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# INTERACTIONS BETWEEN THE IMPERIAL AND ROYAL CENTRAL COMMISSION FOR THE PRESERVATION OF MONUMENTS AND THE CONSERVATOR MILIEUS IN GALICIA

## COMPETING COMPETENCES

As one of the intermediary bodies in the Habsburg Monarchy, the *k. k. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege* (Imperial and Royal Central Commission for the Preservation of Monuments; below, the 'Central Commission'), subordinated to the Ministry of Culture and Education, was established in 1850 in Vienna.<sup>1</sup> The founding was part of the institutionalisation of monument protection in Europe. But whereas in France with the *patrimoine*, and the *vaterländische Kultur* [patriotic culture] in the German lands, a nationally defined concept of monuments was constituted, the Central Commission for Monument Preservation was to measure up to the multinational cultural heritage in the multi-ethnic Empire and act as a 'cultural cement'.<sup>2</sup> This was a difficult balancing act, because, until 1911, the Central Commission was only active in an advisory capacity, supported by a network of – honorary – local conservators and correspondents in the individual crown lands of the monarchy, who for their part mostly thought and acted in national categories.

This was also the case in Galicia, where the social structures of the Polish-Lithuanian noble republic persisted

even after its partition in the late 18<sup>th</sup> c. and the annexation of its southern part by the Habsburg monarchy: key positions in the intellectual and cultural spheres as well as in state administration and regional politics were filled by Poles. Their influence grew with the establishment of the Diet (*Sejm Krajowy/Landtag*) of Galicia and Lodomeria in 1861 and the granting of full autonomy in 1873.<sup>3</sup> In the eastern parts, especially in Lemberg (pl. Lwów, ukr. Lviv), the capital of the crown land, the representatives of the Ukrainian interests – until the later 19<sup>th</sup> c. still called Rusyns (pl. Rusini, ukr. Rusyny) – tried to assert their political and cultural demands against Polish dominance.<sup>4</sup> The historic Polish royal city of Cracow with the venerable Jagiellonian University and the Academy of Arts and Sciences (*Akademia Umiejętności*), founded in 1872, developed into the focal point of Polish intellectual life, including across the partition borders.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See D. GAWRECKI, 'Der Landtag von Galizien und Lodomerien', in: *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, Vol. 7: *Verfassung und Parlamentarismus*, part II: *Die regionalen Repräsentativkörperschaften*, eds. H. RUMPLER, P. URBANITSCH, Wien 2000, pp. 2131–2170.

<sup>4</sup> On that issue, see the chapter *Lemberg und Galizien im Habsburger Reich* in CH. MICK, *Kriegserfahrungen in einer multiethnischen Stadt: Lemberg 1914–1947*, Wiesbaden 2010, here pp. 28–68.

<sup>5</sup> See F. ZIEJKA, "'Tu wszystko jest Polska...'" (o roli Krakowa w życiu duchowym Polaków w wieku XIX), *Rocznik Krakowski*, 62, 1996, pp. 31–51; W. BAŁUS, *Krakau zwischen Traditionen und Wegen in die Moderne*, Stuttgart 2003. On the self-positioning of Poles and Ukrainians in the Habsburg Monarchy and the changes appearing during WWI, P. SZLANTA, 'Der lange Abschied der Polen von Österreich', in: *Die Habsburger Monarchie und der Erste Weltkrieg, Teilband 1: Der Kampf um die Neuordnung Mitteleuropas*,

<sup>1</sup> Fundamental publications on the history are TH. BRÜCKLER, *Zur Geschichte der österreichischen Denkmalpflege. Die Ära Helfert, Teil I, 1863–1891*, Wien 2020; M. FINGERNAGEL-GRÜLL, *Zur Geschichte der österreichischen Denkmalpflege. Die Ära Helfert, Teil II, 1892–1910*, Wien 2019.

<sup>2</sup> B. EULER-ROLLE, 'Zum genetischen Code der österreichischen Denkmalpflege', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 73, 2019, no. 1/2: *100 Jahre Republik. Denkmalpflege zwischen Monarchie und Republik*, ed. P. MAHRINGER, pp. 25–34, here p. 26.

In 1856, the Central Commission appointed the first honorary conservators for Western and Eastern Galicia in Cracow and Lviv, respectively. Since the staff proposals came out of the respective crown lands, the positions in Galicia were always filled by Poles until the end of the monarchy.<sup>6</sup> This did not mean that the preservation of synagogues, or of the characteristic wooden churches of the Greek Catholic Church, whose believers mostly belonged to the Ukrainian population group, would be neglected – this was precisely what the system of the Central Commission was supposed to take care of.

Undoubtedly, however, the ‘Polish’-coded cultural heritage was in the foreground. In 1889, at the latest, when both Western and Eastern Galicia were merged into a Board of Conservators (Grono Konserwatorów),<sup>7</sup> the Polish conservators began to pursue an autonomous course vis-à-vis the Viennese Central Commission. Polish publications on the subject, for example by Marzena Woźny and Leszek Sobol on the West Galician Board,<sup>8</sup> and the recent study on the Lviv Conservator Mieczysław Potocki by Agnieszka Groniek,<sup>9</sup> keep stressing the achievements of the Boards for the preservation of the national cultural heritage. Their attempts at emancipation are presented as necessary steps for the safeguarding of their own interests vis-à-vis ‘Vienna’.

Based on archival records in the Austrian State Archives,<sup>10</sup> I would like to contrast this with the perspective of the Viennese leadership of the Central Commission, where the Polish activities were critically observed from the very beginning: ‘Galician conservators have a plan to break away from the Central Commission, and form their own Galician Board of Conservators under the

authority of the Diet,’ commented Heinrich von Zeißberg (1839–1899), a member of the Central Commission and a specialist on Polish history, who had spent several years in Lviv, on the news of the Galician Board founding.<sup>11</sup> My reflections will extend to the aftermath of the First World War; the *Kunstschutz* activities during the War will play a special role here.

## ‘CONSERVATION INSTEAD OF RESTORATION’

In the context of the restoration of the Royal Castle on the Wawel Hill in Cracow, tensions grew in particular between the West Galician Board of Conservators and the Central Commission under Conservator General Max Dvořák (1874–1921).<sup>12</sup> The Wawel area, which had been misused as barracks by the Austrian military, was acquired as a symbol of the unity of the nation through a fundraising campaign in all three partition territories of Poland. In 1908, the plans for the restoration of the Royal Castle, which had been developed under the leadership of the architect Zygmunt Hendel (1862–1929), a member of the Board of Conservators, were presented.<sup>13</sup> The aim was to restore the castle to the condition of the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> c., the heyday of the Polish Jagiellonian dynasty. For this purpose, the changes of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. were to be reversed: The characteristic, disproportionately long columns of the upper floor in the chateau courtyard, which were walled in for structural reasons, were to be uncovered and the original roof shape reconstructed according to historical views. About two thirds of the columns were to be replaced by reconstructions because the originals had become brittle; this also concerned some of the window and portal frames of the early Renaissance – this history is well known from the research on the restoration history of the Royal Castle.<sup>14</sup>

Nevertheless, in our context it is important to recall Max Dvořák’s public objection to the Polish plans in the 1908 yearbook of the Central Commission.<sup>15</sup> Dvořák followed the line of his predecessor in office, Alois Riegl,

part II: *Vom Vielvölkerstaat Österreich-Ungarn zum neuen Europa der Nationalstaaten*, ed. H. RUMPLER, Wien 2016, pp. 813–851; H. BINDER, ‘Die Ukrainer – von enttäuschter Staatstreue zum Kampf um Selbständigkeit’, in: *ibidem*, pp. 853–885.

<sup>6</sup> See TH. BRÜCKLER, *Zur Geschichte der österreichischen Denkmalpflege*, pp. 465–479 (as in note 1).

<sup>7</sup> The founding idea emerged in May 1888; elections to the respective boards took place in November and December 1889; see M. WOŹNY, ‘Początki Grona Konserwatorów Galicji Zachodniej w świetle krakowskich materiałów’, *Rocznik Krakowski*, 77, 2011, pp. 77–88, here p. 82.

<sup>8</sup> *ibidem*; L. SOBOL, ‘Zarys głównych kierunków działań Grona Konserwatorów Galicji Zachodniej z lat 1888–1905’, *Wiadomości Konserwatorskie*, 24, 2008, pp. 95–102.

<sup>9</sup> A. GRONEK, *Mieczysław Potocki. W służbie przeszłości. Z dziejów konserwacji zabytków w Galicji Wschodniej*, Warszawa 2023.

<sup>10</sup> In the records of the Viennese Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv [OeStA/AVA], Unterrichts-, Bundesdenkmalamt, Karton 20: Galizien, Gemälde Rest., Kunst, Kärnten, bundle 37 ‘Konservatoren Galizien’, and bundle 40 ‘Kunsttopographie Galizien’, there are extensive files from the years 1889 to 1914, documenting the conflict between the Central Commission for the Preservation of Monuments and the Polish ‘Grono Konserwatorów’.

<sup>11</sup> *ibidem*, bundle 40: Kunsttopographie Galizien, P Nr. 349 CC, letter draft by Zeißberg, commenting on the plans of the Polish conservators, 02.12.1889. On the stance of the Central Commission see also M. WOŹNY, ‘Początki Grona Konserwatorów’, p. 84 (as in note 7).

<sup>12</sup> P. DETTLOFF, M. FABIAŃSKI, A. FISCHINGER, *Zamek Królewski na Wawelu. Sto lat odnowy (1905–2005)*, Kraków 2005, *passim*.

<sup>13</sup> The journal *Architekt* dedicated two issues to the presentation of the projects: [several authors] ‘Z Wawelu’, *Architekt*, 9, 1908, nr 11, pp. 119–134, pl. 31–34; [several authors]: ‘Wzgórze Wawelskie’, *Architekt*, 9, 1908, nr 12, pp. 137–152, pl. 35f.

<sup>14</sup> P. DETTLOFF, M. FABIAŃSKI, A. FISCHINGER, *Zamek Królewski na Wawelu* (as in note 12).

<sup>15</sup> M. DVOŘÁK, ‘Restaurierungsfragen. II. Das Königsschloß am Wawel’, *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der k. k. Zentralkommission*

whose *Denkmalwerte* (monument values) contributed decisively to the turn away from the historicizing restoration practice of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. – according to the motto coined at the same time by Georg Dehio: ‘Conservation instead of restoration’. Although Dvořák expressed understanding for the national motivation of the Polish conservators, he saw in the planned project ‘the greatest danger that ever threatened the castle’, called his Polish colleagues ‘romantics’ whose ideas belonged ‘long ago to the past’, and criticized *en passant* the reconstructive treatment of the Collegium Maius that had taken place shortly before.<sup>16</sup>

In May 1909, Dvořák convened a meeting of experts from Vienna and Galicia on the subject of the Wawel, at which the ‘president’ of the West Galician Board of Conservators, Stanisław Tomkowicz (1850–1933), ultimately stood alone in the open. In the end, the decision was taken to work out a new project ‘which, avoiding all attempts at historicizing reconstruction, will be limited only to the safeguarding and dignified restoration of the building.’<sup>17</sup>

As we can still see today, Dvořák and the Central Commission did not prevail, and Hendel’s plans remained the basis for restoration of the Wawel. Nevertheless, the restoration measures were supported by Emperor Franz Joseph with an annual endowment of 100,000 crowns (ca. € 717,430) until the outbreak of WW I; the Galician Diet contributed the same amount. Only the political network in the Diet made possible the operational existence of the two Galician boards of conservators, whose offices were financed from the funds of the crown land, as was the bulk of the realised monument preservation projects.<sup>18</sup>

This strengthened the self-confidence of the Polish conservators and their desire to free themselves from the directives and interference of the Vienna headquarters. In 1913, there eventually was an *éclat* over a draft statute that was supposed to upgrade the Galician bodies to a ‘National Council for Monuments’, combined with serious accusations against the Central Commission.<sup>19</sup> Its secretary general, Fortunat von Schubert-Soldern, spoke of open hostility on the part of the authors of this draft around Stanisław Tomkowicz, and he accused his Polish colleagues of hubris in an internal letter:

*für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale*, 2, 1908, pp. 105–112.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 108.

<sup>17</sup> ‘Die Restaurierung des königlichen Schlosses auf dem Wawel’, *Mitteilungen der k. k. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege* (MZK), 8, 1909, pp. 269–277.

<sup>18</sup> Lists of the budgets granted by the Galician Diet from 1911 to 1913 in the records OeStA/AVA Unterricht Bundesdenkmalamt, Karton 20: Galizien [...], bundle 38, ‘1914–1918 Landeskonservatoren-Ämter Galizien’, Z 4528.

<sup>19</sup> OeStA/AVA Unterricht, Bundesdenkmalamt, Karton 20: Galizien [...], bundle 37 ‘Konservatoren Galizien’, Z. 5090. See also TH. BRÜCKLER, *Thronfolger Franz Ferdinand als Denkmalpfleger. Die ‘Kunstakten’ der Militärkanzlei im Österreichischen Staatarchiv (Kriegsarchiv)*, Wien 2009, pp. 471–473.

[...] the enormously high sum of 350,000 to 500,000 Crowns, which the poor country spends annually ‘for the purposes of historical monuments’, is astonishing and alarming. Just compare that the credits of the C.C., which are intended for the preservation of monuments in all [...] crown lands of the monarchy [...], amount to a total of only about 280,000 Crowns. And as for the quality and quantity of monuments, Galicia (with the exception of Cracow and a few other art sites) cannot even be compared with the western crown lands.<sup>20</sup>

Count Karl/Karol Lanckoroński (1848–1933), a Pole with family roots in Galicia, who had made a political career in Vienna and served as Vice President of the Central Commission between 1910 and 1917,<sup>21</sup> also opposed the claims of his compatriot colleagues – which they would not forgive him for.<sup>22</sup>

## ESTABLISHMENT OF A STATE CONSERVATOR IN WESTERN GALICIA

With the establishment of the State Monuments Office (Staatsdenkmalamt) in 1911 and the gradual installation in the crown lands of civil servant Provincial Conservators (Landeskonservatoren) accountable to the Vienna headquarters, Dvořák had initiated a fundamental reform of the Central Commission.<sup>23</sup> In order to maintain control

<sup>20</sup> OeStA/AVA, Unterricht, Bundesdenkmalamt, Karton 20: Galizien [...], bundle 37 ‘Konservatoren Galizien’, Z. 4528: Kreierung und Statut eines Landes-Konserv.-Rates in Galizien, 20.09.1913.

<sup>21</sup> On Lanckoroński see TH. BRÜCKLER, *Zur Geschichte der österreichischen Denkmalpflege* (as in note 1), p. 475–476. About the influence of politicians and intellectuals from Galicia in Viennese politics H. BINDER, *Galizien in Wien. Parteien, Wahlen, Fraktionen und Abgeordnete im Übergang zur Massenpolitik*, Wien 2005. Lanckoroński was also on Dvořák’s side at the meeting on the restoration of the Wawel Castle; see *Die Restaurierung des königlichen Schlosses* (as in note 17), pp. 274–275.

<sup>22</sup> Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie (ANK), 29/560/0/2/24, Grono Konserwatorów Galicji Wschodniej (1913–16), fol. 1, letter from the Board of Conservators of Western Galicia to Lanckoroński, 21.01.1914, informing him that the Board had lodged a complaint with the Imperial and Royal Ministry of Education and Culture against the warning issued towards them by Lanckoroński. Tensions between the Board and Lanckoroński are reflected in the correspondence between Lanckoroński and Szydłowski (1915–1922) in the Archive of Science of Polish Academy of Science (PAN) and Polish Academy of Arts and Science (PAU) in Cracow, AN PAN i PAU, K III – 150, VI/56 (Legacy of Karolina Lanckorońska).

<sup>23</sup> On the reform of the Central Commission, with reference to the tasks of monument protection during WWI M. DVOŘÁK, ‘Einrichtungen des Kunstschutzes in Österreich’, in: *Kunstschutz im Kriege. Berichte über den Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf den verschiedenen Kriegsschauplätzen und über die deutschen und österreichischen Maßnahmen zu ihrer Erhaltung, Rettung, Erforschung*, ed. P. CLEMEN, vol. 2: *Die Kriegsschauplätze in Italien, im*

over Galicia, a salaried Conservator with civil servant status, which would keep him loyal to the state and its institutions,<sup>24</sup> was installed here, too. In April 1914, thirty-one-year-old Tadeusz Szydłowski (1883–1942) was appointed Provincial Conservator for western Galicia, based in Cracow.<sup>25</sup> Szydłowski had studied in Cracow with Marian Sokołowski (1839–1911) and Georg/Jerzy Mycielski (1856–1928),<sup>26</sup> and had also completed a guest semester with Heinrich Wölfflin (1864–1945) in Berlin.

With this personnel decision, the Central Commission seemed to have made broad concessions to the Board of Polish Conservators, whose influence it actually wanted to curtail: Szydłowski came from precisely this environment; it had been Mycielski, since 1902 chairman of the Society for the Protection of Polish Art and Cultural Monuments at the Cracow Academy of Arts and Sciences, who had recommended him to the Central Commission.<sup>27</sup> In the Vienna headquarters, Szydłowski found a mentor in Vice President Lanckoroński. In him, the protection of Poland's artistic heritage had an influential advocate; without Lanckoroński's interventions on the relevant Imperial and Royal institutions, Szydłowski would not have been able to act so effectively, especially during the coming wartime.

However, for the Board of Conservators under Tomkowiak's leadership, the Provincial Conservator was just the representative of the detested Vienna headquarters, and it took time until they finally acknowledged his work: Szydłowski was not invited to the meetings of the Board until the second year of his term of office, and he was not accepted as a Board member until the beginning of 1917.<sup>28</sup>

*Osten und Südosten*, Leipzig 1919, pp. 1–10, here p. 1; see F. LEITNER, "Causa Infinita" – die Verländerungsdebatte in der österreichischen Denkmalpflege, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 73, 2019, nr 1/2, (as in note 2), pp. 35–41, here pp. 35–38.

<sup>24</sup> ÖStA/AVA Unterricht, Bundesdenkmalamt Karton 20: Galizien [...], Z. 186, letter from the Vice-President of the Central Commission, Karl Lanckoroński, to the Chancellery of Archduke Franz Ferdinand as the Protector of Monument Conservation, 10.01.1914.

<sup>25</sup> Bundesdenkmalamt Wien, Archiv (BDAA), personal files Szydłowski, Z 127 14/1914: Appointment letter to Szydłowski by the Minister for Culture and Education Max Hussarek von Heinlein, 20.04.1914.

<sup>26</sup> In the correspondence with the Central Commission, the German variants of the first names and surnames is used, i.e. Karl Lanckoroński, sometimes also Thaddäus von Szydłowski. On Mycielski see TH. BRÜCKLER, U. NIEMETH, *Personenlexikon zur österreichischen Denkmalpflege (1850–1990)*, Horn 2001, p. 186.

<sup>27</sup> Letter from Karl Lanckoroński to Archduke Franz Ferdinand, 10.01.1914 (as on note 24).

<sup>28</sup> ANK, 29/560/0/2/24, Grono Konserwatorów Galicji Wschodniej (1913–16), fol. 315: For the first time, Szydłowski's name appears on the invitation to the Board's meeting on 17 August 1915. One issue on the agenda was the 'Relationship between the Conservators'

It is noteworthy that, until the end of the monarchy, no salaried Provincial Conservator was appointed for Eastern Galicia, although there was a pressing aspirant in the person of the Lviv art historian Josef/Józef Piotrowski (1873–1939), who had been working in the Vienna office of the Central Commission.<sup>29</sup> In the end, however, Dvořák and Schubert-Soldern did not consider him suitable for this position.<sup>30</sup>

## 'ART PROTECTION IN WAR TIME'

Only three months after taking office, Szydłowski was confronted with the consequences of war on cultural property. Archival records show him to be the driving force in the establishment of art protection structures throughout the crown land and later also in the Military General Governorate Lublin (MGG) under Austro-Hungarian military administration. At the beginning of October 1914, when military tensions seemed to be easing after the heavy losses of the first weeks of the war, Szydłowski immediately requested an official appointment with the Central Commission in order to define his field of activity in the safeguarding of cultural heritage.<sup>31</sup> The work was difficult: without the permission of the military authorities, heritage protection activities in the liberated combat zones were not possible, not even in Galicia, although it was part of the Habsburg Monarchy.

At the end of August 1915, when the German and Austro-Hungarian armies had finally pushed the Russian army out of 'Russian Poland', Szydłowski was immediately also 'entrusted with the agendas of monument

Office and the Board of Conservators'; as well as at the meetings on 30 August 1915 (fol. 421) and 3 November 1915 (fol. 427). Szydłowski's nomination for the Board in January 1917 is documented in ANK, 29/560/0/2/25, Grono Konserwatorów Galicji Wschodniej (1917–20), fol. 7, pp. 11–14.

<sup>29</sup> Vgl. TH. BRÜCKLER, *Thronfolger Franz Ferdinand*, pp. 334, 356 (as in note 19).

<sup>30</sup> BDAA, personal files Josef Piotrowski, Z. 128, letter from Schubert-Soldern to the Ministry of Culture and Education, with a commentary by Max Dvořák, 25.10.1915. Piotrowski complained to Lanckoroński about his demotion; ibidem, Z. 256, letter from Piotrowski to Lanckoroński, 24.12.1915. In independent Poland, Piotrowski held the post of the Voivodeship Conservator in Lviv from 1920 to 1929; see P. LASEK, *Inwentaryzacja zabytków architektury w lwowskim okręgu konserwatorskim 1920–1939. Szkice z dziejów*, Warszawa 2020, pp. 7–62.

<sup>31</sup> BDAA, personal files Szydłowski, Z 82, letter from Szydłowski to Schubert-Soldern, 09.10.1914. For a broader view on the circumstances of heritage protection in wartime see B. STÖRTKUHL, *Galizien im Ersten Weltkrieg – Kunstschutz an der Heimatfront*; *kunsttexte.de*, nr 4, 2023, Sektion Ostblick, special issue *Kunstschutz-Initiativen im Ersten Weltkrieg in Ostmitteleuropa*, eds. R. BORN, B. STÖRTKUHL (14 pages), [www.kunsttexte.de](http://www.kunsttexte.de). <https://doi.org/10.48633/ksttx.2023.4>.



preservation' in the newly formed MGG.<sup>32</sup> However, the measures there were not financed from the funds of the Central Commission, but through the military administration.<sup>33</sup> The structures of the Central Commission were geared to state affiliation – the MGG was consequently treated differently from Galicia. Szydłowski and his Polish fellow campaigners, on the other hand, were driven by concern for the national heritage across all border demarcations.<sup>34</sup> At Szydłowski's insistence and with Karl Lanckoroński's political contacts, a separate monument conservator was appointed for the MGG in May 1916: Stefan Komornicki (1887–1942), a former staff member of Szydłowski.<sup>35</sup>

For Galicia, Szydłowski tried hard to get support for his activities. In particular, he was looking for a specialist in Ukrainian cultural heritage, partly in order to accommodate the demands of the Ukrainian community in the Eastern parts of the crown land. He eventually succeeded in late 1917 by recruiting Josef/Yosip Pelenskyi (1879–1957), an archaeologist affiliated with the Ukrainian Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv. At the same time, Pelenski was not unknown in the Cracow milieu: Before the outbreak of the war, he had published his research on the medieval art of the Halicz region, which was meant to be his habilitation at the Jagiellonian University.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, the art historian Jerzy Remer and the painter Wiesław Zarzycki from the Cracow School of Applied Arts were employed as 'scientific auxiliary workers'.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup> BDAA, Allgemein Karton 6 (1915/16), Z. 157: 'Schutz in Russisch Polen, Entsendung von Lk. Konserv. Szydłowski nach Russisch-Polen', letter from Friedrich Franz Freiherr von Mor-Merkl zu Sunegg und Morberg to the Central Commission, 04.08.1915.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem, letter from Schubert-Soldern to Szydłowski, 07.08.1915.

<sup>34</sup> See E. MANIKOWSKA, 'Wielka Wojna i zabytki', in: *Polskie dziedzictwo kulturowe u progu niepodległości wokół Towarzystwa Opieki nad Zabytkami Przeszłości*, eds. E. MANIKOWSKA, P. JAMSKI, Warszawa 2010, pp. 21–91.

<sup>35</sup> BDAA, Allgemein Karton 6 (1915/1916), Z. 85, letter from Szydłowski to Lanckoroński, 23.03.1916; ibidem, Z. 115, letter from Szydłowski to the Executive Committee of the Central Commission, 26.05.1916.

<sup>36</sup> Pelenskyi published in Polish, under the Polish variant of his name: JÓZEF PEŁEŃSKI, *Halicz w dziejach sztuki średniowiecznej. Na podstawie badań archeologicznych i źródeł archiwalnych*, Kraków 1914; see N. BULYK, R. BEREST, 'The Lviv Archaeological Milieu During World War I', *Archaeologia Polona*, 61, 2023, pp. 75–104, here 83–84.

<sup>37</sup> ÖStA/AVA Unterricht, allg. Akten 3336 (Denkmalamt [Sign. 15 B2a], 1916–1926), Z. 37261, Z. 37263.

Remer had also been among the names discussed for the position of the Conservator of the MGG, but Szydłowski did not consider him suitable for this task (as in note 35). Later on, Remer became one of the leading monument conservators of the 20<sup>th</sup> century c. in Poland; see *Wokół dziedzictwa. Historycy sztuki, muzealnicy i konserwatorzy w 40. rocznicę śmierci prof. Jerzego Remera*, ed. M. PSZCZÓŁKOWSKI et. al., Toruń 2020.

## MITTEILUNGEN DER K.K. ZENTRAL-KOMMISSION FÜR DENKMALPFLEGE

BAND XIV, NR. 8 III. FOLGE WIEN, AUGUST 1915

DIE VERHEERUNGEN DES KRIEGES AN KUNSTDENKMÄLERN IN GALIZIEN. AN DER DUNAJECLINIE UND IN DEN BEZIRKEN TARNÓW UND GORLICE. – VON TADEUSZ SZYDŁOWSKI.

Wie bekannt, kam es Anfang Mai an der westgalizischen Front, die den ganzen Winter ziemlich unverändert verblieben war, zum Durchbruch der feindlichen Stellungen, worauf eine siegreiche Offensive unserer verbündeten Armeen weit nach Ostgalizien hinein erfolgte. Diese westgalizische Kampflinie, die vom unteren Dunajec in südöstlicher Richtung bis zu den Karpathen verlief und an der sich so lange Positionskämpfe abspielten, ist durch Trümmer und Brandsstätten gekennzeichnet. Es gibt an diesem Wege kein Städtchen, kein Dorf, an dem der Krieg nicht deutliche Spuren hinterlassen hätte, indem dort die meisten Häuser sowie Wälder und Fluren weit und breit der Verwüstung und Vernichtung anheimfielen.

Einige Städtchen und Dörfer gingen gänzlich zugrunde und bieten heute nur ein Bild des schrecklichsten Verfalls dar. So wurde fast jede Kirche, die sich mitten in der Kampflinie fand, mehr oder weniger beschädigt und in der Städtarchitektur ging manches charakteristische, ammutige Haus verloren. Die längs der Straßen errichteten, manchmal sehr interessanten Bildstöcke liegen meistens zertrümmert und wie durch



Fig. 1. Radłów, Pfarrkirche, Chorseite.

Wunder verschont ragen noch einige wenige mitten in der Öde empor. Was an kleineren Kunstobjekten zugrunde gegangen ist, läßt sich im ganzen Umfange nicht leicht ermesen und wird in diesem allgemeinen Überblick nicht mehr erwähnt.

Ich beginne die Aufzählung der wichtigeren Architekturendenkmäler, die in diesem schmalen Landstreifen Galiziens der Kriegsverheerung zum Opfer fielen, mit der Kirche in Radłów, die schon im vorigen Berichte erwähnt wurde. Es

1. Report by Tadeusz Szydłowski on war damages in Western Galicia, *Mitteilungen der k. k. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege* 14, 1915, nr 8, p. 169

An overview of the measures taken and how they were financed is provided by Szydłowski's regular reports published in the *Mitteilungen der k. k. Zentralkommission* [Fig. 1].<sup>38</sup> They reflect the wide range of tasks and problems of cultural property protection during the war, from emergency protection through temporary roofing or shuttering of sculptures and evacuation of movable objects, up to complex reconstruction as in the case of the Gothic church in Felsztyn<sup>39</sup> – the latter, however, remained rather the exception. These reports were not propaganda-motivated exaggerations: The measures taken can be counter-checked in the archival records.<sup>40</sup>

A particular challenge was the recording of losses of movable cultural property that was deliberately taken to Russia, looted by soldiers, sometimes also by the local population, or disappeared in the illegal art trade. The

<sup>38</sup> E.g. T. SZYDŁOWSKI, 'Galizien. Jahresbericht 1916. I. Die Sicherungsarbeiten an den infolge der Kriegereignisse beschädigten Kunstdenkmälern in West- und Mittelgalizien', *MZK*, 15, 1916/17, nr 7/8, pp. 168–171; idem, 'Tätigkeitsbericht für das zweite Halbjahr 1917. Galizien. Die Sicherungsarbeiten an den infolge der Kriegereignisse beschädigten Kunstdenkmälern', *MZK*, 16, 1918, nr 1, pp. 31–35.

<sup>39</sup> Ibidem, p. 31.

<sup>40</sup> For Szydłowski's full bibliography in the *MZK* and the archival sources see B. STÖRTKUHL, *Galizien im Ersten Weltkrieg* (as in note 31).



Fig. 151. Sękowa. Kościółek przed wojną.

kiem», względnie zburzyć starą cerkiew, a na murańm pudle wzniesić wysoko kilka kopuł obitych blachą.

Co z dymem poszło w ciągu wojny, to nas może przejmie o tyle mniej, niżby powinno, że nie wiemy, ileśmy stracili. W wyjątkowych wypadkach posiadamy o spalonych kościołach czy cerkwiach bliższe informacje, tj. zdjęcia fotograficzne i pomiary, które nam pozwalają zdać sobie sprawę z ich wartości artystycznej i zabytkowej. Jest to temat, który dotąd ledwo zaczęto naukowo opracowywać i choćby inwentaryzować dorywczo niektóre okolice. Prawie ani jeden z kilkunastu kościółków drewnianych, a z około stu starszych cerkwi, które obecnie splonęły, bodaj że żadna, nie były niestety rzeczowo zbadane, pomierzone i opisane. Mogły więc niepostrzeżenie ulec zagładzie wybitne dzieła sztuki, jakies specjalnie typowe i interesujące objawy budownictwa, jakies cenne rzeźby, obrazy i sprzęty o dużej wartości. Może niejedno stanowiło niezmiernie rzadki i ważny okaz kultury i dla nauki byłoby niesłychanie doniosłym ogniwem. Dekonując przegląd strat wojennych, doznaje się tyłkrotnie przykrego uczucia, jak skarbów swej sztuki nie umiemy cenić, żeśmy dotąd poznamy ich nie poświęcili więcj uwagi.

Rozpoczynając tym razem od okolic Krakowa, stwierdzamy ubytek takiego nieznanego bliżej kościoła w Pobiedzisku Małym naprzeciw Niepolomic. Szematyzm kościelny mówi o nim,

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Fig. 152. Sękowa. Kościółek w roku 1915.

że zbudowany został w roku 1327 kosztm kasztelana Jakóba Bonara. (W dzwonnicy wisiał dzwon, pochodzący podobno z roku 1327.) Czy pierwotna, tak bardzo stara struktura, przetrwały miała aż do naszych czasów, wydaje się wątpliwe, a raczej prawdopodobne, że kościółek był rekonstruowany w późniejszym nieco czasie, co nie odbierałoby mu jeszcze wartości artystycznej i zabytkowej. Kościółek został doszczętnie spalony przez wojska węgierskie w jesieni 1914 roku.

Niedaleko stamtąd położony kościół w Grabiu ucierpiał dosyć przez ostrzelanie. Pociśki wyrwały kilka dziur w gontowym dachu, nadwyrzyły jedną ze ścian, przebiły powalę i wywolały wewnątrz dużo spustoszenia. Rozbitu uległy ołtarz boczny, ambona, organy i szereg sprzętów, także stojąca obok dzwonnica miała poszarpane pokrycie. Kościół w Grabiu należy do późniejszych (z połowy XVIII wieku) i architektonicznie mniej interesujących, jednak wraz z starym parkanem drewnianym i dzwonnica tworzy wcale dobrą, malowniczą całość, a jako jeden z nielicznych w okolicach Krakowa ma pewne zabytkowe znaczenie).

Utkoszeń doznał podobno kościółek w Wicławicach na północ od Krakowa. W południowej zaś części dawnego krakowskiego województwa mamy do zanotowania w Rajbronicie w okolicy Wsienica kościół, który nie posiada wybitniejszej wartości, lecz jak każda stara drewniana budowla lepiej harmonizuje z charakterem wsi, niż nowoczesna, murańana i banalna. Pociśki nadrzaskowały dach i ściany, zburzyły kruchtę, a wewnątrz rozbiły ołtarz boczny i chór organowy.

) Fotografie kościoła patrz sprawozdanie autora w *Mitteilungen der Zentralkommission*. XIV. Nr. 4/5 Wieden 1915.

Ruiny Polski

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2. Pages from: Tadeusz Szydłowski, *Ruiny Polski*, Kraków 1919, with photos taken during the author's mission as k. k. Landeskonservator in wartime, 1915 – see the footnote on p. 145

information converged at the Landesdenkmalamt in Cracow, which by 1918 had compiled a comprehensive 'Register of Art Monuments Carried Off by Russian Army Detachments During the Invasion of Galicia'.<sup>41</sup>

To summarise: The practical work of cultural heritage protection – the *Kunstschutz im Kriege* – in the Polish territories under Austro-Hungarian rule was in Polish hands, and Szydłowski's office in Cracow served as the headquarters for the whole of Galicia and the Military General Governorate of Lublin.

## EPILOGUE

The *de facto* measures taken to save and preserve cultural property during the war were overshadowed by the metal requisitions for armament purposes. Although these actions were carried out in all crown lands, including Inner Austria,<sup>42</sup> they particularly shaped the Polish perspective on dealing with cultural heritage in the Habsburg

Monarchy – in line with the general anti-Austrian sentiment that had developed as a result of the war events.<sup>43</sup>

Szydłowski continued to work on an interim basis after the collapse of the Habsburg Empire, before being appointed by the Minister of Culture of the Republic of Poland as the Conservator for the Cracow district in March 1920. At the beginning of 1919, he had declined the appointment as General Conservator of the re-established Polish state.<sup>44</sup>

In the meantime, he worked on an indictment against the partitioning powers that had fought 'their' war on Polish soil<sup>45</sup> – a reckoning not only with the tactics of 'scorched earth' and the art theft of the Russian troops, but also with the actions of the Austro-Hungarian and German military: In 1919, the volume *Ruiny Polski* [Ruins of Poland] was published with photos that Szydłowski had taken as a public servant of the Habsburg Empire. For his book, he even took over the layout of the representative volumes *Kunstschutz im Kriege*, which were to propagate the German and Austro-Hungarian commitment to

<sup>41</sup> BDAA, Allgemein Karton 8 (1918), Z. 258, letter from Szydłowski to the Central Commission (resp. the State Monuments Office), 01.10.1918, accompanying the 'Verzeichnis der durch russische Heeresabteilungen während der Invasion in Galizien verschleppten Kunstdenkmäler'.

<sup>42</sup> F. VON SCHUBERT-SOLDERN, 'Metallbeschlagnehmung in Österreich', in: *Kunstschutz im Kriege 1919*, vol. 2, pp. 215–221 (as in note 23).

<sup>43</sup> See P. SZLANTA, 'Der lange Abschied' (as in note 5); A. CHWALBA, *Der Krieg der anderen: Die Polen und der Erste Weltkrieg 1914–1918*, Berlin u.a. 2021.

<sup>44</sup> Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warszawa, Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego w Warszawie, Sign. 2/14/0/6/6115: Personal files Tadeusz Szydłowski, fol. 15–29.

<sup>45</sup> A. CHWALBA, *Der Krieg der anderen* (as in note 43).

cultural heritage in all theaters of war [Fig. 2].<sup>46</sup> As the central figure of the *k. k. Kunstschutz* in Galicia, Szydlowski had certainly been involved in the conception of that publication. Now, he wrote an explicitly national history of art. The accusations of lack of concern for Polish cultural heritage on the part of the institutions of the Habsburg Monarchy, which run through the text, are somewhat at odds with the final chapter of the volume, in which Szydlowski outlined his own successful efforts as a representative of the Vienna Central Commission during the war. Thus, Szydlowski's book represents the pressing need to cut the cord with the former hegemonic powers, to which art historiography in the newly formed states of East Central Europe also paid tribute.<sup>47</sup>

In the German-Austrian publication *Kunstschutz im Kriege*, the report on the efforts taken by the Habsburg Monarchy in the Polish theaters of war was taken over by Fortunat von Schubert-Soldern. He, who had remained in his position in the Austrian State Monuments Office, showed high esteem for his former colleague Szydlowski.<sup>48</sup>

## SUMMARY

Beate Störtkuhl

### INTERACTIONS BETWEEN THE IMPERIAL AND ROYAL CENTRAL COMMISSION FOR THE PRESERVATION OF MONUMENTS AND THE CONSERVATOR MILIEUS IN GALICIA

The paper examines the complex relationship between the Vienna headquarters of the Imperial and Royal Central Commission for the Preservation of Monuments and the milieus of Polish conservators in the Crown Land of Galicia. One focus is on the role of the first state conservator Tadeusz Szydlowski, who shortly after his appointment in May 1914 had to manage the protection of cultural heritage in wartime in the Polish territories under Austro-Hungarian rule.

<sup>46</sup> *Kunstschutz im Kriege* (as in note 23). E. MANIKOWSKA, 'Polska historia sztuki a Wielka Wojna', *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 40, 2015, s. 9.

<sup>47</sup> See J. BAKOŚ, 'From Universalism to Nationalism. Transformation of Vienna School Ideas in Central Europe', in: *Die Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs*, eds. R. BORN, A. JANATKOVÁ, A. S. LABUDA, Berlin 2004, pp. 79-101.

<sup>48</sup> F. VON SCHUBERT-SOLDERN, 'Kunstdenkmäler und Denkmalpflege im Generalgouvernement Lublin und in Galizien', in: *Kunstschutz im Kriege*, vol. 2, pp. 127-136 (as in note 23).