

Art Historiography during World War I:

Kunstschutz and Reconstruction in the General Government of Warsaw

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Within weeks of the outbreak of World War I, major losses of buildings and art monuments had already occurred. German troops were responsible for the destruction of the historic centres of Leuven in Belgium and Kalisz in the Russian partitioned area of Poland, as well as the shelling of the Reims cathedral. Russian offensives laid waste to small towns and villages in East Prussia and Galicia. Events in the Eastern theatres of the war barely struck a chord among the Western European population. However, in Belgium and France violations of international regulations of the *Hague Convention Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land* (1907) 'for the preservation of cultural heritage during hostilities of war' were harshly condemned in the Entente states' war propaganda. As a result of growing international pressure, the Reich government implemented the approach of *Kriegsdenkmalpflege*, a plan that was substantially developed by Paul Clemen, a university professor from Bonn. This paper contains initial observations about the activities of the *Kunstschutz* from 1915 to 1918 in the General Government of Warsaw under German civil administration. The paper will then formulate research questions for a comparative analysis of the programme's activities in the various European theatres of war.

***Kunstschutz* and propaganda**

In order to fight the Entente states' accusations of 'German barbarianism',¹ the art protection service *Kunstschutz* in the Belgian General Government under German civil administration was entrusted to the former provincial curator (or conservator, *Provinzialkonservator*) of the Rhine province, Paul Clemen (1866–1947), on 20

¹ A listing of the Belgian and French reactions in P. Clemen, G. Bersu, *Kunstdenkmäler und Kunstpflege in Belgien. – Kunstschutz im Kriege. Berichte über den Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf den verschiedenen Kriegsschauplätzen und über die deutschen und österreichischen Massnahmen zu ihrer Erhaltung, Rettung, Erforschung*. Vol. 1, Die Westfront. Ed. P. Clemen. Leipzig: Seemann, 1919, p. 17, note 1.

August 1914. From January 1915, he also looked after the duties regarding wartime monument preservation in France, with the support of other German professional colleagues. In the conquered territories, German academics were assigned to carry out initial security measures, document details of any destruction, research and compile inventories of sites of particular artistic significance, and prepare designs for reconstruction.² 'In the sense of courting the enemy's trust',³ protagonists of the *Kunstschutz* sought the cooperation and collaboration of the local authorities. The aim of this campaign was to re-establish Germany's reputation as a *Kulturnation*. In the course of 1915, Austria-Hungary followed the German example.

There was intense reporting in professional journals and in the daily press about these initiatives.⁴ The activities, goals and success stories were presented at the War Conference for Monument Preservation (*Kriegstagung für Denkmalpflege*) in Brussels in 1915, the relocation of the upcoming regular conference to Belgium representing a deliberate propaganda action of the *Kunstschutz* campaign. The initiatives were also discussed at the *Tag für Denkmalpflege* in Augsburg in 1917 as part of the essential series of biannual monument preservation conferences.⁵

In 1919, Paul Clemen published two volumes entitled *Kunstschutz im Kriege*, which presented the integrated contributions of participating art historians, monument conservators and archaeologists regarding their heritage activities (fig. 1). By presenting their governments' commitment to conservation in the many theatres of war across Europe and Asia Minor, the contributing authors also clearly demonstrated the Entente powers' contrasting approach of wartime destruction and the theft of works of art⁶ (fig. 2). Co-financed by the German Foreign Office⁷ – unquestionably with a view to the upcoming peace negotiations – the volumes were also published in English and French⁸.

World War I was the first military conflict in which academics and scientists from a range of different disciplines – historians, geographers, folklorists, etc. – undertook large-scale research, financed by the state, for the primary purpose of propaganda. Studies carried out so far on the employment of art historians during World War I have concentrated mainly on the theatres of war in Belgium and northern France. Christina Kott, in particular, has worked on the non-scientific background and the protagonists' interest in scientific understanding through the

2 P. Clemen, Vorwort. – *Kunstschutz im Kriege*. Vol. 1, pages not numbered.

3 W. Speitkamp, *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte. Denkmalpflege und Staat in Deutschland 1871–1933*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft 114.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996, pp. 163–171, especially p. 167.

4 E.g. P. Clemen, *Die Baudenkmäler im östlichen Belgien*. – *Kunstchronik 1914/1915*, Neue Folge, vol. 26 (9), pp. 116–124; P. Schumann, *Kriegstagung für Denkmalpflege in Brüssel*. – *Kunstchronik 1914/1915*, Neue Folge, vol. 26 (44), pp. 561–567.

5 *Kriegstagung für Denkmalpflege* (Brüssel 28. und 29. August 1915). *Stenographischer Bericht*. Berlin: Verlag der Zeitschrift 'Die Denkmalpflege', 1915; *Dreizehnter Tag für Denkmalpflege* (Augsburg, 20. und 21. September 1917). *Stenographischer Bericht*. Berlin: Ernst, 1917.

6 Among others Heinz Braune, Richard Dethlefsen, Max Dvořák, Anton Gnirs, Otto Grautoff, Hans Tietze and Theodor Wiegand worked on the volumes of *Kunstschutz im Kriege*.

7 C. Kott, *Der deutsche 'Kunstschutz' im Ersten und Zweiten Weltkrieg. Ein Vergleich*. – *Deutsch-französische Kultur- und Wissenschaftsbeziehungen im 20. Jahrhundert. Ein institutionengeschichtlicher Ansatz*. Ed. U. Pfeil. (Pariser historische Studien 81.) Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007, p. 138.

8 Under the titles: *Protection of Art during War*. Vol. 1, *The Western Front, and Protection de l'art pendant la guerre*. Vol. 1, *Le Front à l'ouest* (both Leipzig: Seemann, 1919).

Kunstschutz.⁹ Evonne Levy has demonstrated art historians' involvement in the activities of the Central Office for Foreign Services (*Zentralstelle für Auslandsdienst*), which was established by the Foreign Office to coordinate German propaganda during World War I.¹⁰

Although the *Kunstschutz* was not under the control of the *Zentralstelle*, there was an active exchange, especially between the two key players, Paul Clemen and Otto Grautoff (1876–1937).¹¹ Grautoff undertook the final editing of Clemen's *Kunstschutz* volumes and wrote one of the articles.¹² In a group headed by Grautoff, Clemen was one of the authors who wrote and spoke out in protest against their French colleague, Émile Mâle (1862–1954). In a series of articles on French and German art in the Middle Ages, Mâle had described the Germans as 'a race of imitators', and portrayed German art as being consistently dependent on foreign role models, especially French and Italian.¹³ Mâle published the first article in his series in December 1914, in the immediate aftermath of the German bombardment of the cathedral in Reims: the 'barbarians' would even destroy the cathedral that had served as a role model for German architecture and sculpture, so that they could then claim that, in fact, it was the Germans that had created the gothic movement.¹⁴

9 C. Kott, *Préserver l'art de l'ennemi? Le patrimoine artistique en Belgique et en France occupées, 1914–1918*. (Comparatisme et société 4.) Brussels: Peter Lang, 2006; C. Kott, *Der deutsche 'Kunstschutz'...* See also W. Speitkamp, *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte; I. Scheurmann, Denkmalpflege und Kunstschutz 1914 bis 1933. Programme, Profile, Projekte und ihre disziplingeschichtlichen Folgen. – Werte. Begründungen der Denkmalpflege in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Eds. H.-R. Meier et al. Berlin: Jovis, 2013, pp. 200–217.

10 E. Lewy, *The German Art Historians of World War I: Grautoff, Wichert, Weisbach and Brinckmann and the Activities of the Zentralstelle für Auslandsdienst. – Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 2011, vol. 74 (3), pp. 373–400. Concerning the *Zentralstelle* see J. Wilke, *Deutsche Auslandspropaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg. Die Zentralstelle für Auslandsdienst. – Der Erste Weltkrieg als Kommunikationsereignis*. Ed. S. Quandt, H. Schichtel. Giessen: Justus-Liebig-Universität, 1993, pp. 95–157.

11 See C. Kott, *Préserver l'art de l'ennemi?*, pp. 80–85.

12 O. Grautoff, *Die Denkmalpflege im Urteil des Auslandes. – Kunstschutz im Kriege*. Vol. 1, pp. 111–140. For the note on the 'final proofreading' by Grautoff see P. Clemen, *Vorwort*.

13 The contributions appeared from 1914 to 1917 in the *Revue de Paris*; in 1917, they were collated into a book, reprinted in several editions (É. Mâle, *L'Art allemand et l'art français du moyen âge*. Paris: Colin, 1917). The German translation was initially published in a journal (É. Mâle, *Studien über die deutsche Kunst. Romanische Baukunst. – Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 1916, vol. 9 (11 and 12), pp. 387–403, 429–447; É. Mâle, *Studien über die deutsche Kunst. Gotische Baukunst. – Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 1917, vol. 10 (2/3), pp. 43–64). The complete edition with responses from German art historians Paul Clemen, Kurt Gerstenberg, Adolf Götze, Cornelius Gurlitt, Arthur Haseloff, Rudolf Kautzsch, H. A. Schmid, Josef Strzygowski, Géza Supka, Oskar Wulff was subsequently published (É. Mâle, *Studien über die deutsche Kunst*. Ed. O. Grautoff. Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1917). The dispute with Mâle was presented many times (see H. Dilly, *Émile Mâle. 1862–1954. – Altmeister moderner Kunstgeschichte*. Ed. H. Dilly. Berlin: Reimer, 1990, pp. 133–148; G. Straehle, *Der Naumburger Meister in der deutschen Kunstgeschichte. Einhundert Jahre deutsche Kunstgeschichtsschreibung 1886–1989*. Munich: Kritische Kunstgeschichte, 2009, pp. 254–283). However, Evonne Lewy was the first author to reveal the publishing of the German responses in the context of the *Zentralstelle für Auslandsdienst* (E. Lewy, *The German Art Historians of World War I*).

14 É. Mâle, *La Cathédrale de Reims. – Revue de Paris* 1914, vol. 21, no. 5 (November–December), p. 295: *...L'Allemand ... savait aussi que la cathédrale de Reims était ce que le génie de la vieille France avait produit de plus parfait. [...] Les Allemands d'autrefois sont venus s'y instruire. Quelle belle occasion pour Caliban d'anéantir l'œuvre de son maître et de dire ensuite au monde que c'est lui qui a inventé l'art gothique.*

Positions of art historiography around 1914

Mâle had hit upon a 'sore point' in the writing of German art history, which had been long since trying to salvage the national romantic image of a genuine 'German architectural style',¹⁵ an image that had been shattered with the 1830s discovery that the origins of gothicism were to be found in France. As far back as 1842, Franz Kugler (1808–1858), with reference to the dependence of the Cologne cathedral on that of Amiens, formulated the concept that the Germans had taken up 'elements that might have been initiated in French architecture at a relatively low stage of development, and recreated them to ultimate perfection, to the purest point of harmony, to refined beauty'.¹⁶ In 1913, Kurt Gerstenberg (1886–1968) described this concept as 'German Special Gothic' (*Deutsche Sondergotik*).¹⁷

The issue of 'national character'¹⁸ in art progressively gained more significance as an instrument of nineteenth-century nationalism in the writing of art history, as well as in the contemporary art of this period. Topical political questions were mirrored in art history discussions, such as the Polish and Czech attempts¹⁹ to attain sovereignty and the antagonism between France and Germany.

However, an active transnational exchange still existed between academics. Such authors as Heinrich Wölfflin and Wilhelm Worringer were not initially guided by the impulse to raise German art above other 'national styles';²⁰ instead, they added current scientific questions on 'racial science'²¹ and *Völkerpsychologie*²² to their areas of expertise. Nevertheless, for example, in Worringer's widely circulated book *Abstraction and Empathy* (1907),²³ he described gothicism as the highest achievement of the Nordic or Germanic peoples' artistic intention, which was deemed to be distanced from nature, spiritualised and 'abstract'. It effectively became a reference book for those who sought to legitimise the painting and sculpture of expressionism

15 See J. W. von Goethe, *Von deutscher Baukunst* [1773]. – J. W. von Goethe, *Schriften zur Kunst*. Vol. 1. Eds. P. Boerner et al. (dtv Gesamtausgabe 33.) Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1962, pp. 5–13.

16 F. Kugler, *Kleine Schriften und Studien zur Kunstgeschichte*. Vol. 2. Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1854, p. 129. Quoted from *Denkmalpflege. Deutsche Texte aus drei Jahrhunderten*. Ed. N. Huse. 2nd ed. Munich: Beck, 1996, p. 46.

17 K. Gerstenberg, *Deutsche Sondergotik. Eine Untersuchung über das Wesen der deutschen Baukunst im späten Mittelalter*. Munich: Delphin, 1913. On the whole dispute between German and French art historians see M. Passini, *La Fabrique de l'art national. Le nationalisme et les origines de l'histoire de l'art en France et en Allemagne, 1870–1933*. Paris: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2012.

18 H. Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Das Problem der Stilentwicklung in der neueren Kunst* [1915]. 17th ed. Basel, Stuttgart: Schwabe, 1984, pp. 273–274. See also C. Kott, *Préserver l'art de l'ennemi?*, pp. 151–157.

19 See also M. Filipová, *Writing and Displaying Nations: Constructing Narratives of National Art in Bohemia and Austria-Hungary* in this volume.

20 H. Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, p. 273. On *patriotische Kunstgeschichte* see H. Locher, *Kunstgeschichte als historische Theorie der Kunst, 1750–1950*. Munich: Fink, 2001, pp. 195–202.

21 See the foreword in K. Gerstenberg, *Deutsche Sondergotik*, pages not numbered.

22 A theoretical foundation for historiographical interpretation systems according to 'ethnic characteristics' (*Stammeseigenschaften*) is provided by the physiologist Wilhelm Wundt (*W. Wundt, Völkerpsychologie. Eine Untersuchung der Entwicklungsgesetze von Sprache, Mythos und Sitte*. 10 vols. Leipzig: Kröner, 1900–1920. See B. Oelze, *Wilhelm Wundt. Die Konzeption der Völkerpsychologie*. Münster: Waxmann, 1991; A. Kim, *Wilhelm Maximilian Wundt* [2006]. – *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2014 ed.). Eds. E. N. Zalta et al., <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/wilhelm-wundt/#Vol> (accessed 11 April 2014).

23 W. Worringer, *Abstraktion und Einfühlung. Ein Beitrag zur Stilpsychologie*. Neuwied: Heuser, 1907. English version: *Abstraction and Empathy: A Contribution to the Psychology of Style*. Trans. M. Bullock. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1948.

as 'German expression art' – the spiritual successor to gothicism – and thus elevate it above French modernism.²⁴

The polemic between German experts and Émile Mâle is a perfect example of the war propaganda that sought to define artistic values and spheres of influence by means of art historiography. The compiling of inventories and photographic campaigns that were undertaken in Belgium under the label of *Kunstschutz* were intended above all to deliver material for German research.²⁵ Art-historical arguments presented in the process, indicating a division of the occupied country into the characteristically French Wallonia and Flanders, which was more easily connected to the 'German' artistic domain, could now justifiably be put into practice for contemporary annexation purposes.²⁶

The actual measures used for the *Kunstschutz* in Belgium, i.e. the preservation and securing of artistic monuments and plans for reconstruction, were primarily undertaken by local experts. These individuals largely opposed any construction advice from their German colleagues, who were considered to be burdened with an attitude of superiority.²⁷

Research questions

The Austrian *Kunstschutz* activities in eastern and south-eastern Europe have generally not been studied, other than a few contributions on the Italian theatres of war in Friuli and Veneto.²⁸ In a similar way, the German *Kunstschutz* in 'Congress Poland' and in the Baltic states after the ousting of Russian domination has, by and large, not been researched.

The following information on the *Kunstschutz* in the General Government of Warsaw (*Kaiserlich Deutsches Generalgouvernement Warschau*) should therefore be understood as a first approach, as an entry point to a larger research project of international dimensions. It is planned that this research project will assume a comparative perspective to investigate themes of art historiography, the preservation

24 See M. Bushart, *Der Geist der Gotik und die expressionistische Kunst. Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttheorie 1911–1925*. Munich: Schreiber, 1990.

25 Leaders of the photo campaign included the Marburg professor and founder of the *Bildarchiv Foto Marburg*, Richard Hamann. These photographs from Belgium belong to the oldest stock in the archive. See C. Kott, *Préserver l'art de l'ennemi?*, pp. 180–188.

26 C. Kott, *Préserver l'art de l'ennemi?*, pp. 133–151.

27 See e.g. C. Rehorst, *Aufgaben des Städtebaus in Belgien. – Kriegstagung für Denkmalpflege*, pp. 86–98. Carl Rehorst was the chief architect of the city of Cologne in 1907–1919 and thus responsible for the *Deutsche Werkbund-Ausstellung* in Cologne 1914 to show the merits of the German avant-garde architecture and design. On the Belgium planning see W. Cortjaens, 'The German Way of Making Better Cities': German Reconstruction Plans for Belgium during the First World War. – *Living with History 1914–1964: Rebuilding Europe after the First and Second World Wars and the Role of Heritage Preservation / La Reconstruction en Europe après la Première et la Seconde Guerre Mondiale et le rôle de la conservation des monuments historiques*. Eds. N. Bullock, L. Verpoest. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2011, pp. 45–59.

28 G. Perusini, *L'attività della commissione austro-tedesca per la tutela dei monumenti (Kunstschutzgruppe) nel Friuli occupato (1917–1918)*. – *Conservazione e tutela dei beni culturali in una terra di frontiera: Il Friuli Venezia Giulia fra Regno d'Italia e Impero Asburgico (1850–1918)*. Eds. G. Perusini, R. Fabiani. Vicenza: Terra Ferma, 2008, pp. 209–226; F. Beretta, *L'attività della 'Kunstschutzkommission' in Friuli (1917–1918) secondo i documenti austriaci*. – *Conservazione e tutela...*, pp. 227–237.

of historical monuments and issues of reconstruction within the *Kunstschutz* activities in the various European theatres of World War I.²⁹

In the sense of an ‘entangled history’, it is appropriate to ask about the intrinsic, professional and personal networking between the occupiers and the occupied, between the *Kunstschutz* teams in the different areas of occupation, and between local environments in Western and Eastern Europe. How did the respective military or administrative authorities organise *Kunstschutz* and reconstruction? What form did the cooperation with existing local administrative structures take? And, consequently, how did the various political, social and, in particular, art-historiographical starting positions operate in the individual countries and regions? Did the German reconstruction plans for Poland and Belgium differ conceptually, and what impact did they have in both these lands after World War I?

***Kunstschutz* in the General Government of Warsaw**

In Polish art historiography, German occupying power institutions have hitherto been entirely portrayed as obstructionist in Polish initiatives for reconstruction and city planning.³⁰ This point of view, which has most likely been superimposed as a result of experiences during the significantly far more rigid German occupation during World War II, to some extent contradicts statements in contemporary Polish and German source documents, which quite definitely indicate positive interactions between Polish and German, as well as Austrian, participants.

By the end of August 1915, the German and Austro-Hungarian troops had completely driven out the Russian army from ‘Congress Poland’ and had divided up the territory that had belonged to the Russian Empire from 1795 to 1815. In the north, a region consisting of Courland (Kurland), Lithuania, parts of north-eastern Poland and Belarus was created under German military administration, led by the ‘Supreme Commander of All German Forces in the East’ (abbreviation *Ober Ost*). In the south, the Military Government of Lublin came under Austrian command. The heartland, including the Polish capital city, became the ‘General Government of Warsaw’, with civil administration under the auspices of Germany.

Severe wartime damage was reported especially in the regions to the east and north of Warsaw, through to Belarus and Lithuania, particularly since withdrawing Russian troops had adopted a ‘scorched earth’ policy. In the light of these developments in Poland, the German and Austrian experts meeting at the *Kriegstagung*

29 A conceptual workshop is planned for spring 2015 in Leipzig in collaboration with the *Geisteswissenschaftliche Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas* (GWZO). In 2015, there will be a conference in Kalisz on *Rebuilding the City during and after the First World War*. Interdisciplinary investigations could be expanded in order to focus on the archaeological projects of the *Kunstschutz* in Asia Minor.

30 T. Zarębska, *Kalisz. – Zabytki urbanistyki i architektury w Polsce. Odbudowa i konserwacja*. Vol. 1, *Miasta historyczne [Urban and architectural monuments in Poland: Reconstruction and preservation*. Vol. 1, *Historical cities*]. Ed. W. Zin. Warsaw: Arkady, 1986, pp. 163–172; T. Zarębska, *Problemy prekursorskiej odbudowy Kalisza [Deliberations on the innovative reconstruction of Kalisz]*. – *Odbudowa miast historycznych. Dokonania przeszłości, potrzeby i możliwości współczesne, wyzwania przyszłości*. Ed. M. Lubocka-Hoffmann. Elbląg: Państwowa Służba Ochrony Zabytków, 1998, pp. 12–23.

für Denkmalpflege in Brussels at the end of August 1915 emphatically called for 'the establishment of an organised preservation programme for historical monuments and art in the occupied areas in the East, to be implemented as soon as possible'.³¹

The suggestion was indeed taken up; *Kunstschutz* was integrated into the fundamental principles of both military powers in Poland. With concessions to their national aspirations and support for reconstruction work, the Polish people were to be courted as military allies.³² With these general conditions, the removal of the Russian domination, which had been especially rigid since the 1863 Polish uprising, was perceived as liberation by the majority of the population.³³ Anti-German voices pointed out the oppression of Polish identity in the Prussian-partitioned region and denounced the exploitation of human and natural resources by the General Government. However, influential Polish politicians and intellectuals put their faith in German and Austro-Hungarian rule as a means of regaining the state's independence.³⁴ The general willingness to cooperate was markedly greater within the Warsaw General Government than in Belgium, which had lost its state sovereignty due to the German occupation. Belgium had also sustained high losses among the civil population at the hands of Germans, as well as suffering the destruction of many historical buildings.

Following his deployment in the West, Paul Clemen was entrusted on 30 September 1915 with 'the care of historical and artistic monuments on the Eastern battlegrounds'.³⁵ For two months, he travelled across both of the German occupation regions in Poland.³⁶ While Belgium and northern France were familiar to Clemen

31 Kriegstagung für Denkmalpflege, p. 106; 'as the service for the preservation of the monuments and reconstruction, which had been established by the German administration, had proven to be exceptionally productive and beneficial'. See also H. Locher, *The Idea of Cultural Heritage and the Canon of Art* in this volume.

32 In the General Government of Warsaw, communal self-government could henceforth be elected, the University of Warsaw was re-opened as a Polish-language *alma mater*, the Warsaw University of Technology was newly established, and national public holidays were officially allowed to be celebrated. On 5 November 1916, the Governor General for Warsaw, Hans Hartwig von Beseler, proclaimed the so-called Regency Kingdom of Poland (*Regentschaftskönigreich Polen*) that existed until the declaration of independence of re-united Poland on 11 November 1918. The amount of literature available on the history of the General Government has been hitherto relatively limited (e.g. J. Holzer, J. Molenda, *Polska w pierwszej wojnie światowej* [Poland in World War I], 3rd ed. (Biblioteka wiedzy historycznej. Historia Polski.) Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1973; J. Pajewski, *Odbudowa państwa polskiego 1914–1918* [The reconstruction of the Polish state, 1914–1918], 2nd ed. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1980). Two recent papers on aspects of the partition reflect the current state of research and are stimulating new interest (C. Westerhoff, *Zwangsarbeit im Ersten Weltkrieg. Deutsche Arbeitskräftepolitik im besetzten Polen und Litauen 1914–1918*. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2012; M. Polskiewicz, *Das Gesicht einer Metropole im Krieg*. Warszawa 1914–1918. Dissertation, Europa-Universität. Frankfurt (Oder), 2013.

33 See the negative picture of Russia in A. Lauterbach, *Warschau*. (Berühmte Kunststätten 66). Leipzig: Seemann, 1918, pp. 187–190.

34 The monthly magazine *Polnische Blätter*, appearing in Berlin during 1915–1918, was a German-language voice for the politicians linked with Konstanty Srokowski and Władysław Leopold Jaworski, operating mainly out of Kraków. The magazine also included references to questions of securing historical monuments and reconstruction. Concerning the concepts of cooperation, see D. Szymczak, *Między Habsburgami a Hohenzollernami. Rywalizacja niemiecko – austro-węgierska w okresie I wojny światowej a odbudowa państwa polskiego* [Between Habsburg and Hohenzollern: Rivalry between Germany and Austria-Hungary in World War I and the reconstruction of the Polish state]. Kraków: Avalon, 2009.

35 Clemen together with Gurlitt, Dvořák and Josef Neuwirth, had inspired the expansion of *Kunstschutz* into the East (see *Kriegstagung für Denkmalpflege*, p. 106). Julius Kohte, who previously had been active in the Prussian province of Posen, was delegated to prepare an inventory of monuments in the General Government of Warsaw (J. Kohte, *Die Kunstdenkmäler in Polen*. – *Die Denkmalpflege* 1916, vol. 18, pp. 9–12). See note 44 in this paper.

36 Clemen travelled 'on behalf of the German military administration'; his route was probably determined by the military positions (P. Clemen, *Der Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf dem östlichen Kriegsschauplatz*. – *Kunstchronik* 1915/1916, Neue Folge, vol. 27 (13), p. 121).

because of his previous research activities, in Eastern Europe he discovered – like numerous German art historians after him – an ‘unknown and closed world’.³⁷

In his report in December 1915, Clemen expressed his deep and sincere admiration for the cities of Warsaw and Vilnius. He described the architecture from the reign of the last king of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Stanisław August Poniatowski, as ‘altogether one of the finest and most refined expressions of late rococo’.³⁸

And yet, just four years later in *Kunstschutz im Kriege*, Clemen and his co-author, Helmuth Grisebach, were no longer willing to recognise a ‘long-established Polish architectural style ... of great significance’, choosing instead to refer to ‘imitations and variations of the styles created in the neighbouring German countries’ (fig. 3).³⁹ It can be assumed that Émile Mâle’s scathing assertions about German art’s dependence on France played a role in this change of attitude; researchers in Eastern Europe now discovered widespread spheres of influence of German art.

This was also the thrust of the intensive research programmes in the relatively short time-frame of 1915–1918.⁴⁰ In 1917, the Dresden art historian Cornelius Gurlitt, one of the responders to Mâle, described the dependence of ‘Warsaw buildings from the time of the Saxon kings’ on Saxon baroque art. Paul Juckoff stated in his *Architektonischer Atlas von Polen* that there had been ‘very limited individual cultural achievements from the entire Polish population during by-gone centuries’.⁴¹

The architectural atlas, with a listing of artistic monuments, was one of the projects of the interdisciplinary Commission for Regional Studies in the Imperial German General Government of Warsaw (*Landeskundliche Kommission beim Kaiserlich-Deutschen Generalgouvernement Warschau*). The participating specialists were generally members of the government administration. Paul Juckoff, for example, was the art expert from the ‘Chief Administrator’s Building Department in the General Government of Warsaw’. In the context of the documentation and research programmes, extensive picture and photo archives were created in the Building Department, as well as in the Commission for Regional Studies. These archives were seized by Polish authorities at the end of the war,⁴² and it is likely that they are currently located in the Warsaw Institute of Art, within the Polish Academy of Sciences.

The activities of the Commission for Regional Studies would be, in themselves, a worthwhile field of research, especially with reference to the view of Judaism in Poland that was conveyed in its publications. While Juckoff portrayed Jewish history with great sympathy and indicated his fascination with the wooden synagogues

37 P. Clemen, H. Grisebach, *Kunstdenkmäler und Denkmalschutz im Generalgouvernement Warschau. – Kunstschutz im Kriege*. Vol. 2, *Die Kriegsschauplätze in Italien, im Osten und Südosten*. Ed. P. Clemen. Leipzig: Seemann, 1919, p. 82.

38 P. Clemen, *Der Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf dem östlichen Kriegsschauplatz*, p. 125.

39 P. Clemen, H. Grisebach, *Kunstdenkmäler und Denkmalschutz...*, p. 82.

40 Research was done ‘on behalf of the Governor General’ (P. Clemen, H. Grisebach, *Kunstdenkmäler und Denkmalschutz...*, p. 83).

41 P. Juckoff-Skopau, *Architektonischer Atlas von Polen (Kongreß-Polen)*. (Veröffentlichungen der Landeskundlichen Kommission beim Kaiserlich Deutschen Generalgouvernement Warschau B16.) Berlin: GEA, 1921, p. xv.

42 P. Juckoff-Skopau, *Architektonischer Atlas von Polen*, pp. xiv, xvi.

(fig. 4), images in the *Ethnographischer Bilderatlas von Polen* reveal far more anti-Semitic stereotypes.⁴³ It would also be appropriate to examine the influence of the Commission on the German *Ostforschung* ('research on the East') over the following decades across various specialist disciplines. This geopolitically motivated art-historical theme typical of the Nazi era stated that 'the countries in the Eastern battlefields ... belong to the realm of German art history',⁴⁴ but the concept was in fact shaped by publications from the period of World War I.

It is important to ask to what extent the constant emphasising of German influences was a reaction to the virulent Polish discussion of the 'national character' of the architectural monuments and reconstruction plans. Even if they did notice and quote various Polish publications, the German art historians were not actually familiar with the Polish language, so they needed translators to follow these Polish discussions. It is highly likely that Polish intellectuals who had previously studied in Germany acted as go-betweens, such as the art historian Alfred Lauterbach,⁴⁵ whose 1918 volume on Warsaw appeared in the series *Berühmte Kunststätten*, published by the Leipzig Seemann publishing house. In his introduction, Lauterbach expressed his hopes for the 're-establishment of the Polish state',⁴⁶ giving evidence of the cultural-political tolerance in those years. A statement of this kind would have been unthinkable in the context of the German occupation during World War II.

Securing and rebuilding – cooperation with Polish institutions

Investigations carried out so far on *Kunstschutz* in Belgium have revealed that measures to safeguard historical monuments were generally neglected in favour of art-historical activities, such as documentation, preparation of inventories and photo campaigns.⁴⁷ As indicated above, scientific investigation was also accelerated in the Warsaw General Government. However, an initial perusal of published resources suggests that the German administration did, in fact, participate both financially and personally in the safeguarding of architectural monuments and in the plans for the reconstruction of destroyed villages. In his description intended for the general public, Paul Juckoff described how 'all the destroyed churches and monumental buildings were supplied with emergency roofing; some were also extended and restored'.⁴⁸ A version that is possibly closer to reality can be found in one of the semi-annual reports by the Chief Administrator of the General Government

43 A. Schultz, *Ethnographischer Bilderatlas von Polen (Kongreß-Polen)*. (Veröffentlichungen der Landeskundlichen Kommission beim Kaiserlich Deutschen Generalgouvernement Warschau B5.) Berlin: GEA, 1918.

44 J. Kohte, *Die Kunstdenkmäler in Polen*, p. 9. Unlike Paul Clemen (P. Clemen, *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*. Vol. 2. Munich: Bruckmann, 1923), Kohte did not compile his inventory, possibly because his project overlapped with Paul Juckoff's project for an atlas on architecture. Both of these projects were supported by the General Government.

45 P. Clemen, H. Grisebach, *Kunstdenkmäler und Denkmalschutz...*, p. 88.

46 A. Lauterbach, *Warschau*.

47 See C. Kott, *Préserver l'art de l'ennemi?*; W. Cortjaens, 'The German Way of Making Better Cities'. See also M. Beyen, *Art and Architectural History as Substitutes for Preservation: German Heritage Policy in Belgium during and after the First World War*. - *Living with History 1914-1964*, pp. 32-43.

48 P. Juckoff-Skopau, *Architektonischer Atlas von Polen*, p. xiv.

from 1917/1918: on the subject of the clearance of war damage from church buildings it asserts that ‘the necessary means for the most essential repairs’ had been made available.⁴⁹ The actual extent of the measures has yet to be explored.

The more pressing task for the German administration was alleviation of the dramatic need for housing as a consequence of the destruction wrought by the war, initially particularly in rural areas. Questions regarding financing, the provision of building materials free of charge and the development of model houses were subjects constantly dealt with in administrative reports.⁵⁰

The coordination and supervision of the building projects was the responsibility of the previously mentioned Building Department of the Warsaw General Government, where the Berlin architect Helmuth Grisebach played a leading role.⁵¹ In regional administrative areas, they were supported by German ‘district master builders’ (*Kreisbaumeister*).

The Building Department cooperated closely with Polish institutions, above all with the Warsaw Society for the Protection of Monuments of the Past (*Towarzystwo Opieki nad Zabytkami Przeszłości*)⁵² and the Warsaw Circle of Architects (*Koło Architektów*). During the period of Russian domination, both groups had attempted to compensate for the lack of state-run organisations for the preservation of historical monuments and town planning. Both understood the core patriotic nature behind their work. Culture as an expression of national identity played a similar role in divided Poland as in the German process of self-discovery in the long nineteenth century. Polish architects and art historians supported ideas similar to those of the German League for Homeland Protection (*Deutscher Bund Heimatschutz*), which they were very familiar with. The architect Rudolf Świerczyński, for example, had studied in Darmstadt and Dresden, having practised in Hamburg with Fritz Schumacher, while Tadeusz Tołwiński was a graduate of the Karlsruhe Institute of Technology.

In January 1915, while the country was still under Russian domination, the Warsaw Circle of Architects announced the competition ‘Reconstruction of the Polish village’ (*Odbudowa wsi polskiej*). The tender specification described the goal as follows: ‘May the Polish village emerge from the ruins and ashes, may it be born again in the interests ... of progress, but without losing its inherent characteristics,

49 Halbjahrsbericht des Verwaltungschefs bei dem Generalgouvernement Warschau für die Zeit vom 1. Oktober 1917 bis zum 31. März 1918. Warsaw, 1918, pp. 75–80.

50 ‘In some places, the region of the General Government of Warsaw is completely devastated. ...to a large extent the villages are completely destroyed and numerous cities have simply become a huge pile of rubble.’ (2. (4.) Vierteljahrsbericht des Verwaltungschefs bei dem General-Gouvernement Warschau für die Zeit vom 1. Oktober 1915 bis zum 31. Dezember 1915. Warsaw, 1916, p. 69, chapter *Wiederaufbau zerstörter Ortschaften*.) Another report describes the action taken: ‘For the purposes of building consultation, further designs for residential houses, farm houses and barns were drawn up and duplicates were distributed among local offices. The work on the archive for the preservation of architectural monuments was continued through surveys and photographic documentation.’ (Halbjahrsbericht des Verwaltungschefs bei dem Generalgouvernement Warschau für die Zeit vom 1. Oktober 1916 bis zum 31. März 1917. Warsaw, 1917, p. 48.)

51 The Building Department was initially led by the governmental master builder Hermann; in 1917, his co-worker Helmuth Grisebach assumed the position. Grisebach was a cousin of August Grisebach, who was deployed as art historian in Belgium (see C. Kott, *Préservé l’art de l’ennemi?*, pp. 117–120).

52 On the society see *Polskie dziedzictwo kulturowe u progu niepodległości. Wokół Towarzystwa Opieki nad Zabytkami Przeszłości* [Polish cultural heritage on the threshold of independence: The Society for Protection of Monuments of the Past]. Eds. E. Manikowska, P. Jamski. Warsaw: Ministerstwo Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego, Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2010.

KUNSTSCHUTZ IM KRIEGE

B E R I C H T E

ÜBER DEN ZUSTAND DER KUNSTDENKMALER
AUF DEN VERSCHIEDENEN KRIEGSSCHAUPLÄTZEN UND ÜBER DIE
DEUTSCHEN UND ÖSTERREICHISCHEN MASSNAHMEN ZU IHRER
ERHALTUNG, RETTUNG, ERFORSCHUNG

IN VERBINDUNG MIT

GERHARD BERSU · HEINZ BRAUNE · PAUL BUBERL
THEODOR DEMMLER · RICHARD DETHLEFSEN
HANS DRAGENDORFF · MAX DVOŘÁK · OTTO VON FALKE
ANTON GNIRS · OTTO GRAUTOFF · HELMUTH GRISEBACH
FRANZ W. JERUSALEM · GEORG KARO · FRIEDRICH KULLRICH
WALTER MANNOWSKI · FORTUNAT VON SCHUBERT-SOLDERN
HANS TIETZE · FRIEDRICH TRENDELENBURG · PAUL WEBER
THEODOR WIEGAND · FRANZ VON WIESER

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON

PAUL CLEMEN



ERSTER BAND: DIE WESTFRONT

MIT 117 ABBILDUNGEN

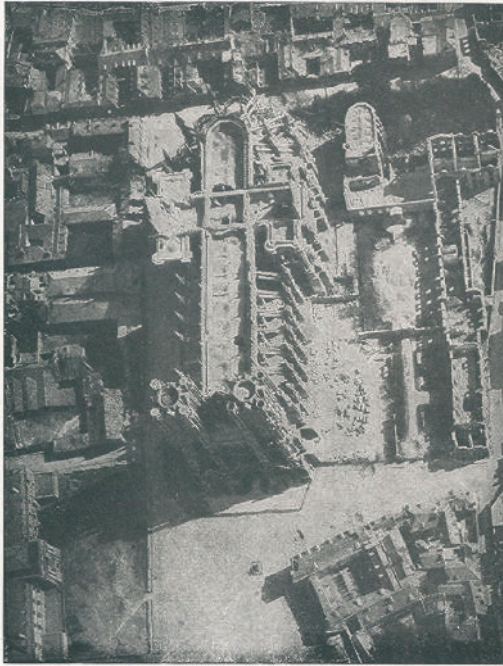
VERLAG VON E. A. SEEMANN IN LEIPZIG · 1919

1.

Front page of the publication *Kunstschutz im Kriege* (Vol. 1. Ed. P. Clemen. Leipzig: Seemann, 1919).

Baudenkmäler in Frankreich

Reims. Kathedrale nach dem Brande. — Die Gegenüberstellung zeigt, daß auch nach dem Dachbrande das ganze architektonische Gerüst erhalten ist, und daß die Kathedrale keineswegs ein „Trümmerhaufen“ ist.



Reims. Die Kathedrale aus der Vogelperspektive. — Diese französische Fliegeraufnahme aus dem Sommer 1917 zeigt deutlich, daß auch damals noch das Bauwerk aufrecht stand und daß die Gewölbe erhalten waren.

Kunstschutz im Krieg. I

8

2.

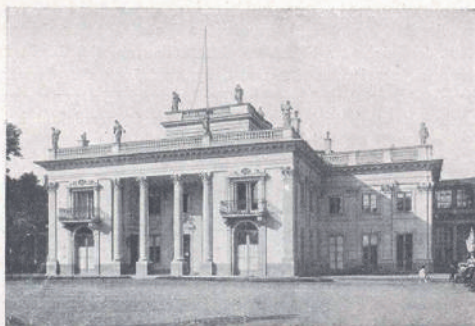
Relativisation of the damage to the Reims cathedral caused by German troops in 1914. Kunstschutz im Kriege. Vol. 1. Ed. P. Clemen. Leipzig: Seemann, 1919, p. 57.



Das Königliche Schloß in Warschau mit der Sigmundssäule

worden ist, und Włocławek mit der großen gotischen zweitürmigen Kathedrale vom Jahre 1340, die noch voll ist von Schätzen mittelalterlicher Ausstattung; endlich Brześć-Kujawski mit seiner alten Kirche. Bei Czenstochau auf dem Klarenberg ist das Paulanerkloster, der berühmteste Wallfahrtsort von ganz Polen, mit seiner 1690 neu errichteten Barockkirche und all den Schätzen und Kostbarkeiten, die der schwarzen Muttergottes, der regina regni Poloniae, im Laufe von fünf Jahrhunderten gewidmet sind, unversehrt und hat sich in den letzten Jahren als Enklave in unserem Gebiet des besonderen Schutzes der Österreicher erfreut wie vorher der deutschen Verwaltung.

Bei der Beschießung der Stadt Warschau durch die Russen von der Vorstadt Praga aus hat keines von den Bauwerken wesentlich zu leiden gehabt. Das am meisten exponierte königliche Schloß, der aus dem älteren Renaissancekern entwickelte Barockbau, der zuerst nach den Entwürfen des deutsch-polnischen Künstlers Andreas Hegner-Abrahamowicz aufgeführt war und an dem dann das ganze 17. und 18. Jahrhundert herumprojektiert, experimentiert und gearbeitet hat, ist unbeschädigt.¹ In der Verwahrlosung unter der russischen Verwaltung, zumal unter dem häßlichen gelbbraunen Anstrich, der den Bau bedeckt, hat die monumentale Anlage viel von ihrer Wirkung verloren. Die das tiefer gelegene Poniatowski-Palais mit dem Schloß verbindende langgestreckte einstöckige Galerie, die die Bibliothek enthielt, ist durch die Verwendung als Kaserne der dort untergebrachten Kosakensotnie schwer entstellt. Bis auf den Canalettoaal hatten aber doch die Haupträume des Schlosses an der Weichselfront im ersten Stock noch den Dekor aus der Zeit Stanislaw Augusts (1764—1795) bewahrt. Die Russen haben nun in den letzten Wochen vor ihrem Abzug die gesamte Ausstattung des Schlosses abgeführt und selbst die Supraporten aus dem Audienzsaal und aus dem Schlafzimmer des Königs weggenommen. Aus dem kleinen achteckigen Kabinett sind die Bilder der gleichzeitigen europäischen Herrscher des 18. Jahrhunderts weggeführt. Alle Möbel, alle Gemälde, Bronzen, Beleuchtungskörper sind restlos abtransportiert. So sind in den letzten Wochen

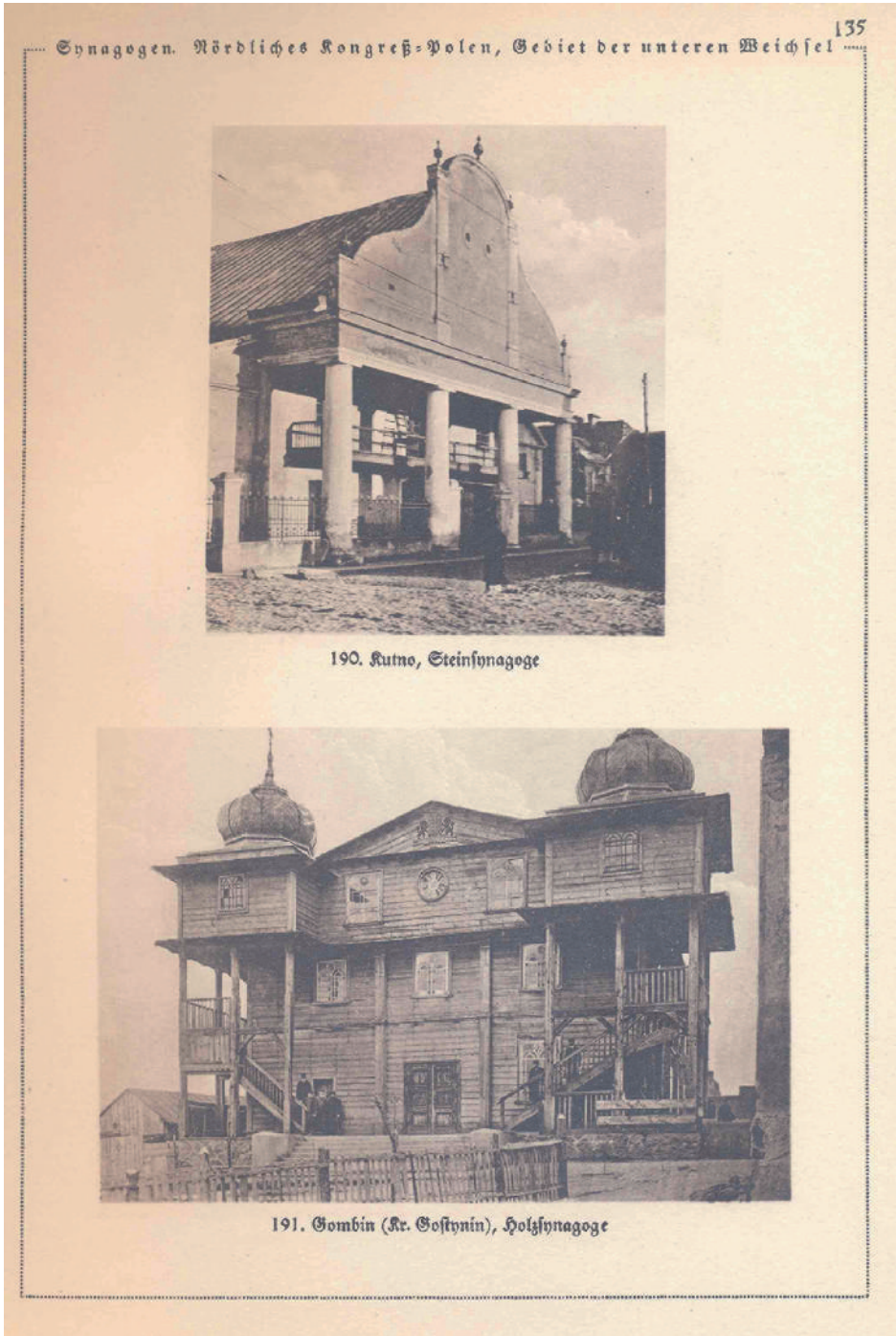


Lustschloß Łazienki in Warschau

1) Über die Denkmäler von Warschau orientiert jetzt endlich allseitig das während des Krieges erschienene, von dem in Deutschland gebildeten polnischen Kunsthistoriker Alfred Lauterbach verfaßte reich illustrierte anmutige Bändchen „Warschau“ in den berühmten Kunststätten des Seemannschen Verlages, Nr. 66. Daneben Wiktor Gomulicki, Warschau (Polnische Bibliothek I), Warschau 1918. Über die Barockbauten die obengenannte große Gurlißche Publikation. Eine gute Zusammenfassung von J. Kóhne, Die Baudenkmäler von Warschau in der Sondernummer der Deutschen Warschauer Zeitung v. 10. August 1915. Vgl. auch Paul Clemen, Die polnischen Königsschlösser: Die Woche 1916, Nr. 47. — Alexander Kraushar, Dawne Palace Warszawskie, Warschau 1917.

3.

Description of Warsaw monuments by Paul Clemen and Helmuth Grisebach.
P. Clemen, H. Grisebach, Kunstschutz im Generalgouvernement Warschau. — Kunstschutz im Kriege. Vol. 2.
Ed. P. Clemen. Leipzig: Seemann, 1919, p. 88.

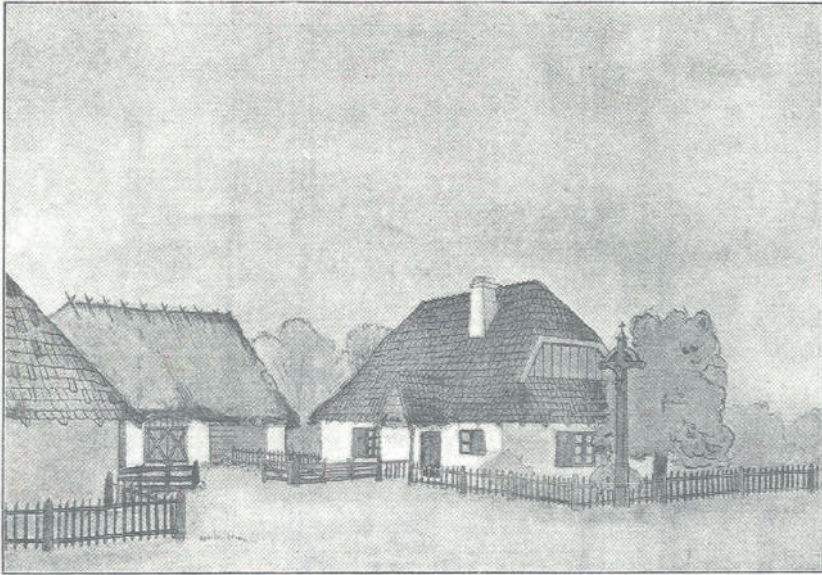


4.

Synagogues in Poland.

P. Juckoff-Skopau, Architektonischer Atlas von Polen (Kongreß-Polen). Berlin: GEA, 1921, p. 135.

ZAGRODA DWUIZBOWA W LUBELSKIEM



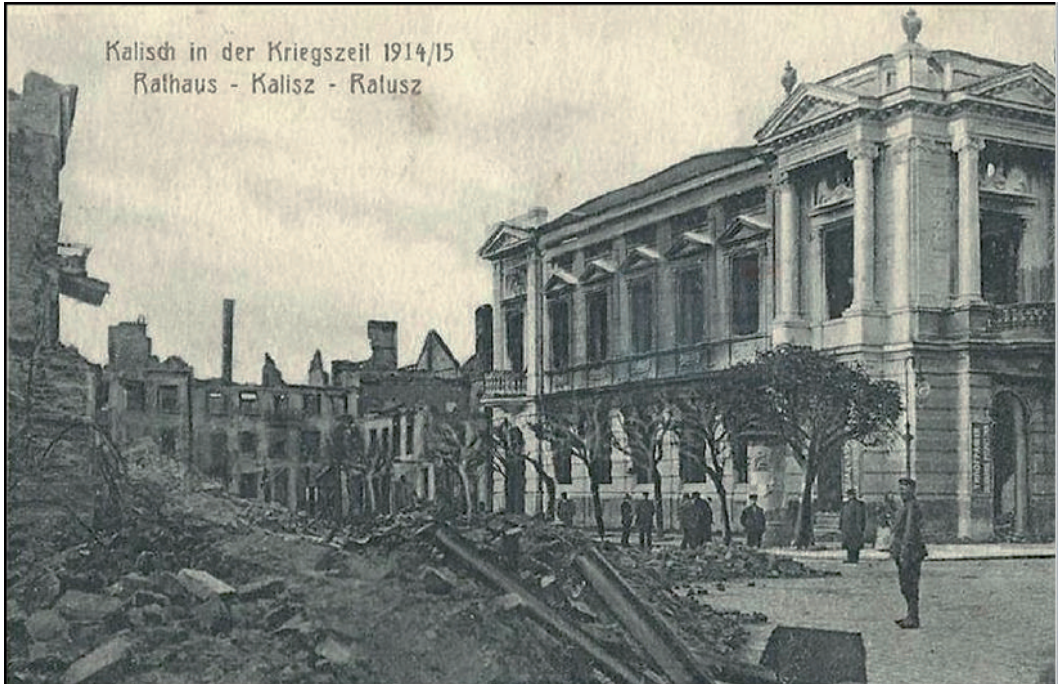
Projekt Nr. 64/B.

Autorowie R. GUTT i R. ŚWIERCZYŃSKI. Nagroda I.

5.

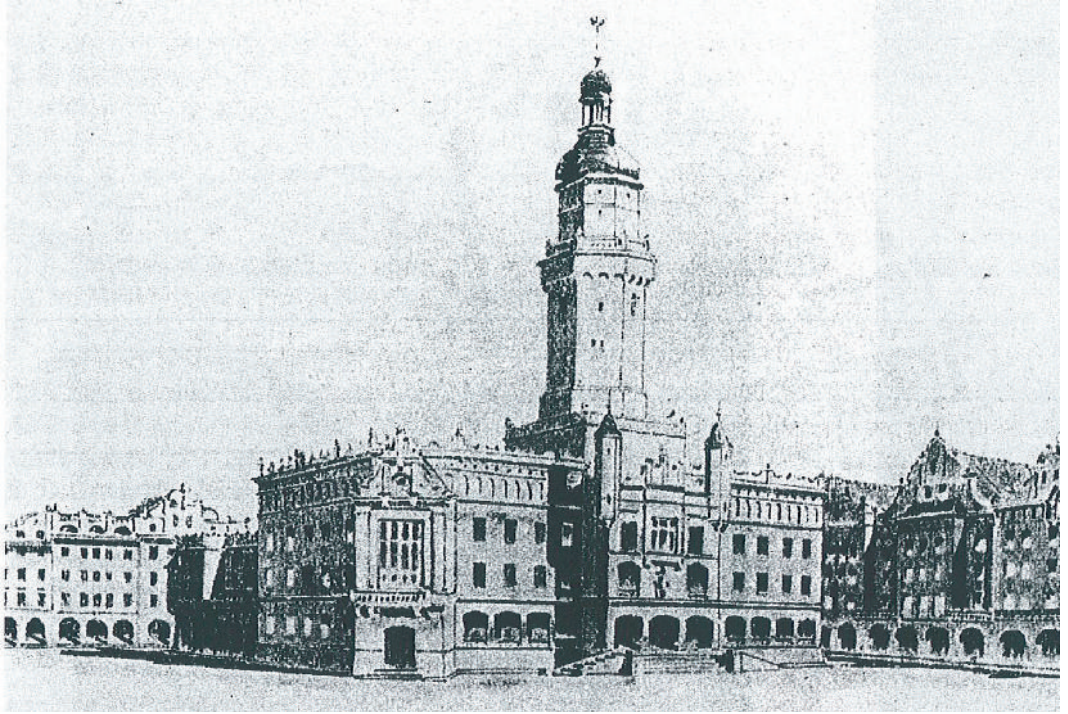
Typical project for a farmhouse in the Lublin district, one of the awarded projects in the competition 'Reconstruction of the Polish village' (1915).

Odbudowa wsi polskiej. Projekty zagrod włościańskich [Reconstruction of the Polish village: Designs for farmhouses]. Warsaw: Centralny Komitet Obywatelski, Geberth & Wolff, 1915, page not numbered.



6.

Kalisz after the war destruction in August 1914: the market place with the town hall, erected in 1888-1890 by Józef Chrzanowski.
Archive of Beate Störtkuhl.

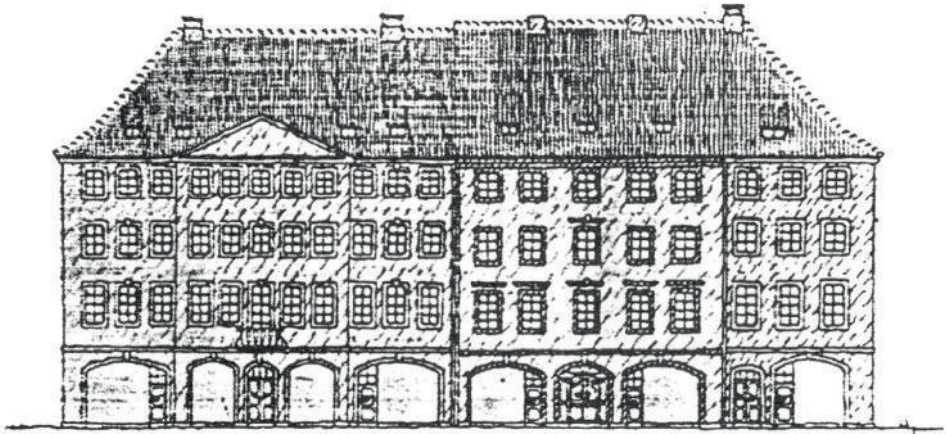


7.

Zdzisław Kalinowski's project for rebuilding the Kalisz market square; entry for the competition for a master plan of urban development (1916).

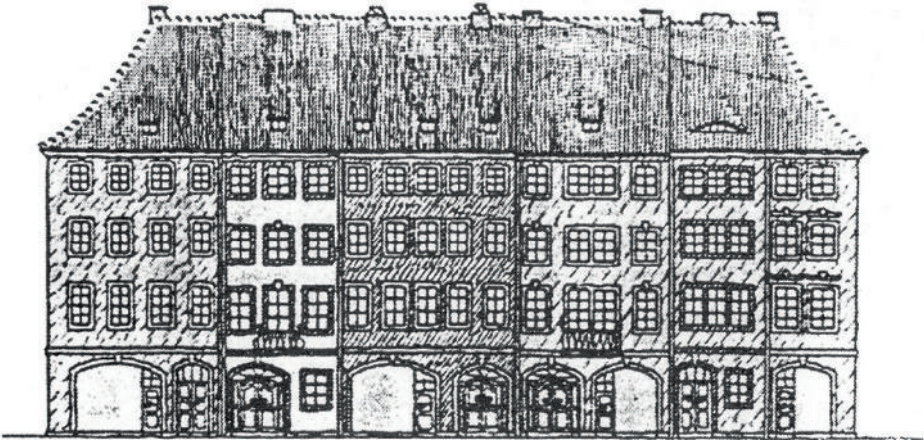
Reproduction from Sprawozdanie z XLVIII konkursu Koła Architektów w Warszawie na odbudowę Kalisza [Report on the forty-eighth competition of the Warsaw Circle of Architects for the reconstruction of Kalisz]. - Przegląd Techniczny 1916, vol. 54 (19-20), p. 197.

Wiederbau Kalisch.
Block 22 am Ring.



Entworfen in der Reichbau-Abteilung
beim Bauverwaltungsbüro Warschau

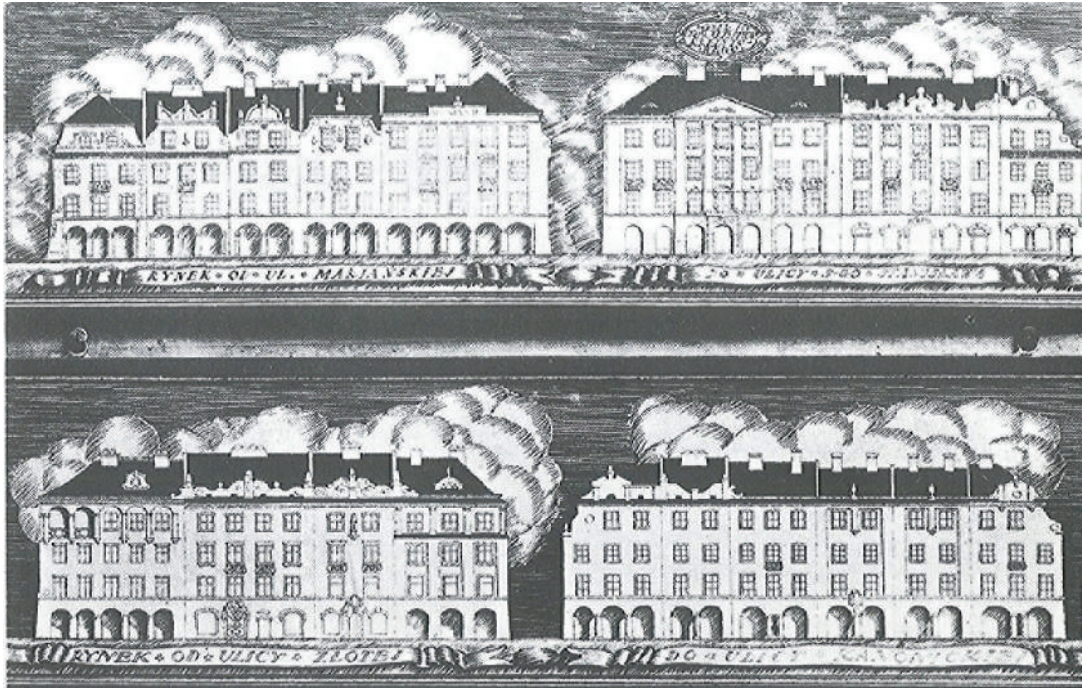
Wiederbau Kalisch.
Block 13 am Ring.



Entworfen in der Reichbau-Abteilung
beim Bauverwaltungsbüro Warschau

8.

Project for rebuilding the Kalisz market square by Helmuth Grisebach, the head of the Building Department of the General Government of Warsaw (1917).
Reproduction from J. Salm, Ostpreussische Städte im Ersten Weltkrieg. Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012.



9. Tadeusz Zieliński's projects for rebuilding the Kalisz market square (1919).
Reproduction from J. Salm, *Ostpreußische Städte im Ersten Weltkrieg*.



10.

Kalisz market square after reconstruction in the 1920s. The town hall by Sylwester Pajzderski was added in 1920–1927.
Archive of Beate Störtkuhl.

which have been created on our soil over many centuries.⁵³ The competition results were presented in an exhibition of Polish architecture in Warsaw, and circulated across rural areas in the form of a book of samples⁵⁴ (fig. 5). Orientation towards regional construction meant typification, which corresponded to the approach taken by the *Deutscher Bund Heimatschutz* in destroyed East Prussia, the German showcase project of post-war reconstruction.⁵⁵ The German building authorities therefore willingly accepted the concept of the Circle of Architects and abstained from pushing through their own design for emergency housing, which would not have been accepted by the Polish people.⁵⁶ The suggestions in the book of samples appeared to be readily implemented, although to what extent requires further investigation.

The example of Kalisz

German building authorities and such Polish institutions as the Warsaw Circle of Architects also needed to cooperate in the preparation of development plans for the destroyed cities and the ongoing expansion of Warsaw.⁵⁷ During the Russian era, there had not been a specific building code, and so legislation was adopted in November 1916 following German standards.⁵⁸

Urban reconstruction was concentrated on the city of Kalisz (Kalisch), adjacent to the border of the Prussian partitioned area, a city that German troops had burned to the ground in August 1914 without any genuine military justification (fig. 6). Paul Clemen tried to cover up the sense of war guilt with euphemistic words: 'At least the main monuments were saved when fire raged through the city.'⁵⁹ The General Government political leaders were, however, very aware of the intensity of the anti-German emotions caused by this incident, especially as Kalisz was considered the

53 Odbudowa wsi polskiej. Projekty zagród włościańskich [Reconstruction of the Polish village: Designs for farmhouses]. Warsaw: Centralny Komitet Obywatelski, Geberth & Wolff, 1915. Quoted from the reprint published Warsaw: Abrys, 1990.

54 2. (4.) Vierteljahrsbericht des Verwaltungschefs..., p. 71: 'The administration is working here together with the Polish Circle of Architects that has organised a competition for agricultural homesteads, in order to allow the aesthetic aspect to be enhanced as well as practical expediency. The Circle is organising the best works into the form of a book of samples that will be distributed among the rural population, and construction drawings will be delivered on request.'

55 The Warsaw architects did not individually undertake study-trips to nearby East Prussia; however they did report about the information seeking journeys of their colleagues from Galicia (Odbudowa Prus Wschodnich [The reconstruction of East Prussia]. - *Przegląd Techniczny* 1917, vol. 55 (29-30), pp. 245-248). On the Polish repercussions of the reconstruction in East Prussia see J. Salm, *Ostpreußische Städte im Ersten Weltkrieg. Wiederaufbau und Neuerfindung.* (Schriften des Bundesinstitut für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa 46). Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012, p. 34.

56 2. (4.) Vierteljahrsbericht des Verwaltungschefs..., p. 71: 'The attempt to introduce a sample design, which would initially serve as emergency housing combined with a stall and later become solely a stall, failed because of reluctance on the part of the Polish population.'

57 In this way, the Berlin town planning experts Joseph Stübben and Josef Brix authorities came to Warsaw for consultations at the invitation of the city; see *W sprawie zabudowania m. stoł. Warszawy* [On the master plan for the capital city Warsaw]. - *Przegląd Techniczny* 1918, vol. 56 (45-52), pp. 238-240.

58 *Halbjahrsbericht ... vom 1. Oktober 1916 bis zum 31. März 1917*, pp. 11-12. *The Baupolizei* (building police) became an official institution in November 1916.

59 P. Clemen, *Der Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf dem östlichen Kriegsschauplatz*, p. 123; P. Clemen, H. Grisebach, *Kunstdenkmäler und Denkmalschutz...*, p. 84.

'oldest Polish city'. Therefore, the reconstruction was supported both morally and financially.⁶⁰

The Warsaw Circle of Architects was also very active in this area, and in December 1915 it announced a competition for Polish architects within the General Government. Plans were required for the destroyed historic city centre. The medieval chequer-board layout with the town hall at the centre was to be maintained – this design was considered to be 'typical Polish' by the Poles, whereas the Germans recognised a 'typical German colonial foundation'.⁶¹ In addition, a spacious expansion of the city was to be designed to the south-west.

Rebuilding based on the concept of reconstructing the old city was not a matter of consideration for the stakeholders. They observed how the Belgians had planned such a reconstruction for Ypres, and also critically noted how this plan had been rejected by the German occupying authorities.⁶² Nevertheless, in the case of Kalisz, the 'cosmopolitan' historicism of the destroyed town hall simply did not fit the contemporary criteria of a 'national' building style, and the houses around the market square were deemed not to be particularly representative. Like the reconstruction process in many East Prussian small towns, the opportunity was to be seized here to 'breathe life back into the town of Kalisz after being so seriously impacted by the war, by making it more beautiful and built according to modern principles',⁶³ and in this the Polish and German positions were united.

The published winning designs⁶⁴ clearly demonstrated the desire to erect a new 'truly Polish' town hall building, with marked similarities to the historical town hall in Poznań (fig. 7) and the royal castle in Warsaw. The 'Polish fascia', a typical architectural motif from the sixteenth century glory days of the Polish-Lithuanian monarchy, was also routinely applied to residential buildings and business premises, which were all designed to be higher than their predecessors.

At the conclusion of the competition, the Building Department of the General Government made some of their own planning proposals. The simplicity of the stylised house designs for the central market square was reminiscent of the reconstruction in Gołdap in East Prussia (fig. 8). It is, however, debatable whether they actually did impose 'a German character' on the city, as the Polish art historian

60 The report (*Halbjahrsbericht ... vom 1. Oktober 1916 bis zum 31. März 1917*, p. 68) indicates a two-million emergency loan for the reconstruction of Kalisz. The memo (*The reconstruction of Kalisz. - Polnische Blätter 1917*, vol. 6 (50), p. 175) noted that the German government would provide twelve million for the reconstruction of Kalisz; it is likely that this was a printing error (12 instead of 2).

61 The tender specification for the competition indicated: 'The position of the town hall in the market place is characteristic to Polish cities' (*Sprawozdanie z XLVIII konkursu Koła Architektów w Warszawie na odbudowę Kalisza* [Report on the forty-eighth competition of the Warsaw Circle of Architects for the reconstruction of Kalisz]. - *Przegląd Techniczny 1916*, vol. 54 (19-20), p. 191). See the digitised journal for all entries: Warsaw University of Technology Digital Library, http://bcpw.bg.pw.edu.pl/Content/463/pt16_nr_19_20_1916_05_17.pdf (accessed 20 June 2014). The architectural atlas, on the contrary, refers to the typical foundation of cities by 'western, generally German immigrants' (P. Juckoff-Skopau, *Architektonischer Atlas von Polen*, p. 44).

62 M., *La guerre comme à la guerre. - Przegląd Techniczny 1915*, vol. 53 (43-44), p. 424.

63 *Halbjahrsbericht ... vom 1. Oktober 1916 bis zum 31. März 1917*, p. 68.

64 *Sprawozdanie z XLVIII konkursu...*, pp. 191-210. In total, there were fifteen submissions. In May 1918, the city announced a special competition for the town hall. None of the designs was realised. See also T. Zarębska, *Kalisz*; T. Zarębska, *Problemy prekursorskiej odbudowy Kalisza*; J. Salm, *Ostpreeußische Städte im Ersten Weltkrieg*, pp. 231-235.

Teresa Zarębska has claimed in retrospect.⁶⁵ Nonetheless, the architect responsible, Helmuth Grisebach, clearly indicated that his proposals for modifications were developed 'with the collaboration of the Warsaw Circle of Architects, which universally supported me in my efforts regarding the city'.⁶⁶ Grisebach's master plan served as a foundation for the development and expansion of the city, which really only began after the war. The stylised houses on the ring road, based on Tadeusz Zieliński's design from 1919, followed Grisebach's basic structure, while the renaissance fascia and baroque gables made them truly 'Polish' (fig. 9). In the re-established Poland, these characteristics had elements of a 'national' architectural economy, just like the classicism of the Poniatowski-era, which even Paul Clemen recognised as an 'independent development'.⁶⁷ In this way, the Kalisz town hall (1920–1927, architect Sylwester Pajzderski; fig. 10) and the theatre (1920–1936, Czesław Przybylski) were also created in this stylistic mode.⁶⁸

Is it possible to directly apply the results of the Warsaw General Government to other regions of Eastern and Central Europe? Only to a limited degree. In the neighbouring German occupation area *Ober Ost*, for example, the number of academic staff members in the military administration was significantly lower. Furthermore, in Vilnius and Kaunas, unlike in Warsaw, there appears to have been no distinct milieu of architects or art historians to undertake cooperative activities.

Conditions were also completely different in Galicia, which had come under the control of the Habsburg monarchy during the partition of Poland, and which had enjoyed autonomy since 1873. Kraków and Lviv (Lwów) were intellectual centres in comparison with the other partitioned regions. The province was well advanced in the realm of monument preservation, being part of the imperial and royal monarchy administration. The Polish art historian Tadeusz Szydlowski was responsible for the creation of the office of state curator. In addition, in the Military Government of Lublin, in the Austro-Hungarian southern region of the former Congress Poland, a Polish academic Stefan Komornicki was appointed to the state curator's position. In Warsaw, each of these individuals was able to act as both a contact person and a mediator on behalf of the German and Polish viewpoints.⁶⁹

In consequence, can it be claimed that the state curators responsible for the preservation of art in the multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian monarchy generally had better access to the local stakeholders than their German colleagues? What role did the *Kunstschutz* ultimately play in the network of political interests for the occupying powers? How did the tasks and opportunities differ in the various areas of war?

65 T. Zarębska, Kalisz, p. 168; T. Zarębska, *Problemy prekursorskiej odbudowy Kalisza*, pp. 16–17.

66 H. Grisebach, *Zum Wiederaufbau von Kalisch*. – *Der Städtebau* 1918, vol. 15 (1), pp. 12–15; vol. 15 (2), pp. 222–227.

67 P. Clemen, H. Grisebach, *Kunstdenkmäler und Denkmalschutz...*, p. 83.

68 See M. Omilanowska, 'Wie der märchenhafte Phoenix aus der Asche werden sie auferstehen'. *Haltungen zum Wiederaufbau und zur Restaurierung von Baudenkmälern in Polen in den Jahren 1915–1925*. – *Der Umgang mit dem kulturellen Erbe in Deutschland und Polen im 20. Jahrhundert*. (Beiträge der 9. Tagung des Arbeitskreises deutscher und polnischer Kunsthistoriker und Denkmalpfleger in Leipzig, 26.–29. September 2002). Ed. A. Langer. (Das Gemeinsame Kulturerbe – Wspólne Dziedzictwo 1.) Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2004, pp. 79–91.

69 See F. von Schubert-Soldern, *Kunstdenkmäler und Denkmalpflege im Generalgouvernement Lublin und in Galizien*. – *Kunstschutz im Kriege*. Vol. 2, pp. 127–136.

What relevance did the activities of the *Kunstschutz* actually have for art historiography, the theory and practice of preservation of historical monuments and reconstruction beyond 1918?

Epilogue

It is clear that the publication Paul Clemen had coordinated, *Kunstschutz im Kriege*, had a distinct impact. It led to the German and Austrian recipients being accused unjustly by other countries, just as the Versailles peace treaties, to a large extent, were regarded as unjust. At the same time, the publication helped to restore the Germans' self-confidence as a cultural nation.⁷⁰ A definite gain in reputation must also have been noticeable in the reaction abroad; hence, the concept of *Kunstschutz* was taken up again in World War II for its potential as a tool of propaganda.⁷¹

The search for 'emanations of German art abroad' was intensified in the period between the wars. The founding of the Museum and Institute for German Culture Abroad and for the International Promotion of German Interests (*Museum und Institut zur Kunde des Auslandsdeutschtums und zur Förderung deutscher Interessen im Ausland*) in Stuttgart, renamed in 1918 the German Foreign Institute (*Deutsches Auslandsinstitut*, or *Ausland-Institut*),⁷² was a direct result of the research programme of *Kunstschutz*. In the 1920s, Paul Clemen was a leading exponent of *Volkstumsforschung*, which sought to reinforce theories of the spread and influence of German culture through cultural and linguistic research. At the University of Bonn, Clemen collaborated with Hermann Aubin, the Director of the Institute for Historical Regional Studies of the Rhineland (*Institut für geschichtliche Landeskunde der Rheinlande*), which had been established in 1920, as well as with the linguist Theodor Frings. His aim was to substantiate that the areas surrounding the river Meuse, Lorraine and Alsace, did, in fact, naturally belong to the German cultural area. Photographic material from the *Kunstschutz* programme in World War I was also used as part of these studies. In 1925, Hermann Aubin began working in the University of Breslau (now Wrocław) and transferred the experiences he had gained from 'research on the West' to Eastern and Central Europe. In the process, he became one of the leading 'researchers on the East' (*Ostforscher*).⁷³ Among other

70 See also the review by A. von Oechelhäuser. – *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt 1919/1920*, Neue Folge, vol. 31 (55), pp. 801–807.

71 C. Kott, *Der deutsche 'Kunstschutz'...*

72 M. Bernath, *Das Deutsche Auslandsmuseum in Stuttgart und die historischen Kunstdenkmäler des Deutschtums im Ausland [1917]*. – *Dreizehnter Tag für Denkmalpflege*, pp. 83–86. Bernath (signed as the *Abteilungsleiter am Deutschen Auslandsmuseum*) explicitly referred to the war research in Poland in order to verify (p. 84): 'There is, as you all know, a country, whose art history is intrinsically tied to that of the Germans. That country is Poland.' Art-historical research at the interdisciplinary German Foreign Institute was less pronounced than Bernath's 1917 programmatic lecture might have led people to expect. Seen as a facility of Nazi propaganda, the institution was closed in 1945. A successor institution was founded in 1949 – the Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations (*Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen*). See B. Pleitner, *Deutsches Auslandsinstitut (DAI)*, Stuttgart. – *Online-Lexikon zur Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa*, 2012, <http://ome-lexikon.uni-oldenburg.de/54021.html> (accessed 28 March 2014).

73 See also E. Mühle, *Für Volk und deutschen Osten. Der Historiker Hermann Aubin und die deutsche Ostforschung*. Düsseldorf: Droste, 2005; M. Burleigh, *Germany Turns Eastward: A Study of Ostforschung in the Third Reich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

projects, and in conjunction with the art historian Dagobert Frey,⁷⁴ Aubin examined the culture and history of Eastern Europe under the premise of the dominance of 'German culture'.

During World War II, Frey was involved in National Socialist Germany's theft of art from Polish institutions. It is interesting to note that during the 1948 investigation into his role in the thefts, Frey specifically referred to Paul Clemen: Frey erroneously claimed that, like the *Kunstschutz* programme during World War I, he had only been concerned with the securing and preservation of artistic treasures. This appears to have been a key argument supporting his plea for acquittal.⁷⁵

Thus, the World War I *Kunstschutz* activities can be seen as a key stop on the road which led from nineteenth-century ideas and controversies on 'national art' to the destructive instrumentalisation of art historiography in the National Socialist period.

74 S. Arend, Studien zur deutschen kunsthistorischen 'Ostforschung' im Nationalsozialismus. Die kunsthistorischen Institute an den (Reichs-) Universitäten Breslau und Posen und ihre Protagonisten im Spannungsfeld von Wissenschaft und Politik. Dr. phil. Dissertation, Humboldt-Universität Berlin, 2009, pp. 420–587, <http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/docviews/abstract.php?lang=ger&id=37336> (accessed 27 March 2014).

75 S. Arend, Studien zur deutschen kunsthistorischen..., pp. 568–587; B. Störckuhl, Paradigmen und Methoden der kunstgeschichtlichen 'Ostforschung' – der 'Fall' Dagobert Frey. – Die Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs. Eds. R. Born, A. Janatková, A. S. Labuda. Berlin: Mann, 2004, pp. 165–166. Frey was employed in 1918 with the Austro-Hungarian *Kunstschutz* in northern Italy (see S. Arend, Studien zur deutschen kunsthistorischen..., p. 421).

