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## Russian *Kunstschutz im Kriege* during the First World War as a Historical and Cultural Problem: A Comparative Perspective on Actors and Practices

The functioning, aims as well as the scientific and public consequences of the *Kunstschutz im Kriege* in Russia during the First World War each had their own specifics, which have not been described and analysed before. Only two types of information were published during the war: small notes on cultural activities or the destruction of monuments in areas of military conflict mainly for propaganda purposes<sup>1</sup>, and short reports on expeditions<sup>2</sup>. The February and October revolutions of 1917 brought almost all kind of art protection and monitoring activity in Russia to a halt. After the Bolshevik regime change, the experience of the *Kunstschutz* was discarded as part of the imperial past. In Soviet Russia and abroad, only brief reports and small studies saw release<sup>3</sup>, while certain material was employed to write general monographs<sup>4</sup>.

The interest in Russian scientific expeditions in the occupied territories during the First World War arose only after the collapse of the USSR. This was in connection with the rehabilitation of Russia's imperial past<sup>5</sup>. The publications introduced numerous archival materials into scientific circulation, materials that remained undisclosed until now<sup>6</sup>. Against this background, however, only the expedition of Feodor Uspensky (1845–1928) to Trabzon in 1916 and 1917 became the subject of a quite thorough monographic study<sup>7</sup>. Other forms of cultural policy in areas of military conflict have been the subject of shorter academic articles: the expedition in Western Armenia (Lake Van expedition) (1916), two expeditions in Turkish Georgia (1917), the expedition in Bukovina (1916–1917) and the mission in Galicia (1915)<sup>8</sup>. In fact, the Russian *Kunstschutz* presented various independent enterprises, that only occasionally overlapped. The aim of this article is to engage in a comparative analysis of these activities in Galicia, Bukovina, Ottoman Turkey and the Caucasus in the context of the role of national cultural and scientific organizations in the Russian *Kunstschutz* and to synchronise them together.

### Evacuation in Order to Prevent Looting?

#### The Russian State Strategy Regarding Cultural Heritage in the Face of an Enemy Offensive

Documents reveal that the Russian academic community was completely unprepared for the challenges of the First World War. Since the *Kunstschutz* took place predominantly in territories occupied by the Russian Imperial Army in 1914–1916 (Galicia, Bukovina, Ottoman Caucasia and Asia Minor) and not in the Empire itself, the emerging standards and regulations for national monument conservation in Russia<sup>9</sup> had little impact on these activities. In contrast to the Russian intelligentsia, the officials of the state, the church and the military were better prepared to meet these challenges. Before the war, the state bureaucracy had already defined the main Russian strategy for the protection of movable objects and collections on its own state territory: their evacuation from regions under enemy threat to the interior of the empire.

In February 1914 the Economic Department of the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg issued a directive on the procedure for the evacuation of objects belonging to the Orthodox Church (relics, liturgical utensils, icons, and archives). On 17 July 1914 [O.S.]<sup>10</sup>, the Ministry of the Interior issued a special decree on the compulsory evacuation of cultural property of state value (including that of nations forcibly incorporated into the Empire) to the interior of Russia. On this basis, in 1914–1915, parts of museums, sacristies, relics and collections were transferred from Tbilisi (Georgia) to Rostov-on-Don<sup>11</sup>, and from the Holy Etchmiadzin (Armenia) to Moscow<sup>12</sup>, as well as from the Museum of the Excavation in Ani (Armenia) and other areas; for example, from the Crimea<sup>13</sup> and Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra (Ukr. Києво-Печерська лавра)<sup>14</sup>. Such evacuations took place on a particularly large scale during the war, with dramatic consequences for the culture and history of Eastern Poland and Volhynia in 1915<sup>15</sup>. The evacu-

ation of cultural assets was accompanied by the removal of industrial enterprises and the displacement of populations<sup>16</sup>. As we can see, this strategy was not primarily concerned with preserving cultural monuments that had been endangered during the war and occupation, but above all with controlling the historical memory of the local population, which did not belong to the titular Russian nation. Such a cultural strategy can be contrasted with the “scorched earth” strategy of the Stalinist USSR during the Second World War.

It should be said that the evacuation of cultural assets in Russia is poorly reflected in archival materials, and some of those materials became classified as “secret” and inaccessible to researchers and readers<sup>17</sup>. The inefficiency of such evacuations can be observed not only in Russia. Likewise, the collection of archival documents from the late Middle Ages and Early Modern times, relocated by the Austrian government from the Pochaev Monastery (Ukr. Свято-Успенська Почаївська Лавра, Rus. Свято-Успенская Почаевская Лавра, Pol.: Ławra Poczajowska, in the Ternopil Oblast', Ukraine) to Vienna, is also deemed lost today<sup>18</sup>.

The Russian General Staff also prepared for the cultural aspects of the war at an early stage. On 26 July 1914 [O.S.], Colonel Mikhail Bender (1869–after 1938), the provisional head of the Military Scientific Archive and Library, was instructed to create Field Military History Departments in the staffs of each army with the task of collecting Russian military documents, as well as archives and libraries of the enemy. On 9 October 1914 [O.S.], Bender was appointed head of the newly created General Department<sup>19</sup>. His activities, along with those of the officers under his command, fell under a series of regulations<sup>20</sup>. They acted as the most persistent agents of the Russian *Kunstschutz*, a role that often degenerated in the pillaging of Austrian military libraries and archives. Records indicate that members of the Russian missions in Galicia and Bukovina in 1915–1916 consistently encountered the activities of Bender and his officers and even profited from their assistance.

### **The Academic Monitoring Mission in Galicia: Initial Attempts**

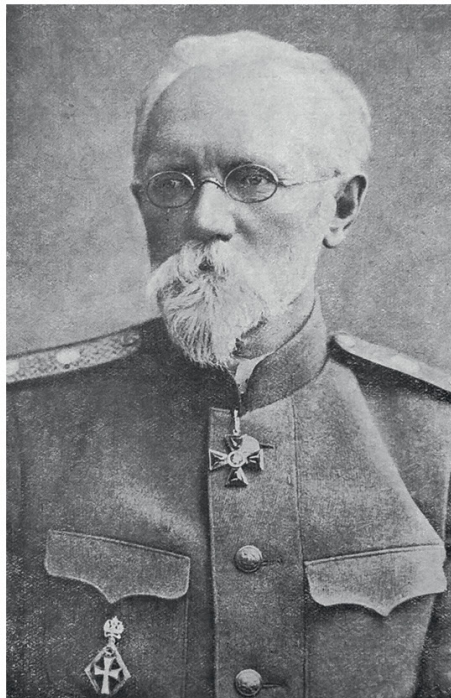
The first systematic scientific initiative in connection with the wartime monitoring mission was conducted by the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Peters-

burg<sup>21</sup>. On 29 November 1914 [O.S.], the General Assembly of the Imperial Academy of Sciences established the Commission for the Protection of Historical Monuments and Scientific Collections in the Area of Military Activities (*Komissîâ Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk po ohraneniû pamâtnikov stariny i naučnyh sobranij v rajone voennyh dejstvij*). On 20 December 1914 [O.S.], the Academy adopted an Instruction on the Protection of Historical Monuments for a person authorised by the Academy. The historian and former representative of the Academy in Rome, Evgenij Shmurlo (1854–1934) (fig. 1: 1), emerged as the Academy's representative for this task (*Upolnomočennyj Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk po ohraneniû pamâtnikov stariny i naučnyh sobranij v rajone voennyh dejstvij*). The initial aim of the mission was to cover the territory of Galicia, Bukovina and Poland. However, its operation was only active limited to Galicia, which came under control of the Russian Imperial Army during the “battles of Lemberg” in 1914<sup>22</sup>.

The discussion in St. Petersburg on the instruction and the activities in the occupied territories of Galicia revealed the ideology of the so-called liberal imperialism of Russian academics, which paradoxically combined enlightened views and Russian chauvinism<sup>23</sup>. The possibilities for protecting cultural assets during the war were viewed rather critically at the meeting. At the same time, some members of the Academy, for example, the philologist Alexei Sobolevsky (1856–1929), declared their intention to confiscate the most important Old-Slavonic manuscripts in Galicia as a cultural heritage related to Russia. The instructions given to the Commissioner of the Academy followed a moderate position, proposing to protect collections in situ without evacuating them<sup>24</sup>.

The mission in Galicia is well documented<sup>25</sup>. Important materials are presented in the appropriated collection of archives of the Academy in St. Petersburg, and in protocols and minutes of the General Assembly of the Academy<sup>26</sup>. Nevertheless, the history of the mission is practically unexplored.

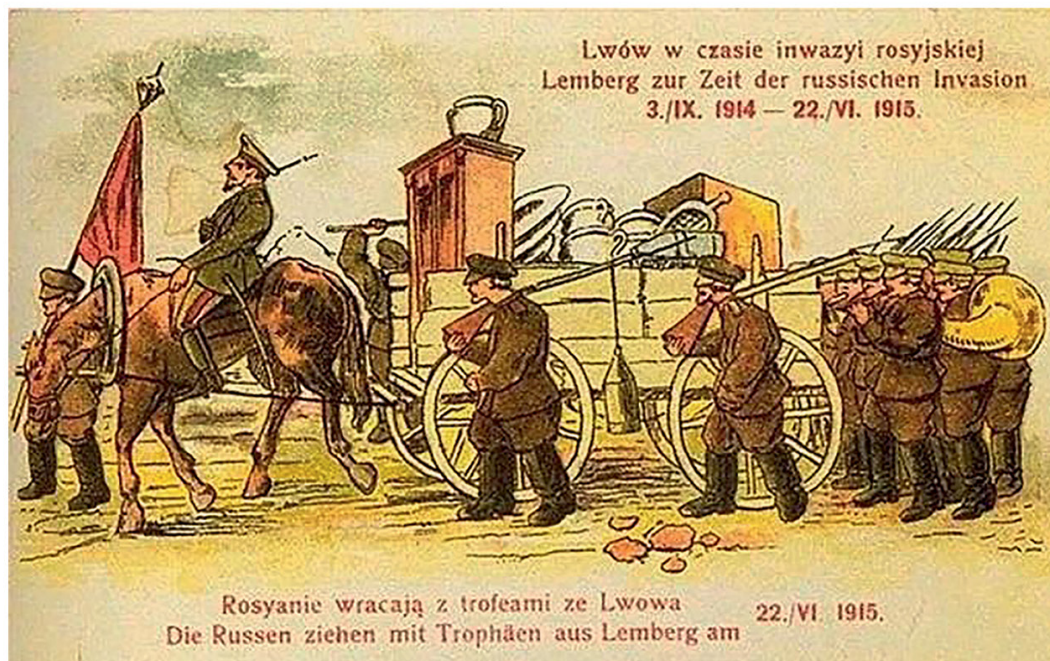
Shmurlo was in Galicia from 30 January to 6 June 1915 [O.S.], with a short trip to St. Petersburg in mid-May. He resided in Lviv (Ukr. Львів, Ger. Lemberg, Pol. Lwów), and his main activity consisted of visits lasting several days to libraries, archives, churches, palaces



1



2



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Fig. 1. Russian art protection and art looting in Galicia, 1914–1915: 1) The historian and active State Councillor Evgenij Shmurlo (1854–1934), Commissioner of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences for the Protection of Historical Monuments and Scientific Collections in the Field of Military Activities; 2) Captain Mikhail Efenbach (1877 – after 1919), Head of the 11th Army Chancellery, responsible for its military archives; 3) Polish postcard on the liberation of Lviv, 1915: “Lviv during the Russian invasion, 3/IX.1914 – 22/VI.1915. The Russians returning from Lviv with trophies. 22/VI.1915” (Sources: <https://ru.wikipedia.org/>; <https://ria1914.info/index.php>)

and castles in the territory of the present Lviv Oblast in Ukraine, the Subcarpathian (*Podkarpacie*) and Lesser Poland (*Małopolskie*) Voivodeships. The reports and diaries of Shmurlo are a martyrology of the plundered Ukrainian and Polish cultural assets, monuments and sites in the territories affected by the war, and subsequently taken over by the Russian Imperial Army. The monuments and sites faced not only the immediate threat of military activity, but also the risk of looting by soldiers from both foreign and Russian armies (fig. 1: 3). Shmurlo also mentioned that the period between the withdrawal of one country's troops and the arrival of the other was particularly risky for monuments and collections. In this timeframe, certain locals, such as Polish and Ukrainian peasants, engaged in the act of looting some of the monuments<sup>27</sup>.

Shmurlo's main means of protection consisted of requesting the local officers to seal buildings and station a guard there, a course of action that was sporadically taken. As a result, he could stop the destruction and transport of the remaining parts of collections to a safe place, such as in Lviv and Przemyśl, with assistance of representatives of the Polish academic com-

munity. As a result, thanks to the efforts of Shmurlo, the art and manuscripts collection of the Sapieha family from Krasiczyn Castle was moved from the crypt of the Cathedral in Przemyśl to the Ossoliński Institute in Lviv. The private art collection of Bolesław Orzechowicz (1847–1927) from Kalników was also moved there. Shmurlo also helped to evacuate the remains of the library of the Carmelites monastery in Susidovychi and the sacristy of the catholic church in Skelivka to Lviv, while the sacristy of the church in Rudnik was moved to Przemyśl<sup>28</sup>.

It should be stressed that Shmurlo single-handedly represented the entire monitoring mission in Galicia, and that he was completely dependent on the military command. Some help was provided by Captain Mikhail Efenbach (1877– after 1919), the Chief of Chancellery of the 11<sup>th</sup> Army, responsible for its military archive, and subordinate to Colonel Bender (fig. 1: 2). There is a strong possibility that, either through his efforts or those of his colleagues, photographs were taken documenting the state of monuments in Galicia and the ethnography of Ukrainian Boykos in the spring of 1915 (figs. 2 and 3).



Fig. 2. Residence of the Groedel family in Skole (Stryi Raion, Lviv Oblast, Ukraine) after the fire in April 1915, author unknown. FO NA IIMK RAN. No II 49219.



Fig. 3. Ukrainian Boykos near the 17<sup>th</sup> century wooden church of St. Paraskeva in Skole (Stryi Raion, Lviv Oblast, Ukraine), April 1915, author unknown. FO NA IIMK RAN. No II 49233.

### Academic *Kunstschutz* Versus Imperial Policy: The Example of Galicia

In his reports to St. Petersburg, Shmurlo noted that he owed the relative success of his mission to the name of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, which was held in honor by the Russian occupation officials and officers. A significant obstacle for him was that he did not have any staff to work with and did not have his own means of transport<sup>29</sup>. Moreover, it appears that the Commissioner of the Academy did not have any official governmental status in solving the most important issues within the competence of the State: namely the protection of monuments. The Commissioner was only tolerated by the military and civilian occupation authorities. Instead, the major decisions to evacuate and confiscate the collections in Lviv [the museum and library of the Ukrainian Scientific Shevchenko Society and the personal archive of the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan Bishop Andrzej Szeptycki (1865–1944)]<sup>30</sup>, Ternopil (the Ukrainian educational societies and the library of the Carmelite monastery) and Podhirsy (the Sanguszko family collection) were taken by the military administration without any participation from Shmurlo<sup>31</sup>, which must be regarded as art theft. At the same time, the collection of the Museum of the Stauropigion Institute (now the National Museum in Lviv) was evacuated by the military authority to Kyiv as a result of the request of its administration, which took a pro-Russian stance; the collection was not returned to Lviv until 1929<sup>32</sup>. Furthermore, the head of the temporary Special Corps of the Gendarmerie, the political police in Galicia, Colonel Alexander Mezentsev, considered Shmurlo's stay in Lviv as "totally undesirable" because of his "liberal views"<sup>33</sup>.

As a consequence, there is every reason and opportunity to evaluate the mission of Shmurlo from the point of view of representatives of the Polish and Ukrainian communities<sup>34</sup>. It is noteworthy that Shmurlo was in active contact with representatives of the Polish and Ukrainian cultural elite and the clergy, especially Aleksander Czołowski (1865–1944), Antoni Prochaska (1852–1930), Wojciech Kętrzyński (1838–1918), Bohdan Janusz (1887–1930), Miron Podoliński (1847–1919). In general, they cooperated with the St. Petersburg scientist and worked with him to protect their local cultural heritage. However, it is likely that this cooperation was dictated by necessity rather than goodwill.

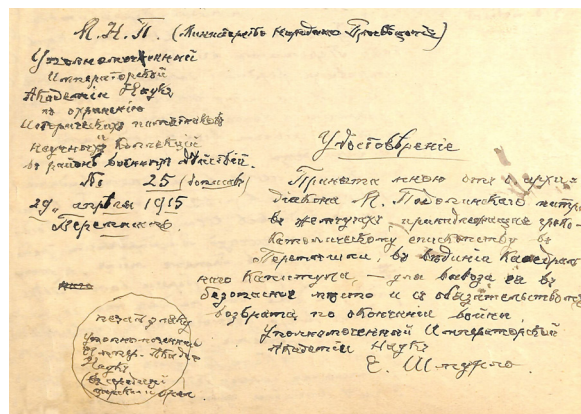


Fig. 4. Copy of the receipt for the return of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Mitre of the Archbishops of Przemyśl after the war, signed by E. Shmurlo on 12 May/29 April 1915, M. Podoliński (APP, Archiwum Biskupstwa Greckokatolickiego, sygn. 9444, k. 61 [fragment]).

A valuable source for this is the diary of the priest-archdeacon from Przemyśl, Miron Podoliński<sup>35</sup>. Here, all the dates, and even the exact time, of his meetings with Shmurlo are noted and described in detail. During the final visit, on 12 May 1915, Shmurlo persuaded the priest to agree to the evacuation of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Mitre (tall folding cap) of the Archbishops of Przemyśl, the so-called crown of King Daniel of Rus', to St. Petersburg on the eve of the Austrian counteroffensive. Shmurlo left a document that stated that it should be returned to Przemyśl after the War (fig. 4), something that only happened in 1926<sup>36</sup>.

In assessing Shmurlo's mission, the overall context needs to be considered. On the one hand, the mission in Galicia was part of the policy of the Russification and Ortodoxisation of the local Ruthenian population, who belonged to the Greek-Catholic Church and were ethnographically and linguistically Ukrainian, by forcing them to convert to Orthodoxy<sup>37</sup>. Shmurlo was no stranger to "liberal imperialism". He considered the monuments and collections he examined to be new acquisitions for the culture and science of Russia. Shmurlo also planned to expand his mission to the Slavic monuments of Transcarpathia and Hungary, which did not take place due to the military defeat of Russia.

On the other hand, the mission's tasks and methods conflicted with the policy of Russification promoted by the General Military Government of Galicia, led by Count Georgi Bobrinskoi (1863–1928), the head

of occupation administration, and Eulogi Georgievsky (1868–1946), the Orthodox Archbishop of Volhynia and Galicia. A heated discussion about the methods of Russian cultural, religious, and social policy in Galicia divided not only parts of Russian society, but also representatives of the Orthodox Church, who emphasised their illegality and ineffectiveness in their memoirs<sup>38</sup>.

Shmurlo's mission ended with the defeat and retreat of the Russian Imperial Army in June 1915<sup>39</sup>. Notably, the Imperial Archaeological Commission, the state institution tasked with safeguarding monuments in Russia, did not join the mission in Galicia.<sup>40</sup> This occurred for two reasons: First, in accordance with its statute, the Commission conducted its activity within the boundaries of the Russian state, not abroad. And second, its President, Alexei Bobrinskoi (1852–1927), found himself in a challenging familial dispute with his younger brother Georgi, who served as the General-Governor of Galicia.

#### Academic *Kunstschutz* and National Interests

There existed additional Russian expeditions that could be identified as *Kunstschutz*. Four scientific expeditions took place in Transcaucasia (South Caucasus) and the Ottoman Empire, now territory of Turkey, following the victory of the Russian Imperial Army in the Battle of Erzerum (January–February 1916), the Trabzon Campaign (February–April 1916), and the Battle of Erzincan (July 1916)<sup>41</sup>. However, these expeditions cannot be categorized solely as monitoring missions in a strict sense, because they were partially linked to the protection of monuments in the war zone. The expedition leaders merely capitalised on the military situation to expand the geographical range of their research and develop imperial scientific knowledge inspired by orientalist discourses or nationalistic pretensions<sup>42</sup>.

The preparations for the Lake Van expedition, headed by Nikolai Marr (1865–1934), had already started at the end of 1915. From November 1915 to January 1916 Smbat Ter-Avetisyan (1875–1943), Conservator of the Archaeological Department of the Caucasian Museum in Tbilisi from 1914 to 1919, visited Russian occupied Western Armenia, supported by Marr and the Academy of Sciences<sup>43</sup>. Based on the results of the Ter-Avetisyan's trip, Marr and the Oriental Department of the Russian Imperial Archaeological So-



Fig. 5. Aleksander Miller (1875–1935) in the Ethnographic Department of the Russian Museum, St. Petersburg, next to a mannequin in the national costume of the Nivkh people, before 1917. FO NA IIMK RAN. O.1699-82.

ciety in St. Petersburg drafted the project for a new expedition at the beginning of 1916. It aimed at the study, registration and protection of Armenian monuments in the occupied Ottoman territory.

Officially, it was an expedition of the Russian Archaeological Society, and it took place from 12th June 12 to 25 July 1916 [O.S.], on the territory of contemporary Turkey. The starting point of the expedition was Tbilisi. It included Marr, the orientalist Iosif Orbeli (1887–1961), the ethnographer Aleksander Miller (1875–1935), the photographer Aram Vrouier (Makachyan, 1863–1924) and Pogos Makintsyan (1984–

1938). While Miller collected ethnographic materials in Turkish Armenia (fig. 5), Marr and Orbeli organised new archaeological excavations; most importantly, in the Citadel of Van (fig. 6), and at Toprakkale (historically Rusahinili), a fortress of the kingdom of Urartu. At the same time, the expedition dispatched numerous medieval manuscripts to the Library of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. To this day the circumstances of their acquisition are uncertain, and their provenance remains unknown<sup>44</sup>.

Two other expeditions not only corresponded to Marr's concept of expanding the field of research in Transcaucasia as a consequence of military operations, but also reflected the national renaissance of the peoples whose lands and history had been colonised by the Russian Empire. The Russian occupation of Ottoman Georgia (Western Javakheti or Gyurdzhistan) enabled the Georgian Society for History and Ethnography in Tbilisi to organise an excursion to the origins of

the Georgian State and its culture in July–August 1917 which was linked to the hope of restoring the Georgian national state within historical borders. It served to consolidate the national culture and academic community and brought together many representatives of the local intelligentsia under the leadership of Ekvtime Takaishvili (1862–1953). Many years later, most of the surviving documentation was published<sup>45</sup>.

Marr seemed to be the scientific expert of the expedition. He did not intend to let the process of studying architecture in the region out of his control, and perhaps he did not trust the scientific abilities of the members of the Georgian Society. Simultaneously to the expedition from Tbilisi, Marr organised another expedition in the very same region and with identical objectives in June–August 1917. At its head was the art historian Nikolai Okunev (1885–1949) (fig. 7)<sup>46</sup>, who travelled the same route as the Georgian expedition, only in the opposite direction, from Tbilisi to Erzurum and the Artvin Provinces of today's Turkey. The major outcome of the latter expedition consisted of 427 photographs of architectural monuments<sup>47</sup>, while no written documentation seems to exist.

#### ***Kunstschutz* Between Academic 'Reconquest' and Imperial Policy: The Example of the Trabzon Expedition**

Against this background, Fedor Uspensky's Trabzon expedition of 1916–1917 had its own independent elements (fig. 8). Starting with its name, because "military-archaeological" testifies to its character and the "militant" approach of Uspensky himself as an explorer of the East. This expedition seems to have been an opportunity for him to take revenge for the shutdown of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople<sup>48</sup> immediately after the outbreak of the war. Founded in 1894 to promote Russia's cultural and scientific expansion in the Middle East, the institute was headed from the outset by Uspensky. The Russian occupation of Trabzon provided him with the opportunity to continue his scientific studies in the Ottoman Empire. It seems that he spent years preparing for this opportunity, starting in 1914, by formulating geopolitical strategies for the occupation of Turkey and Istanbul<sup>49</sup>. However, it is important to add that despite the relative loyalty of the local Christian population in favour of Russia,



Fig. 6. The western niche of the citadel of Van, Turkey. The stele of Sarduri II (764–735 B.C.). Nikolai Marr is standing near the stele. Photo by I. Orbeli, 1916. FO NA IIMK RAN. Q. 471-4.



Fig. 7. Nikolai Marr, his wife Aleksandra Zhukovskaya (1864–1940) and Nikolai Okunev (1885–1949), seated in the front row from left to right. Ani, Armenia, 1911 (photograph by I. Orbeli ?) FO NA IIMK RAN. O.1067-23.

Uspensky ignored the serious tensions between the ethnic groups, confessions and denominations in Asia Minor<sup>50</sup>.

Currently, the Trabzon expedition to the Ottoman Empire is the most extensively studied of all the projects discussed here. Despite Uspensky's appointment as the commissioner of the Academy of Sciences, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of National Education (which previously financed the Institute in Istanbul), and the Russian and Moscow Archaeological Societies were responsible for organizing and funding the expedition. The first stage of the expedition took place from 13 May to 4 June 1916, and the second stage from 17 May to September 1917 [O.S.]; the latter was more focused on research, but it is not as well reflected in written documentation as the former<sup>51</sup>. Alongside research in the church of Hagia Sophia (1238–1263), excavations were carried out in the church of Panagia Chrysokephalos ("Goldenheaded Virgin", the Fatih Mosque). The churches of Hagios Eugenios (Yeni Cuma Camii) and Hagia Anna (7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century), in addition to the Acropolis of Trabzon, were subjects of study. The research enabled Uspensky and his colleagues to reconstruct the city plan from the Byzantine era. Furthermore, the collected historical and archaeological ob-

jects formed the basis of the local museum, created by Feodor Morozov (1883–1962) at the church of Panagia Chrysokephalos. Since 1917, Morozov was the Scientific Secretary of the Committee for the Protection of Ancient Monuments under the head of the Trabzon Fortified Region, established by the Transcaucasian military commissariat<sup>52</sup>: although the details of how this committee functioned are unknown.

Modern researchers tend to emphasise the importance of archaeological discoveries and visual materials collected by the expedition. However, we must not forget, that for these excavations, old Byzantine churches, historically converted into mosques, were confiscated from Muslims communities. By order of the Trabzon Fortified Region of June 30<sup>th</sup>, 1916, all mosques that were previously Christian churches were closed for Muslim worship and were assigned for archaeological work<sup>53</sup>.

### **Russian *Kunstschutz* and National Interests**

After the end of the mission in Galicia the Academy of Sciences did not independently organise further campaigns of that kind, despite the fact that in 1915–1916 it had 12,000 Rubles for such purposes<sup>54</sup>. However, academics willingly handed over the responsibility of



being regional commissioners for safeguarding monuments, libraries, scientific and art collections in areas of conflict, if the opportunity arose.

The role of the Warsaw Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments (Towarzystwo Opieki nad Zabytkami Przeszłości; TOnZP)<sup>55</sup> and its St. Petersburg branch in the *Kunstschutz*, and its contacts with the Academy of Sciences and the Archaeological Commission will be discussed. Following the Society's appeals to the Commission on 7 and 27 February 1915, signed by its president Edward Krasieński (1870–1940), the Commission allocated 5,000 Rubles<sup>56</sup> to the Society for the purpose of monitoring damage to the cultural heritage and carrying out the necessary primary conservation work on the territory of Poland. At the same time the Society asked the Academy of Sciences to set up a commission to monitor the damage to cultural heritage caused by the war and, on 23 February 1915 [O.S.], an extraordinary General Assembly decided to set up a commission for Polish monuments<sup>57</sup>. However, the Russian withdrawal from Poland did not allow this initiative to develop.

It was also on the initiative of the TOnZP that the Archaeological Commission in February 1915 began to collect information on military damage to historical monuments. Special letters were sent to front-line provinces and dioceses with a request to provide relevant information. An analysis of the official information against the background of Russian press reports suggests that the destruction reported in the media was likely exaggerated, possibly for propaganda reasons to portray the enemy in a negative light<sup>58</sup>.

The last Russian attempt of *Kunstschutz*, the expedition in Bukovina and related events, was also marked by a cooperation of Russian imperial institutions with representatives of the TOnZP. Peter Pokryshkin (1870–1922), an architect and member of the Commission<sup>59</sup>, led the mission as the Commissioner of the Academy of Sciences for the Protection of Historical Monuments and Scientific Collections in the Area of Military Activities in Bukovina, Galicia, and Volhynia like Shmurlo in 1914. This expedition was made possible by the Russian Imperial Army's offensive in the Battle of Lutsk-Chernivtsi (the 4<sup>th</sup> Battle of Galicia), in 1916<sup>60</sup>. One notable aspect of this expedition was its initiation by statesmen: Feodor Trepov (1854–1938), Gen-

eral-Governor of Bukovina, and his brother Aleksandr Trepov (1862–1928), Minister of Railway Transport of the Russian Empire. The minister, during his visit to his brother in Bukovina, expressed complete shock at the absence of protection for monuments and sites in the Russian occupied territory. On 27 July 1916 [O.S.], he sent a letter to the President of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, Alexei Bobrinskoi, that initiated the mission<sup>61</sup>.

The mission was extraordinary for two reasons<sup>62</sup>. Firstly, it marked the initial occasion when the Imperial Archaeological Commission collaborated with the Academy of Sciences to organize an expedition to occupied territories. Secondly, it was the inaugural instance of an expedition being led by an architect with prior experience in the restoration of historical buildings. In the Bukovina, he compiled a list of local monuments and several museum collections, described the problems of monuments of art and architecture, photo-

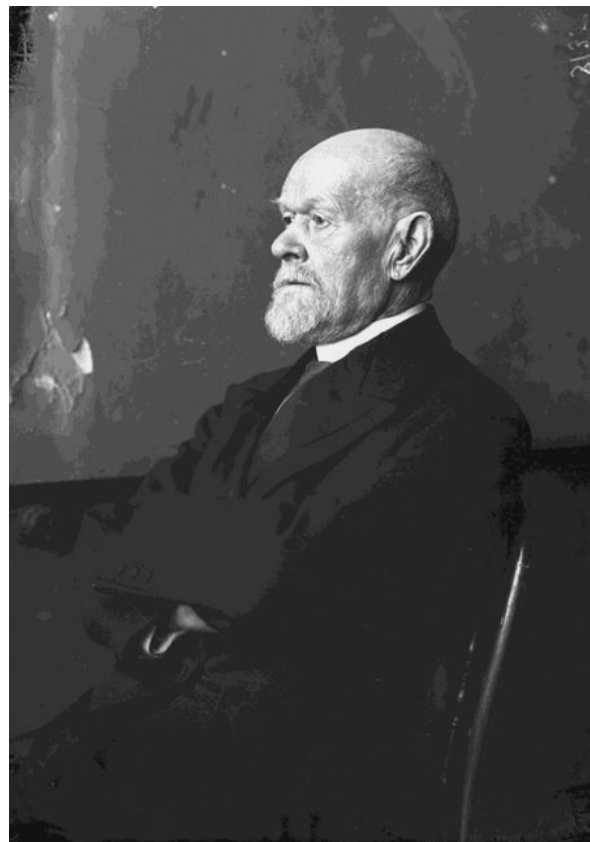


Fig. 8. The Byzantinist Fedor Uspensky (1845–1928), author unknown. FO NA IIMK RAN. II 22612. II 22613

graphed and sketched them, and gave advice on their conservation, even if he did not manage to undertake any special works.

Another important moment in Pokryshkin's work was the active participation of representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the expedition: Vladimir Leontovich (1881–1968), and Aleksandr Bagriy (1891–1949). It is important to recall the political situation in which the Pokryshkin mission took place – the first part took place from 18 December 1916 to 9 January 1917, and the second part from 20 May to 10 June 1917 [O.S.] – was very different from the situation in Galicia. The revival of Ukrainian statehood was in progress, with active discussions on various aspects of the formation of the Ukrainian nation. Therefore, the expedition was forced to give up on the idea of inviting Julian Jaworski (1873–1937), an associate professor from Kyiv University and specialist in Ukrainian medieval literature. He occupied a leadership role within the pro-Russian movement in Galicia<sup>63</sup> and the committee of deputies of the Army, stationed in Chernivtsi (Ukr. Чернівці, Ger. Czernowitz, Rom. Cernăuți), which supported the Central Rada of Ukraine<sup>64</sup>, regarded his presence in Bukovina as unwanted.

It should be added that the activity of the Department of Aid to the War-Affected Population of the Southwestern Front Committee of the All-Russian Zemstvo Union of Aid to the Sick and Wounded of War, founded in 1914 under the auspices of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elizabeth Feodorovna could also be considered as a special form of national Ukrainian movement within the Russian *Kunstschutz*. This department was headed by the Ukrainian art historian and archaeologist Mykola Biliashivskiy (1867–1926). One of the forms of assistance was the involvement of the local population and refugees in craft workshops of in order to develop and preserve the folk art it. This allowed Biliashivskiy to continue his research into Ukrainian folk art<sup>65</sup>, which he had begun before the war<sup>66</sup>. He worked mainly in Galicia and Bukovina, where he was Commissioner of the Southwestern Front Committee of the All-Russian Zemstvo Union<sup>67</sup>. This fact, together with his appointment by the Russian Provisional Government in 1917 to the post of Commissioner for the Protection of Monuments in Ukraine, may have contributed to the emergence of the historiographical

opinion that he was a Commissioner of the Academy of Sciences in Galicia and Bukovina<sup>68</sup>, like E. Shmurlo.

The St. Petersburg and Kyiv branches of the Warsaw Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments and its members also participated to some extent in the expedition and in the final stage of the Russian *Kunstschutz*. However, this activity and contribution should not be overestimated<sup>69</sup>. The letters of the Secretary of the St. Petersburg department of the Society, Aleksander Borawski (1861–1942), on 2 August and the 30 September 1916 [O.S.], to the Academy of Sciences included proposals to organise a mission in the territories occupied by the Russian Imperial Army in summer 1916 could not have initiated the expedition in Bukovina, which was already in preparation. Later, when the Academy joined the Commission's initiative, it was proposed that the new mission should include Count Ludgar Piotr Grocholski (1884–1954), chairman of the Kyiv department of the same TOnZP, and the photographer, artist and restorer Zygmunt Borawski (1888–1956, son of Aleksander Borawski) as a representative of St. Petersburg<sup>70</sup>. Aleksander Borawski repeatedly communicated with Pokryshkin from November 1916 to May 1917, but according to surviving documents he never left St. Petersburg for field missions.<sup>71</sup> Conscripted into the army with the rank of warrant officer and spending most of his time in Kyiv, Z. Borawski did not visit Bukovina with other members of the expedition. In January 1917, however, Pokryshkin commissioned him to organise the transport of some 400 photographs of Romanian monasteries and churches from Chernivtsi to Kyiv and then to St. Petersburg. The photographs had been taken by the photographer Johann Krzanowski (Jan Chrzanowski) who worked in Chernivtsi and Lviv. On behalf of Volodymyr Milkovich (1857–1920), professor at the Chernivtsi University and Conservator of the Austrian *K. K. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege* he documented the monasteries of Suczawitza (Rom. Sucevița) in 1906, Voronets (Rom. Voroneț; Germ. Woronetz), Humora (Rom. Humor) and Vatra Moldovica (Rom. Vatra Moldoviței, Germ. Watra Moldawitza) in 1909, Dragomirna and the town of Suceava in 1911–1912<sup>72</sup>. Of the two other members of the TOnZP who are usually named as participants of the mission, Ludgar Grocholski, who did not join the expedition to Bukovina due to health reasons, and

the historian Franciszek Jan Pułaski (1875–1956), are known to have received passes to the front area on 31 March 1917 [O.S.]<sup>73</sup>. Nevertheless, their monitoring activities were not reflected in the archival materials of the Commission and the Academy. The results of the company's mission and its area of activity (Ternopil region?) cannot be characterised today.

One of the concluding actions of the Russian *Kunstschutz*, which also had connections to the TOnZP and can be seen as symbolic, occurred on the 14 December 1918. On this day, the Archaeological Commission aided Aleksander Borawski and his wife Anna Borawska in legally leaving Soviet Russia for Poland, granting them 2,000 Rubles. The departure was planned, with the guise of their participation in monitoring Polish monuments and collections damaged in the war.

### Conclusions

The Russian cultural policy on art protection and scientific research in occupied territories was a very complex and contradictory process. It took place against the background of the spontaneous plundering of art and collections by ordinary soldiers and by the local population, caused by the general disorder on the frontlines. Only sometimes, as in the case of the Shmurlo or Pokryshkin missions, was the *Kunstschutz* able to defend itself against spontaneous looting or to protect what was left after destructions. However, several Russian missions, especially in the Caucasus and Asia Minor, deliberately participated in the looting and expropriating of art organised by the occupying authorities as a part of the state policy. The actors and institutions involved in the *Kunstschutz* did not fall under a single program or coordinating body at state or army command level. No regular Russian activities to protect monuments and sites were observed in the frontline zone. This demonstrates that Russian operations occurred sporadically and were dependent rather than structured.

The phenomena we observed in the period 1914–1917 can be broadly be divided into the evacuation of national cultural and religious assets from the territories of the Russian Empire occupied by German, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman troops, and missions in the territories occupied by the Russian Imperial Army. The practice of the evacuation of cultural values was largely

prepared by State Russian institutions before the war. These missions in turn could be divided into monitoring missions (Galicia, Bukovina) and scientific expeditions (Western Armenia, Turkish Georgia, Trabzon). The mission in Bukovina was the only one that could be seen as a classical monitoring mission, which truly aided in safeguarding cultural heritage.

In most cases, the activities of the expeditions should be considered in the context of the particular scientific interests of individual scholars and scientific institutions, with the concept of protecting art receding into the background. The explorers took advantage of the temporary successes of the Imperial Russian Army to continue and expand their scientific research. This was in line with the state's strategy of political and cultural expansion in Caucasia, Asia Minor and East Central Europe. The situation was a consequence of the formation of Russian archaeology and Oriental studies as colonial and imperial scientific activities<sup>74</sup>, which was completely neglected by researchers of the history of Russian humanities and social sciences. In this sense, the approaches of Russian scholars at the time, who professed "liberal imperialism" and Orientalism, generally coincided with the expansionist policy of the Empire, which sought to "Russify" the occupied territories and to appropriate their cultural heritage. By no means did it exclude ideological contradictions between the academic community, society and bureaucracy regarding specific measures for such russification. However, it cannot be ignored that Russian cultural policy in the occupied territories was associated with a breach of international law, specifically Articles 45, 46, 55, and 56 of the Hague Convention (IV) Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land, dated October 18<sup>th</sup>, 1907. It comprised forced changes to religious practices of the Greek-Catholic population in Galicia, non-respect of local religious convictions and practice in the Ottoman Empire, and confiscation of the property of institutions dedicated to religion, charity, education, arts and sciences as well as private property etc.

In this respect, Russian cultural policy in the occupied territories is more comparable to the practices of the Balkan countries during the First World War than to European cultural policy. It included the incorporation and appropriation of the local cultural assets of the populations from occupied territories as a part of their

own cultural traditions.<sup>75</sup> However, the archival material shows that the Russian *Kunstschutz* was able to help national scientific and cultural elites – especially in Poland, Ukraine, Armenia and Georgia – to protect and study their own cultural heritage. Obviously, national cultural elites organised in scientific societies had to act in a given political situation but they took advantage of the opportunities by arising from this situation by developing their own cultural activities in a nationalistic context or cooperating with the occupiers, initially with members of the monitoring missions and scientific expeditions, to preserve and study their cultural heritage. This could be seen as a controversial part of the national revival. In this situation it seems to be necessary to make a distinguish between different types of cultural policies and activities of the invading state in the occupied territories. On the one hand *Kunstschutz* in *stricto sensu* of monitoring of monuments and sites and the protection of art, which was carried out by representatives of the academic community and, on the other hand the organised and unorganised looting of art carried out by private individuals and by the administration of the military occupation. Even though the representatives of the *Kunstschutz* typically did not have official involvement in the organized looting of art, their activities can generally be understood within

the context of the occupation policy, thus possessing a dual nature and therefore have an ambiguous character. The particularity and contradictions of Russian cultural policy during the First World War determined the limited nature of their output for the later development of art history. This occurred not only due to objective reasons (resulting from the socio-political changes in Russia), but also due to subjective reasons: specifically, the narrow and individual scientific objectives that the leaders of the expeditions had defined for themselves. It is only at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century that we can witness a limited introduction of these materials, collected as a result of the First World War expeditions, into actual scientific circulation<sup>76</sup>. However, this information is of scientific importance. In this sense, the results of the expeditionary activities had a “delayed effect”, that can be observed 100 years later.

Finally, the traditional nature of Russian wartime cultural policy should also be emphasised. It can be contended that the Russian cultural policy during the aggression in Ukraine since 2022 has predominantly adhered to the constraints and practices developed during the First World War (especially in Galicia and Trabzon), which primarily served the goals of imperial expansion, the incorporation of cultural assets and heritage, and their aggressive transformation along Russian lines.

## Abbreviations

ANK – Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie [National Archives in Cracow]  
 APP – Archiwum Państwowe w Przemysłu [State Archive in Przemysł]  
 BDAA – Bundesdenkmalamt, Archiv, Vienna  
 D. – Delo [File]  
 F. – Fond [Collection]  
 FO NA IIMK RAN – Fotografičeskij otdel Naučnogo arhiva Instituta istorii materialnoj kul'tury Rossijskoj akademii nauk [Photographic Department, Scientific Archive, Institute for the History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences], St. Petersburg  
 GARF – Gosudarstvennyj arhiv Rossijskoj Federacii [State Archive of the Russian Federation], Moscow  
 Op. – Opis' [Subcollection]  
 RGVIA – Rossijskij gosudarstvennyj voenno-istoričeskij arhiv [Russian State Military Historical Archive], Moscow  
 RO NA IIMK RAN – Rukopisnyj otdel Naučnogo arhiva Instituta istorii materialnoj kul'tury Rossijskoj akademii nauk [Manuscripts Department, Scientific Archive, Institute for the History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences], St. Petersburg  
 SPbF ARAN – Sankt-Peterburgskij filial Arhiva Rossijskoj akademii nauk [St. Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences], St. Petersburg

## Endnotes

1. See, for example, the regular section by Aleksandr Rostislavov, *Otraženij vojny* [Reflections of War], in the revue *Starye gody* during the years 1914–1916.
2. Nikolaj Marr, *Zapiska akademika N. A. Marra o registracii kak vyvezennyh, tak i brošennyh na meste na proizvol sud'by rukopisej i drevnostej zanatoj nami časti Turekoj Armenii* [Report by Academician N. A. Marr on the Registration of Manuscripts and Antiquities Removed or Abandoned in the Part of Turkish Armenia Occupied by Russia], in: *Izvestiâ Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk*, seriâ VI, vol. 9 no. 16, 1915, pp. 1711–1719; Fedor Uspenskij, *Soobšenie i otčet o komandirovke v Trapezunt. Priloženie k protokolu 10 zasedaniâ Otdeleniâ istoričeskikh nauk i filologii Imp. Akademii nauk 21 sentâbrâ 1916 g.* [Report and Account of the Mission to Trabzon. Addendum to the Minutes of the 10<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the Department of Historical Sciences and Philology of the Imperial Academy of Sciences on 21 September 1916], in: *Izvestiâ Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk*, seriâ VI, vol. 10 no. 16, 1916, pp. 1464–1480; Idem, *Vtoroj otčet o zanâtiâh v Trapezunte i okrestnostâh Priloženie k protokolu 12 zasedaniâ Otdeleniâ istoričeskikh nauk i filologii Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk 26 oktâbrâ 1916 g.* [Second Report on the Studies in Trabzon and its Surroundings Appendix to the Minutes of the

- 12<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the Department of Historical Sciences and Philology of the Imperial Academy of Sciences on 26 October 1916], in: *Izvestiâ Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk*, seriâ VI, vol. 10 no. 17, 1916, pp. 1657–1663; Idem, *Soobšenie ob usloviâh hraneniâ sobrannyh i ostavlennyh v Trapezunte vostočnyh rukopisej. Iz protokola 11 zasedaniâ Otdeleniâ istoričeskikh nauk i filologii Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk 12 oktâbrâ 1916 g.* [Report on the Storage Conditions of Oriental Manuscripts Collected and Abandoned in Trabzon. From the Minutes of the 11<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the Department of Historical Sciences and Philology of the Imperial Academy of Sciences on 12 October 1916], in: *Izvestiâ Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk*, seriâ VI, vol. 10 no. 16, 1916, pp. 1490–1492; Sergej Minclov, *Statističeskij očerok Trapezondskogo okruga* [The Statistic of the Trabzon District], Trapezond 1916; Ūlian Kračkovskij, *Opisanie sobraniâ koranov, vyvezennyh iz Trapezunda akademikom F. I. Uspenskim* [Description of the Qur’an Collection that F. Uspensky Brought from Trabzon], in: *Izvestiâ Akademii nauk*, seriâ VI, vol. 11 no. 16, 1917, pp. 346–349; Nikolaj Okunev, *Predvaritelnyj očet privat-docenta Petrogradskogo universiteta N.L. Okuneva o komandirovke letom 1917 g. na Kavkazskij front dlâ ohrany pamâtnikov drevnosti i kulturny* [Preliminary report of N. L. Okunev, Privat-Do-cent of the Petrograd University, on his Field Trip in the Summer of 1917 to the Caucasian Front for the Protection of Antiquities and Cultural Monuments], in: *Izvestiâ Rossijskoj Akademii nauk*, seriâ VI, vol. 11 no. 17, 1917, pp. 1435–1438; Fedor Uspenskij, *Očet o zanâtiâh v Trapezunte letom 1917 g. Doklad 17 ânvarâ 1918 g. v zasedanii Otdeleniâ istoričeskikh nauk i filologii Akademii nauk* [Report on the Studies in Trabzon in the Summer of 1917. Presentation on 17 January 1918 at the Meeting of the Department of Historical Sciences and Philology of the Academy of Sciences], in: *Izvestiâ Akademii nauk*, seriâ VI, vol. 12 no. 5, 1918, pp. 207–238; Pavel Falev, *Osmanskije rukopisi, postupivšie v Aziatskij muzej Rossijskoj akademii nauk s Kavkazskogo fronta* [Ottoman Manuscripts from the Caucasia Frontline in the Asia Museum of the Academy of Sciences], Petrograd 1918; Nikolaj Marr and Iosif Orbeli, *Arheologičeskaâ êkspediciâ 1916 g. v Van. Raskopki dvuh niš na Vanskoj skale i nâdpisi Sardura Vtorogo iz raskopok zapadnoj niši* [Archaeological Expedition of 1916 to Van: Excavations of Two Niches of the Van Rock and Inscriptions of Sardur the Second from the Excavations of the Western Niche], Petrograd 1922.
3. Aleksandr Bagrij, *V zašitu cennostej duha (iz očetâ po ohrane pamâtnikov stariny, iskusstva i kulturny v rajone voennyh dejstvii)* [Defending the Values of the Spirit (From the Report on the Preservation of Monuments of Antiquity, Art and Culture in the Field of Military Activities)], Samara 1918; Sergej Minclov, *Trapezondskaâ êpopeâ* [The Trabzon Epopée], Berlin 1925.
  4. Louis Léger, *Note sur les découvertes archéologiques de la mission russe à Trébizonde*, in: *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. 61 no. 2, 1917, pp. 87–88; Fedor Uspenskij, *Usypalnica trapezundskogo imperatora Alekseâ IV Komnina* (The Tomb of the Emperor Alexis Komnenos of Trabzon), in: *Vizantijskij vremennik*, vol. XXIII, 1917–1922, pp. 1–14; Idem, *Očerki iz istorii Trapezundskoj imperii* [Essays on the History of the Empire of Trabzon], Leningrad 1929. See also: Michel Alpatov, *Les reliefs de la Sainte-Sophie de Trébizonde*, in: *Byzantion*, vol. 4, 1927–1928, pp. 407–418; Nikolai Brunov, *La Sainte-Sophie de Trébizonde*, in: *Byzantion*, vol. 4, 1927–1928, pp. 393–405; Nikolai Baklanov and Henri Grégoire, *Deux monuments byzantins de Trébizonde*, in: *Byzantion*, vol. 4, 1927–1928, pp. 363–391; Nikolaj Okunev, *Armâno-gruzinskaâ cerkovnaâ arhitektura i ee osobennosti* [Armenian-Georgian Church Architecture and its Characteristics], in: *Russkij zodčij za rubežom*, no. 9–10, 1938, pp. 17–20.
  5. See, for example: Ekaterina Basargina, *Istoriko-arheologičeskaâ êkspediciâ v Trapezund (1916 g.)* [The Historical-Archaeological Expedition to Trabzon of 1916], in: *Vspomogatelnye istoričeskie discipliny*, vol. 23, 1991, pp. 295–306; Édouard Kolčinskij, *Akademiâ nauk i Pervaâ mirovââ vojna* [The Academy of Sciences in Russia and World War I], in: *Nauka, tehnika i obšestvo Rossii i Germanii vo vremâ Pervoj mirovoj vojny* [Science, Technology and Societies of Russia and Germany during World War I], ed. by Édouard Kolčinskij et al., Sankt-Peterburg 2007, pp. 184–206; Dmitrij Starostin, *Trapezundskaâ êkspediciâ 1916–1917 gg.* [The Trabzon Expedition 1916–1917], in: *Novejšaâ istoriâ Rossii*, no. 3, 2014, pp. 283–291; Natalâ Kolpakova and Natalâ Baženova, *Deâtelnost biblioteki Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk po sohraneniû ličnyh arhivov i bibliotek v hode Pervoj Mirovoj vojny* [The Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences during World War I], in: *Peterburgskaâ bibliotečnaâ škola*, no. 2 (39), 2012, pp. 65–70; Anna Eremeeva, *Ohrana kulturnogo naslediâ na territoriâh, podkontrolnyh Russkoj armii, kak sostavlâûšaâ nacionalnoj i konfessionalnoj politiki (1914–1917 gody)* [The Protection of Cultural Heritage in the Territories Controlled by the Russian Army as Part of Russian National and Confessional Policy (1914–1917)], in: *Religioznaâ i nacionalno-kulturnaâ politika gosudarstvennoj vlasti v Rossijskoj imperii: sbornik naučnyh statej* [Religious and National-Cultural Policies of the State Authorities in the Russian Empire], ed. by Irina Ivanova Gorlova, Moskva / Krasnodar 2015, pp. 181–205; Konstantin Golovkin, *Ohrana istoričeskogo i kulturnogo naslediâ Rossii v gody Pervoj mirovoj vojny* [The Protection of Cultural Heritage in Russia during World War I], in: *Arhiv naslediâ*, vol. 14, 2015, pp. 87–132; Andrej Šamanaev, *Sohranenie kulturnogo naslediâ Kryma v usloviâh Pervoj mirovoj vojny: deâtelnost Tavričeskoj učenoj arhivnoj komissii* [The Protection of Cultural Heritage in Crimea during World War I: the Tauric Archive Commission], in: *Naučnyj dialog*, vol. 11 no. 3, 2022, pp. 494–513.
  6. Anna Zakharova, *Rospisi apsidy cerkvi sv. Anny v Trapezunde – neizvestnyj ansambl konca IX veka* [The Paintings in the Apse of St Anne Church in Trabzon – an Unknown Ensemble of the Late 9<sup>th</sup> Century], in: *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo. Vizantijskij mir: regionalnye tradicii v hudožestvennoj kulturne i ih problemy ih izučeniâ. K ûbileû Ė.S. Smirnovoj [T. 31]* [Old Russian Art. The Byzantine World: Regional Traditions in Artistic Culture and Problems in Their Study. On the Anniversary of E. S. Smirnova (vol. 31)], ed. by Maria Orlova, Moskva 2017, pp. 375–386; Anna Zakharova and Anna Tsyapkina, *Maloizvestnye rospisi trapezundskih hramov po materialam êkspedicii F.I. Uspenskogo 1916–1917 gg.* [Documents of Fedor Uspensky’s Expedition Concerning Little Known Wall Paintings of Trabzon Churches], in: *Vizantijskij vremennik*, vol. 100, 2016, pp. 178–196; Anna Zakharova and Svetlana Maļtseva, *Novye dannye o rospisâh X–XI vv. v Tao-Klardžeti po materialam êkspedicii N. L. Okuneva 1917 g.* [Materials of the N. Okunev Expedition on the Wall Painting of the Church Tao-Klardžeti, 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> Century], in: *Vizantijskij vremennik*, vol. 102, 2018, pp. 288–317; Anna Zakharova and Svetlana Maļtseva, *The Materials of Nikolai Okunev’s Expedition of 1917 on the Wall-Paintings of Parkhali*, in: *Actual Problems of Theory and History of Art*, vol. 7, 2017, pp. 679–688; Andrej Vinogradov, *Arhitektura na styke kultur: hramovyj kompleks Varzahana bliz Bajburta v svete novyh nahodok* [Architecture at the Crossroads of Cultures: The Church Complex of Varzahan near Bajbut in the Light of New Finds], in: *Antičnaâ drevnost i srednie veka*, vol. 48, 2020, pp. 368–407; Ilâ Zajcev, *Osmanskaâ ar-*

- heografiã v prifrontovoj polose (Trabzonskie rukopisi v bibliotekah Sankt-Peterburga, Kieva i Moskvy) [Ottoman Manuscripts from Trabzon in the Libraries in St. Petersburg, Kyiv and Moscow], in: *Nacionalnye biblioteki: vohi istorii i sovremennyj oblik* [National Libraries: Historical Milestones and Contemporary Prospects], ed. by Guzel Akhmetova, Kazan' 2016, pp. 108–125.
7. Anna Tsyapkina, *Russkie nauçnye èkspedicii v Trapezund (1916, 1917 gg.)* [Russian Scientific Expeditions in Trabzon, 1916, 1917], Sankt-Peterburg 2021.
  8. Lusinè Gushchyan, *Vanskaã èkspediciã peterburgskih vostokovedov v 1916 g.* [The Van Expedition of the St. Petersburg Orientalists in 1916], in: *Gumanitarnye i ùrudiçeskie issledovaniã*, no. 1, 2017, pp. 35–43; Maria Medvedeva, Aleksandr Musin, and Volodymir Aleksandroviç, *Po sledam uçenoj poezdki P.P. Pokryškina v 1916–1917 gg.: K 100-letiu Bukovinskoj èkspedicii Arheologiçeskoj komissii i Akademii nauk* [In the Footsteps of the Scientific Journey of P.P. Pokryshkin: On the 100th Anniversary of the Bukovina Expedition of the Archaeological Commission and the Academy of Sciences], in: *Arheologiçeskie vesti*, vol. 23, 2017, pp. 416–421; Maria Medvedeva, *Bukovinskaã èkspediciã akademika arhitektury Petra Petroviça Pokryškina. Dokumenty i fotografii iz arhiva IIMK RAN* [The Bukovina Expedition of the Academician of Architecture Peotr Petrovich Pokryshkin. Documents and Photographs from the Archives of IIMK RAS], in: *Arheologiçeskie vesti*, vol. 28, 2020, pp. 388–405; Maria Korogodina, *Obzor rukopisnogo sobraniã Èmilã Kalužnãkogo v Biblioteke Rossijskoj akademii nauk* [The Manuscript Collection of Emile Kaluzinski in the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences], in: *Wielkie powroty. Tom rozpraw międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej "Wielkie powroty. O dziełach sztuki, zbiorach biblioteczných, archiwalnych i świętościach polskiego prawosławia utraconých i wywiezioných w czasie I i II Wojen Światowych"* [Great Returns. The Proceedings of the International Conference "Great Returns. On Works of Art, Library Collections, Archives and Shrines of the Polish Orthodox Church Lost and Deported during the First and Second World Wars"], ed. by the Archimandrit Piotr (Dawidziuk) et al., Jableczna 2021, pp. 635–642.
  9. See on the subject: *Imperatorskaã arheologiçeskaã komissiiã (1859–1917): istoriã pervogo gosudarstvennogo uçreždeniã rossijskoj arheologii ot osnovaniã do reform* [The Imperial Archaeological Commission in Russia, 1859–1917. History of the First State Institution of Russian Archaeology from its Beginnings to the Reform], ed. by Aleksandr Musin, and Maria Medvedeva, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 1–2, Sankt-Peterburg 2019.
  10. All dates in this article correspond to the dates on the documents, i.e. according to the old-style dating and according to the new-style dating, without converting the dates from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar. When dating according to the old style, [O.S.] is placed following the date.
  11. Andrej Maksimçik, *Èvakuaciã kulturnyh i istoriçeskih cennostej iz Tiflisa v 1915 g.: priçiny i posledstviã* [The Evacuation of Cultural Values from Tbilissi, 1915] in: *Pervaã mirovã vojna v istoriçeskih sud'bah Evropy* [The First World War in the Historical Fate of Europe], ed. by Vadim Boguš, Minsk 2014, pp. 349–354.
  12. Aleksandr Rostislavov, *Otraženiã vojny* [Reflections of War], in: *Starye gody*, no. 3, 1915, pp. 55–57. On the military situation in the area see: Jean Etienne Valluy, *La première guerre mondiale*, vol. 1: 1914–1916, Paris 1968, p. 143.
  13. Šamanaev 2022, *Sohranenie kulturnogo naslediã*, pp. 494–513.
  14. Aleksandr Rostislavov, *Otraženiã vojny* [Reflections of War], in: *Starye gody*, no. 10, 1915, pp. 46–48.
  15. See general surveys in: Valluy 1968, *La première guerre mondiale*, pp. 169–170; Aneta Prymaka-Oniszk, Bieżeństwo 1915. *Zapomniani uchodźcy* [The Great Retreat 1915. The Forgotten Refugees], Wołowiec 2016. The icons of the Virgin of Chełm (Poland) and Zimno (Ukraine) were among the venerated Orthodox icons in Poland and Volhynia that were fortunately preserved. It is unclear whether the icon of the Virgin of Leśna Podlaska (Poland) is the original or a copy, following its return; and the icon of the Virgin of Supraśl was lost.
  16. *Ohrana kulturnogo naslediã Rossii XVII–XX vv.: hrestomatiã* [The Protection of Cultural Heritage in Russia, from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century], ed. by Natalya Potapova et al., Moskva 2000, vol. 1, pp. 368–370; Irina Miheeva, *Pravotvorçeskaã deãtelnost' Ministerstva vnutrennih del Rossijskoj imperii po ohrane pamãtnikov istorii i kultury v XIX – naçale XX veka* [Protection of Historical Monuments: Legal Aspects, 19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> Centuries], Nižnij Novgorod 2009; see also Golovkin 2015, *Ohrana istoriçeskogo*, pp. 87–132.
  17. See among others: *Materialy ob èvakuacii naseleniã, o vyvoze skota, hleba, produktov i cennostej iz prifrontovoj polosy. Voenna-politiçeskoe i graždanskoe upravlenie pri Verhovnom glavnokomandušsem, g. Mogilev, 1914–1916 gg.* [Materials on the Evacuation of the Population, the Removal of Livestock, Bread, Food and Valuables from the Front Line. Military-political and Civil Administration under the Supreme Commander-in-Chief, 1914–1916], in: RGVA, F. 2005. Op. 1. D. 40.
  18. *Deržavnij arhiv Ternopił'skoj oblasti: Anotovaniy reestr opisiv periodu do veresnã 1939 roku* [The State Archives of the Ternopil Oblast. Annotated Inventory Register. – Fonds up to September 1939], ed. by Yuri Gumen et al., Ternopił 2012, pp. 10–11.
  19. Dmitrij Ūsov, "...Ozabotiřã organizacii sbora i vyvoza... dokumentov...". *Dokumenty RGVA o sohranении pamãti o Pervoj mirovoj vojne* ["Preparing the Organization of Collection and Removal of Documents". Materials of the Russian State Historical and Military Archive on the Preservation of the War Memory], in: *Oteçestvennye arhivy*, no. 2, 2014, pp. 84–102. See also: RGVA, F. 2003. Op. 1. D. 1425.
  20. RO NA IIMK RAN, F. 21. D. 360, f. 1–5v.
  21. For the sake of clarity, the name St Petersburg will be used throughout this text. Petersburg will be used in this text as the most consistent name during this period, although the city was called Petrograd from 1914 to 1924.
  22. Valluy 1968, *La première guerre mondiale*, pp. 120–122, 165.
  23. Nikolaj Berdãev, *Sud'ba Rossii. Opyty po psihologii vojny i nacionalnosti* [The Fate of Russia: Experiments on the Psychology of War and Nationality], Moskva 1918; For a general survey of the concept see: David Rieff, *A New Age of Liberal Imperialism?* in: *World Policy Journal*, vol. 16 no. 2, 1999, pp. 1–10.
  24. *Protokoly zasedanij Obščego sobraniã Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk* [Protocols of the General Meeting of the Imperial Academy of Sciences], Petrograd 1914, pp. 158, 164–165; Eremeeva 2015, *Ohrana kulturnogo*, pp. 181–205.
  25. *Otçety upolnomoçennogo Akademii nauk Šmurlo E. o rabote ego po ohrane istoriçeskih pamãtnikov i nauçnyh kolekcij v Galicii vo vremã voennyh dejstvij 1915 g.* [Reports of E. Shmurlo on the Art and Collections Protection in Galicia, 1915], GARF, F. 539. Op. 1. D. 1948; *Zapisnye knižki upolnomoçennogo Akademii nauk v Galicii akademika E. Šmurlo s zametkami po rabote po ohrane pamãtnikov strany, bibliotek i pr. v Galicii 1915 g.* [Notes of E. Shmurlo on the Protection of Art and Collections in Galicia, 1915], GARF, F. 539. Op. 1. D. 1947; *Dnevnik upolnomoçennogo Akademii nauk v Galicii [akad. Šmurlo] po ohrane pamãtnikov strany, bibliotek,*

- naučnyh i hudožestvennyh kolekcij 1915 g.* [Diaries of E. Shmurlo on the Art and Collections Protection in Galicia, 1915], GARF, F. 539. Op. 1. D. 1949.
26. SPbF ARAN, F. 6. Op. 1. Dd. 37, 161 and other records; *Protokoly Obščego sobraniâ Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk za 1914–1917 gg.* [Protocols of the General Assembly of the Academy of Sciences], Petrograd 1914–1917 (in different volumes).
27. GARF, F. 539. Op. 1. D. 1948, f. 20v, 23, 27. It is also confirmed by the evidence of Polish scholars, see ANK, Wydział dla Kultury i Sztuki Komisji Rządzącej: rejestracja zabytków zrabowanych przez państwa zaborcze [Department for Culture and the Arts of the Governing Commission: Register of the Monuments Plundered by the Partitioning Powers], 29/308/31, f. 85, 123. In this regard, the statement of representatives of the Polish aristocracy, e.g. Prince Jerzy Lubomirski in 1919, that his collection in Rozwadów nad Sanem was taken to St. Petersburg by special Russian couriers (ANK, Wydział dla Kultury i Sztuki Komisji Rządzącej: rejestracja zabytków zrabowanych przez państwa zaborcze [Department for Culture and the Arts of the Governing Commission: Register of the Monuments Plundered by the Partitioning Powers], 29/308/30, f.195) requires critical evaluation. According to Shmurlo, this collection was looted in the spring of 1915, but there is no information about any specific action by the Russian occupying power.
28. GARF, F. 539. Op. 1. D. 1948, f.38, 53, 61.
29. The situation was similar in the German occupation area. See: Beate Störckuhl, *Art Historiography during World War I: Kunstschutz and Reconstruction in the General Government of Warsaw*, in: *Kunststudien und Architektur / Studies on Art and Architecture*, vol. 23 no. 3/4, 2014, pp. 157–182, here p. 179, and her paper on Kunstschutz in Habsburg Galicia in this issue.
30. Eleckij, P. (ed.), *Ssylka M.S. Gruševskogo*. [M. S. Grushevsky's Exile], in: *Minuvšee. Istoričeskij almanah*, no. 3, 1998, pp. 207–262, <http://hrushevsky.nbu.gov.ua/item/0001707>, 07.12.2023.
31. *Spisok predmetov, uvezennyh iz zdaniâ obščestva "Narodnaâ Škola" v Tarnopole, v Galicii pri uhode russkih vojsk iz Tarnopolâ i perepiska po rozysku avgust 1918 g.* [List of Objects Taken from the Building of the "People's School" Society in Tarnopol, in Galicia During the Departure of Russian Troops from Tarnopol and Correspondence on the Search, August 1918], in: GARF, F. R-1041. Op. 1. D. 498. See also: *Upravleniâ voennogo general-gubernatorstva Galicii i voennogo general-gubernatorstva oblastej Avstro-Vengrii, zanâtyh po pravu vojny (1914–1917)* [Offices of the Military General Government of Galicia and the Military General Government of the Regions of Austria-Hungary Occupied by the Law of War, 1914–1917], in: RGVA, F. 13216, 1914–1917. Op. 1–3, 5–8; *Dokumenty dotyczące akcji Delegacyj Polskich w Komisjach Mieszanych Reewakuacyjnej i Specjalnej w Moskwie* [Documents on the Activities of Polish Delegates in the Mixed Re-evacuation Commissions and Special Commissions in Moscow]. Z. 4, I., Warszawa 1922, p. 155; *Dokumenty dotyczące akcji Delegacyj Polskich w Komisjach Mieszanych Reewakuacyjnej i Specjalnej w Moskwie* [Documents on the Activities of Polish Delegates in the Mixed Re-evacuation Commissions and Special Commissions in Moscow]. Z. 6, I., Warszawa 1923, p. 108 and p. 150.
32. Oleksandra Kiričuk and Larisa Fedorova, *Muzej Stavropigijskogo Institutu* [The Museum of the Stauropegion Institute], in: *Enciklopediâ istorii Ukraïni* [Encyclopaedia of the History of Ukraine], vol. 7: Mi-O, ed. by Viktor Smolij, Kyiv 2010, [http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=Muzej\\_Stavropihii](http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=Muzej_Stavropihii), 07.12.2023.
33. GARF, F. 110. Op. 4. D. 3808, p. 85–85v.
34. Janusz Bohdan, *293 dni rządów rosyjskich we Lwowie (3 IX 1914–22 VI 1915)* [293 Days of Russian Rule in Lviv], Warszawa / Lwów 1915; *Strati Tovaristva v časi rosyjskoj invazii* [Losses of the Shevchenko Society during the Russian Invasion], in: *Hronika Naukovogo tovaristva imeni Ševčenko u Lvovi. Vip. 1–3. Č. 60–62: Spravozdane za čas vid 1/7 1914 – 1/7 1918*, Lviv 1918, pp. 141–144; Vasil Karpovič, *Dolâ galickih pamâtok v časi vijny* [The Fate of the Monuments of Galicia during the War], in: *Terem. Literaturnij zbirnik*, Lviv 1919, pp. 171–185.
35. APP, Archiwum Biskupstwa Grekokatolickiego, sygn. 9444, k.7–87. Cf. Adam Szczupak, *W pamiętnych dniach Przemysła. Wojenne zapiski bp. Konstancy Czechowicza, ks. Mirona Podolińskiego i ks. Aleksandra Zubryckiego z lat 1914–1915* [During the Memorable Days of Przemyśl. The Wartime Records of Bishop Konstantyn Czechowicz, Reverend Miron Podoliński and Reverend Aleksander Zubrycki from the Years 1914–1915], in: *Rocznik Przemyski. Historia*, vol. 51 no 3 (18), 2015, pp. 77–194.
36. BDAA, Allgemein Karton 8 (1918), Z. 258 ("Verschleppte Kunstgegenstände", including a list of looted art compiled by Tadeusz Szydłowski from the State Conservation Office in Krakow), f. IV. See also: Blazennyj Hryhorij Lakota, *Pro vivezennâ i povorot peremiskoï mitri Danila (na osnovi urâdovih aktiv peremiskoï kapituli j voennoï hroniki bl. p.o. arhidiâkona Mirona Podolinškogo)* [On the Removal and Return of the Mitre of Daniel (On the Basis of Official Documents of the Chapter of Przemyśl and the Military Chronicle of the Priest Archdeacon Miron Podoliński)], in: *Blažennyj Grigorij Lakota peremiskij êpiskop-pomičnik. Zibrani istorični praci* [Blessed Bishop Gregory Lakota. Collected Historical Works], ed. by Volodymyr Pylypovyč, Peremyšl 2003, pp. 157–166.
37. Aleksandra Bahturina, *Politika Rossijskoj Imperii v Vostočnoj Galicii v gody Pervoj mirovoj vojny* [The Policy of the Russian Empire in Eastern Galicia during the First World War], Moskva 2000.
38. Georgij Šavel'skij, *Vospominaniâ poslednego protopresvitera Russkoj armii i flota* [Memoirs of the Last Protopresbyter of the Russian Army and Navy], New York 1954, pp. 165–185; Evlogij (Georgievskij), mitropolit, *Puť moej žizni : vospominaniâ mitropolita Evlogiâ izložennye po ego rasskazam T. Manuhinoj* [The Way of My Life: Memoirs of the Metropolitan Evlogij], Paris 1947.
39. Valluy 1968, *La première guerre mondiale*, p. 168.
40. Michał Dzik and Aleksandr Musin, *Archeologia archiwalna. Materiały Cesarskiej Komisji Archeologicznej do badań nad dziełictwem materialnym Polski* [Archival Archaeology. Materials of the Imperial Archaeological Commission for the Study of the Material Heritage on Poland], Część I, Rzeszów 2021 (Collectio Archeologica Ressoviensis, vol. 46), pp. 11–55.
41. Valluy 1968, *La première guerre mondiale*, p. 312.
42. See, among other: Vera Tolz, *Orientalism, Nationalism, and Ethnic Diversity in Late Imperial Russia*, in: *The Historical Journal*, vol. 48 no. 1, pp. 127–150.
43. The archives of Russian Ethnographical Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia, F. 1. Op. 1. D. 107; F.1. Op. 2. D. 411; Rusudana Orbeli, *Sobranie armânskikh rukopisej instituta vostokovedeniâ Akademii nauk SSSR* [Armenian manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies], in: *Učenyje zapiski Institutu vostokovedeniâ Akademii nauk SSSR*, vol. 6, 1953, pp. 105–130; Oleg Akimuškin, *K istorii formirovaniâ fonda musulmanskih rukopisej IV AN SSSR* [On the History of the Formation of the Fund of Muslim Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of USSR], in: *Pis'mennye pamâtniki Vostoka / Istoriko-filologičeskie issledovaniâ. Ežegodnik 1978–1979* [Written Monuments of the East / Historical and Philological Studies. Yearbook 1978–1979], Moskva 1987, pp. 9–27. See also: Oleg Akimuškin, *K istorii formirovaniâ*

- fonda musulmanskih rukopisej Sankt-Peterburgskogo filiala Instituta vostokovedeniâ RAN [On the History of the Formation of the Fund of Muslim Manuscripts of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences], in: *Pismennye pamâtniki Vostoka* [Written Monuments of the East], no. 1(6), 2007, pp. 208–229. On the modern researches on the composition of Turkish collections expropriated to Russia during the World War I and the prospects for their return to Turkey see: Vüsale Musali, *Rus Belgelerine Göre Birinci Dünya Savaşı Yıllarında Anadolu'dan St. Petersburg'a Götürülmüş Olan Elyazması Eserler* [Manuscript Books Taken to St. Petersburg from Anatolia during the First World War (According to Russian Documents)], in: *KÜLTÜRİK: Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 3, 2021, pp. 85–114.
44. There are diaries of excavations and several notebooks among the materials of the Van expedition in the archive of Marr, and an unpublished report for the Eastern Department of the Russian Archaeological Society about the work on Toprakh-Kala. While the rapport of excavations at Van was published in 1922, researchers note that the information on the works of 1914, 1916, and 1917 in Marr's archive is extremely poor. See: Vera Mihankova, *Rabota kabineta N. Â. Marra za 1936–1944 gg.* [The Activity of the Cabinet of N. Y. Marr in 1936–1944], in: *Kratkie soobšeniâ IIMK AN SSSR*, vol. 15, 1947, pp. 77–87. See also: Halit Dünder Akarca, *Imperial Formations in Occupied Lands: The Russian Occupation of Ottoman Territories during the First World War*, PhD thesis, Department of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University, Princeton 2014, pp. 174–182, <http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/dsp018s45q892n>, 02.12.2023. In our view, however the concept of Russian “scientific occupation” or “scientific conquest” (pp. 151, 152) requires clarification. The Russian rivalry with German scholars at this time appears exaggerated (at least this was not the main motivation), and the unsystematic nature of the activities corresponds more to a “scientific invasion” or “intervention”.
  45. Evfimij Takajšvili, *Arheologičeskaâ êkspediciâ 1917 g. v ûžnye provincii Gruzii* [The Archaeological Expedition of 1917 to the Southern Provinces of Georgia], Tbilisi 1952; Ilia Zdanevič, *Zapadnyj Gûrdžistan. Itogi i dni putešestviâ I. M. Zdaneviča v 1917 godu* [The Expedition of Ilia Zdanevich in Western Gyurdzhistan, 1917], in: *Georgica II. Materiali sulla Georgia Occidentale*, ed. by Luigi Magarotto and Gianrobero Scarcia, Bologna 1988 (Eurasistica, vol. 3); Ilia Zdanevič, *Voshoždenie na Kačkar* [Climbing Mount Khachkar], ed. by Sergei Kudrâvcev and Régis Gayraud, Moskva 2021. See also: Akarca, *Imperial Formations in Occupied Lands*, p. 186.
  46. Julie Jancárková, *Istorič iskusstva Nikolaj Lvovič Okunev (1885–1949). Žiznennyj put' i naučnoe nasledie* [The Art-Historian Nikolaj Okunev (1885–1949). His Life and Scientific Heritage], Heidelberg 2014 (Heidelberger Publikationen zur Slavistik, vol. 37), DOI: 10.3726/978-3-653-04997-8, 07.12.2023.
  47. FO NA IIMK RAN, F. 23. Collection 177/1–427, negatives II 7687–8113, albums O.186–192.
  48. Ekaterina Basargina, *Russkij arheologičeskij institut v Konstantinopole: očerki istorii* [The History of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople], Sankt-Peterburg 1999; Pinar Üre, *Reclaiming Byzantium: Russia, Turkey and the Archaeological Claim to the Middle East in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, London et al. 2020. See also: Akarca, *Imperial Formations in Occupied Lands*, pp. 159–163.
  49. Lora Gerd, *Eshche odin proekt “russkogo Konstantinopolya”. Zapiska F. I. Uspenskogo 1915 g.* [Another Project for a “Russian Constantinople”. The Memorandum of Fedor Uspensky of 1915], in: *Vspomogatelnye istoričeskie distsipliny*, vol. 30, 2007, pp. 424–433; Anna Tsyapkina and Olga Selivanova, *Trapezundskij front 1916 g. glazami učenogo-vizantinista F. I. Uspenskogo* [The Trabzon Front of 1916 Through the Eyes of the Byzantinist F. I. Uspensky], in: *Istoričeskij žurnal: naučnye issledovaniâ*, no. 2 (20), 2014, pp. 113–128; DOI: 10.7256/2222-1972.2014.2.12812, 07.12.2023.
  50. Akarca, *Imperial Formations in Occupied Lands*, pp. 189–196.
  51. See: Tsyapkina 2021, *Russkie naučnye êkspedicii v Trapezund*.
  52. Gordej Šeglov, *Hranitel'. Žiznennyj put' Fedora Mihajloviča Morozova* [The Biography of Feodor Morozov], Minsk 2012, pp. 164–187.
  53. RGVA, F. 733. Op. 156. D. 388, f. 35–36v. See on the urban transformation in general: Halit Dünder Akarca, *The Imperial Transformation of a Russian-Occupied Ottoman City during the First World War*, in: *War & Society*, vol. 41 no. 1, 2022, pp. 21–35, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07292473.2022.2021751>, 07.12.2023.
  54. Today, this sum is worth approximately 51.610 US dollars. See: *Protokoly Obšego sobraniâ Akademii nauk za 1916* [Protocols of the General Assembly of the Academy of Sciences, 1916], Petrograd 1916, p. 72 (§ 77); *Protokoly Obšego sobraniâ Akademii nauk za 1917* [Protocols of the General Assembly of the Academy of Sciences, 1917], Petrograd 1917, p. 2 (§ 5).
  55. See on the Society: *Polskie dziedzictwo kulturowe u progu niepodległości: wokół Towarzystwa Opieki nad Zabytkami Przeszłości* [Polish Cultural Heritage on the Threshold of Independence: Around the Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments], ed. by Ewa Manikowska and Piotr Jamski, Warszawa 2010.
  56. Today, this sum is worth approximately 21.740 US dollars.
  57. Its real function and competency are still unknown. See: *Protokoly Obšego sobraniâ Akademii nauk za 1915* [Protocols of the General Assembly of the Academy of Sciences, 1915], Petrograd 1915, p. 26 (§ 43).
  58. See the special file of the archive of the Imperial Archaeological Commission “On the Registration of the Damage to Historical Architectural Monuments Caused by the Enemy in Certain Areas of the Russian Empire” (124 pp.). RO NA IIMK RAN, F. 1. Op. 1–1915. D. 29.
  59. Piotr Jacek Jamski, *Piotr Piotrowicz Pokryszkin — Rosjanin w Lublinie* [Piotr Piotrowicz Pokryszkin — A Russian in Lublin], in: *600 lat fresków w Kaplicy Trójcy Świętej na Zamku Lubelskim. Historia, teologia, sztuka, konserwacja* [600 Years of the Frescoes in the Chapel of the Holy Trinity at Lublin Castle. History, Theology, Art, Conservation], ed. by Jolanta Żuk-Orysiak and Andrzej Frejlich, Lublin 2020, pp. 165–182; Dzik and Musin 2021, *Archeologia archiwalna*, pp. 27–28, 32, 37, 39, 45.
  60. Valluy 1968, *La première guerre mondiale*, pp. 287–289.
  61. RO NA IIMK RAN, F. 21. D. 360, f. 32.
  62. On the history of the expedition, see the contribution by Maria Medvedeva in the present volume.
  63. Anna Veronika Wendland, *Die Russophilen in Galizien. Ukrainische Konservative zwischen Österreich und Russland, 1848–1915*, Wien 2001 (Studien zur Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie, vol. 27).
  64. *Vypiska iz protokola obšego sobraniâ Armejskogo komiteta 8-j armii 25 maâ 1917 g. №24; Protokol sobraniâ êkspedicii Akademii nauk po ohrane pamâtnikov 29 maâ 1917 g.* [Extract from the Minutes of the General Meeting of the Army Committee of the 8th Army on May 25, 1917, No. 24; Minutes of the Meeting of the Expedition of the Academy of Sciences for the Protection of Monuments on May 29, 1917], in: RO NA IIMK RAN, F. 21. D. 360, f. 38–38v, 41–41v.
  65. *Narodnoe mistectvo Galičini j Bukovini = Narodnoe iskusstvo Galičii i Bukoviny i Zemskij Soûz v 1916–1917 gg. vojny* [Folk Art of



- Galicia and Bukovina and the Zemstvo Union in the Years of War 1916–1917], ed. by Mykola Biliashivskiy and the Committee of the South-Western Front of the All-Russian Zemstvo Union, Department of Assistance to the Population Affected by the War, Kyiv 1919; *The Peasant Art of Ukraine*, ed. by Mykola Biliashivskiy et al., Kharkiv 2022.
66. Nikolaj Bilachevski, *The Peasant Art of Little Russia (The Ukraine)*, in: *The Studio, Special Issue 'Peasant Art in Russia'*, ed. by Charles Home, London / New York 1912, pp. 15–31; see also: Alla Myzelev, *Handcrafting Revolution: Ukrainian Avant-garde Embroidery and the Meanings of History*, in: *Craft Research*, no. 3, 2012, pp. 11–32; Katia Denysova, *From Folk Art to Abstraction: Ukrainian Embroidery as a Medium of Avant-Garde Experimentation*, in: *Arts*, vol. 11: 110, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.3390/arts11060110>, 07.12.2023.
67. Sergij Ėfremov, *Mykola Teodotovič Biliashivskiy na gromadskiy roboti* [Mykola Teodotovič Biliashivskiy on Social Work], in: *Zapysky istoryčno-filologičnogo viddilu Ukraïnskoï akademii nauk* [Notes of the Historical and Philological Department of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences], vol. 9, 1926, pp. 54–59, here at p. 58.
68. Andriy Vynnyckiy, *Mykola Teodotovič Biliashivskiy: jogo žyttâ ta muzejna robotâ* [Mykola Teodotovič Biliashivskiy: His Life and Museum Work], in: *Zapysky istoryčno-filologičnogo viddilu Ukraïnskoï akademii nauk*, vol. 9, 1926, pp. 11–23, here p. 19.
69. Ewa Manikowska, *Mutual Influences. Kunstschutz and the Shaping of Polish Art History at the Time of the First World War*, in: *Apologeten der Vernichtung oder 'Kunstschützer'? Kunsthistoriker der Mittelmächte im Ersten Weltkrieg*, ed. by Robert Born and Beate Störckuhl, Köln et al. 2017 (Visuelle Geschichtskultur, vol. 16), pp. 85–101. [https://www.vr-elibrary.de/doi/pdf/10.7788/9783412508340\\_02.12.2023](https://www.vr-elibrary.de/doi/pdf/10.7788/9783412508340_02.12.2023).
70. RO NA IIMK RAN, F. 21. D. 360, f. 9–10v.
71. RO NA IIMK RAN, F. 1. Op. 1–1916. D. 104, f. 56–56v; F. 2. Op. 1. Dd. 130, 131.
72. RO NA IIMK RAN, F. 1. Op. 1–1916. D. 104, f. 39; F. 1. Op. 1a–1916. D. 163, f. 113–114. The collection of photographs is now kept in the FO NA IIMK RAN. Fourteen letters from November 1916 to March 1917 from Borawski to Pokryshkin have been preserved in the archives. See RO NA IIMK RAN, F. 21. D. 131. Józef Lenartowicz (1870–1951), a member of the Polish community in St. Petersburg whom some researchers consider to be the photographer of the mission in Bukovina, did not actually visit Chernivtsi with Pokryshkin and never had any dealings with the Archaeological Commission or with the Academy of Sciences; see Manikowska 2017, *Mutual Influences*, p. 97. See on the documentation initiative initiated by Volodymyr Milkovich: Waldemar Deluga, *Protection of Eastern Christian Monuments in Bukovina at the End of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the Beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, in: *Monumentorum Tutela = Ochrana pamiatok*, vol. 30 no. 1, 2020, pp. 51–59, here pp. 56–57.
73. RO NA IIMK RAN, F. 21. D. 360, f. 33.
74. For more on this see, for example: *Unmasking Ideology in Imperial and Colonial Archaeology: Vocabulary, Symbols, and Legacy*, ed. by Bonnie Effros and Guolong Lai, Los Angeles 2018 (Ideas, Debates, and Perspectives, vol. 8); Ivan Foletti et al., *Cultural Interactions in the Medieval Subcaucasian Region: Historiographical and Art-Historical Perspectives*, vol. 1, *The Othering Gaze: Imperialism, Colonialism, and Orientalism in Studies on Medieval Art in the Southern Caucasus (1801–1991)*, Roma / Brno 2023 (Convivia, vol. 4) [https://www.viella.it/download/7484/462a95f8ff1d/whole-book\\_vol.i.pdf](https://www.viella.it/download/7484/462a95f8ff1d/whole-book_vol.i.pdf), 07.04.2024.
75. On the topic see, for example: *Archaeology Behind the Battle Lines. The Macedonian Campaign (1915–19) and its Legacy*, ed. by Andrew Shapland and Evangelia Stephanē, London / New York 2017 (British School at Athens / Modern Greek and Byzantine Studies, vol. 5).
76. Perhaps with only one exception, the Lake Van expedition, the results of which were used to explore the history and culture of Urartu in the years 1930–1940. See: Boris Piotrovsky, *Istoriâ i kultura Urartu* [History and Culture of Urartu], Erevan 1944.

## Abstract

This article deals with the functioning, objectives, and consequences of the *Kunstschutz im Kriege* in the territories occupied by Russia during the First World War. These findings have not yet been studied in relation to Russian imperial policy in the occupied territories or in a comparative perspective. The study argues that Russian state policy to prevent the looting and destruction of national cultural values in territories threatened by enemy occupation primarily involved mass evacuation, leading to adverse effects on cultural heritage. In territories occupied by Russia the cultural policy usually consisted of the incorporation and appropriation of local cultural assets and its transformation according to Russian patterns. The main forms of Russian academic *Kunstschutz* were monitoring missions and scientific expeditions in the occupied territories: the mission in Galicia (1915), the Lake Van expedition in Western Armenia (1916), two expeditions in Turkish Georgia (1917), the expedition of Trabzon (1916–1917), and the expedition in Bukovina (1916–1917). These activities were controversial, as the leaders of the expeditions adhered to the ideas of “liberal imperialism” and Orientalism and took advantage of Russian aggression to advance their scientific interests. The differences between the academic and governmental approaches to art protection and theft in the occupied territories are analysed here. *Kunstschutz* as the monitoring of monuments and sites and art protection by representatives of the academic community must be distinguished from the organised and unorganised looting and expropriation by private individuals and by the administration of the military occupation. The Russian missions had no significant success in protecting monuments and sites during the war. At the same time, the cultural elites of Poland, Ukraine, Armenia and Georgia – predominantly organised in scientific societies – used their involvement in

the Russian *Kunstschutz* to protect their national heritage, which was seen as a part of national rebirth. The scientific experience of missions and expeditions was little used in Soviet Russia. Nevertheless, their archive materials contain important information about the cultural heritage of Poland, Ukraine, Romania, Turkey, Georgia and Armenia, which has yet to be evaluated.

### Author

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### Title

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