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med cenzuro in propagando

Visual Arts in the Habsburg Lands  
between Censorship and Propaganda

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## PREDGOVOR

# LIKOVNA UMETNOST V HABSURŠKIH DEŽELAH MED CENZURO IN PROPAGANDO

Pričujoča tematska številka *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* prinaša trinajst znanstvenih prispevkov, nastalih v sklopu raziskovalnega projekta *Likovna umetnost med cenzuro in propagando od srednjega veka do konca prve svetovne vojne* (L7-8282), ki je v letih 2017–2020 potekal na Oddelku za umetnostno zgodovino in Oddelku za zgodovino Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Mariboru ter na Umetnostnozgodovinskem inštitutu Franceta Steleta in Zgodovinskem inštitutu Milka Kosa ZRC SAZU, sofinancirali pa sta ga Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije in Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti. Znanstveno izhodišče interdisciplinarno zasnovanega projekta je bilo dejstvo, da sta skozi zgodovino tako propaganda kot cenzura, dve pomembni politični sredstvi vplivanja na javno mnenje, odločilno zaznamovali in določali likovno umetnost. Pri svojih raziskavah smo se geografsko zamejili na področje habsburške monarhije, ki ji je več kot pol tisočletja pripadalo slovensko ozemlje in ki je zaradi svoje razgibane zgodovine predstavljala idealen teren za razvoj različnih oblik propagande in cenzure, med drugim tudi vizualne. Glede na siceršnje raziskovalno delo članov projektna skupine so se študije osredotočile na štiri zaključene časovne sklope: srednji vek, zgodnji novi vek, dolgo 19. stoletje in prvo svetovno vojno.

V želji, da bi dogajanje na periferiji vsaj delno osvetlili tudi z vidika središča, torej prestolnic Dunaja in v zgodnjem novem veku Gradca, ter da bi procese, ki so potekali pri nas, umestili v dogajanje v celotni monarhiji, smo k sodelovanju povabili tudi tri strokovnjake iz Avstrije in enega iz Češke, ki so s svojimi besedili pomembno prispevali k celovitosti pogleda na obravnavano tematiko.

Srednjeveški sklop začenja Martin Bele, ki spregovori o enem najstarejših ohranjenih primerov srednjeveške propagande na Štajerskem, *Štajerski rimani kroniki* Otokarja iz Geule, nastali v 13. stoletju v okviru spora med plemiškima rodbinama Ptujskih in Liechtensteinskih. Glavnina raziskav srednjega veka pa se je osredotočila na najpomembnejšo srednjeveško plemiško rodbino s področja današnje Slovenije, grofe Celjske, in njen odnos s Habsburžani. Miha Kosi je predstavil načrtno grajsko politiko Celjskih, v obdobju največjega vzpona so posedovali kar okoli 125 gradov, v čemer vidi obliko dinastične propagande. Mija Oter Gorenčič je raziskala medsebojne vplive in zglede v kartuzijanski politiki Celjskih in Habsburžanov. Avtorica ugotavlja tesno prepletenost med obema plemiškima rodbinama in kartuzijani, ki se kaže tudi na umetnostnem področju, v prvi vrsti pri kartuziji Jurklošter.

Obdobje zgodnjega novega veka pomembno zaznamujeta protireformacija in katoliška prenova, za potrebe propagande zmage Katoliške cerkve pa so se naročniki pogosto posluževali tudi različnih zvrsti likovne umetnosti. To je bilo še posebej očitno konec 16. stoletja in v 17. stoletju, ko je Gradec postal rezidenca Habsburžanov, pomembnih nosilcev katoliške prenove. Susanne König-Lein obravnava habsburški mavzolej v kolegijski cerkvi v Sekovi (Seckau) na Zgornjem Štajerskem, katerega naročnik je bil nadvojvoda Karel II. Avstrijski. Reliefi in poslikave mavzoleja poveljujejo Karla II. kot zaščitnika katoliške vere, zaradi česar lahko v habsburškem mavzoleju vidimo primer manifestacije začetka protireformacije. O arhitekturi kot pomembnem propagandnem sredstvu govori prispevek Edgarja Leina, ki obravnava cerkev sv. Katarine in mavzolej v Gradcu, zgrajena po naročilu nadvojvode Ferdinanda (kasnejšega cesarja Ferdinanda II.). Avtor predstavi rimske arhitekturne zglede in izpostavi vlogo jezuita Wilhelma Lamormainija pri preoblikovanju mavzoleja v spomenik protireformacije.

Eno od pomembnejših propagandnih sredstev je tudi portret, še zlasti vladarski. O njem z vidika umetnostnega središča spregovori Friedrich Polleroß, ki se je posvetil javni funkciji različnih tipov portretov cesarja Karla VI. s posebnim poudarkom na njihovi propagandni vlogi. Tina Košak analizira portrete dobrotnikov cistercijanskega samostana Stična, najobsežnejši ohranjeni tovrstni sklop na Slovenskem, razkriva doslej neznane likovne in pisne vire ter ponuja novo atribucijo. Nastanku stiških portretov so botrovale ilustracije v slavnih biografskih knjigah, ki so bile svojevrstna oblika propagande Habsburžanov kot tudi plemstva na dunajskem dvoru, napisani na spodnjem delu platna pa so povzeti po takrat spisani samostanski kroniki.

Da je portret igral pomembno propagando vlogo tudi v 19. stoletju, kaže članek Polone Vidmar o portretih uglednih mariborskih meščanov, naslikanih za mariborski rotovž, mestno hranilnico in prostore gledališko-kazinskega društva, na katerih so vizualizirani tudi izjemni dosežki upodobljenec, pripadnikov lokalne politične in ekonomske elite.

Drugo polovico 19. stoletja zaznamuje emancipacija različnih narodov, živečih na ozemlju monarhije, ki so za svojo propagando uporabljali različne likovne zvrsti. Dosedanje raziskave tega pojava so se osredotočale predvsem na historično slikarstvo in javne spomenike, medtem ko je propagandna vloga arhitekture ostajala v ozadju. V tem kontekstu so izjemnega pomena narodni domovi, posebna avstroogrška različica javne stavbe, ki se je najprej pojavila v čeških deželah, potem pa razširila po celotni avstrijski polovici monarhije. Narodne domove na Moravskem in v avstrijski Šleziji predstavlja Jan Galeta, ki v svojem članku spregovori tudi o njihovi raznoliki propagandni vlogi. Med značilne oblike propagande prebujajočih se narodov pa uvrščamo tudi poskuse kreiranja nacionalnega arhitekturnega sloga na prehodu iz 19. v 20. stoletje. Avtor v svojem prispevku v kontekstu propagande predstavi tako slovenski nacionalni slog kot tudi druge nacionalne sloge v slovenski arhitekturni dediščini.

Prva svetovna vojna brez dvoma pomeni vrhunec cenzure in propagande v celotnem obdobju habsburške monarhije. Trije prispevki predstavljajo kompleksen odmev teh procesov v sočasni likovni produkciji na Slovenskem. Petra Svobljak govori o odnosu avstrijskega državnega aparata do likovne umetnosti, predvsem z vidika cenzure in propagande. Predstavljeni so državni uradi (npr. Vojni tiskovni urad, Umetniška skupina), ki so izvajali nadzor nad umetniško propagando, pa tudi posamezniki, ki so jih rekrutirali za potrebe vojne propagande. O vplivu omenjenih državnih uradov na slovenski prostor piše Barbara Vodopivec, ki poleg medvojnih umetniških razstav, delovanja vojnih slikarjev in mehanizmov produkcije vsebin za množične tiske izpostavlja vlogo slikarja Ivana Vavpotiča in predstavi nekatera njegova do sedaj neznana dela. Vesna Krmelj pa z vidika cenzure in propagande obravnava pogoje za umetniško produkcijo v času vojnega absolutizma na Kranjskem, kjer je generacija slovenske moderne in impresionistov šele vzpostavljala pogoje za institucionalni razvoj slovenske umetnosti in s tem posledično tudi za uspešno propagando, izpostavlja pa med drugim tudi načine, s katerimi so umetniki spodbujali slovensko nacionalno zavest.

Zahvaljujem se uredništvu *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* za možnost objave projektnih spoznanj, sodelavcem Umetnostnozgodovinskega inštituta Franceta Steleta ZRC SAZU za vso pomoč in podporo pri nastanku pričujoče številke, prevajalcem in lektorjem ter seveda Javni agenciji za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije in Slovenski akademiji znanosti in umetnost, ki sta omogočila izvedbo projekta in izid revije. Upam, da bodo prispevki postali navdih in izhodišče za prihodnje raziskave te kompleksne, a zanimive in pomembne tematike.

Franci Lazarini, vodja projekta in gostujoči urednik

## PREFACE

# VISUAL ARTS IN THE HABSBURG LANDS BETWEEN CENSORSHIP AND PROPAGANDA

The present thematic issue of *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* comprises thirteen scientific papers as an output of the research project *Visual Arts between Censorship and Propaganda from the Middle Ages to the End of World War I* (L7-8282), which was carried out at the Department of Art History and the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts, University of Maribor, as well as the France Stele Institute of Art History and the Milko Kos Historical Institute ZRC SAZU between 2017 and 2020, and was co-funded by the Slovenian Research Agency and the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. The starting point of the interdisciplinary project is the fact that throughout history, propaganda and censorship, two important political means of influencing public opinion, have decisively marked and defined art. Our research was limited to the geographical area of the Habsburg Monarchy, to which the Slovenian lands belonged for more than half a millennium, and which, owing to its diverse history, was ideal terrain for the development of various forms of propaganda and censorship in, among others, the visual arts. Based on the research interests of the project group members, the studies were focused on four historical periods: the Middle Ages, the Early Modern Period, the long 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the First World War.

In order to at least partially explain the events in the periphery through the perspective of the capitals, such as Vienna, and in the Early Modern Period Graz, and shed light on certain aspects of propaganda in a wider context, we invited three experts from Austria and one from the Czech Republic to participate. They contributed immensely to a comprehensive view of the issue at hand.

The medieval section begins with Martin Bele, who presents one of the oldest preserved examples of medieval propaganda in Styria, Ottokar aus der Gaal's *Styrian Rhyme Chronicle*, written in the 13<sup>th</sup> century as a result of a dispute between two aristocratic families, the Lords of Ptuj and the Liechtenstein family. Most of the research relating to the Middle Ages was focused on the most important medieval noble family from present-day Slovenia, the Counts of Cilli, and their relationship to the Habsburgs. Miha Kosi analyses the strategic castle politics of the Counts of Cilli, who at the time of their ascendancy possessed approximately 125 castles, which he sees as a form of dynastic propaganda. Mija Oter Gorenčič researched mutual influences and models in the Carthusian politics of the Counts of Cilli and the Habsburgs. The author points out the close ties between both noble families and the Carthusians, which were also apparent in the sphere of art, primarily in the Jurklošter charterhouse.

The Early Modern Period was significantly marked by the Counter-Reformation and the Catholic Revival, and patrons often used various forms of art to propagandise the victory of the Catholic church. This was especially evident at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> and in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when Graz became the residence of the Habsburgs, important supporters of the Counter-Reformation. Susanne König-Lein discusses the Habsburg mausoleum in the Seckau collegiate church in Upper Styria, the commissioner of which was Archduke Charles II. The reliefs and paintings of the mausoleum glorify Charles II as the protector of the Catholic faith, which is why it is possible to see the Habsburg mausoleum as an example of the manifestation of the beginning of the Counter-Reformation. Edgar Lein's contribution focuses on architecture as an important means of propaganda. The author examined St. Catherine's Church and Mausoleum in Graz, which were commissioned by Archduke Ferdinand (later Emperor

Ferdinand II). Lein presents Roman architectural models and points out the role of Jesuit Wilhelm Lamormaini in the transformation of the Mausoleum into a monument to Counter-Reformation.

One of the most important means of propaganda was also portraits, especially imperial portraits. Friedrich Polleroß, who focused particularly on the public function of various types of portraits of Emperor Charles VI, with emphasis on their propaganda role, writes about these works from an art centre perspective. Tina Košak analyses portraits of the benefactors of Stična Cistercian monastery, the largest surviving ensemble of this kind in Slovenia, offers a new attribution, and unravels its sources. The visual models for the series of ten oval portraits were the illustrations in glorifying biographical books, which were themselves an efficient form of propaganda for the Habsburgs as well as the nobility in the court of Vienna. The inscriptions on the lower part of the portraits were based on the newly written monastic chronicle by Paul Puzel.

The article by Polona Vidmar on the portraits of renowned Maribor townspeople painted for the Maribor town hall, the town savings bank, and the rooms of the theatre and casino society, which also visualize the exceptional achievements of the depicted representatives of the local political and economic elite, demonstrates that portrait also played an important propaganda role in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was characterised by the emancipation of the various nations living in the monarchy, who utilised a variety of art genres for the purpose of propaganda. So far, research of this phenomenon mostly focused on history painting and public monuments, while architecture's role in propaganda remained in the background. In this context, national houses, a special Austro-Hungarian type of public building, which first appeared in the Czech lands and then spread across the entire Austrian part of the monarchy, are of immense importance. National houses in Moravia and Austrian Silesia are presented by Jan Galeta, who also discusses their diverse propaganda role. Moreover, we place the attempts to establish a national architectural style at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century among the characteristic forms of propaganda in the awakening nations. In my article, the Slovenian national style, as well as other national styles in Slovenian architectural heritage, are presented and explained in the context of propaganda.

During World War I, censorship and propaganda undoubtedly reached their peaks, when considering the era of the Habsburg Monarchy. Three contributions reveal the complex nature of these processes on the example of the art production in the territory of Slovenia. Petra Svoljšak discusses the attitude of the Austrian state apparatus towards art, especially from the point of view of censorship and propaganda. She presents the state offices (e.g. War Press Office (Kriegspressequartier, KPQ) and the Art department (Kunstgruppe)) that exercised control over art propaganda and the individuals who were recruited for the needs of war propaganda. Barbara Vodopivec explains the influence of the above-mentioned state offices in the Slovenian context. In addition to wartime art exhibitions, war artists' activities, and mechanisms of mass press production, she highlights the role of Ivan Vavpotič and presents some of his previously unknown works of art. Vesna Krmelj discusses the circumstances in art production from the point of view of censorship and propaganda during the period of war absolutism in Carniola, where the generation of the Slovenian *moderna* and the impressionists had only begun to establish the conditions for the institutional development of Slovenian art, and consequently for successful propaganda. Furthermore, she also emphasizes the ways in which artists encouraged Slovenian national consciousness.

I thank the editorial board of the *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* for the opportunity to publish the project findings, my co-workers at the France Stele Institute of Art History ZRC SAZU for all their help and support in the creation of the present issue, the translators and language editors, and the Slovenian Research Agency and Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, who enabled the execution of the project and the publication of this journal. I hope that the contributions will inspire future research in this complex but interesting and important topic.

Franci Lazarini, principal investigator and guest editor





DISSERTATIONES

# Visual Propaganda in the Slovenian Territory during the First World War: Influences and Specifics

Barbara Vodopivec

## Introduction

Propaganda that aims to ensure a suitable response in the public it addresses must be familiar with its audience's values, hopes, and fears, of which some are universal and others regional, i.e. related to precise, specific areas, as Colin Moore states in his monograph on art in the service of socio-political changes.<sup>1</sup> The literature about this topic suggests that during the First World War, the visual propaganda contained in posters, postcards, and other mass media reached a culmination for the first time in history and that it is precisely this sort of propaganda that can be credited with the mass response of volunteers, mobilisation of the hinterlands, the large quantity of military bonds that were purchased, and perhaps even with the successes or failures at the front.<sup>2</sup> However, a more detailed analysis reveals differences between the effectiveness of the Entente and the Central Powers propaganda.<sup>3</sup> Not only did the latter recognise its potential with a delay, but they also underestimated the importance of its regional specifics, which was especially fatal in the case of the multi-national Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. In the opinion of the author of the monograph on the activities of the War Press Office (Kriegspressequartier, KPQ), based mostly on archival sources, until as late as 1917, the Austro-Hungarian propaganda failed to define its goals and target groups clearly enough, undoubtedly also due to the misplaced expectations that the so-called defence war would end swiftly and victoriously.<sup>4</sup> Once the

<sup>1</sup> Colin MOORE, *Propaganda Prints. A History of Art in the Service of Social and Political Change*, London 2010, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> For more information about visual propaganda and the significance of images in the formation of the public opinion and as a historical source, see for example Edward Louis BERNAYS, *Propaganda*, New York 1928; Peter BURKE, *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, London 2001; Garth S. JOWETT, Victoria O'DONNELL, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, London-New Delhi 2012.

<sup>3</sup> *Picture This. World War I Posters and Visual Culture* (ed. James Pearl), Lincoln-London 2009; JOWETT, O'DONNELL 2012 (n. 2); Stephen M. NORRIS, *A War of Images. Russian Popular Prints, Wartime Culture, and National Identity 1812–1945*, DeKalb 2006; *Postcards from the Trenches. Images from the First World War* (introduction by Andrew Roberts), Oxford 2008; Erik EYBL, *Information. Propaganda. Kunst. Österreichisch-ungarische und französische Plakate des Ersten Weltkriegs/Information. Propagande. Art. Affiches austro-hongroises et françaises de la Première Guerre mondiale*, Wien 2010; *Nothing but the Clouds Unchanged. Artists in World War I* (eds. Gordon Hughes, Philipp Blom), Los Angeles 2014; *World War I. War of Images, Images of War*, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles 2014, [https://www.getty.edu/research/exhibitions\\_events/exhibitions/ww1/](https://www.getty.edu/research/exhibitions_events/exhibitions/ww1/) (14 September 2020).

<sup>4</sup> Walter REICHEL, „Pressearbeit ist Propagandaarbeit“. *Medienverwaltung 1914–1918. Das Kriegspressequartier (KPQ)*, Wien 2016 (= *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs. Sonderbände*, 13).

Monarchy finally focused its propaganda activities more precisely while at the same time relaxing the censorship<sup>5</sup> – in accordance with the German model and as an answer to the propaganda operations of Great Britain, which fully exploited the wish for independence and self-determination, expressed by the Slavic nations that lived in the Monarchy, as well as spread rumours about the dissolution of the Monarchy<sup>6</sup> – it was already too late to turn the tides of war and ensure the existence of the severely undermined Empire. These circumstances had a significant influence on the image of the mass visual propaganda in the Slovenian territory, which was, during the First World War, a part of the Monarchy and simultaneously the arena where the Slovenian statehood was forming increasingly swiftly. We are therefore interested in the image of visual propaganda in the Slovenian territory; the origins of its main influences; and the question of whether this image reflected any specific regional peculiarities. The answers to these questions are additionally complicated by the wartime absolutism;<sup>7</sup> the dynamics of the national emancipation of the Slavic nations in the Monarchy; the simultaneous adherence to the Emperor as well as, increasingly so, the Yugoslav idea; and the anti-war attitude that kept becoming more prominent in the process of the war, also among artists.<sup>8</sup> During the research project whose results are presented in the present contribution, we first analysed the operations of the KPQ and its Art Department (Kunstgruppe) while attempting to define their influence on the Slovenian territory as indicated based on the wartime art exhibitions and activities of war painters. In the continuation, we analysed the topics and art motifs depicted by the collection of postcards titled *War in Pictures*, which was published in the territory of Slovenia and largely based on the creativity of Slovenian authors, and tried to identify the influences and potential regional peculiarities. At the same time, we aimed to establish whether these postcards in any way reflected the process of the formation of national awareness and the wartime developments in the Slovenian territory. The analysis took into account the events taking place in the Monarchy and the development of the war itself.

### The KPQ and the Art Department

It is estimated, that at the end of the war, in November 1918, the officials of the KPQ destroyed around 80 percent of the Office's archival materials, especially due to the uncertainty and out of fear of the new state system and the wrath of the population that they had, for many years, controlled with the assistance of the propaganda apparatus; nevertheless, the Austrian historiography has researched the operations of this Office relatively thoroughly.<sup>9</sup> However, the activities of the KPQ's Art Department

<sup>5</sup> Petra SVOLJŠAK, Slovenci v primežu avstrijske cenzure, *Velika vojna in Slovenci. 1914–1918* (eds. Peter Vodopivec, Katja Kleindienst), Ljubljana 2005, pp. 109–127; Petra SVOLJŠAK, Umetnost med cenzuro in propagando, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 25/2, 2020, pp. 269–293.

<sup>6</sup> REICHEL 2016 (n. 4).

<sup>7</sup> For more information about the cultural life during the First World War in Slovenia, see Andrew WACHTEL, Culture in the South Slavic Lands 1914–1918, *European Culture in the Great War. The Arts, Entertainment, and Propaganda, 1914–1918* (eds. Aviel Roshwald, Richard Stites), Cambridge 1999, pp. 193–214.

<sup>8</sup> The thesis was presented by Dr Marko Štepec in a round table on Radio Slovenia: Staša GRAHEK, Marko ŠTEPEC, Milček KOMELJ, Vojna in umetnost – iz slikarskega ateljeja na fronto, Radio Slovenija, ARS, Arsov forum, Ljubljana 2015, <http://www.rtvsllo.si/prva-svetovna-vojna/zgodbe-in-pricevanja/vojna-in-umetnost-iz-slikarskega-ateljaja-na-fronto/362054> (15 September 2020).

<sup>9</sup> See in particular: *Kulturmanöver. Das k. u. k. Kriegspressequartier und Mobilisierung von Wort und Bild*,

have been analysed somewhat less meticulously, based predominantly on the materials kept in the Austrian War Archives and the Museum of Military History in Vienna.<sup>10</sup> The most important contributions include the one written by Liselotte Popelka, which presents the activities of artists within the KPQ, analyses the wartime art exhibitions, and systematises the prominent topics of war painting.<sup>11</sup> The author argues in favour of the thesis that even during the war and under the auspices of the KPQ, the artists created some very accomplished works, and thus provides the foundations for answering two crucial questions related to wartime artistic creativity: to what degree were the artists free in their selection of topics; and what was the quality of their works. In her 2015 contribution, Mónica Goda discusses these two issues as well – from the viewpoint of the activities of Hungarian war painters who were also members of the KPQ. Based on the analysis of the KPQ's exhibition policy, she establishes that the Press Office did not directly prescribe the topics for the painters, but that the selection of works for the art exhibitions, organised by the KPQ throughout the Empire, in Germany, and in neutral countries, represented a form of censorship as well as a strong propaganda measure: those works would be selected that presented the war in a positive light or at least did not oppose it. In her analysis, Goda goes a step further as she, based on the exhibited works, distinguishes between two sorts of artists' responses: they either resort to painting nature, landscapes, and still lifes, while war is merely an allegory; or they depict soldiers, the fallen, and the wounded from so far away and paint them so small that their faces and expressions can no longer be made out. In this manner, the suffering at the fronts is depersonalised and does not instil any sympathy for the suffering individuals in the audience. Therefore, Goda states, the exhibitions would often include sketches that the painters had drawn at the front and which were abstract enough not to encourage any anti-war sentiments in the hinterlands.<sup>12</sup> In the chapter on the activities of the Art Department, Walter Reichel,<sup>13</sup> who has comprehensively analysed the activities of the Press Office, writes about the KPQ exhibitions as well. Meanwhile, the propaganda operations and activities of the KPQ artists are explored in a special section of the online exhibition by the Austrian State Archives, which, on this occasion, also presents certain key documents from the archival fonds.<sup>14</sup>

The KPQ was established on 28 July 1914 as a department of the Army Higher Command (Armeoberkommando, AOK) under the auspices of the supreme command of the Chief of the General Staff of Austro-Hungarian Army and Navy Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf (1852–1925). The first head of the KPQ Press Office was Colonel Maximilian von Hoen (1867–1940, fig. 1), military historian and

Frankfurt am Main 2015; REICHEL 2016 (n. 4); Walter ALBRECHT, Österreichisch-ungarische Propaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg, Wissens Blog, Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, 6. 6. 2018, <https://blog.hgm.at/2018/07/06/oesterreichisch-ungarische-propaganda-im-ersten-weltkrieg/> (8 September 2020).

<sup>10</sup> Jozo DŽAMBO, *Armis et litteris – Kriegsberichterstattung, Kriegspropaganda und Kriegsdokumentation in der k. u. k. Armee 1914–1918, Musen an die Front! Schriftsteller und Künstler im Dienst der k. u. k. Kriegspropaganda 1914–1918. Begleitband zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung. Teil 1: Beiträge* (ed. Jozo Džambo), München 2003, pp. 10–37. This is a publication that accompanied the travelling exhibition with the same title, which was organised in Slovenia as well (in Kobarid in 2005 and in Ljubljana in 2006); see also SVOLJŠAK 2020 (n. 5), pp. 269–293.

<sup>11</sup> Liselotte POPELKA, *Die Musen schweigen nicht, Musen an die Front!* 2003 (n. 10), pp. 64–78.

<sup>12</sup> Mónica GODA, *Maler(ei) im Krieg – Erlebnis und Ausstellungspolitik. Die Tätigkeit der ungarischen Mitglieder der Kunstgruppe des KPQ, Kulturmanöver 2015* (n. 9), pp. 230–246.

<sup>13</sup> REICHEL 2016 (n. 4), pp. 113–114.

<sup>14</sup> *Einleitung, 100 Jahre erster Weltkrieg. Propaganda, Künstler und KPQ*, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Wien 2014, <http://wk1.staatsarchiv.at/propaganda-kuenstler-und-kpq/einleitung/> (15 September 2020).



1. Maximilian von Hoen, 1914



2. Viktor Hammer: Colonel Wilhelm Eisner-Bubna, 1915, Museum of Military History, Vienna

associate of the War Archives (Kriegsarchiv) in Vienna.<sup>15</sup> Two years and a half later, on 15 March 1917, Colonel Wilhelm Eisner-Bubna (1875–1926, fig. 2) was appointed as the new Head of the KPQ. He remained in this position until the dissolution of the Press Office on 15 December 1918. Under his command, the Office was thoroughly reorganised. Eisner-Bubna, who was, among other things, also a commander at the Isonzo Front, introduced military discipline in the Office, militarised its operations, and resolutely tasked it with propaganda activities in the sense of *Pressedienst ist Propagandadienst*.<sup>16</sup> However, the complete reorientation of the activities towards propaganda did not result merely from the change in leadership. Even before, the KPQ had operated as a war propaganda office. However, when the war had broken out, neither Austro-Hungary nor Germany<sup>17</sup> had paid as much attention to propaganda activities as the Entente Powers. This was because unlike the Central Powers, the Entente did not possess a stable system of conscription, and the mobilisation of its armed forces was therefore based on volunteering. Furthermore, even long before the Dual Monarchy, Great Britain, and France in particular had been aware of the power of carefully aimed war propaganda intended to demonise the opponent, underline the righteousness of the war, and mobilise the hinterlands.<sup>18</sup> The

<sup>15</sup> Between 1903 and 1911 and from 1912 to 1914, Maximilian von Hoen worked at the Military History Department of the Museum of Military History in Vienna and was its director between 1916 and 1925. In 1911 and 1912, he headed the press service of the Ministry of War. He was promoted to General Major in 1915 and Field Marshall in 1918 (REICHL 2016 (n. 4), p. 16).

<sup>16</sup> The reorganisation of the Press Office is described in detail in REICHEL 2016 (n. 4), who also quotes Eisner-Bubna on page 86.

<sup>17</sup> On the military propaganda during the First World War in Germany, see Christina HOFMANN-RANDALL, *Der Erste Weltkrieg im Bild. Postkarten als Mittel der Propaganda und als privates Zeugnis*, *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie. Sonderbände*, 114, 2014 (= *Kriegssammlungen 1914-1918*), pp. 184-198.

<sup>18</sup> See n. 3.

role of the carefully planned propaganda campaigns in the USA was perhaps even somewhat more important: there, the state needed to convince the population of the significance of a war that was, for the majority of its citizens, geographically almost unimaginably distant. The strengthening of the propaganda activities in the Monarchy, which was also reflected in the reorganisation of the KPQ in 1917, was therefore caused by the unfavourable development of the war and the alarming decline in the morale at the fronts as well as in the hinterlands, which was soon joined by numerous social and political processes that kept undermining what had already been a fragile Monarchy.<sup>19</sup> These processes forced the Monarchy to relax its censorship grip in 1917, i.e. simultaneously with the intensification of its propaganda operations.<sup>20</sup> As Jozo Džambo writes in his introduction to the catalogue for the travelling exhibition *Musen an die Front!*, which, in 2003, systematically focused on the activities of the KPQ artists for the first time, it is a paradox that the Press Office attained the highest level of organisation and systematic operations late in the second half of the war when the defeat of the Central Powers was already unavoidable.

The artists who were members of the KPQ worked in the context of the Art Department. It is quite challenging to outline a completely straight history of the Art Department's organisation because of the intertwined functions of the leaders of the Art Department, the roles of a number of institutions in its activities – especially the Ministry of War (k. u. k. Kriegsministerium), the War Archives, the Museum of Military History (Heeresmuseum), and the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna – as well as the intermittent leadership of the Department by the Head of the KPQ von Hoen. It is a fact that war painters initially operated under the auspices of the KPQ. In 1914, there were only three of them (while six war photographers represented a separate group). By the end of von Hoen's command, the number of participating artists (including sculptors, cinema operators, and photographers) increased to 112, while at the end of the war, in October 1918, the number of artists that worked for the KPQ already amounted to 159.<sup>21</sup> Women were among them as well.<sup>22</sup> The first Head of the Art Department was Colonel Wilhelm John (1877–1934), otherwise a historian as well as the director of the Museum of Military History as of 1909. He was regarded as a great supporter of artists, and in his twofold role, he also curated a special collection of war paintings. Towards the end of the war, this collection allegedly included more than 8,000 paintings, graphics, and sculptures.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> These processes were related especially to the demands of the Slavic nations for the equality of their status; the increasing dissatisfaction due to many fatalities and wounded; military defeats; the general shortage in the hinterlands; as well as to the events taking place in Russia, the entry of the USA into the war, and the death of Emperor Franz Joseph.

<sup>20</sup> SVOLJŠAK 2005 (n. 5).

<sup>21</sup> REICHEL 2016 (n. 4), pp. 134–141. Towards the end of the war, the artists thus represented one of the major groups within the KPQ (i.e. 25,13 percent). However, as the author states, after 1917, the quality of artistic creativity declined due to the militarisation of the personnel. Among the reasons for the increased number of artists in the KPQ, the literature underlines the work in the Office as a possibility to avoid the front.

<sup>22</sup> Reichel also mentions female artists who were not a part of the KPQ, but whose works were nevertheless presented at the various exhibitions organised by the KPQ. Among others, the author also mentions the Slovenian painter Anica Zupanec-Sodnik (1892–1978), sister of the philosopher Alma Sodnik (REICHEL 2016 (n. 4), pp. 104–105). The author dedicates a statistical analysis to women in the KPQ (REICHEL 2016 (n. 4), pp. 148–150). However, more in-depth research into the activities of female war painters, sculptors, and photographers, with the exception of Alice Schalek, remains a desideratum. On Alice Schalek see SVOLJŠAK 2020 (n. 5), pp. 279–284.

<sup>23</sup> After the KPQ had been dissolved, the collection went to the Museum. During the Second World War, it was removed from the Museum to protect it from bombing. However, at the end of the war, many works were stolen, which is why nowadays it supposedly only encompasses approximately one fourth of the original collection. See ALBRECHT 2018 (n. 9).

## KPQ Art Exhibitions

In 1916, Georg Sobička took over as the head of the Art Department. Nevertheless, the leader of the KPQ van Hoen – who was, as we can find out from the materials kept in the Austrian State Archives,<sup>24</sup> also interested in the activities related to art exhibitions at least until 1917 – would periodically interfere with the Art Department's management.<sup>25</sup> The artists would submit the works they created in the service of the KPQ to the repository (Bildersammlungstelle) that operated as of 1916 at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. The head of this office was First Lieutenant Dr Viktor Heindl, whose deputy was First Lieutenant Friedrich Zeymer. Apart from them, the office had seven other employees.<sup>26</sup> The repository represented a pool from which the expert councils or juries of the KPQ, appointed for the individual art exhibitions, could select the exhibits. It would then send the works – also those that had not been selected for exhibitions – to the War Archives, the Museum of Military History, or the Military Collection.

Ever since the KPQ started operating, art exhibitions were an important means of propaganda, and they would be organised in the Monarchy as well as in the friendly and neutral countries. The decision that the profits from the works sold at exhibitions were intended for charitable purposes had a propaganda implication as well. In the relevant literature, information about the number of exhibitions differs.<sup>27</sup> Meanwhile, the materials kept in the War Archives of the Austrian State Archives suggest that 40 art exhibitions were organised until the end of the war.<sup>28</sup> Those closest to what is today the Slovenian territory were the exhibitions in Zagreb, Graz, and Trieste. Seven exhibitions were dedicated to the Isonzo Front.<sup>29</sup> They all took place in German cities – in Berlin (fig. 3), Breslau, Dresden, Düsseldorf (fig. 4), Frankfurt, Munich, and Stuttgart) – as the Austro-Hungarian propaganda certainly aimed to strengthen its alliance with Germany and underline the righteousness of its war against the treacherous Italy.<sup>30</sup>

No exhibitions were organised in any of the Slovenian cities. However, at the beginning of 1916, Izidor Cankar did publish a review of an exhibition of the KPQ's war paintings organised in the Künstlerhaus exhibition building in Vienna between 2 October and 1 November 1915. As this was the first exhibition of its kind, the exhibition catalogue, accessible at the Municipal and Provincial Archives of

<sup>24</sup> Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv (WSLA), Bibliothek Künstlerhaus, Max Ritter von Hoen, Vorwort, Kat. nr. 429a, Kriegsbilderausstellung des k. u. k. Kriegspressequartiers, Künstlerhaus Wien, 1915. pp. 3–12.

<sup>25</sup> For example, on 6 January 1917, when the Art Department was already headed by Sobička, van Hoen expressed his thanks in the name of the Art Department for the funds donated by the *Creditanstalt* trade and industry bank and informed everyone that these resources would be used to organise art exhibitions in Switzerland (in Zürich, Bern, and Basel). Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (OeStA), Kriegsarchiv, Feldakten, Armeeoberkommando, Kriegspressequartier (KA FA AOK KPQ), Akten 24, Kunstgruppe, Maximilian von Hoen, An die k. u. k. priv. österreichische Creditanstalt für Handel und Gewerbe, 6 January 1917.

<sup>26</sup> OeStA, KA FA AOK KPQ, Akten 24, Kunstgruppe, Dienstzettel K. Gr. Nr. 357, 27 April 1917.

<sup>27</sup> The number of exhibitions in the relevant literature varies between 33 and 39 or 40. See GODA 2015 (n. 12), p. 230; POPELKA 2003 (n. 11), p. 68; ALBRECHT 2018 (n. 9), REICHEL 2016 (n. 4), p. 114. The online exhibition 100 Jahre Erster Weltkrieg 2014 (n. 14) may be the most reliable source.

<sup>28</sup> OeStA, KA FA AOK KPQ, Akten 45, Kunstgruppe, Ausstellungen A–K, 1914–1918 and OeStA/KA FA AOK KPQ, Akten 46, Kunstgruppe, Ausstellungen L–Z, 1914–1918.

<sup>29</sup> OeStA, KA FA AOK KPQ, Akten 42, Kunstgruppe, E. Nr. 789/60. An die Ersatzbataillon des k. u. k. Infanterieregiments Nr. 17, Wien 9 March 1917.

<sup>30</sup> Due to the considerable amount of preserved materials about art exhibitions, kept in the Austrian State Archives, the analysis of art exhibitions from the viewpoint of Vavpotič and Gornik's works that were included in these exhibitions remains a subject of further research.



3. Poster for the exhibition of artworks from the Isonzo Front, organised by the KPQ in Berlin, 1917, Austrian State Archives, Vienna



4. Poster for the exhibition of artworks from the Isonzo Front, organised by the KPQ in Düsseldorf, 1918, Austrian State Archives, Vienna



Vienna, boasts an introduction written by the Head of the KPQ Maximilian von Hoehn.<sup>31</sup> Cankar's review thus informed the Slovenian readership about the war painting exhibition only a few months after the fact, and its publication in the *Dom in svet* magazine reached a wide circle of readers. In his review, Cankar stated that “/.../ war zeal is a poor inspiration for the arts”.<sup>32</sup> His evaluation was that the quality of the exhibited works was low, which he ascribed to the fact that the works of only those artists who adhered to the programme and instructions of the military command and who were deemed as war painters were exhibited: “Thus, war painters are in a difficult position: they are not only prescribed with their subject – because when they are a part of the army, they need to paint the army – but also with their tendency.”<sup>33</sup> 473 works were exhibited, but among these, Cankar identified only one painting that depicted a battle, i.e. *Patrols Fighting in the Carpathian Mountains* by Anton Hans Karlinsky (1872–1945). Even in the case of this painting, Cankar did not notice any outstanding artistic achievement, but merely an “interest in types”. Nowadays, based on the discussions written by Popelka and Goda, Cankar's viewpoint can be supplemented with the finding that even during the war, the artists who were members of the KPQ created some high-quality works. It is true, however – as the materials kept in the Austrian State Archives show as well<sup>34</sup> – that the selections of works that took part in the exhibitions were subject to the propaganda goals of the Press Office, which is why numerous works that might have surpassed those that were selected in terms of quality were not exhibited.<sup>35</sup> The purpose of the KPQ art exhibitions was to show the world that artistic endeavours in the Monarchy did not stop during the war as well as to present the reflection on the war by the artists who had the opportunity to experience the war themselves.<sup>36</sup>

The exclusion of war photographers on April or May 1917 (a special war photography department was established) and the direct subordination of the Art Department to the KPQ, which took place in April 1917, represented the more important organisational changes of the Art Department.<sup>37</sup> The Art Department was disbanded on 29 October 1918, only slightly more than a month and a half before the entire KPQ was abolished.<sup>38</sup> After the war, the works by the KPQ artists became a part of the collections of the Museum of Military History and the War Archives in Vienna, while many of them ended up in private collections as well.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>31</sup> WSLA, Bibliothek Künstlerhaus, Max Ritter von Hoen, Vorwort, Kat. nr. 429a, Kriegsbilderausstellung des k. u. k. Kriegspressequartiers, Künstlerhaus Wien, 1915. pp. 3–12.

<sup>32</sup> Izidor CANKAR, Razstava vojnih slik c. in kr. glavnega poročevalskega stanu, *Dom in Svet*, 29/1–2, 1916, pp. 53–55.

<sup>33</sup> CANKAR 1916 (n. 32), pp. 53–55.

<sup>34</sup> OeStA, KA FA AOK KPQ, Akten 24, Kunstgruppe, Karl Ludwig Prinz, Bericht über die Jury am 8. 9. 10. November 1916, 10 November 1916, pp. 1–2. The jury discussed the art exhibitions in Prague, Budapest, and Bolzano.

<sup>35</sup> The analysis of the KPQ art exhibitions during the war and the wartime exhibitions organised in the Künstlerhaus building in Vienna remains a subject of future research, which will provide a more in-depth insight into the question of how the works for the exhibitions were selected. A comparison with the exhibition titled Österreichische Kriegsbilderausstellung 1914–1918, organised in the Künstlerhaus building between 6 September and 14 October 1934, would reveal which works have withstood the test of time and the context of the visual propaganda during the First World War.

<sup>36</sup> Nowadays we know that the artists could work in the vicinity of the front, but were not allowed to go to the front itself – partly for their own safety, but also because they could be more effectively supervised in the hinterlands, as stated by, for example, POPELKA 2003 (n. 11) and REICHEL 2016 (n. 4). At the same time, we need to underline that the response of the artists who experienced the proximity of the front was nowhere near self-evident and predictable.

<sup>37</sup> REICHEL 2016 (n. 4), p. 115.

<sup>38</sup> ALBRECHT 2018 (n. 9).

<sup>39</sup> POPELKA 2003 (n. 11), p. 66; 100 Jahre Erster Weltkrieg 2014 (n. 14).

## Ivan Vavpotič's Works in the Museum of Military History in Vienna

The reconstruction of and insight in the fate of the artworks created by the KPQ artists have led us to examine the collection of artworks kept at the Museum of Military History in Vienna. In fact, the collection also includes works by the painter Ivan Vavpotič, who is directly related to the Slovenian territory (Johann Vavpotic, 1877–1943), as well as the sculptor Friedrich Gornik (1877–1943), born in Slovenia.<sup>40</sup> Vavpotič as well as Gornik can be found on the list of KPQ war painters and sculptors with Austrian citizenship.<sup>41</sup> Although Gornik nowadays belongs among Austrian sculptors, he was born in the territory of Slovenia. Literature refers to Prevalje na Koroškem in the region of Carinthia as his town of birth,<sup>42</sup> though the KPQ documents kept in the Austrian State Archives state that his place of birth was Cerknica in Carniola (Zirknitz, Krain).<sup>43</sup> Gornik was a member of the KPQ Art Department as of 4 January 1916.<sup>44</sup> The collection kept in the Museum of Military History in Vienna nowadays contains twelve of his statues (fig. 5).<sup>45</sup>

The painter, illustrator and set designer Ivan Vavpotič, however, has been thoroughly analysed by the Slovenian literature, yet his work in the service of the KPQ has modestly been mentioned.<sup>46</sup> The preserved archival documents indicate that he was assigned to the KPQ Art Department towards the end of 1916. In the list of works submitted for 1917, the section intended for the information about the artists' membership in the KPQ states that he became a member on 15 December 1916.<sup>47</sup> An official letter informing Vavpotič of his assignment to the KPQ has been preserved as well. The notification signed by von Hoen is dated 9 March 1917 and is addressed to

<sup>40</sup> Luigi Kasimir (1881–1962), born in Ptuj, worked as a war painter as well. His wartime opus has already been the subject of exploration in the Slovenian scientific literature, which is why we will not focus on him in particular in the present contribution. See for example: Marjeta CIGLENEČKI, *Grafike Luigija Kasimirja v Pokrajinskem muzeju Ptuj, Zbornik Pokrajinskega muzeja Ptuj*, 1, 2003, pp. 158–187.

<sup>41</sup> OeStA, KA FA AOK KPQ, Akten 42, Kunstgruppe, Verzeichnis des Tauglichkeitsgrades aller im Stande del k. u. k. Kriegspresquartiers, Kunstgruppe, befindlichen Kriegsmaler und Kriegsbilhauer österreichischer Staatsgehörigkeit, fol. 1, 3.

<sup>42</sup> See for example Friedrich Gornik, Wikipedia, [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich\\_Gornik](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich_Gornik) (17 September 2020); Friedrich Gornik, Digitales Archiv Belvedere, [https://web.archive.org/web/20160325051349/http://digital.belvedere.at/emuseum/view/people/asitem/items\\$0040null:624/0?t:state=flow=cec15884-5f6b-4a87-b5fe-06f4ea2bdad0](https://web.archive.org/web/20160325051349/http://digital.belvedere.at/emuseum/view/people/asitem/items$0040null:624/0?t:state=flow=cec15884-5f6b-4a87-b5fe-06f4ea2bdad0) (17 September 2020); Gornik Friedrich, e-Biografski leksikon Koroške Žive vezi, [http://www.reg-kult.si/Biografski-leksikon?udt\\_458\\_param\\_detail=93](http://www.reg-kult.si/Biografski-leksikon?udt_458_param_detail=93) (17 September 2020).

<sup>43</sup> For example OeStA, KA FA AOK KPQ, Akten 42, Kunstgruppe, Nominalliste aller im Befehle des AOK. Chef des Generalstabes, Pers. Nr. 10.808/6 vom 30. März 1917 namentlich angeführten Mitglieder der Kunstgruppe des Kriegspresquartiers. Frontdienstuntauglich. The inconsistency certainly calls for additional research, which, however, transcends the framework of the present contribution.

<sup>44</sup> OeStA, KA FA AOK KPQ, Akten 42, Kunstgruppe, Verzeichnis des Tauglichkeitsgrades aller im Stande del k. u. k. Kriegspresquartiers, Kunstgruppe, befindlichen Kriegsmaler und Kriegsbilhauer österreichischer Staatsgehörigkeit, fol. 1.

<sup>45</sup> Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Nr. GZ S90814/90-HGM/MHI/Sam&A/2020 (1), Objektliste\_Gornik, a letter of 15 September 2020.

<sup>46</sup> For more information about Ivan Vavpotič, see Fran ŠIJANEC, *Ivan Vavpotič 1877–1943*, Ljubljana 1943; Marija ROBEK, *Ivan Vavpotič. Življenje, dela, aforizmi, katalog*, Ljubljana (a diploma thesis typescript), 1954; Milček KOMELJ, Ivan Vavpotič. Slikar življenjske harmonije, *Ivan Vavpotič, 1877–1943*, Narodna galerija, Ljubljana 1987, pp. 11–49; Saša BUČAN, Katarina DAJČMAN, *Ivan Vavpotič. Velikan portreta*, Galerija Miha Maleš, Jakčev dom, Kamnik-Novo mesto 2018.

<sup>47</sup> OeStA, KA FA AOK KPQ, Akten 44, Kunstgruppe, Verzeichnis über die Abgaben der Künstler des Kriegspresquartiers an die Heeresverwaltung bis 31 Dezember 1917, fol. 20. The date December 1916 is also stated by Katarina Dajčman in her contribution for the exhibition catalogue: BUČAN, DAJČMAN 2018 (n. 46), pp. 74–76.

the Infantry Regiment No. 17, Judenburg.<sup>48</sup> The letter also states that a commission examined Vavpotič and determined he was not capable of serving at the front. The complete list of the KPQ artists, incapable of serving at the front, indicates that this examination was conducted on 27 December 1916.<sup>49</sup> Vavpotič remained a member of the Art Department until the end of the war and worked in the hinterlands of the Isonzo Front.<sup>50</sup>

For every week of their so-called excursion, i.e. their visit to the front, the KPQ artists had to submit at least one work to the Office (they would draw sketches in the field and finish the works in their studios in the hinterlands). Otherwise, they had to submit one work per month, though this was not always the case in practice. They had the rest of the production at their disposal, which means that they could, for example, also exhibit their works in private galleries.<sup>51</sup> The list of works that the KPQ artists submitted suggests that in 1917, Vavpotič spent 21 weeks at the front and seven months working at home in Ljubljana. During this time, he submitted eight paintings in line with the Art Department's rules – i.e., even one more than required. At the same time, the list states that he only submitted two sketches, which is why he owed the Office 19 sketches at the end of 1917. Vavpotič then fulfilled this duty until February 1918, as a written note next to his name states.<sup>52</sup>

As far as Vavpotič's wartime opus is concerned, the works that he created in the hinterlands and which were therefore not submitted to the KPQ are well known and now kept in the Slovenian institutions, especially the National Gallery of Slovenia. They include the following paintings: *Landscape at the Front*, *Artillerymen*, *Soldier at his Comrade's Grave* (fig. 6), *Men in Fezzes Travel to the Front*, *Italian Prisoners at the Ljubljana Castle with a Band* and *Consultation of Doctors in the Leonišče Hospital during the First World War*, as well as some drawings (fig. 7, 8, 9). There are no portraits among these works, even though literature indicates that under the auspices of the



5. Friedrich Gornik: *Army Dog Asta and Its Handler*, 1916, Museum of Military History, Vienna

<sup>48</sup> OeStA, KA FA AOK KPQ, Akten 42, Kunstgruppe, E. Nr. 789/60. An die Ersatzbataillon des k. u. k. Infanterieregiments Nr. 17, Wien 9 March 1917. Von Hoen's letter also states that Vavpotič was examined by a commission and determined as incapable of serving at the front.

<sup>49</sup> OeStA, KA FA AOK KPQ, Akten 42, Kunstgruppe, Kunstgruppe des Kriegspresquartiers, Verzeichnis ad Befehl des k. u. k. AOK., Chef des Generalstabes, Pers. Nr. 1080/6 von 30. 3. 1917.

<sup>50</sup> BUČAN, DAJČMAN 2018 (n. 47), p. 74.

<sup>51</sup> POPELKA 2003 (n. 11), p. 66.

<sup>52</sup> OeStA, KA FA AOK KPQ, Akten 44, Kunstgruppe, Verzeichnis über die Abgaben der Künstler des Kriegspresquartiers an die Heeresverwaltung bis 31 Dezember 1917, fol. 20.



6. Ivan Vavpotič: *Soldier on His Comrade's Grave*, National Gallery of Slovenia, Ljubljana

KPQ, Vavpotič would also paint portraits of military personalities. Only Katarina Dajčman, quoting Fran Šijanec, mentions the potential locations of these portraits when she claims that they are kept “mostly in museums abroad”.<sup>53</sup> However, the archival documents that we are presenting in this contribution and our insight into the fate of the KPQ artworks reveal where a part of Vavpotič's wartime opus is kept. The list of works submitted to the Military Collection for the period between 1 May and 10 December 1917, which is kept in the Museum of Military History and contains the names of the artists, states that six oil paintings, two watercolour paintings, and two drawings by Vavpotič were added to the collection.<sup>54</sup> The comparison with the list of works nowadays kept at the Museum<sup>55</sup> reveals that the collection still contains nine of the ten works included in the KPQ list: all of the oils (four portraits of military personalities: deputy officers Blasius Erdei (fig. 10), Johann Csonka, and Alois Husa (fig. 11) as well as Corporal Max Woitischek (fig. 12), two depictions of battlefields: Krummassiv and Hill 588 (fig. 13), though without any depictions of the development

or consequences of war, soldiers, weapons, or fighting), both watercolours (the viaduct in Idria and the town of Most na Soči), and a single drawing (a torn-down house in Most na Soči). The drawing of the burning railway station in Most na Soči is missing, however. The National Gallery of Slovenia keeps a negative of the photograph of the depiction titled *Fire at the Sv. Lucija Railway Station* (fig. 14), which could represent the painting based on the missing drawing, but the negative only contains a note that the original is privately owned. Apart from the listed works, the Museum of Military History collection contains fourteen other Vavpotič's works with war motifs (portraits of military personalities or depictions of places at or near the front), which we can assume Vavpotič submitted to the Office in 1918. These include the portrait of Ensign Petar Nujić and drawings depicting a square with a church, portraits of engine drivers Kija Corić, Bair Kapetanović, Ivan Golemat and Macku Luttic, Stipo Penić from Bosnia, private citizens Ivan Mikulić and Hans von Leylis, infantryman Lazar Spremo, as well as a portrait of a certain lieutenant field marshal. The collection of the Museum of Military History therefore contains 23 works by Vavpotič,<sup>56</sup> which

<sup>53</sup> BUČAN, DAJČMAN 2018 (n. 47), p. 74.

<sup>54</sup> OeStA, KA FA AOK KPQ, Akten 44, Kunstgruppe, Heeresverwaltung 1. Mai 1917 bis zu 10. December 1917. Vavpotic Johann.

<sup>55</sup> Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Nr. GZ S90814/90-HGM/MHI/Sam&A/2020 (1), Objektliste\_Vavpotič, a letter of 15 September 2020.

<sup>56</sup> Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Nr. GZ S90814/90-HGM/MHI/Sam&A/2020 (1), Objektliste\_Vavpotič, a letter of 15 September 2020.



7. Ivan Vavpotič: *Soldier in a Trench*,  
National Gallery of Slovenia, Ljubljana



8. Ivan Vavpotič: *Soldier and a Mule*,  
National Gallery of Slovenia, Ljubljana



9. Ivan Vavpotič: *Horses in Harness*,  
National Gallery of Slovenia, Ljubljana



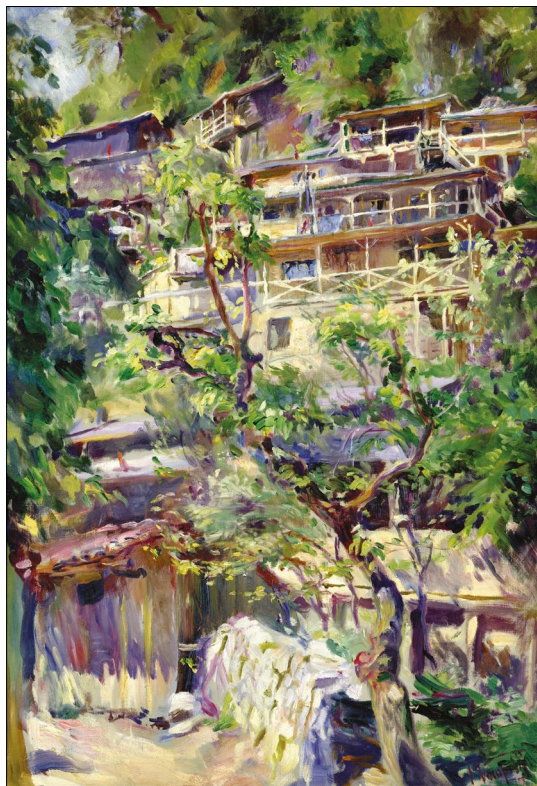
10. Ivan Vavpotič: Blasius Erdei,  
Deputy Officer in the Infantry Regiment No. 37,  
Museum of Military History, Vienna



11. Ivan Vavpotič: Alois Husa,  
Deputy Officer in the Infantry Regiment No. 18,  
Museum of Military History, Vienna



12. Ivan Vavpotič: Corporal Max Woitschek,  
Museum of Military History, Vienna



13. Ivan Vavpotič: Fortifications at Hill 588, 1917,  
Museum of Military History, Vienna



14. Ivan Vavpotič: *Fire at the Sv. Lucija Railway Station*, private collection

have not yet been analysed in the literature about this painter. The overview of their motifs reveals that even in the service of the KPQ, Vavpotič mostly worked as a portraitist and landscape artist. Precisely in these two genres, the relevant art literature acknowledges his achievements in the field of artistic relevance and expression.<sup>57</sup> At the same time, Vavpotič was thus one of those painters in the service of the KPQ who avoided direct depictions of wartime horrors by painting nature and portraits. This war painter's focus on portraits is certainly also related to the more explicit orientation of the KPQ towards propaganda in 1917, as its new leader Eisner-Bubna also decided to enhance the reputation of the Army. To this end, he ordered the artists and writers of the KPQ to depict the generals and write their biographies, underlining their heroic deeds.<sup>58</sup>

### The KPQ Propaganda Department

Although the KPQ had a significant influence, it was not the only institution in the Monarchy that focused on mass propaganda and thus also on the publication of visual propaganda prints. The following institutions mass-produced propaganda materials as well: charitable organisations that took care of war widows and orphans; the Red Cross; the War Help Office (Kriegshilfsbüro des k.u.k. Ministeriums des Innern); the War Relief Agency (Kriegsfürsorgeamt des k. u. k. Kriegsministe-

<sup>57</sup> KOMELJ 1987 (n. 46), pp. 28, 31.

<sup>58</sup> REICHEL 2016 (n. 4), p. 91.

riums); as well as banks which would commission posters for war loans. All of these prints were circulated throughout the Monarchy. At the same time, some of the artists – those who were members of the KPQ as well as some who operated independently – decided to mass-produce patriotic kitsch, as Popelka referred to it. This group of prints and objects included, for example, postcards as the most extensive category by far, templates for posters, calendars, children's books and picture books, bookmarks, the so-called vivat ribbons, diplomas, memorial medals, plaques, as well as objects for everyday use (kitchenware, tickets, commemorative badges, etc.), which were disseminated throughout the Monarchy as well. As far as the KPQ is concerned, it left nothing to chance and therefore carefully selected artists to design the objects produced under its auspices.<sup>59</sup>

At the same time, several organisations and government offices like the Press Offices of the Ministries of the Exterior and the Interior, the News Department of the Army's Supreme Command (AOK), the War Archives, and the press representatives of the KPQ abroad, were in charge of the Monarchy's war propaganda – to the detriment of Austria-Hungary's success, as such fragmentation prevented swift and organised actions in the likes of, for example, the British War Propaganda Bureau, established in August 1914.<sup>60</sup>

For the Slovenian territory, the activities of the so-called Propaganda Department of the KPQ are equally or even more significant than those of the Art Department, which certainly influenced this territory by selecting the works for the exhibitions and reproductions in the mass press, while its members would make an impact with their charitable or commercial activities.<sup>61</sup> As an independent section, the Propaganda Department was established after the reorganisation of the KPQ in 1917. In close cooperation with the photography section and the Art Department, it published a whole range of propaganda brochures and other publications. Among other things, it was also responsible for the organisation and promotion of art exhibitions and preparation of monthly reports on the KPQ activities; in 1918, it had 31 members.<sup>62</sup> This does not qualify it among the larger departments of the KPQ, yet it was very influential due to its horizontal way of operating that brought together various departments. Under the leadership of the propaganda department, the KPQ would produce newspaper articles, monographs, prepare art and photography exhibitions, lectures with pictures, fliers to be disseminated by planes, and even the pieces of text that were printed on cigarette packs.<sup>63</sup> It would provide the newspapers all over the Monarchy with texts, photographs, and illustrations, which could be published without being subject to censorship, of course. Such texts, signed "from our reporter", can be found in the Slovenian newspapers as well.

<sup>59</sup> POPELKA 2003 (n. 11), p. 70. Those artists who were members of the KPQ, as well as some that were not, would take part in these activities. Popelka lists three associations that were particularly active in this regard: Hagen-Bund, Künstlergenossenschaft, and Secession.

<sup>60</sup> HOFMANN-RANDALL 2014 (n. 17), p. 184.

<sup>61</sup> The activities of the KPQ's Propaganda Department are detailed in REICHEL 2016 (n. 4), pp. 27-28.

<sup>62</sup> ALBRECHT 2018 (n. 9); REICHEL 2016 (n. 4), pp. 27-28.

<sup>63</sup> REICHEL 2006 (n. 4), p. 98.



## The Slovenian Territory and War Postcards

The mass prints created all over the Monarchy but especially in its Austrian part were distributed in the Slovenian territory as well. At the same time, until Italy changed sides and joined the Entente, a part of the Slovenian space was under the influence of the Italian propaganda,<sup>64</sup> while the eastern part was exposed to the mass press of the Hungarian part of the Monarchy. The only comprehensive analyses of visual arts during the First World War to date have been carried out by Iztok Durjava<sup>65</sup> and Milček Komelj;<sup>66</sup> Marko Štepec wrote a contribution on art during the First World War;<sup>67</sup> while the visual image of the First World War in the Slovenian scientific literature has been researched in the context of studies dedicated to the individual segments of this image, for example opuses of certain authors, caricatures, selected illustrated periodicals,<sup>68</sup> or in the framework of the overviews of the development of certain media or art genres like posters or public monuments.<sup>69</sup> It has also been the subject of diploma theses.<sup>70</sup> The works focusing on the visual image of the First World War would merely touch upon the questions of visual propaganda in Slovenia in passing. The one-hundredth anniversary of the end of the First World War significantly encouraged the research into it. Many new realisations have resulted from a number of research projects that provided a more in-depth insight into the course of the war and its socio-historical contexts as well as presented a large quantity of graphic materials and documents.<sup>71</sup> However, less attention has been paid to the question of defining how visual arts influenced the postcard motifs, international comparisons, the roles of those who commissioned the postcards, and their reception.

<sup>64</sup> The Italian propaganda kept covering the territory of the Isonzo Front with propaganda materials until the very end of the war. For further information about this, see for example: Maria MASAU DAN, Donatella PORCEDDA, *L'Arma della Persuasione. Parole ed Immagini di Propaganda nella Grande Guerra*, Palazzo Dornberg, Gorizia 1991; Giovanna DURÌ, Luca GIULIANI, Anna VILLARI SILVANA, *L'offensiva di carta. La Grande Guerra illustrata, dalla collezione Luxardo al fumetto contemporaneo*, Castello di Udine, Udine 2018.

<sup>65</sup> Iztok DURJAVA, The Contribution of Slovene Artists to the Depiction of World War I, *Cahiers d'études et de recherches du musée de l'Armée*, 2000/1 (= *Peindre la Grande Guerre. Actes du symposium de l'IAMAM*, 16. – 18. novembre 1998), pp. 139–151.

<sup>66</sup> Milček KOMELJ, Prva svetovna vojna in slovenska likovna umetnost, *Velika vojna in Slovenci. 1914–1918* (eds. Peter Vodopivec, Katja Kleindienst), Ljubljana 2005, pp. 75–86.

<sup>67</sup> Marko ŠTEPEC, Umetnost v času prve svetovne vojne, 100letprve, [http://www.100letprve.si/i\\_svetovna\\_vojna/umetnost/index.html](http://www.100letprve.si/i_svetovna_vojna/umetnost/index.html) (15 September 2020).

<sup>68</sup> Maja ŽVANUT, Prva svetovna vojna v očeh dveh slovenskih ilustriranih časopisov, *Kronika. Časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino*, 27, 1979, pp. 112–116; Damir GLOBOČNIK, Karikature v letih prve svetovne vojne, *Zgodovinski časopis*, 54/4, 2000, pp. 563–610; *Begunci. Slovenski begunci s Soške fronte* (ed. Katarina Brešan), Nova Gorica 2016.

<sup>69</sup> Ksenija BERK, Rekrutacijski plakati prve svetovne vojne in migracija podobe uperjenega prsta, *Teorija in praksa*, 42, 2005/2–3, pp. 430–438; Cvetka POŽAR, *Vsi na volitve. Plakat kot politični medij na Slovenskem, 1945–1999*, Ljubljana 2000; Špelca ČOPIČ, Slovenski spomeniki padlim v prvi svetovni vojni, *Kronika. Časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino*, 35, 1987, pp. 169–177; Damjana FORTUNAT ČERNILOGAR, Materialne ostaline soške fronte na Tolminskem, *Kronika. Časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino*, 42, 1995, pp. 59–63; Beti ŽEROVC, Javni spomeniki in spomeniki, posvečeni prvi svetovni vojni, na območju Jugoslavije od poznega 19. stoletja do leta 1941, *Arts & Humanitas. Revija za umetnost in humanistiko*, 13/2, 2019, pp. 203–230; Vili PRINČIČ, *Neme priče vojnih grozot. 1915–1918*, Trieste 1918.

<sup>70</sup> Natalija CIGUT, *Prva svetovna vojna v likovnih upodobitvah na območju slovenske Štajerske*, Maribor 2014 (diploma thesis typescript).

<sup>71</sup> A number of exhibitions in Slovenia as well as all over the world were dedicated to this anniversary. In Slovenia, the first exhibition dedicated to Slovenian artists and their depictions of the First World War was the one organised by the Institute of Art History of the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts and the University of Maribor titled *Slovenski umetniki in velika vojna (Slovenian Artists and the Great War)*, Faculty of Arts, University of Maribor, Maribor 2015.

In the present contribution, we seek the answers about the influences on the visual propaganda in the Slovenian territory and its specifics based on the analysis of postcards as the most widespread medium of mass visual propaganda. We focus on the series of postcards titled *War in Pictures*, which represents a comprehensive collection of prints and, as such, allows for a thorough analysis.<sup>72</sup> At the same time, in the introduction to the catalogue of the Slovenian war postcard collection, Janez J. Švajncer states that it is unheard that any other European nation would ever produce a collection of postcards to rival the one created during the First World War in Slovenia.<sup>73</sup> The collection in question has already been thoroughly researched, yet the issue of visual influences had been almost entirely overlooked.<sup>74</sup> On those occasions, its significance as well as the general importance of postcards for the Slovenian territory during the First World War has been evaluated. The catalogue of postcards, published in eleven groups under the single title *War in Pictures* from 1914 to 1918, was published in 2015 by the Logatec War Museum.<sup>75</sup> It contains more than 200 postcards, of which 140 are known examples from the series, followed by declaration postcards as well as a few other specimens from this period.<sup>76</sup> Some of the examples lack the author's signature, others are reproductions of photographs, but most of them were painted by Maksim Gaspari as well as Anton Koželj, Hinko Smrekar, Ivan Vavpotič, Peter Žmitek, Fran Tratnik, Valentin Hodnik, and Helena Vurnik.

In our definition of what influenced the look of the postcards, we can resort to the overview of war painting motifs, accomplished by Popelka, as well as to the motifs of the German postcards as they have been systematised by Hofmann-Randall. Based on the analysis of the war painters' opuses, the former author outlined the prominent topics of war paintings, as she refers to them herself: nature, landscapes, depictions of new weapons, depictions of wartime horrors, dehumanisation, refugees, prisoners of war, the wounded, the fatalities, the disabled, animals, the totality of the

<sup>72</sup> Other postcards published by the KPQ, charity organisations, banks, and other organisations circulated in Slovenia as well. Extensive postcard collections are also kept in the National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia and in the Museum of Gorizia. At this point, we should also underline the importance of collectors for preserving the memory of the First World War – not only in Slovenia but all across Europe. See for example: *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie. Sonderbände*, 114, 2014 (= *Kriegssammlungen 1914–1918*), Frankfurt am Main 2014.

<sup>73</sup> Janez J. ŠVAJNCER, *Vojska v slikah. Slovenske vojne razglednice v 1. svetovni vojni. Zbirka Miloša Mikoliča in Miomirja Križaja*, Logatec 2015, p. 4.

<sup>74</sup> Janez J. ŠVAJNCER, *Slovenske razglednice v prvi svetovni vojni*, *Kronika. Časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino*, 33, 1985, pp. 41–49; Janez J. ŠVAJNCER, *Deklaracijske razglednice*, *Kronika. Časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino*, 35, 1987, pp. 59–65; Ferdo ŠERBELJ, *O slovenskih razglednicah iz prve svetovne vojne*, *Oblaki so rudeči. Ljudske in umetne iz prve svetovne vojne* (ed. Janez Povše), Trieste 1988, pp. 209–211. Miloš ŠKRABEC, Zora TORKAR, *Pozdrav z bojišča. Prva svetovna vojna in boj za meje po njej na razglednicah*, Kamnik 2008; Walter LUKAN, *Soška fronta v zrcalu vojne razglednice, Soška fronta 1915–1917. Kultura spominjanja* (ed. Vincenc Rajšp), Wien-Ljubljana 2010, pp. 141–187; Marko ŠTEPEC, *Razglednice Vojska v slikah, (R)evolucija muzeja. 70 let povežujemo. Muzej novejšje zgodovine Slovenije 1948–2018. 70 zgodb o XX. stoletju* (ed. Monika Kokalj Kočevar), Ljubljana 2018, pp. 20–21; ŠVAJNCER 2015 (n. 73).

<sup>75</sup> ŠVAJNCER 2015 (n. 73).

<sup>76</sup> The postcards that are part of the *War in Pictures* series are numbered, while the other postcards published in the catalogues are not. See: Miloš MIKOLIČ, *Razglednice zbirke "Vojska v slikah 1914–1918"*, *Vojnozgodovinski zbornik*, 25, 2006, pp. 25–30. The precise print run of these series of postcards cannot be established based on the available literature, but they were certainly considerable. Švajncer states that thousands of copies were certainly printed, as, for example, in March 1918, a significant discount was available for the purchase of 2.000 copies. ŠVAJNCER 1985 (n. 73), p. 45.

war, and, as a separate category, portraits of certain individuals, primarily soldiers and generals.<sup>77</sup> Meanwhile, in her analysis of the topics depicted on German war postcards, which is even somewhat more closely related to our own comparison, the latter author distinguishes between the topics dedicated to caricatures of the enemy weaknesses, depictions of the consequences of war in the form of destroyed buildings, memorials, cities, and other objects, military life, appeals to purchase war bonds, adverts for charity organisations, depictions of members of royal dynasties, leading politicians, and military officers, army graves, fallen soldiers, love scenes, and festive postcards containing fragments of popular songs. Initially, the text on postcards was very significant or even dominant, while purely pictorial postcards were rare. In her analysis, the author also defines the target groups of the propaganda, which the topics depended on, naturally. Postcards could be intended for one's own people and could, in this case, focus in particular on the soldiers at the front or, separately, on the hinterlands; but they could also be intended for the enemies or the neutral states that Germany and Austro-Hungary wished to win over.<sup>78</sup> Postcards that depicted military officers, the Emperor, and the members of the royal family, the journey to the front, scenes depicting land, air, and naval combat (though without any details of the human suffering), military life, the wounded and the fatalities (most often related to adverts for charity organisations), appeals to collect materiel, clothes for the soldiers, or to purchase bonds circulated in Slovenia as well; while the so-called *Feldpostkarten* were frequent at the front.<sup>79</sup> If we focus solely on *War in Pictures*, the collection created largely by Slovenian artists, we can establish that also in this case, the texts or verses of individual poems – folk songs or poems written by Slovenian poets, most often Simon Gregorčič – represented an important element of the postcards.

Ivan Vavpotič contributed five postcards to the *War in Pictures* series. He had drawn all five templates even before he became a war painter. Two were published by the provincial Red Cross's Society for Carniola in 1914. The first, titled *Protecting a Wounded Soldier* (fig. 15), depicts a nurse defending a wounded soldier with a shield that bears a large red cross and chases away the Grim Reaper who skulks in the background. The second one, *Prayer Before Combat* (fig. 16), depicts a general on a horse, accompanied by a commander who stands next to him, while the kneeling soldiers behind them hold a flag with a two-headed eagle. Everyone stares into the distance rapt in prayer before combat. Three postcards in the series, containing reproductions of Vavpotič's templates, were published in 1915 by the *Ilustrirani glasnik* newspaper. Two images were drawn in shades of brown. One depicts a scene similar to that of *Prayer Before Combat*, only that this time it is about a posthumous decoration of fallen soldiers, carried out on the battlefield by Emperor Franz Joseph and Archduke Charles on horseback, while the soldiers stand in a semicircle, watching the scene reverently (fig. 17). The image is accompanied by two stanzas of Simon Gregorčič's poem titled *Decoration*. The second postcard is divided into two parts. The top shows a crying fiancée, hunched over a table in a room at home, consoled by her mother; while the bottom shows a military grave (fig. 18). The image is accompanied by another poem by Gregorčič, *Weep*. This could already be an example of anti-war images, as it very directly shows pain because of the loss of a loved one. Meanwhile, the postcard entitled *Drown the Foreigners Hungry for Our Land /.../* stands out due to its explicitness, as it depicts a burning bridge and bloody bodies of drowned soldiers in

<sup>77</sup> POPELKA 2003 (n. 11), pp. 73–76.

<sup>78</sup> HOFMANN-RANDALL 2014 (n. 17), pp. 185–186.

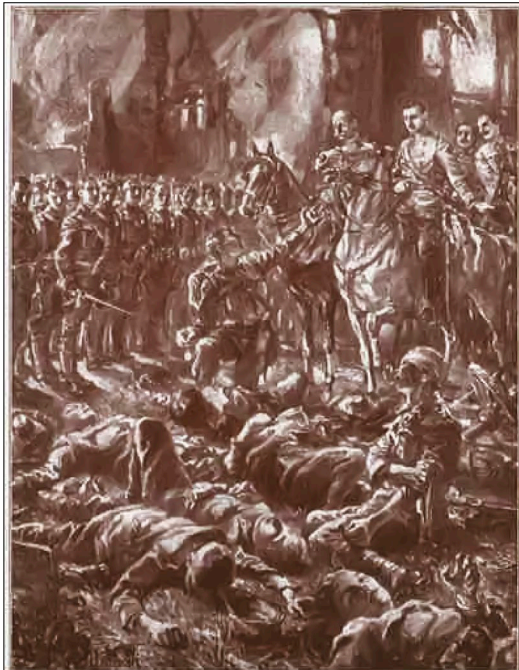
<sup>79</sup> These pre-printed cards were intended to cover up the situation at the front, as soldiers could only sign them. They would be distributed among the troops and were free of postage.



15. Ivan Vavpotič: *Protecting a Wounded Soldier*, postcard, 1914



16. Ivan Vavpotič: *Prayer before Combat*, postcard, 1914



„Kar meč, kar strel jih je pomoril,  
V tem ednem sem odlikoval;  
Teh slednji manj kot jaz ni storil,  
Več kot mi vsi je žrtvoval.“  
Spoštljivo kralj glave odkrije,  
Z njim vrste vse se odkrije,  
Oko junakom solze lije,  
Po mrtvih bratih jim teko.

Sim. Gregorič.

17. Ivan Vavpotič: Decoration, postcard from the War in Pictures series, 1915



„Ti plakaš, o nesrečna deva?  
In hud te res zadel je vdar;  
Le plakaj, plakaj, tožna reva,  
Ne vstavičaj gorkih solz nikar!“

Sim. Gregorič

18. Ivan Vavpotič: Are You Weeping, Poor Maiden?, postcard from the War in Pictures series, 1915



19. Ivan Vavpotič: Drown the Foreigners Hungry for Our Land, postcard from the War in Pictures series, 1915



20. Maksim Gaspari: *A Swallow Nesting Like Last Year*, postcard from the *War in Pictures* series, 1915



21. Anton Koželj: *I Am a Slovenian Girl*, postcard from the *War in Pictures* series, 1916

lively colours (fig. 19). As during his time as a war painter, Vavpotič was among the artists who would mostly resort to portraits and landscape motifs, this image was a somewhat special example in his war opus. However, Milček Komelj recognised an aesthetic note in Vavpotič's depiction of war scenes, as he wrote: "It is characteristic that as a war painter, he even painted a fire during the night, as despite all the horror, he also saw it as a certain colourful aesthetic experience in the spirit of baroque or romantic painting, or that he experienced the flares soaring through the night sky as true celestial flowers."<sup>80</sup>

Among the postcards whose templates were created by Slovenian artists, the motifs of farewell, the idyllic native land as the backdrop for various scenes, as well as the use of clothing and symbols that emphasise the Slovenian character and encourage the power of faith and hope stand out – apart from the more general themes like the Red Cross and depictions of the Emperor and military officers. This can be seen as a distinctiveness of the images on the postcards, related to the Slovenian space. Most certainly, the postcards did not convey the atmosphere of homeliness and native Slovenian land – characterised by homesteads, crucifixes, belfries, carnations, as well as other folk motifs and costumes – without the express wish of the clients and publishers to meet the public demand and offer the people a feeling of safety and consolation in the middle of the war (fig. 20). Thus, these images were not simply a reflection of the official propaganda: they were original and

<sup>80</sup> KOMELJ 1987 (n. 46), p. 38.

spontaneous enough that we can also see them as elements of the articulation of Slovenian identity (fig. 21).<sup>81</sup> They were, however, communicated using the methods established and encouraged by the official propaganda. Therefore, the images functioned in an interestingly paradoxical manner: on the one hand – from the logistical and relatively often also topical viewpoint – they were the product of centrally managed state propaganda; while, on the other hand, their details conveyed national and regionally-specific elements. This is all the more true of those postcards that reflected the wartime events in the Slovenian territory. The most prominent of these were Italy switching over to the side of the Entente and the Declaration Movement. In the case of the former, the artistic response on the postcards still implied the defence of the Slovenian homeland in the context of the Monarchy. In the latter case, however, the visual image of the response to the Declaration Movement that used tricolours and depictions of Slovenian politicians (Janez Evangelist Krek and Anton Korošec) was already exceedingly national. Moreover, with their melancholic images, the Slovenian postcards had an anti-war effect, which confirms our initial assumption that precisely the artists were one of the first proponents of the dissatisfaction with the war, which they could communicate with their picturesque visual language.

## Conclusion

The present contribution seeks to identify the influences and characteristics of the visual propaganda in the Slovenian territory during the First World War.<sup>82</sup> We have analysed the propaganda activities of the Monarchy, which also encompassed the Slovenian territory. We have demonstrated that with its policy of war painting exhibitions, the KPQ and its subordinate Art Department have also influenced the Slovenian space, as is evident from, for example, Izidor Cankar's review in the *Dom in svet* magazine. At the same time, artists who had connections with the Slovenian space worked as war painters and sculptors as well – we underlined the painter Ivan Vavpotič and sculptor Friedrich Gornik. Based on archival materials, we have revealed certain previously unknown details from the period when both of these artists were active in the KPQ. Furthermore, the part of Ivan Vavpotič's opus created in the context of his activities in the Art Department and nowadays kept in the Museum of Military History in Vienna has received in-depth scientific attention for the first time. When trying to identify the influences on the Slovenian space, we have also touched upon the activities of the KPQ's Propaganda Department, which was, among other things, responsible for the production of mass prints as well as for the organisation and promotion of art exhibitions. Furthermore, it was in charge of supplying the press with graphic, photographic, and textual materials, which can be found even in the Slovenian newspapers from that time and are signed "from our reporter". In the second part of the contribution, we focused on the collection of postcards ti-

<sup>81</sup> M. Norris establishes something similar for the Russian *lubok*. NORRIS 2006 (n. 3), pp. 186–190.

<sup>82</sup> During these efforts, we have, due to the vast extent of the topic, merely touched upon a number of questions and research challenges in passing. Thus, they remain open to further research. Here we should underline the following research topics that would shed additional light on the issue: an analysis of the entire corpus of the KPQ art exhibitions and their reception; the role of female artists (painters, sculptors, and photographers) in the propaganda machinery of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; in-depth analyses and reconstructions of the individual artists' wartime opuses; as well as research into other mass propaganda media in the Slovenian territory, for example posters.

tled *War in Pictures*, published in the territory of Slovenia and largely created by Slovenian authors, including Ivan Vavpotič. Also in the case of the Slovenian territory, the analysis of the motifs used on these postcards supports the thesis that the Austro-Hungarian propaganda did not pay enough attention to the regional specifics of its multi-national space. In some environments, it therefore left enough room for the introduction of nationally charged images, symbols, and, towards the end of the war, also propagandistic emphases that would occasionally even have an anti-war effect. In the case of the Slovenian postcards, the visual propaganda thus exhibits a dichotomy: it adhered to the methodology implemented by the KPQ; yet as the war unfolded, its contents would increasingly often reflect the Slovenian national symbols and events crucial for the local territory – including the shift from the adherence to the Monarchy towards the association of the Slavic nations.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>83</sup> The research was conducted as part of the research programme *Slovenian Artistic Identity in European Context* (P6-0061 (B)), funded by the Slovenian Research Agency, and as part of the research project *Visual Arts between Censorship and Propaganda from the Middle Ages to the End of World War I*. (L7-8282) funded by the Slovenian Research Agency and Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. I would like to thank Dr Marko Štepec from the National Museum of Contemporary History and Dr Petra Svobljšek from the Milko Kos Historical Institute of the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts for their assistance with the collection of the materials needed for the present contribution; Jassmina Marijan from the National Gallery of Slovenia; the Regional Museum Goriški muzej; as well as the Austrian State Archives and the Museum of Military History in Vienna. I would like to express my gratitude to Borut Praper for translating my paper into English.



## Vizualna propaganda med prvo svetovno vojno na ozemlju Slovenije: vplivi in posebnosti

### *Povzetek*

Prispevek se osredotoča na vprašanja, kakšna je bila podoba vizualne propagande na slovenskih tleh v času prve svetovne vojne, od kod so prihajali vplivi in ali ta podoba odlikava določene regionalne posebnosti. Najprej predstavimo rezultate analize delovanja osrednjega avstroogrškega vojnega tiskovnega urada (*Kriegspressequartier, KPQ*) ter njemu podrejenih umetniške (*Kunstgruppe*) in propagandne skupine (*Propagandagruppe*). V ospredje postavljamo njihov vpliv na slovenski prostor, ki smo ga razbirali na podlagi medvojnih umetniških razstav KPQ, delovanja vojnih slikarjev in mehanizmov produkcije vsebin za množične tiske. Pri tem smo izhajali iz literature in arhivskega gradiva, ki ga hrani Avstrijski državni arhiv (vojni arhiv) na Dunaju. Pokažemo, kako so KPQ in njemu podrejeni umetniška in propagandna skupina s svojim delovanjem vplivali tudi na slovenski prostor, še zlasti pa izpostavljam politiko umetniških razstav vojnega slikarstva kot orodja propagande. Med vojnimi slikarji in kiparji KPQ izpostavljam s slovenskim prostorom povezana slikarja Ivana Vavpotiča in kiparja Friedricha Gornika. Na podlagi arhivskega gradiva v prispevku razkrivamo nekatere do sedaj neznane podrobnosti iz časa delovanja obeh umetnikov v KPQ. Razumevanje poti umetniških del KPQ med vojno in neposredno po njej pa nas je pripeljalo do analize zbirke umetnin, nastalih v času prve svetovne vojne, ki jih hrani Vojni muzej na Dunaju. Zbirka hrani 12 Gornikovih plastik in kar 23 Vavpotičevih del. Slednja do sedaj v literaturi niso bila obravnavana in jih v okviru prispevka predstavljamo prvič. Gre za portrete častnikov, vojakov in drugih posameznikov ter upodobitve krajev na fronti in v zaledju, kar Vavpotiča uvršča med tiste slikarje, ki so se pred neposrednim upodabljanjem vojnih grozot umikali v upodabljanje krajine in propagandno obarvanih portretov vojaških osebnosti. V drugem delu prispevka se osredotočamo na primer množične vizualne propagande, in sicer predstavljamo rezultate analize vojnih razglednic, ki so bile izdane na Slovenskem in so bile pretežno delo slovenskih avtorjev. Posebno pozornost posvečamo analizi likovnih predlog Ivana Vavpotiča in vojnih razglednic zbirke *Vojska v slikah* ter iskanju vplivov in opredelitvi posebnosti, ki jih lahko vežemo na slovenski prostor. Ugotavljamo, da so razglednice v tematiki in motivih sledile vojnim razglednicam, ki so krožile v monarhiji in Nemčiji, vendar so v likovnih detajlih odlikavale simbole, lastne slovenskemu prostoru in identiteti. Še več, med vojno so vedno bolj odražale tudi dogajanje, povezano s slovenskim prostorom, kot so prestop Italije k antanti, deklaracijsko gibanje in po letu 1917 premik od pripadnosti monarhiji k povezovanju slovanskih narodov. Analiza motivov vojnih razglednic tako tudi za slovenski prostor govori v prid tezi, da je avstroogrška propaganda premalo pozornosti posvečala regionalnim specifikam svojega večnacionalnega prostora in je v posameznih okoljih puščala dovolj prostora za vnos nacionalno obarvanih podob, simbolov in kmalu po začetku vojne tudi protivojnih propagandnih poudarkov. Sklenemo, da je vizualna propaganda na Slovenskem v času prve svetovne sledila centralno vodeni propagandi monarhije, vendar vsaj na vojnih razglednicah slovenskih avtorjev odlikava dovolj avtohtonih likovnih detajlov in simbolov, da lahko govorimo o njeni prostorsko specifični podobi.

*Facies  
orientalis.*

*Mausoleum  
et  
crypta sepulcralis  
FERDINANDI II IMP.  
Gracii prope Collegium  
Soc. Jesu.*

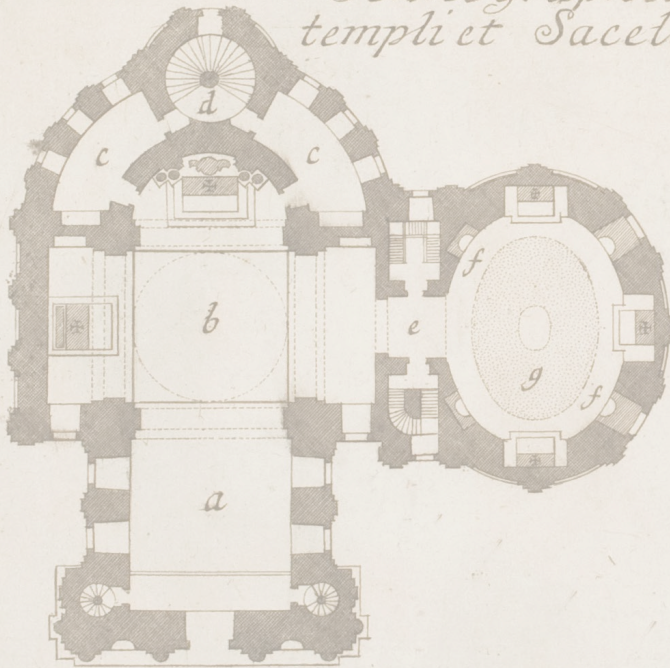
*Conspectus  
exterior  
lateralis.*



# APPARATUS

*Tehnographia  
templi et Sacelli.*

*Sectio quasi per medium  
a templo a, sacello f, et Crypta g.*



*Literarum explicatio.*  
a. Templum. e. Oratorium.  
b. Tholus. f. Sacellum.  
c. Sacristia. g. Crypta.  
d. Turris.



# IZVLEČKI IN KLJUČNE BESEDE

## ABSTRACTS AND KEYWORDS

**Martin Bele**

*Je res to storil? Friderik V. Ptujski – strahopetec ali žrtev?*

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Članek obravnava spor med štajerskima plemiškima rodbinama s sedežema na Ptuju in Liechtensteinu, ki se je kratek čas odvijal v 13. stoletju. Nekatere spise, ki so nastali v kontekstu tega spora, imamo lahko za prve ohranjene primerke srednjeveške propagande ene štajerske rodbine proti drugi. Namen članka je obravnavati najpomembnejši narativni vir tistega časa, t. i. *Štajersko rimano kroniko* Otokarja iz Geule, ki je bil v službi liechtensteinske rodbine. Eden od ciljev kronike je bil predstaviti Friderika V. Ptujškega kot strahopetca, ki naj bi bil pobegnul iz bitke na Moravskem polju. Članek predstavlja razloge za spor in njegov potek, dejansko obtožbo strahopetnosti, presojo resnice za obtožbo ter epilog celotnega spora med rodbinama. Obema štajerskima plemičema – Otonu II. Liechtensteinskemu in Frideriku V. Ptujškemu – se je v začetku osemdesetih let 13. stoletja uspelo pobotati, kar sta poudarila tudi z medsebojno poroko svojih otrok.

**Ključne besede:** srednjeveški spor, vojvodina Štajerska, 13. stoletje, *Štajerska rimana kronika*, Otokar iz Geule, Oton II. Liechtensteinski, Friderik V. Ptujski, bitka na Moravskem polju, propaganda

**Jan Galeta**

*Narodni domovi na Moravskem in v avstrijski Šleziji pred letom 1914. Arhitektura in likovna umetnost kot priložnost za manifestacijo nacionalne pripadnosti*

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Tako imenovani narodni domovi so ena izmed posebnosti ne le arhitekture temveč tudi narodnega preporeda na območju habsburškega cesarstva v obdobju od ok.

**Martin Bele**

*Did he Really Do it? Frederick V of Ptuj – Coward or Victim?*

1.01 Original scientific article

The article addresses the brief 13<sup>th</sup> century dispute between the Styrian noble families of Ptuj (German: Pettau) and Liechtenstein. The related texts should be considered as some of the earliest still preserved examples of medieval propaganda of one Styrian family against another. The paper's purpose is to highlight the most important narrative source of the time, Ottokar aus der Gaal's *Styrian Rhyme Chronicle*. This Chronicle was written by a Liechtenstein vassal, and was meant to portray Frederick V of Ptuj as a coward – specifically during the battle on the Marchfeld. The article discusses the reason behind and the course of the feud, the actual accusation of cowardice, the validity of the accusation and lastly the epilogue of the whole dispute between the parties. Both of the Styrian nobles involved – Otto II of Liechtenstein and Frederick V of Ptuj – obviously came to an agreement sometime in the early 1280s and sealed hostilities with a marriage of their children.

**Keywords:** medieval dispute, duchy of Styria, 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Styrian Rhyme Chronicle*, Ottokar aus der Gaal, Otto II of Liechtenstein, Frederick V of Ptuj, battle on the Marchfeld, propaganda

**Jan Galeta**

*National Houses in Moravia and Austrian Silesia before 1914. Architecture and Fine Arts as an Opportunity for the Manifestation of National Allegiance*

1.01 Original scientific article

National Houses are one of the phenomena not only of the architecture but also of the national revivals in the territory of the Habsburg Empire in ca. 1850–1914. These

leta 1850 do leta 1914. Ta središča družabnega življenja so gradila društva in združenja, ne samo za svoje sedeže, temveč tudi z namenom privabiti čim širše občinstvo in s svojimi gledališkimi igrami, plesi, proslavami, predavanji ali restavracijami spodbuditi narodno zavest. Na Moravskem in v Šleziji so tovrstne objekte gradili Čehi, Nemci in Poljaki.

Stavbe s tako jasno opredeljeno nacionalno funkcijo so ponujale tudi priložnost z nacionalno propagando nagovoriti tako svojo okolico kot tudi obiskovalce. To je bilo mogoče doseči z različnimi sredstvi: z izbiro arhitekturnega sloga, ikonografijo arhitekturne dekoracije in umetniških del, prireditvami ob slavnostnih otvoritvah narodnih domov in govori na teh dogodkih, kampanjami v časopisu, katerih namen je bil očrtni narodne domove nasprotnega naroda in njihove obiskovalce ter tudi t. i. »odpadnike«. Članek na konkretnih primerih in v širšem kontekstu predstavlja povezavo med arhitekturo in nacionalno propagando.

**Ključne besede:** narodni domovi, zgodovina arhitekture, nacionalizem, Moravska, Šlezija, nemška hiša

**Susanne König-Lein**

*Habsburški mavzolej v sekovski samostanski cerkvi*

#### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

S tem ko je nadvojvoda Karel II. Avstrijski kot prostor za svoj pokop in pokop svoje družine izbral samostansko cerkev v Sekovi (Seckau), je poudaril njen status stolne cerkve sekovske škofije, ki je bil s širjenjem protestantizma v drugi polovici 16. stoletja ogrožen. Gradnjo in opremljanje mavzoleja v letih 1587–1612 so v glavnem izvedli severnoitalijanski stavbarji, slikarji in štukaterji. Po eni strani so bili sposobnejši, po drugi strani pa so bili, drugače kot štajerski umetniki, katoliške vere. Delo in izbrani materiali so predstavljali velik strošek. Po smrti nadvojvode sta si njegova vdova, nadvojvodinja Marija, in kasneje njegov sin, nadvojvoda Ferdinand, kljub finančnim težavam prizadevala mavzolej dokončati. Kompleksna ikonografija reliefov na epitafu in slopih ter na stropnih in stenskih poslikavah aludira na nadvojvodo Karla II in njegovo družino v smislu glorifikacije predstavnikov in zaščitnikov katoliške vere. Habsburški mavzolej je kot celostna umetnina sijajna manifestacija začetka protireformacije.

**Ključne besede:** Habsburžani, Notranja Avstrija, protireformacija, mavzolej, nadvojvoda Karel II. Avstrijski, nadvojvodinja Marija, Alexander de Verda, Teodoro Ghisi, Sebastiano Carlone

centres of social life were built by clubs and associations, not just as their private seats, but to attract a greater audience and boost national enthusiasm through theatre plays, balls, fests, lectures, or welcoming restaurants. In the case of Moravia and Silesia, these houses were built by Czechs, Germans, and Poles.

It is evident that buildings with such clearly nationally orientated functions allowed for national propaganda to reach out to their surroundings as well as their visitors. This was accomplished by several means: the architectural style itself; the iconography of architectural decoration and works of art; the festivities accompanying the ceremonial openings of national houses and the speeches given at these events; the campaigns led by the press to defame opposing national houses and their visitors, as well as so-called 'renegades'. Thus, the paper presents a connection between architecture and national propaganda and demonstrates it through specific examples in a broad period context.

**Keywords:** National Houses, history of architecture, nationalism, Moravia, Austrian Silesia, Deutsches Haus

**Susanne König-Lein**

*The Habsburg Mausoleum in Seckau Monastery Church*

#### 1.01 Original scientific article

With the choice of the Seckau collegiate church as a burial place for himself and his family, Archduke Karl II emphasized its status as the cathedral church of the diocese of Seckau, which was endangered by the spread of Protestantism in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The construction and furnishing of the mausoleum in the years 1587 to 1612 were mainly carried out by northern Italian builders, painters, and plasterers who, on the one hand had special abilities, and on the other hand – in contrast to the Styrian artists – were Catholics. Large funds had to be raised for their fees and for the selected material. After the Archduke's death, his widow, Archduchess Maria, and later his son, Archduke Ferdinand, were very keen on completing the mausoleum despite difficulties in funding. The complex iconography of the reliefs on the epitaph and on the pillars, as well as the ceiling and wall paintings, refers several times to Archduke Karl and his family in order to glorify the regent as representative and protector of the Catholic faith. As a "Gesamtkunstwerk", the Habsburg Mausoleum is a splendid manifestation of the beginning of the Counter-Reformation.

**Keywords:** Habsburgs, Inner Austria, Counter-Reformation, Mausoleum, Archduke Charles II., Archduchess Mary, Alexander de Verda, Teodoro Ghisi, Sebastiano Carlone

**Miha Kosi**

*Reprezentativne zgradbe grofov Celjskih – izraz dinastične propagande*

## 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Grofje Celjski so bili nedvomno najpomembnejša plemiška rodbina z izvorom na današnjem slovenskem ozemlju. Njihov meteorski vzpon je dosegel zenit s povišanjem v državne kneze leta 1436, vendar so že leta 1456 izumrli. Na višku moči so posedovali okrog 125 gradov, kar je bil rezultat več kot stoletja dolge načrtne grajske politike. Eden od načinov izražanja moči in prestiža so bile tudi reprezentativne zgradbe, obenem oblika dinastične propagande. Članek prikazuje nekatere prestižne zgradbe Celjskih: mestni grad v Celju, njihovo glavno rezidenco, dva strateška gradova na dostopih iz Italije (Vipava, Postojna), tri nove, ki so jih grofje zgradili v 15. stoletju (Bela Peč, Fridrihštajn, Mokrice), dva na prestižnih lokacijah na Koroškem (Landskron) oziroma pri Dunaju (Liechtenstein) in njihove mestne rezidence na Dunaju, v Zagrebu, Budimu in Beogradu.

**Ključne besede:** grofje Celjski, gradovi, grajska politika, srednji vek, palača, Celje, Dunaj, Zagreb, Budim, Beograd

**Tina Košak**

*Med uniformnim in edinstvenim. Upodobitve dobrotnikov cistercijskega samostana Stična*

## 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Članek obravnava najboljše ohranjeni sklop upodobitev dobrotnikov iz slovenskih samostanov, tj. portrete dobrotnikov in deželnih knezov iz cistercijskega samostana Stična. Osredotoča se na tipologijo, pomen in slogovne značilnosti z ozirom na sorodne ohranjene cikle iz (notranje)avstrijskih samostanov in z ozirom na njihove likovne in pisne vire. Celopostavni portretni upodobitvi vojvode Leopolda III. in njegove soproge Viride (Narodna galerija, Slovenija), doslej pripisani Ferdinandu Stainerju, razkrivata izrazite sorodnosti s serijo šestih celopostavnih upodobitev dobrotnikov cistercijskega samostana Vetrinj Ferdinanda Fromillerja. Atribucijo Fromillerju omogoča tudi Fromillerjeva risba dobrotnika, identičnega Leopoldu III., v Koroškem deželnem arhivu. Tudi primerjalna analiza desetih ovalnih portretov stiških dobrotnikov in deželnih knezov omogoča tezo, da so dela nastala v Fromillerjevi delavnici. Portreti so nastali v naslonu na ilustracije v knjigah portretov, kot vir napisov na spodnjem delu

**Miha Kosi**

*Representative Buildings of the Counts of Cilli – an Expression of Dynastic Propaganda*

## 1.01 Original scientific article

The Counts of Cilli (Celje) were undoubtedly the most important noble family to originate from the area of present-day Slovenia. Their meteoric rise reached its peak with their elevation to the rank of imperial princes in 1436, although the dynasty died out in 1456. At the height of their might they possessed more than 125 castles, the result of a century-long deliberate castle politics. One distinct way to express might and prestige was through representative buildings, in itself also a dynastic propaganda. This article presents some of the Cilli's more prestigious buildings: The town palace in Celje, their main residence, two strategic castles on the approaches from Italy (Wipach/Vipava, Adelsberg/Postojna), three new fortifications built by the counts themselves in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Weißenfels, Friedrichstein, Mokrice), two on prestigious locations in Carinthia (Landskronn) and above Vienna (Liechtenstein), and their residences in the urban environments of Vienna, Zagreb, Buda and Belgrade.

**Keywords:** Counts of Cilli, castles, castle politics, Middle Ages, palace, Celje, Vienna, Zagreb, Buda, Belgrade

**Tina Košak**

*Between Uniformity and Uniqueness. Depictions of Benefactors of Stična Cistercian Abbey*

## 1.01 Original scientific article

The article focuses on the largest surviving ensemble of portraits of lay dignitaries from Slovenian monasteries, i.e. depictions of the benefactors from Stična abbey. It draws particular attention to their typology, comparisons with similar surviving works from (Inner) Austrian monasteries as well as their models and written sources. Full-figure life-size depictions of Leopold III, Duke of Austria and his wife Viridis (National Gallery of Slovenia, Ljubljana), hitherto ascribed to Ferdinand Stainer, reveal strong parallels with a series of six benefactors of Viktring abbey by Josef Ferdinand Fromiller, now in the Carinthian State Museum in Klagenfurt, and can be based on Fromiller's benefactor drawing, which is identical to Leopold III, attributed to Fromiller. Similarly, comparative analysis of ten oval portraits of the provincial princes and benefactors of Stična (in the National Gallery and the National Museum of Slovenia) reveals that they were also most probably made in Fromiller's workshop, closely following illustrations in portrait books, which

ovalov pa je bila identificirana leta 1719 dokončana *Idiographia* Pavla Puclja.

Ključne besede: upodobitve dobrotnikov, portret, knjige portretov, Stična, Josef Ferdinand Fromiller, Ferdinand Stainer, Leopold III. Avstrijski, Virida Visconti

are identified here. Moreover, the chronicle of Stična abbey by Paolo Puzel dating to 1719, has been identified as the source of the inscriptions on the lower part of the oval portraits.

Keywords: depictions of benefactors, portraiture, portrait books, Stična (Sittich) abbey, Josef Ferdinand Fromiller, Ferdinand Stainer, Leopold III, Viridis Visconti

### Vesna Krmelj

*Narodi gredo svojo silno pot. Položaj in ustvarjalnost likovnih umetnikov med prvo svetovno vojno na Kranjskem med cenzuro in propagando*

#### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Prispevek z vidika cenzure in propagande obravnava pogoje za umetniško produkcijo v času vojnega absolutizma na Kranjskem, kjer je generacija slovenske moderne in impresionistov šele vzpostavljala pogoje za institucionalni razvoj slovenske umetnosti in s tem posledično tudi za uspešno propagando. Številni umetniki zato v vojni propagandi niso našli le možnosti za preživetje, temveč so v povečanem obtoku in pomenu vizualnih sporočil hkrati prepoznali tudi priložnost za uveljavitev tako osebnih kot narodnih idealov. Kljub prevladujočim avstrijsko-germanskim vzorcem so skozi likovno tradicijo narodne pokrajine, ljudsko umetnost in slovensko poezijo našli načine za spodbujanje slovenske nacionalne zavesti.

Ključne besede: umetnost med prvo svetovno vojno, produkcijski pogoji, Kranjska, cenzura in propaganda, nacionalna pokrajina, Josip Mantuani, Ivan Vavpotič, križani vojak, Jakopičev paviljon, recepcija

### Franci Lazarini

*Nacionalni slogi kot propagandno sredstvo prebujajočih se narodov. Slovenski in drugi nacionalni slogi v arhitekturi okoli leta 1900*

#### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Prispevek obravnava različne nacionalne arhitekturne sloge, značilne za arhitekturo zadnjih desetletij Habsburške monarhije, na območju Slovenije, jih umešča v sočasno avstro-ogrsko arhitekturno produkcijo in skuša opredeliti njihovo propagandno vlogo. Predstavljeni so poskusi Ivana Jagera, Cirila Metoda Kocha in Ivana Vurnika za oblikovanje slovenskega nacionalnega sloga, obravnavani pa so tudi primeri češkega in nemškega

### Vesna Krmelj

*The Nations Go Their Own Way. The Position and Creativity of Artists in Carniola between Censorship and Propaganda during the First World War*

#### 1.01 Original scientific article

The article discusses the conditions for art production at the time of war absolutism in Carniola from the point of view of censorship and propaganda. In Carniola, the generation of the Slovene modern and the impressionists had only begun to establish the conditions for an institutional development of Slovene art and, consequently, for successful propaganda. This is the reason why numerous artists found in war propaganda not only possibilities for survival, but they also recognised in the increased circulation and meaning of visual messages an opportunity to establish personal and national ideals. Despite prevalent Austrian and German models, they found ways to encourage Slovene national awareness through the art tradition of national landscape, folk art, and Slovene poetry.

Keywords: art during the First World War, production circumstances, Carniola, censorship and propaganda, national landscape, Josip Mantuani, Ivan Vavpotič, crucified soldier, Jakopič Pavilion, reception

### Franci Lazarini

*National Styles as a Means of Propaganda of the Awakening Nations. Slovenian and Other National Styles in Architecture around 1900*

#### 1.01 Original scientific article

The article addresses various national architectural styles characteristic of architecture of the last decades of the Habsburg Monarchy on the territory of Slovenia. It places them within concurrent Austro-Hungarian architectural production and tries to determine their propaganda role. It presents Ivan Jager, Ciril Metod Koch and Ivan Vurnik's efforts for designing Slovenian national style, while it also discusses examples of Czech and German national

nacionalnega sloga (nemške neorenesanse). V zaključnem delu avtor ovrže opredelitev opusa Lászla Takátsa v Murski Soboti za primer madžarskega nacionalnega sloga.

**Ključne besede:** arhitektura, Slovenija, Avstro-Ogrska, pozni historizem, secesija, slovenski nacionalni slog, češki nacionalni slog, nemška neorenesansa, madžarski nacionalni slog, propaganda

### **Edgar Lein**

*Gradec in Rim – bazilika sv. Petra kot vzor za cerkev sv. Katarine in mavzolej*

#### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Mavzolej v Gradcu so gradili od leta 1614 dalje po načrtih Giovannijske Pietra de Pomisa, njegov naročnik pa je bil nadvojvoda Ferdinand (od leta 1619 cesar Ferdinand II.). Prvotna zasnova fasade je nastala pod vplivom cerkvenih pročelij Andrea Palladia. Po letu 1621 je bila fasada povišana z nadstropjem atike, ki poteka okoli celotne zgradbe, in zaključena s trikotnim čelom, nad katerim se pne mogočen segmentni lok. Ta motiv, ki ga je prvi uporabil Michelangelo, najdemo tudi nad portali stolnice v Reggio Emilii in cerkve Il Gesu v Rimu. Tudi arhitekturna členitev zunanjsčine sega vse do Michelangelovega osnutka zunanjsčine bazilike sv. Petra. Bogate dekorativne oblike imajo milanski ali lombardski značaj. Posrednik rimskih arhitekturnih oblik je bil jezuit Wilhelm Lamormaini, ki je v Gradcu deloval kot svetovalec in spovednik nadvojvode Ferdinanda in njegove družine in je verjetno imel odločilno vlogo pri preoblikovanju mavzoleja v spomenik protireformacije.

**Ključne besede:** cerkev sv. Katarine in mavzolej v Gradcu, Giovanni Pietro de Pomis, cesar Ferdinand II., Wilhelm Lamormaini, jezuiti, Il Gesù, bazilika sv. Petra, pročelja Palladijevih cerkva, milanska in lombardska arhitektura, Michelangelo

### **Mija Oter Gorenčič**

*Kartuzijanska politika grofov celjskih – zgled za Habsburžane?*

#### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

V prispevku je raziskano, ali je mogoče prepoznati medsebojne vplive in zglede v kartuzijanski politiki Habsburžanov in grofov Celjskih. Da bi našli odgovor na to vprašanje, so bile pregledane listine, ki izpričujejo hkratno

styles (the German Neo-Renaissance). In the concluding part, the author disproves the definition of Lászlo Takáts' oeuvre in Murska Sobota as an example of Hungarian national style.

**Keywords:** architecture, Slovenia, Austria-Hungary, Late Historicism, Art Nouveau, Slovenian National Style, Czech National Style, German Neo-Renaissance, Hungarian National Style, propaganda

### **Edgar Lein**

*Graz and Rome – St. Peter's Basilica as a Model for St. Catherine's Church and Mausoleum*

#### 1.01 Original scientific article

The Mausoleum in Graz was built after 1614 by Giovanni Pietro de Pomis on commission of Archduke Ferdinand (since 1619 Emperor Ferdinand II). The first design of the façade was influenced by Andrea Palladio's church façades. After 1621 the façade was raised by an attic storey, which runs around the entire building, and crowned with a triangular pediment, which is vaulted by a mighty segmental arch. This motif, first used by Michelangelo, can also be found above the entrance portals of the Cathedral of Reggio Emilia and Il Gesù in Rome. The structure of the outer walls of the building can also be traced back to Michelangelo's design of the outer walls of St. Peter's. The rich decorative forms are of Milanese or Lombard character. Jesuit Wilhelm Lamormaini was the mediator of the Roman architectural forms. Active in Graz as an advisor and confessor to Ferdinand and the archducal family he likely held a decisive role in the transformation of the Mausoleum into a Monument of the Counter-Reformation.

**Keywords:** St. Catherine's Church and Mausoleum in Graz, Giovanni Pietro de Pomis, emperor Ferdinand II, Wilhelm Lamormaini, Jesuits, Il Gesù, St. Peter's Basilica, façades of Palladio's churches, milanese and lombard architecture, Michelangelo

### **Mija Oter Gorenčič**

*The Carthusian Policy of the Counts of Cilli – a Model for the Habsburgs?*

#### 1.01 Original scientific article

The paper discusses whether it is possible to discern mutual influences in the Carthusian policy of the Habsburgs and the Counts of Cilli. The documents that attest to the simultaneous connection between the Carthusians, the

povezavo med kartuzijani, Habsburžani in Celjani. Ugotovljena je bila tesna prepletenost, ki se kaže tudi na umetnostnem področju. Najbolj reprezentativen umetnostni spomenik te povezanosti je strešni stolpič kartuzije Jurklošter, ki je v članku na novo časovno umeščen, in sicer v sredino 14. stoletja. Kartuzijanska politika grofov Celjskih, ki so imeli svoj sedež na južnem Štajerskem v bližini kartuzij Žiče in Jurklošter, in tesni medsebojni kontakti so bili zagotovo ena od najpomembnejših vzpodbud za Habsburžane pri njihovi odločitvi za naselitev kartuzijanov v okolici Dunaja in v Spodnji Avstriji in za pokop v kartuzijanskih cerkvah.

**Ključne besede:** srednji vek, grofje Celjski, Habsburžani, kartuzijani, kartuzijanski samostani, Jurklošter (Gairach), Gaming

#### **Friedrich Polleroß**

*Portrait in propaganda na primeru cesarja Karla VI.*

##### 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Članek podaja pregled javnih funkcij cesarskih portretov na primeru portretov Karla VI., iz čigar časa je ohranjenih veliko pisnih in slikovnih virov. Ena od glavnih tem je uporaba portretov v procesu iskanja vladarjeve soproge in pri zaročnih slovesnostih. Po nekaj Karlovih otroških portretih je v času španske nasledstvene vojne nastala množica vladarjevih portretov, zaradi katerih je prišlo celo do »portretne vojne«. Podeljevanje portretnih miniatur in častnih medalj ter uporaba državnih portretov sta imela pomembno politično vlogo pri dednih poklonitvah deželnih stanov. Tudi pri drugih praznovanjih so bile vladarjeve slikarske in kiparske portretne upodobitve predstavljene v javnosti. Samostojne portrete ali serije pa so zbirali v »cesarskih« ali »avstrijskih« dvoranah mestnih hiš (Dunaj, Bruselj, Maribor), samostanov (Salem, Ottobeuren, St. Florian, Osoje) in rezidenc cerkvenih knezov (Bamberg, Salzburg). Nekatere primere je mogoče najti tudi v plemiških dvorcih (Forchtenstein, Znojmo) ali uradnih vladnih in univerzitetnih stavbah.

**Ključne besede:** cesar Karl VI., funkcije portretov, državni potreti, ceremonial

Habsburgs, and the Counts of Cilli were analysed to answer this question. A close interconnectedness was discovered, which is also visible in the field of art. The most representational monument of this connection is a ridged turret of the Jurklošter charterhouse. The article establishes a new chronological placement of the turret, the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The Carthusian policy of the Counts of Celje with their seat in southern Styria and therefore very close to the Charterhouses Žiče and Jurklošter and the tight mutual contacts were surely one of the most important encouragements for the Habsburg family in their decision to settle this elite monastic order near Vienna and in Lower Austria and to be buried in Carthusian churches.

**Keywords:** Middle Ages, Counts of Cilli (Celje), Habsburg Family, Carthusians, Carthusian monasteries, Jurklošter (Gairach), Gaming

#### **Friedrich Polleroß**

*Portrait and Propaganda at the Example of Emperor Charles VI*

##### 1.01 Original scientific article

The paper discusses the public functions of the imperial portrait exemplary with the portraits of Charles VI, where we have many texts and images as sources. The main themes are: the use of portraits during the search for princely spouses and the ceremonies of engagement. After a few child portraits of Charles there was a flood and even a war of portraits during the Spanish War of Succession. The distribution of portrait miniatures and medals of grace and the use of state portraits during ceremonies played an important political role in the recognition of the new ruler by his different states. Also, in other festivities, paintings or sculptures of the monarch were presented in public. Single portraits or series with the portrait of Charles were collected in the "Imperial or Austrian halls" of town halls (Vienna, Brussels, Maribor), abbeys (Salem, Ottobeuren, St. Florian or Ossiach), and in the residences of church princes (Bamberg and Salzburg). Some examples can also be found in the castles of aristocrats (Forchtenstein, Znojmo) or official government and university buildings.

**Keywords:** Emperor Charles VI, use of portraits, state portraits, ceremonial



**Petra Svoljšak***Umetnost med cenzuro in propagando v prvi svetovni vojni*

## 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Članek analizira odnos avstrijskega državnega aparata do umetnosti med prvo svetovno vojno. Zelo pomembno vlogo je imela cenzura, ki ji je uspelo nadzirati vsa področja javnega in zasebnega življenja v avstrijski polovici monarhije, medtem ko je bilo upravljanje javnega mnenja v domeni Vojnega tiskovnega urada. Urad je izvajal nadzor nad umetniško propagando in tiskom, knjigami, razglednicami in drugimi javnimi mediji. V članku so analizirana področja dela urada in dejavnost umetniške skupine (Kunstgruppe), v katero so bili vključeni umetniki, ki so na svoj način spodbujali delo vojske; med njimi sta bila iz slovensko govorečih dežel Ivan Vavpotič in Luigi Kasimir. Seznam mobiliziranih umetnikov vsebuje tudi nekatera slavna imena svetovne umetnosti, na primer Oskarja Kokoschko in Egon Schieleja.

**Ključne besede:** prva svetovna vojna, Avstro-Ogrska, cenzura, propaganda, umetnost, Vojni tiskovni urad

**Polona Vidmar***Portreti kot vizualizirani spomin na dosežke zaslužnih mariborskih meščanov*

## 1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

V prispevku je analiziranih dvanajst portretov uglednih mariborskih meščanov, ki so bili ob koncu 19. in v začetku 20. stoletja naslikani za mariborski rotovž, občinsko hranilnico in prostore gledališko-kazinskega društva. Avtorica je analizirala upodobljene rekvizite glede na funkcijo portretirancev, ugotovila prvotno nahajališče portretov in na podlagi sočasnih časopisnih člankov in jubilejnih besedil navedla nagibe naročnikov ter portrete prvič predstavila v okviru sorodnih portretnih serij v prestolnicah (Dunaj, Gradec, Ljubljana, Zagreb) in bližnjih štajerskih mestih (Ptuj, Radgona). S portretnimi serijami županov, predstojnikov direkcije občinske hranilnice in gledališko-kazinskega društva so člani mariborske lokalnopolitične in finančne elite vizualizirali izjemne dosežke upodobljencev, da bi jim zagotovili trajen spomin in spodbujali bodoče kandidate. V kontekstu primerljivih srednjeevropskih portretnih galerij je pri mariborskih serijah manj pomembno kontinuirano upodabljanje nosilcev funkcije, poudarjena je propagandna vloga portreta kot nagrade za posameznikove izjemne dosežke.

**Petra Svoljšak***Art between Censorship and Propaganda during the First World War*

## 1.01 Original scientific article

The essay deals with the relationship of the Austrian state apparatus to art during the First World War. A very important role was attributed to censorship, which succeeded in controlling all areas of public and private life in the Austrian half of the Monarchy, while public opinion lay in the domain of the War Press Office. The War Press Office exercised its control over artistic propaganda in the press, in books, in postcards and in other public media products. The article, therefore, discusses the office's fields of work and also sheds light on the activities of the art group (Kunstgruppe), which also 'recruited' artists for the war effort: Ivan Vavpotič and Luigi Kasimir from the Slovenian-speaking area. The list of mobilized artists contained a few famous names in the art world, such as Oskar Kokoschka and Egon Schiele.

**Keywords:** First World War, Austria-Hungary, censorship, propaganda, Art, War Press Office

**Polona Vidmar***Portraits as a Visualised Memory of Meritorious Achievements of Maribor's Townspeople*

## 1.01 Original scientific article

The article analyses 12 portraits of renowned Maribor townspeople, which were painted for Maribor Town Hall, Maribor Savings Bank, and the rooms of the Town Theatre and Casino Society at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The author analysed the painted requisites based on the function of the portrayed, discovered the original location of the portraits, and based on the concurrent newspaper articles and celebratory texts, identified the motives of the patrons, while she also presented the portraits in the scope of similar portrait series in the capital cities (Vienna, Graz, Ljubljana, Zagreb) and nearby Styrian towns (Ptuj, Bad Radkersburg) for the first time. The members of Maribor's local political and financial elite used the portrait series of mayors, representatives of the Town Savings Bank Directorate and the Theatre and Casino Society to visualize exceptional achievements of the portrayed to ensure their lasting memory and to encourage future candidates. In the context of comparable Central European portrait galleries, the Maribor series places less importance on the continuous portrayal of the function holders and emphasises the propaganda role of the portrait as a reward for an individual's exceptional achievements.

Ključne besede: portretno slikarstvo, portretna galerija, Maribor, mariborski župani, Alois Graf, Eduard Lind

Keywords: portraiture, portrait gallery, Maribor, mayors of Maribor, Alois Graf, Eduard Lind

**Barbara Vodopivec**

*Vizualna propaganda med prvo svetovno vojno na ozemlju Slovenije: vplivi in posebnosti*

**Barbara Vodopivec**

*Visual Propaganda in the Slovenian Territory during the First World War: Influences and Specifics*

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

1.01 Original scientific article

Prispevek se osredotoča na vprašanja, kakšna je bila podoba vizualne propagande na slovenskih tleh v času prve svetovne vojne, od kod so prihajali vplivi in ali ta podoba odslkava določene regionalne posebnosti. Avtorica analizira delovanje osrednjega avstroogrškega vojnega tiskovnega urada (*Kriegspressequartier, KPQ*) ter njemu podrejenih umetniške (*Kunstgruppe*) in propagandne skupine (*Propagandagruppe*). V osredje postavlja njihov vpliv na slovenski prostor, kot se kaže na podlagi medvojnih umetniških razstav, delovanja vojnih slikarjev in mehanizmov produkcije vsebin za množične tiske. Na podlagi arhivskega gradiva razkriva nekatere še neznane podrobnosti delovanja kiparja Friedricha Gornika (1877–1943) in slikarja Ivana Vavpotiča (1877–1943) kot vojnih umetnikov in predstavlja del Vavpotičevega do sedaj pri nas neznanega vojnega opusa, ki ga hrani Vojni muzej na Dunaju. V nadaljevanju so analizirani likovni motivi in tematike zbirke razglednic *Vojska v slikah*, ki je izhajala na Slovenskem, pri čemer avtorica posebno pozornost posveča iskanju vplivov in opredelitvi posebnosti, ki jih lahko vezemo na slovenski prostor.

The contribution focuses on the issues related to the image of visual propaganda in the Slovenian territory during the First World War; on the origins of its influences; and on the question whether this image reflected any regional characteristics. First, it presents the results of analysing the activities of the central Austro-Hungarian War Press Office (*Kriegspressequartier, KPQ*) and its Art Department (*Kunstgruppe*) and Propaganda Department (*Propagandagruppe*). It underlines the influence of these institutions in the Slovenian territory based on the wartime art exhibitions, activities of war artists, and mechanisms of producing the mass press contents. Based on the archival materials, it also reveals certain previously unknown details regarding the activities of sculptor Friedrich Gornik (1877–1943) and painter Ivan Vavpotič (1877–1943) as war artists and presents Vavpotič's wartime opus, kept in the Museum of Military History in Vienna, which has, to date, not received scientific attention. In the continuation, the article reveals the results of the analysis that focused on the topics and art motifs of the postcard collection *War in Pictures*, published in the territory of Slovenia, and pays special attention to identifying the influences and defining the peculiarities that can be associated with the Slovenian territory.

Ključne besede: vizualna propaganda, vojni tiskovni urad, KPQ, umetniška skupina, Ivan Vavpotič, Friederich Gornik, zbirka *Vojska v slikah*, vojne razglednice

Keywords: visual propaganda, War Press Office, KPQ, Art Department, Ivan Vavpotič, Friederich Gornik, War in Pictures, war postcards

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