁶⁵⁵ Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 70

[*Offenbar wurde tatsächlich von den Ortsgruppenmitgliedern die Ehrenmalsangelegenheit zum Anlass genommen, den missliebigen Pfarrer nach Deutschland zurückzuschicken.*]

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid., 142

[*Symbole(n) der heidnischen Weltanschauung*]

for Semke.⁶⁵⁷ This explanation, however, introduces Gennrich not only as a victim of the surreptitious intrigues of NSDAP, but at the same time as hero trying to defend the ones entrusted to him.⁶⁵⁸ Simultaneously, this line of thought concentrates solely on the pastor, leaving the role of Semke, his artworks and his conduct aside.

Following the line of thought of Gennrich, as Krüger and Tichy did, would be an easy path to take, because it situates the entire affair in a black-and-white mindset: Pastor Gennrich, standing on one side, fell in disgrace due to his unconcealed opposition to National Socialism. Therefore, the members of the local branch of NSDAP—as representatives of the opposite side—used the Pastor’s protégé Semke, who only accidentally became a victim of the intense dispute, and his artworks as powerful lever to dispense with the Pastor, who finally was defeated by the political influence and had to leave his position. However, this explanation falls short. The entire “Lisbon affair,”⁶⁵⁹ as Gennrich himself called the events in his letter to Semke in October 1935, was a far-reaching concatenation of various factors, as well including the artist as one of the key figures.

Ultimately, it had not only been the ‘disruptive element’ of Pastor Gennrich causing great irritation in the ranks of the party; related to the strong disapproval was as well the place in which the monument was supposed to be erected. Julius Claussen, leader of the Party’s local branch, specifically explained the NSDAP’s wish for a monument “on neutral ground.”⁶⁶⁰ in a letter to Hans Wimmer. Still and all, instead of considering the party’s wish, the Court of Honor would have been erected next to the church, presenting the colony only afterwards with “fait accompli and the newspapers reported on the erection of a monument and its planned inauguration by the Envoy without the legation or the Party knowing anything about it.”⁶⁶¹

In view of Semke’s arbitrarily organized press conference, Claussen’s version of the monument’s inauguration has to be considered as valid, while for the development of the ‘affair’ as a whole his description of the events obviously has to be negated. One of the sculptures, *A Dor*, had already been in place and visible when the church building was inaugurated—and even before (fig. 97, 98)—which means that the intention to build the memorial was not at all hidden, but openly demonstrated on the day of the opening ceremony

⁶⁵⁷ Gennrich, *Geschichte*, 1978, 97 f.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid., 98

⁶⁵⁹ Gennrich, Letter to Hein Semke in Paris.

⁶⁶⁰ Claussen, Sehr geehrter Herr Wimmer [Dear Mister Wimmer], 1
[*an einem neutralen Ort*]

⁶⁶¹ Ibid., 1

[*stand die Kolonie vor der vollendeten Tatsache und die Zeitungen berichteten von der Aufstellung eines Denkmals und dessen in Aussicht gestellte Einweihung durch den Herrn Gesandten, ohne das [sic] hiervon weder die Gesandtschaft noch die Partei irgendetwas wussten.*]

and consecration, attended by a huge part of the members of the German colony: “The event took place with large participation of the community and the wider public.”⁶⁶²

Additionally, in May 1934, a member of NSDAP became part of the church council, having both the insight into the council’s decisions and the possibility of reporting to the party. Therefore, the party leadership must have been informed about the entire project. Claussen’s interjection that the wishes for a codetermination in the location issue would have been ignored, thus can be considered obsolete. His reference to the press coverage, though, cannot be dismissed.

Semke’s wish to finally present his work to the public and therefore to hold a press conference was his hapless attempt to have his work authorized. His voyage to France was about to start—but so far, an official inauguration had been rejected, especially due to the refusal of Envoy von Hoyningen-Huene. By involving the Portuguese public, Semke, it seems, tried to exert pressure in order to force a decision regarding a ceremonial opening of the court.⁶⁶³ He probably assumed that once his artworks would be published and recognized by the Portuguese art scene, along with the announcement of an official inauguration, it would not be possible for the Envoy to continuously deny his participation. Even though Semke later on asserted that he would not bear the blame for the media coverage,⁶⁶⁴ it is unlikely that the Portuguese press unanimously mentioned the participation of the envoy in an opening ceremony without Semke having mentioned this detail. Above all, regarding the fact that only Semke—on the German part—was present. The artist even had obtained approval by Pastor Gennrich, as the report to the Department for External Church Relations in Berlin on August 8, 1935, demonstrates:

This permission was granted to him by the Pastor as representative of the building commission after consulting the chairman of the parish council, whose approval had been obtained in accordance with the regulations.

⁶⁶² Gennrich, *Geschichte*, 1978, 92

[*Die Feier verlief unter stärkster Anteilnahme der Gemeinde und der weiteren Öffentlichkeit.*]

⁶⁶³ That an official inauguration ceremony was especially important to Semke becomes as well evident from the letter the artist sent to Wolfgang Sievers on January 5, 1936, in which he explicitly mentioned as part of his claims for a possible settlement: “the mourner [*A Dor*] and the relief are re-erected and publicly inaugurated by the parish.”

[*die Trauernde und das Relief wird wieder aufgestellt und durch die Gemeinde öffentlich eingeweiht.*].

Semke, Letter to Wolfgang Sievers, 4

⁶⁶⁴ In his letter to Gennrich Semke mentions “some involuntary press statements” as origin for the commotion ensuing the press conference.

Semke, Abschrift Brief des Bildhauers Hein Semke an Pfarrer Lic. Gennrich-Lissabon [Copy Letter of the Sculptor Hein Semke to Pastor Licentiate Gennrich-Lisbon], 1

[*Einiger unverschuldeter Presseäußerungen wegen*]

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Thus, as well with explicit consent of the chairman, the wooden wall was removed and by doing so the Court of Honor was open for visitors.⁶⁶⁵

This means, in essence, that Semke was officially authorized to show the court to the Portuguese reporters, since he supposedly just wanted to attract the attention of the Portuguese art critics.⁶⁶⁶ All further organizational steps were taken by the artist himself by sending out written invitations,⁶⁶⁷ and finally by conducting the meeting, without the Pastor or another representative of the German Protestant Church being on site.

The German legation and the members of the local branch of NSDAP, at this point unaware of Semke's meeting with the press agents, eventually were negatively surprised when the Portuguese media reported on the Court of Honor. Besides the fact that the envoy had refrained from participating in a formal opening and now had to read about his participation in an assumed inauguration, especially the article in the magazine *Ilustração*⁶⁶⁸ must have been a major annoyance to the party and the legacy, as it openly criticized a procedure already causing discrepancies beforehand: the omission of a German community's Jewish member from the list of soldiers killed in action.

It is not possible to decide whether the events would have turned out in a completely different way without Semke forcing his works of art into the spotlight. Probably, the fence covering up the sculptural group *Kameradschaft des Untergangs* would have been removed without any great ado, as it was considered when hearing about the "rejectionist stance of Baron von Hoyningen-Huene."⁶⁶⁹ By taking the step towards the Portuguese media and public, Semke did not only expose the envoy, but as well the NSDAP and, moreover, dredged up internal conflicts of the German colony. This approach, obviously, could not continue without consequences for the artist.

Up so far, Semke had not—or at most slightly—been involved in the discussions regarding the location of the memorial and the difficult relationship between Gennrich and the

⁶⁶⁵ Gennrich, Bericht, betreffend den Ehrenhof zum Gedächtnis der Gefallenen der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde in Lissabon [Report, Concerning the Commemorative Courtyard for the Members of the German Protestant Church Community Lisbon Killed in Action], 4

[Diese Erlaubnis wurde ihm nach Rücksprache mit dem Vorsitzenden der Gemeinde, dessen Genehmigung ordnungsgemäss eingeholt worden war, durch den Pfarrer als Vertreter der Baukommission erteilt. Es wurde also, ebenfalls mit ausdrücklicher Zustimmung des Vorsitzenden, die Bretterwand entfernt und damit der Ehrenhof zur Besichtigung geöffnet.]

⁶⁶⁶ Cf. *ibid.*

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁸ *Ilustração*, "Pátio, 01.08.1935"

⁶⁶⁹ Church Council of the German Protestant Church in Lisbon, Auszug aus dem Protokoll der Vorstandssitzung am 9. Oktober 1935 - 15 Uhr. [Extract from the Minutes of the Board Meeting on October 9, 1935 - 15 O'Clock], 1

[Als man von der ablehnenden Haltung des Herrn Baron von Hoyningen-Huene Kenntnis erhalten habe]

NSDAP. However, by involving the Portuguese media he now finally drew himself and his works into the center of attention, but certainly not as he had intended. The press conference and the following press coverage represent a turning point in the ‘Lisbon affair’, since from that moment on, the commemorative courtyard was considered a synonym for the Pastor’s incompetence by his opponents. In addition, with all eyes on the memorial, more and more critical voices pointed to the design and the overall depiction of the sculptural group *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*, uttering their disapproval and pondering on a possible removal.

3.11 The Esthetic Aspect of the Commemorative Courtyard for the German Soldiers of the Community Killed during the First World War

The remaining written documents regarding the ‘Lisbon affair’ offer multilayered information regarding the increasing gravity of the developments which finally led to the removal of Hein Semke’s works of art from the commemorative courtyard next to the German Church in Lisbon. So far it became apparent that the situation came to a head after Semke involved the Portuguese media. To fully understand the following developments, a hitherto ignored fact needs to be considered, brought up for the first time by the anonymous author of the defamatory letter ‘Concerns: Pastor Gennrich’.⁶⁷⁰ The person mentions a particularly remarkable aspect regarding esthetics when referring to the sculptural group *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*:

The memorial leaves behind an unsatisfied spirit of horror, nothing uplifting and dimensions which appear downright ridiculous. The monument is put dispassionately [...] on a small court next to the church, approximately of the size of a large room, and according to its tremendous dimensions it could be standing on a huge public square. The effect is roughly similar to a medal of 50 cm in diameter on the chest.⁶⁷¹

Although this description is rather harsh, it seemingly represents an opinion circulating round the members of the German colony. As well Pastor Gennrich explained in his letter to Semke in Paris, that “there is nobody in the entire colony who completely agrees on the mere outer appearance”⁶⁷²—in other words: the reaction to the sculpture *Kameradschaft des Untergangs* sculpture was universally negative.

⁶⁷⁰ Anonymous, Betrifft: Pfarrer Gennrich [Concerns: Pastor Gennrich].

⁶⁷¹ Ibid., 2

[Das Denkmal hinterlaesst einen unbefriedigten Geist des Grauens, nichts erhebendes und Dimensionen, die geradezu laecherlich wirken. Das Denkmal ist lieblos [...] auf einen kleinen Nebenplatz der Kirche, ungefaehr so gross wie ein grosses Zimmer, hingestellt und koennte, seinen ungeheuren Dimensionen nach, auf einem grossen oeffentlichen Platz stehen. Das wirkt ungefaehr so wie ein Orden von 50 c/m Durchmesser auf der Brust.]

⁶⁷² Gennrich, Letter to Hein Semke in Paris

[Es gibt tatsaechlich niemanden in der ganzen Kolonie, der rein mit der aeußeren Form ganz einverstanden ist.]

A record of Semke's reaction to this statement does not exist, but this severe judgement was written by one of the few persons promoting and defending his art from the outset. Only one year prior, Gennrich's opinion about Semke's art had been quite the reverse. On the occasion of the inauguration of the church, Gennrich published two articles in the same edition of the German magazine *Kunst und Kirche* [Art and Church].⁶⁷³ The first is entitled *Zu den Arbeiten von Hein Semke* [About the Works of Hein Semke]⁶⁷⁴ and precedes the description of the new church and the parish.⁶⁷⁵ Both articles are illustrated with photographs of the relief *Himmelfahrt des Kriegers* and the sculpture *A Dor*, while a picture of the church building is missing. In the text dealing with Semke's works of art, Gennrich praised his work, stressing that the artist would "in the midst of Mediterranean landscape and yet essentially German await discovery by the homeland and the call back home."⁶⁷⁶ Since the sculptural group *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*, at this moment in time, was not yet finalized, it is neither mentioned nor depicted.

The question arises as to whether the disparaging comments of the anonymous author and members of the German community—as reported by Gennrich—might have been reasonable. Unfortunately, only a few pictures of the *Kameradschaft des Untergangs* exist, usually taken from the worm's-eye view, falsely distorting the optical impression (fig. 99). However, only one photo, discovered in a private album in the artist's estate,⁶⁷⁷ shows the art piece in the context of the court (fig. 95), even though the chosen perspective is perplexing, letting the court appear bigger than it de facto is. This effect is due to the angle from which the photograph was taken: the sculpture *A Dor*—the dominant factor of the pictorial conception—obstructs the view onto the rear corner of the wall surrounding the court and the link between wall and church building as well is invisible. Additionally, the photograph was taken with distance and from a low angle, whereby *A Dor* gains importance and the *Kameradschaft des Untergangs* fades into the background—literally and in its hierarchical proportion.

⁶⁷³ Cf. Willy Kurth, ed., *Kunst Und Kirche: Zeitschrift Des Vereins Für Religiöse Kunst in Der Evangelischen Kirche* [Art and Church. Magazine of the Association for Religious Art in the Protestant Church] (1934).

⁶⁷⁴ Paul W. Gennrich, "Zu Den Arbeiten Von Hein Semke [About the Works of Hein Semke]," in Kurth, *Kunst Und Kirche*, 44

⁶⁷⁵ Paul W. Gennrich, "Die Deutsche Evangelische Gemeinde in Lissabon Und Ihr Kirchbau [the German Protestant Parish and Its' Church]," in Kurth, *Kunst Und Kirche*, 46-49

⁶⁷⁶ Paul W. Gennrich, "Zu Den Arbeiten Von Hein Semke [About the Works of Hein Semke]," in Kurth, *Kunst Und Kirche*, 44

[*mitte in südlicher Landschaft und doch urdeutsch, auf ihre Entdeckung durch die Heimat und ihren Heimruf*]

⁶⁷⁷ Hein Semke, Photo Album, HS 16, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte.

The vast dimensions of the art piece only become obvious in two pictures showing Semke while working on it (fig. 101, 102). The height of the figure standing upright was about 2,80 meters and surpassed the artist by far. Width and depth were equally spacious and amounted to approximately 1,70 meters each.⁶⁷⁸ Regarding the fact, that two fully-grown cypresses stood in the elongated yard, one can assume the impression of constriction. In addition, a curious effect was created through the visual interaction of the sculpture and the wall enclosing the yard, described in Gennrich's letter to Paris as "the wall cutting through the standing soldier's head."⁶⁷⁹ (fig. 95) The Pastor elaborated on the subject by mentioning that even though the members of the colony would have been "prepared to recognize the idealistic value of the work,"⁶⁸⁰ one would have "to admit that the one not recognizing the inner meaning of the object and just evaluating the whole issue superficially—and that is what the general public does—may take offence at the large group."⁶⁸¹ Obviously, the sculptural group's aesthetics caused a certain mischief among the alerted eyes of the German colony, due to the fact that it apparently did not harmonize with its planned location. Once the *Kameradschaft des Untergangs* was unveiled, the unfavorable proportions became evident, forcing even the last true adherent, Pastor Gennrich, to criticize the artist's work.

When creating a large-scale sculpture, the major difficulty for a sculptor is to adapt the work of art to the prevailing external conditions, such as the space where the piece will be erected. To create a harmonious overall impression, the beholder and his position, the surrounding buildings, walls and/or trees need to be taken into consideration in order to achieve the best possible impact. It is thus to be assumed that Semke underestimated the effect the sculptural group would have once placed in the narrow court: the group must have appeared overwhelming due to its inappropriate dimensions. Moreover, the limited spatial conditions did not allow the observer the possibility of taking a step back and look at the monument with a certain distance, necessary to grasp the sculptural group in its entirety and acquire the intended effect. Under these circumstances only individual sections could be perceived simultaneously, what explains the unknown author's determination to depict his dismay in comparing the

⁶⁷⁸ The size indication is based on the information provided in: Balté, Inventory E35; N° INVENT. EF335/35-1, 1

⁶⁷⁹ Gennrich, Letter to Hein Semke in Paris, 2

[*die den Kopf des stehenden Kriegers durchschneidende Mauerwand*]

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid., 3

[*ideellen Gehalt des Werkes anzuerkennen bereit war*]

⁶⁸¹ Ibid., 2 f.

[*Man muß zugeben, dass wer den inneren Sinn der Sache nicht sieht, und nur oberflächlich das Ganze beurteilt – und das tut die Allgemeinheit – an der großen Gruppe Anstoß nehmen kann.*]

Kameradschaft des Untergangs to a disproportional aberrance of a huge medal on a person's chest.⁶⁸²

Semke, however, had a completely different approach to the outcome he had anticipated for his concept of the memorial. With around 13 years of distance, he wrote in his diary on August 1, 1950: "The works for the German Protestant Church have not actually been a masterpiece, but quite a good journeyman's piece."⁶⁸³ Only a few months later, on September 28, 1950, he provided his own interpretation of the *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*:

the group of soldiers which I modelled and formed in cement in 1935 for the Protestant community, which was later on shattered by request of the Nazis. [...] I intentionally created this group in a monstrous way—because military service and war only educate to destroy and for me war and soldier are inhumane, because, in both, humanity is deliberately destroyed in a systematic way—Soldier and war are monsters.⁶⁸⁴

Ultimately, with regard to the criticism and the stirring resistance from the members of the German colony, it seems consistent that the *Kameradschaft des Untergangs* was not re-erected. Semke had miscalculated the interaction between his larger-than-life sculptural group and the spatially narrow-limited area it was supposed to be placed in.

3.11.1 Stylistic Criteria as Potential Criticism—the Development of War Memorials between 1871 and 1933

Although the size of the *Kameradschaft des Untergangs* offered a reason for criticism, it was certainly also the scene portrayed that aroused the NSDAP's and the viewer's displeasure. The sculptural group depicted injured soldiers severely marked by the war, trying to support each other—or, in other words, the horrors of war are presented to the viewer: weakness, injuries, and even death. No indication of heroism, toughened bodies, or even a slight reflection of the stylistic proximity to Greek antiquity or the aesthetical ideal of an Aryan type can be spotted. Like this, the sculptural group did not at all correspond with the National Socialists' perception

⁶⁸² Anonymous, Betrifft: Pfarrer Gennrich [Concerns: Pastor Gennrich], 2

⁶⁸³ Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 42

[Die Arbeiten für die deutsche evangelische Kirche waren nun gerade kein Meister-stück, aber ein ganz gutes Gesellenwerk.]

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid., 75

[die Soldatengruppe, die ich 1935 für die evangelische Gemeinde formte und in Zementguss fertig machte, die nachher auf Verlangen der Nazis zerschlagen wurde. [...] ich habe diese Gruppe bewusst monströs gemacht – denn Soldatendienst und Krieg erziehen nur zur Vernichtung, und für mich sind Krieg und Soldat unmenschlich, weil in beiden die Menschheit bewusst systematisch zerstört wird. – Soldat wie Krieg sind Monster.]

of art, observable for example in works by Arno Breker (1900-1991) or Josef Thorak (1889-1952).⁶⁸⁵ (fig. 110 a-b, 111)

Effectively, the wish for a commemorative war monument was certainly not exclusive to the German Protestant Church of Lisbon⁶⁸⁶ or the local branch of NSDAP. Memorials in honor of the soldiers killed in action during the First World War were erected in great numbers across Germany since the war had ended,⁶⁸⁷ because almost every village, every town and every city had to mourn its victims. Besides leaving gaps in society due to the around 2 million German soldiers who lost their lives on the battlefields,⁶⁸⁸ the war also remained very much present through the approximately 2.7 million physically and/or psychologically disabled veterans and the high number of civilian victims,⁶⁸⁹ persistently visible through: “the sight of disfigured and mutilated persons with prostheses.”⁶⁹⁰ (fig. 5 a-b) As a result, the iconography of war memorials changed fundamentally.

Monuments for the *Deutsch-Französischer Krieg* [Franco-German War] in 1870/71 in many cases did not only commemorate the war victims but were simultaneously national

⁶⁸⁵ Arno Breker and Josef Thorak were the most prominent sculptors during the National Socialist dictatorship. Both were appointed *Staatskünstler* [official state sculptors] and, in 1944, were put on the *Gottbegnadeten-Liste* [God-gifted list], compiled by Joseph Goebbels (1897-1945), *Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* [Reich Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda] and *Präsident der Reichskulturkammer* [Reich Chamber of Culture], and Germany's chancellor Adolf Hitler (1889-1945).

Although Breker and his art initially were seen as decadent and too orientated on French art, he could manage to adapt his artistic production to the taste of the Nazi regime. Quickly he rose to a prominent position and received many awards and honors. “Hitler explicitly identified Breker as his favorite sculptor, and this induced other Nazi leaders to praise him and articulate the ideological messages implicit in his work.” Cf. Jonathan Petropoulos, *Artists Under Hitler: Collaboration and Survival in Nazi Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 268

Josef Thorak, about ten years older than Breker, had—already in the 1920s—attracted attention through his preference for monumental sculptures (fig. 110, 111) praising body culture, heroism and the devoted role of women. With his language of image and form Thorak corresponded perfectly to the official conception of art propagated by the Nazi regime.

⁶⁸⁶ The main initiators for public monuments commemorating the First World War in Germany were church congregations and municipalities.

Cf. Jörg Koch, *Von Helden Und Opfern: Kulturgeschichte Des Deutschen Kriegsgedenkens [About Heroes and Victims. Cultural History of German War Commemoration]* (Darmstadt: WBG (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft), 2013), 128

⁶⁸⁷ According to a rough estimate, there are approximately 100.000 war memorials in Germany alone. Unfortunately, this number does not distinguish between monuments for the First and for the Second World War or the cases in which both wars are commemorated.

Cf. Carola Nathan, “In Deutschland Gibt Es Mehr Als 100.000 Kriegerdenkmäler [There Are More Than 100.000 War Memorials in Germany],” Deutsche Stiftung Denkmalschutz, <https://www.monumente-online.de/de/ausgaben/2015/1/fuer-die-so-im-kampfe-blieben.php#.Wyy5pyBCSuk>.

⁶⁸⁸ The number of soldiers killed in action is indicated with 2.037.000.

Cf. Gerhard Hirschfeld, ed., *Enzyklopädie Erster Weltkrieg [Encyclopedia First World War]*, UTB 8396 Geschichte (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2009) Gerd Krumeich, Irina Renz and Markus Pöhlmann, 664 f.,

⁶⁸⁹ The number of civilian victims in Germany is estimated at around 600.000. Especially famines and the so-called *Steckrübenwinter* [Turnip Winter] caused many casualties.

Cf. Kellerhoff, *Heimatfront, 2014*, 172–211; Neitzel, *Weltkrieg, 2008*, 131–37; Scriba, “Erster, 2014”

⁶⁹⁰ Scriba, “Erster, 2014”

[*Anblick von Entstellten und Verstümmelten mit Prothesen*]

monuments paying homage to the foundation of the German Empire,⁶⁹¹ founded as a result of the war. The visual vocabulary referred less to the soldiers who had lost their lives and instead concentrated on the victory, the new-found national consciousness and the growing patriotic feelings for the recently created, unified country. Commonly presented are allegorical personifications, such as Germania,⁶⁹² (fig. 112, 113) or the two—corresponding in their meaning—goddesses personifying victory: Nike and Victoria⁶⁹³. Other symbols employed in the monuments, like “Iron Cross, laurel wreath (symbolizes, since antiquity, eternity, victory, glory), oak leaf (symbol of immortality and heroism) or palm leaf (symbol for victory, joy, peace, immortal life), eagle or lion [...] are emblematic of the confidence in victory, as well as of community and comradeship.”⁶⁹⁴ A connection to the soldiers killed in action usually is established by lists of names (fig. 114) or an inscription in form of a general reference (e.g. “To the soldiers killed in action fighting for Germany’s honor and unity”⁶⁹⁵, fig. 115). Rarely those memorials depict the participants of the war (fig. 117).

After the First World War, the monarchy with its preference for monumental scale, splendor and grandeur was abolished; the young parliamentary democracy struggled with the formation of a national identity and concurrently the war’s consequences became obvious. The participating soldiers had turned out to be victims instead of victorious warriors, leaving behind innumerable grieving relatives. Therefore, the memorials’ design was relatively restrained during the first years after the lost war: “No longer the triumph of victory, embodied by an individualized hero, was dominant but henceforth rather the anonymity of the common victim, sacrificed for the [German] people and country, was conjured.”⁶⁹⁶ The depiction of courageous

⁶⁹¹ The German Empire was founded as a result of the Franco-German War. Before there had been a unification of the single German states, called *Norddeutscher Bund* [North German Confederation], under the leadership of Prussia. Cf. Kitchen, *History*, 2012, 105 ff.

⁶⁹² The female figure *Germania* is considered as personification of Germany. Especially throughout the German Empire *Germania* was iconographically charged with nationalistic and propagandistic meaning and therefore depicted as warriorress.

Regarding the political meaning of *Germania* as symbol of national identity cf. Esther-Beatrice C. von Bruchhausen, “Das Zeichen Im Kostümball: Marianne Und Germania in Der Politischen Ikonographie [the Sign in the Costume Ball. Marianne and Germania in the Political Iconography]” (Dissertation, Philosophische Fakultät, Fachbereich Geschichte, Philosophie, Sozialwissenschaften, Martin Luther-Universität, 1999) and Lothar Gall, *Die Germania Als Symbol Nationaler Identität Im 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert [Germania as Symbol of National Identity in the 19th and 20th Century]*, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993).

⁶⁹³ Nike derives from the ancient Greek religion, Victoria from the ancient Roman religion. Both are similar in their iconography (winged, carrying a garland) and used to highlight the victor.

⁶⁹⁴ Koch, *Helden und Opfer*, 2013, 55 f.

[Die an den Denkmälern verwendeten Symbole wie Eisernes Kreuz, Lorbeerkrantz (symbolisiert seit der Antike ewige Dauer, Sieg, Ruhm), Eichenblatt (Symbol der Unsterblichkeit, des Heldentums) oder Palmzweig (Symbol für Sieg, Freude, Frieden, ewiges Leben), Adler oder Löwe, [...] stehen für das Siegesvertauen sowie für die Gemeinschaft und Kameradschaft.]

⁶⁹⁵ Inscription on the war memorial in Magdeburg (fig. 115)

[Den im Kampfe für Deutschlands Ehre und Einheit gefallen Kriegerern]

⁶⁹⁶ Koch, *Helden und Opfer*, 2013, 117

soldiers preparing to attack was waived, the imagery reduced and predominantly symbolically charged. Indeed, oak and laurel leaves or iron crosses still dominated the memorials (fig. 116),⁶⁹⁷ but the symbolism had changed. Along with sword, *Stahlhelm* [steel helmet]⁶⁹⁸ and the Christian cross, those objects now represented a reference and became placeholders, used to represent the inexpressible. At least within the German population, the iconographical content was easily understood.

Nevertheless, frequently the depictions were far more direct and waived allusions by including figurative scenes instead of presenting abstract utensils. In those cases, it is necessary to differentiate between memorials clearly expressing anti-war sentiments by emphasizing the victim's point of view (the experience of death, loss and desperation; fig. 118, 119, 120, 121), and monuments idealizing bravery (fig. 122, 123) by, oftentimes, referring to stylistic criteria of Greek and Roman antiquity or European Neoclassicism. Especially this last-mentioned type gained more importance towards the end of the Weimar Republic and preempted the stylistic language preferred by the National Socialists' perception of art.

3.11.2 From Victim to Hero—Cult(ure) of Commemoration after 1933

When, on January 30, 1933, Adolf Hitler was appointed Chancellor and thus assumed power in Germany, the change of government as well meant a change in the cultural policy. Already in March 1933, the *Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* [Reich Ministry of Public People's Enlightenment and Propaganda], supposed to control all aspects of German cultural and intellectual life, was established. Soon after, on September 22, 1933, the

[*Nicht länger der Triumph des Sieges in Gestalt des personalisierten Helden dominierte, sondern fortan wurde die Namenlosigkeit des kollektiven Opfers für Volk und Vaterland beschworen.*]

⁶⁹⁷ The Iron Cross, established in 1813 in the Kingdom of Prussia, was a military award for gallantry during the German Campaign against the French Emperor Napoleon. It was reauthorized twice: firstly, on the occasion of the Franco-German War in 1870/71 and secondly, at the start of the First World War in 1914. The Iron Cross served as a symbol for the German Army until 1918, when it was replaced by a straight-armed cross. In 1956, eleven years after the Second World War had ended and shortly after the foundation of the *Bundeswehr* [Federal Defence; armed forces of Germany], the Iron Cross once again became the official emblem of the German Army.

During the First World War, the number of Iron Crosses awarded has to be counted in millions. Due to this ubiquitous presence, it was used as a symbol for the First World War in the pictorial language of Weimar Republic. Cf. Reiß Ansgar and Frank Wernitz, *Das Eiserne Kreuz 1813–1870–1914: Geschichte Und Bedeutung Einer Auszeichnung* [the Iron Cross. History and Meaning of an Award], Kataloge des Bayerischen Armeemuseums Ingolstadt 11 (Vienna: Verlag Militaria GmbH, 2013) and Eckart Henning and Dietrich Herfurth, *Orden Und Ehrenzeichen: Handbuch Der Phaleristik* [Medals and Decorations. Manual of Phaleristics] (Cologne: Böhlau, 2010).

⁶⁹⁸ The *Stahlhelm* was developed between 1915 and 1916 due to the ever more frequent head injuries originating in the increased destructive power of weapons used during the First World War. Regarding the history of the *Stahlhelm* and its development cf. Jürgen Kraus, "Stahlhelme Vom Ersten Weltkrieg Bis Zur Gegenwart [Steel Helmets from the First World War to Present]" (Bayerisches Armeemuseums Ingolstadt, Ingolstadt, 1984).

Reichskulturkammergesetz [Law of the Reich Chamber of Culture] was approved,⁶⁹⁹ stipulating the creation of a government agency, called *Reichskulturkammer* [Reich Chamber of Culture].⁷⁰⁰ Split in different subdivisions, this institution reached all spheres of cultural life: the visual arts, theater, radio, film, music and literature. Officially it was created to “promote German culture in line with its responsibilities towards people and state, to govern the economic and social matters of cultural professions”⁷⁰¹—unofficially, however, it was “a deliberate effort to use the [...] arts to put across basic blood and soil values.”⁷⁰²

Since the *Reichskulturkammer* was established, every one employed in the arts had to apply for registration and membership.⁷⁰³ Without official consent, it was not possible to pursue a career: non-members were prohibited from practicing professional activities; orders and contracts were solely given to ‘officially approved’ artists and the participation in competitions or exhibitions was not allowed. The conditions of admission did not only include the evaluation of an applying artist’s oeuvre, but as well his religion and his political orientation played a decisive role; in addition, a so-called *Ariernachweis* [Aryan certificate]⁷⁰⁴ had to be submitted. However, a membership in the respective subdivision of the *Reichskulturkammer* did not

⁶⁹⁹ “Reichskulturkammergesetz [Law of the Reich Chamber of Culture],” in *Reichsgesetzblatt Teil 1, Ausgegeben Zu Berlin, 26. September 1933*, <http://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=dra&datum=1933&page=786&size=45>.

⁷⁰⁰ The *Reichskulturkammer* [Reich Chamber of Culture] was founded on September 22, 1933, as public corporation. Already existing professional associations were incorporated into the subdivisions or liquidated. The number of members amounted to around 250.000 throughout the years 1933 to 1945.

Cf. Christina Hoor, “Die Reichskulturkammer [the Reich Chamber of Culture],” *Stiftung Deutsches Historisches Museum*, accessed July 10, 2018, <https://www.dhm.de/lemo/kapitel/ns-regime/kunst/kulturkammer/> and Volker Dahm, “Anfänge Und Ideologie Der Reichskulturkammer [Early Days and Ideology of the Reich Chamber of Culture],” *Vierteljahresshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 34, no. 1 (1986).

⁷⁰¹ “Erste Verordnung Zur Durchführung Des Reichskulturkammergesetzes [First Ordinance on the Implementation of the Law Regarding the Reich Chamber of Culture],” in *Reichsgesetzblatt Teil 1*, <http://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=dra&datum=1933&size=45&page=922>

[*die deutsche Kultur in Verantwortung für Volk und Reich zu fördern, die wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Angelegenheiten der Kulturberufe zu regeln*]

⁷⁰² Stephen J. Lee, *Hitler and Nazi Germany*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2010), 62

⁷⁰³ The designation ‘cultural profession’ also included occupations such as “interior and garden designers, art publishers and auctioneers, composers, singers and orchestra musicians, publishers and dealers of music, writers, publishers and booksellers, publishers of directories and advertisements, newspaper and magazine publishers, editors, shorthand writers of the press, magazine sellers, owners of magazine subscription services, railway station booksellers, theater production organizers, actors, dancers, performers and showmen, film directors, film actors, cloakroom attendants and cinema owners, just to name a few examples”. From those ‘few examples’ it becomes evident how comprehensive the political interference in the cultural scene was.

Cf. Dahm, “Dahm, Anfänge, 1986,” 57

[*Innenraum- und Gartengestalter, Kunstverleger, Kunsthändler und Kunstversteigerer, Komponisten, Sänger und Orchestermusiker, Musikalienverleger und Musikalienhändler, Schriftsteller, Verleger und Buchhändler, Adreß- und Anzeigenbuchverleger, Zeitungs- und Zeitschriftenverleger, Redakteure, Pressestenographen, Zeitschriftenhändler, Lesezirkelbesitzer, Bahnhofsbuchhändler, Theaterveranstalter, Schauspieler, Tänzer, Artisten und Schausteller, Filmregisseure, Filmschauspieler, Film-Garderobiers und Filmtheaterbesitzer, um nur eine Auswahl zu nennen*]

⁷⁰⁴ This document was in essence a notarized family tree proving that its holder was of Aryan origin.

necessarily mean professional security: members could be expelled at any time if not following the anticipated path; even occupational bans were pronounced.

On the one hand, this approach guaranteed an overall control of the cultural scene and its outcome, while on the other hand it led to the fact that “conformist intellectuals, provincial artists, and mediocre performers peopled the Nazi cultural scene.”⁷⁰⁵ At the same time, it ended the diversity and the delight in experimenting that had prevailed throughout the years of the Weimar Republic. Furthermore, art was divided into the categories ‘accepted/approved’ and ‘degenerated’, a classification reflecting in public art, but even more obviously in art exhibitions, like in the two contradictorily—and yet complementary—exhibitions in Munich in 1937. Between July 18 and October 31, the *Haus der Deutschen Kunst* [House of German Art] presented “only the most perfect, the most complete and the best [...] German art is capable of”⁷⁰⁶ in its (in)famous *Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung* [Great German Art Exhibition].⁷⁰⁷ With the aim of showing exactly the opposite, the exhibition *Entartete Kunst* [Degenerate Art] opened its doors to the public on the very next day in the *Hofgartenarkaden* [Arcades of the Court Garden], located just a few meters in walking distance to the *Haus der Deutschen Kunst*.⁷⁰⁸

The extensive conversion in aesthetics, result of the National Socialists’ rigid classification of art, as well applied to monuments for soldiers killed during the First World War. As already in the times of the German Empire, the act of commemorating the victims now once again became subject to exploitation.

In 1934, the *Volkstrauertag* [General Day of Mourning],⁷⁰⁹ introduced in Germany during the Weimar Republic as a day commemorating the soldiers killed in the First World War, was

⁷⁰⁵ Catherine Epstein, *Nazi Germany: Confronting the Myths*, Wiley short histories (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 51

⁷⁰⁶ Adolf Wagner, *Vorwort*, In *Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung im Haus der Deutschen Kunst zu München* (München: Knort & Hirth, 1937), 5

[*nur das Vollkommenste, Fertigste und Beste [...], was deutsche Kunst zu vollbringen mag.*]

⁷⁰⁷ Catalogues for the years 1937 to 1944 of the *Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung* can be accessed on: arthistoricum.net - Fachinformationsdienst Kunst [Specialist Information Service Art], “Kataloge Der "Großen Deutschen Kunstausstellung": [Catalogues of the "Great German Art Exhibition"].” accessed July 13, 2018, <https://www.arthistoricum.net/themen/textquellen/kataloge-der-grossen-deutschen-kunstaustellung/1937/>.

Artworks, which have been part of the exhibition *Entartete Kunst* can be researched on: “Datenbank "Entartete Kunst" [Database "Degenerate Art"].” Freie Universität Berlin, accessed July 13, 2018, http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/db_entart_kunst/.

⁷⁰⁸ The exhibition *Entartete Kunst* took place between July 19 and November 30, 1937

Cf. Peter Guenther, *Degenerate Art: The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany* (New York: Abrams, 1991).

⁷⁰⁹ The holiday *Volkstrauertag* was proposed in 1919 by the *Volksbund Deutscher Kriegsgräberfürsorge* [German War Graves Commission]. Celebrated for the first time in 1921, it became a regular event from 1926 onwards. By commemorating the victims of the First World War, the day was supposed to promote international reconciliation and understanding.

Cf. Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge [German War Graves Commission], “Volkstrauertag [Day of National Mourning].” accessed July 14, 2018, <https://www.volksbund.de/volksbund-volkstrauertag/geschichte-volkstrauertag/geschichte-engl-volkstrauertag.html>.

renamed to *Heldengedenktage* [Heroes Remembrance Day] and made a public holiday. Henceforth, not the remembrance of the ones killed in action and the mourning of the loss was at the focus of attention, but the tribute to the heroic soldier. Unceremoniously, victims were declared heroes and a sad occasion was turned into a festivity with music and parades;⁷¹⁰ flags on this day were no longer—as before—flown at half-mast, because “according to Hitler there should not be mourning over the ones killed in action anymore, instead only confidence and joyful remembrance of previous and future heroes.”⁷¹¹

Subsequently, the monuments received a more heroic air, romanticizing war and victims: over-sized soldiers were depicted throwing grenades (fig. 123, 124) or courageously moving forward, prepared to fight (fig. 125, 126), the less martial monuments showed sculptures of soldiers on guard duty (fig. 127, 128). In some cases, memorials embedded in architecture or architectural elements, reminding of halls of honor, were created (fig. 128, 129), impressively demonstrating the esthetics of intimidation and monumentality, a distinctive attribute of the Nazi dictatorship.

When Hitler, on July 18, 1937, held the opening address for the *Haus der Deutschen Kunst* in Munich, he explained:

Up to the seizure of power of National Socialism, there has existed in Germany a so-called ‘modern’ art, that is—as already immanent in the word itself—almost every year another one. But the national socialist Germany again wishes for a ‘German art’ [...], a genuine and eternal German art, [...] not any international art [...]. Because no art is reasoned in time, but in peoples. Therefore, an artist has far less to erect a monument for a time, but only for his people.⁷¹²

In this speech, he had summarized the targeted ambitions perceived by the National Socialist cultural policy, supposed to be equally applied to all fields of art—and evidently as well valid with regard to war monuments.

⁷¹⁰ Cf. Koch, *Helden und Opfer*, 2013, 133

⁷¹¹ Ibid., 135

[da es nach Hitler keine Trauer mehr über Gefallene, sondern nur noch Zuversicht und freudiges Gedenken über bisherige und künftige Helden geben sollte.]

⁷¹² *Freiburger Zeitung*, “Der Führer Spricht [the Führer Speaks],” July 19, 1937, 193, 1ff

[Bis zum Machtantritt des Nationalsozialismus hat es in Deutschland eine sogenannte ‘moderne’ Kunst gegeben, d.h. also, wie es schon im Wesen dieses Wortes liegt, fast jedes Jahr eine andere. Das nationalsozialistische Deutschland aber will wieder eine ‘deutsche Kunst’, [...] eine wahre und ewige deutsche Kunst, [...] nicht [...] irgendeine internationale Kunst [...]. Denn in der Zeit liegt keine Kunst begründet, sondern nur in den Völkern. Es hat daher auch der Künstler nicht so sehr einer Zeit ein Denkmal zu setzen, sondern seinem Volke.]

3.11.3 “Be It Our Ideology, That the Strong and Healthy Human Shall Be in the Center of the German Art”⁷¹³—Ewald Mataré and the Fallen Warrior

With the *Reichskulturkammergesetz* coming into effect in 1933, the requirements for art, and hence as well for war memorials, had changed immediately. Nevertheless, in some cases war memorials were erected after the National Socialist takeover, even though the design did not correspond with the esthetics of a “genuine and eternal German art”⁷¹⁴ demanded by Hitler. One example is the sculpture *Der gefallene Krieger* [The Warrior Killed in Action] by Ewald Mataré (1887-1965) (fig. 130), inaugurated in 1934 in Kleve, North Rhine-Westphalia.

Ewald Mataré was a successful sculptor, graphic artist and painter throughout the 1920s and, since 1932, holder of a professorship at the *Kunstakademie* [Arts Academy] of Düsseldorf. Already the next year, in 1933, his professorship ended abruptly when he was released from his position for no apparent reason.⁷¹⁵ Moreover, his art was declared as ‘degenerate’ and thereupon removed from museums to later on be presented in the Munich exhibition *Entartete Kunst*.⁷¹⁶

Soon after Mataré was removed from his office, the town of Kleve organized a competition for the design of a war memorial. Mataré won the call for tender and was tasked with its construction. The inauguration took place in October 1934, but the unveiling of Mataré’s sculpture promptly caused great chagrin among the inhabitants of Kleve and the local members of NSDAP. Besides the fact that Mataré’s work of art did not embody the ‘new spirit’ in arts, its creator’s work was furthermore vilified as ‘degenerate’ in general.

Originally, Mataré’s sculpture *Der gefallene Krieger* was the core element of a nowadays lost architectural ensemble. It is carved from black basalt, has a length of four meters and weighs 5,5 tons.⁷¹⁷ Depicted is a lifeless seeming soldier lying on his right side on a

⁷¹³ Karl J. Fischer, “Technik Und Kultur: Alfred Rosenberg Vor Den Deutschen Architekten [Technology and Culture. Alfred Rosenberg Addresses the German Architects],” in *Die Kunst Für Alle. Malerei, Plastik, Graphik, Architektur [Art for Everyone. Painting, Graphics, Architecture]: Neunundvierzigster Jahrgang [Forty-Ninth Year] 1933—1934*, ed. Fritz Schwartz and Hugo Bruckmann 49 (München: F. Bruckmann, 1934), 13

[*Unsere Weltanschauung sei es, daß der starke und gesunde Mensch in den Mittelpunkt der deutschen Kunstgestaltung gehöre*]

⁷¹⁴ *Freiburger Zeitung*, “Führer spricht, 19.7.1937”, 1ff

[*eine wahre und ewige deutsche Kunst*]

⁷¹⁵ Between 1933 and 1935, approximately 15% to 20% of university teachers in Germany were released. Mainly affected were Jews and so-called non-Aryans, as were politically unpleasant scientists.

Cf. Ulrich Herbert, *Geschichte Deutschlands Im 20. Jahrhundert [History of Germany in the 20th Century]*, 2nd ed., Europäische Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2017).

⁷¹⁶ Ingo Plaschke, “Der Fall Eines Klever Kriegers [the Case of a Kleve Warrior],” *Neue Rhein/Neue Ruhr Zeitung*, February 21, 2014, accessed July 15, 2018 and cf. Forschungsstelle “Entartete Kunst” [Research Department “Degenerate Art”], Berlin, “Datenbank,”

⁷¹⁷ Plaschke, “Fall, 21.02.2014”

rectangular platform with the body slightly tilting backwards. The head is sunk back, the neck seems to rest on a wedge and the face, showing an empty expression, is almost directed heavenward. The soldier's body is partially covered by a heraldic flag showing a stylized eagle, the symbol of the German Empire and heraldic animal of the Prussian royal dynasty.

Obviously, the soldier portrayed by Mataré is neither ready for battle nor does he even carry a weapon. He is far from being presented in a heroic stance, depicting valiant or courageous intentions; instead—although there are no injuries detectable—he appears to have already died, probably he even fell in battle. The presentation of the soldier gives the impression of loneliness and isolation, underlined and reinforced by the chosen material. The shroud covering the soldier's body is the insignia of an empire he fought for and that does not exist anymore: a pointless death in a pointless war.

In summary, it can be concluded that Mataré obviously created a memorial objecting war instead of a war memorial. Eventually, the local members of NSDAP succeeded: in 1938, as a result of the growing hostility, the monument was dismantled, partially destroyed and buried. Only in 1977, the remains of the sculpture were accidentally recovered during construction works. In 1981, the sculpture *Der gefallene Krieger* was set up as individual monument in front of the Kleve collegiate church.⁷¹⁸

The anti-war memorial of Mataré is not the only example of the destructive urge carried out by the adherents of National Socialism. Numerous artists fell victim to their persecution and suffered professionally from the vilifications they had to endure; among them renowned personalities like Ernst Barlach.

3.11.4 The Magdeburg Cathedral Monument by Ernst Barlach

Ernst Barlach (1870-1938), who “belonged to the most persecuted and most hated artists during the Nazi period,”⁷¹⁹ was, until 1933, a successful sculptor, author, graphic artist and ceramist. His *Magdeburger Ehrenmal*, just as Ewald Mataré's *Der gefallene Krieger*, came heavily under the attack of the National Socialists due to its anti-war character. (fig. 131)

⁷¹⁸ Cf. *ibid.* and Ingrid Schupetta, “Der Gefallene Krieger Von Ewald Mataré in Kleve [the Warrior Killed in Action by Ewald Mataré in Kleve],” Villa Merländer e.V., accessed July 15, 2018, <https://www.villamerlaender.de/projekt-memoo/kleve-kriegerdenkmal-von-matare/der-gefallene-krieger.html>.

⁷¹⁹ Manfred Schneckenburger, *Ernst Barlach: Plastik, Zeichnungen, Druckgraphik [Sculpture, Drawings, Graphics]*, 2nd ed. (Cologne: Bachem, 1975), 45
[gehörte zu den meistverfolgten und bestgehaßten Künstlern während der Nazizeit.]

Between 1888 and 1897, Ernst Barlach studied in Hamburg, Dresden and Paris. A journey to Russia in 1906 had a profound impact on the artist: the impressions he gained in the country left a deep impact on him, serving as important source of inspiration,⁷²⁰ what later led the National Socialists to declare Barlach a “cultural bolshevist,”⁷²¹ a term used to condemn progressive or leftist art.

On the outbreak of the First World War, Barlach initially was carried away by the general euphoria caused by the already mentioned *Augusterlebnis*, but soon changed to a pacifist attitude. After the war, during the first years of the Weimar Republic, Barlach was able to celebrate considerable successes, was offered different teaching positions and even honorary degrees, which he repeatedly rejected. Nevertheless, he became a member of the prestigious *Preußische Akademie der Künste* [Prussian Art Academy] in 1919 and the *Akademie der Bildenden Künste München* [Munich Art Academy] in 1925. In addition, several of his written works were published and played in theatres.⁷²²

In 1930, Barlach was at the height of his career and his exhibition activities:

On the occasion of his 60th birthday, several memorial exhibitions took place and in almost all the renowned newspapers of Germany, through innumerable articles and personal memories of art historians and friends, he was honored as one of the major sculptors, illustrators and dramatists of the century.⁷²³

At the latest since 1927, when Barlach’s anti-war memorial *Der Schwebende* [The Floating] (fig. 132) was inaugurated in the church of Güstrow, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, the artist and his oeuvre aroused suspicion in nationalistic circles. In the same year, the *Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur* [Militant League for German Culture] was founded under the leadership of Alfred Rosenberg (1892-1946), “the regime’s self-proclaimed chief ideologue,”⁷²⁴ who “like

⁷²⁰ Especially the sketches Ernst Barlach made of the Russian people continuously served as models for his sculptural work.

Cf. Ernst Barlach Stiftung [Ernst Barlach Foundation], “Das Werk [The Oeuvre], 1906,” Ernst Barlach Stiftung, accessed July 18, 2018, <https://www.ernst-barlach-stiftung.de/ernst-barlach/das-werk/1906/>.

⁷²¹ Isabell Kasztelan and Helen Kiesewetter, “Ernst Barlach,” in *Demokratische Geschichte: Jahrbuch Für Schleswig-Holstein* [Democratic History. Yearbook of Schleswig-Holstein], ed. Peter Bohn and Uwe e. a. Danker, Veröffentlichung des Beirats für Geschichte 18 (Malente: Schleswig-Holsteinischer Geschichtsverlag, 2007), 105. Cf. Carl von Ossietzky, “Kulturbolschewismus [Cultural Bolshevism],” in *Die Weltbühne. Wochenschrift Für Politik - Kunst - Wirtschaft* [the World Stage. Weekly Publication for Politics - Art - Economy], ed. Carl von Ossietzky, 27 vols. (Berlin: Verlag der Weltbühne, 1931), 559-562.

⁷²² Ernst Barlach Stiftung [Ernst Barlach Foundation], “1919-1926,” Ernst Barlach Stiftung, accessed July 18, 2018, <https://www.ernst-barlach-stiftung.de/ernst-barlach/sein-leben/1919-1926/>.

⁷²³ Kasztelan and Kiesewetter, “Ernst, 2007”, 107.

[Anlässlich seines 60. Geburtstages fanden Gedächtnisausstellungen statt und in beinahe allen renommierten Zeitungen Deutschlands wurde er in zahllosen Artikeln und persönlichen Erinnerungen von Kunsthistorikern und Freunden als einer der großen Bildhauer, Zeichner und Dramatiker des Jahrhunderts gewürdigt.]

⁷²⁴ Aristotle A. Kallis, *Nazi Propaganda and the Second World War* (Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 69.

no other National Socialist opened heavy barrage on all manifestations of contemporary culture, which had to be combated as much as the political system in which it occurred.”⁷²⁵ Soon, Rosenberg and his *Kampfbund* found a concept of an enemy in Barlach and his art and ran a defamatory campaign against the artist.⁷²⁶

With the National Socialists seizure of power in Germany, Barlach’s professional situation deteriorated drastically. While his oeuvre was suspiciously observed already before 1933, it now was officially criticized, banned from museums and exhibitions, while verbal attacks against the artist became more frequent. Moreover, in March 1933, Barlach found himself and one of his works of art to be the subject of a fierce debate about “Germanic art” and how it was supposed to convey “the spirit of race and the honor of the hero.”⁷²⁷

The work of art in question, the *Magdeburger Ehrenmal* (fig. 131), was a contract work for the Cathedral of Magdeburg in Saxony-Anhalt. Barlach was assigned the creation of a monument honoring the soldiers killed in action during the First World War in 1927.⁷²⁸ Two years later, in 1929, the monument was erected, but in the meantime it had already caused heated debates among the local church representatives—most likely the reasons for not celebrating an official inauguration.⁷²⁹

The *Magdeburger Ehrenmal* is a larger-than-life sculpture made of oak wood with a height of 2.44 meters, a width of 2.54 meters and a depth of 0.75 meters.⁷³⁰ It depicts a group of six persons, arranged in two rows. The three persons of the front row are designed as half-length figures, while the remaining three persons of the back row seem to stand upright as full figure representations. Center of the image is the middle male figure of the back row, towering above the accompanying characters. Dressed in a long coat, a bandage around the head, he holds his hands laid on a cross indicating the years ‘1914 - 1915 - 1916 - 1917 - 1918’. On his right stands a figure characterized as soldier by coat and *Stahlhelm*—held by a massive chin strap—clinging with his left hand to the right arm of the cross. Left to the central character

⁷²⁵ Ernst Piper, *Alfred Rosenberg: Hitlers Chefideologe [Hitler's Chief Ideologue]* (München: Allitera, 2015), 129

[eröffnete wie kein anderer Nationalsozialist das Trommelfeuer gegen alle Erscheinungsformen zeitgenössischer Kultur, die es ebenso zu bekämpfen galt wie das politische System, in dem sie stattfand.]

⁷²⁶ Cf. Karoline Pfeiffer, “Das Magdeburger Ehrenmal Von Ernst Barlach [the Magdeburg Memorial by Ernst Barlach]” (final thesis for M.A. degree, Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften, Freie Universität Berlin, 2009), 41 ff. and Kasztelan and Kiesewetter, “Ernst, 2007”, 111 f.

⁷²⁷ Piper, *Chefideologe*, 2015, 176

[das Willenhafte germanischer Kunst, Rassenseele und Heldenehre]

⁷²⁸ On the circumstances of the procurement cf. Pfeiffer, “Magdeburger, 2009”

⁷²⁹ Pfeiffer, “Magdeburger, 2009”, 34

⁷³⁰ Ernst Barlach Stiftung [Ernst Barlach Foundation], “Magdeburger Ehrenmal (Werkmodell) [Magdeburg Cenotaph (Model)],” Ernst Barlach Stiftung, accessed July 18, 2018, <https://www.ernst-barlach-stiftung.de/ernst-barlach/plastiken/magdeburger-ehrenmal/>.

stands another figure in a long coat, wearing a headgear reminding of a spiked helmet, holding his hands, hidden away in his sleeves, at midriff height.

The arrangement of the figures in the front row corresponds in its formation to the back row, with a raised middle figure dominating the lower half of the depiction. This visual center presents a character that can be identified as a soldier by a *Stahlhelm*, attracting special attention through the head standing sidewise, the hunched shoulders and the scraggy hands put one on top of the other. The coat, hanging down in heavy creases from the body, indicates a bony physique. Only at a second glance it becomes obvious that the face does not belong to a living person, but rather to a corpse: the head resembles a skull; the body, covered by the coat, appears to be a skeleton. On the left part of the lower front-row, seen from the position of the observer, there is a veiled figure pressing its cramped fists against each other, demonstrating a gesture similar to praying; with the head entirely covered by a cloth, no detail of the face is visible. Finally, to the left side of the central figure of the front row, there is a bearded male character, frowning with closed eyes, holding his hands up to his head in despair. Between his arms, at the height of his chest, parts of a gas mask are visible.

Although the single figures do not interact with each other, they define a group gathering around the cross indicating the years 1914 to 1918, the time span of the First World War. All of the different characters appear to be soldiers, apparently having nothing in common besides being united due to the historical circumstances.

The faces of the figures in the back row show disillusionment, with vacant looks in their eyes; despite external wounds (indicated by the head bandage), they seem to await their fate, motionless, standing close together. Meanwhile the front row conveys an entirely different impression, letting the three figures, lower in size but far more expressive, appear to be the impersonation of the feelings of the characters positioned behind them: hands raised in despair, fists pressed against each other in fear and anguish, in addition to the tilted head of the skeleton wearing a steel helmet seem to express what the characters of the back row already experienced or what might expect them.

While the cross functions similarly to a bracket—indicating a specified timeframe, namely the period of the First World War, whilst simultaneously encircling it and excluding the time before and after—the depicted characters can only be identified as soldiers through the helmets and the coats, which were part of the uniform and “for months the main item of clothing for the soldier.”⁷³¹ Its color, the so-called *Feldgrau* [field-grey], became a symbol of the First

⁷³¹ Hirschfeld, *Enzyklopädie*, 2009, 472f.
[*monatelang das Hauptbekleidungsstück des Soldaten*];

World War and of the death in the field, because “[i]n public perception the grey color of the uniforms associated with the grey color of the mud of the trenches and became a defining picture of war.”⁷³² In the entire depiction no decorations, no signs of honor, no iron crosses or weapons can be spotted; but yet another iconic item can be identified: almost hidden between the arms of the lower right figure, one will discover a sketchy gas mask, indicator of one of the most insidious weapons used in the First World War,⁷³³ and “until today symbol par excellence for the horrors and the fear of war.”⁷³⁴ The utilization of this invisible and devastating enemy is considered the

natal hour of modern weapons of mass destruction, decisively shaping war and peace of the 20th century. The usage of gas became one of the most distinctive characteristics of the First World War, because it changed the image of the soldier and of the »galant fight« much more radically, than other modern weapons introduced at the same time.⁷³⁵

With the *Magdeburger Ehrenmal*, Barlach did not simply create a memorial for the soldiers killed in action. Instead, he interweaved an accusation with the depicted scene: war does not only cause injuries and death, but as well grief, despair and resignation. By expressing these feelings through the presented characters, he additionally opposed the image of the heroic soldier, bravely fighting to protect his homeland.

⁷³² Ibid., 936f.

[*In der Wahrnehmung der Öffentlichkeit verband sich das Grau der Uniform mit dem Grau des Schlamms aus den Schützengräben zum prägenden Bild des Krieges*]

⁷³³ The German army used chlorine gas as a weapon first in April 1915. This attack alone caused 1.200 dead and 3.000 injured soldiers. “The victims went blind, struggled to breath, vomited blood, the faces turned blue. ‘Devilry, thy name is Germany!’ headlined the English newspaper *Daily Mirror* and printed photos of gas victims. However, soon all war parties fought with gas grenades and gas mortars, for not being dependent on the wind. The escalation of armament went on and again and again produced further suffering.”

Hauke Friederichs, “Erster Weltkrieg: Der Krieg Der Neuen Zeit [First World War: The War of the New Times],” *Die Zeit Online*, February 25, 2014, accessed July 20, 2018, <https://www.zeit.de/zeit-geschichte/2014/01/erster-weltkrieg-waffen-technologie>

[*Die Opfer wurden blind, rangen um Luft, spuckten Blut, die Gesichter liefen blau an. „Teufelei, dein Name ist Deutschland“, titelte die englische Zeitung Daily Mirror und druckte Fotos von Gasopfern ab. Schon bald aber kämpften alle Kriegsparteien mit Gasgranaten und Gasminenwerfern, um nicht mehr vom Wind abhängig zu sein. Die Eskalation der Rüstung ging weiter und produzierte immer wieder neues Leid.*]

⁷³⁴ Andrea Westhoff, “Patent Für Die Gasmaske - Das Symbol Für Den Ersten Weltkrieg [Patent for the Gas Mask - Symbol for the First World War],” Deutschlandradio, accessed July 21, 2018, https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/patent-fuer-die-gasmaske-das-symbol-fuer-den-ersten.871.de.html?dram:article_id=300096

[*bis heute Symbol für die Kriegsschrecken und die Kriegsangst schlechthin.*]

⁷³⁵ Hirschfeld, *Enzyklopädie*, 2009, 519

[*Es war die Geburtsstunde von modernen Massenvernichtungswaffen, die Krieg und Frieden im 20. Jahrhundert entscheidend geprägt haben. Der Gaseinsatz wurde zu einer der markantesten Erscheinungen im Ersten Weltkrieg, weil er das Bild des Soldaten und des »ritterlichen Kampfes« viel radikaler veränderte als andere moderne Kampfmittel, die parallel dazu eingeführt wurden.*]

After the erection, Barlach's cenotaph became the subject of bitter disputes between its proponents and opponents, openly carried out in the media.⁷³⁶ Driven by the press coverage, the opponents—to which also belonged the church council—promoted a removal of the memorial.⁷³⁷ Nevertheless, in July 1930, the *Magdeburger Ehrenmal* was officially accepted by all sides, alleviating the volatile tension regarding the monument for the moment.

Between 1930 and 1933, Barlach participated in different exhibitions and was commissioned for several projects, as, for example, for the design of a monument commemorating the First World War and its victims in Hamburg, to be positioned in a prominent spot in the city's center. The *Hamburger Ehrenmal* [Hamburg Memorial] was a 21 meters high stele made of limestone, showing a grieving mother with a child.⁷³⁸ Meanwhile, the critics and propaganda from the nationalistic side attacking Barlach and his works continued with unabated intensity.

With the assumption of power of the National Socialists in 1933, the debate over the *Magdeburger Ehrenmal* again gained momentum. It now became obvious that Ernst Barlach and his art were the chosen concept of an enemy for nationalistic circles. The above-mentioned Alfred Rosenberg, founder of the *Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur* and “guardian of the National Socialist ideology and reviled intellectual,”⁷³⁹ considered the “determination in Germanic art, the spirit of race and the honor of the hero”⁷⁴⁰ as paramount and claimed that “the German renewal [of the soul; note by the author] should be based on the dead bodies of the World War.”⁷⁴¹ Accordingly, he commented on the *Magdeburger Ehrenmal* as follows:

Small, half-idiotically staring, mixed variants of indefinable human types in Soviet helmets are supposed to symbolize German militia! I believe: every healthy man of SA [*Sturmabteilung*—Storm Detachment; note from the author] will reach the same verdict in this case as every conscious artist.⁷⁴²

⁷³⁶ Cf. Pfeiffer, “Magdeburger, 2009”, 34ff.

⁷³⁷ Ibid., 37

⁷³⁸ In 1938, the monument was destroyed. After the end of the National Socialist dictatorship, the stele was reconstructed and dedicated to the victims of both world wars.

Cf. Katy Tick, “Barlach-Stele: Denkmal Für Die Gefallenen Beider Weltkriege [the Stele by Barlach: Memorial for the Ones Killed in Action During the Two World Wars],” accessed July 23, 2018, <https://www.hamburg.de/sehenswuerdigkeiten/3091888/ehrenmal/>.

⁷³⁹ Volker Koop, *Alfred Rosenberg: Der Wegbereiter Des Holocaust Eine Biographie [the Enabler of the Holocaust: A Biography]* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2016)

[*Hüter der NS-Weltanschauung und geschmähter Intellektueller*]

⁷⁴⁰ Piper, *Chefideologe*, 2015, 176

[*das Willenhafte germanischer Kunst, Rassenseele und Heldenehre*]

⁷⁴¹ Ibid., 176

[*sollte die deutsche Erneuerung von den Toten des Weltkriegs ausgehen*]

⁷⁴² Alfred Rosenberg, “Über Barlachsches Menschentum [About Barlach's Manhood],” *Völkischer Beobachter* [*National Observer*], July 6, 1933

Obviously, the *Magdeburger Ehrenmal*, did not correspond with the esthetics demanded by the National Socialists or the claims of the *Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur*, which expressively had declared its enmity towards everything possibly having a subversive effect on German culture, including antimilitarism.⁷⁴³ The lack of openly displayed heroism, the obvious manifestation of possible consequences of war and its subliminal criticism seemed not to have a place in the society Rosenberg imagined, as he “aimed to enforce National Socialist thinking and acting in the entire society.”⁷⁴⁴ Under those circumstances, Barlach’s *Magdeburger Ehrenmal* factually corresponded to the antithesis of Rosenberg’s perception of ‘National Socialist thinking’.

Entirely in the spirit of the *Kampfbund* and in line with the Nazi ideology was the artist and art critic Bettina Feistel-Rohmeder (1873-1953),⁷⁴⁵ who fervently got het up with contemporary art and especially with Expressionism. Therefore, “[i]n 1920, [...] Feistel-Rohmeder founded the *Deutsche Kunstgesellschaft* [German Art Society] with the explicit aim of protecting German art against degenerate modern art forms.”⁷⁴⁶ Between 1927 and 1934, this organization established an art news service, called *Deutsche Kunstkorrespondenz* [German Art Correspondence],⁷⁴⁷ providing articles to “around 100”⁷⁴⁸ national and international magazines and newspapers. In 1933, Feistel-Rohmeder published a text entitled “What the German Artists Expect from the New Government,”⁷⁴⁹ demanding that “the statues and works of sculptors

[Kleine, halbidiotisch dreinschauende Mixovariationen undefinierbarer Menschensorten mit Sowjethelmen sollen deutsche Landsturmmänner versinnbildlichen! Ich glaube: jeder gesunde SA-Mann wird hier das gleiche Urteil fällen wie bewußte Künstler.]

⁷⁴³ Additionally to a good overview over the history and the objectives of the *Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur*, parts of the founding manifesto can be read on: Thomas Höpel, “Die Abwehr Internationaler Kunst Im Nationalsozialismus [the Defense of International Art During National Socialism],” Themenportal Europäische Geschichte, accessed July 20, 2018, <https://www.europa.clío-online.de/essay/id/artikel-3767>.

⁷⁴⁴ Koop, *Rosenberg*, 2016, 126

[Rosenberg hatte es sich zum Ziel gesetzt, nationalsozialistisches Denken und Handeln in der gesamten Gesellschaft durchzusetzen.]

⁷⁴⁵ Cf. Cara Schweitzer, “Bettina Feistel-Rohmeder,” in 1938: *Kunst Künstler Politik [Art Artist Politics]*, ed. Eva Atlan (Göttingen: Wallstein-Verl., 2013), 89-95

⁷⁴⁶ Joes Segal, *Art and Politics: Between Purity and Propaganda* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), 48

⁷⁴⁷ Cf. Anna Teut, *Architektur im Dritten Reich 1933 - 1945 [Architecture in the Third Reich 1933 - 1945]*, with the assistance of Ulrich Conrads, and Albers, Gerd, et. al., *Bauwelt-Fundamente 19* (Berlin, Basel: Ullstein; Birkhäuser, 2014), 79 and Jürgen Gimmel, *Die Politische Organisation Kulturellen Ressentiments: Der "Kampfbund Für Deutsche Kultur" Und Das Bildungsbürgerliche Unbehagen an Der Moderne [the Political Organisation of Cultural Resentment. The "Militant League for German Culture" and the Bourgeois Discomfort with Modernity]*, Schriftenreihe der Stipendiatinnen und Stipendiaten der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung 10 (Münster, Hamburg, London: Lit, 2001), 41

⁷⁴⁸ Gimmel, *Politische Organisation*, 2001, 41

⁷⁴⁹ Reproduced in: Teut, *Architektur*, 2014, 79f

[Was die Deutschen Künstler von der neuen Regierung erwarten]

rejected by the public feeling disappear at once, even if the originators may be ever so »brilliant« people as Lehmbruck or Barlach.”⁷⁵⁰

Due to the fact that Barlach and his work incurred the displeasure of several influential and clearly nationalistic-orientated art critics, like Rosenberg and Feistel-Rohmeder, the church council of Magdeburg decided to remove the *Magdeburger Ehrenmal* in March 1933.⁷⁵¹ Once again, a fierce controversy started and lasted for more than one year, until finally, in September 1934, the monument was removed and sent to the Berlin National Gallery, where it was stored, locked away from public.⁷⁵²

For the artist, the continued arguments about his work were a heavy psychological burden. In 1934, probably in hopes of avoiding further damage, “[t]he politically naïve Ernst Barlach”⁷⁵³ signed the *Aufruf der Kulturschaffenden* [Call of the Cultural Workers], a declaration of loyalty to the *Führer* Adolf Hitler.⁷⁵⁴ Nevertheless, his work was considered as ‘degenerate art’ and continuously removed from museums and public spaces.

In 1937, the *Reichskammer der bildenden Künste* imposed an exhibition prohibition on Barlach, forced his resignation from the *Preußische Akademie der Künste* in 1938 and finally even threatened him with an occupational ban.⁷⁵⁵ Thereupon, Barlach’s health steadily deteriorated. He died from a heart attack on October 24, 1938.

3.11.5 From Magdeburg to Lisbon? “About Barlach’s Manhood” in the Sculptures of Hein Semke—the Controversy Regarding the Commemorative Courtyard in Lisbon Against the Background of German Art Policy in the 1930s

The previous description of the development of war memorials between 1871 and 1938 demonstrated that both the approach and the expectations towards this kind of commemoration site changed fundamentally throughout the years.

⁷⁵⁰ Cited after: *ibid.*, 79

[daß die vom Volksempfinden abgelehnten Standbilder oder Bildhauerwerke, die öffentliche Plätze und Gärten verunzieren, schleunigst verschwinden, seien die Urheber auch noch so »geniale« Leute wie Lehmbruck oder Barlach]

⁷⁵¹ Pfeiffer, “Magdeburger, 2009”, 43

⁷⁵² Pfeiffer, “Magdeburger, 2009”, 52

⁷⁵³ Piper, *Chefideologe*, 2015, 338

[Der politisch naïve Ernst Barlach]

⁷⁵⁴ The *Aufruf der Kulturschaffenden* was a manifesto by Joseph Goebbels (1897-1945), the Reich Minister of Propaganda. It was published on August 18, 1934, one day before a referendum decided on merging the positions of the chancellor and the president in Adolf Hitler. The manifesto was signed by 37 artists, writers, musicians and architects, among them the Expressionists Emil Nolde (1867-1956), Erich Heckel (1883-1970) and the pioneer of modern architecture, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (1886-1969). All of those artists were, as Ernst Barlach, later on condemned as ‘degenerate’.

Cf. Joseph Goebbels, “Aufruf Der Kulturschaffenden [Call of the Cultural Workers],” *Völkischer Beobachter* [National Observer], August 18, 1934, 230.

⁷⁵⁵ Cf. Pfeiffer, “Magdeburger, 2009”, 58

After the Franco-German War, the primary focus of the depictions referred to the foundation of the German Empire. The war itself or the soldiers killed in action played a subordinate role or were displayed as a means to an end: bravely fighting to achieve the long-desired unification of their homeland and losing their lives for its honor. Monumentality and glorifying allegories praised the Empire; individual fates were subordinated to the common good.

After the First World War, the center of attention shifted to the soldiers who indeed had to bear the main burden of warfare. Initially, substitute symbols such as *Stahlhelm* and iron cross were employed to create a specific, almost euphemistic, iconography: typical military items were used to represent the inconceivable number of victims and their families' distress. Over the first years of Weimar Republic, depictions in war memorials became less symbolic but rather direct: the single 'unknown soldier', as representative of all soldiers killed in the First World War or any war, became a pictorial subject to embody the suffering and the loss of many.

When, around 1927, nationalistic sentiments started to permeate the German cultural scene and the call for 'Germanness' as well took root in the visual arts, depiction in war memorials also changed. Determination, militancy and heroes of an Aryan type made their entrance into commemorative sites, repressing the memory of defeat, suffering or any kind of war victims. With the National Socialists entering the stage of arts and culture in 1933, works of art criticizing war or even expressing antimilitaristic aspirations were declared 'degenerate', ostracized as 'un-German' and the authors were eventually silenced by defamation and occupational bans. This development finally culminated in the humiliating exhibition *Entartete Kunst* in 1937, in which artists and art identified as violating the doctrine of what was considered "a genuine and eternal German art"⁷⁵⁶ were stultified. The given examples of Ewald Mataré and Ernst Barlach demonstrate the profound change occurring after 1933, and the fact that the proliferating nationalistic spirit did not stop at destroying artworks: their scorn and cynicism had the potential to shatter careers and annihilate entire lives.

Between Ernst Barlach's *Magdeburger Ehrenmal*, Ewald Mataré's *Der gefallene Krieger* and Hein Semke's *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*, several, whether direct or indirect, connections can be drawn. Soon after Semke's sculptural group *Kameradschaft des Untergangs* was erected in the commemorative courtyard next to the Protestant Church in Lisbon, the number of voices raised against this memorial increased. The exchange of words quickly

⁷⁵⁶ *Freiburger Zeitung*, "Führer spricht, 19.7.1937", 1ff
[eine wahre und ewige deutsche Kunst]

escalated into an argument that reached its critical stage in fall 1935, when the monument was simultaneously verbally attacked, simultaneously by the *Reichsredner*, during the festivities of the harvest festival in October 1935, by an anonymous letter-writer and by Julius Claussen, the leader of the local branch of the NSDAP in Lisbon. In all cases, the main criticism was directed at the overall depiction, since it would not honor the soldiers killed in action. Interesting in this context is the statement that “[i]f members of S.A. would have seen the monument in 1933, they would have torn it to shreds, because they would not have considered it a tribute.”⁷⁵⁷ A similar judgement had already been made by Alfred Rosenberg in regard of Ernst Barlach’s *Magdeburger Ehrenmal* when stating that “every healthy man of SA” would reach the conclusion that the monument would not be suitable “to symbolize German militia!”⁷⁵⁸.

In fact, a connection between Barlach and Semke cannot only be established through the above-mentioned similarities in the statements of the unknown author and Rosenberg. Semke considered Barlach his artistic idol: especially in his early sculptural work it becomes obvious that the latter had been a vital factor and major influence on the young artist’s oeuvre, since great similarities can be observed. Thus, the sculpture *A Dor* (fig. 95)—part of the courtyard’s composition, but excluded from the NSDAP’s heavy criticism—appears to be an adaption of Barlach’s smaller-than-life bronze *Der Zweifler* of 1930/31 (fig. 133), depicting a kneeling man, slightly bent forward with raised shoulders and stretched arms, holding his hands clasped in front of his body. A further example is the structure of Semke’s *Família e Trabalho* [Family and Work] (fig. 136) that shows an astounding analogy with Barlach’s *Magdeburger Ehrenmal* [Magdeburg Cenotaph] (fig. 131). Although the works by Barlach and Semke have different subjects, they show close similarities in the arrangement of the figures and, in addition, *Família e Trabalho* also has the outer appearance of a cenotaph, depicting several figures arranged in front and back rows. The center of attention is a female figure dressed in a gown, the head covered with a headscarf. On each of her sides is standing a male figure, leaning on a tool: the one to her right is equipped with a sledgehammer, the one to her left rests his hands on a shovel. The front row is made up by a figure appearing to be a boy, dressed in shorts, his arms are hidden beneath the woman’s gown. In the background, parts of two hulls are visible, in addition to stylized houses. The division between foreground and background is achieved by the fact that the figures seem to be positioned in front of an arched wall that simultaneously creates the impression of a halo or an aura surrounding the female figure.

⁷⁵⁷ Cf. Gelshorn, Bericht über die Feier am Erntedanktag in der Deutschen Gesandtschaft zu Lissabon am 6. Okt. 1935 [Report on the Ceremony at Harvest Festival Day in the German Legacy in Lisbon on 6. Oct. 1935].

⁷⁵⁸ Rosenberg, “Über, 06.07.1933”

[jeder gesunde SA-Mann]; [deutsche Landsturmmänner versinnbildlichen!]

Finally, some of Semke's art works from the time between 1932 and 1947, the year in which he officially changed to the field of ceramics, appear to be almost copies of works by Barlach, as for example *Der Hockende* [The Crouching] (fig. 134) of 1936, closely resembling in its concept Barlach's *Der Zecher* [The Boozer] (fig. 135), showing only slight adaptations: both sculptures depict male figures sitting down with the head leaned far back. While Barlach's sculpture is richer in details and characterizes the person as drunk through two wine jugs between the legs, Semke's figure seems to look at something above it.

In 1950, Semke was addressed with those unequivocal similarities by his Portuguese artist colleague, the painter Carlos Botelho (1899-1982). Botelho had just returned from Venice, where he visited the 25th Venice Biennale, during which a special exhibition in the German pavilion showed, inter alia, works by German expressionist sculptors.⁷⁵⁹ On July 24, 1950, Semke reports on the conversation in his diary as follows: "Botelho told me, the Germans would have exhibited sculpture (it has been highly estimated and decorated) that looks as if I would have made it—It was Barlach and Gerhard Marcks."⁷⁶⁰ That means, in essence, that despite differences between the sculptures of both artists, like size, material and partially the body posture of the depicted figures, there are obvious similarities in style and motifs allowing attentive observers to trace the origins of Semke's inspiration back to Barlach.

Interestingly, the sculpture *A Dor* and the relief *Himmelfahrt des Kriegers* did not arouse suspicion in the 'Lisbon affair', in spite of the close resemblance of *A Dor* to one of Barlach's works. The exclusion of those works from the heavy criticism might be connected to the fact that neither of them contains an obvious military related connotation. This was quite different for the *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*, as this sculptural group thematically clearly follows Barlach's *Magdeburger Ehrenmal* and Mataré's *Gefallener Krieger*: instead of heroic and victorious warriors, injured or even dead soldiers are presented to the observer. Besides, the influence of Barlach is not only visible in the sujet, but as well in the block-like, almost unmoved depiction of the scene. Contrary to *A Dor*, a corresponding template in Barlach's oeuvre cannot be determined. Semke partially orientated the design of the *Kameradschaft des Untergangs* on the figures of the back row of the *Magdeburger Ehrenmal* by letting it appear as a continuation and amalgamation of those six figures by Barlach.

⁷⁵⁹ Cf. "25. Venice Biennale 1950," *kunstaspekte*, accessed October 28, 2019, <https://kunstaspekte.art/event/25-biennale-venedig-1950-1950-06-event>.

⁷⁶⁰ Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 36

[Botelho erzählte, die Deutschen hätten Plastik ausgestellt (sie wurde hoch anerkannt und gewann Preise), die so aussehe, als hätte ich sie gemacht. – Es war Barlach und Marcks.]

Similar to Mataré and Barlach, Semke created a monument that can easily be understood as strictures on war. Along with an immanent antimilitaristic statement, it also failed to comply with the “determination in Germanic art, the spirit of race and the honor of the hero,”⁷⁶¹ as demanded by the nationalistic circles in Germany at least since 1927, the year of the foundation of the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*.

However, it seems that besides the antimilitaristic idea radiating from the sculptural group *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*, another vital factor attracted the attention of the Lisbon-branch of NSDAP: Hein Semke’s past. The rumors spreading in the German community had already led Envoy Freytag—a supporter of Semke’s work—to request a criminal record on the artist. The document showed that Semke served several prison sentences, one indirectly linked to anarchism. This fact necessarily had to lead to a controversy, as anarchists—summarily equated with communists—were considered political opponents of the National Socialist government and rigorously prosecuted in Germany since 1933.⁷⁶²

In 1934, Semke applied for membership in the NSDAP,⁷⁶³ a process in which the applicant had to submit a criminal record and an *Ariernachweis*. Whether Semke applied, as Gennrich reports,⁷⁶⁴ on request of the Party’s local branch or on his own initiative—in order to mitigate the inconvenient rumors about his past or he hoping that a membership might be useful and advantageous for his future as an artist in the German colony—must remain unanswered. However, the local branch of the Party was informed no later than that about Semke’s political activities in the early 1920s. Consequently, the anonymous author of the defamatory letter concerning Pastor Gennrich expressed his doubts regarding the suitability of Semke to design the Commemorative Courtyard:

In Lisbon lives a German citizen, called Hein Sempke [sic]. This man was an anarchist, communist, or something similar; has been, among other things, punished with penitentiary. Quite recently, this man discovered his creative streak and engaged with sculptural work. [...] But that such a man [...] should be the right man to create a monument for German soldiers killed in action, I doubt it. [...] The monument gives, from my point of view, the observer the impression of a negating pacifist

⁷⁶¹ Piper, *Chefideologe*, 2015, 176

[*das Willenhafte germanischer Kunst, Rassenseele und Heldenehre*]

⁷⁶² After the arson attack on the *Reichstag*, seat of the German parliament, on February 27, 1933, the *Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten zum Schutz von Volk und Staat* [Decree of the Reich President for the Protection of People and State] was introduced. This decree suspended the fundamental rights guaranteed in the constitution and allowed to arrest assumed subversives. What followed was a repressive wave of arrests to which “[o]ne hundred thousand people, mostly Communists” fell victim, as the National Socialists were convinced that the fire raising had been part of a Communist plot.

Cf. Kitchen, *History*, 2012, 260f

⁷⁶³ Gennrich, *Betrifft Schreiben des Herrn Bischof D. Heckel vom 26.9.1935. (A.8266)* [Concerning Letter of Bishop D. Heckel of 26.9.1935. (A8266)], 1

⁷⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 1

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spirit, yes, I do believe that I am not going too far when I state that the so-called artist creating something like that, still today is inspired by the Bolshevik spirit.⁷⁶⁵

These statements appear to be a summary of the claims the representatives of a nationalistic ‘German art’ demanded in their campaign against modern art. Rosenberg had already expressed this idea in 1930, in the first edition of his book *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* [The Myth of the Twentieth Century]. With few, but strikingly malevolent words he stated that there would no longer be a space for “bastardized spawns, created by intellectual syphilis and picturesque infantilism as »expression of the soul«”⁷⁶⁶ in the cultural setting of the ‘new’ Germany. In 1933, Adolf Hitler expressed the same thought in his speech at the Cultural Conference of NSDAP:

If destiny provides us with all those men capable to express an equivalent cultural manifestation of the political desire of our time and its achievements, we do not know. But one thing we know: that under no circumstances the representatives of the decay, which lies behind us, suddenly should be allowed to be the flag bearers of the future. [...] In no case we want to have the cultural expression of our Reich distorted, because this is our state and not theirs.⁷⁶⁷

With this kind of inflammatory statements and the introduction of a supervisory authority like the *Reichskulturkammer*, the days of the flourishing diversity of the Weimar Republic obviously were numbered. Yet, the enmity towards modern art—as already shown—did not arise overnight; instead, it had been a continual process since 1927.

Semke left Germany in 1932. Previously, as a student, he necessarily occupied himself intensively with art. It therefore can be considered that he must have been aware of the ongoing

⁷⁶⁵ Anonymous, Betrifft: Pfarrer Gennrich [Concerns: Pastor Gennrich], 2

[*Es lebt in Lissabon ein deutscher Staatsangehöriger, namens Hein Sempke [sic]. Dieser Mann war ein Anarchist, Kommunist, oder aehnliches, wurde auch u.a. wegen Einbruchsdiebstahls mit Zuchthaus bestraft. Dieser Mann hat nun vor einiger Zeit in sich eine kuenstlerische Ader entdeckt und befasste sich mit Bildhauerarbeiten. [...] Dass aber ein solcher Mann [...] der richtige Mann sein soll, um fuer gefallene deutsche Soldaten ein Denkmal zu schaffen, bezweifle ich. [...] Der Eindruck, den das Denkmal auf den Beschauer meines Erachtens macht, entspricht diesem negierenden pazifistischen Geist, ja, ich glaube nicht zu weit zu gehen, wenn ich behaupte, dass der sogenannte Kuenstler, der so etwas schafft, noch heute von bolchevistischem [sic] Geist beseelt ist.*]

⁷⁶⁶ Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythos Des 20. Jahrhunderts: Eine Wertung Der Seelisch-Geistigen Gestaltenkämpfe Unserer Zeit*. [*the Myth of the 20th Century. An Evaluation of the Psycho-Spiritual Battle of Our Time*], 33.-34. (Munich: Hoheneichen, 1934), 171

[*bastardische Ausgeburten, erzeugt von geistiger Syphilis und malerischem Infantilismus, als »Seelenausdruck«*]

⁷⁶⁷ Adolf Hitler, “Adolf Hitlers Rede Auf Der Kulturtagung Des N.S.D.A.P. [Adolf Hitler's Speech at the Cultural Conference of NSDAP],” in *Die Reden Hitlers Am Reichsparteitag 1933 [Hitler's Speeches at the Reich Party Day, 1933]*, ed. Walther Schmitt (Munich: Eher-Verlag, 1934), 30

[*Ob die Vorsehung uns alle die Männer schenkt, die dem politischen Willen unserer Zeit und seinen Leistungen einen gleichwertigen kulturellen Ausdruck zu schenken vermögen, wissen wir nicht. Aber das eine wissen wir, daß unter keinen Umständen die Repräsentanten des Verfalls, der hinter uns liegt, plötzlich die Fahnenträger der Zukunft sein dürfen. [...] Auf keinen Fall wollen wir den kulturellen Ausdruck unseres Reiches von diesen Elementen verfälschen lassen; denn das ist unser Staat und nicht der ihre.*]

changes and the demand for “the German renewal”⁷⁶⁸ in the arts. By the time Semke received the order for designing the commemorative courtyard next to the German Protestant church in Lisbon, in 1934, major alterations in German politics had already been established, as much as art had been declared a subject of national and political importance in his home country. Nevertheless, he created the sculptures for the commemorative courtyard in the spirit of his artistic idol Ernst Barlach, stylistically located between expressionism and realism. While he initially was strongly supported by Pastor Gennrich and the German Envoy Hans Freytag, a “[c]ulturally very educated, cosmopolitan, open-minded, generous”⁷⁶⁹ man and art lover, Semke might have failed to realize that the assumption of power of the National Socialists could also change the situation of the German enclave in Portugal. The replacement of Envoy Freytag by his successor Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene marked a turning point for the artist: although admired by the Portuguese artists and art critics, his own fellow countrymen deprived him of their support. Eventually, with around 2.500 kilometers of distance in between, the long arm of the new political leaders in Berlin reached Lisbon to carry out what Bettina Feistel-Rohmeder literally had demanded in 1933:⁷⁷⁰ the removal of artworks rejected by public feeling.

3.12 A Curious Incident? Evaluation of the Events around the Sculptures at the German Protestant Church of Lisbon

The present in-depth examination of the ‘Lisbon affair’ showed that one particular reason for the removal of the sculptural group *Kameradschaft des Untergangs* cannot be determined. In fact, there has been a conglomeration of various reasons mutually depending on each other and finally leading to the ‘curious incident’ occurring around the sculptures by Hein Semke at the German Protestant Church of Lisbon.

It became obvious that neither the version propagated in Semke’s official biography nor the research findings by Christiane Tichy and Jürgen Krüger entirely cover the events Semke was involved in between 1932 and 1936.⁷⁷¹ Instead, the entire ‘Lisbon affair’ was a gradual process in which several factors played an important role.

A participation of Semke in the decoration of the newly erected Protestant church in Lisbon was decided early, already in 1932. The German Envoy Hans Freytag eagerly promoted the young artist and imposed his collaboration. Even after Otto Bartning had rejected the inclusion of works by Semke in the church, Freytag stood up for his protégé and quickly found

⁷⁶⁸ Piper, *Chefideologe*, 2015, 176

⁷⁶⁹ Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 75

[*Kulturell sehr gebildet, weltoffen, tolerant, großzügig*]

⁷⁷⁰ Cf. Teut, *Architektur*, 2014, 79

⁷⁷¹ Cf. Balté, *Coragem*, 2009. and Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003

a new task for him: the artistic design of the atrium. His support for Semke went as far as to conceal the results of the artist's criminal record—while the rumors about the artist already billowed in the German community—and to reallocate the financial support granted to the parish “as a gift from the President of the Reich von Hindenburg and the Government of the Reich.”⁷⁷²

After Freytag's dismissal (or retirement), Semke lost his most important supporter. The new German envoy in Lisbon, Baron von Hoyningen-Huene, denied every kind of support for the artist and, moreover, even openly distanced himself from Semke and refused to inaugurate the commemorative court. The situation exacerbated when Semke organized the press conference in July 1935, in order to introduce his work to the Portuguese public. This event marked a crucial moment in the ‘Lisbon affair’, as the resulting media coverage on the commemorative courtyard led to serious disputes between the envoy, the church parish, the pastor, the artist and the local NSDAP.

Semke, who had a celebratory public presentation of his first commissioned artistic work in mind, felt deprived of this possibility after the envoy declared his unwillingness to participate in a formal opening. The plan to “one day quietly hand the court over to the community by simply removing the wooden wall,”⁷⁷³ was not what the artist aimed for. In addition, the artist had planned a voyage to Paris in fall 1935, and obviously he wanted to resolve the situation before departing. The importance of public attention for Semke becomes especially obvious in the letter he wrote to Wolfgang Sievers in 1936. Besides noting down his requirements for compensation, he explicitly stressed, by manually underlining the words, that for his “satisfaction: the mourner [*A Dor*; note from the author] and the relief are re-erected and publicly inaugurated by the parish.”⁷⁷⁴

It remains unclear whether Semke misjudged the possible effects of the press conference, or whether he indeed was confident about changing the envoy's mind by publicizing his works of art and mentioning a festive inauguration. However, the reaction was universally negative. The envoy and the members of NSDAP felt defamed and the connection

⁷⁷² Gennrich, Bericht, betreffend den Ehrenhof zum Gedächtnis der Gefallenen der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde in Lissabon [Report, Concerning the Commemorative Courtyard for the Members of the German Protestant Church Community Lisbon Killed in Action], 1

[*eine[r] bestimmten Summe als Geschenk des Herrn Reichspräsidenten von Hindenburg und der Reichsregierung*] Cf. Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 237 f.

⁷⁷³ Gennrich, Bericht, betreffend den Ehrenhof zum Gedächtnis der Gefallenen der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde in Lissabon [Report, Concerning the Commemorative Courtyard for the Members of the German Protestant Church Community Lisbon Killed in Action], 3

[*den Hof in aller Stille eines Tages der Gemeinde zu übergeben, indem einfach die Bretterwand entfernt würde*]

⁷⁷⁴ Semke, Letter to Wolfgang Sievers, 3 f.

[*als Genugtuung: die Trauernde und das Relief wird wieder aufgestellt und durch die Gemeinde öffentlich eingeweiht.*]

Semke had tried to establish by applying for membership in the party was torn. Instead of attracting positive attention, the sculptural group *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*, along with its creator, became the focus of heavy criticism and was finally used as bone of contention in the NSDAP's attempt to blacken the pastor's reputation in order to remove him from his position in Lisbon. The anonymous letter sent to the foreign department of the party in Berlin reveals this concatenation and illustrates impressively how the local branch of NSDAP used the sculpture to incite the situation.

The above-mentioned connection between Semke and the NSDAP is an interesting factor, not only for the 'Lisbon affair', but as well for understanding the artist's mindset. In 1923, Semke had demonstrably and officially declared himself an anarchist;⁷⁷⁵ throughout his life—as demonstrated in the chapter examining myths and truths about the artist's biography—his way of thinking was affected and influenced by anarchistic theories. Therefore, his attempt to apply for membership in the NSDAP may surprise at first. Especially, since Semke must have been aware of the rigorous course of action pursued by the German government after the arson attack on the *Reichstag* on February 27, 1933. In the weeks after this event, the Portuguese newspapers reported extensively on the fire and its consequences.⁷⁷⁶ already on March 1, 1933, the *Diário de Lisboa* informed about “draconian laws”⁷⁷⁷ and measures taken against communists and socialists. Two days later, the same newspaper announced that the chairman of the Communist Party of Germany, Ernst Thälmann, was arrested in Berlin.⁷⁷⁸ That kind of news certainly were of interest for Semke, since he supposedly knew Thälman from his childhood, as he claimed in his narration *Hannes, der Rammer*.

Even if Semke's Portuguese language skills by that time might not have been sufficient to fully understand the Portuguese newspaper articles, it can be assumed that this kind of news spread quickly in the German community. The artist created his works for the courtyard in the warehouse of Hans Konrad Wimmer, a place open to the public and suitable for a lively exchange of news, a place “where everyone with business relationships passed by and many

⁷⁷⁵ Cf. *Hamburgischer Correspondent und neue hamburgische Börsen-Halle, Morgenausgabe, 2. Beilage* [*Hamburg Correspondent and New Stock Market of Hamburg, Morning Edition, 2. Supplement*], “Anarchist, 18.10.1923”

⁷⁷⁶ Cf. e.g. *Diário Da Manhã*, “O Incendio Do Reichstag Foi Praticado Por Van Der Lugge, Comunista Holandês, Que Confessou O Crime [the Reichstag Fire Was Executed by Van Der Lugge, a Dutch Communist Who Admitted the Crime],” March 2, 1933, 686, 6f.; *Diário Da Manhã*, “A Agitação Na Alemanha. A Suspensão Dos Jornais Comunistas [Unrest in Germany. The Suspension of the Communist Newspapers],” March 3, 1933, 687, 5; *Ilustração*, “Ardeu O >Reichstag< [the >Reichstag< Burned],” March 16, 1933, 6, 22

⁷⁷⁷ *Diário de Lisboa*, “O Reichstag Em Chamas [the Reichstag Ablaze],” March 1, 1933, 3698, 8 [disposições draconianas]

⁷⁷⁸ *Diário de Lisboa*, “Thaelman Foi Preso [Thaelman Was Arrested],” March 3, 1933, 3700.

members of the German colony already observed the work's genesis."⁷⁷⁹ Besides, Semke had several contacts to refer to when needing a translation: his companion Martha Ziegler already lived for many years in Portugal, as much as his friends of the "people of Linda"⁷⁸⁰, among them Henrique Delgado Westenfeld and his wife Else Althausse.

Regarding Semke's application for membership in the NSDAP in 1934,⁷⁸¹ Pastor Gennrich stated that the artist would have taken this step upon request by the local branch of the National Socialists. Although proof for this statement cannot be supplied, the pastor's report appears to be logical. Evidence suggests that Semke's return to Germany was planned from the outset: in his letter to Gennrich,⁷⁸² dated March 2, 1936, the artist wrote:

My contribution to the construction of the Court of Honor was based on the request of the former Envoy in Lisbon, Dr. Hans Freytag—He chose the sum known to you, which should have been disbursed after executing one work, so that I could, for the further development of my sculptural predisposition, continue studying for more 1.5 to 2 years.⁷⁸³

After the political situation—and as well the situation for artists—had changed in Germany in 1933, the pastor himself tried to support Semke in his plan of returning in order to continue studying or establish a career as an artist in his home country. There would be no other way to explain why else Gennrich wrote in 1934:

Now he [Semke; note by the author] lives, in the 38th year of his life, in a small village near Lisbon—and in the silence of the local seclusion from the entire world arises in unprecedentedly productivity one work of art after the other [...], under the most primitive circumstances, but yet completed in expressiveness and design; amid Mediterranean landscape,

⁷⁷⁹ Gennrich, Bericht, betreffend den Ehrenhof zum Gedächtnis der Gefallenen der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde in Lissabon [Report, Concerning the Commemorative Courtyard for the Members of the German Protestant Church Community Lisbon Killed in Action], 3

[wo jedermann, der dort geschäftlich zu tun hatte, vorbeikam und viele Mitglieder der deutschen Kolonie die Entstehung des Werkes bereits beobachteten]

⁷⁸⁰ Westenfeld, Letter from Henrique Delgado Westenfeld to Hein Semke (written between April 1931 and June 11, 1931), 13

[Linda-Leute]

⁷⁸¹ Gennrich, Betrifft Schreiben des Herrn Bischof D. Heckel vom 26.9.1935. (A.8266) [Concerning Letter of Bishop D. Heckel of 26.9.1935. (A8266)], 1

Cf. Kiesling, Lydia / Landesarchiv Berlin, e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida; Matelowski, Anke / Archiv Bildende Kunst, Akademie der Künste, e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida; Zarwel, Torsten / Bundesarchiv Berlin [Federal Archive Berlin], e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida.

⁷⁸² Semke, Abschrift Brief des Bildhauers Hein Semke an Pfarrer Lic. Gennrich-Lissabon [Copy Letter of the Sculptor Hein Semke to Pastor Licentiate Gennrich-Lisbon].

⁷⁸³ Ibid., 1

[Meine Beteiligung am Bau des Ehrenhofs ist auf Wunsch des früheren Gesandten in Lissabon, Herrn Dr. Hans Freytag, geschehen. – Er setzte die Ihnen bekannte feste Summe aus und sollte diese nach Leistung einer Arbeit ausgezahlt erhalten, damit ich zur weiteren Durchbildung meiner bildhauerischen Anlagen 1 ½ - 2 Jahre weiterstudieren könne.]

but yet essentially German, waiting for discovery by the homeland and the call back home.⁷⁸⁴

In order to work as an artist in Germany after a return migration, Semke would have to be a member of the Reich Chamber of Culture, but this was only possible with a membership in NSDAP. Moreover, the support of the party's local branch in Lisbon would have certainly been convenient to improve the likelihood of being admitted and to improve his professional possibilities. A small detail in Semke's diary gives the hint that he had gathered the necessary documentation to apply for both, the Reich Chamber of Culture and the NSDAP: "I am of pure Aryan lineage for hundreds of years."⁷⁸⁵ A remark referring to the so-called Aryan certificate that necessarily had to be submitted with both applications. However, Semke's plan to continue his studies in Germany, which he also revealed in his letter to Wolfgang Sievers in 1936,⁷⁸⁶ would most likely have become difficult to fulfill: with his past as an anarchist, he would have been considered politically unreliable and therefore excluded from admission.⁷⁸⁷

Obviously, Semke's enmity with the National Socialists—which he highlighted since 1945 and throughout his career—initially appears not to have existed. Instead, he seems to have applied for membership in NSDAP, a party that sharply contrasted his political and human conviction for which he, indirectly, was sent to prison in 1923. After 1945, the artist claimed vehemently that he would always have opposed National Socialism and, moreover, that he would have left Germany and went to Portugal in

1932 (I was, and I am an opponent to every kind of dictatorship or similar political machinations) [...], because I was of the opinion that soon something similar to a civil war would develop. Additionally, I assumed, resp. I knew, that National Socialism—or communism would take over

⁷⁸⁴ Paul W. Gennrich, "Zu Den Arbeiten Von Hein Semke [About the Works of Hein Semke]," in Kurth, *Kunst Und Kirche*, 44

[*Nun lebt er, im 38. Lebensjahr stehend, in einem kleinen Dorf bei Lissabon, und in der Stille der dortigen Abgeschiedenheit von aller Welt, entsteht in unerhörter Produktivität ein Werk nach dem andern [...], unter den primitivsten Verhältnissen, mit den primitivsten Mitteln und doch vollendet an Ausdruckskraft und Gestaltung, mitten in südländischer Landschaft und doch urdeutsch, auf ihre Entdeckung durch die Heimat und ihren Heimruf wartend.*]

⁷⁸⁵ Diary entry of May 24, 1950.

Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 10

[*ich bin rein arischer Abstammung seit Hunderten von Jahren.*]

⁷⁸⁶ Semke, Letter to Wolfgang Sievers, 4

It seems, that Hein Semke was undecided about where exactly he should go to in Germany. At issue, as possible destination, was Berlin: "Is there a purpose at all of me going to B.[erlin]. I would love to do that!—first, you are there then (Martl and me at least would then not be alone) and in addition I want to go to school for some more semesters."

[*Hat es überhaupt Zweck daß ich nach B.[erlin] gehe. Ich täte es gern! – einmal sind Sie dann da (Martl und ich sind wenigstens nicht allein dann) und außerdem will ich ja noch einige Semester zur Schule gehen.*]

⁷⁸⁷ Cf. Wolfgang Ruppert, ed., *Künstler Im Nationalsozialismus: Die "Deutsche Kunst", Die Kunstpolitik Und Die Berliner Kunsthochschule [Artists in National Socialism. The "German Art", the Arts Policy and the Berlin Art Academy]* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2015).

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the helm and then there would no longer be a space for me in Germany.”⁷⁸⁸

His advances made to the party, however, he rather left unmentioned, knowing that he would have lost his credibility in revealing this detail.

Semke’s own version of the ‘Lisbon affair’ changed several times over the years. In a handwritten document in his estate of around the year 1947,⁷⁸⁹ he wrote about the events and himself in the third person singular, as if someone else would report on the issue:

As soon as the art pieces were erected, [...] the agitation of NSDAP against Hein Semke started. [...] H.S. was referred to as criminal and defeatist and it was demanded to immediately remove the works. During the festivity of the harvest festival in 1935, a SS speaker from Berlin, who specifically appeared, demanded the immediate removal and destruction of the works. The Prot.[estant] Church gave in and agreed on the removal. Hein Semke was not in Lisbon. In his absence the destruction was started. Hein Semke interrupted his study trip to Paris. But he could only save the relief The A[scension] and the figure ‘The Grief’ from destruction. Those two works still today are standing in the court of honor of the Prot.[estant] parish of Lisbon.

The group Comradeship of Collapse [sic] had already been smashed to pieces and taken away. To where H.S. does not know yet [...].

H.S. could not defend himself against this vandalism, but still today he suffers from the destruction of a piece of work that was supposed to be a wake-up call⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁸⁸ Semke and Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Sozialbehörde Amt für Wiedergutmachung [Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg Social Security Office German Restitution Office], Wiedergutmachungsakte für Semke, Heinrich [Restitution File for Semke, Heinrich]

[1932 (*ich war und bin Gegner jeder Diktaturform oder ähnlicher politischer Machenschaften*) [...], weil ich der Meinung war, dass in kurzer Zeit so irgendetwas wie ein Bürgerkrieg sich entwickeln würde. Nahm ausserdem an, resp. wusste ich, dass der Nationalsozialismus [sic] – oder der Kommunismus ans Ruder käme und dann kein Platz mehr für mich in Deutschland sei.]

⁷⁸⁹ Hein Semke, Zu den Fotos 1933 - 1935 [About the Fotos 1933 - 1935], ca. 1947, HS 3 - HS 9 - Correspondência HS 9, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte

The document is undated, but was written on the pages of the exhibition catalogue Hein Semke and Miguel da Silveira, *Exposição De Escultura E Cerâmica De Hein Semke No Estúdio Do S.N.I. [Exhibition of Sculpture and Ceramics by Hein Semke in the Studio of S.N.I. 1947]* (Lisbon: Oficina Gráfica Limitada, 1947).

⁷⁹⁰ Semke, Zu den Fotos 1933 - 1935 [About the Fotos 1933 - 1935], 1f.

[Sobald die Arbeiten aufgestellt waren, [...] setzte die Hetze der N.S.D.A.P. gegen Hein Semke ein. [...] Man bezeichnete H.S. als Verbrecher und Defaitist und verlangte die sofortige Entfernung der Arbeiten. Bei der Feier des Erntedankfestes 1935 wurde von einem extra erschienenen Berliner S.S. Redner die sofortige Entfernung und Zerstörung der Arbeiten verlangt. Die evang.[elische] Kirche gab nach und war mit der Entfernung einverstanden. Hein Semke war nicht in Lissabon. In seiner Abwesenheit wurde mit der Zerstörung begonnen. Hein Semke unterbrach seinen Studienaufenthalt in Paris. Er konnte aber nur noch das Relief Die H[immelfahrt] und die Figur Das Trauer vor der Zerstörung bewahren. Diese beiden Arbeiten stehen heute noch auf dem Ehrenhof der evang.[elischen] Gemeinde in Lissabon.

Die Gruppe Kameraden des Zusammenbruchs [sic] waren schon in Stücke zerschlagen und abtransport. Wohin weiß H.S. heute noch nicht [...].

H.S. konnte sich gegen diesen Vandalismus nicht wehren, aber noch heute leidet er unter der Zerstörung einer Arbeit die ein Weckruf sein sollte]

In this—admittedly very favorable—adaptation, Semke included several factual mistakes. As could be substantiated, Semke was present when the works of art were removed from the court; he personally monitored the dismantlement procedure and afterwards went to Julius Claussen to inform him about the fact that the space would have been cleared. Moreover, neither did he interrupt his study trip, since Gennrich even had advised him in written not to do so,⁷⁹¹ nor was the *Reichsredner* solely for the purpose of dealing with the memorial in Lisbon.

Soon after, Semke must have brought forth the version of the ‘cloak-and-dagger operation’ in which he is portrayed as a victim of National Socialist arbitrariness. It is not possible to date this version back to a certain period, but Semke presented it to the German Restitution Office in 1961, when he claimed financial compensation as victim of Nacional Socialism, declaring that his work

one day in fall 1935 [...] has been shattered and removed upon request by the *Nazis*. [...] I only tried to receive a payment for the destroyed work, I had almost worked on it for 2 years. But as there had only been an oral agreement with the Envoy Dr. H. Freytag and Pastor Lic. Dr. Paul Gennrich, I did not receive anything. [...] Due to this art-vandalism I had to face very serious economic problems and retroactively on Portugal this cowardly act by the Nazis (nobody took responsibility for it) has had harmful effects on me for a very long time.⁷⁹²

With this report Semke once again changed his own part in the ‘Lisbon affair’ by presenting himself as a helpless victim. Nevertheless, as previously shown, Semke was well aware of how to take matters into his own hands. He had even tried to exert pressure on the church parish by receiving legal advice from Diogo de Macedo and by claiming “One Hundred Fifteen Thousand Escudos (Esc. 115.000\$00)” for the “moral and artistical degradation and consequential economic loss” and by adding the remark that the “German Chamber of Art has recognized my works as ‘artistically valuable’.”⁷⁹³ The fact that he had received a financial

⁷⁹¹ Cf. Gennrich, Letter to Hein Semke in Paris.

⁷⁹² Semke and Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Sozialbehörde Amt für Wiedergutmachung [Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg Social Security Office German Restitution Office], Wiedergutmachungsakte für Semke, Heinrich [Restitution File for Semke, Heinrich]

[wurden einestags im Herbst 1935 [...] auf Verlangen der Nazis zerschlagen und entfernt. [...]]

Ich versuchte nur, eine Bezahlung dieser zerstörten Arbeiten, ich hatte fast 2 Jahre daran gearbeitet, zu erhalten. Da aber nur ein mündliches Abkommen mit dem Gesandten Dr. H. Freytag und dem Pfarrer Lic. Dr. Paul Gennrich bestand, bekam ich nichts. [...]

Kam durch diesen Kunstvandalismus in ganz schwere wirtschaftliche Schwierigkeiten und rückwirkend auf Portugal war diese feige Nazitat (keiner bekannte sich dazu) für mich auf ganz lange Zeit hinaus schädigend.]

⁷⁹³ Semke, Honorarforderungen [Fee Receivables]

[Einhundertfuenfzehntausend Escudos (Esc. 115.000\$00)]; [moralische und kuenstlerische Herabsetzung und sich daraus ergebender wirtschaftlicher Schaden]; [von der Deutschen Kunstammer meine Arbeiten als „kuenstlerisch wertvoll“ anerkannt worden sind.]

compensation (including a voyage to Germany), the artist simply omitted. . He furthermore hid the fact that he indeed had planned to return to Germany and, moreover, applied for the participation in the Great German Art Exhibition in Munich in 1937 (fig. 137): this course of action neither fits Semke's version of being persecuted by National Socialism nor his statement that "[i]n the year 1937, I was registered on the list of degenerate art,"⁷⁹⁴ which could not be substantiated due to the fact that his name does not appear in any directory of the *Reichskulturkammer* [Reich Chamber of Culture] nor does a file on the artist exist.⁷⁹⁵ Especially this fact contradicts Semke's assumed voyage to Berlin, where he—according to his biography⁷⁹⁶—lodged a complaint at the Reich Chamber of Culture.⁷⁹⁷

After the 'Lisbon affair' finally had been settled, Semke stayed in Portugal. This might be closely connected to his life companion Martha Ziegler, as the artist mentions in his diaries on September 18, 1950: "Due to the war development (the Nazism etc.) the wishes of Martl [Martha Ziegler; note by the author] have been entirely shattered. Also I once thought about returning to Germany with Martl. 1936 and then 1937 Martl did not want that."⁷⁹⁸ Whether he would have returned to his home country in the case of his plans to become a member of the NSDAP and the Reich Chamber of Culture had been successful, has to be left in abeyance.

On the basis of the 'Lisbon affair' it becomes obvious that Semke exploited the events to his own advantage. As demonstrated, he declared himself a victim of National Socialist persecution and adapted his version to the respective occasion, twisting the facts according to his needs. Throughout time, he solidified the opinion that his career would have depended on the incident: he traced back professional failures to the, in his eyes, smear tactics targeted at him and which continued for many years, as he states in an diary entry on August 1, 1950: "After 1940, I did not receive commissions due to the malicious campaign of the Nazis"⁷⁹⁹ A similar remark can be found in his application for financial compensation as victim of Nacional

⁷⁹⁴ Cf. Semke and Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Sozialbehörde Amt für Wiedergutmachung [Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg Social Security Office German Restitution Office], Wiedergutmachungsakte für Semke, Heinrich [Restitution File for Semke, Heinrich]

[*Im Jahre 1937 [...] kam ich auf die Liste der entarteten Kunst*]

⁷⁹⁵ Kiesling, Lydia / Landesarchiv Berlin, e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida; Matelowski, Anke / Archiv Bildende Kunst, Akademie der Künste, e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida; and Zarwel, Torsten / Bundesarchiv Berlin [Federal Archive Berlin], e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida.

⁷⁹⁶ Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 56

⁷⁹⁷ Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 75

[*Dieser riet ihm, entweder dort mit allen Konsequenzen zu bleiben, oder sofort Deutschland zu verlassen.*]

⁷⁹⁸ Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 67

[*Durch die Kriegsentwicklung (den Nazismus etc.) haben sich die Wünsche Martls vollkommen zerschlagen. -Auch ich dachte einmal daran, mit Martl nach Deutschland zurückzugehen. 1936 und dann 1937 wollte Martl es nicht*]

⁷⁹⁹ Cf. Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 42

[*Nach 1940 bekam ich durch die Hetzkampagne der Nazis keinen Auftrag mehr*].

Socialism: “Due to the attitude of the Nazi-regime towards me and my work, I was and I still am today very severely damaged on an economical level. The many defamations that still today are being reported about me among the old Germans naturally have caused as well a negative influence on the Portuguese towards me.”⁸⁰⁰ His opinion that the local National Socialists would pull strings behind the scenes to prevent the artist from developing a career remained active at least until the 1960s. In a diary entry on July 24, 1950, this conviction of his becomes especially obvious: “from the background” would have been done “what the German Nazis wanted to achieve. They wanted to kill me economically, what worked out marvelously;” on top, Semke would have been “isolated—and thereby prevented from becoming famous abroad.”⁸⁰¹

With the passing of time, the ‘Nazis’ did not remain the only ones supposedly aiming at harming the artist. Depending on the situation, he accused single persons (as, for example, Hansi Staël, Almada Negreiros or Abel Manta), entire groups of colleagues (the “leftist” artists, as “this group” would “boycott” him⁸⁰²) and finally, the entire “Portugal, country of paradoxes and intrigues”⁸⁰³ of hindering him in developing as an artist and of impeding his career.

However, Semke never grappled with the legitimate criticism regarding his sculptural group *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*. A wholehearted and serious reflection of his own artistic creation did not occur, although Pastor Gennrich had already given a hint regarding the apparent esthetical inconsistency in 1935: “They absolutely fail to understand what you want to express and what you want to achieve [...]. Therefore, they are initially only irked by the outer appearance of some of your works.”⁸⁰⁴ The dimensions of *Kameradschaft des Untergangs* obviously were inappropriate for the courtyard and the design did not take the overall impression into consideration. Thus, the immediate impression of cramped conditions is caused in the observer, suppressing the effect of both the courtyard and the sculptural group.

⁸⁰⁰ Semke and Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Sozialbehörde Amt für Wiedergutmachung [Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg Social Security Office German Restitution Office], Wiedergutmachungsakte für Semke, Heinrich [Restitution File for Semke, Heinrich] [Durch die Haltung des Nazi-Regimes zu mir und meiner Arbeit, wurde und werde ich auch noch heute ganz empfindlich wirtschaftlich geschädigt. Die vielen Verleumdungen die heute noch unter den alten Deutschen über mich herumlaufen, haben natürlicherweise auch negativen Einfluss bei den Portugiesen mir gegenüber verursacht.]

⁸⁰¹ Cf. Balté, Coragem, 2009, 37

[was im Hintergrund die deutschen Nazis wollten. Man wollte mich wirtschaftlich tot machen, dies gelang ausgezeichnet [...].] hat man mich isoliert – und dadurch mein im Ausland-Bekanntwerden verhindert.]

⁸⁰² Ibid., 82

[linksstehende [...].] ich wurde von dieser Gruppe boykottiert]

⁸⁰³ Ibid., 166

[Portugal, das Land der Paradoxe und Intrigen]

⁸⁰⁴ Gennrich, Letter to Hein Semke in Paris, 2

[Man versteht überhaupt nicht, worum es Ihnen geht und was Sie wollen [...]. Man stößt sich darum zunächst nur an der äußeren Form mancher Ihrer Arbeiten]

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The esthetical aspects mentioned by the anonymous writer of the defamatory letter about Pastor Gennrich, namely “the unsatisfied spirit of horror, nothing uplifting,”⁸⁰⁵ today need to be considered against the setting of the predominant changes in the German concept of art since the late 1920s and even more drastically in the 1930s. With his immanent criticism of war in *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*, Semke breached the perception of a “genuine and eternal German art.”⁸⁰⁶ By depicting weary, wounded and dying soldiers, he clearly opposed national socialist claim that it should “[b]e [...] our ideology, that the strong and healthy human shall be in the center of the German art.”⁸⁰⁷ With the new envoy, it seems, the spirit of the times arrived in the German colony of Lisbon, allowing the national socialist iconoclasm to be carried out.

⁸⁰⁵ Anonymous, Betrifft: Pfarrer Gennrich [Concerns: Pastor Gennrich], 2
[unbefriedigten Geist des Grauens, nichts erhebendes]

⁸⁰⁶ *Freiburger Zeitung*, “Führer spricht, 19.7.1937”, 1 ff
[eine wahre und ewige deutsche Kunst]

⁸⁰⁷ Fischer, “Technik, 1934”, 13
[Unsere Weltanschauung sei es, daß der starke und gesunde Mensch in den Mittelpunkt der deutschen Kunstgestaltung gehöre]

4. Official Obstacles? Arriving in Portugal's *Estado Novo* as a Foreign Artist: Hein Semke and Portuguese Nationalism

In the course of his career, especially in the 1950s and 1960s, Hein Semke repeatedly complained about obstacles which would have hindered his career and the unimpeded development of his full potential. Those complaints and accusations can be found in the artist's diaries,⁸⁰⁸ which are a major source for his perspective and a record with entries seeking to substantiate arguments to justify why he—the foreigner—would not be able to achieve the same success as his Portuguese colleagues. Additionally, he identifies several factors keeping him either from working or obtaining commissions.

From Semke's point of view, one key reason for his lack of success was the predominant nationalism in Portugal's *Estado Novo* [New State] and its art scene, associated to a law which allegedly was issued in 1941 by the Portuguese Government to protect local artists by prohibiting orders to non-national or foreign artists. Moreover, Semke held his Portuguese colleagues responsible for intriguing against him while he himself would have tried to remain a decent and honorable person.

The line of reasoning concerning the above-mentioned law and the preferential treatment of Portuguese artists is not only referred to in Semke's diaries but appears as well in his biography *A Coragem de Ser Rosto*⁸⁰⁹ and has been adopted by several authors,⁸¹⁰ without questioning the veracity of this statement.

The following investigation seeks to determine the influence of the Portuguese nationalism on the career and the art of Hein Semke and discusses to what extend statutory provision may apply in this case.

After Hein Semke had transferred his residence to Linda-a-Pastora in 1932, he immediately started to make himself known as an artist. Already in December of the same year, about two months after his arrival, he participated in the exhibition *Salão do Inverno* in SNBA (*Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes* [National Society of Fine Arts]), where four of his

⁸⁰⁸ Cf. Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014.

⁸⁰⁹ Balté, *Coragem*, 2009.

⁸¹⁰ As for example in: Paulo Henriques, "Hein Semke. Esculturas [Sculptures]," in *Hein Semke: Esculturas [Sculptures], 1899-1995*, ed. Teresa Balté, João Pinharanda and Paulo Henriques, 1.th ed. (Lisbon, Caldas da Rainha: Instituto Português de Museus; Museu de José Malhoa, 1997), 17; Jorge Calado and Wolfgang Sievers, *Linha De Vida / Life Line: A Fotografia De Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993 / the Photography of Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993* (Lisbon: Departamento de Património Cultural, 2000), 41; Maike Bruhns, *Geflohen Aus Deutschland: Hamburger Künstler Im Exil 1933 - 1945 [Escaped from Germany. Artists from Hamburg in Exile 1933-1945]* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2007), 209.

sculptures and three woodcuts (fig. 138 a-c) were presented.⁸¹¹ The reporting on this event was meager, Semke and his works were only given a brief mention for the sake of completeness in an article of the newspaper *Diário de Lisboa* [Lisbon Daily]: “An imposing torso of Semke [...] Were they all mentioned?”⁸¹²

At about the same time as the exhibition was opened, a lively discussion erupted in the Portuguese art scene. After years of suffering from declining sales figures and lack of access to funding, the art community revolted and demanded to be heard and taken seriously in its distress, because there would be “artists who suffer from hunger.”⁸¹³ This statement was no exaggerated portrayal: the country found itself in a deep crisis since the end of the monarchy in October 1910, while the depression after the First World War had only exacerbated the situation. The nomination of António de Oliveira Salazar as Minister of Finance in 1928, initially did not show any improvement for the populace. On the contrary, his draconian government economic measures caused considerable hardship for the urban population and temporarily led to an economic recession.⁸¹⁴ Already in his inaugural speech on June 9, 1928, Salazar had announced: “It is a painful ascent, this, of a new Calvary. Men might die at the top; but believe that this is the way fatherlands redeem themselves.”⁸¹⁵ Indeed, Salazar’s program of government intervention in the economy meant a bitter blow for the Portuguese population. Salary cuts to reduce labor costs and an increase of the number of working days to improve productivity were some of the measures to strengthen the economy.⁸¹⁶ Rising unemployment and limited social security benefits made the situation additionally more difficult,⁸¹⁷ especially for the townspeople.⁸¹⁸

⁸¹¹ Cf. Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes [National Society of Fine Arts], ed., *Salão De Inverno 1932-33* [Winter Salon 1932-33] (Lisbon, 1932).

⁸¹² Artur Portela, “O Salão De Arte Moderna. A Exposição E Os Expositores. Almada Negreiros, Chefe Da Esquerda Artistica. [the Modern Art Salon. The Exhibition and the Exhibitors. Almada Negreiros, Leader of the Artistic Left],” *Diário de Lisboa*, December 22, 1932, 3633, 7.
[Um torso pujante de Semke. [...] Foram todos nomeados?]

⁸¹³ A.F.G., “A Crise É Apavorante... Em Portugal Ha Artistas Com Fome!. Afirmou O Escultor Diogo De Macedo [the Crisis Is Terrifying... In Portugal There Are Artists with Hunger!. Declares the Sculptor Diogo De Macedo],” *Diário Da Manhã*, March 14, 1933, 698, 3.

⁸¹⁴ Cf. Bernecker and Pietschmann, *Geschichte Portugals*, 2008, 109.

⁸¹⁵ *Diário de Lisboa*, ““Eu Represento No Ministerio Das Finanças a Politica De Verdade, Contra a De Mentira”, Declarou Hoje O Dr. Oliveira Salazar [“I Represent in the Ministry of Finances the Politic of the Truth, Against the Politic of the Lie”, Declared Today Dr. Oliveira Salazar],” June 9, 1928, 2199, 16
[É uma ascensão dolorosa, esta, de um novo Calvario. Podem os homens morrer no cimo; mas creiam que é assim que as patrias se redimem.]

⁸¹⁶ Cf. Friedrich, *Salazars Estado Novo*, 2016, 87.

⁸¹⁷ Official sources for the unemployment rate prior to 1931 do not exist since only in 1932 measures for the financial support for the unemployed were implemented.

Cf. *ibid.* and Nuno Valério, “Estatísticas Históricas Portuguesas [Portuguese Historical Statistics],” *Estatísticas Históricas Portuguesas 1* (Instituto Nacional de Estatística Portugal, Lisbon, 2011).

⁸¹⁸ Cf. Friedrich, *Salazars Estado Novo*, 2016, 65.

In this tense situation, the visual artists started to raise their voices, since the audience—in times of crisis—was not willing to purchase works of art, whereby they lost their main source of income.⁸¹⁹ The voices calling for state support and intervention were growing louder and soon the press started to address this issue. In 1931, the journal *O Notícias Ilustrado* [Illustrated News] published the results of a survey carried out among the Portuguese artists and presented an unambiguous result: in Portugal there would be no point in starting an artistic career, because it would be impossible to earn a living in this profession.⁸²⁰

In the same year, 1931, the *Comissão de Defesa dos Interesses dos Artistas* [Defense of Artists Interests Committee] was founded in SNBA. Headed by Diogo de Macedo (1889-1959), the committee consisted of prominent architects, artists and journalists,⁸²¹ among them the journalist António Ferro, who would soon play an important role in the cultural scene of Salazar's *Estado Novo*.

Nevertheless, at first there was no change to the situation of the artists. Salazar, who had been an economics professor at the University of Coimbra before being appointed Minister of Finance in 1928 and becoming Prime Minister in 1932, seemed little interested in arts and culture. He lived and worked silently and withdrawn, “[h]is home was modest as his suits were; neither friends nor protégés were known; and nobody saw him in the streets, in a theater or at a party.”⁸²² It seemed as if balancing the budget and stabilizing Portugal's currency would have been his only concern—whatever the cost.

4.1 The Artists Struggle: ‘Life is Hard for All but Particularly for Those Devoted to the Arts of Our Land’

In November 1932, António Ferro, who had risen “to political prominence in Portugal by writing flattering narratives of dictatorships around Europe,”⁸²³ and by working as a journalist in the daily newspaper *Diário de Notícias*, could finally pander to his *idée fixe*: several times he had tried to win António de Oliveira Salazar over to an interview but had always been turned down. Ultimately, though, he was given the opportunity to speak with the man who had become

⁸¹⁹ Cf. França, *Arte em Portugal*, 2009, 139.

⁸²⁰ Cf. Matos, *Escultura em Portugal*, 2007, 200.

⁸²¹ Architects: “Carlos Ramos, Paulino Montês, Jorge Segurado, Cristino Silva”, sculptors: “Francisco Franco, Diogo de Macedo, Rui Gameiro, Maximiano Alves”, painters: “Lino António, Jaime Martins Barata, Bernardo Marques” and journalists: “António Ferro, Luís Teixeira [and] Norberto Araújo”.

ibid., 203.

⁸²² Acciaiuoli, *Vertigem*, 2013, 80

[*A sua casa era modesta como os seus fatos; não se lhe conheciam amigos nem protegidos; e ninguém o via nas ruas, num teatro ou numa festa.*]

⁸²³ Stephen Parkinson, Cláudia P. Alonso and T. F. Earle, eds., *A Companion to Portuguese Literature*, Paperback ed., Colección Tàmesis Serie A, Monografias 282 (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2013), 157.

“the country’s ‘financial dictator’.”⁸²⁴ For five consecutive days, Ferro was allowed to accompany and interview Salazar, every day for “two to three hours [...], in his office, his house, in the car of his ministry, the Council President speaks freely with the one who, soon, would make his most successful portrait.”⁸²⁵ (fig. 139, 140) The interviews were printed in *Diário de Notícias* between December 18 and 24, 1932,⁸²⁶ and already shortly thereafter, in February 1933, Ferro published the conversations as a book with a preface by Salazar.⁸²⁷

Although the topics addressed included mainly politics, Ferro took advantage of the situation and led the conversation towards art and the responsibility the State would have for the artists:

our budget is balanced, we have streets, we almost have no debts, we have a good credibility out there, a remarkable community work, an industry that starts to spread its wings, but still nothing has been done for the development of literature or the visual arts that suffocate without being able to broaden their horizon.⁸²⁸

The answer of Salazar once again made clear his priorities: he responded that the problems should be resolved depending on their importance, as it would be “ridiculous to have a shirtless man wear a jacket.”⁸²⁹ In other words: before shifting his attention to anything else, he would have to put the public finances in order. At the same time, he gave hope and stated that “those boys [the artists; note by the author]” should have “confidence” and “be able to wait” until the State could take care and make them useful for their country.⁸³⁰

⁸²⁴ Meneses, *Salazar*, 2009, 3.

⁸²⁵ Acciaiuoli, *Vertigem*, 2013, 79

[*duas a três horas [...]. No seu gabinete, na sua casa, no automóvel do seu ministério, o presidente do Concelho fala à vontade com aquele que, em breve, lhe faria o seu mais conseguido retrato.*]

⁸²⁶ Cf. “Domingo, 18 De Dezembro De 1932. Publicação No “Diário De Notícias” Da Primeira De Uma Série De Cinco Entrevistas De Salazar a António Ferro: [Sunday, December 18, 1932. Publication of the First in a Series of Five Interviews of Salazar by António Ferro in “Diário De Notícias”],” Fundação Mário Soares, accessed March 21, 2018, <http://www.fmsoares.pt/aeb/crono/id?id=035422>.

⁸²⁷ The same year, the book was published additionally in the following languages: English, French, Spanish, Italian, Polish and Concani, a dialect mainly spoken in Goa, a former Portuguese province and belonging to the overseas territory of Portuguese India.

Cf. Mafalda Ferro, “Bibliografia Activa. António Ferro: Obra Publicada E Inédita [Dynamic Bibliography. António Ferro: Published and Unpublished Work],” Fundação António Quadros, accessed March 21, 2018, http://www.fundacaoantonioquadros.pt/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=78&Itemid=103.

⁸²⁸ António Ferro, *Salazar. O Homem E a Sua Obra [Salazar. The Man and His Work]* (Lisbon: Fernando Pereira Editor, 1982), 122

[*temos o orçamento equilibrado, temos estradas, quase não temos dívidas, temos um bom crédito lá fora, uma obra municipal notável, uma indústria que começa a abrir asas, mas nada se fez ainda pelo desenvolvimento da literatura e das artes plásticas que sufocam, sem poder alargar os seus horizontes*]

⁸²⁹ Cf. *ibid.*

[*é ridículo mandar vestir casaca a um homem que não tem camisa*]

⁸³⁰ José Almada Negreiros qtd. in França, *Arte em Portugal*, 2009, 139
[*esses rapazes*]; [*confiança*]; [*saber esperar*]

However, it seems as if the artists were not willing to wait. On January 5, 1933, José Sobral de Almada Negreiros (1893-1970), a well-established name in the Portuguese art scene, initiated a conference about ‘Art and Artists’ in SNBA and opened his lecture with the following words describing the overall situation:

The most neglected word in Portugal nowadays is the word artist. Neglected, discredited, broke and put off stage and aside from life. There should be no fear in stating this. Yielded as we are to the obviousness of realities.⁸³¹

Soon after, in February 1933, the *Comissão de Defesa dos Interesses dos Artistas* presented a document to the government, in which the difficult situation of the artists was described. Included was a list of measures and proposals for remedying their current situation and leading it to a lasting improvement.⁸³² The press again had supported the artists in their cause: in January 1933, various articles and reports, scattered across different newspapers and magazines, were printed. The biweekly magazine *Ilustração* [Illustration], for instance, attempted to demonstrate—depicting the example of a painter and a sculptor—the precarious situation of artists and the necessity of support and protection through a superordinate organization:

Life is hard for all but particularly for those who have the misfortune to devote themselves to the arts of our land. Artists, writers and poets—hard fates haunt them [...] how needed is an organization that protects artists, sheltering them from misery, urging them to research, providing them means so that their inner consuming flame intensifies itself and turns into a fire, fruitful for their individual glory and magnificent for the art of the country.⁸³³

⁸³¹ José Almada Negreiros qtd. in *ibid.*

[*A palavra mais desconsiderada hoje em Portugal é a palavra artista. Desconsiderada, desprestigiada, falida, e posta fora de cena e da vida. Não haja receio de afirmar isto mesmo. Rendidos estamos pela evidência das realidades.*]

⁸³² Suggestions to alleviate the artists’ existing situation included teaching positions, the provision of financial resources for art programs and fostering public art, the construction of affordable apartments and ateliers, the provision of funds to the museums for the acquisition of art works, the employment of graphic artists for various publications and a restructuration of the SNBA.

Cf. Matos, *Escultura em Portugal*, 2007, 203.

⁸³³ *Ilustração. Grande Revista Portuguesa* [Illustration. The Major Portuguese Magazine], “A Luta Pela Vida De Dois Artistas E as Malasartes Na Nossa Terra [the Struggle for the Life of Two Artists and the Muddle in Our Country],” January 1, 1933, 169, 18

[*A vida é dura para todos, mas mais especialmente para os que têm a desventura de se consagrar às artes na nossa terra. Artistas, escritores e poetas, maus Fados os perseguem [...] como faz falta uma organização que proteja os artistas pondo-os ao abrigo da miséria, incitando-os ao estudo, dando-lhe meios para que o fogacho interior que os devora, se amplifique e torne num incendio fructuoso para a sua gloria individual e magnifico para a arte do paiz.*]

The journal *O Notícias Ilustrado* likewise called for the unification of the artists⁸³⁴ and the *Diário de Lisboa* reported on the “tremendous crisis” troubling the artists: they would not receive any orders, either from official or private customers, and exhibitions would open and close without a single piece of art being sold.⁸³⁵

Simultaneously, Ferro’s prestige—the exclusive interview with Salazar rendered him a highly acclaimed scoop—was driven forward. Caricatures of the “great journalist–reporter”⁸³⁶ (fig. 141) appeared and articles praised his work.⁸³⁷ One of the most peculiar records within those echoes is an interview printed in *Ilustração*: Philip Carr, introduced as art critic and working for three of the most important anglophone newspapers, namely “*The Observer, Manchester Guardian e [and] New-York Herald [sic]*”⁸³⁸ was asked if he would know any Portuguese writer. Answer: “Only António Ferro...”⁸³⁹

At this point it might be necessary to mention that the media were controlled by the state. A censorship had already been established by the preceding government, a military dictatorship, on June 24, 1926.⁸⁴⁰ As the transition between the military dictatorship and the *Estado Novo* was fluent, the relevant regulations were adopted and adapted to own needs. Finally, press censorship was made public by decree on April 11, 1933, simultaneously with the entry into force of the new constitution.⁸⁴¹ That means that all press products were controlled, filtered, reviewed and labeled accordingly. (fig. 142) In his speech at the opening ceremony of the newly founded SPN on October 26, 1933, Salazar clearly expressed his opinion

⁸³⁴ Cf. França, *Arte em Portugal*, 2009, 139.

⁸³⁵ *Diário de Lisboa*, “O Que Se Faz Lá Fora E Não Se Faz Em Portugal: Os Nossos Artistas Plasticos Atravessam Uma Crise Grave. Que O Estado E as Câmaras Municipais Podiam Remediar [What Is Done Out There and Not in Portugal. Our Visual Artists Are Experiencing a Serious Crisis. What the State and the City Councils Could Do to Remedy],” May 24, 1933, 3781, 7
[*tremenda crise*]

⁸³⁶ Teixeira Cabral, “O Grande Jornalista - Reporter - António Ferro. Interpretação De Teixeira Cabral [the Great Journalist - Reporter - António Ferro. Interpretation by Teixeira Cabral],” *Semana Portuguesa. Revista de Informação e Crítica*, January 24, 1933, 3, 9
[*O grande Jornalista – Reporter*]

⁸³⁷ Cf. Reinaldo Ferreira, “António Ferro, a Sua Entrevista E O Seu Entrevistado - Rápidos Comentários Sobre O Jornalista E Sobre O Seu Livro [António Ferro, His Interview and His Interviewee - Quick Comments About the Journalist and About His Book],” *Reporter X - Semanário das Grandes Reportagens [Weekly Newspaper of Great Stories]*, March 3, 1933, 112, 6, 15.

⁸³⁸ Cf. Manuel L. Rodrigues, “Uma Opinião Autorizada. O Clima, O Povo E a Arte Portuguesa Apreciados Por Um Crítico Inglês [an Authorized Opinion. The Climate, the People and the Art of Portugal Appreciated by an English Critic],” *Ilustração. Grande Revista Portuguesa [Illustration. The Major Portuguese Magazine]*, January 16, 1933, 2, 10.

⁸³⁹ *Ibid.*

[*Apenas António Ferro...*]

⁸⁴⁰ Cf. Friedrich, *Salazars Estado Novo*, 2016, 141.

⁸⁴¹ Cf. “Decreto-Lei N.º 22469 [Decree-Law No. 22469],” in *Diário Do Governo N.º 83/1933, Série I De 1933-04-11 [Journal of the Government No. 83/1933, Series I of 1933-04-11]*.

and attitude towards censorship: “Politically, there exists only what the public knows to exist.”⁸⁴²

The development of the press campaign for the benefit of the Portuguese artists reached a climax when, in March 1933, the daily newspaper and mouthpiece of the government, the *Diário da Manhã* [Morning Daily],⁸⁴³ launched a series of interviews with the most well-known Portuguese artists, architects and writers. In the first place, on March 8, 1933, a public letter to the *Comissario do Desemprego* [Unemployment Commissioner] was printed on the newspaper’s front page. In this letter the latter was addressed as “an intelligent person and man of action,”⁸⁴⁴ who would certainly recognize the value of the artists as educational entity. Their work could be used to provide guidance to the Portuguese: posters, drawings, illustrations, brochures could be designed by the artists in order to suggest the preference of domestic products.⁸⁴⁵ “In all other countries, in England, in France,”⁸⁴⁶ this practice would already be used as a constant reminder for the consumer. In fact, the letter presented solutions to a number of problems, as for example: by employing national artists for the purpose of propaganda for domestic products, the Portuguese consumer would concentrate more on local goods, what would boost the domestic economy. This proposed loop system obviously was in the best interest of Salazar, who viewed protectionism as the best way for the economic relaunch of Portugal,⁸⁴⁷ since “[T]he stated aims of the economic policy of *Estado Novo* were self-sufficiency and the independence of economy of the motherland and the Portuguese territory [the colonies; note from the author].”⁸⁴⁸ At the same time, the regime would be able to ‘use’ the Portuguese intellectuals for own purposes: by protecting national artists and providing them with tasks based on work with national references, the artists would feel more attracted to the politics of *Estado Novo* and more willing to support and postulate its ideologies. Consequently,

⁸⁴² *Diário de Lisboa*, “Uma Nova Repartição Do Estado. O Chefe Do Governo Instalou Hoje Na Sua Sede O Secretariado Da Propaganda Nacional Explicando as Razões Por Que Criou Este Organismo [a New Division of the State. The Head of Government Today Installed the National Propaganda Secretariat at His Headquarter Explaining the Reasons Why He Created This Organism],” October 26, 1933, 3935, 8 [Politicamente, só existe aquilo que o público sabe que existe.]

⁸⁴³ Cf. Friedrich, *Salazars Estado Novo*, 2016, 74.

⁸⁴⁴ *Diário Da Manhã*, “Carta Ao Sr. Comissario Do Desemprego [Letter to the Unemployment Commissioner],” March 8, 1933, 692, 1

[V. Ex.^a que é uma pessoa inteligente e um homem de acção]

⁸⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁶ Ibid.

[Em todos os países, em Inglaterra, em França, etc.]

⁸⁴⁷ Cf. Meneses, *Salazar*, 2009, 52.

⁸⁴⁸ Friedrich, *Salazars Estado Novo*, 2016, 87

[Die propagierten Ziele der Wirtschaftspolitik des Estado Novo waren die Autarkie und die Unabhängigkeit der Wirtschaft des Mutterlandes und des portugiesischen Hoheitsgebietes]

a kind of art protectionism was supposed to prevail—a request that finally culminated in the creation of the SPN under the leadership of Antonio Ferro, who certainly was, at this point, the indisputable personality to be named for the position. Especially, as he had already distinguished himself by representing the interests of the artists during the interview with Salazar.

4.2 The Meaning of the Artists Struggle for Hein Semke

Hein Semke's decision to start a career as an artist in Portugal may be considered—in view of the situation described above—as either courageous or highly risky. It could be argued that Semke, as a foreigner, might not have been entirely aware of the particular circumstances of an artist's life in Portugal, but this argument is inaccurate and can be refuted by taking a look at his biography and circle of friends.

Before becoming an artist, Semke had already lived in Portugal for about one year between 1929 and 1930. That means that he already had first-hand experiences with the country and the precarious financial situation it was going through. In addition, during his first stay, he made friends with Germans and Portuguese of German descent. Among those were Henrique Delgado Westenfeld (1898-1990), whose father was German, and his wife, the graphic artist Else Althausse (1898-1936), a German national who emigrated to Portugal in 1924. The couple was more than a mere acquaintance, since they provided financial assistance to support Semke's studies in Germany.⁸⁴⁹ Moreover, the couple also supported Semke organizationally and financially in his relocation from Stuttgart to Linda-a-Pastora in 1932, as shown in the chapter describing his biography.

Else Althausse, a graphic designer, painter, watercolorist and pastelist, cooperated in the Portuguese magazine *ABC-zinho. Histórias, Bonecos, Construções* [Little ABC. Stories, Puppets, Compositions], for which she made numerous illustrations. Published between 1921 and 1932, the magazine was not only particularly designed for children, but also outreached the

⁸⁴⁹ “This month we have the pleasure to send some Marks [Deutschmark; note from the author] more to you; this because Paul Junge had been tricked by a swindler. But as he could get him convicted and got back part of the money, he—out of joy—put some bills for you on the table. So that you can always calculate that a special donation is included whenever the sum is higher than the usual.”

Westenfeld, Letter from Henrique Delgado Westenfeld to Hein Semke (written between April 1931 and June 11, 1931).

[Diesen Monat haben wir die Freude, Dir einige Märker mehr einsenden zu können; kommt daher, weil Paul Junge von einem Schwindler geprellt worden war. Da er ihn aber zu fassen kriegte und einen Teil des Geldes wiederbekam, legte er aus Freude darüber einige Scheine für Dich auf den Tisch. So dass Du Dir immer ausrechnen kannst, dass eine besondere Spende eingeschlossen ist, wenn mal der Betrag grösser als gewöhnlich ist.]

general public, since it was the first comic magazine in Portugal. The list of contributors unites some of the most prominent representatives in the fields of graphics, drawing and illustration. Among her colleagues were the very versatile architect, film director and editorial director of *ABC-zinho*, Cottinelli Telmo (1897-1948; fig. 143), Stuart Carvalhais (1887-1961; fig. 144), Carlos Botelho (1899-1982; fig. 145), Emmerico Nunes (1888-1968) and the autodidact Ofélia Marques (1902-1952; fig. 146). Hence, Else Althausse definitely was involved in the Portuguese art scene and must have known about the continuing commotion affecting the artists.

The remaining letters of Westenfeld and his wife Else in Semke's estate, dating back to the time before he finally moved to Linda-a-Pastora in 1932, do not reveal if Semke was aware of the difficult situation. Nevertheless, at the very latest, he must have been informed about the obstacles through his participation in the exhibition *Salão do Inverno* in SNBA, which started in December 1932. Amidst the participating artists were also several ones who spoke German, for example Emmerico Nunes—his mother was German—who lived in Munich between 1911 and 1914,⁸⁵⁰ where he worked for the German art and satirical magazine *Meggendorfer Blätter* [Meggendorf Gazette] in which he cooperated until 1924 (fig. 147, 148). In addition, Nunes illustrated at least one German children's book.⁸⁵¹ (fig 149 a-b) Further German-speaking artists participating in the *Salão do Inverno* were Fred Kradolfer (1903-1968),⁸⁵² a graphic artist from Switzerland who lived and worked in Portugal since 1924, and Mário Eloy (1900-1951). Eloy, who spent the years between 1927 and 1932 alternating between Berlin and Lisbon, was married to a German and acquainted with the German art dealer, art collector, journalist, and publisher Alfred Flechtheim (1878-1937), who commissioned him to illustrate Portuguese topics for his magazine *Der Querschnitt* [The Cross Section].⁸⁵³

Even if Semke's language skills might not yet have been sufficient to fully understand the background of the ongoing discontent in the art scene, he at least had three colleagues to refer to. The miserable conditions for artists in Portugal certainly were subject of discussions among themselves—once again enlivened on January 5, 1933, by the aforementioned conference in SNBA, initiated and held by Almada Negreiros and opened with drastic words, describing that artists would perform poorly in the Portuguese society. Adding to this, Semke

⁸⁵⁰ Cf. França, *Arte em Portugal*, 2009, 24 and Isabel Lopes Cardoso, "Emmerico Nunes," Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, accessed April 5, 2018, <https://gulbenkian.pt/museu/artist/emmerico-nunes/>.

⁸⁵¹ Cf. Emmerico Hartwich Nunes and C. A. Hennig, *Wie Die Alten Sungen [as Grown-Ups Do It]* (Munich, Eßlingen: J. F. Schreiber, 1913).

⁸⁵² A good overview on Kradolfer's life and work offers: Bártolo, *Kradolfer*, 2012.

⁸⁵³ Cf. Paulo Henriques and Serra, João B., Siebelist de Vasconcelos, Veronika, *Portugals Moderne 1910-1940: Kunst in Der Zeit Fernando Pessoa [Portugal's Modern Era 1910-1940. Art at Times of Fernando Pessoa]* (Kilchberg, Zürich: Stemmler, 1997), 300.

mentioned in his diary his “parties of friendship in Linda-a-Pastora. For years, artists came to the house on Sundays.”⁸⁵⁴ According to Teresa Balté, by that time his house was “a center of conviviality”⁸⁵⁵ and a meeting point for the most important intellectuals and artists of the 20th century in Portugal. As guests Balté mentions the universal artist Almada Negreiros and his future wife, the painter Sarah Afonso (1899-1983), Mário Eloy, the architect Jorge Segurado (1898-1990), the sculptor Diogo de Macedo (1889-1959), the painter Abel Manta (1888-1982), the future director of SPN António Ferro, the painter couple Maria Helena Vieira (1908-1992) and Arpad Szenes (1897-1985), the painter and graphic artist Bernardo Marques (1898-1962) and the writer Aquilino Ribeiro (1885-1963), to name but a few.⁸⁵⁶ The tense situation for artists surely was discussed during these meetings as it was both a main issue in the media and a vital topic for all of them. Therefore, it can be assumed that Semke had the possibility of getting an overview over the Portuguese art market and the difficulties existing in his professional occupation. Nevertheless, instead of facing the circumstances, he enthusiastically wrote in a letter to Johann Michael Bossard (1874-1950), one of his former teachers at *Kunstgewerbeschule Hamburg*, at around the same time as the media started to address the crisis of art:

for three months I am in Portugal, sitting in the blazing sun, as long as it does not rain. [...] The south is, after all, something nice when it comes to landscape and climate. Now, in the middle of January, there is marvelous sunshine [...] bright blue sky. And then the clear sea—I live 20 minutes away from the ocean.⁸⁵⁷

He also noted that he worked as an artist and could already claim an initial success:

⁸⁵⁴ Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 265

[*meine Freundschaftsfeste in Linda-a-Pastora. Jahrelang kamen sonntags Künstler in das Haus*]

⁸⁵⁵ Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 16

[*centro de convívio de intelectuais e artistas*]

⁸⁵⁶ “In the 30s came by: Almada Negreiros, Sarah Afonso, Mário Eloy, Luís de Montalvor, Carlos Parreira, João Gaspar, Manuel da Silveira, António Varela, Jorge Segurado, Diogo de Macedo, o médico Oliveira Martins, Abel Manta, António Ferro, Maria Helena Vieira e Arpad Szenes; these were joined in the 40s by: Carlos Queiroz, Bernardo Marques, the couple Cunha Leão, Vítor Falcão, José Osório de Oliveira, Manuel Valadares, Manuel Mendes, Mário Chicó, Dário Martins and Aquilino Ribeiro”

[*Por ela [a casa] passam nos anos 30: Almada Negreiros, Sarah Afonso, Mário Eloy, Luís de Montalvor, Carlos Parreira, João Gaspar, Manuel da Silveira, António Varela, Jorge Segurado, Diogo de Macedo, o médico Oliveira Martins, Abel Manta, António Ferro, Maria Helena Vieira e Arpad Szenes; a que se juntam nos anos 40: Carlos Queiroz, Bernardo Marques, the couple Cunha Leão, Vítor Falcão, José Osório de Oliveira, Manuel Valadares, Manuel Mendes, Mário Chicó, Dário Martins and Aquilino Ribeiro*].

ibid.

⁸⁵⁷ Semke, (Jan. 13, 1933) Letter to Johann Michael Bossard, 1

[*seit drei Monaten bin ich in Portugal und lasse mir, sofern es nicht regnet, die Sonne auf den Pelz brennen. [...] Der Süden ist doch eine feine landschaftliche und klimatische Angelegenheit. Jetzt, Mitte Januar herrlichster Sonnenschein [...] leuchtend blauer Himmel. Und dann das klare Meer – 20 Minuten vom Ozean entfernt wohne ich.*]

I am working here as well. In the annual exhibition of the Lisbon Secession (they call themselves the Young—the Modern) I exhibited 4 sculptural works as well as 3 woodcuts. Among the young painters and architects my work found general approval—but I am far from being satisfied. I still have to learn so much—so much and I have to work a lot more.⁸⁵⁸

Semke as well mentioned his experiments with different materials (wood, terracotta tiles) and asked whether his former teacher would know an enterprise that could send samples of underglaze colors to him to Portugal. Around two weeks later, Semke again sent a letter to Bossard and described his intention to build a kiln,⁸⁵⁹ what implies that he in fact planned to settle permanently in Linda-a-Pastora. Additionally, he informed his former teacher about a first order: “Currently, I am living with a German in the ‘fashionable seaside resort Estoril’. I am committing the portrait of his wife. [I] have an entire month.”⁸⁶⁰ The portrait referred to was one of the first works of art Semke made in Portugal and belongs into a series of busts he sculpted of female members of the German community. Between 1932 and 1933 he created portraits of Else Althausse-Westenfeld (fig. 150), Ilse Köhler (fig. 151), Martha Ziegler (fig. 152) and the mentioned portrait of Ruth Osenberg, which exists in three versions and might be the first official, paid commission Semke received in Portugal (fig. 153).

Soon further commissions followed, as well from Portuguese customers, like for example the relief for the tympanum of the chapel *Santo António* of the *Sanatório de Lumiar* [Sanatorium of Lumiar]⁸⁶¹ in 1934 (fig. 159). In spring of the same year, Semke obtained the order for his most controversial artistic work: the task of designing the churchyard of the German Protestant Church, through which he, as shown in the third chapter, generated a lot of attention. In parallel, Semke continued to participate in exhibitions⁸⁶². The Portuguese journalists started to praise his work in exhibition reviews: his “figures, deliberately harsh but

⁸⁵⁸ Ibid., 3

[Arbeiten tue ich auch hier. In der Jahresausstellung der Lissabonner Sezession (sie nennen sich die Jungen – die Modernen) habe ich 4 plastische Arbeiten, sowie 3 Holzschnitte ausgestellt. Unter den jungen Malern und Architekten haben meine Arbeiten Anklang gefunden, - aber ich bin noch lange nicht zufrieden. Ich muß noch viel – viel lernen und noch mehr arbeiten.]

⁸⁵⁹ Hein Semke, (Jan. 29, 1933) Letter to Johann Michael Bossard, January 29, 1933, AJB227, Archiv Kunststätte Bossard, 1.

⁸⁶⁰ Ibid., 2

[Zur Zeit lebe ich bei einem Deutschen im ‘Modebad Estoril’. Verbreche das Porträt seiner Frau. Einen ganzen Monat habe [ich] Zeit.]

⁸⁶¹ Lumiar is a civil parish in the northern part of Lisbon. The hospital today is called *Hospital Pulido Valente*.

⁸⁶² In 1933: *Exposição Colectiva da Galeria UP* [Group Exhibition in the Gallery UP], *Exposição no Clube Alemão* [Exhibition in the German Club], *Exposição de Pintura, Escultura, Arquitectura* [Exhibition of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture] in SNBA; in 1934: *Exposição de Arte Moderna* [Exhibition of Modern Art] in SNBA Cf. Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 18–53.

expressive, have mystical grandeur”⁸⁶³ and his work would “surprise up to the penetration of time, obliging us to admire it at length.”⁸⁶⁴

Evidently, Semke was, in the early 1930s, a very busy and sought-after man. These circumstances might have convinced him that his artistic career in Portugal would be more promising than in Germany. Impressed by the fast rise from an art student with discontinued course of studies to an artist in demand, Semke probably turned a blind eye to the increasing nationalism in Portugal that started to spread as well in the art scene—although Diogo de Macedo had given him a hint about “the nationalistic tendencies [that] tighten us more and more” in an article dedicated to Hein Semke in the weekly journal *O Diabo* [The Devil].⁸⁶⁵ In this article Macedo also extols Semke’s work, mentions his commitment, talent and calls him “essentially an intelligent and cunning builder”⁸⁶⁶.

As a response to Diogo de Macedo’s article, Semke published the self-portraying essay *Escultura*⁸⁶⁷ in the magazine *Sudoeste* [Southwest], edited by Almada Negreiros, in which he presented himself as a “fighting artist,”⁸⁶⁸ whose purpose in life would be art and art for him would be a force majeure: “I, the human being, am nothing more than a creature of God, but nothing happens without God knowing or wanting it.”⁸⁶⁹

4.3 Hein Semke’s Private Conditions as Prerequisite

Besides Semke’s growing success as an artist, it is as well necessary to take a look at his private situation and the conditions he lived in during the 16 years after his relocation from Germany to Linda-a-Pastora. Those circumstances played an important role in his professional development by guaranteeing him a certain level of security and offering him the freedom to work as a freelance artist.

⁸⁶³ Portela, “Exposição, 20.11.1933,” 5

[*As suas figuras, voluntariamente duras, mas expressivas, têm grandeza mística.*]

⁸⁶⁴ Guedes de Amorim, “Nas Belas Artes. O “Salão De Independentes” [in the Fine Arts. The “Salon of the Independent”],” *Ilustração*, December 16, 1933, 24, 39

[*surpreende até à penetração dos tempos, obrigando-nos a admirá-lo demoradamente*]

⁸⁶⁵ Diogo de Macedo, “Hein, 15.09.1935,” 5

[*as tendências nacionalistas [que] nos apertam cada vez mais*]

Diogo de Macedo was well aware of the difficult situation for modern artists in Germany. He noted that “Hitler, for sure, would excommunicate him.”

[*Hitler, por certo, o excomungaria*]

⁸⁶⁶ Ibid.

[*É essencialmente um inteligente e arteiro construtor*]

⁸⁶⁷ Cf. Semke, “Escultura, 1935,”

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid., 35

[*artista lutador*]

⁸⁶⁹ Ibid.

[*Eu, o homem, não passo de uma pequena criatura de Deus, mas nada acontece, sem que Deus o saiba e queira.*]

Soon after returning to Portugal and settling in Linda-a-Pastora, Semke moved in with Martha Ziegler, who had a steady job in a doctor's practice and lived in a detached house. Photographs (fig. 16-23) show that Semke over time turned house and yard into an exhibition area by decorating both with his works. In 1943, a magazine article was published about the curious home full of animals and works of art: "There are dogs, cocks and chickens all over the place, spider webs across the sculptures, and the impression of cleanliness, soon confirmed, is almost immediate."⁸⁷⁰ In his diary, Semke looked back with favor on the origins of this article (fig. 160):

Earlier today, I showed a photo to Luís Reis Santos, which has been taken in Linda-a-Pastora in 1942—On the stone bench next to the house wall, behind the round stone table, are sitting Carlos Queiroz (the poet and intimate of Luís Reis Santos) with Bobby, my Fox Terrier, in his arms, then me with the chubby dog Caroline and as the third the painter Bernardo Marques—That day Horácio Novais took the pictures of the house in Linda-a-Pastora which later (1943) were printed in the magazine 'Panorama', together with an article by Carlos Queiroz. Carlos Queiroz was fascinated, and he told about the house, no, the museum in Linda-a-Pastora all across Lisbon.⁸⁷¹

The house in Linda-a-Pastora, and of course the relationship with Ziegler, offered Semke a certain independence and financial security. The couple could afford a maid,⁸⁷² he was able to buy material, had space to work and to position his sculptures. In addition, and this is an important factor, Semke could allow his own creativity to run free, maintain his self-created image, produce art independently from any audience taste and was far from the busy—and many times scheming—art scene in the capital Lisbon. On October 14, 1950, almost one year

⁸⁷⁰ Carlos Queiroz, "A Casa Do Escultor Hein Semke [the House of the Sculptor Hein Semke]," in Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional, *Panorama. Revista Portuguesa De Arte E Turismo* [*Panorama. Portuguese Magazine for Art and Tourism*], 17:18

[*Há cães, galos e galinhas por toda a parte, teias de aranha sobre as esculturas, e a impressão de asseio, pouco depois confirmada, é quasi imediata.*]

⁸⁷¹ Semke, *Die innere Stimme*, 57; diary entry of August 23, 1950

[*Vorhin zeigte ich Luís Reis Santos ein Foto, das 1942 in Linda-a-Pastora aufgenommen wurde. – Auf der Steinbank an der Hauswand, hinter dem runden Steintisch sitzen Carlos Queiroz (der Dichter und intime Freund von Luís Reis Santos) mit Bobby, meinem Fox-Terrier im Arm, dann ich mit der dicken Hündin Caroline und als Dritter der Maler Bernardo Marques. – An dem Tag machte Horácio Novais die Aufnahmen des Hauses in Linda-a-Pastora, die später (1943) in der Revista „Panorama“ mit einem Artikel von Carlos Queiroz abgebildet wurden. Carlos Queiroz war begeistert, und überall in Lissabon erzählte er von dem Haus, nein, dem Museum in Linda-a-Pastora.*]

⁸⁷² Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 171 f.

Semke mentions "Maria Alice, my former maid" after Martha Ziegler had been brought back to Germany by her family due to her state of health in 1956. He had to clear the house in Linda-a-Pastora, where she lived for more than 30 years and where he had lived for around 16 years.

[*Maria Alice, mein altes Dienstmädchen*]

after leaving Ziegler and the house in Linda-a-Pastora, he wrote in his diary: “That I could get through here in Portugal until now, I owe, I am willingly admitting that, to Martl.”⁸⁷³

The combination of autonomy and the initial success as novelty in the Portuguese art scene led to the result that Semke did not have the financial necessity to convince and acquire customers. Additionally, he shut his eyes to the fact that the situation for foreign workers, whatever their profession, gradually weakened:

The entire last 20 years, in which the world continued to turn so variegating but unfortunately dramatically, I have—almost doing nothing, only sculpturing a bit—dreamed and idled away in the village Linda-a-Pastora. [...] I kept myself far from all the hustle (social and political)—and lived a purely individual live.⁸⁷⁴

Only after leaving Linda-a-Pastora in 1949, he started to realize that he had lived in a self-created parallel world in which he was independent from the art market and the art scene: “I believed I could regain the influence I had before 1940, in order to procure orders. But I was wrong, despite all reasonable efforts I could not yet succeed, and it looks as if this will also be impossible in the future.”⁸⁷⁵

While living in Linda-a-Pastora and retreating to the rural idyll remote from the big city—and by giving up his studio in Lisbon in 1941—Semke professionally was only present in the capital through his participation in exhibitions. Due to the curious incident of the ‘Lisbon affair’ his reputation among the members of the German colony had suffered. The Portuguese audience only hesitantly purchased his sculptures and, as already outlined in the chapter on his biography, state assistance for artists was drastically reduced after the exhibition *O Mundo Português* in 1940, implying that public commissions were almost inexistent. Nevertheless, Semke repeatedly mentioned a certain law as reason for his dwindling success,⁸⁷⁶ which—in his point of view—had made his life and his struggle for earning a living extremely difficult.

⁸⁷³ Ibid., 82

[*Dass ich die Zeit bisher hier in Portugal habe überstehen können, verdanke ich, ich gebe es gerne zu, der Martl.*]

⁸⁷⁴ Ibid., 66 f.

Diary entry of September 17, 1950 [*Die ganzen letzten 20 Jahre, in der Welt so variierend aber leider dramatisch verlaufen, habe ich, fast nichts tuend, nur etwas gebildhauert, auf dem Dorfe Linda-a-Pastora verträumt und vertrödelt. [...] Ich habe mich von allem Treiben (gesellschaftlichem oder politischem) fern gehalten – und lebte ein rein individuelles Leben.*]

⁸⁷⁵ Ibid., 68

Diary entry of September 24, 1951

[*Ich habe geglaubt, ich könnte den Einfluss, den ich vor 1940 hatte, wieder zurückerobern, um Aufträge für mich zu beschaffen. Darin habe ich mich geirrt, dies ist mir, trotz ehrlicher Anstrengung, bisher noch nicht gelungen, und es sieht so aus, als wenn es auch in Zukunft unmöglich wäre.*]

⁸⁷⁶ As for example in: Semke and Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Sozialbehörde Amt für Wiedergutmachung [Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg Social Security Office German Restitution Office], Wiedergutmachungsakte für Semke, Heinrich [Restitution File for Semke, Heinrich]; and Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 75.

According to his own explanations, sent in 1961 to the German *Amt für Wiedergutmachung* [German Restitution Office] in order to claim financial compensation as victim of Nacional Socialism, the law came into force in 1941:

In spring 1941, a law was approved here in Portugal, there were many emigrants [war refugees; note from the author] here, stating that no foreign artist was allowed to receive artists' commissions. Like this, my opportunity to earn money was cut off and I was depending on the revenues of sales from exhibitions.⁸⁷⁷

In how far Semke's own interpretation for the growing lack of success he had to face after leaving Linda-a-Pastora might be appropriate, requires detailed examination. The vast majority of texts about Semke simply repeat the negative impacts this alleged law had on him and his art; to date, no study has proven its existence or looked specifically at its application.

4.4 The Legal Situation—General Exclusion of Foreign Artists in *Estado Novo*? A Short Overview of the Legal Situation of Foreigners in Portugal between 1927 and 1942

To fully understand the growing nationalism and protectionism in Portugal, also at the artistic level, it is necessary to take a closer look at the legal situation for foreigners in Portugal in the 1930s and early 1940s. Over the years, it was repeatedly claimed that Hein Semke and his career fell victim to a law issued in 1941. Supposedly, this law was reinforced by the Portuguese Government for the protection of local artists and prohibited orders to non-national or foreign artists. Although this alleged law is mentioned in several publications,⁸⁷⁸ a reference generally is missing. Therefore, the following investigation addresses the question if a law impeding foreign artists from pursuing a career in Portugal indeed existed.

Throughout its history, Portugal had never been a typical country of immigration, as middle-European countries were and still are. Up to the 1930s, the influx took place only residually and with a small impact on the local society. Nevertheless, the Portuguese government's approach towards non-nationals changed fundamentally between the *Primeira República* [First Republic] (1910-1926), the political era after the abolishment of the monarchy,

⁸⁷⁷ Semke and Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Sozialbehörde Amt für Wiedergutmachung [Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg Social Security Office German Restitution Office], Wiedergutmachungsakte für Semke, Heinrich [Restitution File for Semke, Heinrich].

⁸⁷⁸ As for example in: Jorge Calado and Wolfgang Sievers, *Linha De Vida / Life Line: A Fotografia De Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993 / the Photography of Wolfgang Sievers 1933 - 1993* (Lisbon: Departamento de Património Cultural, 2000), 41; Maike Bruhns, *Geflohen Aus Deutschland: Hamburger Künstler Im Exil 1933 - 1945 [Escaped from Germany. Artists from Hamburg in Exile 1933-1945]* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2007), 209 and Balté, *Coragem*, 2009, 75.

and the *Ditadura Militar* [Military Dictatorship] (1926-1933), the corporatist authoritarian regime that succeeded it and developed into the *Estado Novo* led by António de Oliveira Salazar in 1933.

A first decree regulating the entry and stay of foreigners in the country was developed in 1927 and foresaw the registration and control of those with permanent or temporary residence in Portugal.⁸⁷⁹ Three years later, in June 1930, as a response to the worldwide economic and social crisis following the Stock Market Crash at Wall Street in New York on October 24, 1929, the Portuguese government took protective measures in order to ensure that national workers would not become unemployed, since

in Portugal, sometimes in a vivid and even painful way, the indeed global crisis of unemployment can be felt. And although it fortunately does not show the aspects of deep social problems as in other countries, it still represents a serious reason of concern for the government.⁸⁸⁰

Those measures stipulated that all Portuguese enterprises on Portuguese territory could solely employ persons of Portuguese nationality. Nevertheless, foreigners already employed, and working were not affected neither were those working self-employed or in any liberal profession. The law became immediately effective, but was limited in time, as its validity lasted only until the end of 1933.

Portugal, in fact, was not the only European country restricting its foreign workforce at that time. Similar measures for the protection of national workers were taken as well by countries like Germany, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain and Italy, among others.⁸⁸¹

Two years later, in 1932, the Portuguese government expanded the law of 1930 on non-nationals working as performers or having any other kind of profession in the area of entertainment, like in *casas de espetáculos* [show houses]. As all exceptions of the previous law were still valid, foreigners were allowed to take over tasks, as long as they would work as self-employed individuals or freelancers.⁸⁸²

⁸⁷⁹ Cf. “Decreto N.º 13919 [Decree No. 13919],” in *Diário Do Governo N.º 145/1927, Série I De 1927-07-11* [*Journal of the Government No. 145/1927, Series I of 1927-07-11*].

⁸⁸⁰ “Decreto N.º 18415 [Decree No. 18415],” in *Diário Do Governo N.º 127/1930, Série I De 1930-06-03* [*Journal of the Government No. 127/1930, Series I of 1930-06-03*], *Diário do Governo* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1930) [*Está fazendo-se sentir em Portugal, de forma por vezes viva e até dolorosa, a crise, aliás geral, do desemprego. E embora não revista felizmente os aspectos de grave problema social que assume em outros países, não deixa de constituir para o governo um sério motivo de preocupação.*]

⁸⁸¹ Cf. Chalante, “Estado, 2008”

⁸⁸² Cf. “Portaria N.º 7480 [Ordinance No. 7480],” in *Diário Do Governo N.º 288/1932, Série I De 1932-12-09* [*Journal of the Government No. 288/1932, Series I of 1932-12-09*], *Diário do Governo* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1932).

With the National Socialist's accession to power in Germany in January 1933, a first wave of emigrants started its journey. In Germany, "Jews were removed from the civil service, as were political opponents of the regime;"⁸⁸³ along with several intellectuals many left the country due to the increasing repressive measures. Nevertheless, for a huge number of emigrants Portugal came into focus as part of a possible escape route only after 1939—at about the same time as the Second World War started. Before, refugees chose destinations more easily accessible, like for example France or the Netherlands. It has to be taken into consideration as well that the overland route to Portugal led through Spain, where the Spanish Civil War raged between 1936 and 1939.

The one ending up in Portugal during the first six years of the National Socialist dictatorship, arrived there rather by chance, due to business or private relationship, only rarely due to a conscious effort motivated by previous information. Therefore, we find [...] several businessmen, scientists and medical doctors among the first emigrants in Portugal, who partially already had connections to this country before 1933.⁸⁸⁴

All this had not gone unnoticed in Portugal: in May 1933, José Caeiro da Mata (1877-1963), *Ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros* [Minister for Foreign Affairs], sent a telegram to the embassies in London, Berlin, Paris, Rome, Brussels and further legations across Europe, in which he ordered that an internal dispatch, sent already in March 1931, should be applicable to the "expelled Jews from Germany, to avoid that elderly people, agitators, extremists, communists and indigent could go to Portugal."⁸⁸⁵ This dispatch restricted the entry of Polish, Romanian and Bulgarian workers without a work contract issued by a Portuguese enterprise and other persons that could not present a reasonable justification.⁸⁸⁶

Under the aegis of António de Oliveira Salazar as head of the government, the law regarding the employment of foreign workers, which had become effective in June 1930 (Decree No. 18415), was revoked in July 1933. Instead, a new law came into force (Decree No. 22827). As a preliminary remark and justification for this new law can be read in the legislative text: "the aim of preventing that the excessive competition of foreign personnel would continue

⁸⁸³ Fulbrook, *History*, 2015, 59.

⁸⁸⁴ Zur Mühlen, *Fluchtweg*, 1992, 121

[*Wer in den ersten sechs Jahren der NS-Diktatur nach Portugal verschlagen wurde, gelangte dorthin eher durch zufällige Anlässe, durch geschäftliche oder private Beziehungen, selten aufgrund einer bewußt getroffenen und durch Informationen motivierten Entscheidung. Wir finden daher unter den ersten Portugal-Emigranten, [...] etliche Geschäftsleute, Wissenschaftler und Ärzte, die teilweise schon vor 1933 berufliche Verbindungen in dieses Land geknüpft hatten.*]

⁸⁸⁵ Chalante, "Estado, 2008," 34

[*judeus expulsos da Alemanha evitando que pessoas de idade, agitadores, extremistas, comunistas e indigentes possam vir para Portugal*]

⁸⁸⁶ Ibid., 35n71.

to affect the interests of Portuguese workers,” and that the number of unemployed among Portuguese nationals would have “only very slowly decreased” since 1930.⁸⁸⁷ Also foreseen was a strict and rigorous protection of the national unemployed, although it would not be intended “to make the life of foreigners in Portugal more difficult; it is only wanted to avoid that they take the place of the Portuguese workers and hinder, by the strong competition, a national solution for the general problem of unemployment.”⁸⁸⁸ Any enterprise “national or foreign, conducting activity in any place of the continental territory [the Portuguese mainland; note from the author] can only employ workers of Portuguese nationality, as long as the existence of unemployed is determined in the official unemployment’s statistics.”⁸⁸⁹ As before, foreign workers employed prior to the date of the publication of the law were not affected. In addition, short-term exemptions could be requested for a duration of 30 days but would have to be approved by the *Sub-Secretariado de Estado das Corporações e Previdência Social* [State Undersecretary of the Corporations and Social Security]. In case of breaching the law, penalties would be allocated to potential offenders.

In August of the same year, the PVDE⁸⁹⁰ (*Polícia de Vigilância e Defesa do Estado* [State Surveillance and Defense Police]) was established.⁸⁹¹ Under the authority of the Ministry of the Interior, the state police had the task, among others, of controlling the documents of foreigners on entering or leaving the country and also of operating over the non-nationals within borders, which means supervising their activity and organizing “the general registry and criminal record of foreigners with permanent or eventual domicile in the country.”⁸⁹² The scope of duties of PVDE also included to prevent espionage and to refrain the development of communism. Throughout the following years, the PVDE successively increased its importance

⁸⁸⁷ “Decreto-Lei N.º 22827 [Decree-Law No. 22827],” in *Diário Do Governo N.º 157/1933, Série I De 1933-07-14* [Journal of the Government N.º 157/1933, Series I of 1933-07-14].

⁸⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁹ Ibid.

[*nacionais ou estrangeiras, que exerçam a sua actividade em qualquer parte do território continental só podem ter ao seu serviço empregados de nacionalidade portuguesa, enquanto se verificar a existência de desempregados, segundo as estatísticas oficiais do desemprego.*]

⁸⁹⁰ The PVDE was responsible for border surveillance, control of foreigners and immigration, and state security. It operated between 1933 and 1945, afterwards it was renamed to *Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado* – PIDE [International and State Defense Police]. The PIDE was one of the pillars of the new state, its highly efficient network of espionage touched the life of almost everyone.

Cf. Friedrich, *Salazars Estado Novo*, 2016, 124 ff; Ribeiro, *Polícia Política*, 1995; Pimentel, *História da PIDE*, 2007.

⁸⁹¹ “Decreto-lei 22992, 1933”

⁸⁹² Ibid.

[*Organizar o registo geral e cadastro dos estrangeiros com residência permanente ou eventual no País*]

in the surveillance and control of the foreign population in Portugal. A peak was reached in 1944, when the qualification to issue passports was also delegated to the state police.⁸⁹³

In May 1936, the law of July 1933 (Decree No. 22827), was widened and made applicable to corporate organizations, like federations and guilds, when admitting foreign employees to their services.⁸⁹⁴ Three months later, in August, the *Missões Estéticas de Férias* [Esthetic Holiday Missions] were created as a reaction of the State to the general discontent of artists. The intention was to provide work and, therefore, financial relief, whilst using their abilities to both promote nationalistic values and build an inventory of the geographical area of the remote parts of Portugal's countryside. At the same time, the Portuguese government did not hide its true aims connected to this law and stated clearly that this initiative would be "used as an instrument to defend art against sick conceptions of what originality might be and against the denationalizing infiltration of exotic theories that sacrifice the plastic, humane and Portuguese realism for a cold and atypical geometric materialism."⁸⁹⁵ The law distinctively addressed Portuguese artists and impeded the enrollment of foreigners for the program, since the initiative would serve "the purpose of facilitating to Portuguese artists and students of visual arts the knowledge of Portugal's values of scenic, ethnical, archeological and architectural nature, as well as to contribute to their register, inventory and classification."⁸⁹⁶ Like this, Hein Semke was excluded from this program.

After the extension of the legislation of July 1933 (Decree No. 22827) in May 1936, the law was again revised in 1937, and this time widened to include foreign musicians and theater performers.⁸⁹⁷

With the German annexation of Austria on March 12, 1938, the number of emigrants increased. In light of this, José Ernesto Catela do Vale (1889-1950), Secretary-General of PVDE, sent a letter to the *Ministério do Interior* [Ministry of the Interior], informing about the threat that the "40.000 fleeing Austrian Jews"⁸⁹⁸ would pose to Portugal. Those would have to

⁸⁹³ "Decreto-Lei N.º 33917 [Decree-Law No. 33917]," in *Diário Do Governo N.º 197/1944, Série I De 1944-09-05* [Journal of the Government No. 197/1944, Series I of 1944-09-05].

⁸⁹⁴ Cf. Chalante, "Estado, 2008," 112.

⁸⁹⁵ "Decreto-Lei N.º 26957 [Decree-Law No. 26957]," in *Diário Do Governo N.º 202/1936, Série I De 1936-08-28* [Journal of the Government No. 202/1936, Series I of 1936-08-28]

[utilizado como instrumento de defesa da Arte contra doentias concepções do que seja a originalidade e contra a desnacionalizadora infiltração de exóticas teorias que a um materialismo geométrico frio e incaracterístico, sacrifica o realismo plástico, humano e português.]

⁸⁹⁶ Ibid.

[destinadas a facilitarem aos artistas e estudantes portugueses de artes plásticas o conhecimento dos valores de carácter paisagístico, étnico, arqueológico e arquitectónico de Portugal, bem como a contribuírem para o seu cadastro, inventário e classificação.]

⁸⁹⁷ Chalante, "Estado, 2008," 36, 112.

⁸⁹⁸ Ibid., 49

[40.000 judeus austríacos em fuga]

be “added to the Polish, German and other Jews”⁸⁹⁹ that would want to “conquer Portugal,” endangering the “defense against this invasion of undesirable.”⁹⁰⁰

In 1939, the State once again revised the ordinance of December 1932 (Ordinance No. 7480) concerning the employment of performers: this time with the intention to oblige all performers employed under commission-based work in any theater or entertainment place, to— from that moment on—present a professional license.⁹⁰¹

As well in 1939, in April, the medical profession would be addressed in a law stipulating that only nationals could practice in Portugal, respectively those medical doctors that had been nationalized already for more than 10 years. Nevertheless, several exceptions to the law were foreseen in the legal framework.⁹⁰²

In July 1939, Decree No. 22827, that had been introduced six years before, was extended to the employment of foreign teachers.⁹⁰³ Simultaneously, the decree was amended: so far it had been applicable to continental Portugal; now it would be outstretched to all Portuguese territory, meaning the Archipelagoes of Madeira and Azores.⁹⁰⁴

In 1941, the government of *Estado Novo* turned its attention to the media. The National Propaganda Secretary SPN, with the aim of ensuring that all forms of communication and information broadcasted in the country would be brought under its control, called “foreign journalists, news agencies and respective editorial staff” as well as “correspondents of foreign newspapers and broadcasting channels” to its sphere of influence.⁹⁰⁵ However, the government did not only have solely foreign activity in mind: all professionals of the sector, “even if of Portuguese nationality,” would from that moment on need to enter themselves in a special registry in order to “practice their profession and benefit of any perk of professional nature.”⁹⁰⁶

In March 1942, an entirely new law was issued, determining that the professions of engineer and architect could be practiced in Portugal exclusively “by graduates of Portuguese

⁸⁹⁹ Ibid.

[*acrescentar os judeus polacos, alemães e outros*]

⁹⁰⁰ As cited in: *ibid.*, 49, 49n129

[*que procuram conquistar Portugal*], [*a defesa contra esta invasão de indesejáveis*]

⁹⁰¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 37.

⁹⁰² Cf. “Lei N.º 1976 [Law No. 1976],” in *Diário Do Governo N.º 82/1939, Série I De 1939-04-10* [*Journal of the Government No. 82/1939, Series I of 1939-04-10*].

⁹⁰³ Cf. Chalante, “Estado, 2008,” 112.

⁹⁰⁴ Cf. “Decreto-Lei N.º 29762 [Decree-Law No. 29762],” in *Diário Do Governo N.º 167/1939, Série I De 1939-07-19 03* [*Journal of the Government No. 167/1939, Series I of 1939-07-19*].

⁹⁰⁵ “Decreto-Lei N.º 31187 [Decree-Law No. 31187],” in *Diário Do Governo N.º 66/1941, Série I De 1941-03-21* [*Journal of the Government No. 66/1941, Series I of 1941-03-21*]

[*os jornalistas estrangeiros, as agências noticiosas e respectivo pessoal de redacção, os correspondentes de jornais e estações de radiodifusão*]

⁹⁰⁶ Ibid.

[*ainda que sejam de nacionalidade portuguesa, só possam exercer a sua profissão no País e gozar de quaisquer regalias de natureza profissional, quando inscritos em registo especial do Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional.*]

nationality.”⁹⁰⁷ Yet, despite this sharp preamble, several exceptions were included: “Needs of investigation, either scientific or in the area of industrial technology,”⁹⁰⁸ schooling or in the case of a shortage “of Portuguese engineers or architects specialized and experienced in a certain technical sector,”⁹⁰⁹ among other higher necessities, could take priority over the law, although the “expertise or the specialization of the foreign engineers or architects”⁹¹⁰ would have to be verified. This law was composed with a far more complex structure than the previous employment laws concerning foreigners in Portugal. A series of special terms made the law’s interpretation strenuous and, due to the numerous exceptions characterizing each article, of ambiguous understanding. In detail, the law foresaw, that (article 1) foreigners who had become naturalized Portuguese citizens could practice their profession only after ten years since the naturalization had become effective. Coupled to this article was a first set of exceptions already showing how excessively verbose the law’s provisions were. On the one hand those naturalized foreigners “that at the date of this law are legally practicing the profession” were exempted, on the other hand as well those ones “legally practicing the profession before the naturalization had been granted” were released from the regulation.⁹¹¹ This disorienting repetition of terms already at the beginning of the rule repeats itself throughout the entire legal text.

Especially article 6 of this law demonstrates how difficult the interpretation was due to its laborious wording. In this article can be read that the law would also be applicable not only to foreign engineers and architects, but also to foreign technicians in any branch of engineering of a category inferior to the one of engineer. However, the text lacks a clear definition of what such technicians would be.

Of special interest is the law’s article 4, stating that for every foreign employee would be “obligatorily hired and kept as an associate, a Portuguese engineer or architect that will collaborate with him in the special tasks assigned.”⁹¹² This did not only mean that a foreigner

⁹⁰⁷ “Lei N.º 1991 [Law No. 1991],” in *Diário Do Governo N.º 64/1942, Série I De 1942-03-19* [Journal of the Government No. 64/1942, Series I of 1942-03-19]

[*A profissão de engenheiro e a de arquitecto só podem ser exercidas em Portugal por diplomados de nacionalidade Portuguesa*]

⁹⁰⁸ Ibid.

[*Necessidade de investigação, científica ou de técnica industrial*]

⁹⁰⁹ Ibid.

[*Conveniência de ensino [...] Falta, devidamente comprovada, de engenheiros ou arquitectos portugueses especializados e experimentados em determinado ramo técnico*]

⁹¹⁰ Ibid.

[*A competência ou a especialização dos engenheiros ou arquitectos estrangeiros a admitir [...] será devidamente comprovada por quem requerer a admissão.*]

⁹¹¹ Ibid.

[*Os que à data desta lei estiverem exercendo legalmente a profissão*]; [*Os que estiverem a exercer legalmente a profissão antes de concedida a naturalização.*]

⁹¹² Ibid.

could only work under the supervision of a Portuguese colleague, at the same time this clause had a highly deterrent effect on employers, as they would have to employ two workers for the task of one.

4.5 The Laws as Reflection of the Historical Circumstances

Throughout the 1930s and in the beginning of the 1940s, the regime of António de Oliveira Salazar issued several government regulations as measures to prevent foreigners from resuming work in Portugal. Those efforts necessarily have to be considered within the historical context.

Since Salazar became Prime Minister of Portugal in 1932, his main goal was the constitution and internal consolidation of the *Estado Novo*. The ideology connected to this effort included the

renaissance of the traditional Portugal [...], resumption of the centralized colonial policy [...], emphasis of the Portuguese empire, [...] the idealization of the traditional rusticity of Portugal in conjunction with a modest lifestyle and characterized by pragmatism and humbleness. A natural order of things and a harmonic hierarchy, in which everybody is satisfied with their place in society, as well as the catholic religion as basis of the 'being-Portuguese' completed the ideological framework of the New State.⁹¹³

In order to achieve those targeted objectives, Salazar first had to resolve the most pressing issues, such as the deep financial crisis, in which the country remained since the end of the monarchy in 1910, exacerbated by the depression after the First World War. Salazar's government economic measures, as mentioned before, initially seemed to be ineffective. His efforts coincided with the National Socialist's raise to power in 1933, which provoked a first wave of refugees that affected Portugal only marginally.

With the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in July 1936, the number of refugees increased. Two years later, with the German annexation of Austria, another wave of emigrants arrived, followed by refugees from Czechoslovakia after it had been occupied by Germany in October 1938. With the start of the Second World War, floods of refugees from across Europe tried to reach Lisbon, one of the last safe havens. But Salazar did not consider the country as a

[Por cada engenheiro ou arquitecto autorizado nos casos dos n.ºs 3.º, 4.º e 5.º do artigo 2.º será obrigatoriamente contratado e mantido, como adjunto, um engenheiro ou arquitecto português que com aquele colaborará nos trabalhos especiais a seu cargo.]

⁹¹³ Friedrich, *Salazars Estado Novo*, 2016, 139

[Wiedergeburt des traditionellen Portugals [...], Wiederaufnahme der zentralistischen Kolonialpolitik [...], Betonung des portugiesischen Imperiums, [...] die Idealisierung der traditionellen Ländlichkeit Portugals in Verbindung mit einer bescheidenen Lebensführung und eine harmonische Hierarchie, in der sich jeder mit seinem Platz zufrieden gibt sowie die katholische Religion als Fundament des ‚Portugiesisch-Seins‘ komplettierten das ideologische Gerüst des Neuen Staates]

place for asylum or exile: Portugal had rather been forced into the role of Europe's waiting room for the ones wishing to leave the continent.⁹¹⁴ The government's fear of those foreigners, or '*indesejáveis*' [undesirable], as they were called by the Portuguese Minister of the Interior in 1938, posed a risk on Salazar's ideological framework of *Estado Novo*. Not only could they have tried to occupy places of employment and thereby usurp the Portuguese from their positions, they as well were a potential source of revolutionary communist ideas, which, if brought to the country, might have jeopardized the government's effort to impose its nationalistic values on the society. Throughout the following years, institutions such as the National Propaganda Secretary SPN exerted a concept of distaste towards those coming from abroad, exacerbating a sense of opposition between the national and the strange and unfamiliar.

4.6 The Meaning of the Legal Development for Hein Semke

As it became obvious in the previous overview of laws coming into question between 1927 and 1942, the 'law' Hein Semke referred to throughout his career, actually did not exist in the way he presented it, as for example, to the German Restitution Office in 1961.

It cannot be denied that there have been measures of the state to complicate the professional situation of foreigners in Portugal. Additionally, it is undeniable that especially the law of 1942—which officially was addressed to architects and engineers—had a vague and very wide content, making room for interpretation. But yet, a law as indicated by Hein Semke, solely and explicitly aiming at foreign artists, did not exist.

Nevertheless, it has to be taken into consideration that the law of 1942 might have been used as basis to reject artistic work by foreigners due to its imprecise wording. But this would only include art-in-architecture, respectively art on buildings, and would speak for the fact that Semke worked as an assistant to Margarida Schimmelpfennig in 1957/58, when designing the decoration for the winter garden of Hotel Ritz in Lisbon. This fact is underlined by article 4 of the law, which stated that for every foreign employee the employment of a national associate would be mandatory.⁹¹⁵ Margarida Schimmelpfennig, although of German descent, possessed Portuguese nationality.

That none of the laws introduced above was without exception, can be demonstrated on the example of Hansi Staël. She arrived in 1946, was neither a Portuguese national nor had she worked in Portugal before or graduated in Lisbon or Oporto, but she had the possibility of

⁹¹⁴ Cf. Zur Mühlen, *Fluchtweg*, 1992, 154.

⁹¹⁵ Cf. "Lei 1991, 1942"

developing an impressive career in the Portuguese enterprise SECLA, as demonstrated in the first chapter of this study.

A record in Semke's estate, based on the artist's memories and written by Teresa Balté, provides the following statement referring to the year 1941:

January: Orders by the State to foreign sculptors that have not graduated at the Schools of Fine Arts in Lisbon or Oporto, are officially prohibited. (Information by arch[itect] Carlos Ramos⁹¹⁶ to Hein Semke.)⁹¹⁷

It is very difficult to determine if there might have been a misunderstanding between the architect, who informed Semke about this order, and the artist. From Semke's artistic biography, however, can be confirmed that he indeed did not have public commissions since the exhibition *O Mundo Português*, that had ended in 1940, until the decoration of the winter garden of Hotel Ritz. If the law of 1942 was used by potential customers to explain the preferential treatment of Portuguese artists in a general nationalistic climate, is likely, but not verifiable.

⁹¹⁶ Carlos João Chambers Ramos (1897-1969) was a Portuguese modernist architect, urban planner and teacher at both *Escola Superior de Belas-Artes* [Higher School of Fine Arts] of Lisbon and Oporto. He participated in the *Exposição do Mundo Português*, for which he planned the *Pavilhão da Colonização* [Hall of Colonization]. In a subdivision of this hall, in the *Sala da Organização do Estado Colonizador* [Room of the Organization of the Colonizing State], Hein Semke exhibited his contributions.

⁹¹⁷ Balté, Documentação Hein Semke (1899-1995), HS1941-50 [Documentation on Hein Semke (1899-1995), HS1941-50], 51

[Janeiro: São oficialmente proibidas as encomendas de Estado a escultores estrangeiros e não diplomados pelas Escolas de Belas Artes de Lisboa ou Porto. (Informação do arq. Carlos Ramos a Hein Semke).]

Conclusion: Myths, Curious Incidents and Obstacles—Becoming an Artist in Portugal.

The Early Career of German Sculptor Hein Semke

The present study sought to examine the early career of the artist Hein Semke in Portugal and—as far as possible—to close gaps by filling them with answers to questions left open for decades. Among those gaps were the early and poorly documented years of Semke's life, his path to becoming an artist and his situation as a foreign artist in Portugal's *Estado Novo* during the 1930s and 1940s, the time and place in which he prepared the foundation of his career.

While reviewing existing material on Semke, it soon became obvious that the picture he created of himself and that prevailed in the memory of art critics and audience since at least 1935, the year in which he had published his self-descriptive text *Escultura*,⁹¹⁸ showed several severe ambiguities.

In order to approach the person Hein Semke and to introduce his personal background and artistic development to the reader, the first step was to present and critically analyze his biography. Although his curriculum vitae was introduced countless times in different exhibition catalogues, newspaper articles and even in an artist biography,⁹¹⁹ the review of original documents from various German and Portuguese archives suggested a different image than the one offered in past publications. The results obtained from the archival material yielded some interesting findings correlating negatively with the most common views on the artist. Like this, it could be revealed that the evolutionary history of Semke becoming an artist indeed was not based on an enlightenment through a friend, as he had announced in his text *Escultura*. Instead, it was the influence and especially the financial support of the couple Althausse-Westenfeld and the “people of Linda”⁹²⁰ who enabled him to take up his studies. Moreover, as well his relocation to Portugal in 1932 would not have been possible at all without their generosity and the organizing abilities of Henrique Delgado Westenfeld.

The prevailing assumption that Semke would have been the artist revolutionizing Portuguese ceramics⁹²¹ could be refuted. In fact, it was Jorge Barradas who “immediately won the audience”⁹²² with the “fragile wonders” made of “simple clay, glazed or multi-colored, sensitive to form and elegance and as delicate as capricious,”⁹²³ which he created since around

⁹¹⁸ Semke, “Escultura, 1935,”

⁹¹⁹ Balté, *Coragem*, 1989; Balté, *Coragem*, 2009.

⁹²⁰ Westenfeld, Letter from Henrique Delgado Westenfeld to Hein Semke (written between April 1931 and June 11, 1931), 13

[Linda-Leute]

⁹²¹ Cf. *República*, “Hein Semke Fala-Nos, 13.04.1947”

⁹²² França, *Arte em Portugal*, 2009, 117

[conquistou imediatamente o público]

⁹²³ *Diário de Lisboa*, “Faiança, 07.12.1945”

1943, four years before Semke opened his *Exposição de Escultura e Cerâmica de Hein Semke* [Exhibition of Sculpture and Ceramics by Hein Semke].

A new light could as well be shed on the relationship between Semke and his colleague Hansi Staël, who earned substantial recognition in Portugal due to her activities for the ceramics company SECLA. While their collaboration initially went well and resulted in various joint exhibitions, Semke considered her, after her death, “not a personality, but a skilful hand [...] a great clever art-liar, an art-impostor” and even claimed: “She did not become an artist.”⁹²⁴

Briefly mentioned in the biography are Semke’s lesser known activities as an author. Those come to the fore in the second chapter, in which the self-created image of the artist is examined in detail. The section ‘Myth and Truth—A Critical Examination of Hein Semke’s Biography’ introduces two texts written by Semke with a time gap of approximately 15 years. The first text was published in 1935 in the Portuguese magazine *Sudoeste Europa Portugal* [Southwest Europe Portugal] under the heading *Escultura* and gives an alleged account of Semke’s curriculum vitae prior to moving to Linda-a-Pastora in 1932. It reveals the self-awareness of the artist and the way he wanted to be perceived. At the same time, *Escultura* can be considered as origin for his image as an almost predestined “combative artist,”⁹²⁵ following his vocation as “restless fighter”⁹²⁶ with a “burning desire for the good and the sublime.”⁹²⁷ This picture, eagerly promoted and defended, was kept alive by Semke throughout his life and, with the support of his widow, even beyond.

The second text introduced in this section is the narration *Hannes, der Rammer*⁹²⁸. Written between 1950 and 1952, the plot allows a glimpse into Semke’s life in Hamburg during the early 1920s, the time before he even had considered becoming an artist. The examination of his early years in the first chapter already revealed that he maintained certain connections to the anarchist scene in Hamburg, what becomes especially obvious in the newspaper article describing his court case.⁹²⁹ In *Hannes, der Rammer*, Semke reflects a main character and a

[*frageis maravilhas*]; [*com barro humilde, vidrado ou policromado, sensível à forma e à elegancia, e tão fino, como caprichoso*]

⁹²⁴ Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 284 f.

[*ist keine Persönlichkeit, sondern eine geschickte Hand [...] einer großen geschickten Kunstlügnerin, einer Kunsthochstaplerin*]; [*Künstlerin ist sie nicht geworden*]

⁹²⁵ Semke, “Escultura, 1935,” 35

[*artista lutador*]

⁹²⁶ Ibid., 33

[*lutador(es) sem socêgo*]

⁹²⁷ Ibid., 32

[*Queria ajudar a encontrar o caminho para uma melhor ordem entre os homens. [...] mas sempre com o ardente desejo do bom e do sublime.*]

⁹²⁸ Semke, “Hannes, 1950-1952”

⁹²⁹ *Hamburgischer Correspondent und neue hamburgische Börsen-Halle, Morgenausgabe, 2. Beilage [Hamburg Correspondent and New Stock Market of Hamburg, Morning Edition, 2. Supplement], “Anarchist, 18.10.1923”*

Conclusion

world that is not entirely fictional, and underlines this correlation: several passages, names and details provide a link to occurrences and personalities that factually existed. If Semke truly made the same experiences as the fictional figure Hannes might be questionable. Nevertheless, he created an idealized story in which he himself is mirrored as the main character Hannes, a righteous, fair, diligent and honest person that at the same time represents and contradicts Semke. While Hannes withdraws from being a political activist and starts to visit adult education classes, Semke was sentenced to prison several times.

After his first stay in Portugal in 1929, and after gaining an insight into the life far away from Germany, Semke might have had the feeling to be able to start a new life, to merge facts and fiction, Hein and Hannes. In the text *Escultura*, this intention becomes obvious: when describing his previous life, the artist left out uncomfortable passages that would have hindered the development of this new self-created character. Thus, he presented the romanticized story of a vagabond, of an idealistic roamer. The years he had spent in prison, Semke described as time in which he would have been living with gypsies and travelling across Germany. The mystical aura later on surrounding Hannes could now, unquestioned, be used by his creator. Through his newly found purpose in life—“«Create» new things, working with the own hands”⁹³⁰—Semke could present himself as a flawless person⁹³¹ and as an artist entirely dedicated to his profession⁹³², disparaging those colleagues who would not follow the same path and put emphasis on profit, success, or immediate results; an attitude becoming obvious in a diary entry of July 20, 1950:

Now I understand why the artists here are so unpopular. They are seen as beggars, as racketeers, as intriguers—yes, even as prostitutes, that daily sell themselves and their art shamelessly and are ready for every kind of art-perversity only because of the money. I always excluded myself from this kind of hustle.⁹³³

⁹³⁰ Semke, “Escultura, 1935,” 34

[«Criar» coisas novas, colaborar por mão própria.]

⁹³¹ Cf. Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 61

Diary entry of September 2, 1950: “To all those little lies, which are common especially here in Portugal, I will not go along”

[Alle diese kleinen Lügen, die besonders hier in Portugal üblich sind, mache ich nicht mit.]

⁹³² Cf. *ibid.*, 77

Diary entry of October 4, 1950: “I am doing (of course entirely in the framework of a humanely clean moral) what I please”

[ich tue (natürlich ganz im Rahmen einer menschlich sauberen Moral), was mir behagt]

⁹³³ *Ibid.*, 33

[Nun verstehe ich auch, warum die Künstler hier so niedrig im Kurs stehen. Man sieht sie als Bettler, als Immer-nur-Geschäfte-macher, als Intriganten – ja sogar als Prostituierte an, die täglich sich und ihre Kunst schamlos verkaufen und zu jeder Kunst-Perversität bereit sind nur des Geldes wegen. Ich habe mich diesem Treiben immer fern gehalten]

Indeed, the initial years in his chosen homeland appeared to look promising for Hein Semke. Upon his arrival he could move into the house of Martha Ziegler, who became his companion for 16 years, he had the possibility of participating in the exhibition *Salão do Inverno* in *Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes* and soon became a protégé of the German Envoy Hans Freytag, who promoted Semke and ensured his artistical participation in the new church building of the German Protestant Church of Lisbon. The ensuing ‘curious incident’ initially had been a stroke of luck to the artist. He was given the opportunity—as a sculptor at the beginning of his development, with incomplete studies and without reputation—to adopt a major project. The following events and the removal of one of his art works from the court of honor would hardly be understandable without the prior in-depth assessment of his biography and the analysis of his self-conception. Nevertheless, it soon became obvious that the entire affair was a process ongoing for months rather than a “cloak-and-dagger operation”⁹³⁴ by local National Socialists, as passed on for decades in the German community of Lisbon. Instead, several particularities led to the escalation of the situation, as for example the apparent esthetical inconsistencies in the sculpture *Kameradschaft des Untergangs* and the momentous press conference Semke organized and with which he might even have delivered himself the pivotal criterion leading to the removal of the sculptural group just mentioned. It is certain, however, that the artist considered himself a victim of the local branch of NSDAP since the “Lisbon affaire”⁹³⁵ and, moreover, stated that his art would have been classified as “degenerate”⁹³⁶—an allegation that could decisively be rejected through the research for this third chapter of the present study. By depicting himself as target of Nazi persecution, Semke concealed that he “applied for membership in the local branch”⁹³⁷ of NSDAP and even planned to return to

⁹³⁴ Krüger and Tichy, *Kirchenbau*, 2003, 63

[*Nacht- und Nebelaktion*]

⁹³⁵ Gennrich, Letter to Hein Semke in Paris, 1

[*Lissabonner Affaire*]

⁹³⁶ Cf. Semke and Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Sozialbehörde Amt für Wiedergutmachung [Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg Social Security Office German Restitution Office], Wiedergutmachungsakte für Semke, Heinrich [Restitution File for Semke, Heinrich]

[*entartet*]

⁹³⁷ Gennrich, Betrifft Schreiben des Herrn Bischof D. Heckel vom 26.9.1935. (A.8266) [Concerning Letter of Bishop D. Heckel of 26.9.1935. (A8266)]

[*Antrag auf seine Aufnahme in die Ortsgruppe.*]

It seems, that Semke never received an answer regarding his application. In the letter by Pastor Gennrich is mentioned: “Thus far the application, despite repeated inquiry, remained unanswered; Semke also was not informed about a negative decision, so that an official rejection by the party did not apply.” [*Der Antrag ist bis jetzt, trotz mehrfacher Rückfrage, unbeantwortet geblieben, man hat Semke aber auch keinen abschlägigen Bescheid erteilt, sodass eine offizielle Ablehnung Semkes von Seiten der Partei nicht vorlag.*]

Neither in the artist’s estate, nor in the eligible archives in Germany could be found evidence that Hein Semke became a member of the NSDAP. It remains questionable, however, whether Semke has been rejected or withdrew the application.

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Germany. These findings provide strong evidence that Semke was not as idealistic as he presented himself in his text *Escultura* in 1935, and definitely did not stand firm in his convictions as the main character he created in *Hannes, der Rammer*. Ultimately it can be said, that Semke even tried to use the events around the German Protestant Church and the adjacent Court of Honor for his own favor. As a matter of fact, he intended to obtain financial advantages from the incident by trying to be recognized as victim of the National Socialist rule in 1961, stressing in the application: “Naturally, I always emphasized my hostility towards the Hitler regime.”⁹³⁸

Besides the events around the sculptures at the German Protestant Church of Lisbon, Semke repeatedly identified a certain Portuguese law as to have impeded his development capabilities. In order to approach this assertion, the fourth chapter first of all examined obstacles that had to be faced by all artists—local and foreign—in Semke’s chosen home country under the regime of *Estado Novo*. When he arrived in Portugal in 1932 to settle as an artist, the situation of art and culture was de facto everything but promising. Portuguese artists protested against the poor situation concerning orders, declining sales figures, the lack of access to funding and especially against the ignorance of the state, respectively the government, towards culture. The answer to this protest was the foundation of SPN, the National Propaganda Secretary, under the leadership of António Ferro. While working for the German Protestant Church of Lisbon, Semke might not have had the entire overview over the negative situation the Portuguese artists had to face. Even after finishing this project, it might initially have appeared simple to live out of artistical work in Portugal, especially since Semke immediately was contracted again. First, in 1937, for the *Exposição Histórica da Ocupação Portuguesa no Século XIX*, and soon after for the strongly nationalistic exhibition *O Mundo Português*, organized by the regime of *Estado Novo* in 1940. This exhibition, “point of arrival and not of departure,”⁹³⁹ as well meant a severe turning point in Semke’s life, as new commissions virtually did not exist. In addition, the Second World War raged at Portugal’s doorstep, waves of refugees—*indesejáveis*⁹⁴⁰ in the eyes of the Portuguese government—entered the country. In response, laws were passed to protect the local laborers and to prevent foreigners to take up

Cf. Kiesling, Lydia / Landesarchiv Berlin, e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida; Matelowski, Anke / Archiv Bildende Kunst, Akademie der Künste, e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida; Zarwel, Torsten / Bundesarchiv Berlin [Federal Archive Berlin], e-mail to Nina Blum de Almeida.

⁹³⁸ Semke and Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Sozialbehörde Amt für Wiedergutmachung [Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg Social Security Office German Restitution Office], Wiedergutmachungsakte für Semke, Heinrich [Restitution File for Semke, Heinrich]

[*Selbstverständlich betonte ich immer meine Feindschaft dem Hitlerregime gegenüber.*]

⁹³⁹ França, *Arte em Portugal*, 2009, 157

[*um ponto de chegada e não de partida*]

⁹⁴⁰ Cf. Chalante, “Estado, 2008,” 49, 49n129.

working positions. However, as could be demonstrated, none of the laws issued between 1927 and 1942 touched Semke or his work as an artist directly. Nevertheless, he continuously claimed, that “[i]n spring 1941, a law was approved here in Portugal stating that no foreign artist was allowed to receive artists' commissions,”⁹⁴¹ while at the same time other artists, as for example Hansi Staël, were evidently not subject to this law. Instead, Staël could establish a successful career and became a sought-after artist in Portugal. Her versatility and adaptability helped her to convince both, audience and commissioners. Meanwhile, Semke, abiding by an expressionist design, was less capable—and obviously not willing—to adapt his artistic creation to the Portuguese taste:

My artistical production is unfamiliar to the Portuguese. For them it is too modern and too strict. I play *too less* with the superficial and do not care at all about the taste of the audience. The audience loves the baroque playfulness, elegant and easy to understand.⁹⁴²

It seems, as if Semke could not fulfill the prerequisites he addresses himself in this diary entry of June 2, 1950. Aware of his technical insufficiencies he noted down on October 23, 1950:

“May it be that my work really is that bad? Very primitive it is. Maybe I am even clumsy. Sometimes I have the absolute feeling, that I am incapable of developing, because for 20 years I stayed the same in the working technique.”⁹⁴³

Nevertheless, Semke did not let himself dissuade from his taken path. Despite financially critical situations, he could manage to follow his vocation for more than 60 years. He participated in innumerable exhibitions, where he presented his concept of art. Although he barely changed his design vocabulary throughout his career, he nowadays is recognized as a driving force in the Portuguese art scene of the 1930s and 1940s.⁹⁴⁴

As mentioned initially, this study sought to close gaps and to reply to questions concerning common misunderstandings and misconceptions regarding Hein Semke, a German

⁹⁴¹ Staatsarchiv Hamburg, 351-11, Wiedergutmachungsakte Hein Semke, Amt für Wiedergutmachung Nr. 22638 [Im Frühjahr 1941 kam hier in Portugal ein Gesetz heraus, [...] dass kein ausländischer Künstler künstlerische Aufträge erhalten darf.]

⁹⁴² Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 13

[Meine Kunstproduktion in Keramik ist den Portugiesen fremd. Sie ist ihnen zu modern und zu streng. Ich spiele zu wenig mit dem Oberflächlichen und kümmere mich gar nicht um den Publikumsgeschmack. Das Publikum liebt barocke Spielerei, elegant und leicht verständlich, nur nicht nachdenken]

⁹⁴³ Semke, *Innere Stimme*, 2014, 84

[Ob meine Arbeit wirklich so schlecht ist? Sehr primitive ist sie. Vielleicht bin ich sogar unbeholfen. Manchmal habe ich das absolute Empfinden, dass ich entwicklungsunfähig bin, denn seit 20 Jahren blieb ich derselbe in der Arbeitstechnik.]

⁹⁴⁴ Cf. Pereira, *Dicionário*, 2005, 555.

Conclusion

artist active in Portugal. With a view to comparing facts and fiction, several aspects involving the artist's occupational development during the initial years of his career could be clarified, while his life and personality were looked upon from different angles and with a distance to the enduring image he created, dating back to the year 1935. Nevertheless, this work did not aim at delivering a full account of Semke's artist life, but rather to concentrate on the time span between 1899 and until about 1955, the most crucial years of his personal and professional development. Therefore, the present examination intends—contrary to the exhibition *O Mundo Português*—to be a point of departure and not of arrival. The life and work of Hein Semke still offer a vast field of investigation and several findings warrant further discussion, such as his late work and the artist's books. In addition, several artists of his close environment deserve further attention. Future research will have, for example, to explore the oeuvre of Margarida Schimmelpfennig who experimented early with enamel and created church windows and whose work, so far, has not been subject to scientific exploration. As well a further investigation of Semke's influence on his Portuguese colleagues would be a difficult task, but a rewarding one too.

Appendices

Figures Chapter 1: Hein Semke—Biography

A.

Nr. 1444.

Hamburg, am 3^{ten} Juli 1899.

Vor dem unterzeichneten Standesbeamten erschien heute, der
 Persönlichkeit nach Ernst Gierke
Ulrich unver kannt,
der Voller Heinrich
Semke
 wohnhaft zu Hamburg, Markthausstr. 15
lutherischer Religion, und zeigte an, daß von der
Ernestine Pauline geborenen
Lobel, seiner Gattin,
lutherischer Religion,
 wohnhaft Hamburg,
 zu Hamburg in seiner Wohnung
 am sechszehnhundertsten des Jahres
 tausend acht hundert neunzig und zwanzig um mittags
 um seben ein Uhr ein Kind unverlichen
 Geschlechts geboren worden sei, welches ein Vornamen
Heinrich Albert
 erhalten habe.

Borgelesen, genehmigt und unterscriben
gg. Heinrich Semke

Der Standesbeamte
gg. Kellner

Die Uebereinstimmung mit dem Haupt-Register beglaubigt

Hamburg, am 3^{ten} Juli 1899.

Der Standesbeamte
Kellner

Fig. 1: Birth certificate of Heinrich Albert Semke, 1899.

Myths, Curious Incidents and Obstacles—Becoming an Artist in Portugal. The Early Career of German Sculptor Hein Semke

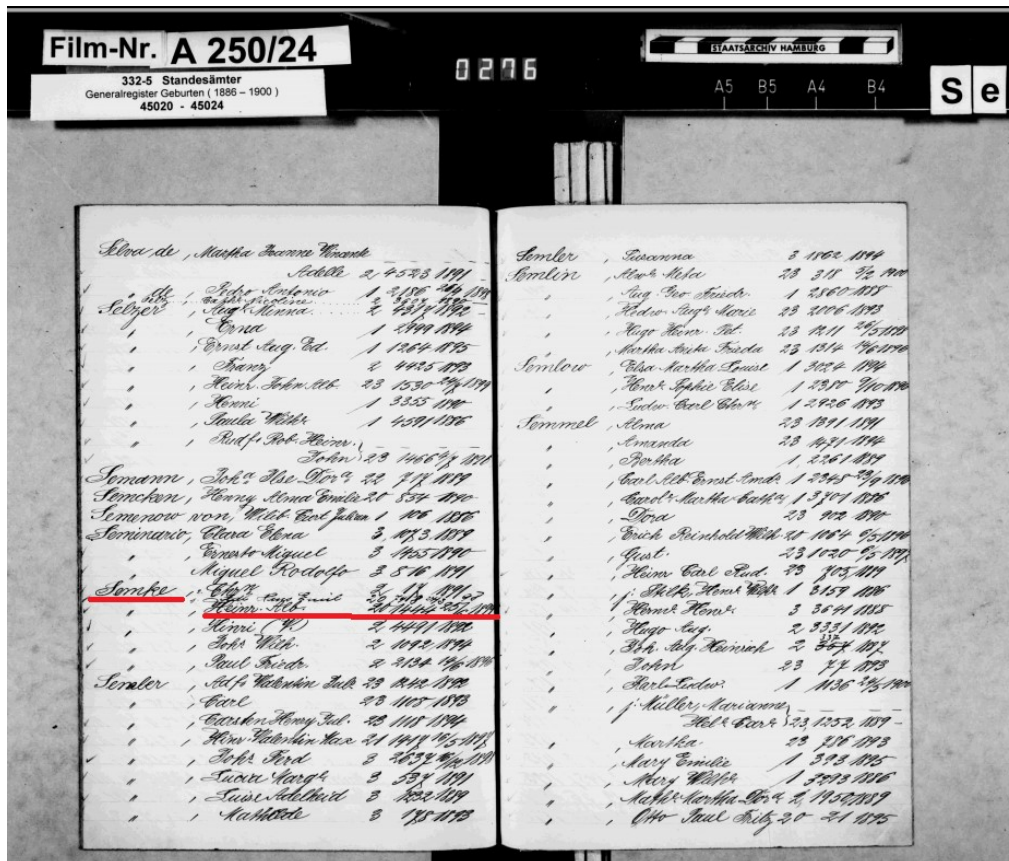


Fig. 2: Extract from the birth register of Hamburg for the years 1886 to 1900.

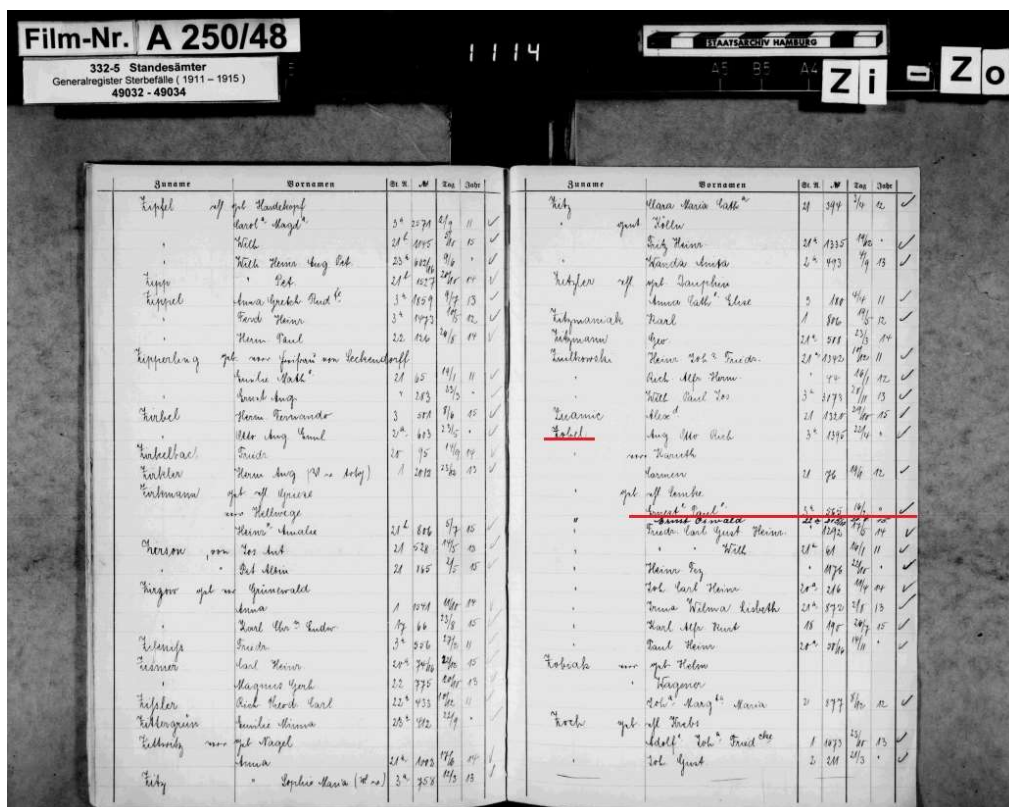


Fig. 3: Extract from the register of deaths of Hamburg for the years 1811 to 1915.

Figures Chapter 1: Biography

[illegible][illegible]

Heiraths-Nummer	Tag der Meldung	Tag des Abzugs	Vor- und Name des Abgemeldeten	Stand oder Gewerbe	Geburts- jahr und Datum	Geburtsort	Religion
28	28.9.14	28.9.14		Landwirthschaftl.	7.4.93	Brallendorf	luth.
29	28.9.14	28.9.14		Landwirthschaftl.	10.9.94	Rhade	"
30	9.10.14	9.10.14		Landwirthschaftl.	19.1.96	Brallendorf	"
31	13.10.14	9.10.14		Landwirthschaftl.	8.8.98	Barckwedde	"
32	14.10.14	22.11.14		Landwirthschaftl.	18.9.95	Bielstede	"
33	5.11.14	7.11.14		Landwirthschaftl.	37.1.99	Wormke	"
34	8.11.14	25.11.14		Landwirthschaftl.	24.6.99	Altenhagen	evangel.
35	6.12.14	5.12.14		Landwirthschaftl.	24.12.82	Brallendorf	luth.
1915							
1	27.1.15	31.1.15		Landwirthschaftl.	5.4.90	Brallendorf	luth.
2	31.3.15	1.4.15		Landwirthschaftl.	18.3.95	Lohau	"
3	6.4.15	8.4.15		Landwirthschaftl.	13.1.85	Brallendorf	"
4	8.4.15	8.4.15		Landwirthschaftl.	13.2.94	Kangschewitz	"
5	10.4.15	5.10.15		Landwirthschaftl.	4.1.98	Brallendorf	"
6	5.5.15	1.5.15		Landwirthschaftl.	31.12.93	Stallhof	"
7	27.5.15	1.5.15		Landwirthschaftl.	28.7.98	Rhade	"
8	23.5.15	20.5.15		Landwirthschaftl.	6.4.89	Brallendorf	"
9	7.6.15	7.6.15		Landwirthschaftl.	12.3.96	Wormke	"
10	9.6.15	6.6.15		Landwirthschaftl.	6.7.60	Wormke	"
11	13.6.15	12.6.15		Landwirthschaftl.	14.2.00	Wormke	"
12	31.6.15	30.6.15		Landwirthschaftl.	25.6.99	Wormke	"
13	30.6.15	1.7.15		Landwirthschaftl.	19.9.95	Wormke	"

[illegible]

Fig. 4 a-d: Documents proving Hein Semke's stay in Rhade. His name bears number 12 on the list; his profession is indicated as *Handlungslehrling* [commercial apprentice].

Myths, Curious Incidents and Obstacles—Becoming an Artist in Portugal.
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Fig. 5a: Victims of the First World War demonstrating in Berlin, 1919. The sign on the right says: "This is how the Fatherland says thank you. Local group Charlottenburg."



Fig. 5b: Disabled veteran of the First World War asking for money, ca. 1930.
(Walter Ballhause: "Advent - Auf Krücken Sitzt's Sich Wärmer" [Advent Season - It Is Warmer When Sitting on Crutches], from the series: *Opfer des 1. Weltkriegs* [Victims of the First World War]).

Figures Chapter 1: Biography

Lfd. Nr.	am	durch	wegen	zu	Aktenzeichen, sonst. Bemerkungen
Auszug aus dem Strafregister					
betr. <u>Heinrich</u> Albert S e m k e, geb. 25.6.1899 in Hamburg					
1.	15.10.23	Schwurgericht, Hbg., Verbrechen geg. § 8 Sprengstoffgesetz 14 L. 2587/23		3 Jahre Zuchth. u. 5 Jahre Ehrverl.	
		Bew.Frist Reststrafe am 4.6.24 umgew. i. Gef. Strafe gleicher Dauer.			
		Bew.Frist hins. Rest- strafe v. 97 Tg., 3 Std., 15 Min. am 7.5.25 bis 31.12.28 gewährt.			
		widerrufen: 23.7.26			
		Reststrafe verbüßt: 14.1.27			
2.	22.1.26	A.G. Hbg., Hehlerei, § 259 StGB. 6 St. 1714/25 Tat: 1925		3 Wch. Gef.	
3.	22.1.27	L.G. Oldenburg, Einbruchs- diebstahl, §§ 242, 243 Ziff. 2 StGB. III L. 768/26		2 Jahre Zuchth.	
		Bew.Frist hins. Rest- Strafe bis 1.5.31, teilw. verbüßt 1.6.28, Reststrafe erl. 4.6.31			
					Ga. 19.11.1954

Fig. 6: Abstract from the criminal record of Heinrich Albert Semke, 1954. When Semke requested a certificate of nationality in 1954, the criminal record was checked by default.

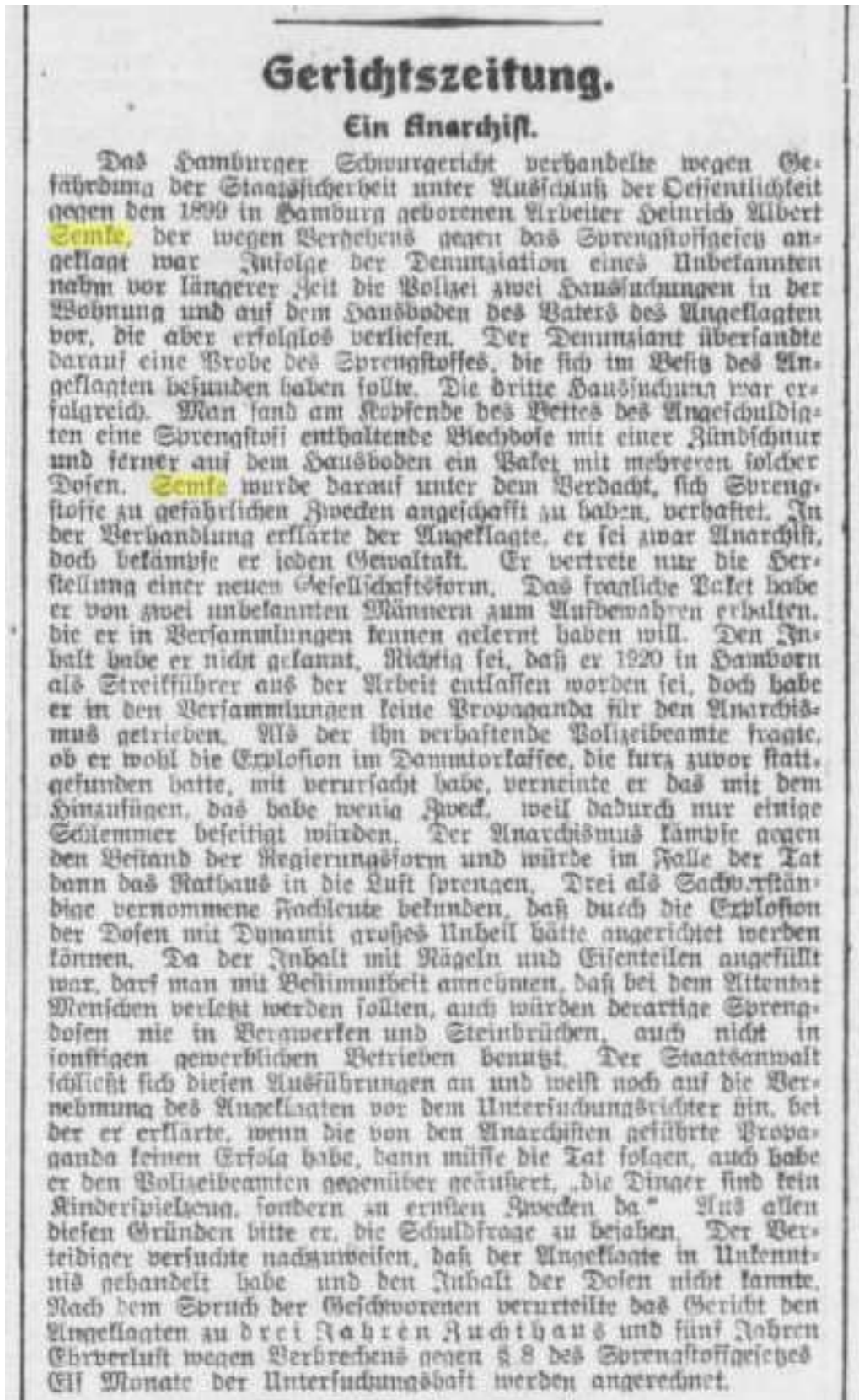


Fig. 7: Newspaper article under the heading “An Anarchist” describing the court case of Hein Semke in a Hamburg newspaper on October 18, 1923.

Figures Chapter 1: Biography

[illegible]

Fig. 8: Registration form of Heinrich Albert Semke at *Staatliche Schulen für Freie und Angewandte Kunst*, Hamburg 1930.

[illegible]

Fig. 9: Certificate for Heinrich Semke, issued by *Staatliche Schulen für Freie und Angewandte Kunst*, Hamburg 1931.

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Antrag auf Ausstellung eines Reisepapiers.

- Beilage Seite 4 -

Ich beantrage die Ausstellung *)

a) eines Reisepasses für Inland und Ausland.
b) eines Familienpasses zur Auswanderung nach *
c) eines Ausweises für den Verkehr mit dem Saargebiet und für den Durchgangsverkehr nach Ostpreußen.

Familienname: Semke geborene _____
Vorname: Heinrich Albert
(Nachnamen unterschreiben)

Künstler-, Schriftsteller- u. Name: _____ Personenstand: led. - verh. - gesch. - verw.
Beruf: Bildhauer

Geburtsort: Hamburg Gemeinde: Hamburg Oberamt, Bezirksamt: Hamburg
Geburtsdatum: 25. Juni 1899

Wohnung: Stuttgart - Degerloch - Panorama - Straße Nr. 22/22
In Stuttgart wohnhaft seit 16 Sept 31 - April 32 u. 7 Juli

Personalbeschreibung: Gestalt: groß - klein - mittel - schlant - kräftig.
Gesicht: oval - länglich - rund - eckig.
Farbe der Augen: blau - grau - braun - schwarz.
Farbe der Haare: blond - braun - schwarz - rötlich - graugemischt - weiß.

Besondere Kennzeichen: _____

Staatsangehörigkeit: Preussen
(Siehe Beilage Seite 4, Ziffer 1)

Staatsangehörigkeit und Personalien weise ich nach durch folgende Urkunden: Schuldenbuch
und altes Reisepass
ausgestellt von Hamburg Okt. 1928,
Nr. 20594.

Ich versichere die Richtigkeit vorstehender Angaben und das ich nicht im Besitze eines gleichen, noch gültigen Reisepasses bin.

Von Meldeamt auszufüllen:
Personalien - richtig - nicht nachgemessen - Straße
angehörigkeit unbekannt - nachgewiesen durch _____
Stuttgart, den 24. Sept. 1932

gemeldet seit: 15. 9. 31 bis 3. 3. 32.
Spezialstelle: 7. 7. 32. Meldeamt: 27. 9. 32. Heinrich A. Semke
(Eigenhändige Unterschrift des Passbewerbers, Ver- und Jemand.)

* Zugewandene JA zu unterschreiben.
Pol. Post. Verord. 668. 29. 9. 31. 15000.

Fig. 10: Application for Issuing a Travel Document, Stuttgart, 1932.

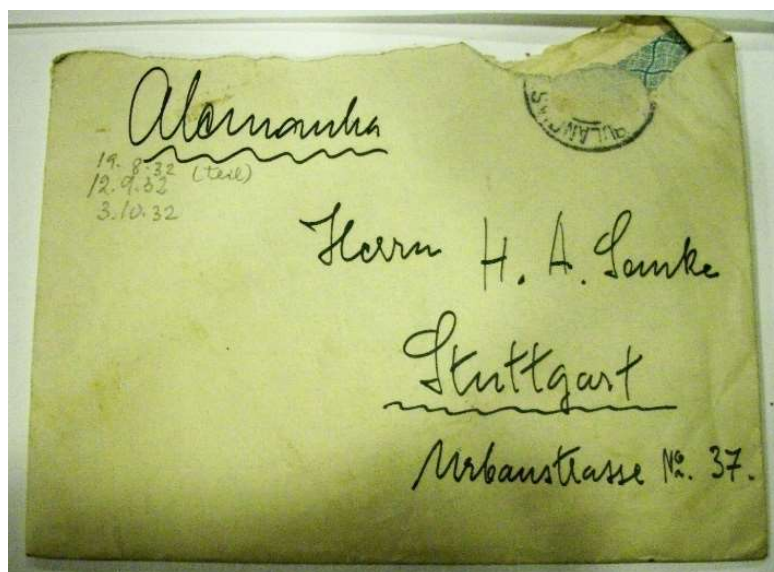


Fig. 11: Envelope of a letter by Henrique Westenfeld to Hein Semke, 1932.



Fig. 12: António de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970) in a speech, 1937.

Myths, Curious Incidents and Obstacles—Becoming an Artist in Portugal. The Early Career of German Sculptor Hein Semke

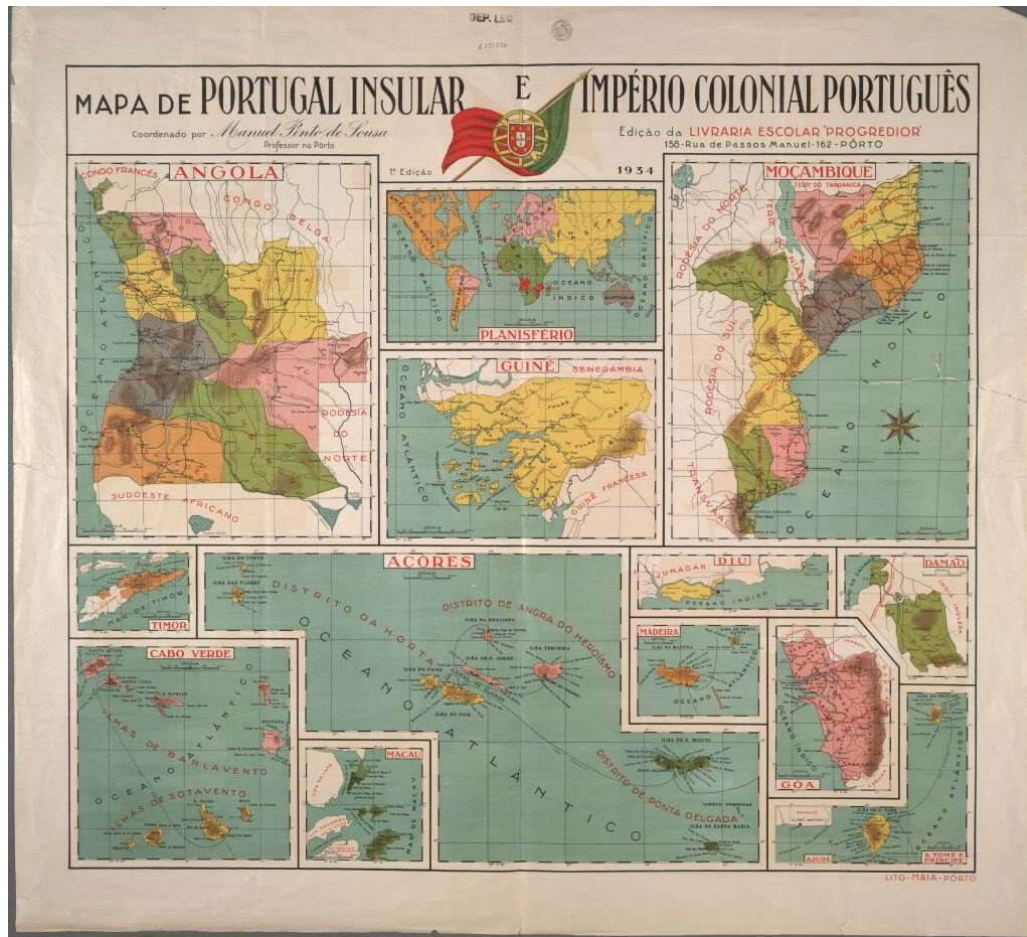


Fig. 13: Map of Portugal and the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1934.

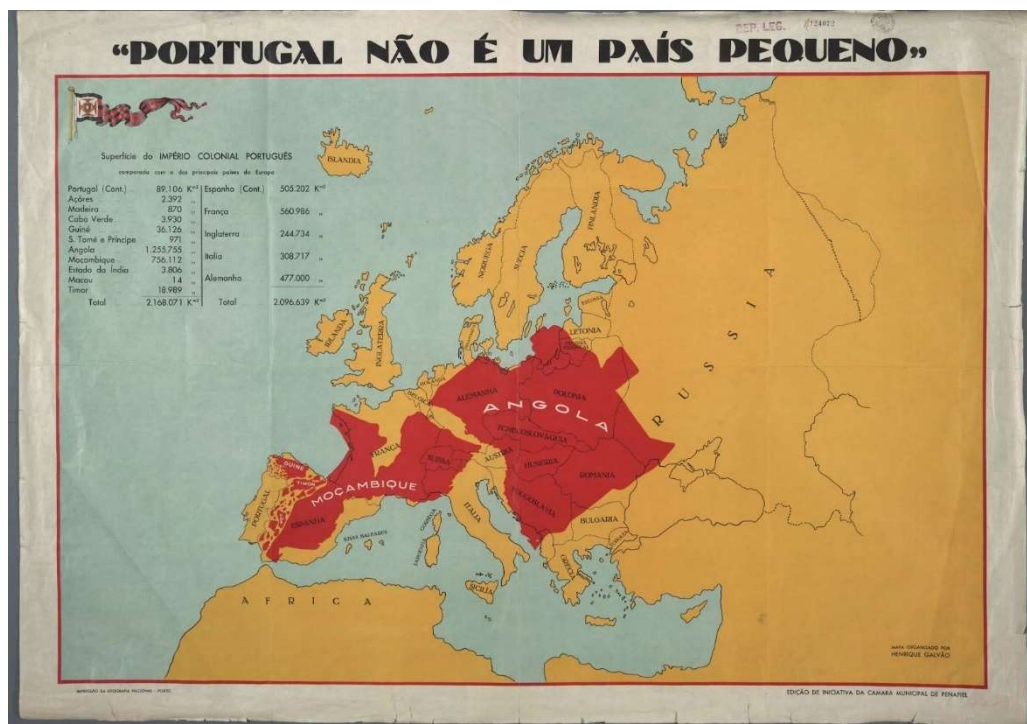


Fig 14: “Portugal is not a small country”; the map of 1934 illustrates the surface of the Portuguese Colonial Empire Compared with the core countries of Europe.



Fig. 15: Martha Ziegler, ca. 1924.



Fig. 16: Hein Semke and Martha Ziegler in their house in Linda-a-Pastora, around 1941.



Fig. 17: The house of Martha Ziegler and Hein Semke in Linda-a-Pastora, around 1941.

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Fig. 18: Interior view of Hein Semke's house in Linda-a-Pastora, around 1942.



Fig. 19: Interior view of Hein Semke's house in Linda-a-Pastora, around 1943.



Fig. 20: Interior view of Hein Semke's house in Linda-a-Pastora, around 1943.



Fig. 21: Interior view of Hein Semke's house in Linda-a-Pastora, around 1943.

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Fig. 22: Interior view of Hein Semke's house in Linda-a-Pastora, around 1947.



Fig. 23: Interior view of Hein Semke's house in Linda-a-Pastora, around 1947.

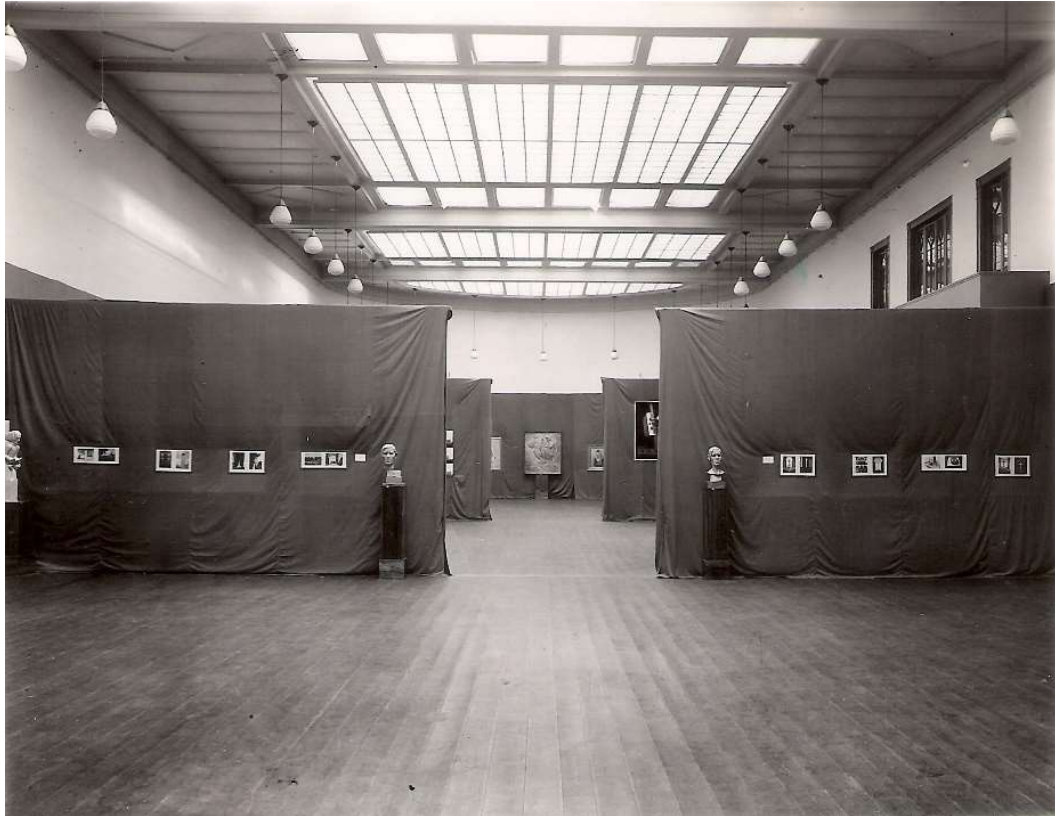


Fig. 24: The Exhibition *Exposição de Arte Moderna* in *Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes*, 1934.

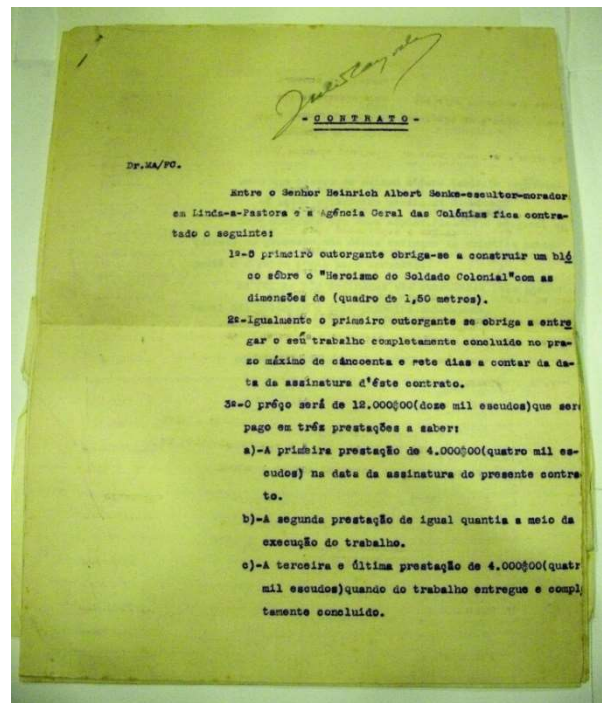
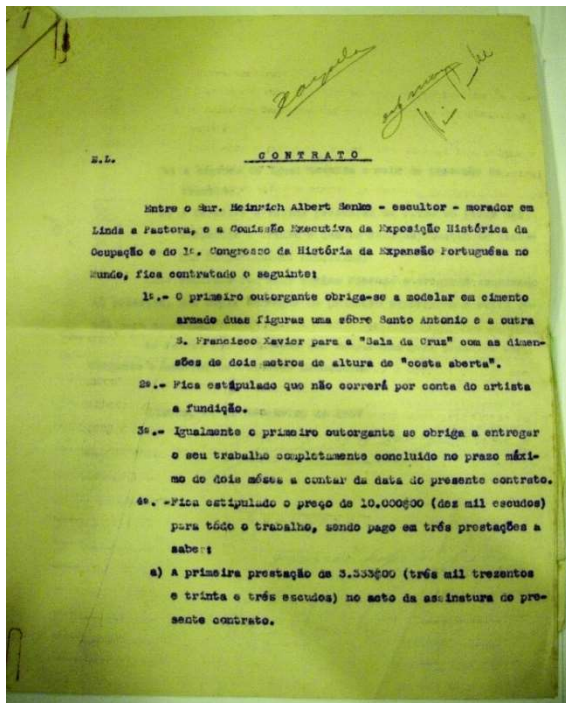


Fig. 25 a-b: Contracts between Hein Semke and *Comissão Executiva da Exposição Histórica da Ocupação* for the production of art pieces, 1937.

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Fig. 26 a-b: Hein Semke: *O Drama Colonial*, 1937. Sculptural group for the exhibition *Exposição Histórica da Ocupação*. Patinated plaster. Dimensions unknown.



Fig. 27 a-b: Reliefs by Hein Semke for the exhibition *Exposição Histórica da Ocupação*.
Left: *Santo António de Lisboa*, 1937. Patinated plaster. Dimensions unknown.
Right: *São Francisco Xavier*, 1937. Patinated plaster. Dimensions unknown.

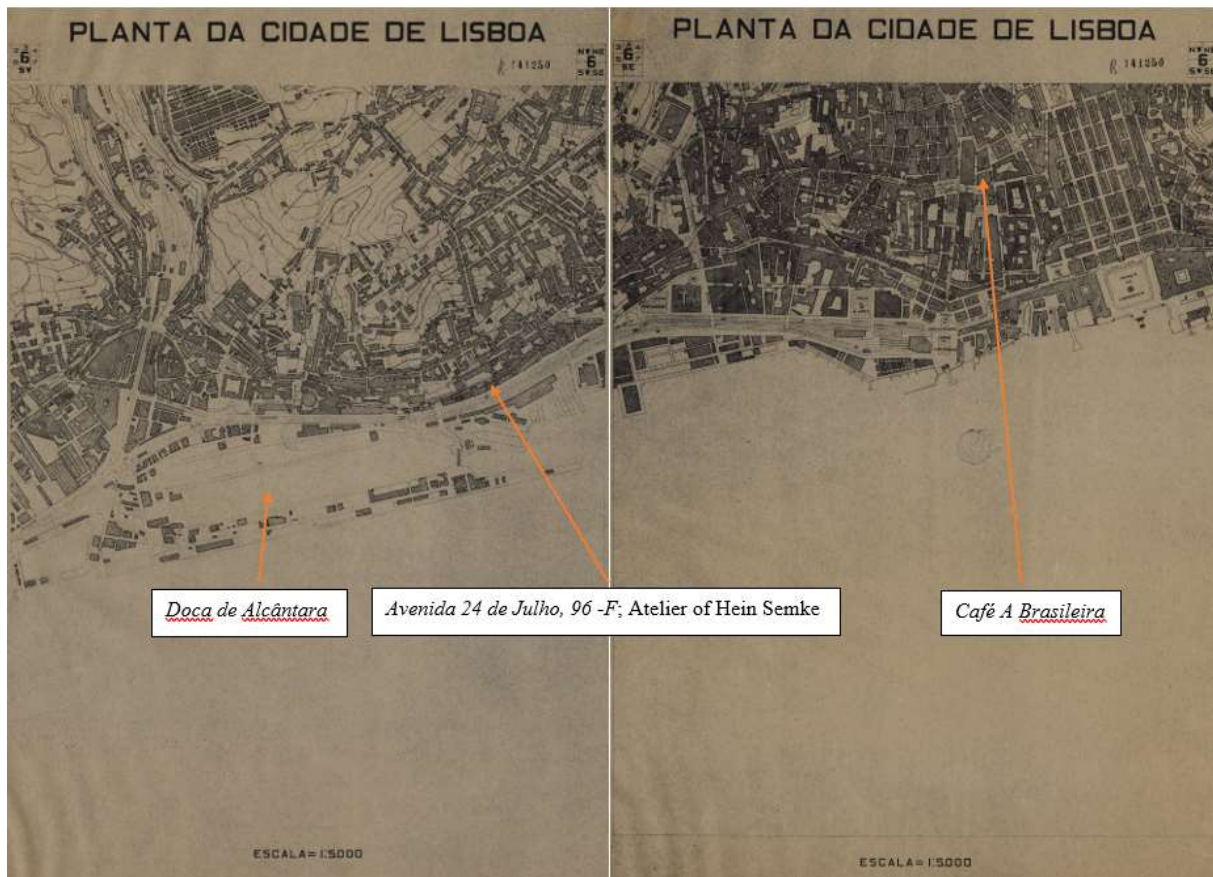


Fig 28: Map section of Lisbon, ca. 1940.



Fig. 29: Nightly illumination of Hotel Florida in the city center of Lisbon (Rua Duque de Palmela), ca. 1941.

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Fig. 30: Nightly illumination of advertising panels in the city center of Lisbon (Rua Primeiro de Dezembro), 1942.

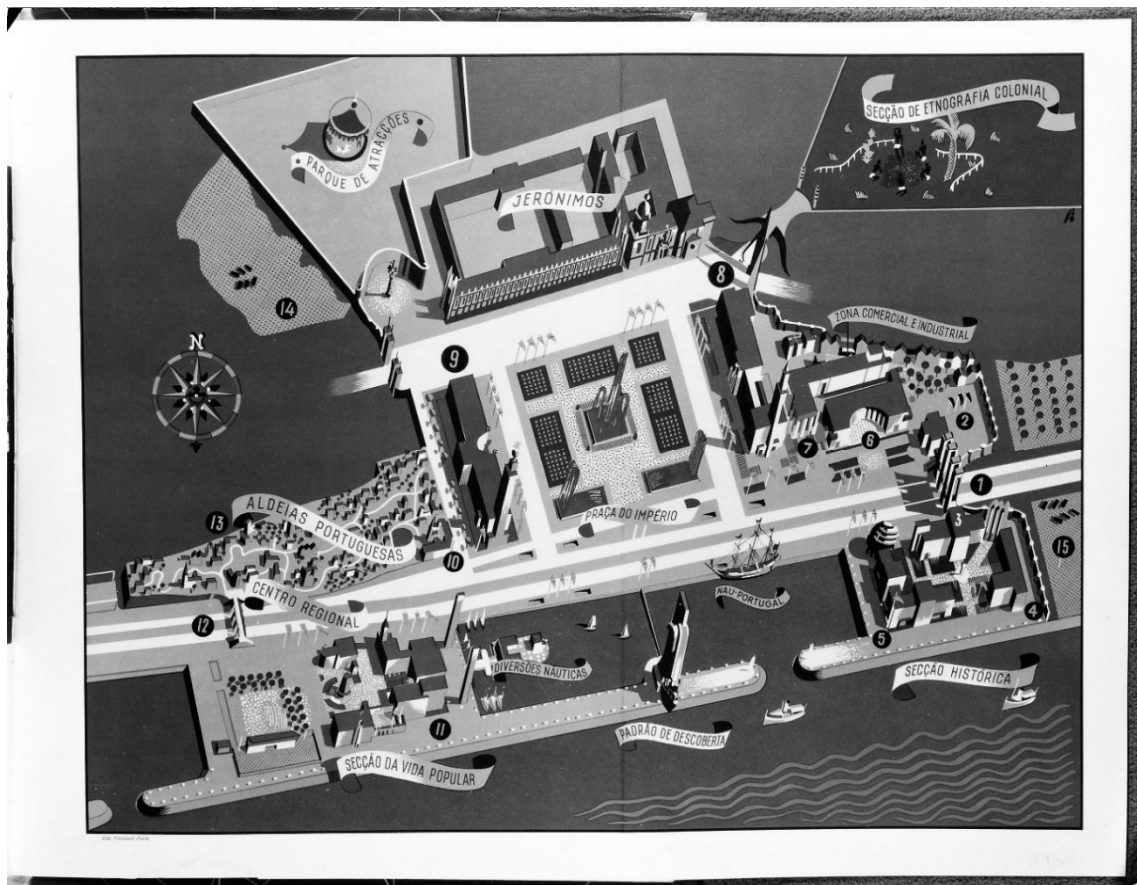


Fig. 31: Site plan of the exhibition *Exposição do Mundo Português*, 1940.



Fig. 32: Entrance area of *Exposição do Mundo Português*, 1940.



Fig. 33: Exhibition area of *Exposição do Mundo Português*, 1940.

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Fig. 34: Interior view of *Pavilhão da Colonização* in *Exposição do Mundo Português*, 1940. On the left: Hein Semke's relief *A Actividade Informativa dos Portugueses: Pêro da Covilhã e Afonso de Paiva em Demanda do Prestes João*.



Fig. 35: Interior view of *Pavilhão da Colonização* in *Exposição do Mundo Português*, 1940. On the right: Hein Semke's relief *A chegada dos Portugueses ao Congo*.



Fig. 36: View of the exhibition *Exposição de Hein Semke – Trabalhos em Portugal 1932-1941* in the artist's studio at *Avenida 24 de Julho*, Lisbon. Visible in the background: the inscription “ESTA EXPOSIÇÃO É DEDICADA A TODOS OS ARTISTAS QUE SOFRERAM COM AS INTOLERÂNCIAS DO SEU TEMPO.”

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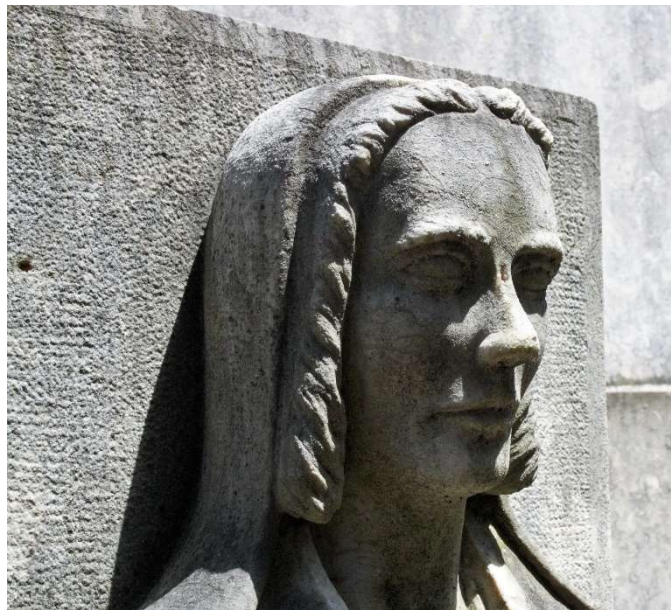
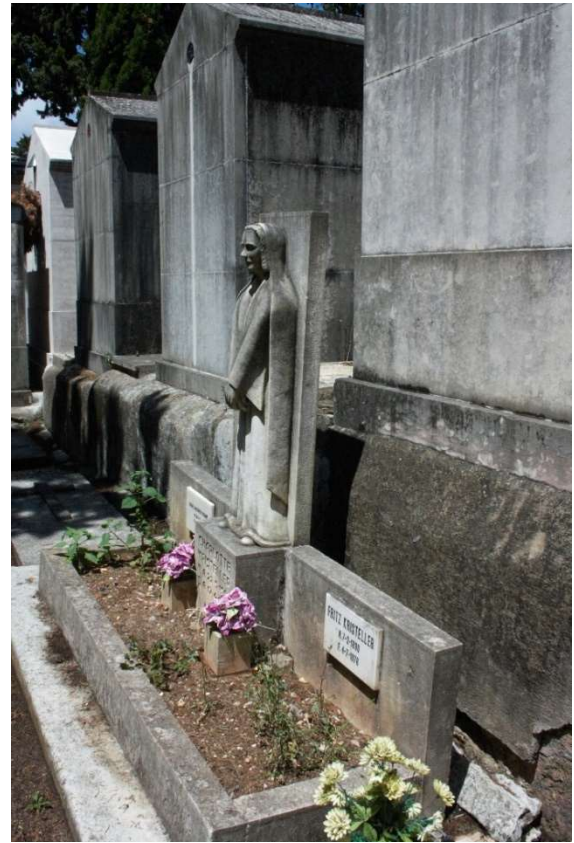


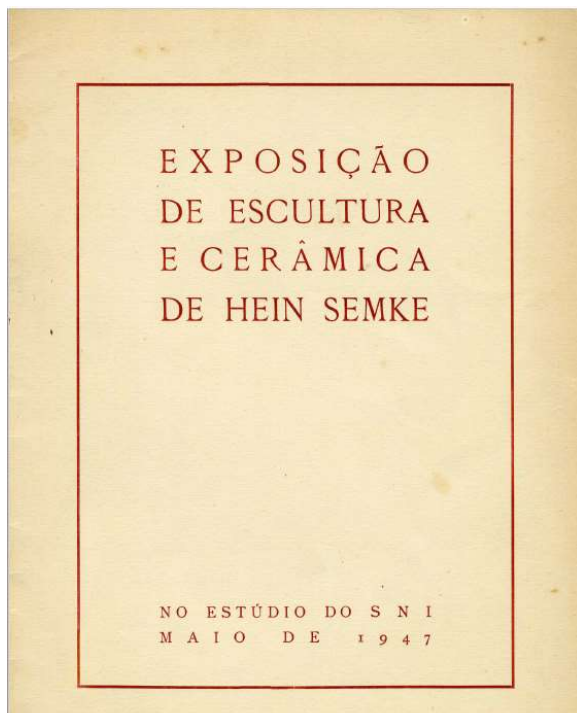
Fig. 37 a-c: Hein Semke: Gravestone for Charlotte Kristeller, 1944.
Cemitério dos Prazeres, Lisbon.
Limestone, height 100 cm, width 40 cm, depth 30 cm.



Fig. 38: Example for a medieval tombstone. Gravestone of Mechthild von Waldeck, around 1360-1365, Konradsdorf, Hesse.



Fig. 39: Cover page of the Portuguese magazine *O Mundo Literário*, 1947.



CERAMICA ESMALTADA	
RELEVOS	
1 — Composição marítima (36 peças)	35.000\$00
2 — " astrological I (19 peças)	12.000\$00
3 — " II (13 peças)	8.000\$00
4 — Nú verde	3.000\$00
5 — Medalhão com nú	3.000\$00
6 — Placa com Rias	1.500\$00
7 — Sereia em viagem	2.500\$00
8 — " " "	2.500\$00
9 — " andar e cavalo marinho	2.500\$00
10 — Nú ornamental	1.250\$00
11 — Máscara	1.000\$00
11* — Carnaval	1.500\$00
12 — Banhistas	2.000\$00
13 — Composição decorativa	2.000\$00
14 — Mercúrio	500\$00
15 — Vénus	500\$00
16 — Marte	500\$00
17 — Terra	500\$00
18 — Balança	500\$00
19 — Bicho	500\$00
20 — Peixeira cor verde	2.000\$00
21 — Peixeira com traje	2.000\$00
22 — Peixes nas ondas	750\$00
23 — "Nós todas temos culpas"	2.000\$00
24 — Pequeno torso azul e rosa	500\$00
25 — Flores	500\$00
26 — Flores com vaso	500\$00
27 — Sereia I	2.000\$00
28 — " II	2.000\$00
29 — " III	2.000\$00
30 a 41 — Composição com nú (cada)	250\$00
42 — Quo Vadis Victor? (Trytechou)	5.000\$00
43 — Castilho I rosa e verde	1.500\$00
44 — " II branco com riscas	1.000\$00
45 — " III verde	1.000\$00

Fig. 40 a-b: Cover and extract from the list of prices of the catalogue *Exposição de Escultura e Cerâmica de Hein Semke*, 1947.

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Fig. 41: Article in the Portuguese magazine *Panorama* showing several art pieces by artist Jorge Barradas, 1945.



Fig. 42: Hein Semke with Martha Ziegler (right), Margarida Schimmelpfennig (third from the right) and friends in 1945.



Fig. 43: Margarida Schimmelpfennig: *Figura com peixe-espada* [Figure with Swordfish], undated. Patinated bronze with marble base, height: 25 cm.



Fig. 44: Margarida Schimmelpfennig: Jewellery, around 1960.

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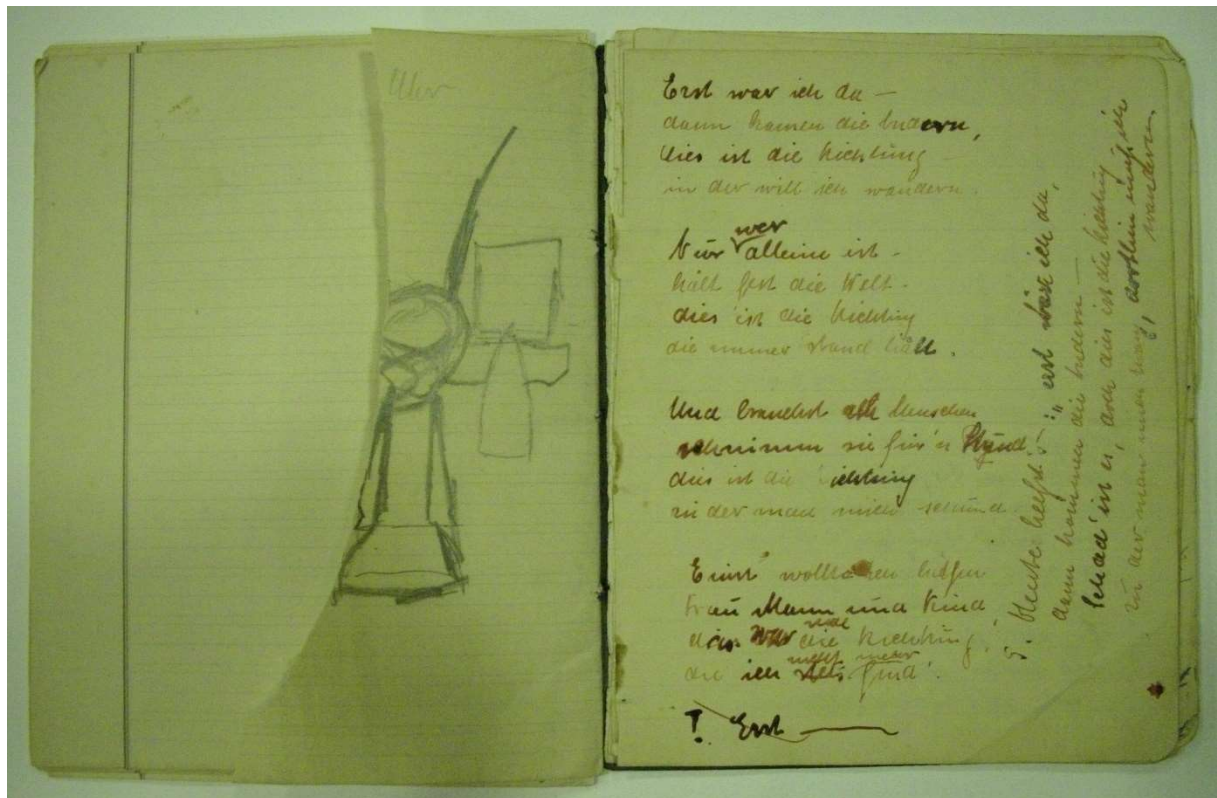


Fig. 45: Pages from a notebook used by Hein Semke between 1930 and 1934.

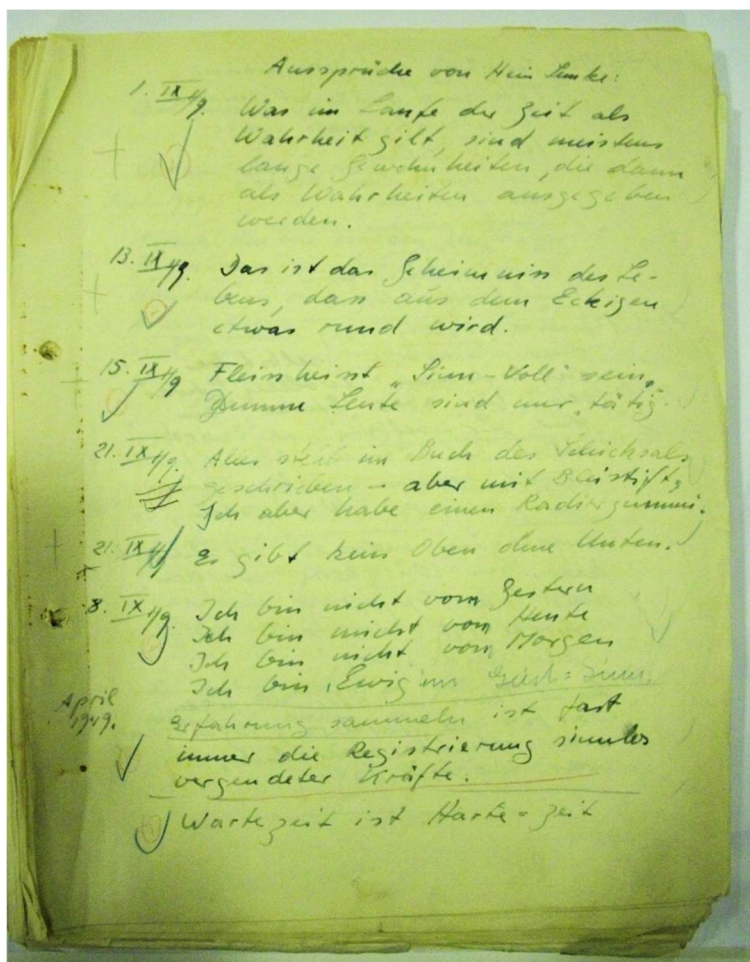


Fig. 46: "Phrases by Hein Semke," noted down by the artist himself in 1949. Extract from Semke's diary of 1948-1951.



Fig. 47: Hein Semke: Page from the artist's book *Blume – Unbekannt* [Flower — Unidentified], 1958.

Watercolor, ink and pencil on paper.

Dimensions: height 23,5 cm, width 37 cm.

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Fig. 48: Hein Semke: Two pages from the artist's book *Der Gekreuzigte und ich* [The Crucified and Me], 1967/1969.
Monoprint (offset ink), watercolor and highlighter on cardboard
Dimensions: height 100 cm, width 70 cm.



Fig. 49: Hein Semke: Page from the artist's book *Dorle-Buch* [Dorle Book], 1968.
Monoprint (offset ink) on cardboard.
Dimensions: height 100 cm, width 70 cm.



Fig. 50 a-c: Hein Semke: Three pages of the artist's book *Apocalypse à Portuguesa ou A revolução dos cravos* [Portuguese Apocalypse or the Carnation Revolution], 1974/75. Xylography, watercolor, ink, highlighter, collage on cardboard. Dimensions: height 100 cm, width 70,5 cm.



Fig. 51: Hein Semke: Page of the artist's book *Fische und Fische* [Fishes and Fishes], 1969. Watercolor and ink on paper. Dimensions: height 100 cm, width 70 cm.

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Fig. 52 a-c: Hein Semke: Wall decoration for the house of the architect Carlos Lino Gaspar (1889-1966) in Figueira da Foz, 1956-1957.
Reinforced concrete and brick tiles.
Dimensions: height 2,30 m, width 9,7 m.



Fig. 53: Hansi Staël in her studio in Lisbon, around 1952.



Fig. 54: Hansi Stael/ SECLA: Fruit bowl, around 1952.
Faience, hand painted. Bottom signed "SECLA Portugal Hand painted 52 Staël."
Dimensions: diameter ca. 26,3 cm, height ca. 19 cm.

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Fig. 55: Hansi Stael/ SECLA: Jug, around 1950.
Glazed clay. Bottom marked “SECLA Portugal.”
Dimensions: height 17 cm, width 20 cm, depth 12 cm.



Fig. 56: Flyer for the joint exhibition of Hansi Staël and Hein Semke, 1951. On the right: Bookend in the shape of a face by Hein Semke, 1951. Ceramics, dimensions unknown.



Fig. 57: Hansi Staël and Hein Semke in their joint exhibition in S.N.B.A., 1951.



Fig. 58: Hansi Staël: Jarra [Vase], ca. 1945.

Polychrome glazed faience. Bottom marked “f Lisboa Staël,” indicating that the artist produced this piece at ECA/EEC–*Estúdio de Cerâmica Artística/Escola de Cerâmica*.

Dimensions: height 19 cm, width 11 cm.

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Fig. 59: Hansi Staël: Plates from the series *Motivos Portugueses* [Portuguese Motifs], produced by SECLA between 1952 and 1980. White clay, painted with water colors and glazed.



Fig. 60: Hansi Staël: Garrafas [Bottles], between 1950 and 1960. White clay painted with water colors and glazed. Dimensions: height 33 cm.



Fig. 61: View of the sales exhibition *Exposição de Hansi Stael e Hein Semke* [Exhibition of Hansi Stael and Hein Semke] at SNBA, 1951. All artworks visible were created by Hein Semke.

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Fig. 63: Hein Semke: Jarra [Vase], 1954.
Red clay, painted and glazed.
Dimensions: height 21 cm, base Ø 12 cm, bottle opening Ø 3,5 cm.



Fig. 64: Interior view of the winter garden in Hotel Ritz, Lisbon, around 1959. Visible on the left: the ceramic panels by Margarida Schimmelpfennig and Hein Semke.



Fig. 65: Ceramic panels by Margarida Schimmelpfennig and Hein Semke, 1959.



Fig. 66: Hein Semke: India, 1957/58.

Ceramic panel. Dimensions: height 156 cm, width 185 cm, depth 3,5 cm. The panel consists of 20 tiles, each one with the dimensions: height 37,5 cm, width 37,5 cm, depth 3,5 cm.



Fig. 67: Hein Semke: *África*, 1957/58.

Ceramic panel. Dimensions: height 156 cm, width 185 cm, depth 3,5 cm. The panel consists of 20 tiles, each one with the dimensions: height 37,5 cm, width 37,5 cm, depth 3,5 cm.



Fig. 68: Hein Semke: *Macao*, 1957/58.

Ceramic panel. Dimensions: height 156 cm, width 185 cm, depth 3,5 cm. The panel; consists of 20 tiles, each one with the dimensions: height 37,5 cm, width 37,5 cm, depth 3,5 cm.

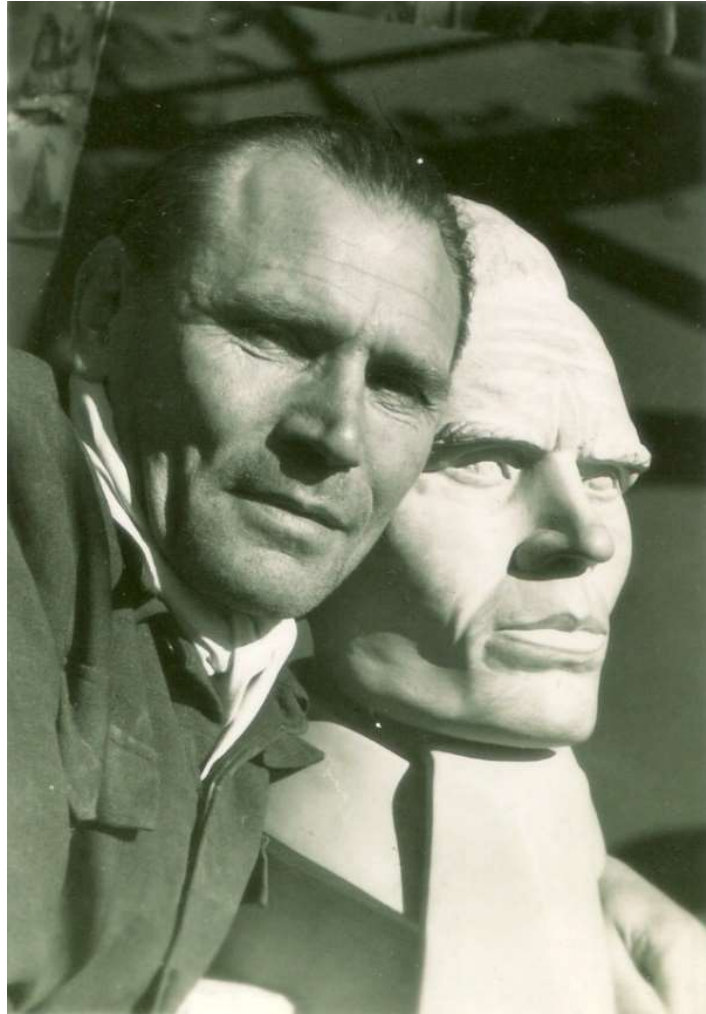


Fig. 69: Hein Semke with his self-portrait in 1949.



Fig. 70: Hein Semke: *Sem Título* [Untitled], 1963.

Print from linocut plate. Offset ink on paper.
Dimensions: height 37,5 cm, width 28,5 cm.



Fig. 71: Hein Semke: *Mais um Líder* [Another Leader], 1974.
Monoprint (offset ink) on paper.
Dimensions: height 59,7 cm, width 89,9 cm.

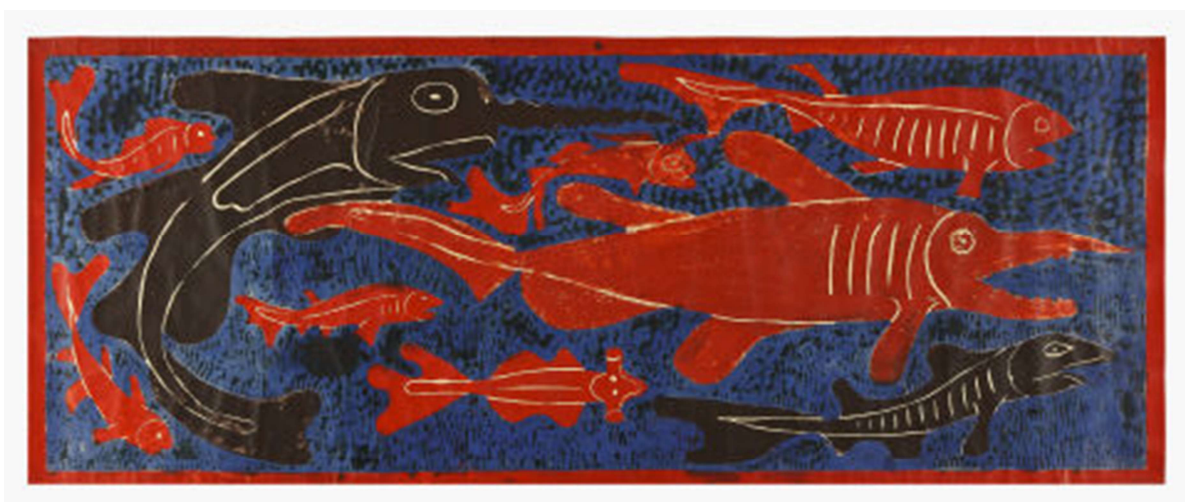


Fig. 72: Hein Semke: *Andam Tubarões nas Águas Estagnadas Portuguesas* [Sharks are going Around in the Stagnant Portuguese Water], 1974.
Woodcut (offset ink) on paper. Dimensions: height 70,5 cm, width 177,5 cm.

Figures Chapter 2: Myths and Truth—A Critical Examination of Hein Semke's Biography



Fig. 73: Header of the weekly magazine Alarm indicating the location of the central office.

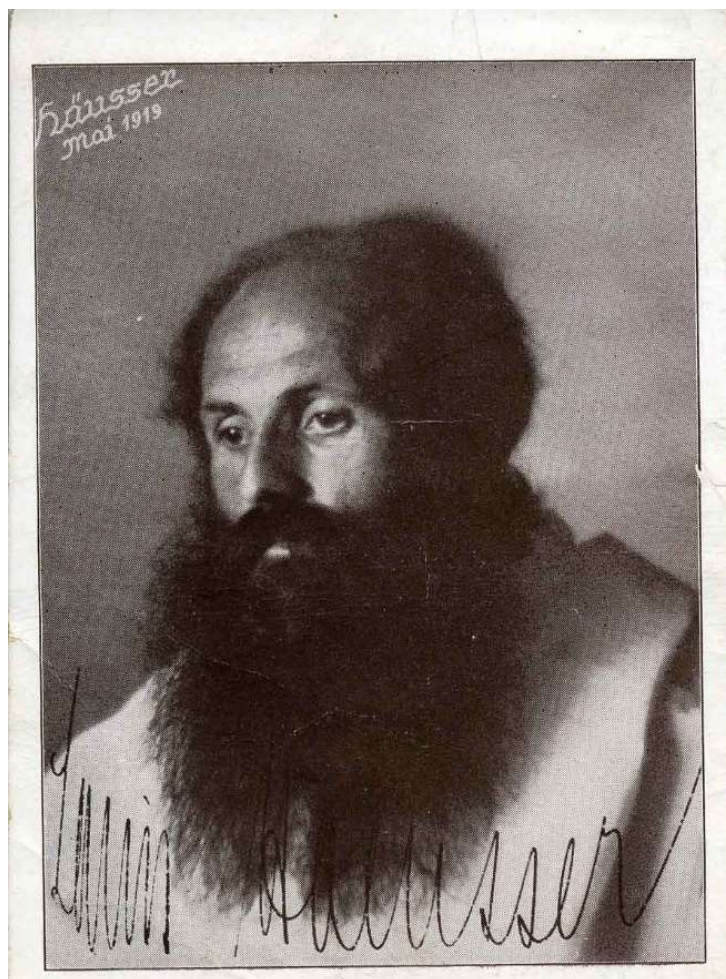


Fig. 74: Postcard of Ludwig Christian Haeusser, 1919. Dimensions: height 14,7 cm; width 10,4 cm.



Fig. 75: Poster announcing a performance by Ludwig Christian Haeusser, 1920. The slogan proclaims: “I AM The Deed HAEUSSER.” Dimensions: height 133 cm, width 64 cm.



Fig. 76: Postcard showing a car advertising a speech by Ludwig Christian Haeusser, ca. 1925. Dimensions: height 9 cm, width 13,7 cm

Figures Chapter 3: A Curious Incident: The Events around the Sculptures at the German Protestant Church of Lisbon



Fig. 77: German Protestant Church in Lisbon, seen from *Avenida Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro*.



Fig. 78: The German Protestant Church in Lisbon shortly after completion, picture taken by Wolfgang Sievers. Nowadays, the church building is hidden behind trees which do not allow to see the entire architecture.



Fig. 79: The German Protestant Church in Lisbon; visible on the left: the sculpture *A Dor* marking the entrance to the Commemorative Courtyard for the German Soldiers of the Community Killed During the First World War.



Fig. 80: Hein Semke: *A Dor*, 1934.
Cement. Dimensions: height 1.88 meters, width 0.73 meters. depth 1,10 meters.
Front view of the sculpture; in the background visible: the Commemorative Courtyard for the German Soldiers of the Community Killed During the First World War in its present appearance.

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Fig. 81: The hands of the sculpture *A Dor*.



Fig. 82: Back view of the sculpture *A Dor*.



Fig. 83 a-b: The face of the sculpture A Dor.

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Fig. 84: Perspective of the Commemorative Courtyard for the German Soldiers of the Community Killed During the First World War with the relief *Himmelfahrt des Kriegers* at its end and with the Commemorative plaques fixed to the church nave on the right side.



Fig. 85: Opposite perspective of the Commemorative Courtyard for the German Soldiers of the Community Killed During the First World War with the Commemorative plaques fixed to the church nave on the left side.



Fig. 86: Hein Semke: *Himmelfahrt des Kriegers*, 1934.
Cement. Dimensions: height 2.34 meters, width 1.64 meters, depth 0.27 meters.



Fig. 87: The relief *Himmelfahrt des Kriegers*, lateral view.



Fig. 88: Detail of *Himmelfahrt des Kriegers*.



Fig. 89: Detail of *Himmelfahrt des Kriegers*.



Fig. 90: Detail of *Himmelfahrt des Kriegers*.

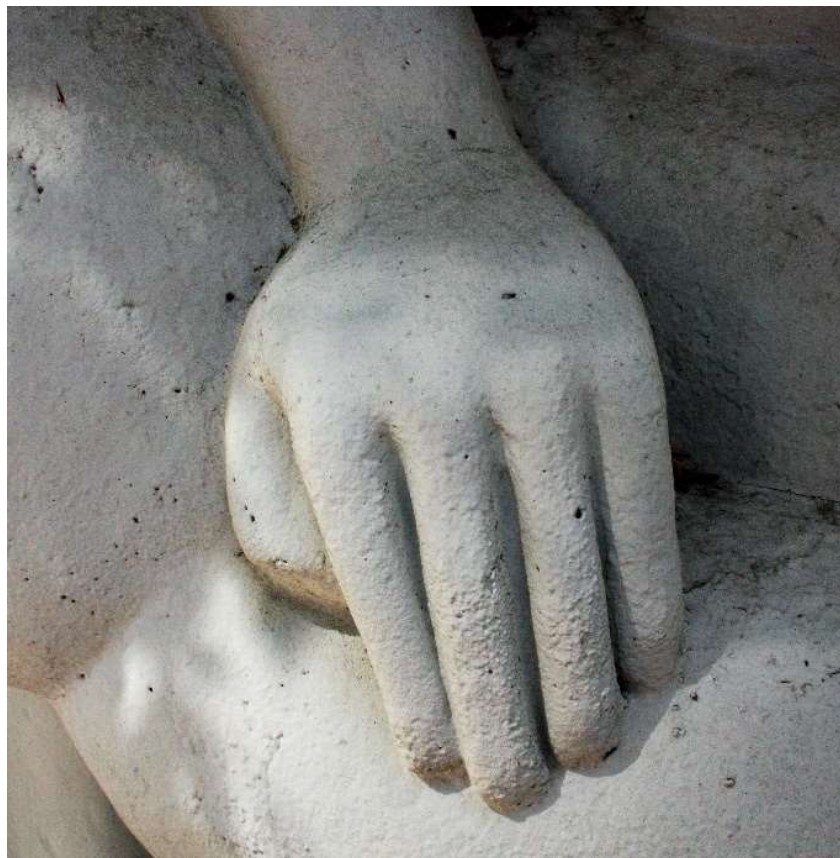


Fig. 91 Detail of *Himmelfahrt des Kriegers*.

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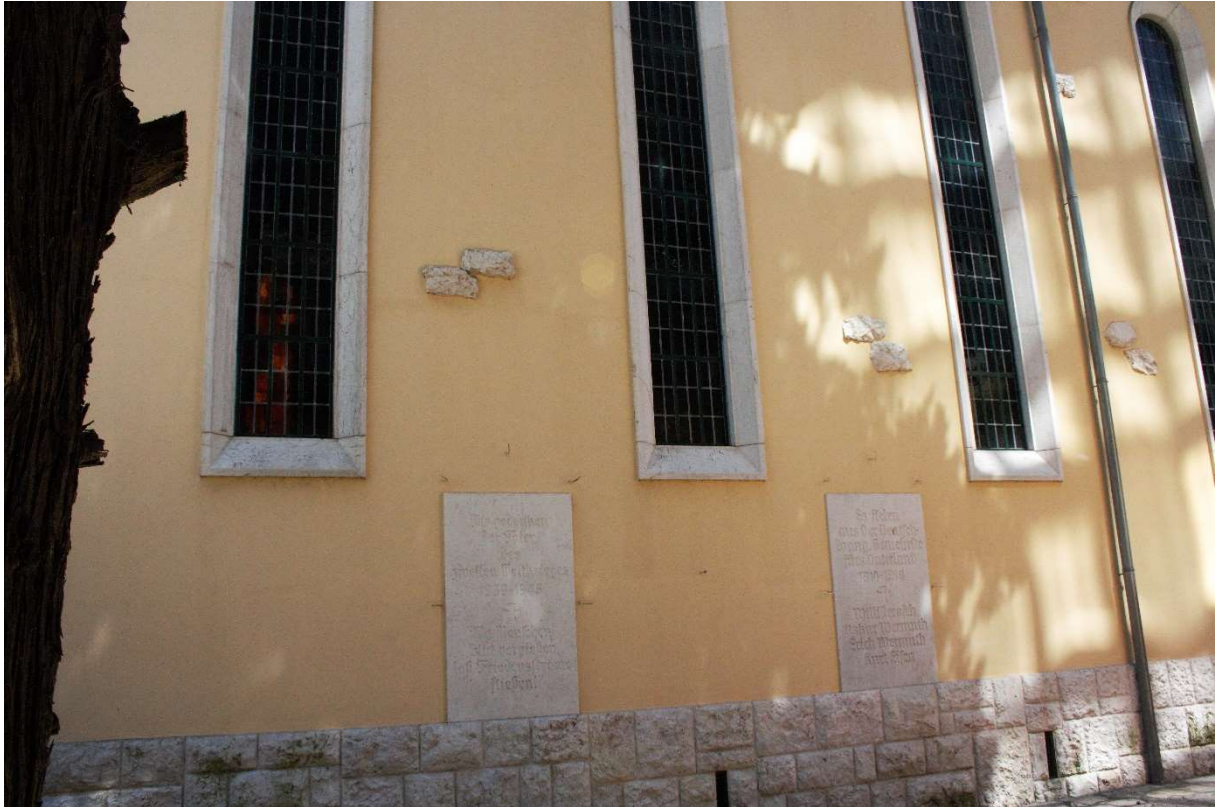


Fig. 92: Commemorative plaques fixed to the church nave.

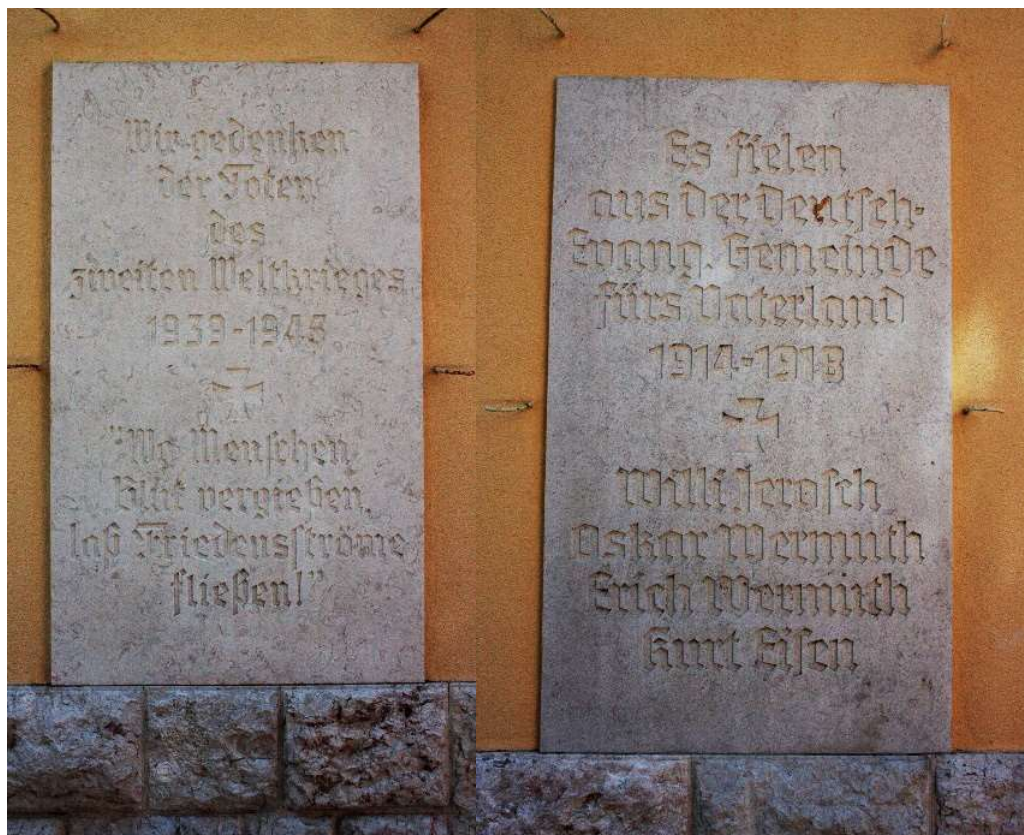


Fig. 93 a-b: The plaques commemorating the soldiers of the German community killed in action.



Fig. 94: Plaque donated in 1995 to memorialize of the sculpture *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*.



Fig. 95: Original design of the Commemorative Courtyard for the German Soldiers of the Community Killed During the First World War, ca. 1935. The statue *A Dor* marking the entrance to the Court of Honor; visible in the background: *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*. On the left the relief *Himmelfahrt des Kriegers*.

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Fig. 96: The sculpture *A Dor*, original setting, ca. 1934.

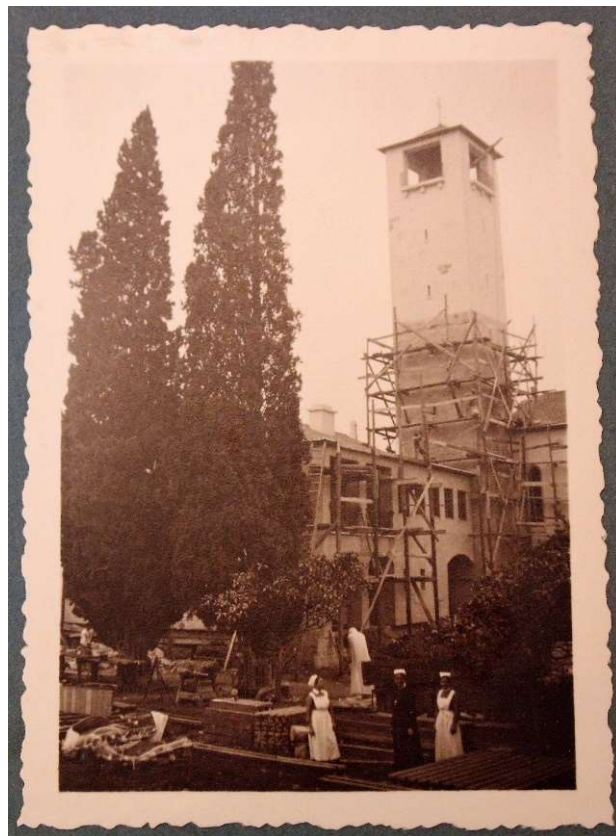


Fig. 97: The German Protestant Church at an advanced stage of construction, ca. 1934. Visible above the steps: the sculpture *A Dor*.

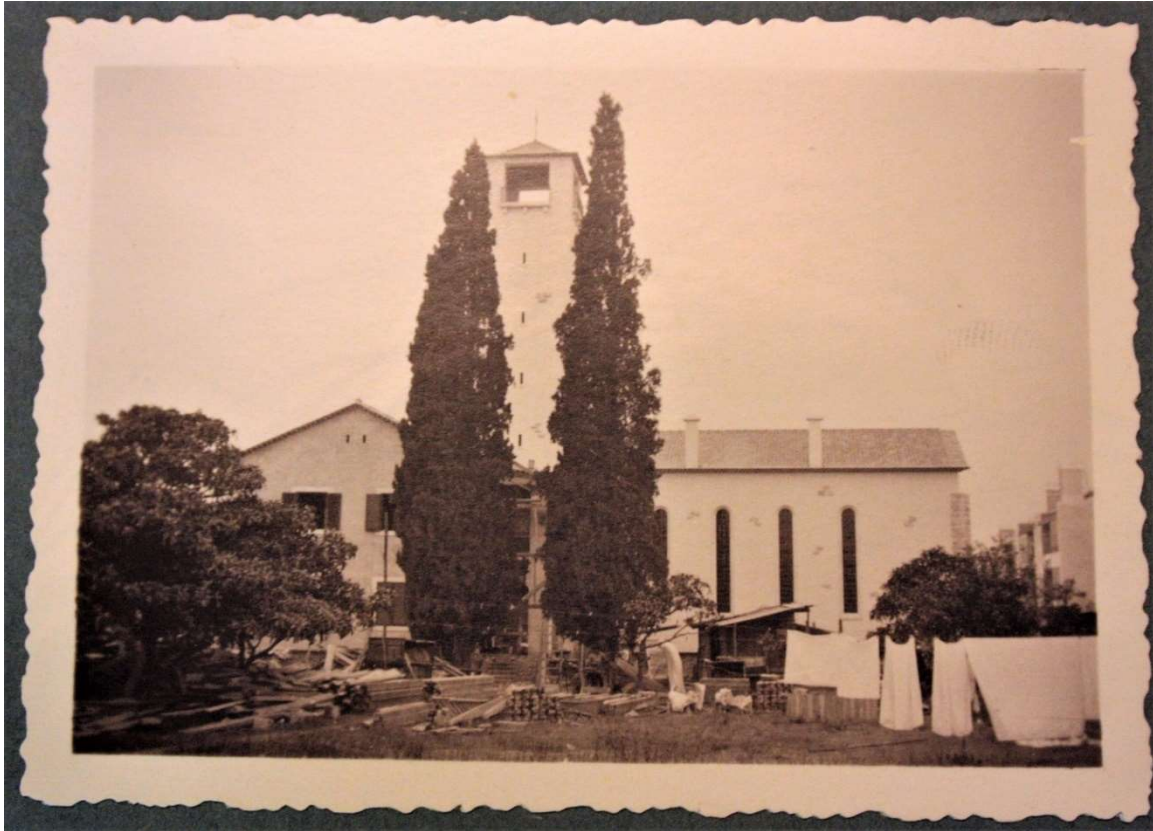


Fig. 98: The German Protestant Church at an advanced stage of construction, ca. 1934. Visible to the right of the cypresses: the sculpture *A Dor*.



Fig. 99: The sculptural group *Kameradschaft des Untergangs* in the Court of Honor, ca. 1935.

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Fig. 100: Hein Semke: Sketch of the sculptural group *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*, 1934. Ink on paper. Dimensions: height 25 cm, width 18 cm.



Fig. 101: Hein Semke working on the sculptural group *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*.



Fig. 102: Hein Semke working on the sculptural group *Kameradschaft des Untergangs*.



Fig. 103: Pastor Paul Wilhelm Gennrich, ca. 1930.



Fig. 104: Sketch by Paul Wilhelm Gennrich, ca. 1930.

Figures Chapter 3: A Curious Incident

Du Moulin Echart. telefonisch in Westfalen

097 Telegramm **Deutsche Reichspost**

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Tag	Monat	Jahr	Zeit	0 GENNRICH JACOBI	Tag	Beifordert	Zeit
den	10	1935	-2	ACHENBACHSTRASSE 18 BLN =	an		
Haupttelegraphenamt Berlin							
<p>HEUTE ABEND OFFENTLICHE ANGRIFFE AUF KIRCHEINWEIHUNG UND DENKMAL DURCH REDNER UND LLSS +</p>							
Raum für dienstliche Rückfragen				<p>LLSS SOC + 18 +</p>			

Fig. 107: Telegram by a member of the German Protestant Church in Lisbon to Pastor Gennrich in Berlin, 1935.



Fig. 108: Group portrait of the German pastors of the Iberian Peninsula, taken after the celebratory mass on the occasion of the 175th anniversary of DEKL on June 7, 1936.

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Fig. 109: Detail of figure 113; visible in the background: Hein Semke.

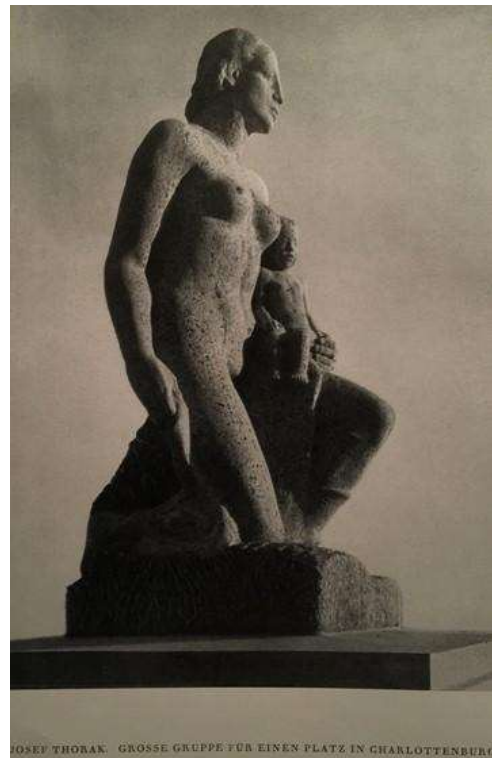


Fig. 110 a-b: Josef Thorak: the sculpture *Heim* [Home], 1928.



Fig. 111: Josef Thorak: *Arbeit* [Work], 1928.



Fig. 112: The monumental *Niederwalddenkmal*, Rüdesheim am Rhein, Hesse, Germany. Inauguration: 1883. This monument was created to commemorate the foundation of the German Empire and the Franco-German War in 1870/71. Design: Johannes Schilling (sculptor), Karl Weißbach (architect).

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Fig. 113: Detail of the *Niederwalddenkmal*. Heart of the monument is the figure ‘Germania’, the personification of the German nation.



Fig. 114: Grove of honor with memorial for those killed in action during the Franco-German War in 1870/71, 1883. A grieving 'Germania' sits on a temple-like architecture to which name boards are attached.

Location: Südfriedhof Frankfurt am Main. Sculptor: Franz Krüger.



Fig. 115: War memorial for Franco-German War in 1870/71, 1877. Location: Fürstenwallpark, Magdeburg. Sculptor: Emil Hundrieser.



Fig. 116: War memorial in Fürth (Bavaria), Kronacher Straße. Designed by Karl Maurer. Sculptor: Christian Hofmann. The memorial was inaugurated in 1923.



Fig. 117: War memorial in Bodenheim, Rheinland-Pfalz, early 1930s.
The inscription says: “Honor the dead/they died so that/Germany lives,” below: “The grateful municipality.”



Fig. 118: Memorial to the fallen soldiers of the First World War at the *Alter Friedhof* [Old Cemetery] in Wurzen, Saxony, 1930. Sculptor: Georg Wrba.

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Fig. 119: Memorial in *Ringpark* Würzburg, 1931.
Sculptor: Fried Heuler, Architect: Franz Kleinsteuber.



Fig. 120: Memorial for the soldiers of Mounted Infantry Regiment No. 6 and Cavalry Regiment 1889 of Erfurt killed in the First World War in Erfurt, Thuringia, 1924.
Sculptor: Hans Walther. The inscription says: “To our killed comrades 1914-1918.”



Fig. 121: Memorial for the soldiers killed in action during the First World War, 1923. Originally placed at the Celle Castle in Celle, Lower Saxony. After the restoration in 1988 placed in the city's town hall. Sculptor: Hans Dammann.



Fig. 122: Memorial for the soldiers killed during the First and Second World War, Weinheim, Baden-Wuerttemberg, 1936. Sculptor: Wilhelm Kollmar.

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Fig. 123: Historical postcard showing the memorial for the Infantry Regiment ‘von Goeben’ no. 28, 1935. Today, the monument is partially destroyed: the bronze sculpture is missing since 1945.



Fig. 124: War memorial in Niedersprockhövel, North Rhine-Westphalia, 1935. Photo taken during a memorial service in June 1936. Architect: Hans Dammann.



Fig. 125: War memorial in Dortmund-Öspel, North Rhine-Westphalia, 1934/35.



Fig. 126: War monument at *Dammtordamm*, Hamburg, 1936. Erected to commemorate the killed members of the Infantry Regiment 76. The inscription says: "Germany must live even though we have to die." Sculptor: Richard Kuöhl.

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Fig. 127: War monument in Bad Rappenau, Baden-Wuerttemberg, 1934. Sculptor: F. Linder.



Fig. 128: War monument in Kollnau, Waldkirch, Baden-Württemberg, 1935. Sculptor: Erwin Krumm.



Fig. 129: War memorial, designed as hall of fame, in Bad Nauheim, Hesse, 1933.
Design: August Metzger.



Fig. 130: Ewald Mataré: *Toter Krieger* [Dead Warrior], erected as part of a war memorial in 1934 and destroyed in 1938 by members of NSDAP. Restoration and re-erection in 1981.



Fig. 131: Ernst Barlach: *Magdeburger Ehrenmal*, 1929. Memorial at the Magdeburg Cathedral in Magdeburg, Saxony-Anhalt, 1929.



Fig. 132: Ernst Barlach: *Der Schwebende* [The Floating], 1927. The memorial is located at Güstrower Dom, Güstrow, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern.

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Fig. 133: Ernst Barlach: *Der Zweifler* [The Doubter], 1930/31.
Bronze, height 51,5 cm.



Fig. 134: Hein Semke: *Der Hockende* [The Crouching], 1936. Patinated plaster. Dimensions: height 38 cm, width 25,8 cm, depth 42 cm.



Fig. 135: Ernst Barlach: *Der Zecher* [The Boozer], 1909.
Italian walnut. Dimensions: height 56 cm, width 37,5 cm, depth 47,5 cm



Fig. 136: Hein Semke: *Família e Trabalho* [Family and Work], 1935. Plaster. Dimensions: height 126,7 cm, width 84,5 cm, depth 19 cm.

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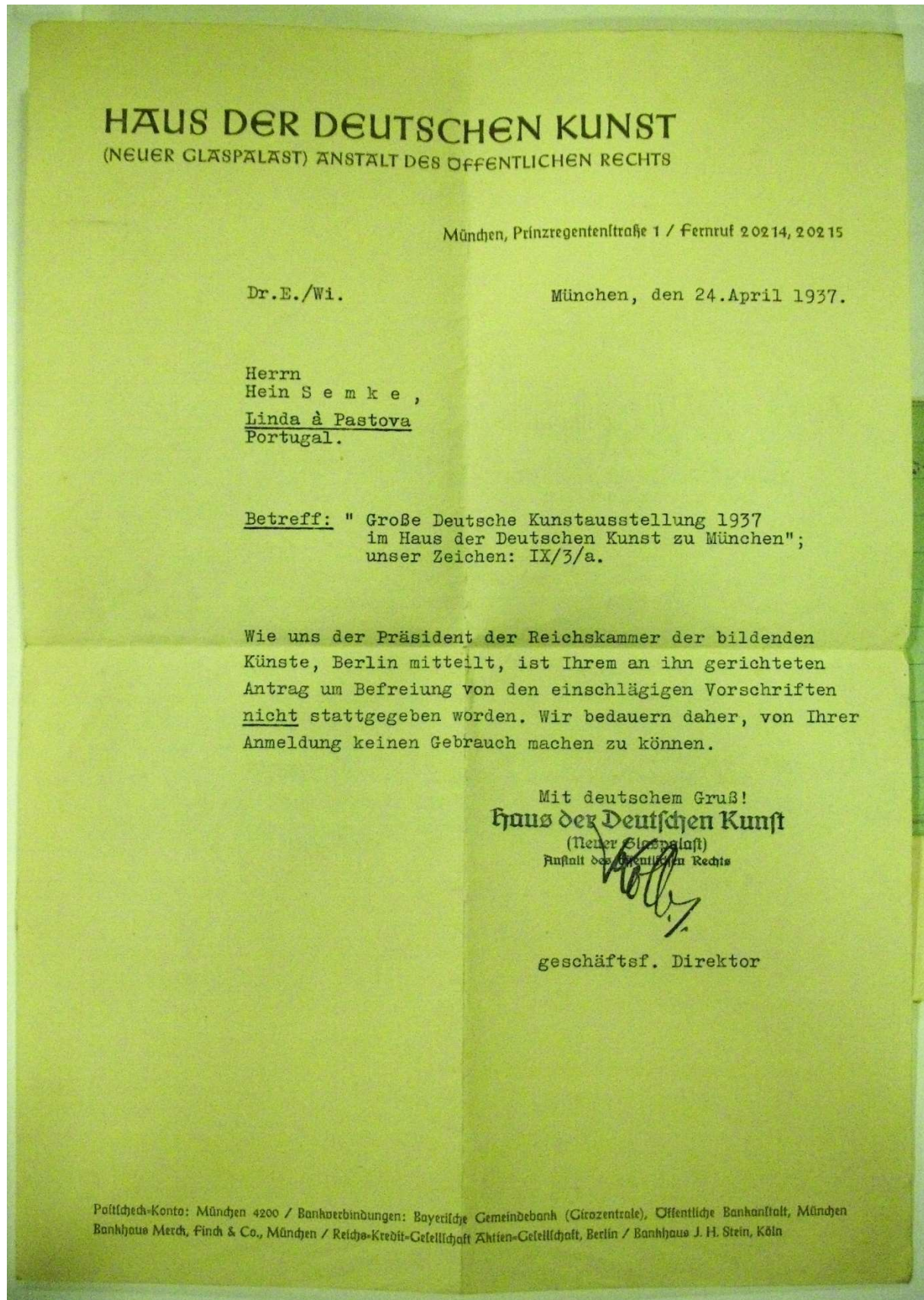


Fig. 137: Letter by *Haus der Deutschen Kunst* [House of German Art] to Hein Semke, 1937.

Figures Chapter 4: Official Obstacles? Hein Semke as Foreign Artist in Portugal

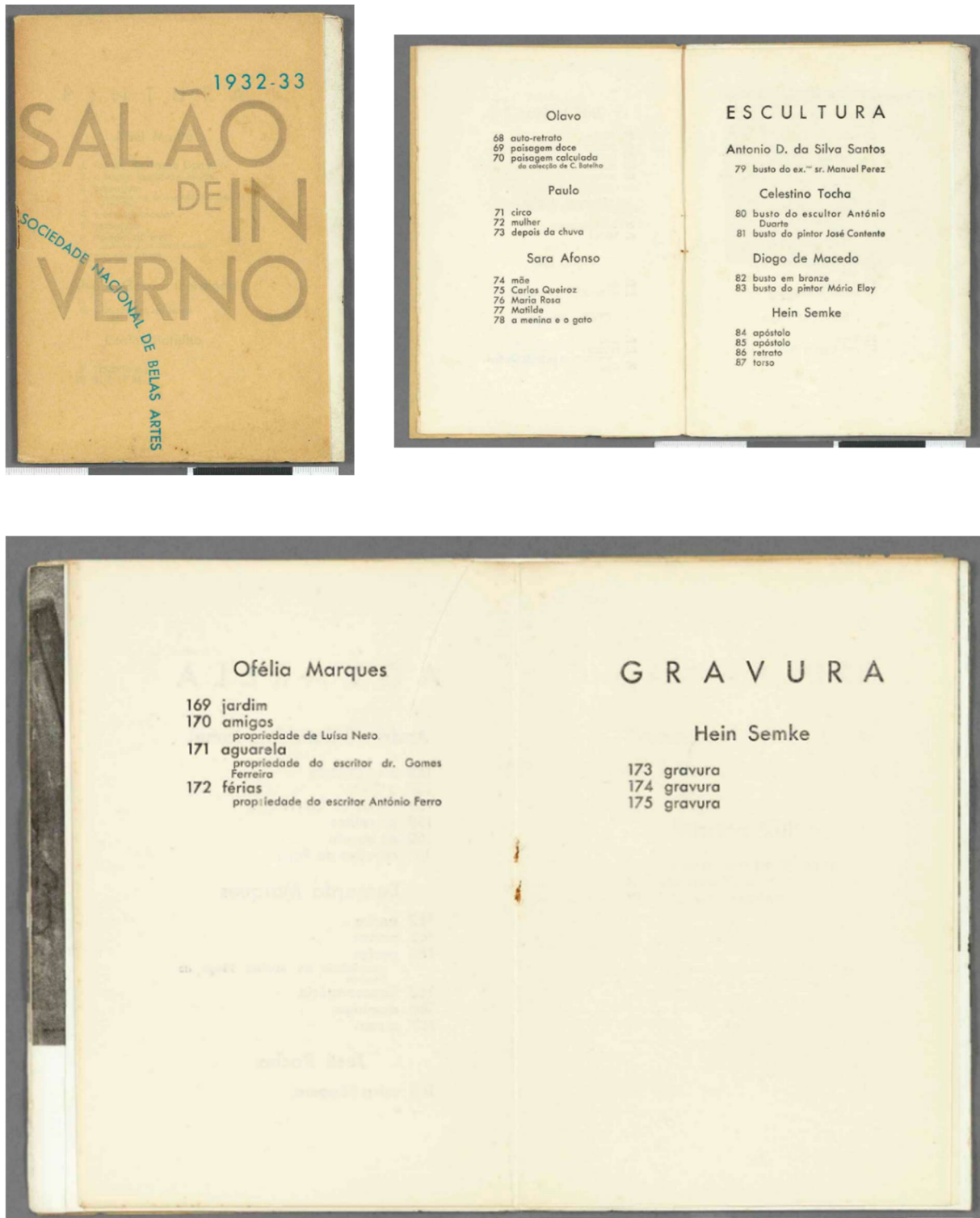


Fig. 138 a-c: Catalogue of the Exhibition *Salão do Inverno* in SNBA, 1932/33.

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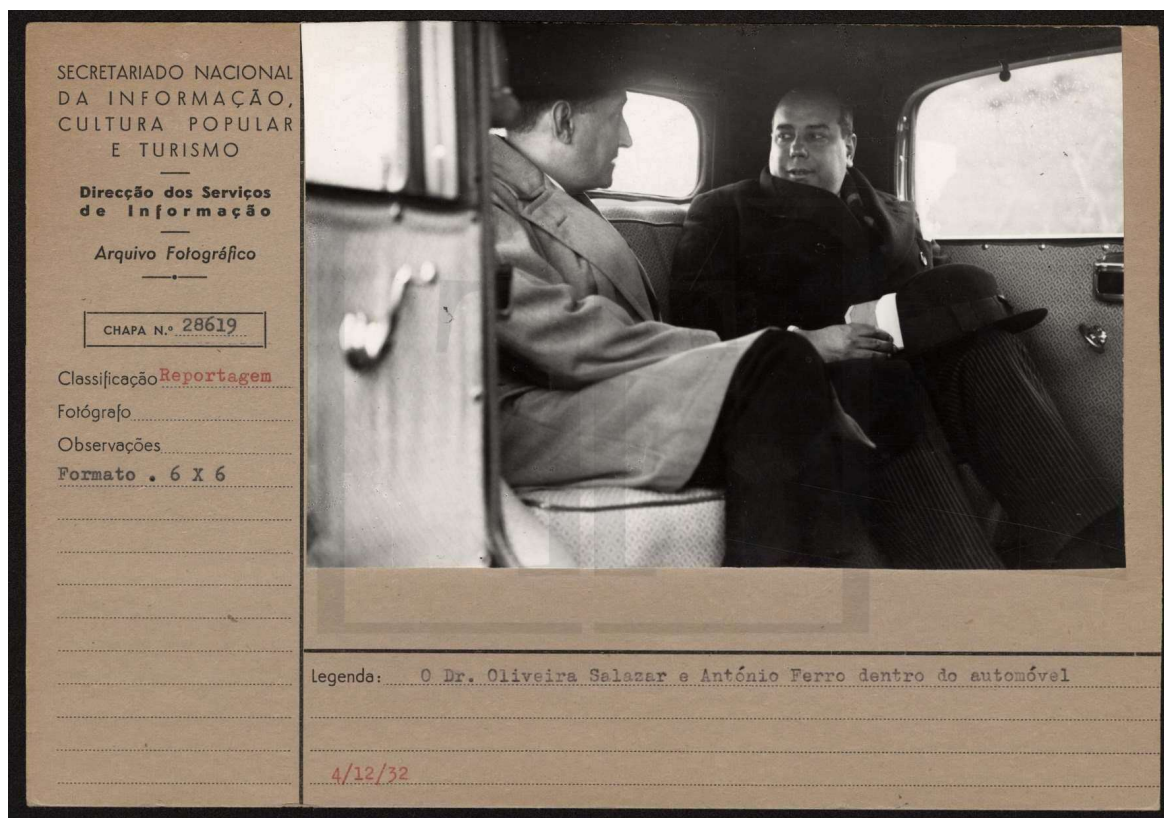


Fig. 139: "Doctor Salazar and António Ferro in the car," December 12, 1932.

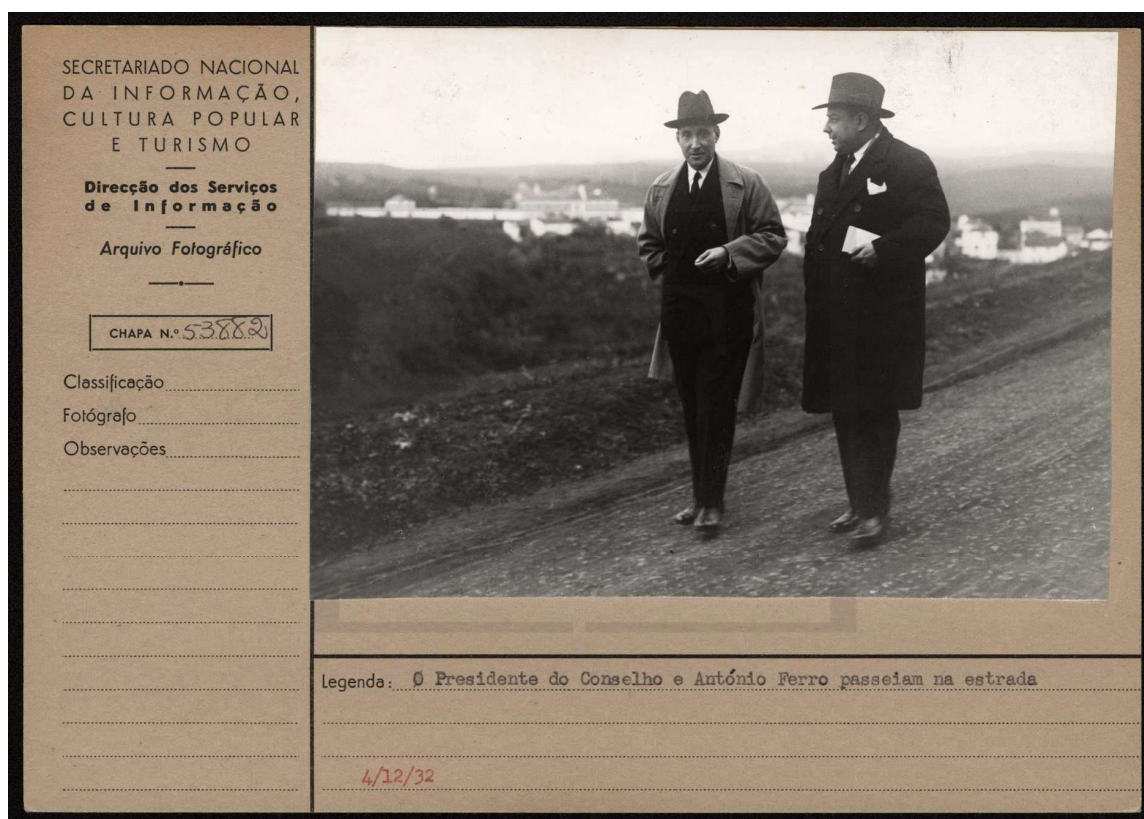


Fig. 140: "The President of the Council and António Ferro stroll on the road," December 12, 1932.

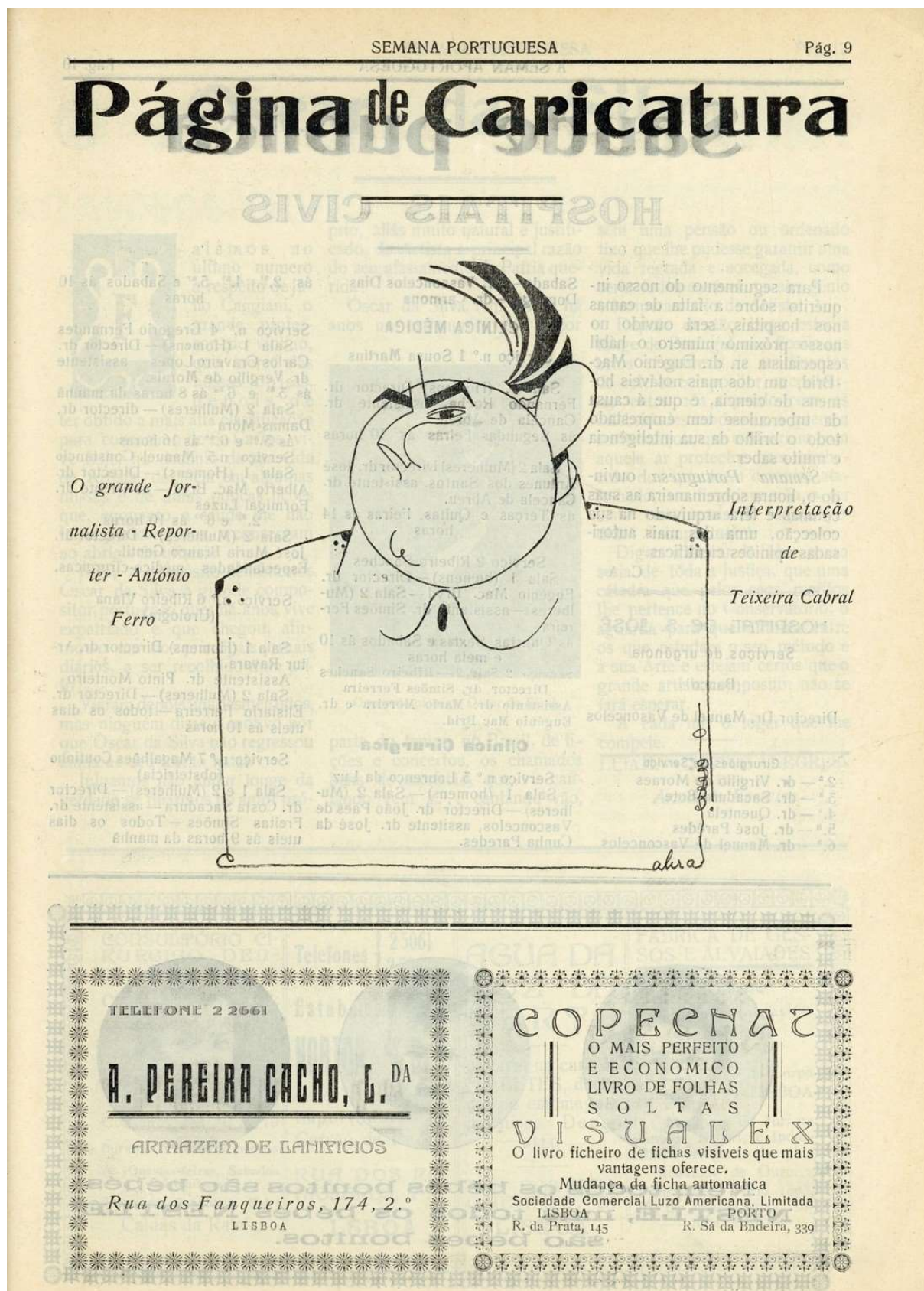


Fig. 141: Caricature of António Ferro in *Semana Portuguesa*, January 24, 1933.

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Fig. 142: Example for the labelling "endorsed by the Censorship Commission" on the cover of *Diário de Lisboa*, January 18, 1933.



Fig. 143: Cover of the First issue of *ABC-zinho* by Cottinelli Telmo, 1921.



Fig. 144: Stuart Carvalhais: Study for a cover of the magazine *ABC*, 1920.
Indian ink and watercolorcolor on paper Dimensions: height: 29,8 cm, width: 22,2 cm.



Fig. 145: Cover of *ABC-zinho* by Carlos Botelho, 1928.



Fig. 146: Picture story “O menino que queria ser homem à força” [The Boy who forcibly wanted to be a man] in *ABC-zinho*, illustrated by Ofélia Marques, 1926.



Fig. 147: Cover of *Meggendorfer Blätter* by Emmerico Nunes, January 1914.



Fig. 148: Cover of *Meggendorfer Blätter* by Emmerico Nunes, March 1923.



Fig. 149 a-b: Cover and page of the children's book by Emmerico Nunes, 1913.



Fig. 150: Hein Semke: *Retrato E. W.* [Portrait of E[lse] W[estenfeld]], 1932. Dimensions unknown. Location unknown.



Fig. 151 Hein Semke: *Retrato de Ilse Köhler* [Portrait of Ilse Köhler], ca. 1932. Bronze, height: 40,2 cm, width: 20,5 cm, depth: 23 cm.

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Fig. 152: Hein Semke: *Retrato de M.Z.* [Portrait of M[artha] Z[iegler]], 1933.
Plaster, height: 44,7 cm, width: 23,4 cm, depth: 31,4 cm.



Fig. 153: Hein Semke: *Retrato de R. O.* [Portrait of R.[uth] O.[senberg]], 1933.
Plaster, dimensions: height 53 cm, width 23 cm, depth 30,4 cm.



Fig. 154: Relief for the tympanum of the chapel *Santo António* of the *Sanatório de Lumiar* [Sanatorium of Lumiar], 1934.

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Fig. 155: The magazine article “A Casa Do Escultor Hein Semke” [The House of the Sculptor Hein Semke] by Carlos Queiroz in *Panorama*.

Annex I: Artist's books by Hein Semke (1958 to 1986)

Year of Origin	Title	Content	Material	Dimensions (height x width)
1958	Blume - Unbekannt [Flower - Unidentified]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cover with text and painting • 14 sheets, each one painted one-sidedly 	Watercolor, ink and pencil on paper	37 cm x 23,5 cm
1960	Hüte die Blume in Dir [Protect the Flower Inside of You]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 26 sheets, each on painted one-sidedly - 14 pages with text and watercolor illustrations - 12 pages with watercolor illustrations 	Watercolor and ink on paper	54 cm x 37 cm
1965	Karin-Buch [Karin Book]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cover illustrated and bound by the artist • 27 sheets, printed on both sides - 48 pages with monoprints - 6 pages with text 	Offset ink and collage on paper	99 cm x 64,5 cm
1966/67 to 1968	Dorle-Buch [Dorle Book]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protective cover, labelled by the artist • 37 sheets, printed on both sides - 70 pages with monoprints - 4 pages with text 	Offset ink on cardboard	100 cm x 70 cm
1968	Indien-Buch [India Book]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protective cover, labelled by the artist • 33 sheets, processed on both sides - 16 pages with monoprints and collages - 27 pages with monoprints and text - 23 pages with monoprints 	Offset ink and collage on cardboard	100 cm x 70 cm
1967/1969	Der Gekreuzigte und ich [The One Crucified and Me]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 34 sheets, processed on both sides - 5 pages with text - 30 pages with watercolor paintings - 33 pages with monoprints 	Offset ink, watercolor, highlighter on cardboard	100 cm x 70 cm

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Year of Origin	Title	Content	Material	Dimensions (height x width)
1968/1969	Zeichen, keine Symbole oder Das Zeichen-Buch [Signs, not Symbols or The Book of Signs]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protective cover, labelled by the artist • 55 sheets, processed on both sides - 53 pages with monoprints - 51 pages with ink drawings - 6 pages with text and ink drawings 	Offset ink, ink on cardboard	100 cm x 70 cm
1969	Hüte die Blume in Dir oder Das Grosse Blumenbuch [Protect the Flower Inside of You or The Great Book of Flowers]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two-part artist's book • Both protective covers are labelled by the artist • First part: 30 sheets, processed on both sides - 30 pages with monoprints - 16 pages with watercolor paintings and text - 14 pages with watercolor paintings • Second part: 36 sheets, processed on both sides - 36 pages with monoprints - 19 pages with watercolor paintings and text - 11 pages with watercolor paintings 	Offset ink, watercolor, highlighter on cardboard	100 cm x 70 cm
	Fische - Ja - Fische [Fishes–Yes–Fishes]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 49 sheets, each one painted one-sidedly 	Spiral pad, ink, highlighter, color pencil on cardboard and paper	34 cm x 48 cm
	Fische und Fische [Fishes and Fishes]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protective cover, labelled and painted by the artist • 47 sheets, each one painted one-sidedly • 2 sheets processed one-sidedly - 2 pages with collages - 46 pages with watercolor paintings - 3 pages with text and watercolor paintings - 41 pages with monoprints 	Offset ink, watercolor, ink, collages on cardboard and paper	70 cm x 100 cm

Annex I: Artist's Books

Year of Origin	Title	Content	Material	Dimensions (height x width)
1970	Cyrano von Barnabé spricht [Cyrano von Barnabé Speaks]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protective cover, labelled and painted by the artist • 64 sheets, each one processed on both sides - 30 pages with text - 30 pages with drawings 	Ink, highlighter, watercolor, color pencil on paper	62 cm x 42,5 cm
	Innere Landschaft [Inner landscape]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protective cover • 131 sheets, with 65 pages processed on both sides - 70 pages with text and monoprints, some with paintings - 60 pages with monoprints 	Offset ink, watercolor, ink, highlighter, collage on paper	100 cm x 75 cm
	Das Langeweile-Buch [The Boredom Book]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cover and back cover with drawing and painting • 39 sheets, with 18 pages processed on both sides - 21 pages with text, 5 with drawings - 15 pages with drawings 	Ink, highlighter, watercolor, collage on cardboard	71 cm x 56 cm
	Meister Silberhaar [Master Silvery Hair]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cover and back cover with drawing and painting • 64 sheets, with 30 pages processed on both sides - 59 pages with text, 29 with watercolors - 1 page with watercolor 	Watercolor, ink, highlighter on paper	65 cm x 50 cm
	Der Fliegende Wurm [The Flying Worm]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cover and back cover with watercolor • 45 sheets, with 21 pages processed on both sides - 22 pages with text, 17 with watercolors - 14 pages with collage on watercolor - 1 page with watercolor - 2 pages with collage 	Watercolor, ink, highlighter, collage on paper and cardboard	100,5 cm x 70 cm

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Year of Origin	Title	Content	Material	Dimensions (height x width)
1970	Bestiarium- Calendarium [Bestiary- Calendar]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cover with text • 185 sheets, with 87 pages processed on both sides and 1 empty flyleaf - 84 pages with drawings - 1 page with text (added in 1977) - 8 pages with small drawings (added in 1977) 	Highlighter on paper	80 cm x 52,5 cm
	Blumen und andre Blumen [Flowers and Other Flowers]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cover with watercolor • 40 sheets, with 19 pages processed on both sides - 4 pages with text - 7 pages with monoprints and watercolors - 16 pages with watercolors - 7 pages with monoprints and watercolors - 4 pages with ink paintings 	Offset ink, watercolor, ink on paper and cardboard	107 cm x 77 cm
	Kreise nur Kreise [Circles Only Circles]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protective cover • 83 sheets, with 41 pages processed on both sides - 20 pages with text, some with watercolors or drawings - 32 pages with monoprints - 30 pages with watercolors 	Offset ink, watercolor, ink, highlighter on paper and cardboard	100 cm x 70 cm
	Carnaval / Fantasmagórica ou as Monstras Sagradas [Carnival/ Phantasmagoric or the Sacred Monsters]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protective cover • 89 sheets, with 44 pages processed on both sides - 50 pages with offset ink monoprints - 38 pages with oil monoprints 	Offset ink, oil paint on cardboard	100 cm x 70 cm
1971	N Vogel haben wir Alle [We All Have Bats in the Belfry]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cover and back cover with monoprints and text • 85 sheets, with 41 pages processed on both sides - 42 pages with monoprints on tracing paper - 40 pages with monoprints on paper 	Offset ink on parchment and cardboard	90 cm x 63 cm

Annex I: Artist's Books

Year of Origin	Title	Content	Material	Dimensions (height x width)
1974/75-1979	Apocalipse à Portuguesa [Apocalypse in the Portuguese Way]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cover (added in 1979: cover and back cover with text, paintings and collages) • 63 sheets, with 30 pages processed on both sides <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 30 pages with xylography - 30 pages with drawings, some with text (added in 1979) 	Watercolor, ink, highlighter, collage on cardboard	100 cm x 70,5 cm (147,5 cm)
1975	Gesicht, Gesichte, Gesichtetes [Face/Sight, Faces/Sights, Sighted]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 47 sheets, with 23 pages processed on both sides <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 18 pages with xylography - 28 pages with watercolors, 4 with text 	Watercolor, ink, lithographic pencil, paint on paper	80 cm x 60 cm
1975/1976	Súcia(dade) [Agnomination. Phonetically similar to 'society', but only the word "gang" or "mob" is complete.]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 39 sheets, with 36 pages processed one-sidedly <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2 (4) pages with text - 34 pages with monoprints 	Offset ink, ink, lithographic pencil on paper and cardboard	100,5 cm x 70 cm
1978	Ein Versuch: Baum - Bäume [An Attempt: Tree-Trees]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protective cover • 69 sheets, with 34 pages processed on both sides <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2 pages with text and paintings - 2 pages paintings - 6 pages with monoprints - 27 pages with watercolors - 31 pages with collages 	Offset ink, watercolor, ink, paint, collage on paper and cardboard	100 cm x 70 cm
	Bewegung - Formen und Farben [Motion-Forms and Colors]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 67 sheets, with 32 pages processed one both sides <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 34 pages with ink paintings - 30 (32) pages with watercolors 	Ink and watercolor on paper	45,5 cm x 56 cm

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Year of Origin	Title	Content	Material	Dimensions (height x width)
1979	Das Buch ohne Worte [The Book Without Words]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cover and back cover: 4 pages with watercolors on cardboard • 62 sheets, with 31 pages processed one both sides - 58 pages with watercolors on paper 	Watercolor and ink on paper and cardboard	70,5 cm x 50 cm
1980/1981	Kuddelmuddel [Jumble]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 39 sheets, with 19 pages processed on both sides - 1 page with text - 37 pages with watercolors 	Watercolor and ink on paper	70 cm x 43 cm
1981	Lang, lang ist es her [Long, Long Ago]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cover and back cover: 4 pages with watercolors, 2 of them with text • 27 sheets, with 26 pages processed one-sidedly, with their back pages glued together - 1 page with text - 21 pages with watercolors 	Watercolor, ink, lithographic pencil, highlighter, collage on paper	82 cm x 50 cm
	8 Zeichen des Zufalls [8 Signs of Happenstance]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 9 sheets, with 8 pages processed one-sidedly - 8 pages with ink paintings and watercolors 	Ink, watercolor on paper	68 cm x 48 cm
1978/1983	Arabesken [Arabesques]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protective cover • 57 sheets • First part: 17 pages, processed on both sides - 2 pages with text - 22 pages with ink paintings and watercolors - 10 pages with watercolors • Second part: 11 pages, processed on both sides - 12 pages with ink paintings and watercolors - 10 pages with watercolors 	Ink, watercolor on paper	82,5 cm x 59 cm

Annex I: Artist's Books

Year of Origin	Title	Content	Material	Dimensions (height x width)
1981/1983	Symbole - Zeichen? [Symbols–Signs?]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 26 sheets, with 12 pages processed on both sides and 1 empty flyleaf - 12 pages with ink paintings and watercolors - 10 pages with watercolors 	Ink, watercolor on paper	100 cm x 70 cm
1982/1983	Flache Steine oder der Pabst in Portugal [Flat Rocks or the Pope in Portugal]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 15 sheets, with 14 pages processed one-sidedly - 1 page with text - 13 pages with watercolors 	Ink, watercolor, highlighter on paper	50 cm x 37 cm
1983	Kontraste: Form - Farbe - Idee [Contrast: Form–Color–Idea]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 48 sheets, with 47 pages processed one-sidedly - 47 (50) pages with monoprints 	Offset ink on paper and cardboard	90 cm x 60 cm
	Kuddelmuddel II [Jumble II]	Missing/existence could not be proven	-	-
1984	Máscaras Grotescas [Grotesque Masks]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unfinished project. • 1 sheet, with 39 empty pages - 1 page with text and with watercolor and crayon drawing 	Watercolor, crayon, highlighter on paper	75,2 cm x 50 cm
1986	Der Halleysche Komet [The Halley's Comet]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 12 sheets, with 12 pages processed one-sidedly - 1 page with text and watercolor - 11 pages with watercolors 	Watercolor, ink, highlighter on paper	82 cm x 59 cm

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- Fig. 149 a-b: Blum de Almeida, Nina. Cover and Page of a Children's Book by Emmerico Nunes, 1913. In: Nunes, Emmerico H., and C. A. Hennig. *Wie Die Alten Sungen [as Grown-Ups Do It]*. Munich, Eßlingen: J. F. Schreiber, 1913.
- Fig. 150: Unknown photographer. Hein Semke: Retrato E. W. (Portrait of E[lse] W[estenfeld]), 1932. Photograph from private property, taken ca. 1932. HS 1.46, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte, Lisbon.
- Fig. 151: Unknown photographer. Hein Semke: Retrato De Ilse Köhler (Portrait of Ilse Köhler), ca. 1932. HS 1.53, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte, Lisbon.
- Fig. 152: Unknown photographer. Hein Semke: Retrato De M.Z. (Portrait of M[artha] Z[iegler]), 1933. HS 1.116, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte, Lisbon.
- Fig. 153: Unknown photographer. Semke, Hein: Retrato De R. O. (Portrait of R[uth] O[senberg]), 1933. HS 1.61-63, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian - Biblioteca de Arte, Lisbon.
- Fig. 154: Blum de Almeida, Nina. Hein Semke: Relief for the Tympanum of the Chapel Santo António of the Sanatório De Lumiar [Sanatorium of Lumiar], 1934.
- Fig. 155: Blum de Almeida, Nina. The magazine article “A Casa Do Escultor Hein Semke” [The House of the Sculptor Hein Semke] by Carlos Queiroz in *Panorama. Revista Portuguesa De Arte E Turismo [Panorama. Portuguese Magazine for Art and Tourism]*, vol. 17, ed. Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional 17 (Lisboa, 1943), 17:17-20.