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The German Art Historians of World War I: Grautoff, Wichert, Weisbach and Brinckmann and the activities of the Zentralstelle für Auslandsdienst

»Diese Tätigkeit, die mich über mein Fach hinaus zu einem Umblick auf weitere Gebiete nötigte – und zu einer Zeit, die einen an äussere Ereignisse fesselte und wissenschaftlicher Konzentration nicht günstig war –, habe ich niemals bereut.«

– Werner Weisbach about his work for the Zentralstelle für Auslandsdienst during World War I¹

Introduction

World War I was the first international conflict that took place after the consolidation of art history as a discipline in Germany. It saw countless students and young faculty endure battle and lose their lives. While in the battlefield some soldiers read the specialized publications on art written for them, or carried in their pockets the guides to the monuments and museums of occupied cities written to accompany them on their furloughs. Today we are just beginning to appraise the positions taken by art historians towards the war and their reactions to the loss of life and damage to precious monuments. The extent to which the

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experience of war shaped the discipline and its protagonists will be difficult to reconstruct to the extent that it is a personal story.²

Yet the Great War also saw the participation of art historians in a variety of official capacities whose impact was of a more public and measurable nature. Patriotic German museum directors and curators, university faculty and the legions of newly minted Ph.D.s headed for work in publishing or journalism applied scholarly skills and tools in the first total war effort to the protection of art (*Kunstschutz*) or in the new propaganda offices that sprang up in neutral and occupied territories. Even reluctant pacifists like Heinrich Wölfflin participated by giving lectures in war zones³ and providing much succour to students in the field by corresponding devotedly with them. (The letters written to Wölfflin alone by his many students who fought in the war could easily give shape to this untold story.) Some well-informed art historians like Georg Dehio and Werner Weisbach also wrote about the political situation and became active either for or against the war (mostly for).

1 Werner Weisbach, *Geist und Gewalt*, Vienna/Munich 1956, 147.

2 Heinrich Dilly, *Septembre 1914*, in: *Revue germanique internationale* 13, 1994, 223–237; Martin Warnke, *On Heinrich Wölfflin*, in: *Representations* 27, 1989, 172–187; Wilhelm Schlink and Alexander Marksches, *Les archives Wilhelm Vöge de Fribourg-en-Brigau*, in: *Revue de l'art* 146, 2004, 85–88. Helga Grebing, *Die Worringers: Bildungsbürgerlichkeit als Lebensinn – Wilhelm und Marta Worringer (1881–1965)*, Berlin 2004, especially 37–51, and the war correspondence and diaries of Fritz Burger in Rolf M. Hauk, *Fritz Burger (1877–1916): Kunsthistoriker und Wegbereiter der Moderne am Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Ph.D. diss., University of Munich, 2005, 208–21. For an excellent account of the reaction of the academy, with particular reference to archaeologists and Kulturpolitik in World War I, see Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970*, Princeton 1996, chapt. 7.



Although Germany is thought to have failed in its efforts to counter what was widely regarded as the successful English and French »Kulturpolitik« and propaganda during World War I, it was not for a lack of effort. It is only relatively recently that the office founded after the outbreak of the war to coordinate propaganda, the Zentralstelle für Auslandsdienst (ZfA), has been the subject of study.⁴ It is towards a reconstruction of the role specifically played by art historians in this institutional history, far better known for World War II than for World War I, that this essay is dedicated. For as scholars are beginning to realize, it is in the first world war that practices first took shape which endured through the second conflict.⁵ Key here was the establishment in 1914 of the ZfA within the Auswärtiges Amt and its offices in neutral countries – in The Hague, Bern, Stockholm – which were responsible for cultural propaganda.⁶ The discovery of the documentation about an episode of art historical propaganda generated by that office has occasioned this essay. The point is to bring into a view a level of political coordination of art historians that has not been known and to assess its aftermath.

While cultural politics and propaganda were diffused in all areas of conflict, it was in or around the monuments of France and occupied Belgium that Germany's post-classical art histo-

rians were most intensely deployed (the *Kulturpolitik* in the Orient conducted by archaeologists is a separate though related subject⁷). Following the German bombardment of Reims Cathedral (fig. 1) and the burning of the Louvain Library the French launched a successful and enduring propaganda campaign against the Germans as cultural barbarians, an image reinforced by the widely distributed pictures of ruins that littered the French and Belgian war zones.⁸ It has been argued that German propaganda response and agencies formed around these events and this image of the Germans although Franco-German enmity had a long history that fuelled this episode and sustained its themes long after hostilities ceased.⁹

Starting in August 1914 Wilhelm von Bode, director of the Königlichen Museen of Berlin, urged the establishment of military *Kunstschutz* in Belgium and in August 1915 an »Art Commission« was established by the Reichsamt des Innern to see to the protection of monuments and the restitution of objects whose seizure stretched back to the Napoleonic wars. Von Bode, Otto von Falke (director of the Berlin Kunstgewerbemuseum) and Paul Clemen (professor at the University of Bonn and head of the Rhineland Denkmalarat), amongst others, served in this capacity over the vast geography of the war.¹⁰ The goals of this commission would be carried out through a

3 Warnke (as note 2) and Dilly (as note 2), 224. He had lectured previously in France. Heinrich Wölfflin wrote to August Grisebach (im Felde), on 19 December 1915, that he is relieved to have finished the proofs for the *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* as now »ich mich bereit halten muss, dem ersten Ruf ins Feldlager zu folgen, nicht als Soldat, sondern als Redner. Südwestlich von Lille ist ein Erholungsheim, wo man Appetit auf Kunstgeschichte zu haben scheint [...]«. Joseph Gantner, *Heinrich Wölfflin, 1864–1945, Autobiographie, Tagebücher und Briefe*, 2nd enlarged ed., Basel 1984, 294. He wrote again to Grisebach (im Felde), 18 April 1916: »Was über Verhandlungen wegen Brüsseler Vorträgen in Ihrer Zeitung stand, greift den Tatsachen vor. Für den nächsten Bedarf ist aber wohl überhaupt durch Harnack und Wilamowitz genügend gesorgt. Ich gestehe, dass ich mir's nicht besonders angenehm vorstelle, im Schutz der deutschen Bayonette in Brüssel aufzutreten. Etwas anderes ist es, wenn man selber Bayonett

ist.« Gantner (as above), 297. Wölfflin, however, was not traumatized by the trip, on the contrary, he wrote to his sister at the end of June 1916: »Die Reise war strapaziös, aber reich an Eindrücken, freilich nicht ausgesprochen kriegerischer Art. In Brussels sprach im Hörsaal [...].« Gantner (as above), 298.

4 Jürgen Wilke, *Deutsche Auslandspropaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg: die Zentralstelle für Auslandsdienst*, in: Siegfried Quandt, ed., *Der Erste Weltkrieg als Kommunikationsereignis*, Giessen 1993, 96.

5 This point is made in Christoph Roolf, *Die Forschungen des Kunsthistorikers Ernst Steinmann zum Napoleonischen Kunstraub zwischen Kulturgeschichtsschreibung, Auslandspropaganda und Kulturgutraub im Ersten Weltkrieg*, in: Yvonne Dohna, ed., *Ernst Steinmann, Der Kunstraub Napoleons*, Rome 2007, 434–435.

6 On the Zentralstelle für Auslandsdienst see Jürgen Wilke (as note 4), 95–157; Stefan Kestler, *Die deutsche*



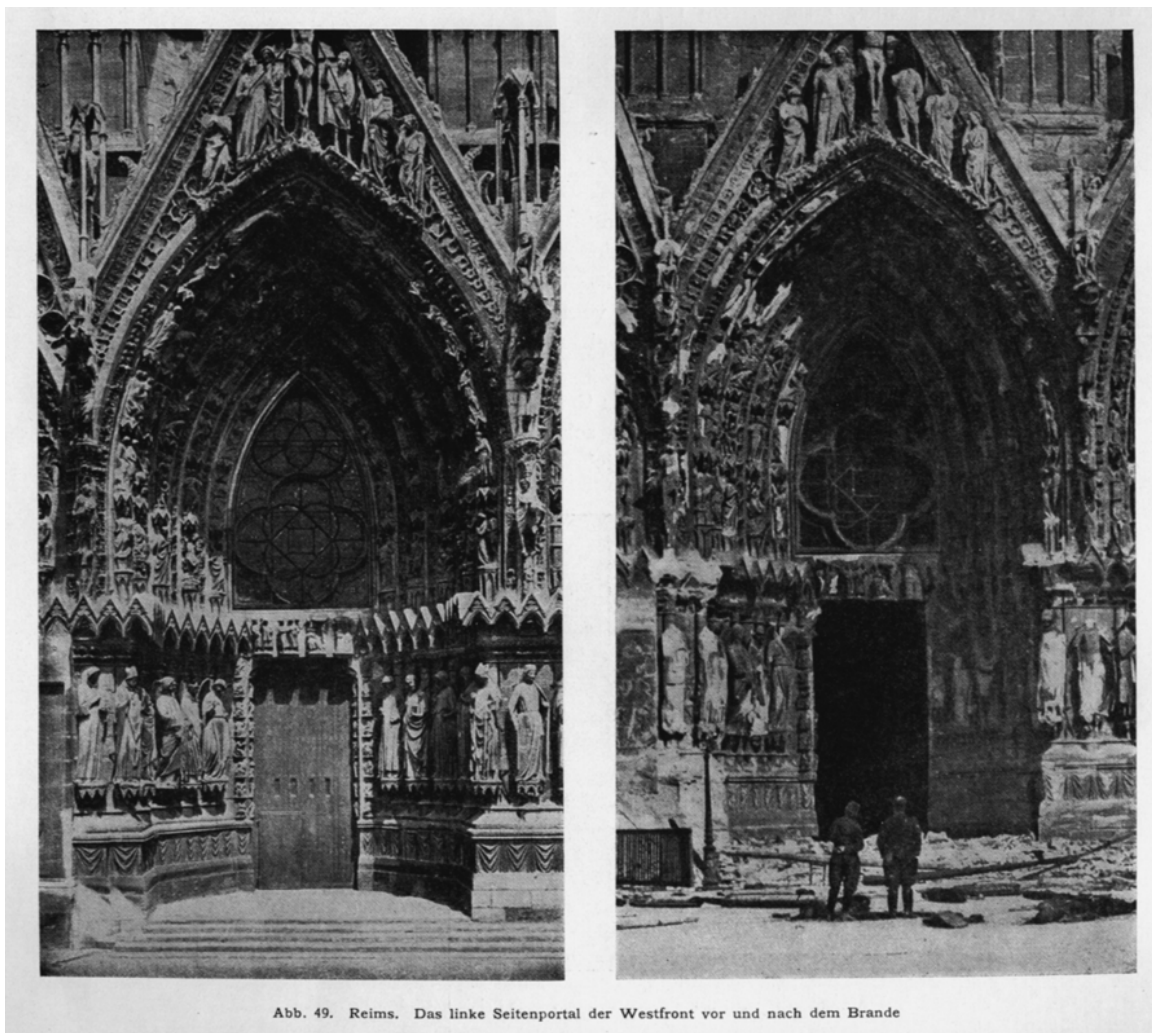


Abb. 49. Reims. Das linke Seitenportal der Westfront vor und nach dem Brande

1. Reims Cathedral before and after German bombardment, in: Paul Clemen, *Der Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf dem westlichen Kriegsschauplatz*, Leipzig 1916, 28, fig. 49

Auslandsaufklärung und das Bild der Ententemächte im Spiegel zeitgenössischer Propagandaveröffentlichungen während des Ersten Weltkrieges, Frankfurt 1994, 54–66; Jürgen von Ungern-Sternberg and Wolfgang von Ungern-Sternberg, *Der Aufruf »An die Kulturwelt!«: Das Manifest der 93 und die Anfänge der Kriegspropaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Stuttgart 1996; Martha Hanna, *The Mobilization of Intellect. French Scholars and Writers during the Great War*, Cambridge (MA) 1996, 126–35.

7 On the role of Theodor Wiegand, who initially served in the ZfA and in 1916 shipped out to Turkey for cultural-political purposes, including the »Kunstschutz«, see Marchand (as note 2), 252–258.

8 See, for instance, von Ungern-Sternberg/von Ungern-Sternberg (as note 6); Hanna (as note 6).

9 Claude Digeon, *La crise allemande de la pensée française (1870–1914)*, Paris 1959.

10 On von Bode's wartime activities see Manfred Ohlsen, *Wilhelm von Bode. Zwischen Kaisermacht und Kunsttempel. Biographie*, Berlin 1995, 274–284; on Clemen see Thomas Goege, *Kunstschutz und Propaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Paul Clemen als Kunstschutzbeauftragter an der Westfront, in: *Paul Clemen. Zur 125. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages*, Cologne 1991, 149–168; Paul Clemen, *Der Rhein ist mein Schicksal geworden. Fragment einer Lebensbeschreibung*, Worms 2006, 174–175; Gisbert Knopp, ed., *Paul Clemen: »Der Rhein ist mein Schicksal geworden«, 1866–1947, erster Provinzialkonservator der Rheinprovinz*, exh. cat. Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Cologne 1991, 89.





2. Paul Clemen as Monuments Protection officer, undated photograph from World War I

variety of projects that were conducted with the support and collaboration of the ZfA.¹¹ Von Falke was sent to Belgium in 1914 to assess damage and collections, calm public opinion and

¹¹ For what follows I have relied upon Christina Kott, ›Kulturarbeit im Feindesland,‹ Die deutsche Kunst- und Museumspolitik im besetzten Belgien im Ersten Weltkrieg, in: Roland Baumann and Hubert Roland, ed., *Carl-Einstein-Kolloquium 1998*, Frankfurt 2001, 199–225.

¹² Paul Clemen, ed., *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, 2 vols., Munich 1923. On Goldschmidt's wartime work see Marie Roosen-Runge-Mollwo, ed., *Adolph Goldschmidt, 1863–1944: Lebenserinnerungen*, Berlin 1989, 172ff. Dilly (as note 2), 226 and Clemen (as note 10), 174.

¹³ Ernst Steinmann, *Der Kunstraub Napoleons*, ed. Yvonne Dohna with an essay by Christoph Roolf, Rome 2007, available at <http://edoc.biblherz.it/edizioni/steinmann/kunstraub/>. Upon the sequestering by the Italian state of the Bibliotheca Hertziana in

to extend efforts by Germans to secure works of art. Paul Clemen (fig. 2), who became a central figure during the war as the Reichskommissar for *Kunstschutz* on the Western and Eastern fronts, lead a team to make a complete inventory of Belgian monuments and works of art, enlisting Adolph Goldschmidt and thirty-seven other colleagues in an effort which produced an inventory of 10,000 photographs and several volumes published in the interwar period.¹² In August 1915 Clemen organized the ›Kriegstagung für Denkmalpflege‹ and in 1916 together with Cornelius Gurlitt, founder of *Denkmalpflege* in Saxony, published *Die Klosterbauten der Cistercienser in Belgien*, a survey of three important sites destroyed during the French Revolution. Another project funded by the ZfA intended to demonstrate that the French were the real cultural barbarians of Europe was Ernst Steinmann's *Der Kunstraub der Franzosen in Deutschland und Italien*, a book manuscript with an explicitly anti-French message which never saw print.¹³

*Wichert, Brinckmann, Weisbach, Grautoff
working for the ZfA*

Clemen's wartime projects have remained in sight because of the scholarly publications that are still on our library shelves. But less visible were the wartime activities of four art historians who worked for the ZfA or one of its branches in neutral countries.¹⁴ The art historians in question are Fritz Wichert, the progressive director

1915 Steinmann spent the war years in German archives researching this manuscript of 500 pages. For an extensive reconstruction of the project and publication of the unpublished text see Christoph Roolf, Die Forschungen des Kunsthistorikers Ernst Steinmann, in: Steinmann (op. cit.), 433–477, and Doreen Tesche, *Ernst Steinmann und die Gründungsgeschichte der Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rom* (Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana, XV), Munich 2005, 133–138. Otto Grautoff's prognostication in December 1916 that Steinmann would not be able to bring it to a timely conclusion was correct. Steinmann's project took a stance on *Kunstraub* which divided German art historians. Germany did not seize any works in Belgian collections, though Bode was worried the works would be put on the market and leave Europe;

before the war of the Mannheim Kunsthalle who served as head of the Hague *Dienststelle* for a period and then as private secretary to the Secretary of State Richard von Kühlmann in Berlin. Young Albert Erich Brinckmann, like Wichert a pupil of Heinrich Wölfflin from his Berlin period, took over Wichert's position in The Hague. Werner Weisbach, *Dozent* at the Berlin University for many years, worked in the Italian press section of the ZfA, and during and after the war wrote political pamphlets and worked alongside Friedrich Meinecke in the student pacifist movement. Far more engaged than Weisbach in the ZfA, however, was young Otto Grautoff, an art historian without an academic appointment to whom numerous ZfA projects that engaged the art historical community would fall.

Otto Grautoff (fig. 3) was a freelance journalist and art historian – largely self-taught until completing his doctorate on Poussin in Bern in 1914 – who had lived for ten years in France, returning to Germany at the outbreak of the war.¹⁵ A childhood friend of Thomas Mann, equally at home writing about literature and the visual arts, Grautoff had at war's beginning contacts across the political spectrum and is considered one of the most important protagonists in pre- and post-war German-French cultural relations. His French friends (most notably the French pacifist and writer Romain Rolland, whose works Grautoff and his wife had translated into German) lamented his confused position, as evidenced by his susceptibility to the nationalism that swept

Germany did remove works from French collections which were either of German »Herkunft« or which they intended to hold as security in future peace negotiations. Kott (as note 11), 208.

¹⁴ In addition, the archaeologist Theodor Wiegand, director of the ancient collections of the Königlichen preussischen Museen (who built the Pergamon Museum), was bought into the ZfA early in September 1914 to scan the Greek news and to recruit other German academics for the »Aufklärungsarbeit.« Worried about his effectiveness in that office he transferred two months later to the Kommandatur Berlin. Ungern-Sternberg/Ungern-Sternberg (as note 6), 128.

¹⁵ The most extensive investigation of Grautoff's activities, from the perspective of a historian, is Ina Belitz, *Befreundung mit dem Fremden: die Deutsch-Französische*



3. Otto Grautoff, undated photograph

sische Gesellschaft in den deutsch-französischen Kultur- und Gesellschaftsbeziehungen der Locarno-Ära: Programme und Protagonisten der transnationalen Verständigung zwischen Pragmatismus und Idealismus, Frankfurt am Main/New York 1997. See also *Biographisches Handbuch deutschsprachiger Kunsthistoriker im Exil*, ed. Ulrike Wendland, 2 vols., Munich 1999, s.v. Otto Grautoff, I: 239–243.



over many German intellectuals at the outbreak of the war.¹⁶ In Berlin Grautoff attended meetings of the Deutsche Gesellschaft 1914 and the Mittwochabende organized by Hans Delbrück which brought together a group of high-profile politically-engaged liberal constitutional monarchists, later *Vernunftrepublikaner*, including his colleague at the ZfA, Werner Weisbach.¹⁷ He entered the Zentralstelle für Auslandsdienst through these largely liberal circles, specifically through Delbrück, who was charged by the Reichskanzler Bethmann-Hollweg to write a memorandum about the activities and effects abroad of the »Pangermanische Liga«, pulling in Paul Rohrbach to gather the materials and Grautoff to assess the French situation. From this project Grautoff would go on to work in the French press section of the ZfA, making translations and writing weekly digests of the French news.¹⁸ (Werner Weisbach, who was a longstanding member of the Mittwochs-Gesellschaft and friend of Delbrück, Meinecke and Trölsch, did the same kind of work on the Italian press.)¹⁹

The first art-related project in the ZfA for Grautoff, who has been described as a »mediator minor,« was a response that he was asked to prepare to French and Belgian indictments (»Anklageschriften«) that followed the German destruction of monuments.²¹ He was a natural choice

for the job, having already published in 1911 a scathing critique of the French museums and their *Denkmalpflege* in the journal *Cicerone*. Grautoff included that article in his *Kunstverwaltung in Frankreich und Deutschland* (1915), a volume of excerpts from very recent writings by French who were critical of the neglect of monuments in their own country (amongst them Maurice Barrès and Auguste Rodin), and of German responses. Two collections of photographs – a series of monuments devastated by French troops from the seventeenth century into the current war and a series showing works protected or saved by German troops – made the argument visually that the French were the real barbarians, not the Germans. The book's aim was to demonstrate the hypocrisy of the French when it says: »Es kann ohne dialektische Blendung ruhig und sachlich an Tatsachen, Daten und Aussprüchen von Franzosen erwiesen werden, dass die Franzosen mehr als andere Völker die Zerstörung von Kunstwerken betrieben haben.«²¹ This now obscure publication was circulated by the Auswärtiges Amt for propagandistic purposes in neutral countries – Sweden, Switzerland, Holland – and elsewhere. It seems to have been the first art historical publication coordinated by the ZfA and in it appeared writings by the members of the Art Commission: reports written by

16 After his »Streitschrift« *Au-dessus de la mêlée*, in: *Journal de Genève*, supplément, 22 September 1914, Romain Rolland wrote about Grautoff to Zweig: »und ich wäre Ihnen dankbar, wenn Sie einmal die Zeit fänden, diesem Verblendeten die Augen zu öffnen. Das Milieu, in dem er lebt, erscheint mir genauso jämmerlich wie das der Pariser Journalisten; und seine Informationen taugen nicht mehr als die ihren [...] Der schwache Grautoff ist imstande, von einem Extrem ins andere zu fallen [...]« Belitz (as note 15), 63–65.

17 On the complexity of identifying the politics of this group of intellectuals see Harm Klueting, »Vernunftrepublikanismus« und »Vertrauensdiktatur«: Friedrich Meinecke in der Weimarer Republik, in: *Historische Zeitschrift* 242, 1986, 69–98.

18 Belitz (as note 15), 71.

19 Weisbach (as note 1), esp. 142–47.

20 Belitz (as note 15), 17.

21 Otto Grautoff, ed., *Kunstverwaltung in Frankreich und Deutschland*, Bern 1915, 5.

22 Ohlsen (as note 10), 275.

23 Richard Hamann, *Das Land der Kathedralen*, in: Grautoff (as note 21), 116–119 (complete pages!), here 119.

24 According to Goege, the initiative for this openly propagandistic publication came from the preservationists themselves but since he was unaware of Grautoff's position at the ZfA and its activities, it is possible that he misunderstood Clemen's own letter of 1919 to the Auswärtiges Amt who funded the books. The combination of the funding, and the acknowledgment of Grautoff in both volumes, even though the ZfA is not mentioned, leads me to conclude that it was a ZfA-sponsored project. In addition, two anonymous pamphlets (*Die Zerstörung der Kathedrale von St. Quentin. Im amtlichen Auftrage zusammengestellt. Abgeschlossen im August 1917*, Berlin 1917, and *Zerstörte Kunstdenkmäler an der Westfront: Das schonungslose Vorgehen der Engländer und Franzosen*) which were translated into various European languages, are attributed to Clemen by Goege although it seems equally likely that Grautoff used



von Falke and Paul Clemen on the damage to monuments and von Bode's »Aufgaben und Richtlinien der deutschen Regierung für die Erhaltung der Kunstdenkmäler in den besetzten Provinzen.« So the earliest activities of the ZfA and the Art Commission are well represented in this book without however being named. In addition, two essays were contributed by art historians. »Der Begriff des ›Barbarischen‹« by Wilhelm Waetzold (who was injured at the front in 1914)²² was reprinted from *Kunst und Künstler* (1915). And Richard Hamann wrote for this volume »Das Land der Kathedralen,« in which he named devoted students of French art who found themselves on the battlefield: Ernst Gall, Wilhelm Pinder, Horst Jantzen, Graf Vitzthum, along with many art history students. And so, he asked, »bei so viel Begeisterung und Hingabe an diese französische Kunst will man uns vorwerfen, dass wir freiwillig zerstören, was die Franzosen aufgebaut haben?«²³ Grautoff would also contribute an essay, »Die Denkmalpflege im Urteil des Auslandes« to Clemen's two-volume *Kunstschutz im Kriege*, which saw print in 1919.²⁴ It is important to note that Grautoff's connection to the ZfA is never mentioned in the publications cited thus far. Nor is it mentioned in one of Grautoff's most enduring projects from a scholarly perspective: namely, the coordinated

response in 1917 by German, Austrian and Hungarian art historians to Emile Mâle's essays against German art and art history of 1916,²⁵ to which I will now turn.

The ZfA's Mâle project

For Emile Mâle political engagement was new – and appears to have been an isolated episode. His student Louis Gillet portrayed Mâle in 1928 as an apolitical man, with friends on left and right, who preferred »the society of the dead to that of the living.«²⁶ Yet, impressed as a child by the German defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian war, Mâle was roused by the bombardment of Reims Cathedral to write against Germany and German art history with passion. The most important essay, »La Cathédrale de Reims,« which Heinrich Dilly has described as an art historical requiem for the damaged cathedral, was published in 1914 by the *Revue de Paris* and the following year as a pamphlet.²⁷ These polemical writings were followed in 1916–1917 by essays on the damaged cathedral at »Soissons« and »Le Château de Coucy,« and a series of four articles on medieval art and architecture published in the same journal. All seven essays were immediately published as a collection entitled *L'Art allemand et l'Art français du moyen âge* (1917).²⁸ Although

material by Clemen and wrote the pamphlets himself. See Goege (as note 10), 165–166 and 163–164, respectively.

25 The German response has been discussed at great length in Heinrich Dilly, Emile Mâle, in: idem, ed., *Altmeister moderner Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin 1990, 133–48, here 142–43; idem (as note 2); Hubert Locher, *Kunstgeschichte im 20. Jahrhundert: Eine kommentierte Anthologie*, Darmstadt 2007, 53; Joseph F. Byrnes, *Catholic and French Forever: Religious and National Identity in Modern France*, University Park (PA) 2005, 200–201; Gerhard Straehle, *Der Naumburger Meisterin der deutschen Kunstgeschichte: Einhundert Jahre deutsche Kunstgeschichtsschreibung 1886–1989*, Ph.D. diss., University of Munich, 2009. Betthausen knew that Grautoff was working for the ZfA for he saw Dehio's correspondence with him in the Dehio Nachlass. Peter Betthausen, *Georg Dehio: ein deutscher Kunsthistoriker*, Munich 2004, 286.

26 Byrnes (as note 25), 200, citing Louis Gillet, *Amitiés littéraires*, Paris 1928, 125–7.

27 Emile Mâle, La Cathédrale de Reims, in: *Revue de Paris*, 15 December 1914, 294–311. For the pamphlet see Dilly (as note 2), 230.

28 Emile Mâle, *L'Art allemand et l'Art française du moyen âge*, Paris 1917. All references are to *L'Art allemand et l'Art française du moyen âge*, 4th ed., Paris 1923 and to the German translation, *Studien über die deutsche Kunst*, published in: *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* IX–X, 1916–1917, hereafter abbreviated as Mâle/L'Art allemand and Mâle/Monatshefte. For the publication history of Mâle's essays see: Élie Lambert, *Bibliographie des travaux de Émile Mâle*, in: *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* II, 1959, 69–84, and for the most comprehensive summary of their contents see Straehle (as note 25), 254ff. and 263ff. Mâle's essays on »Soissons« (1915) and »Le château de Coucy et l'architecture militaire du moyen âge« (1917) which also appeared in the *Revue de Paris*, were published in a section entitled »Le vandalisme allemand« in *L'Art allemand et l'Art française*.



at his death in 1956 Mâle would not be remembered at all for these writings or for their effect,²⁹ as we will see, his essays animated some German art historians in an intense rivalry with France through World War II.

Grautoff would describe the main themes of Mâle's essays in a letter to the Swiss art historian Heinrich Alfred Schmid as coming down to three words: »Nachahmung, Zerstörungslust und nationale Beschränkung der Kunsthistoriker.«³⁰ In the first, on »l'art des peuples germaniques,« Mâle writes disparagingly of the Germans' image of themselves as the creative people, and of the Middle Ages as the product of the German spirit, taking aim at the architects of German cultural self-consciousness. Cataloguing the 19th-century archaeological discoveries all over Europe that allowed German scholars to revise the image of the teutons as culturally-deficient barbarian invaders – the theories of the Rhineland origins of this art, replaced by the Orient – and the devastating discovery of objects that had been considered Germanic with the 1870 unearthing near Mainz of a pin (Gürtelschloss) identified as Persian in origin.³¹ The Germans were not the teachers of Europe (rather than the destroyers) as their archaeologists had built the case but were the carriers to Europe of Persian art: German art, Mâle intoned, was nothing more than »die ängstliche eintönige Nachahmung der antiken Kunst Asiens,«³² »senil, gewohnheitsmässig, mechanisch.«³³ The Germans were, so Mâle, not the creative spirits they claimed to be, but the imitators of (other) great civilisations.³⁴ In the Roman-

esque essay the argument continues: Germany is proud of its Romanesque churches and although there is a »certain grandeur« in the Rhineland churches, all is borrowed from France. These works are archaisms, repeated over and over again.³⁵ »Vielleicht gibt es in der Geschichte der Kunst kein anderes Beispiel einer solchen Unfruchtbarkeit des Geistes, einer solchen Ohnmacht des Schaffens.«³⁶ About the central problem of the invention of the vault Mâle goes on to argue that it was the French alone who knew how to solve the problem and did so without German collaboration. Compared to the creative spirit of France (»der schöpferische Geist Frankreichs«) Germany, he concludes, is a race of imitators (»eine Rasse von Nachahmern«).³⁷ The third essay is particularly pernicious as Mâle attacks the Gothic monuments in which, he notes, Germans have believed to have seen a deep-rooted, mystical German spirit (»den tiefen, mystischen deutschen Geist«).³⁸ Detailing the German claim to have invented the Gothic, proof that the French were the real inventors (and the ways in which German scholars tried to work around this fact), Mâle destroys German claims to church after church (especially the Cologne and Strassbourg cathedrals) arguing that they are mere imitations, copies even, of French models. Unrelenting in his criticism, Mâle maintains equal disdain for a derivative German art and German art historians whose love of country exceeds their love of truth.

From a dossier of documents found in the papers of the Zentralstelle für Auslandsdienst in

29 With the exception of the tribute published in a German journal, the French tributes to Mâle that I have found do not mention his activity in World War I at all. »Da E. Mâle die grossen Kunsteinflüsse in den verschiedenen Ländern des Orients und Okzidents aufzuzeigen liebte, hat er auch die Beziehungen zwischen der deutschen und der französischen Kunst untersucht. Dieser Arbeit spürt man jedoch an, dass sie im ersten Weltkrieg geschrieben worden war (1923 erschienen), und diese Umstände liessen den Autor nicht jene Objektivität und Klarheit bewahren, die sonst sein ganzes Werk auszeichnet.« Jacques Vanuxem, Emile Mâle, in: *Das Münster* VIII, 1955, 58.

30 Otto Grautoff to Heinrich Alfred Schmid, 22 Janu-

ary 1917. R901, Nr. 72243, fol. 75. Bundesarchiv, Berlin.

31 Emile Mâle, Studien über die deutsche Kunst: Die Kunst der Germanischen Völker, in: *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* IX, 1916, 387–403; Mâle/L'Art allemand (as note 28), 5–47.

32 Mâle/Monatshefte (as note 28), 394; Mâle/L'Art allemand (as note 28), 23.

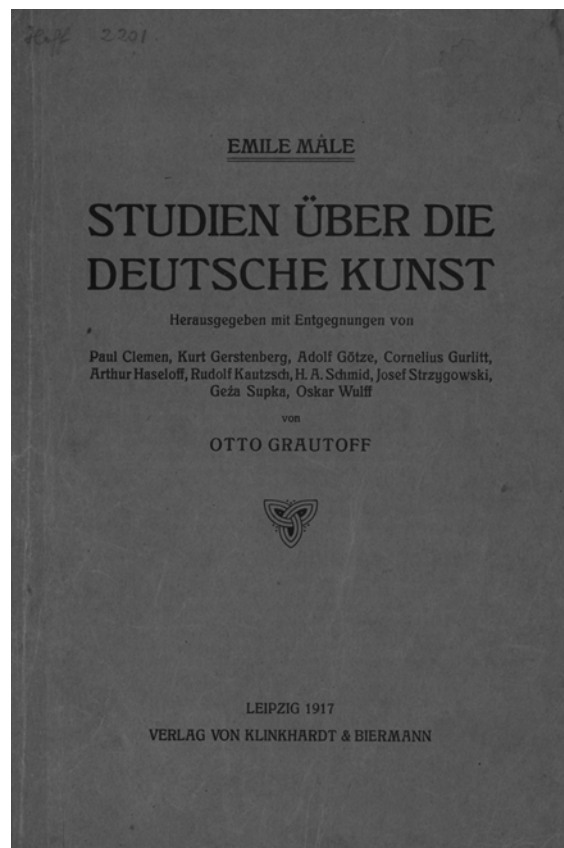
33 Ibid., 395; *ibid.*, 25.

34 Ibid., 393; *ibid.*, 20.

35 Emile Mâle, Studien über die deutsche Kunst. Romanische Baukunst, in: *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* IX, 1916, 429–447, here 429–431; Mâle/L'Art allemand (as note 28), 51–59.



the Bundesarchiv in Berlin, it appears that Otto Grautoff's organized a concerted German response to the Mâle essays from within the ZfA.³⁹ It was, therefore, not a spontaneous project that came from the academy but a government-sponsored propaganda effort.⁴⁰ The earliest trace of the project is a letter dated to 11 September 1916 when Grautoff wrote to Minister Paul von Buri (1860–1922), a career diplomat in charge of the ZfA since July, sending him the three issues of the *Revue de Paris* in which Mâle's essays appeared and proposing a German translation of the essays accompanied by responses from Dehio, Bezold, Goldschmidt, Wulff, Götze, Haupt, Clemen and others in »einer kleinen Broschüre.« He asks for confirmation that a Frau von Düren will translate the essays, that he is to engage the publisher, and that the ZfA wishes 200 copies of the brochure for »libraries and scholars in neutral countries.«⁴¹ The next day Grautoff wrote to Georg Biermann, the editor of the *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* – a journal in which Grautoff's essays and reviews had appeared regularly before the war, and which would publish the translations and responses in 1917—asking about his proposal that Biermann also publish the Mâle essays as a brochure (fig. 4) and confirming the order of 200 copies for the ZfA »für Propagandazwecke.«⁴² In a later letter to Biermann (23 October 1916) he acknowledges that the brochure will be of interest primarily to »Fachgenossen.« He says it is desirable to get it out quickly since it is expected that Mâle's essays are expected to be widely propagated in enemy



4. Pamphlet version of the German translation of Mâle's essays and the German responses. Leipzig 1917

countries and since they have already been reprinted in Egyptian newspapers (»werden in grossem Stile im feindlichen Auslande propagiert und sind sogar schon in ägyptischen Zeitungen nachgedruckt worden«).⁴³ It will be a few weeks

36 Mâle/Monatshefte (as note 28), 433; Mâle/L'Art allemand (as note 28), 64.

37 Ibid, 447; ibid, 106.

38 Emile Mâle, Studien über die deutsche Kunst. Die Gotische Architektur, in: *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* X, 1917, 43–64, here 44; Mâle/L'Art allemand (as note 28), 113.

39 Folder Nrs. 72243 and 72244 in R901 (Auswärtiges Amt) in the Bundesarchiv, Berlin, contain approximately 200 pages of documents related to the project.

40 There is surprisingly little discussion of this episode in the literature outside of Dilly (as note 2) and now Strachle (as note 25). The coordination of the project was not known. And while Grautoff's biography and

activities were investigated by Belitz (as note 15), she did not discuss this particular episode.

41 Otto Grautoff to Paul von Buri, 11 September 1916. R901, Nr. 72243, fol. 133. Bundesarchiv, Berlin. On Buri see Maria Keipert, Peter Grup, ed., *Biographisches Handbuch des deutschen Auswärtigen Dienstes 1871–1945*, 3 vols. thru 2011, Paderborn/Munich/Vienna/Zurich 2000, I, 350–351.

42 Otto Grautoff to Georg Biermann, 12 September 1916. R901, Nr. 72243, fol. 132. Bundesarchiv, Berlin.

43 Otto Grautoff to Georg Biermann, 23 October 1916. R901, Nr. 72243, fol. 94. Bundesarchiv, Berlin. The translation of the Mâle essays with the responses of the German scholars would be published as Emile

before he has the texts from the scholars he had named in a previous letter and who he now began to contact: On the 16th of September he wrote to Alfred Goetze (Assistant to the Director, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin), Adolph Goldschmidt (University of Berlin), Géza Supka (Budapest); on the 20th he wrote to Georg Dehio, on the 30th to Wilhelm Vöge. On the 11th of October he wrote to Wilhelm Worringer (Privatdozent, Bonn at the time home from the front), and on the 23rd to Wilhelm Stryzowski (University of Vienna). On the 7th of November he wrote to Arthur Haseloff (University of Halle) and to Wilhelm von Bode, on the 9th to Oskar Wulff (Curator, Kaiserfriedrich-Museum, Berlin). On the 1st of December he wrote to Richard Hamann (University of Marburg) and to Georg Graf von Vitzthum (University of Kiel), on the 4th to Hans Jantzen (*im Feld*) and on the 8th of January 1917 to Paul Clemen (University of Bonn). On the 22nd of January he sent telegrams to Rudolf Kautzsch (Frankfurt) and wrote to Alexander Schnütgen (Cologne) and Hugo Rathgens (Lübeck). On the 29th of January Grautoff wrote to Heinrich Alfred Schmid (University of Göttingen) who he asked to help enlist Wölfflin in the project, though he himself had been in contact just recently with the latter over purely art historical matters.⁴⁴ Presumably he corresponded also with Cornelius Gurlitt (Dresden, Technische Hochschule) and Kurt Gerstenberg (who was at the time in the field) but their letters are not to be found in the dossier.

Mâle, *Studien über die deutsche Kunst*, hrsg. von Otto Grautoff mit Entgegnungen von Paul Clemen, Kurt Gerstenberg, Adolf Götze, Cornelius Gurlitt, Arthur Haseloff, Rudolf Kautzsch, H. A. Schmid, Josef Stryzowski, Géza Supka, Oskar Wulff, Leipzig 1917.

44 Heinrich Alfred Schmid (1863–1951), Ordinarius at the University of Göttingen was asked by Grautoff to enlist Wölfflin, a childhood friend, in the Mâle project. Otto Grautoff to Heinrich Alfred Schmid, 22 January 1916. R901, Nr. 72244, fol. 75. Bundesarchiv, Berlin. There are no letters dating to World War I in the correspondence from Schmid in the Wölfflin Nachlass. There is a single letter to Wölfflin from Grautoff, dated 20 August 1916. In it he tells Wölfflin where he is working: »Ich bin in Berlin und erfülle dort, wie so manche Andere mein Kriegspflicht im

Grautoff wrote a few versions of his form letter, this one addressed to Adolph Goldschmidt:

»Hochgeehrter Herr Professor!

Emile Mâle veröffentlichte im Juli und August in der »Revue de Paris« eine Folge von Aufsätzen über die deutsche Kunst, in denen er versucht, nicht nur die deutsche Kunst sondern auch die deutsche Kunstwissenschaft herabzusetzen. Da, wie wir in Erfahrung bringen, konnten diese Aufsätze in besonders eifriger Weise durch die Ententeländer propagiert werden, soll – im Einverständnis mit dem stellvertretenden Vorsitzenden der Zentralstelle für Auslandsdienst – dieser Verleumdung der deutschen Kunst und der deutschen Kunstwissenschaft dadurch entgegengetreten werden, dass die Aufsätze ins Deutsche übersetzt, mit Kommentaren bzw. Anmerkungen deutscher Kunsthistoriker versehen, in Broschürenform herausgegeben und Bibliotheken und Gelehrten im neutralen Ausland zur Verfügung gestellt werden. Ich erlaube mir auch an Sie die ergebenste Bitte zu richten, mich in diesem Unternehmen zu unterstützen und sende Ihnen gleichzeitig den für Ihr Forschungsgebiet in Betracht kommenden Teil. Es ist mir darum zu tun, vor allem zu dem Text einige Knappe, schlagende Anmerkungen zu erhalten, die ich Sie bitten würde mit Ihrem Namen zu zeichnen.«⁴⁵

This brief to the contributors would be refined as he enlisted (or failed to enlist) the art historians. To Supka he wrote that the most important thing was to show the oriental influence on early

auswärtigen Amt;« that he felt some timidity around Wölfflin: »Im letzten Winter sah ich Sie von ferne in der deutschen Gesellschaft. Sie schienen so sehr in Anspruch genommen, dass ich Sie nicht stören wollte.« The rest of the letter is in praise of Wölfflin's *Grundbegriffe* and a question about Poussin, about whom Grautoff had very recently published a book. Heinrich Wölfflin Nachlass, Otto Grautoff to Heinrich Wölfflin, 20 August 1916. N 95, IV, no. 448. Universitätsbibliothek, Basel.

45 Otto Grautoff to Adolph Goldschmidt, 16 September 1916. R901, Nr. 72243, fol. 129. Bundesarchiv, Berlin.

46 Otto Grautoff to Géza Supka, 30 September 1916. R901, Nr. 72243, fol. 127. Bundesarchiv, Berlin.

47 Otto Grautoff to Heinrich Zimmermann, 3 October 1916. R901, Nr. 72243, fol. 121. Bundesarchiv, Berlin.



medieval German art, and that German scholars are not driven by nationalism.⁴⁶

Goldschmidt spoke to Grautoff in person on the 3rd of October asking him to write on his behalf to Heinrich Zimmermann of the k. u. k. Moderne Staats-Gallerie of Vienna that Goldschmidt was ready to respond with a comment on the first essay by Mâle (he did not in the end), and would demonstrate, »dass die deutschen Kunsthistoriker bereits ihrerseits auf den orientalischen Ursprung der germanischen Kunst hingewiesen haben.« But he asks that Zimmermann, who just completed, in Goldschmidt's words, »eine monumentale Arbeit« on this material, furnish for him the German historiography on this question. Grautoff wrote to Zimmermann that although he sought in contributors »hauptsächlich ältere Kunsthistoriker von internationalem Ruf« he would be grateful if Zimmermann would consider responding independently to Mâle's clever and indeed not always incorrect explanations (»dialektisch geschickte, tatsächlich nicht immer unrichtigen Ausführungen Mâle's«).⁴⁷

Dehio, Goldschmidt, Vöge, Zimmermann, Worringer, von Bode, Hamann, Vitzthum, Jantzen and Rathgens all either turned him down or were unable to deliver a text. Wilhelm Vöge, whose work on French monumental sculpture (especially his *Die Anfänge des monumentalen Stiles*) had been for decades in deep dialogue with French colleagues – many of whom expressed their esteem for his ground-breaking

method⁴⁸ – would have been a key voice in Grautoff's collection of responses. But Vöge, who had suffered a nervous breakdown in 1915 (which has been attributed in part to the destruction of the French monuments by the German army), had at the time he wrote this letter retired and retreated to the Harz mountains.⁴⁹ Like Goldschmidt and Wölfflin he did not sign the infamous »Aufruf an die Kulturwelt« of 1914 and he cut off contact with almost all of his French colleagues from this time forth.⁵⁰ He demurred from entering into the fray over Mâle's essays purportedly because he lacked assistance.⁵¹ But he also expressed scepticism about the idea: Is it really necessary, he asks, »dass dieser doch recht papierenen Schrift eines zum Entente-Advokaten herabgesunkenen Gelehrten die Ehre einer kommentierten und glossierten Verdeutschung zu Teil wird?« Would such an answer not provide more evidence of the German lack of genius (to use Mâle's term)? In spite of his scepticism Vöge had lots of ideas about how Grautoff should go about it: »eine geistvoll geschriebene Gegenschrift« would be more appropriate. He says Grautoff should write it himself or enlist Dehio: »Mâle's wenig anständiges, wenig ehrenhaftes Verfahren müsste hier scharf beleuchtet werden. Ist doch fast alles, was er vorbringt, aus der von ihm so geschmähten deutschen Forschung geschöpft; nicht nur das, was er über die Einflüsse von Frankreich und Italien zu sagen weiss, sondern selbst manches von dem, was er zur Charakteristik der romanischen Ar-

48 Kathryn Brush, *The Shaping of Art History: Wilhelm Vöge, Adolph Goldschmidt, and the study of medieval art*, Cambridge (MA) 1996, 121–125. She emphasizes Mâle's esteem for Vöge's work around the turn of the century, and writes that his »approach remained active in French work on medieval sculpture even during and after World War I, when French scholars categorically repudiated German art historical scholarship on the Middle Ages, in an attack led by Mâle.«

49 Ibid., 9. Otto Grautoff first wrote to Wilhelm Vöge, 6 November 1916. Grautoff to Vöge, 24 October 1916. R901, Nr. 72243, fol. 84. Bundesarchiv, Berlin. Vöge's response is not preserved. Grautoff responded to Vöge 24 October 1916 that he was happy to get Vöge's letter and for his interest in the Mâle issue. Since the publisher is not able to get the translation

and responses out so quickly as he wanted he says he can send it by 1 December: »Sie deuten in Ihrem liebenswürdigen Briefe an, ich selbst möchte doch die Entgegnung schreiben. Es scheint mir aber sehr wesentlich, dass Fachleute für die frühgermanische und für die gotische Kunst, die auf ihrem Gebiete einen internationalen Namen besitzen, sich mit Mâle beschäftigen.« Grautoff to Vöge, 24 October 1916. R901, Nr. 72243, fols. 92–93. Bundesarchiv, Berlin.

50 Markschies/Schlink (as note 2), 86–87. He also says that Vöge never restored his relations with French colleagues after the war.

51 Ibid., 87. According to these authors Vöge knew Mâle's essays well but was not resolved to respond in spite of Paul Clemen's solicitation to collaborate on the German translation of the book.





chitektur Frankreichs vorbringt und gerade das wenige Geistvolle, z.B. die Bemerkungen über die Vorherrschaft des Weitraums im ganzen französischen Süden – wie in Italien –, die sicher auf v. Bezold gehen. Was diese deutschen Forscher über die romanischen Architekturschulen Frankreichs gesagt haben, steht nach Klarheit und Tiefe ja sicher hoch über dem subalternen Aufzählen einzelner Schulmerkmale, wie es die frz. Handbücher bieten.«⁵²

He goes on to suggest to Grautoff how to respond to Mâle's passage about Viollet-le-Duc, pointing him to the dissertation by Hans Kunze⁵³ that showed that the French had ignored that it was not Viollet but a German architect who, in the 1840s, had demonstrated the significance of Northern France for the development of the Gothic. The French had ignored this out of embarrassment that it has been a German who was the first to point it out.

Dehio (who retired in fall 1914 but resumed his responsibilities almost immediately after his successor, Ernst Heidrich, fell in battle)⁵⁴ would also have been a key interlocutor as a leading expert on Romanesque and Gothic art and architecture who was singled out more than any other scholar in Mâle's essays. In the second essay, on Romanesque art, Mâle argued against the characterizations of Dehio and Bezold of typical German forms, showing older French examples of the same types.⁵⁵ But he did the most damage to Dehio in the third essay on Gothic art, in which he analyzed at some length a passage in the German scholars' *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, a work which acknowledged France's leading role in the Gothic. Mâle attacked the argument that the Gothic invented by the French was cosmopolitan, an »Allerwelts

Stil«⁵⁶ and that the Germans brought to the Gothic their characteristic »fantasy« which endowed even French cathedrals like Laon, on which German sculptors were employed, a certain »German feeling.«⁵⁷ Mâle also assailed Dehio's defence of the reputation of the artistic quality of the Cologne Cathedral.⁵⁸

In spite of the personal nature of the attack Dehio, Ordinarius in the sensitive location of Strassbourg – he actively favoured the annexation of Alsace to Prussia⁵⁹ –, also turned Grautoff down. Dehio's attitudes towards the war and his French colleagues were complicated. On the one hand he was fundamentally a pacifist and opposed to the war (England, parliamentarism and capitalism were the real enemies, he thought, not France and certainly not Italy).⁶⁰ But he responded to the French reaction to the damage to Reims with fighting words, publishing a defence of Germans in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* in which he pointed out what would become a familiar German line of argument: the French were the real cultural barbarians; just look at the destruction wrought by the Revolution.⁶¹ It is possible that the reception of his earlier efforts to engage in cultural politics convinced him that Grautoff's plan would not bring about the desired results: »Es würde mir ein Vergnügen sein, die Arbeit, zu der Sie mich einladen, zu übernehmen, – wenn ich mir von ihr einen Nutzen versprechen könnte. Nach den bisherigen Erfahrungen mit der »Aufklärung« der Neutralen wird dies aber nicht der Fall sein. Diese haben immer geantwortet, dass sie sich ihre Meinung selbst bilden können. Mâle kennt die deutsche Kunst und deutsche kunstgeschichtliche Literatur nur oberflächlich; es wäre ein Leichtes, ihm einzelne Fehler nachzuweisen.

52 Wilhelm Vöge to Otto Grautoff, 15 October 1916, N901, Nr. 72443, fols. 106–108 (typescript). Bundesarchiv, Berlin.

53 Hans Kunze, *Das Fassadenproblem der französischen Früh- und Hochgotik*, Leipzig 1912.

54 Betthausen (as note 25), 263–265.

55 As pointed out by Straehle (as note 25), 268.

56 Mâle/Monatshefte (as note 28), 45; Mâle/L'Art allemand (as note 28), 114–115.

57 Straehle (as note 25), 271. Mâle/Monatshefte (as note 28), 51; Mâle/L'Art allemand (as note 28), 131–132.

58 Mâle/Monatshefte (as note 28), 54–55; Mâle/L'Art allemand (as note 28), 140–143.

59 Betthausen (as note 25), 287–88.

60 Ibid., 268–69.

61 Ibid., 266.

62 Georg Dehio to Otto Grautoff, 7 October 1916



Aber darauf allein kommt es nicht an. Man müsste seiner Auffassung im Ganzen zu Leibe rücken. Ich meine aber [...] bestimmt, dass der gegenwärtige Augenblick für eine derartige Selbstopologie ungeeignet ist (ich bin auch persönlich angegriffen). Wollte ich mich mit Mâle auseinandersetzen, so würde ich das nur nach dem Krieg tun.«⁶²

In response to Dehio Grautoff wrote that he understood his position and that this was not a time to write an apology of *Deutschtum*. But he thought Dehio took the task of propaganda too lightly, urging him to reconsider contributing to the publication: »Ich glaube, doch, hochgeehrter Herr Geheimrat, dass Sie die Auslandspropaganda ein wenig unterschätzen. Ich weiss sehr wohl, dass im Anfang des Krieges von unserer Seite viel gesündigt worden ist gerade dadurch, dass man versucht hat, ‚die Wahrheit ins Ausland‘ zu tragen und dass man die Neutralen mit Flugschriften, die teilweise gerade jene Apologie des Deutschtums enthielten, die ich vermeiden möchte, überschwemmte.«⁶³

A response from Dehio was not forthcoming even though Grautoff's colleague Karl Hönn⁶⁴ went to Strassbourg to try to convince him. Dehio reiterated his scepticism, did not think they should even bother translating the essays into German, and said that he would answer to Mâle indirectly in a »Geschichte der Kunst« which he was preparing.⁶⁵ In his previous letter Dehio discouraged Grautoff from enlisting Bezold and he dissuaded Hönn from visiting Vöge

to try to persuade him as well since the latter's health was not good and the two scholars were in agreement.

Having been unable to persuade two of the most senior people in the field Grautoff turned to Stryzowski in Vienna and the young Wilhelm Worringer (likely known to Grautoff for they both studied in Bern just before the war and in 1908–1909 Worringer served as Redakteur of the *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* as he worked on his habilitation and as a freelance journalist).⁶⁶ Having taken away from his exchange with Dehio an increased vigilance about tone, Grautoff wrote to Stryzowski on the 23rd of October 1916: »Alles Polemische soll möglichst vermieden werden, damit es nicht heisst, dass wir dem Ausland, für das meine Publikation vor allen Dingen bestimmt ist, unser Urteil und unsere Stellungnahme aufzwingen wollen. Es soll vielmehr aus der ganzen Broschüre sich für die Neutralen die Möglichkeit ergeben, dass sie sich an der Hand der Mâlschen Ausführungen und der ruhigen Entgegnungen deutscher Gelehrter ein eigenes Urteil bilden können.«⁶⁷ Stryzowski embraced the idea and was so engaged with it that he quickly incorporated the refutation of Mâle's first essay into a »Nachwort« to his book *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung* which appeared in 1917 (and which was reprinted with the other responses in the *Monatshefte*).⁶⁸ Stryzowski argued for his perspective on the derivation of Germanic art from oriental sources, noting that Mâle had not gotten past Riegl's essays of

(typescript). R901, Nr. 72243, fols. 117–18. Bundesarchiv, Berlin.

63 Otto Grautoff to Georg Dehio, 17 October 1916. R901, Nr. 72243, fol. 112. Bundesarchiv, Berlin.

64 Hönn, a classicist, was author of *Der Kampf des deutschen Geistes im Weltkrieg. Dokumente des deutschen Geistesleben aus der Kriegszeit*, Gotha 1915.

65 For his response to the characterization of German art by »our enemies« as plagiarism in his *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* of 1919 see Keith Moxey, *The Practice of Persuasion: Paradox and Power in Art History*, Ithaca 2001, 45–46; Betthausen (as note 25), 290. Betthausen, who did not know of the report, was correct in his speculation that he could mean Mâle. See also Wilhelm Schlink, *Enseignement ou illumination? Les histoires de l'art française et allemande dans*

leur rapports à l'iconographie chrétienne, in: *Revue de l'art* CXLVI, 2004, 55.

66 Grebing (as note 2), 27–29. Another sign of their familiarity is that Grautoff mentioned (critically) a work by Worringer's wife in a review of the Paris Salon 1911 and also made the friendly gesture of calling for a solo exhibition of her work. Otto Grautoff, *Der Pariser Herbstsalon*, in: *Cicerone* III, 1911, 835.

67 Otto Grautoff to Josef Stryzowski, 23 October 1916. R901, Nr. 72243, fols. 98–99. Bundesarchiv, Berlin.

68 Josef Stryzowski, *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung: ziergeschichtliche Untersuchungen über den Eintritt der Wander- und Nordvölker in die Treibhäuser geistigen Lebens*, Leipzig 1917.



5. Wilhelm Worringer at the front, undated photograph. Collection of Helga Grebing

1893–1903 in his assessment of the literature. German scholarship had gone far beyond these conclusions to find, most notably, that the »vorderasiatische Südstrom« and the »germanische Nordstrom« were independent of each other but had the same origin in Altai-Iran.⁶⁹ He intended to take Mâle's arguments apart point by point (»Punkt für Punkt«) in his book on Armenian art but, he noted, this would take time.

Wilhelm Worringer (fig. 5) received Grautoff's letter urging him to respond to the Mâle essays in Bonn while on a military furlough and preparing a »kunstwissenschaftliche Vortrags-Reihe an der Front.«⁷⁰ Worringer was not named in Mâle's essays. But as Heinrich Dilly has noted, his *Formprobleme der Gotik*, with its argument that a Gothic »Formwillen« unique to the North

had to be intuited, was an easy target for Mâle's assertion that German art historians were seized by a love of the Fatherland rather than truth.⁷¹ Grautoff wrote to him in the field on the 31st of October 1916 asking if in the event Worringer was unable to send a response, he could quote from his letter in his »Schlusswort« (which in the end he did not do). He lamented that although Worringer could certainly be of use in the ZfA, that unfortunately they were unable to call soldiers from the front.⁷² Worringer's military service – he volunteered and served for three years in France⁷³ – may have prevented him from making a contribution.

Oskar Wulff (a specialist in early Christian and Byzantine art⁷⁴ at the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin) was reluctant to participate. It wasn't really his area of research, he claimed, and he agreed with von Bode that they should not be replying to subjective writings: »Ein zusammenfassender Artikel in einer allgemein gelesenen Zeitschrift würde uns wohl bei den Neutralen mehr nützen als die eingehende Auseinandersetzung in unseren eignen Fachzeitschriften.«⁷⁵ Yet he said he would participate to the extent that Mâle's writings touched on his area of expertise. His response, one of two long and extensively documented pieces, shows that Mâle is just wrong when he asserts, for instance, that the pure Germanic origins of Longobard art is a »Lieblingskapitel der deutschen Kunstforschung.«⁷⁶ Like several others, he asks what European art is developed in isolation. And, like Kurt Gerstenberg, he is of the opinion that out of two currents a new type of ornament is bound to emerge because of what he called a fundamentally different *Kunstwollen*.⁷⁷

69 Josef Strzygowski, Antworten auf Emile Mâles ›Studien über die deutsche Kunst,‹ in: *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* X, 1917, 144.

70 Otto Grautoff to Wilhelm Worringer, 11 October 1916. R901, Nr. 72243, fol. 103. Bundesarchiv, Berlin.

71 Heinrich Dilly (as note 25), 143. For the German critique of Worringer on the same grounds see Joanna Ziegler, Worringer's Theory of Transcendental Space in Architecture: A Medievalist's Perspective, in: Neil Donahue, ed., *Invisible Cathedrals: The Expressionist*

Art History of Wilhelm Worringer, College Park (PA) 1995, 109.

72 Otto Grautoff to Wilhelm Worringer, 30 October 1916. R901, Nr. 72243, fol. 90. Bundesarchiv, Berlin.

73 Grebing (as note 2), 40–42.

74 He had recently published *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, Berlin 1914.

75 Oskar Wulff to Otto Grautoff, 9 November 1916. R901, Nr. 72243, fols. 75–76. Bundesarchiv, Berlin.

76 Oskar Wulff, Antworten auf Emile Mâles ›Studien



Wilhelm von Bode, who, as has already been mentioned was one of the motors behind the German efforts to secure works of art abroad (for better or worse), remained aloof from Grautoff's Mâle project. They must have discussed it in person since we have only Wulff's reference to Bode's thoughts on the matter and a note from Grautoff to von Bode dated the 18th of November 1916 sending him the second Mâle essay and letting him know that the Minister Busche-Hattenhausen awaited his visit. On the 30th of December Grautoff made his last request: you should, he wrote »an erster Stelle unter den Antwortenden sein.«⁷⁸

In spite of the reluctance expressed by some of the most implicated scholars Grautoff was convinced of the need to respond to the offense not only to German creativity but also to German art history: »Mâle unterschlägt die Forschungen der führenden deutschen Fachleute und beruft sich allein auf Franzosen, Russen und Italiener, so dass es den Anschein hat, als ob sie die Irrtümer und Fälschungen der Deutschen aufgedeckt haben.« He goes on to say that the essays are being disseminated to German scholars in order to show »wie weit Krieg und Völkerhass in Frankreich sogar die Kunstwissenschaft vergiftet haben« and that the »propagandists« of French culture had disseminated Mâle's writings to neutral lands far and wide.⁷⁹

As Grautoff noted, several of the respondents did not enter into detailed arguments but wrote from an Archimedean point. Cornelius Gurlitt, took the position familiar from his work, that the French misunderstood love of country for hatred of its enemies, urging a level-headed search for the truth over judgment, this even though, he

concludes, one can expect the least from scholarly exchange during wartime.⁸⁰ Heinrich Alfred Schmid, who as a specialist on German Renaissance painting was not an obvious choice for the response to Mâle, dismissed the latter's essays as »advokatisch« and hence »unwissenschaftlich,« exemplified by his indiscriminant use of the terms »deutsch« and »Germanisch,« »Fränkisch« and »Französisch.«⁸¹ And Arthur Haseloff echoed Grautoff's view in his response where he remarked that one could not formulate a discussion around Mâle's essays since political hatred had poisoned the pen of art history. Mâle's essays witnessed »die Verwirrung, die die Kriegspsychose angerichtet hat.«⁸² He takes the most general approach to Mâle's thesis, attaching to Mâle's thinking the simplicity with which he had written off Germany's »Sondergotik« for example.

Mâle does not name Kurt Gerstenberg in his vicious remarks about the German late Gothic as the weakest of all late European manifestations of the Gothic style. For the young Gerstenberg there was a lot at stake in answering to Mâle. The book resulting from his dissertation written under Heinrich Wölfflin, *Deutsche Sondergotik*, had been awarded the Friedrich-Eggers prize by the Deutsche Akademie in 1915.⁸⁴ The aim of the book was to rethink the German late Gothic as something nationally delimited (»eine national bedingte Stileinheit«), rather than a decline, that surpasses the French Gothic. Because styles are racially specific, he argued, in their international diffusion all styles are transformed as they become expressive organs. The case of the late Gothic, or »Sondergotik,« in Gerstenberg's terms, is a question of the Germanizing of a foreign style, a project which should eventually be un-

über die deutsche Kunst,« in: *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* X, 1917, 151–158, here 151.

77 Ibid., 156.

78 Otto Grautoff to Wilhelm von Bode, 30 December 1916. R901, Nr. 72243, fol. 56. Bundesarchiv, Berlin.

79 Ibid.

80 Cornelius Gurlitt, Antworten auf Emile Mâles »Studien über die deutsche Kunst,« in: *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* X, 1917, 134–35.

81 Heinrich Alfred Schmid, Antworten auf Emile Mâles

»Studien über die deutsche Kunst,« in: *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* X, 1917, 167.

82 Arthur Haseloff, Antworten auf Emile Mâles »Studien über die deutsche Kunst,« in: *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* X, 1917, 168–171, here 168.

83 Mâle/Monatshefte (as note 28), 62–63; Mâle/L'Art allemand (as note 28), 162–63.

84 Kurt Gerstenberg, *Deutsche Sondergotik*, Darmstadt 1969, xi (preface by the press to the 2nd edition).





Hochverehrter Herr Geheimrat, gestern erst wurde mir Ihr Schreiben aus Wien^{IV 403} nachge-
 richtet. Die Monatshefte f. Kunstw. haben mich auf-
 gefordert Mâle zu antworten. Ich werde es kurz
 und bündig tun. Bei der Empfehlung hatte ich
 an den Umweg über den Ägyptologen gedacht,
 aber dieser Weg ist wohl auch nicht gangbar.
 Jetzt kaputt es sehr mit dem Verlaufe, wenn
 hätte ich Anfang März auch in Frankfurt
 sein können. Grünewald in München? Da ist
 Muhammad von Brage gekommen!
 Unterscheid Handgelenk, Franzos Lufttorpedos u. Flügel-
 minen in unser Stellung, Karl Götz. The 17. Gen. unburg

6. Kurt Gerstenberg, postcard from the front to Heinrich Wölfflin,
 ca. 1916. Heinrich Wölfflin Nachlass, N95, IV, 403.
 Basel, Universitätsbibliothek

dertaken for the whole history of German archi-
 tecture. Although Gerstenberg, like Haseloff,
 viewed Mâle's essays as symptomatic of the times
 and of no consequence for art history he none-
 theless deemed it important that they be ans-

wered to. He wrote to Wölfflin from the field on
 a postcard with a photo of undetonated French
 »Lufttorpedos« and »Flügelminen in unser[e]
 Stellung« (fig. 6) that he had been asked to res-
 pond to Mâle and would do so »kurz und bün-

85 Kurt Gerstenberg to Heinrich Wölfflin, undated,
 Heinrich Wölfflin Nachlass, N95, IV no. 403. Basel,
 Sondersammlung, Universitätsbibliothek.

86 Kurt Gerstenberg, Antworten auf Emile Mâles ›Stu-
 dien über die deutsche Kunst,‹ in: *Monatshefte für
 Kunstwissenschaft* X, 1917, 132–133.

87 André Cornu, *Notice sur la vie et les travaux de Louis
 Réau (1881–1961)*, Paris 1962, 10.

88 Louis Réau, *Histoire de l'expansion de l'art français
 moderne*, Paris 1924–33, Vol. 1. *Le monde slave et l'o-
 rient* (1924); Vol. 2. *Belgique et Hollande* (1928); Vol. 3.
Pays scandinaves (1931); Vol. 4. *Le monde latin* (1933).
 For the context of these publications see Olga Med-
 vedkova, ›Scientifique ou intellectuelle? Louis Réau et
 la création de l'Institut français de Saint-Petersbourg,
 in: *Cahiers du Monde russe* XLIII, 2002, 415–416.



dig.«⁸⁵ In his response he argued for the original optical qualities of German space-defining forms (»raumbegrenzende Formen«). »Die innere Weisensfremdheit zwischen der deutschen Stimmungskunst und der Affektkunst romanischer Rassen« remained invisible to Mâle, with his poor knowledge of German architecture.⁸⁶

The Mâle essays and the German response to them had an impact beyond their art historical context. They became touchstones in a scholarly enmity that outlived the war that produced them. And the forms that the essays took – that is, a coordinated propaganda campaign – endured beyond the First World War. Although it is said that both sides avoided confrontation in the interwar years, Louis Réau (who, after serving as a German and Russian interpreter in the infantry became director of the Service de Presse Russe in the French foreign office during the Great War⁸⁷) picked up the mantle of Emile Mâle in the interwar years in a steady stream of publications asserting the superiority of French culture and demonstrating its worldwide dissemination.⁸⁸ Before Germany invaded France in 1940 the propaganda arm in the Auswärtiges Amt (now the Deutsche Informationsquelle) picked up the thread of the Mâle debates. Karl Epting's *Die französische Auslandspropaganda* (published under his pseudonym Matthias Schwabe) and Georg Rabuse's *Das Gesicht der französischen Wahrheit. Die Politisierung der französischen Geisteswissenschaften* (published under the pseudonym Georg Ostrich in a series edited by Epting; fig. 7) again accused their adversaries of turning science into propaganda.⁸⁹ Réau, now director of the French Institute in Vienna (1930–1938) is implicitly situated as the successor of Mâle in the anti-German propaganda. While the German scholars had framed their reaction to

⁸⁹ Matthias Schwabe, *Die französische Auslandspropaganda. Ihre Grundlagen und Voraussetzungen*, Berlin 1940. Georg Ostrich, *Das Gesicht der französischen Wahrheit. Die Politisierung der französischen Geisteswissenschaften*, Berlin 1940. Epting was the director of the DAAD in Paris 1934–40 and one of the key protagonists in French-German cultural propaganda in World War II. On Epting's activities and these



7. Georg Ostrich [Georg Rabuse], *Das Gesicht der französischen Wahrheit. Die Politisierung der französischen Geisteswissenschaften*, Berlin 1940

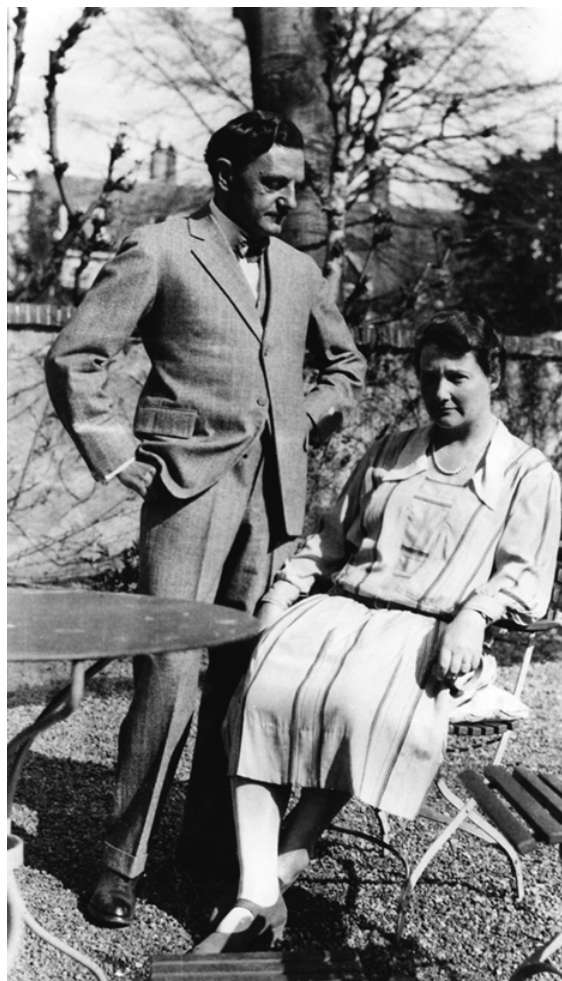
Mâle's essays as cool and objective and masked the origin of the project in the propaganda arm of the foreign ministry, French scholars were open about the propaganda content of their own writings or those of the Germans. Pierre Francastel wrote an entire book on the subject (based on lectures given in 1940–41), *L'histoire de l'art:*

publications in particular see Eckard Michels, *Das Deutsche Institut in Paris 1940–1944: ein Beitrag zu den deutsch-französischen Kulturbeziehungen und zur auswärtigen Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*, Stuttgart 1993, esp. 37–39.

*Instrument de la propaganda germanique.*⁹⁰ As Wilhelm Schlink has noted, Francastel drew a line directly from the Mâle essays and the response to them to art history under National Socialism.

Art historians of the ZfA after the war

Beyond the Mâle project, what were the consequences of the involvement on the part of art historians in the ZfA? The activities of the ZfA established practices that had lasting consequences for art history under National Socialism. But a line cannot be drawn directly from the wartime engagement of these art historian-publicists in World War I to their activities in World War II. What links the art historians I have been able to connect to the ZfA – and there may be more⁹² – seems to have been a combination of experience in journalism and some degree of political commitment or interest. (Connections also helped to bring these men into an office job rather than the army.) Fritz Wichert (fig. 8), for example, was a journalist who wrote on art between 1907 and 1909 for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.⁹³ Since 1909 he served as director of the progressive Mannheim Kunsthalle, as one of a group of museum directors around Alfred Lichtwark devoted to the democratization of the museum and the expansion of the museum-going public. To this end he established at the museum a successful teaching arm – the Akademie für Jeder-



8. Fritz Wichert and his second wife, Margaret, in Ostseebad Binz, 1922. Fritz Wichert Nachlass, Stadtarchiv, Mannheim

90 Pierre Francastel, *L'histoire de l'art, instrument de la propagande germanique*, Paris 1945.

91 Schlink (as note 65), 54. Dilly (as note 25), 143 also drew connection between Mâle essays and Francastel's *Propaganda germanique*.

92 Wilhelm Hausenstein (1882–1957), socialist and internationalist in orientation with some training in art history, Journalist by profession, and prior to the war on instructor in art history to Munich workers, was stationed in Brussels 1916–17 where he edited the German wartime cultural journal *Belfried*. August Grisebach was also stationed in Brussels. Johannes Werner, *Wilhelm Hausenstein. Ein Lebenslauf*, Munich 2005, 58–59, 63–67.

92 Manfred Fath, Fritz Wichert und die Mannheimer Kunsthalle, in: Johann Georg Prinz von Hohenzollern and Peter-Klaus Schuster, eds., *Von Manet bis*

Van Gogh: Hugo von Tschudi und die Kampf um die Moderne, Berlin 1996–1997, 313.

93 Fath (as note 93), 316–317.

94 Karoline Hille, *Spuren der Moderne. Die Mannheimer Kunsthalle von 1918 bis 1933*, Berlin 1994, 31–32. Hans Plehn, correspondent and historian, the poet Franz Dühlberg, Baron von der Heydt, the poet Rudolf Alexander Schröder were invited to The Hague. Friedrich Meinecke, *Erlebtes 1862–1919*, Stuttgart 1964, 208–9. 10 June 1916 Wölfflin wrote to his sister of his upcoming lectures in Brussels, Antwerp and Lüttich and of Wichert's invitation »nach dem Haag, als Gast der dortigen Botschafters v. Kühlmann, dem er sich offenbar unentbehrlich gemacht hat, und dem er nun auch für Gesellschaft sorgen zu müssen glaubt. Es wird sich aber kaum jetzt anschliessen lassen.« Gantner (as note 3), 297–98. 19 October 1916 Wi-



mann – and had garnered, by 1914, 12,000 members for his cultural Verein, the »Freier Bund zur Einbürgerung der Kunst.«⁹⁴ Wichert was an understandable choice for the ZfA precisely because of his experience in reaching a larger public through cultural activities. Well-connected in Holland by virtue of his marriage to a Dutch woman, Wichert served in The Hague as private secretary to the German ambassador (Richard von Kühlmann, also a patron of the arts who had attracted a group of intellectuals including Meinecke and Wölfflin to the Hague Gesandtschaft) and headed the Hilfsstelle der Deutschen Botschaft.⁹⁵ He was transferred to Berlin in 1917 when the cultivated von Kühlmann was appointed German foreign minister. Wichert clearly had a largely vision in this work. In his papers there is an organization plan for an expanded ZfA; he proposed that the many employees that would be needed to establish relations on Germany's behalf abroad be drawn above all from the pool of young historians, lawyers, economists and businessmen who had completed their studies.⁹⁶ In a letter written during the course of the war to Wölfflin – his Doktorvater and enduring friend – Wichert seemed so immersed in his present occupation that he could not imagine returning to the museum.⁹⁷ After the war he did return to Mannheim but with the collapse of the German economy the museum's prospects were limited. He moved to Frankfurt in 1923 as the director of the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, which he turned into a

leading art school rivalling the Bauhaus by the time of his dismissal in 1933 by the Nazis on the grounds of his »cultural Bolshevism.«⁹⁸ It is difficult to measure the impact of Wichert on the ZfA versus that of the ZfA on Wichert, for his program to bring art to the masses was compatible with the cultural politics and propaganda aims of the agency and was of continuing relevance in the Weimar years.⁹⁹ What is important to note is that it was not a foregone conclusion that an enthusiastic participant – which Wichert was – in this work would have been on the right. Wichert's interest in the democratization of art was put to use by the foreign ministry in World War I but was considered dangerous by the Nazis in 1933, who removed him from his position. After 1933 he retired and spent the rest of his life in the remote town of Kampen on the island of Sylt. The left helped develop the techniques in the first war that would exclude them from the second.

The art historian Werner Weisbach (fig. 9) was an assimilated Jew and art collector embedded by virtue of shared political, social and intellectual interests in the liberal circles of Hans Delbrück and Friedrich Meinecke before the war broke out. In his extended account of the war years in his memoirs Weisbach's daily activity in the ZfA is much less important than the company he kept with important protagonists of the war amongst the intelligentsia who belonged to the various politically-engaged friendship groups of which

chert wrote to Wölfflin that von Kühlmann had been reassigned before the arrangements for the lecture could be made and he had been reluctant to bring it up with Wölfflin again at all after hearing from him after his Belgian experience. Fritz Wichert to Heinrich Wölfflin, »Nun ist mein Beschützer aus dem Haag abberufen worden, ehe sich der Plan Ihres Besuches in Holland verwirklichen konnte. Offen gestanden hatte ich nach Ihrer kurzen Mitteilung, die wohl auch noch unter dem Eindruck der Vorträge in Belgien erfolgt war, keinen rechten Mut mehr, auf die Sache zurückzukommen. Oft habe ich das Bedürfnis gefühlt, Ihnen wieder etwas von uns zu erzählen.« Stadtarchiv Mannheim (henceforth StadtA MA), Nachlass Fritz Wichert, Zug. 22/1980, Nr. 22.

⁹⁶ Fritz Wichert to Wilhelm von Radowitz (Undersecretary, Auswärtiges Amt), 28 March 1917. StadtA

MA, Nachlass Fritz Wichert, Zug. 22/1980, Nr. 278, fols. 1–5.

⁹⁷ Fritz Wichert to Heinrich Wölfflin, 4 December 1916. StadtA MA, Nachlass Fritz Wichert, Zug. 22/1980, Nr. 672.

⁹⁸ Fritz Wichert, in: *Biographisches Handbuch deutschsprachiger Kunsthistoriker im Exil*, ed. Ulrike Wendland, II, 762. On Wichert's directorship of the school see Rolf Bothe, *Die Frankfurter Kunstschule 1923–1933*, in: Hans M. Wingler, ed., *Kunstschulreform 1900–1933*, Berlin 1977, 144–183.

⁹⁹ Kristina Kratz-Kessemeier, *Kunst für die Republik: die Kunstpolitik des preussischen Kultusministeriums 1918 bis 1932*, Berlin 2008, 43, 53–55, 176–77.





9. Werner Weisbach, undated photograph.
Nachlass Werner Weisbach, NL 91, A I e, 21.
Basel, Universitätsbibliothek

he was a member: the well-established Mittwochs-Gesellschaft, and, as founding member (June 1916), the Vereinigung Gleichgesinnter, which wary of »Alldeuschthum«, rather promoted the co-existence of a reasonable form of nationalism and cosmopolitanism.¹⁰⁰ As the head of the Italian press section he had a daily routine

100 On the Zentralstelle see Weisbach (as note 1), 142 ff.; on the various *Vereine* in which he was a member, see the chapter, »Kriegszeit.«

101 Werner Weisbach, Expulsions les Barbares, in: *Deutsche Politik. Wochenschrift für Welt- und kultur-Politik* I, 1916, no. 12, 553–558, here 557.

102 »Um auf eine finanzielle Sicherstellung der Zeitschrift hinzuwirken, wandte ich mich an meinen Fachkollegen, den mir befreundeten Professor Aby Warburg in Hamburg, der damals an politischen Fragen starken Anteil nahm [...] Er bekundete auch seinerseits volles Einverständnis mit unserem Plan und trat mit den Brüdern in Verhandlung.« Weisbach (as note 1), 149–150. Several letters from Aby Warburg that deal with the journal are to be found in the Weisbach Nachlass (Universitätsbibliothek Basel).

of reading newspapers and writing digests. A review of Otto Grautoff's *Kunstverwaltung* published in March 1916 comes out so critical of France's anti-Catholic »Gemeindemokratie« that it suggests that the article was written as part of his service to the ZfA.¹⁰¹ But Weisbach's perspective does not seem to have been formed by the ZfA – or, rather, there was room for liberal thinkers within the ZfA. Although he was, like many German intellectuals, – stirred by the war his membership in the »Vereinigung Gleichgesinnter« suggests he had pacifist leanings – a nationalist to the left of center. During the war he wrote more than a handful of articles about the war in journals and newspapers. And he engaged with other like-minded intellectuals (1915–16) in the effort to found a new liberal political journal (»Deutsche Monatsblätter« was the proposed title), for which he gained the support of Aby Warburg but which, for various reasons, never saw print.¹⁰² In 1915 he published a pamphlet, »Kriegsziele und deutscher Idealismus,« in which he strongly opposed the German annexation of Belgium.¹⁰³ After the war he published an article about the Italian pre-war perception of the character of modern Germany, Wilhelm II and, especially, Pangermanism, as a preamble to anti-German propaganda during the war which, according to Weisbach, Germans should have been aware of long ago.¹⁰⁴ He soberly described how during the war German intellectuals »mit weltpolitischen Allüren« but lacking a »Weltblick« had fundamentally com-

103 Weisbach (as note 1), 131–32, 135–38.

104 Werner Weisbach, Das moderne Deutschland im Spiegel italienischer Vorstellungen, in: *Preussische Jahrbücher* CLXXX, 1920, 197–215.

105 Ibid., 213–215.

106 Weisbach (as note 1), 300–301.

107 There is a large bibliography on Meinecke around and after World War I. I have consulted especially Stefan Meinecke, Friedrich Meinecke und der »Krieg der Geister,« in: Wolfgang J. Mommsen, ed., *Kultur und Krieg: Die Rolle der Intellektuellen, Künstler und Schriftsteller im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Munich 1996, 97–117; Robert A. Pois, *Friedrich Meinecke and German Politics in the Twentieth Century*, Berkeley 1972, esp. 26–48; Weisbach (as note 1), 200–202.

108 Werner Weisbach, *Nationalismus – Übernationale*.



promised themselves. In calling for less irony and a higher standard of truthfulness and responsibility in post-war journalism (»Publizistik«), like Grautoff Weisbach engaged himself in the »Verständigungspolitik.«¹⁰⁵ He noted with approval that in the wake of the war Ernst Steinmann, restored as director of the Bibliotheca Hertziana, was dedicated to international understanding, creating international gatherings from which only the French Academy under the direction of Emile Mâle, who, Weisbach wrote, was a chauvinist, remained aloof.¹⁰⁶

At the end of hostilities and in the midst of a revolution at home, in collaboration with Friedrich Meinecke Weisbach became politically active in the student pacifism movement, convinced of the necessity to channel the revolutionary potential of the students into democratic organizations.¹⁰⁷ In this context Weisbach himself gave a lecture at the university on the theme of »Internationalismus – Übernationale Gemeinschaft – Völkerbund« in which he argued strongly against nationalism – often a caricature of patriotism (»eine Karicatur des Nationalgefühls«) – and for a supranational attitude (»eine übernationale Gesinnung«) and a sense of humanity (»ein Humanitätsgefühl«).¹⁰⁸ His employment in the ZfA also left a noticeable trace in the art historical work that he laboured on at night during the war years. *Der Barock als Kunst der Gegenreformation* (1921), one of the first books to make a serious effort to place the art of the period in the context of Catholic spirituality, was also the first

to consider this art – without judgment – as an art of propaganda.¹⁰⁹

Otto Grautoff translated his occupation with writing anti-French (or pro-German) cultural propaganda during the war into a career as cultural mediator afterwards. At that time he founded and directed the Deutsche Französische Gesellschaft, a product of the post-war »Verständigungspolitik« that sought to reconcile France and Germany. In this endeavour Grautoff returned to his pre-war associations with prominent pacifists like Romain Rolland who maintained before, during and after the war that artists and intellectuals should be above politics. But by 1930, as the National Socialists consolidated their power, »understanding« was no longer a goal of German foreign policy and the word was stricken from the official political vocabulary.¹¹⁰ When Grautoff's organization, viewed by the Nazis in 1933 as a Jewish cell, was cut off from funds from the Auswärtiges Amt he fled for Paris where he died in 1937 just before his planned emigration to North America. The protagonists of the Weimar policy like Grautoff were marginalized, suffering a similar fate as Weisbach would in 1933.¹¹¹

Albert Erich Brinckmann (fig 10), like Wichert a student of Wölfflin with experience in journalism, served in the army for one year (1916–17) before being called to serve in the German Gesandtschaft in The Hague (likely by his friend Wichert).¹¹² He spent two years there writing newspaper articles and producing propaganda

Gemeinschaft – Völkerbund. Lecture held at the Universitätsgebäude in Berlin, 28 February 1919. Published in the *Schriften des demokratischen Studentenbundes Berlin* Heft 4, 3–19, here 8.

¹⁰⁹ Werner Weisbach, *Der Barock als Kunst der Gegenreformation*, Berlin 1921; Weisbach (as note 1), 193–94. See further Evonne Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, Berkeley 2004, 39, on the significance of Weisbach's formulation. Weisbach would point out in 1933 that in the most important book to take up his own propositions, Emile Mâle neglected to cite his or any other German author's work on the subject. Werner Weisbach, Review of Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente, Étude sur l'iconographie de la fin du XVIe siècle, du XVIIe, du XVIIIe siècle*, in: *Historische Zeitschrift* CLXXXVIII, 1933, 590.

¹¹⁰ Belitz (as note 15), 212.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 213.

¹¹² He served 1 February 1916 to 31 August 1917 in the »3. Landsturm Infanterie Ers. Batl. Karlsruhe« (1 year 184 days) and from 1 September 1917 to 31 December 1918 in the Auswärtiges Amt at the Deutschen Gesandtschaft in The Hague. Personal-Hauptakte Prof. Dr. Brinckmann, Erich. 1912–1944, Abt. 14/239, fol. 19. Universitätsarchiv, Frankfurt am Main. Some of his activity in The Hague can be reconstructed from documents in the papers of Fritz Wichert (Stadtarchiv Mannheim) and in the Auswärtiges Amt (Bundesarchiv, Berlin). There is nothing from this period in Brinckmann's own papers in Cologne. Brinckmann's activity, likely as a freelance journalist, is in evidence in his bibliography of writ-





10. A. E. Brinckmann, 1928 or before

pamphlets (»bewegliche Propaganda,« fig. 11¹³), maintaining relations with the press, organizing lecture tours in Holland by German professors and himself giving lectures on urbanism (»Stadt-baukunst«), one of his areas of expertise.¹⁴ After one of these lectures Brinckmann was praised by Jan Hendrik Valckenier Kips, the Dutch state-theorist and author of *Der Deutsche Staatsgedanke* (Leipzig 1916), evidently a German sympathiser: »Übrigens war der gestrige Abend auch politisch ein schöner Erfolg, eben weil von Politik gar nicht die Rede war. Wie Sie so vornehm-objektiv Frankreich, England, Italien und Holland lobten, gaben Sie doch wieder ganz von selbst ein Beispiel vom deutschen Geiste und

ten work. See Hans Ladendorf and Hildegard Brinckmann, *A. E. Brinckmann. Verzeichnis der Schriften*, Cologne 1961.

113 Brinckmann attached this (»Probe der beweglichen

deutscher Kultur, das auf die Dauer seine Wirkung nicht verfehlt. So jammerte einer der anwesenden Kollegen in seiner Antrittsrede über die Schäden an den Architekturmonumenten in Nord-Frankreich: jetzt hat derselbe Kollege Ihre Stadtbaukunst gewürdigt und Sie als Gast eingeladen. So haben Sie gestern unbedingt wieder viele Köpfe und Herzen für das deutsche Wesen ohne jede direkte Propaganda eröffnet.«¹⁵

Brinckmann passed the praising letter from Valckenier Kips on to his superior who sent it on to his, using the occasion to write a few words about the propagandistic efficacy of academic lectures: »Diese unaufdringliche und vornehme Form der deutschen Propaganda bringt den Holländer, der sich eine politische Überzeugung nur widerwillig aufdrängen last, auf dem Umwege über die Kunst und durch die allgemeine Sympathie für die Persönlichkeit des Vortragenden allmählich dem Verständnis für deutsche Wesensart näher und zeitigt, wie Professor Valckenier Kips treffend ausführt, deshalb politische Werte, weil von Politik hierbei nicht gesprochen wird.«¹⁶

His lectures also provided the occasion to repair some of the damage done to Germany around the reaction to the destruction of French and Belgian monuments. Brinckmann reported that he was the guest after one of his lectures in Delft with the professor of architecture van der Steur, »der seinerzeit den scharfen Protest gegen die Zerstörung von Kunstdenkmälern durch Deutsche unterzeichnet hat. Er sprach mir selbst von einem Irrtum, den er damals begangen habe.«¹⁷ Brinckmann was learning the principles of propaganda theory in real time, as they were being formed.

After the cessation of hostilities Brinckmann was reluctant to leave The Hague (he had a post as Privatdozent at Karlsruhe waiting for him). When he did return to teaching, though, he maintained his contacts with the Auswärtiges Amt. In a letter written to the Ministry of Edu-

Propaganda – solch eine Karte gebe ich alle vierzehn Tage heraus«) to a letter to Fritz Wichert, 10 December 1917. StadtA MA, Nachlass Fritz Wichert, Zug. 22/1980, nr. 608, fol. 24.

LET WEL!

BELGISCHE POLITICI
OVER **31**
ENGELAND.

Baron **BEYENS**, sedert 1912 gezant van België in Servië,
later Belgisch Minister van Buitenlandsche Zaken.
E. DE CARTIER, zaakgelastigde van België te Londen.
Baron **GREINDL**, gezant van België te Berlijn.
Baron **GUILLAUME**, gezant van België te Parijs.
Graaf **LALAING**, gezant van België te Londen.
Graaf **URSEL**, zaakgelastigde van België te Berlijn.

Overal waar Engeland Duitsland moeilijkheden in den weg kan leggen, maakt het dadelijk van de gelegenheid gebruik (Graaf URSEL 1905). Wanneer Engeland op zekeren dag Duitsland aanvalt, alleen om zich van een mededinger te ontdoen, dan zou het daarmee slechts zijn oude principes volgen (Baron GREINDL 1905). □
De ware oorzaak van den haat der Engelschen tegen Duitsland is de naijver. De hoogste eerezucht van Keizer Wilhelm is het handhaven van de vrede gedurende zijn regeering (Baron GREINDL 1905). □
De gansche kracht der Engelsche diplomatie is gericht op de isoleering van Duitsland (DE CARTIER 1907). □
De ijver, waarmede Engeland mogendheden (Spanje, Italië), die door niemand bedreigd worden, voor zoogenaamde verdedigingsdoeleinden tracht te vereenigen, kan met het volste recht achterdocht wekken. Men kan te Berlijn het aanbod van 100.000 man van Engeland aan den heer DELCASSE niet vergeten (Baron GREINDL 1907). □

11. Propaganda pamphlet produced by A. E. Brinckmann in The Hague, December 1917. Fritz Wichert Nachlass, Zugang 22/1980, nr. 608, 31

- 114 In addition to the traces of Brinckmann's service in The Hague in his and Wichert's papers (see note 111) Brinckmann's own scrapbooks of newspaper clippings (left to the library of the Cologne Kunsthistorisches Institut) contain numerous articles from this period written by him and about his lectures.
- 115 Copy of a letter from Prof. Dr. Jan Hendrik Valckenier Kips to Albert Erich Brinckmann attached to (and referred to in) a letter of 2 March 1918 from Friedrich Rosen (leader of The Hague Gesandtschaft from November 1916), to Graf von Hertling, R901,

- Nr. 71885, fols. 18–19. Bundesarchiv, Berlin. Maria Keipert, Peter Grupp, ed., *Biographisches Handbuch des deutschen Auswärtigen Dienstes 1871–1945*, s.v. Friedrich Rosen, Paderborn et al. 2000, Vol. 3, 721f.
- 116 Rosen (Kaiserlich Deutsche Gesandtschaft, Den Haag) to Graf von Hertling, 2 March 1918. R901, Nr. 71885, fol. 17. Bundesarchiv, Berlin.
- 117 A. E. Brinckmann, report on academic lectures in Holland, April 1918. R901, Nr. 71885, fol. 31. Bundesarchiv, Berlin.



cation on the 18th of August 1920, requesting permission to travel to Holland to give a series of lectures, he noted that he had been employed in the German embassy there and was co-founder of the »Niederländische Gesellschaft für internationalen wissenschaftlichen Verkehr« which had invited German professors to Holland. He saw these lectures as a continuation of the propaganda work he started during the war. The request sounds like that of a young academic making the case for being allowed to travel during the teaching semester by invoking a higher purpose to the authorities. But he goes one step further in communicating that he would use the occasion to meet with one of the »leading English pacifists« he knew before the war and in whom the Auswärtiges Amt had an interest. He asks that this part of his trip be kept in confidence.¹¹⁸ This suggests that Brinckmann tried to resolve his professional vulnerabilities by making himself (in addition to his work) a matter of state interest.

The representational aspect of his war work clearly appealed to Brinckmann in ways that only became fully evident when the Nazis came to power and he consistently sought out professional situations in which he could act as representative of the Third Reich (as when he represented Germany at the 1933 meeting of the Comité International d'Histoire de l'Art, or presented one of his publications to Mussolini). Whether a true believer in National Socialism or an opportunist, Brinckmann saw his activity as a scholar in a political framework: in a questionnaire which he filled out in October 1934, under »Politische Betätigung« he noted his »Beziehungen kulturpolitischer Art zu Italien und Frank-

reich (Vorträge und wissenschaftliche Arbeiten)«,¹¹⁹ and in another questionnaire completed sometime after May 1933 (and likely not much later) he notes his activity in »Kulturpropaganda«¹²⁰ – throughout the Weimar period the two terms were used interchangeably.¹²¹ Not surprisingly, in his de-Nazification process Brinckmann would say that his lectures and writings were of a purely scientific nature.¹²²

Although Brinckmann's work focused on Baroque sculpture, architecture and »Stadtbaukunst« (especially though not exclusively Italian) he was animated throughout his career by competition with the French view of art history and its international success in conveying the superiority of French art and art history. From the opening citation of Burckhardt in his 1915 survey of Baroque architecture – »Ein wahrhaft reiches Volk wird dadurch reich, dass es vieles von anderen übernimmt und weiterbildet« – Brinckmann fortified German art history against the message of Mâle's infamous essays. In defending his position at the Berlin University in 1935 he would write to his National Socialist Minister of Education: »Als besondere Aufgabe stellte und stelle ich mir den Kampf für die Weltgeltung deutscher Kunstwissenschaft.«¹²³ Emile Mâle had opened his essay, »L'Art des peuples germaniques,« by invoking the great difficulty of talking about German art: »cette lourde tristesse que Mme de Staël sentit peser sur elle quand elle eut franchi le Rhin [...]«. He thus reverses the sentiment of a writer who had, for decades, represented a positive French view of Germany through its romantic philosophers. It is not likely to have been coincidental that Brinckmann put together

118 Albert Erich Brinckmann to the »Regierungsvertreter der Universität Rostock,« 18 August 1920. Universität Personal-Hauptakte Prof. Dr. Brinckmann, Erich. 1912–1944. UAF, Abt. 14, Nr. 239, fol. 234. Universitätsarchiv, Frankfurt am Main.

119 Fragebogen, 1934. Personal-Akten Prof. Dr. A. E. Brinckmann. UK, B422, I, 1. Universitätsarchiv, Berlin.

120 Fragebogen, »Die Deutsche Dozentenschaft,« after May 19, 1933. Personalakten Albert Erich Brinckmann, B422, II, 2 verso. Universitätsarchiv, Berlin.

121 Kurt Düwell, *Deutschlands Auswärtige Kulturpolitik*

1918–1932. *Grundlinien und Dokumente*, Cologne/Vienna 1976, esp. 31–33.

122 »Meine Reden und Schriften sind rein kunst- und geisteswissenschaftlicher Art, haben jedoch stets meine kulturpolitische Überzeugung betont: dass jede Nation abhängig von allen anderen Nationen ist und dass der europäische Geist international ist.« A. E. Brinckmann, »Fragebogen Anlage 2.« UAF, Abt. 4, Nr. 1089b, Teil II, fol. 102. Universitätsarchiv, Frankfurt am Main.

123 Albert Erich Brinckmann to the Reichserziehungs-



a small volume of quotes from Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* for his »Geistiges Europa« series that topples Mâle's use of de Staël as testimony against German art.¹²⁴ Brinckmann countered: »Weniger ihr Geist, mehr ihre Einbildungskraft charakterisiert die Deutschen.«¹²⁵

Brinckmann's real nemesis, though, was the German-trained Louis Réau, whose work on the triumph of French art worldwide amplified Mâle's themes about the derivative nature of German art.¹²⁶ Brinckmann, who had travelled to St. Petersburg in 1914 where he is very likely to have seen the French Institute which Réau directed from 1911 through 1913, had a long-standing ambition – stimulated by Réau's success¹²⁷ – to found and direct a German research institute to parallel and counter the successful French institutes in St. Petersburg and Vienna (both of which Réau directed). For years he tried to animate the idea of a German Institute arguing that Germans needed to match the resources of French cultural propaganda. This is amply clear in a proposal put forward by Brinckmann in early 1938 to the president of the Reichsbank, Hjalmar Schacht. At this time Brinckmann had won Schacht's support for his »Geistiges Europa« series of short books on European topics that aimed to show how indispensable Germany was to European culture and science. But Brinckmann wanted more. He wrote up his proposal for a German institute abroad:

»Forschungsgemeinschaft für deutsche Kunst
und Wissenschaft in Europa
Begründung und Ziel

Die normalen Methoden der Propaganda können gegenüber aussenpolitischen, durch und durch kritischen Gegnern keine Anwendung finden.

So ist grundlegend für den ungeheuren Erfolg der französischen Kulturwerbung der von französischen Wissenschaftlern in minutiöser Kleinarbeit erbrachte Beweis, dass seit einem Vierteljahrtausend Franzosen die grossen Kulturträger und Kulturbringer für Europa sind. (u. a. L. Réau: *Histoire de l'Expansion de l'Art française* 1928).

Für italienische Kulturwerbung wiederum arbeiten erfolgreich italienische Wissenschaftler mit der von Rom geschaffenen Antike, mit italienischer Kunst und Kultur, die seit langer Zeit für alle Kulturnationen Gültigkeit haben.

Von geringen Ausnahmen abgesehen hat die deutsche Wissenschaft ihre Kräfte in dieser staatspolitisch wichtigen Richtung noch nicht entfaltet, denn der »Germanismus« ist vorläufig eine deutsche, noch keine europäische Angelegenheit. Leider sah gerade die deutsche geisteswissenschaftliche Forschung unter dem Einfluss des Entwicklungsgedankens eine ihrer Hauptaufgaben darin, spezifisch deutsche Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiet der Kunst, Wissenschaft und Philosophie abzuleiten, häufig aus Fremdem abzuleiten. Der unglückliche Erfolg solcher objektiven Forschungsart ist, dass das Ausland Selbständigkeit und Notwendigkeit der deutschen Kultur bestreitet, oftmals sogar auf Grund deutscher Forschungen (Mâle, Reynaud als krasseste und wirksamste Beispiele).

minister and the Ministerialdirektor Dr. Vahlen through the dean and rector of the University 26 July 1935 (Copy). Personalakten Albert Erich Brinckmann, UAF, Abt. 14, Nr. 239, fol. 251. Universitätsarchiv, Frankfurt am Main.

¹²⁴ Mâle/L'Art allemand (as note 28), 5.

¹²⁵ *Madame de Staël. Deutschland und Frankreich*, Übertragungen und Nachwort von A. E. Brinckmann, Hamburg 1941, 11.

¹²⁶ Isabelle Dubois, Louis Réau, Médiateur malgré lui: »Les Primitifs Allemands« (1910), in: Alexandre

Kostka and Françoise Lucbert, ed., *Distanz und Aneignung: 1870–1945. Kunstbeziehungen zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich / Relations artistiques entre la France et l'Allemagne* (Passagen / passages, 8), Berlin 2004, 161–176.

¹²⁷ Brinckmann knew Réau (perhaps as far back as 1903 when Réau studied in Berlin) and some surviving letters from the war and after preserved in Brinckmann's papers show a tense though collegial relationship.

Dieser Fehler wird nicht korrigiert, wenn nun ohne genügend kritisches Wissen die deutsche Kultur schlechthin gepriesen wird. Denn das Ausland wird solchen Behauptungen erst Glauben schenken, wenn ihm die Grösse und Leistung deutscher Kultur in Bezug auf das Ausland selbst dargelegt werden. Mit anderen Worten: wenn der exakte Nachweis geliefert wird, wieviel Deutschland zum Aufbau einer europäischen Kultur beitrug.

Die Hauptthemen unserer auswärtigen Kulturpropaganda, Konzerte, Kunstausstellungen, Vorträge werden dann erst in die Tiefe wirken, wenn für sie eine ständige Aufnahmebereitschaft vorhanden ist, die auf der Überzeugung des Ausländers von der Bedeutung und Notwendigkeit deutscher Kultur beruht. Ohne diese Überzeugung werden deutsche kulturelle Darbietungen meist nur als Leistungen des Einzelnen gewertet: so bejubelt man nicht deutsche Musik, sondern den Dirigenten Furtwängler, also den Einzelfall, nicht das Kulturgut eines Volkes.

Gleichartige französische Veranstaltungen haben den Vorteil, dass sie nicht erst die Überlegenheit französischer Kultur dartun wollen, sondern die Überzeugung von ihr nur zu illustrieren brauchen: der Boden ist langsam und sorgsam in der Wiege vorbereitet.

Tragisch hat sich dieser Unterschied zwischen französischem und deutschem Kulturanpruch während des Krieges ausgewirkt. Dass er noch heute offen oder geheim besteht, dass man die deutsche Kultur keineswegs als notwendigen Bestandteil der europäischen empfindet, dass man glaubt, uns aus der europäischen Kulturgemeinschaft ohne Schaden für diese ausschliessen zu können, kann jeder Kenner selbst des neutralen Auslandes (Skandinavien) bestätigen.

Nur zwingende Beweise können solche Überzeugung im Ausländer erwecken. Sie zu geben ist eine Aufgabe national-verantwortungsvoller und zielbewusster Wissenschaft.

1. Ihr ist es möglich, zu zeigen, dass die deutsche Kunst, Wissenschaft und Philosophie nicht nur rezeptiv, sondern im höchsten Sinne schöpferisch ist.

2. Ihr ist es möglich, Grösse und Umfang der Wirkung zu zeigen, die die deutsche Kultur auf andere europäische Länder ausgeübt hat.
3. Sie kann beweisen, dass innerhalb der gesamteuropäischen Kultur die deutsche Kultur ein integrierender Bestandteil war und sein wird.

Letzten Endes handelt es sich um eine besondere Ausrichtung der deutschen Wissenschaft. Die grossen Schwierigkeiten einer solchen Aufgabe bestehen darin, dass für Arbeiten in dieser Richtung grosse Kenntnis des Eigenen aber ebenso grosse Kenntnis der Fremden Voraussetzung sind.

Es wird vieler Jahre bedürfen, um eine solche wissenschaftliche und zugleich staatspolitische Ausrichtung zu schaffen, die Arbeit jedoch kann sofort beginnen, wenn das Ziel erkannt ist.

Forschungsgemeinschaft für deutsche Kunst und Wissenschaft in Europa. Methode

1. Die Erforschung der Stellung deutscher Kunst und Wissenschaft in Europa hat propagandistische Ziele, nicht aber propagandistischen Charakter. Sie darf nicht als Kulturpropaganda wirken, sondern bewahrt in jeder Weise ihre wissenschaftliche Haltung.
2. Sie erreicht ihr Ziel durch Sammlung von deutschen Wissenschaftlern auf den Gebieten der Kunst-, Literatur-, Musikgeschichte und der Philosophie, die die Stellung deutscher Wissenschaft und Kunst in Europa zu untersuchen in der Lage sind.
3. Zielsetzung in enger Verbindung mit einem Konstanzgremium und praktische Arbeitsteilung unter meiner Leitung. Ständige und gelegentliche Mitarbeiter, unter letzteren auch ausserdeutsche Mitarbeiter, z.B. [für] italienische Forschung über den Einfluss Dürers auf die italienische Kunst.
4. Herausgabe von Heften (nicht Propagandabroschüren) unter Nennung der Forschungsgemeinschaft, möglichst in regelmässigen Zeitabschnitten.

Damit wird erreicht, dass die Arbeit sofort wirksam wird. Das erste Heft müsste in Jahresfrist erscheinen und zunächst alle genannten Gebiete berühren. Später dann für die Einzelhefte wechselnde Hauptthemen. Kein Aufsatz länger als 4–6 Seiten. Ausserdem kürzere Miszellen. Der Inhalt ist gedacht für Deutsche im Inland und besonders im Ausland, für Kaufleute, Politiker, Diplomaten und Wissenschaftler.

Auf solche Weise wird zunächst Material gewonnen, das später ergänzt und abgerundet in Buchform erscheinen kann.«¹²⁸

Both in its methods and themes Brinckmann's research institute stems from the propaganda wars of World War I, for in his eyes the problems of the first war had in the current situation only become more intolerable. Citing Mâle again and now also Louis Réau, he lamented the absence of a German institute whose program was still twenty years later a response to Mâle's main thesis: that Germany was artistically a passive, not a creative nation, influenced by others, not vice versa. In Brinckmann's view a German counterpart to Louis Réau's obnoxiously expansionist series of books on French art was needed. As we have seen, the techniques to be employed – to achieve propaganda goals but with works of a scientific, not a propagandistic, character – come straight out of his experience at The Hague Hilfsstelle.

Conclusion

A few observations emerge from this investigation into the activities of art historians in the employ of the Auswärtiges Amt. First, at least three of these four art historians connected to the ZfA seem to have been liberal in their politics. About Brinckmann's views or sympathies at this

moment there is little evidence and it is, typically, contradictory. Werner Weisbach (who would become his colleague in Berlin in 1931) says that Brinckmann's immediate and opportunistic embrace of National Socialism was surprising insofar as »[er] bisher niemals aus seiner liberalen, demokratischen und pazifistischen Gesinnung ein Hehl gemacht hatte.«¹²⁹ If Brinckmann was indeed liberal in his outlook during the Weimar period his remark about keeping an eye on an English pacifist might suggest otherwise, or at least paint a consistent picture of opportunism. The propaganda activities these liberal-thinking men embraced, while developing the administrative structures for its organization and its early forms, would later fall into the hands of the right with very different results. Looking at the case of Wichert it is clear that the propaganda necessary to a total war effort coincided with the socialist outlook that led him to seek a broader public for the art museum that he had been pursuing before the war. Whereas Grautoff turned back to the left after the first war into a project that could not be absorbed by the right, Brinckmann saw the compatibility of the patriotic efforts of the first war with the second. Werner Weisbach absorbed his propaganda activity into his thinking about media and diffusion of the Baroque. A »Vernunftrepublikaner« who was deeply impressed by the rocky fate of the intelligentsia during the war, he seems to have served loyally but without illusion. He registered in his memoir the radical change of attitude towards him between the two wars, from having been thanked for his service to ZfA after the first war while the National Socialist government prohibited the publication of his work, as Jews were little by little excluded from public life.¹³⁰ The deep and bitter irony is that from 1933 the techniques that all of

¹²⁸ A. E. Brinckmann, proposal for a »Forschungsgemeinschaft für deutsche Kunst und Wissenschaft in Europa«, 10 January 1938. Brinckmann Nachlass, Kunsthistorisches Institut der Albertus-Magnus-Universität Köln.

¹²⁹ Weisbach (as note 1), 334.

¹³⁰ »Mit dem Ende des Jahres war ich aus meinem

Dienst beim Presseamt geschieden und konnte mich nun wieder ganz wissenschaftlicher Tätigkeit und meinen Vorlesungen widmen. Vom Auswärtigen Amt wurde mir beim Austritt in einem Schreiben ein lobendes Zeugnis für meine Leistungen im Dienste des Vaterlandes ausgestellt. Es bildet sozusagen ein Gegenstück zu einem Schreiben, das ich fünfzehn



these men helped to develop in the Great War would be used to cast some of these very same people as »cultural bolscheviks« and Jews and

would be employed in order to marginalize them from a state they had once served with so much dedication and enthusiasm.

Jahre später von den nationalsozialistischen Regierung empfing, in dem mir wegen nationaler Unzu-

verlässigkeit jede schriftstellerische Betätigung verboten wurde.« Weisbach (as note 1), 203.

Photo credits: 1 Paul Clemen, *Der Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf dem westlichen Kriegsschauplatz*, Leipzig 1916, 28, fig. 49. – 2 Paul Clemen. *Zur 125. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstags* (as note 11), 167. – 3 Kostka/Lucbert (as note 124), 121. – 4, 6, 9 Universitätsbibliothek, Basel. – 5 Parthas Verlag. – 7, 10 Author. – 8, 11 Stadtarchiv, Mannheim

