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The *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung* of 1918: Baltic German Identity-Building and German Propaganda Side by Side*

Introduction

Since the war was brought on Ukraine in 2022 we are – again – witnessing a major turning point in our relationship with monuments in Eastern Europe. This article looks at similar processes during World War I via a travelling exhibition about the Russian Baltic Sea provinces (*Ostseeprovinzen Russlands*, essentially governorates, i.e. *Ostseegouvernements*; fig. 01) of Livonia and Estonia. Depicting them as being historically parts and parcels of Germany¹, the propagandist exhibition toured around major German cities in 1918.



Fig. 01. Cover of Alfred Geiser's illustrated booklet *Die deutschen Ostseeprovinzen Rußlands* (34 pages, published in several reprints in 1910s), with the reproduction of Curt Agthe's painting of the Riga House of the Black Heads.

The Germans had captured much of Courland in 1915, and the rest of Latvia and the West Estonian archipelago by October 1917. The Republic of Estonia was officially declared on 24th February 1918 in Tartu (Germ. Dorpat), but German troops reached the city on that very day – in total, the German occupation lasted for 14 months in Estonia. Latvian independence was declared on 18th November 1918².

Given that, according to the Baltic organisers of the *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung*, “before the war the Baltic problem lay sadly beyond all contemporary interests for Germany”, it seemed all the more necessary to provide an overview, “as the knowledge of the land from Riga to Reval [Est. Tallinn] is absolutely incomplete in many circles of the German people. Again and again we, Balts, have had to [...] prove that ‘Balts’ and ‘Russians’ are not the same”³. The common perception was indeed that the Baltic German upper classes could not be German without being Russian too – one presupposed the other. Russia was taking care of the Baltic barons’ material wellbeing (their bodies), while Germany remained in charge of their emotional or intellectual wellbeing (their souls and minds)⁴.

There were multiple contestants for these lands and their monuments, and as a consequence there are many parallel stories and approaches that need to be taken into account. These include the previous actions of Baltic Germans to preserve their heritage and their political attempts to establish the United Baltic Duchy during the war; Russification by Tsarist power; Estonian and Latvian national movements since the latter 19th century; the war and steps taken towards the formation of states in all of the above; plus the Russian revolution of 1917 – each with their own agendas for the legislation of monument protection⁵. One might say that the physical architectural monuments were the only stable anchors in the middle of all of this, even if they were hit or damaged. This was certainly not so much the case with movable artworks. Rather than

about protecting monuments, however, this article is about protecting one's right to self determination at any cost – and sometimes at the cost of the actual monuments that themselves fell prey to the vast evacuations of property, or to the propaganda exhibitions discussed here.

Extensive research has been conducted about several regions in (South) Eastern Europe in relation to *Kunstschutz im Kriege*⁶, but similar cases in Estonia and Latvia have only been addressed in passing⁷. The most thorough study, by Christoph Roolf, hardly touches upon artistic monuments⁸. According to Beate Störckuhl, “the number of academic staff members in the military administration was significantly lower” in the German occupation area Ober Ost than in Polish territory, for instance, as was the number of local architects or art historians who would “undertake cooperative activities”⁹. Was that indeed the case? Or simply a distortion arising from a lack of research to date? Does new historiographic and archival research allow us to put things into different light and uncover closer points of contact with activities around German *Kunstschutz*?

I propose that the similarly under-researched *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung* offers various answers in this regard. The fact of it having taken place is common knowledge amongst Baltic scholars, but little is known of how it was managed and how vast it was, about the highly ideological content of the publications related to the project, or about the large number of people – including top specialists – involved. It was an utterly propagandist undertaking.

German *Kunstschutz* in the Baltics? The Precarious Contribution of Feuereisen, Neumann and Pirang

Some archival and art collections had already been moved to Russia under the Tsarist regime on the brink of war. Preventive lists of church property had been compiled since 1913¹⁰ and continued to be drawn up throughout the war¹¹. Many stayed in Russia, despite the constant efforts of the Baltic scholars, such as historian Arnold Feuereisen (1868–1943) on behalf of the Riga City Archives, to reclaim them¹². He had personally been overseeing the lists of relocated/lost items in 1914/1915, after the first archival documents were sent to St. Petersburg. Art historian and architect Dr. Wilhelm Neumann (1849–1919) had been involved

in similar activities on behalf of the Riga City Art Museum, which he had directed since its establishment in 1905 (now Latvian National Museum of Art¹³). Paul Clemen (1866–1947), this frontman of the German *Kunstschutz im Kriege*¹⁴, named both of them as knowledgeable partners in early 1918, although it cannot be ascertained if they were ever in direct contact¹⁵.

Lists of cultural property taken to Russia were compiled not only by local Baltic German specialists (some of whom escorted their collections to guarantee better protection for them), but actively by scholars in Germany, too. It was, of course, crucial for German–Russian peace negotiations to determine the scope of the relocations and thefts, on the basis of which claims for returning the objects or for reimbursement could be made – even if newspaper articles stressed: “One should not forget that art and book treasures of all peoples have come into the possession of foreign nations over the centuries.”¹⁶

It was in this connection that Dr. Fritz Rörig (1882–1952), a German historian and archivist, was sent as a *Referent* to Riga. Feuereisen assisted him around the turn of 1917/1918, when two institutions in Lübeck – the Staatsarchiv (now Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck) and the Hansischer Geschichtsverein – sought to find new Baltic members for the latter and, first of all, acquire written sources from the archives in Riga regarding the early Hanseatic connections between the two cities. To their disappointment, not that many sources were to be found¹⁷.

Looking from the Baltic side, Lübeck had been the place where many major art history books about the Baltic region had been published¹⁸. Neumann (born near Lübeck, in Grevesmühlen, Mecklenburg-Schwerin) and Feuereisen had studied in both Russia and Germany; Feuereisen had even undertaken part of his archivist training in Lübeck¹⁹. It could be suggested, as Roolf does, that Rörig played some part in reactivating both of their potential in the international arena²⁰, but, in fact, it seems to have been the other way round. It was Rörig who got a boost in his (rather polemical) career after the war, becoming a history professor in Leipzig, and later in Kiel, Tübingen and Berlin. While his later connections with Nazi German ideology have been touched upon²¹, his pan-German positions during World War I have been less discussed²². Rörig re-

mained in contact with Feuereisen and other prominent Baltic historians such as Otto Greiffenhagen and Paul Johansen until the 1940s²³.

Both Neumann and Feuereisen were well networked and the leading specialists in the Baltic region by that time; Neumann has been referred to as the very “father of Baltic art history”²⁴. He participated in numerous conferences and workshops on heritage preservation in the early 1910s – in Trier, Danzig (Gdańsk), Salzburg, and Dresden²⁵ – and is known to have represented the Baltic region not only in the first major art history congresses²⁶, but also in the annual *Tag für Denkmalpflege* during 1909–1912, and perhaps even after that²⁷. As Heinz Pirang (1876–1936), likewise present in many of the latter, concluded when introducing this format to Baltic readers:

“The development so far has brilliantly demonstrated the viability of the Monument Preservation Days. Nowhere since 1900 has a decision been made in Germany in the field of monument preservation without first having consulted the decisions made there. The idea of preserving monuments has even reached Africa.”²⁸

Feuereisen, too, reported on the discussions held in many of the important conferences of the era, including the all-Russian Archaeology Congresses²⁹, and the 3rd International Congress of Historical Sciences (Berlin 1908). Since 1910 he was President of the Society for History and Antiquarian Research of the Baltic Provinces of Russia (Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands, GGA), the most powerful force in Baltic heritage preservation³⁰; Neumann became its Co-director in 1914. Since its founding in 1908, Neumann also headed the Commission for Heritage Preservation (Kommission für Denkmalpflege) in Riga³¹.

As Riga city archivist, Feuereisen wrote several important memoranda in these years, one specifically about the state of the archives and the restitution of documents from Russia. A practical argument he tried to make was that of the poor conditions and lack of space in the Russian central archives, ending with the words: “There is no better way to introduce the detachment from Russian foreign rule [...] than through a powerful promotion of historical sciences on the basis

of an unsparing reorganisation of its archival system.”³² He played a crucial role in actually getting many of the archival sources back during the 1920s³³.

Neumann, for his part, made several research trips after the German occupying troops arrived in Riga in 1917. With some assistance from Rörig, Neumann undertook a tour to eight north-eastern German cities in January–February 1918³⁴. He had been extremely productive ever since the 1880s and had always promoted the narrative of the Germanness of Baltic art and architecture. But, motivated by the war efforts and daily politics, Neumann’s statements became more emotional and nationalist, similar in tone to other “Baltic propagandists”³⁵.

All of this shows that there was a significant amount of involvement from the German authorities in *Kunstschutz*-related matters in the Baltic. Neumann authored the Riga city guide in a series that was commissioned by the Commander-in-Chief for the Eastern territories (*Oberbefehlshaber Ost*) for Ober Ost military personnel and administrative officials³⁶; and while this was an expanded reprint of his 1908 booklet, it is a clear testimony to his willingness to cooperate. Furthermore, he led guided tours of Riga cathedral (whose conservation he had supervised), the Dommuseum and the City Art Museum for prominent visitors, such as Duke John Albert (Johann Albrecht) of Mecklenburg-Schwerin (1857–1920), or the Reich Chancellor Georg Michaelis (1857–1936) in October 1917³⁷.

The motives of the Baltic German scholars in all of this seem to have been professional as well as cultural, with the German humanities as their main point of reference, rather than out of mere obligation due to their affiliation. No strangers to German colonial statements about these territories, they often used similar rhetoric in their own work. The prospective independent nation-states of Estonia and Latvia hardly represented their idea of a way forward, not to mention the Bolshevik future scenarios on the table. In short, while many opportunists tend to arise in times like these, often among young scholars trying to take advantage of the situation and further their personal career³⁸, both Neumann and Feuereisen were by then prominent opinion leaders at the very height of their respective careers. Pirang was younger, but also an established scholar, working in the 1910s as a lecturer in art history at the

Riga Polytechnic and as the First Secretary of the Baltic Commission for Heritage Preservation. He was also politically active, serving as a senior member of the Deutschbaltischer Nationalrat in 1917–1918³⁹ – and as the director of the *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung*⁴⁰.

War-Time Exhibitions as Platforms for Combined German and Baltic Propaganda

Among the most straightforward actions taken in the framework of German *Kunstschutz* – as well as that of the so-called Baltic propaganda – were the two major travelling exhibitions held in Germany: the *Kurland-Ausstellung* first inaugurated in 1917, and the *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung* of summer/autumn 1918. This article focuses on the latter that acts as a vehicle for propaganda, particularly during the war, and falls right into that age of grand exhibitions⁴¹.

Courland had been annexed by the German army earlier than other parts of the Baltic lands, allowing the showing of the *Kurland-Ausstellung* in Munich, Stuttgart, Darmstadt, Dresden, Düsseldorf, Karlsruhe, Straßburg (French. Strasbourg), Breslau (Pol. Wrocław), Hannover, Berlin as well as Leipzig. Opened by kings, princes, princesses in many occasions⁴², the *Kurland-Ausstellung* was organised by the Museum and Institute for German Culture Abroad and for the International Promotion of German Interests (Museum und Institut zur Kunde des Auslandsdeutschums und zur Förderung deutscher Interessen im Ausland) in Stuttgart⁴³.

An 11-page booklet⁴⁴ and an 97-page accompanying book (with photographs of Courland's cities and countryside)⁴⁵ survive the *Kurland-Ausstellung*. In the latter, there is a notable chapter entitled “Literarische Beziehungen zwischen Kurland und Deutschland”, written by a certain *Hauptmann* Prof. Otto Clemen (1871–1946), the younger brother of Paul Clemen⁴⁶. As many other Germans who became fascinated by the region during their military service, Otto Clemen wrote about the art and culture of the Baltic lands on several occasions⁴⁷ and took active part in organising this exhibition⁴⁸. He was definitely in Mitau (Let. Jelgava) in May 1916, and refers frequently to Neumann⁴⁹ (whose Riga guidebook was published in the same series by publisher Fritz Würtz). A theologian and historian by training, Otto Clemen had defended his doctoral thesis in 1896, but his academic career began to take off

in the 1910s in Germany, when he worked as a high school teacher⁵⁰. Other contributors to the book were Baltic Germans, all connected to Mitau. The chapter “Die Landschaft und die Kunstdenkmäler Kurlands” was authored by the literary historian Valieran Tornius (1883–1970)⁵¹, others by the agronomist Max von Blaese (1860–1944)⁵², and the historians Josef Girgensohn (1848–1933)⁵³ and Carl Emanuel Worms (1857–1939)⁵⁴. Finally, the general outline was written by Silvio Broedrich (1870–1952), one of the most vocal advocates of German expansion into the Baltic⁵⁵.

The stimulus for the *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung* originated from the Association for Germanness Abroad (Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland [VDA], now Verein für Deutsche Kulturbbeziehungen im Ausland) as early as December 1917⁵⁶. The initiative thus came several months *before* the Estonian mainland was annexed by the Germans, perfectly illustrating the ambitiousness of their plans. Preparatory correspondence also reveals donations from other parties, e.g. 2000 Marks from the Lübeck city administration for expanding the *Kurland-Ausstellung* “into an all-Baltic exhibition”, as the initial plan went⁵⁷, and another 5000 Marks from the Tartu city administration⁵⁸. But, as the organisers declared, it was foremost the VDA who took the exhibition under its wing both financially and administratively, deserving “the thanks of all Balts” for the “very considerable funds” it provided⁵⁹.

Exhibited first in Berlin at the Royal Academy of Arts (Königliche Akademie der Künste) in June–July 1918, the *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung* travelled to Hamburg (Ernst-Merck-Halle) in August⁶⁰, and Lübeck (St. Katharinenkirche) in September–October⁶¹. Further locations were discussed⁶², but the tour had to be stopped when the Kaiserreich was overthrown in November 1918. Perhaps it was simply the different set of protagonists but it seems that, learning from the *Kurland-Ausstellung* experience, things were done more thoroughly from early on this time. The *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung* was not only professionally organised, but also well documented, and a massive amount of related materials was published and widely circulated.

The 10-page promotional booklet for the *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung* from around the turn of 1917/1918⁶³ sought to gain legitimacy for the exhibition in advance – not only via grand words, but also by

including a long list of prominent people on the vast organising committee. Together with the honorary committee (*Ehrenausschuß*) and advisory board (*Ausstellungsvorstand*), it included 45 members from both Germany and the Baltic region (among these notably a couple of ethnic Latvians and Estonians). Feuereisen and Neumann were among the top five board members of the organising team (*Ausstellungsleitung*). Both were heads of certain sections (*Abteilungsvorsteher*) of the exhibition: the former was responsible for general history, and the latter for visual arts⁶⁴. *Landesbeirat* Rörig was part of the wider board, assigned by the *Gouvernement Riga*⁶⁵.

The honorary committee included Erhard Dehio (1855–1940), mayor of Tallinn⁶⁶ and active promoter of the United Baltic Duchy (declared on 12th April 1918 and recognised on 22nd September as a sovereign state by Emperor Wilhelm II). Curiously the materials connected with the exhibition do not indicate any kind of involvement of his brother, art history professor Georg Dehio (1850–1932), who otherwise similarly defended German expansionist ideas in those years⁶⁷.

While the head curator was Pirang, it is not quite clear how Dr. Eugen von Stieda (1880–1945), a leading financial expert and amateur historian from Riga⁶⁸, came to be the person in charge of the booklet and accompanying handbook. The exhibition was by no means just a display of art, and neither was the book. Stieda himself was responsible for the section on communal economics (*Kommunalwirtschaft*)⁶⁹, as well as contributing to chapters on “Städtebau und Bevölkerungswesen”⁷⁰.

The nearly 400-page long handbook *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung. Zur Einführung in die Arbeitsgebiete der Ausstellung* reproduces Stieda’s text from the initial booklet with only minor modifications⁷¹. The subsequent long essays sought to introduce the two provinces in their entirety. As Stieda underlined:

“The actual work of the exhibition was directed almost exclusively by appointed Baltic representatives of the individual fields of knowledge and work, with active support from the German military and civil authorities. However, the valuable cooperation in the historical department on the part of the Lübeck museum and state archive should be emphasised.”⁷²

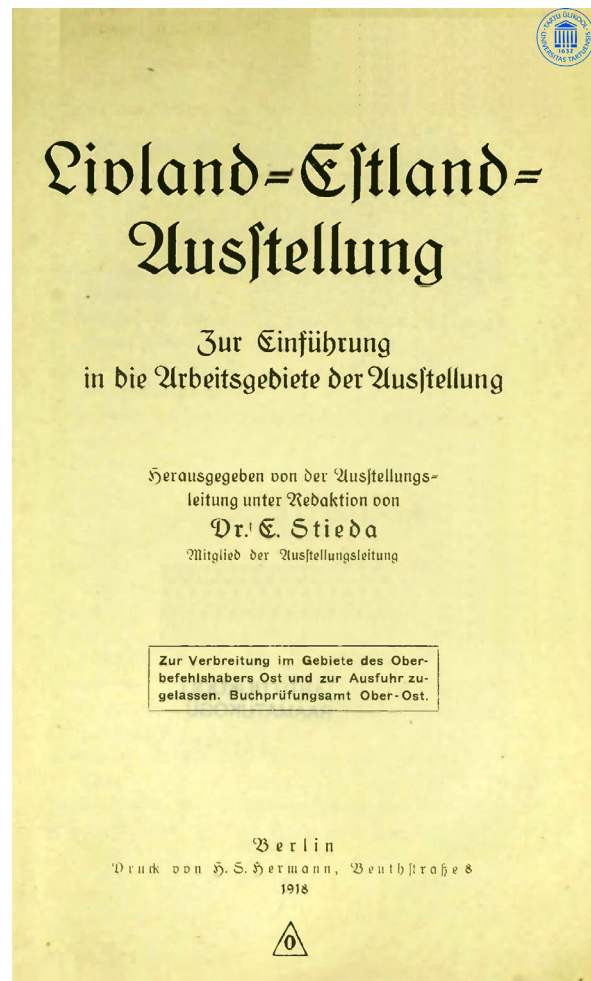


Fig. 02. Title page of the 397-page textbook issued to accompany the exhibition, with a stamp of approval from Ober-Ost. (Courtesy of the University of Tartu Library.)

Rörig prepared the chapter “Die Hansezeit”, while Neumann wrote “Malerei und Plastik”⁷³. The title page bears the stamp “Approved for distribution in the area of the Commander-in-Chief East and for export. Accounting Office Ober-Ost” (fig. 02). The book therefore functions as a fully fledged handbook on the Baltic territories, similar to the *landeskundliche Sonderveröffentlichungen* which were published about the Generalgouvernement Warschau and Ober Ost⁷⁴.

The Berlin exhibition was inaugurated on 15th June by Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia (1880–1925), who “referred to the previous *Kurland-Ausstellung* and stressed that it was the Emperor’s wish that the old Baltenland should once again become a bulwark of Ger-



Fig. 03. Prince Henry of Prussia attending the inauguration of the *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung* in the Lübeck St. Catherine's Church, which opened as a museum in the 19th century. Photographer unknown, 06.09.1918. (Courtesy of the Fotoarchiv Hansestadt Lübeck).

man character [*Wesen*] in the East”, before continuing straight on to military achievements⁷⁵. VDA's chairman and imperial envoy Franz von Reichenau – who was also the chairman of the *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung* board – likewise drew a bridge from the old to the new “land of the Balts”, concluding his Berlin welcome address with the words: “May the exhibition be a channel that attracts general attention, so that the new Baltenland can look forward to a happy future in the closest connection with the German Reich.”⁷⁶

At the opening in its final location, Lübeck, on 6th September, Prince Henry of Prussia, the patron and *der hohe Protektor der Livland-Estland-Ausstellung*, was personally present (fig. 03)⁷⁷. Despite the war, they had time not only to design stamps, but whole sets of stationery: many of the letters are printed on specially made paper, where the exhibition title is accompanied by a further emphasis that the VDA hosted it *un-*

ter der Schirmherrschaft Sr. Königl. Hoheit des Prinzen Heinrich von Preußen (fig. 04)⁷⁸. He and Prince Adalbert (1884–1948) were both also honorary members of the Tallinn Brotherhood of the Black Heads⁷⁹.

I will not be focusing on the exhibition's press coverage and reception history here, but a review by Alfred Geiser (1868–1937), for instance, asserted: “To be sure, it appeared to cautious minds as something daring”, referring not to the exhibition's bold ideological dimensions but, most of all, to the practical limitations caused by the war as well as the short preparation time available⁸⁰. Geiser was a radical nationalist, spokesman of the Pan-German League and important figure in the VDA. He was also married to a Baltic German noble woman from Riga⁸¹. Since 1906 he had published extensively on the Baltic Germans⁸², authoring several books with telling titles during the war (fig. 01)⁸³, in addition to contributions about Germandom in Poland and elsewhere⁸⁴.

The moving of physical artworks and other valuables across war zones was, of course, logistically difficult. It was, notably, exactly in early 1918 – during the months of preparing the exhibition – when Neumann made his above-mentioned trips to Germany. He was also present at the inauguration in Berlin⁸⁵. Geiser stated that “it must be acknowledged unreservedly that this difficult task was solved surprisingly happily throughout, thanks to the tireless dedication of the participating Baltic German circles, especially those of Riga and Reval”⁸⁶.

The Baltic German scholars tended to be pleased with the results of the *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung*, claiming that it “aroused a great deal of interest” in Germany⁸⁷. It certainly was sufficiently popular to warrant the development of routes within the exhibition space: hand-drawn trajectories had to be strictly kept to, adding a machine-printed note of this to the Hamburg booklet (fig. 05)⁸⁸.

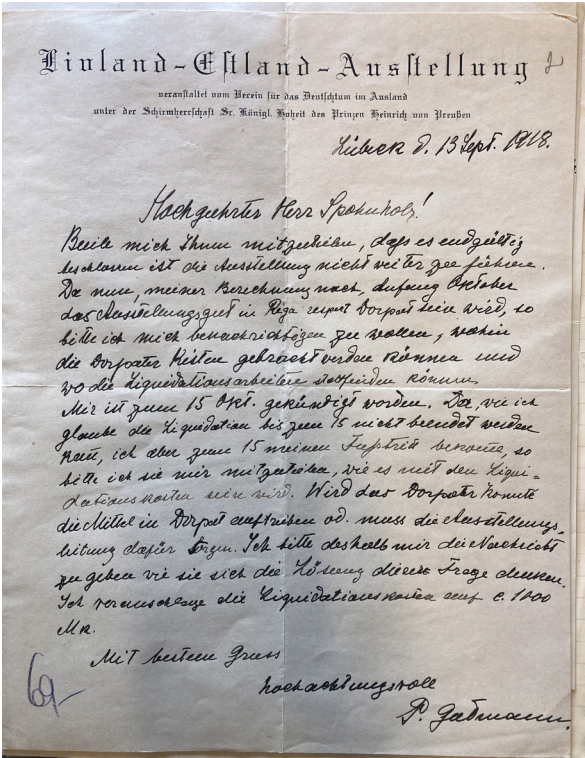


Fig. 04. Special stationery of *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung*, accompanied by the reassuring statement that the hosting Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland organised the exhibition under the auspices of Prince Henry of Prussia. Here: Correspondence between P. Gutmann (Lübeck) and Konrad Sponholz (chairman of the Tartu exhibition committee) about returning the objects (Estonian National Archives, Tartu, EAA.2399.1.119, p. 2.)

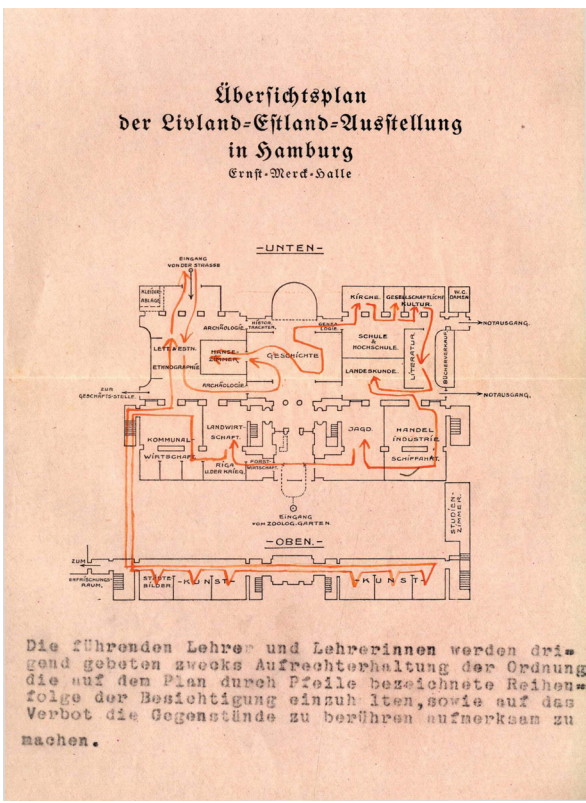


Fig. 05. Hand-drawn route of the exhibition in Ernst-Merck-Halle, a centre for fairs on the premises of the Hamburg Zoo, August 1918. Back cover of P. Gutmann's copy of *Kleiner Führer durch die Livland-Estland-Ausstellung 1918*, Hamburg 1918. (Courtesy of the University of Tartu Library.)

The Actual Contents of the *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung*

The preparatory notifications of the forthcoming exhibition sent out to potential organisers within the Baltic region paint a hectic picture. The first ones simply mention a “planned Baltic exhibition” as something that “should give an insight into the state of [our] culture”. A preliminary work plan is attached and the chosen representatives are asked to go to Riga immediately for more information and planning meetings⁸⁹. However, it was already in the disseminated introductory text that Stieda declared that with the exhibition “we, Balts, are striving to bring a full understanding” of what it means to be Baltic German to “the entire German people”⁹⁰:

“We, Balts, therefore ask for indulgence, but still give ourselves hope that the exhibition has shown our natural connection with the culture and economy of Germany, and at the same

time largely proven our cultural and economic uniqueness.”⁹¹

As Geiser reports, it was a significant undertaking in the middle of the war to seek “to give an even somewhat satisfactory [...] picture of these areas, their abundance of historical and cultural-historical works, the diversity of their landscape, the variety of their economic life, and the uniqueness of their ethnographic conditions”⁹². Indeed, the most colourful – and exotic, no doubt – part of the exhibition was the display of Estonian and Latvian national costumes and handicrafts (fig. 06).

While the accompanying *Zur Einführung*-handbook gives an overview of various aspects of the Baltic region, it does little to help readers imagine what was actually exhibited. It had a few tables, but no images whatsoever. A separate catalogue, *Kleiner Führer durch die Livland-Estland-Ausstellung 1918*, was is-

sued for Hamburg, which gives a better insight into the works and items on display (fig. 07) – perhaps also foreseeing the difficulty of returning all of them to Baltic collections afterwards. It is essentially an annotated list of objects, documents and photographs – totalling 287 entries (some of which include more than one item) – with references to the relevant pages in the handbook. Together with the surviving photographs of the exhibition space (fig. 08), this list gives researchers an impression of how the material was arranged.

Apart from the section entitled “Kunst”, many historically significant items from all periods of Baltic art were included in the sections “Geschichte”, “Kirchen” and “Gesellschaftliche Kultur”. Photographs of urban scenery in Riga, Reval, Dorpat, Narva, Pernau (Est. Pärnu) and Wenden (Lat. Cēsis) were shown in the section entitled “Kommunalwirtschaft, Bevölkerungswesen und Städtekunde”. There was also a special corner



Fig. 06. Estonian and Latvian folk art display at the *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung* in the Königlische Akademie der Künste, Berlin.
Photo: Berliner Illustrationsgesellschaft, June 1918. (Courtesy of the Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin.)

<p>128. Bildnisse berühmter Bühnenmitglieder und Leiter der deutschen Theater von Riga und Reval: Otto Hermann von Bietinghoff, der Begründer des Rigaer Stadttheaters August von Kogebue, Begründer des Revaler deutschen Theaters Karl v. Holtei, 1837–1839 Theaterdirektor in Riga. Ludwig Barnay, Mitglied des Rigaer Stadttheaters 1864–1865.</p> <p>129. Drucke und Manuskripte baltischer Provenienz: Revaler Theaterjournal vom Jahre 1791 u. a.</p> <p>130. Briefe und Autographen berühmter Schauspieler und Tonkünstler. Wagner, A. v. Kogebue, Konradin Kreuger, Stilles, Goethe und Hommel, Album, überhandt der Sängerin Mara nach Reval zu ihrem 80. Geburtstage.</p> <p>131. Berühmte deutsche Tonkünstler in Riga und Reval. Bildnisse von H. Wagner, Kapellmeister am Stadttheater zu Riga; Konradin Kreuger, Kapellmeister in Riga 1848–1849; Gertrud Elisabeth Mara, berühmte Opernsängerin, lebte 1812 bis 1831 in Reval, gestorben daselbst.</p> <p>132. Das lettische Bühnenwesen und die lettische Musik. Bildnisse lettischer Schauspieler und Komponisten. Lettische Bühnendekorationen. Statistisches Tafeln.</p> <p>133. Ansichten des estnischen „Estonia-Theaters“ in Reval. Das in den Jahren 1911–1913 erbaute Theater enthält Sitzplätze für etwa 1000 Personen. In demselben Gebäude der etwa 1200 Personen fassende Estonia-Konzertsaal.</p> <p>134. Rigaer und Revaler Theaterzettel aus dem 18. bis 20. Jahrhundert.</p> <p>Abteilung Kunst.</p> <p>Gruppe 1: Gruppe von aus Deutschland eingewanderten und von einheimischen Künstlern am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts und aus dem 1. Viertel des 19. Jahrhunderts: Gerhard von Nügelgen. Bildnis des bekannten Rigaer Ältesten Schwarz. Ludwig von Maybell. Selbstbildnis. Carl August Senff. Pastellbildnis. Karl Timoleon von Neff. Im Anschluß an die Petersburger Akademie ausgebildet. Doppelbildnis. Otto von Möller. Künstlerische Entwicklung im Anschluß an die Nazarener in Rom, Damenbildnis und „Der Ruß“.</p>	<p>Gruppe 2: Künstler aus der 2. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, teils in Deutschland, teils in der Heimat tätig: Eugen Dücker, hervorragender Landschaftler der Düsseldorf-Schule, der seine Modelle zumeist in der Heimat holte. Wilhelm Georg Timm, bekannter Illustrator, längere Zeit in Berlin tätig. Oskar Hoffmann, Alexander Rizzoni, Theodor Huhn u. a., ausgebildet im Anschluß an die Petersburger Akademie, die meisten unter dem Einfluß französischer Kunst.</p> <p>Gruppe 3: Künstler aus der 2. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts und Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts im Anschluß an deutsche Schulen: Eduard von Gebhardt, führender Künstler der Düsseldorf-Schule. Alfons Spring und Oswald von Saz in München, im Anschluß an Grüner und Liezenmayer tätig.</p> <p>Gruppe 4 (in mehreren Räumen untergebracht): Jüngere Maler: Bernhard Dorchart, in Riga tätig; Karl von Winkler †, vorzugsweise Aquarellist; Gerhard von Rosen, lebt in Riga; Wilhelm Purwit, lettischer Landschaftler, in Petersburg ausgebildet; Theodor Kraus, bevorzugt das Porträt, in Riga tätig; Friedrich Moritz, lebt in Berlin; Jan Rosenthal †, bedeutender lettischer Künstler; Otto von Kurfell; R. Tillberg, lettischer Maler; Susanna Walter; Konstantin Lelaus. Außerdem die Radierer Gerhard Kieferistky, Moriz von Grünwaldt und P. von Haken-Ruhlmann.</p> <p>Abteilung Landeskunde (vgl. Einführung Seite 1–31): Der Boden. Untergrund- und Oberflächengestaltung (vgl. Einführung Seite 4–19). 1. Geologischer Untergrund des ostbaltischen Gebiets (vgl. Einführung Seite 4–8).</p>
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Fig. 07. Fragment of the list of exhibited items in Hamburg, there were 287 entries in total. (*Kleiner Führer durch die Livland-Estland-Ausstellung 1918*, Hamburg 1918. Courtesy of the University of Tartu Library.)

for “Riga und der Krieg”⁹³ – not at least because Latvia had suffered more significant damage than much of Estonia by early 1918. Nevertheless, architecture could only be very briefly touched upon due to the short preparation time and consequent omissions⁹⁴.

The originals of sculptures were generally not transported to Germany, with plaster cast copies being displayed instead. Sending originals was avoided even in the case of scientific illustrations about the climate and conditions of the land and soil. Here the Liv-Estländische Bureau für Landeskultur in Tartu⁹⁵ – who had had to produce a great number of tables and raw data since the German troops’ arrival – specifically stressed that “Objects should not be exhibited, if possible, owing to transportation difficulties. The exhibited material should be handled in [the form of] maps, graphic icons, cartographically” etc. (fig. 09)⁹⁶.

Yet the list reveals that these considerations did not apply to much more valuable objects: medieval documents from Tallinn, Riga and Lübeck archives were brought to the exhibition, demonstrating key moments in Baltic history – and its German connections⁹⁷. This might help to explain why Rörig was so keen on acquiring these materials in early 1918.

In addition, the display included diverse kinds of objects, e.g. a “box with drawings and embroideries presented to Professor C. Morgenstern by his admirers from Dorpat”⁹⁸ – Johann Karl Simon Morgenstern (1770–1852) had been professor of aesthetics, rhetoric, classical philology, art and literature history in Tartu. In addition, “the intellectual relationships between Livonia and the German motherland in original letters from Baltic and German poets” were exhibited⁹⁹. As Geiser concluded: “In a clear and tasteful arrangement, the



Fig. 08. View of the *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung* in the Königl. Akademie der Künste, Berlin. In the background: collection of the Riga House of the Black Heads. Photo: A.[lfred] Grohs, June 1918. (Reproduction: Alfr.[ed] Geiser, *Die Livland-Estland-Ausstellung in Berlin*, in: *Der Weltkrieg. Illustrierte Kriegs-Chronik des Daheim*, vol. 9, Bielefeld / Leipzig 1918, p. 171.)

exhibition offers an overarching picture that is not lacking in the loving implementation of charming details. Its purpose is decidedly national-educational.”¹⁰⁰

Did any of the exhibited items go missing or break? It would be a wonder if this did not happen given the circumstances and haste with which the works had been displayed. Indeed, after the final display, problems arose¹⁰¹. The objects were returned to Tallinn, Tartu and Riga from Lübeck from October–November 1918. The long correspondence¹⁰² reveals that the Baltic Germans had to take the results of the project with a grain of salt, owing to misunderstandings with the VDA, missing insurance documents and lack of finances for returning the chests etc.¹⁰³ (fig. 04) – these emotional debates kept on going until 1924 at least¹⁰⁴. Yet, as proof of the project’s success, the GGA in Riga later proudly wrote that the exhibition “ultimately led to an enrichment of our [Dom]museum with a number of gifts”¹⁰⁵.

Considering the exhibition’s scale, there is surprisingly little to confirm it in the museum, archive and library collections today. While the published list is not detailed enough to reconstruct the exact selection of artworks, most of the museums that now own the

works have no documentation of this exhibition (some of these museums were only founded a few years after the travelling exhibition)¹⁰⁶. Furthermore, many less artistically valuable visuals (such as drawings, drafts and photographs) remain in the archives or libraries instead. The stickers glued on the back of the displayed items – be they paintings or photographs – thus prove to be valuable sources in verifying which pieces were actually exhibited (fig. 10)¹⁰⁷. Only few of them have been identified on digital databases: the Estonian Museums Public Portal (MUIS) gives a total of ten results with the search word *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung* (in its multiple spellings), the other national databases none at all. The paper stickers ordered from C. Matthiesen’s Buchdruckerei for the exhibition, however, included e.g. 300 *Vorsicht. Gemälde!* notices and 500 white etiquettes¹⁰⁸ (fig. 11).

The Participation of Estonians and Latvians

The emphasis on the Germanness of the region did not mean that the Estonian and Latvian contemporary art scene would have been ignored or downplayed entirely. Stieda had indicated that, in order to get a complete

picture of the Baltic German achievements, they needed to be presented side by side with “what the Latvians and the Estonians have produced on their own”¹⁰⁹. In fact, an exhibition of Baltic art showing artists of Baltic German, Estonian and Latvian descent together had already been held in 1905¹¹⁰ – but these two exhibitions are rare exceptions of such cooperation in the emerging Baltic “art world”.

In the *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung*, the catalogue section “Jüngere Maler” lists three Latvians, referred to as such: Vilhelms Purvītis (spelled Wilhelm Purwit, 1872–1945), Janis Rozentāls (Jan Rosenthal, 1866–1917) and Jānis Roberts Tillbergs (R. Tillberg, 1880–1972; fig. 08)¹¹¹. Some archival sources give more data about a few additional candidates discussed for the display in the field of art. Apart from topics like “Der deut-

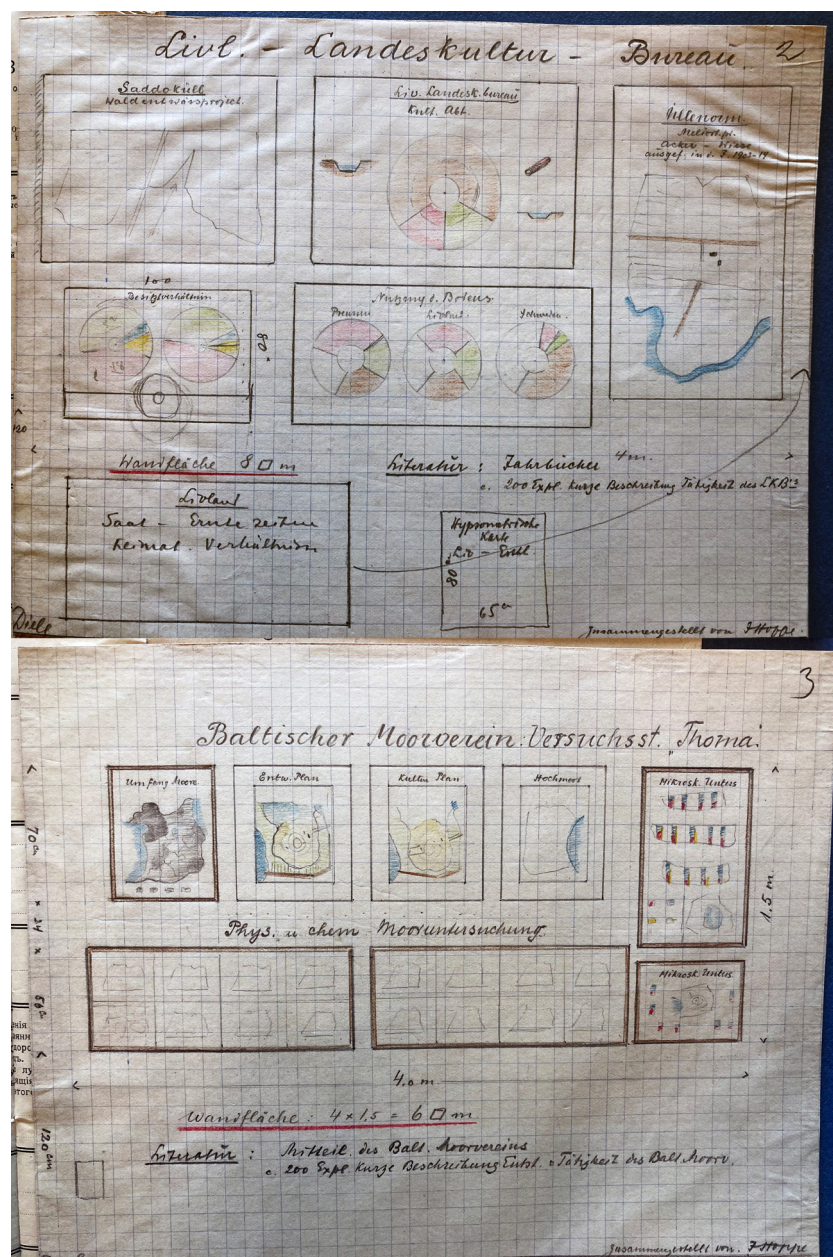


Fig. 09. Illustrations for the *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung* display about Baltic climate and soil conditions, prepared by J.[ohann?] Hoppe from the Liv-Estländische Landeskulturbureau in Tartu. (Estonian National Archives, Tartu, EAA.2059.1.2202, pp. 2–3.)

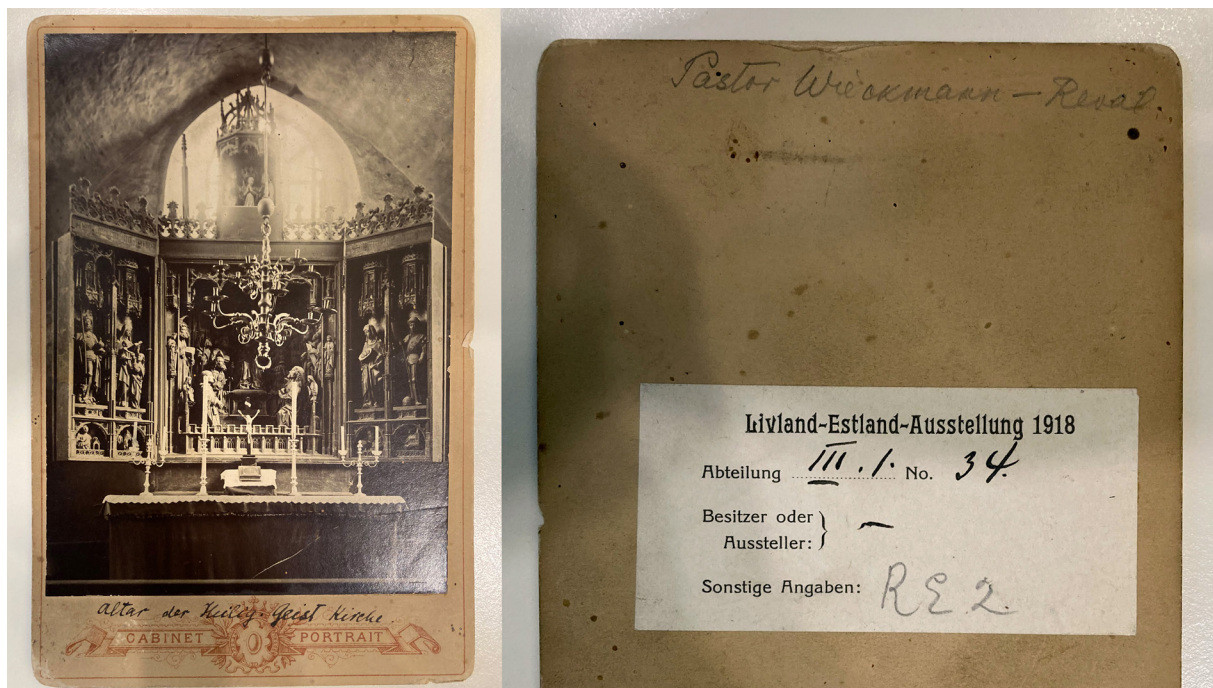


Fig. 10. Displayed photograph of the high altar of Tallinn Holy Spirit Church (by Bernt Notke, 1483), the reverse side containing the sticker and the name of its pastor Friedrich Frommhold Wieckmann, ca. 10x15 cm. (Tallinn University Academic Library, Baltica collection, Msc K1-897.)

sche Orden als Förderer deutscher Dichtung”, Enlightenment-era German artists and authors, the section “Schöne Literatur und Presse” was to include Estonian books: the avantgarde Noor-Eesti (Young Estonia) literary group, whose publications were designed by the most innovative Estonian modernist artists of 1910s, is pencilled into the working versions of the programme. Estonian sculptor Jaan Koort (1883–1935) and painter Konrad Mägi (1878–1925) were likewise scribbled in as possible additions to the section on “Bildende Kunst”¹¹². None of the Estonian candidates seem to have made it to the final display.

The organising committee of the *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung* did include non-German members, whose backgrounds are indicative of the turbulent times. The notary Jaan/Johannes Linnamägi (spelled Linnamäggi, 1862–1930), representing Tallinn (Ortsausschuss Reval), was a national figure and chairman of the society “Estonia”, who curiously collaborated with the Estonian Provisional Government in these same months¹¹³. The committee also had representatives from the Latvian Society (Lettischer Verein) in Riga: the architect Aleksandrs Vanags (Wanag, 1873–1919), a Latvian na-

tional figure of the Art Nouveau movement, with a National Romanticist touch, who worked for the Imperial Russian army as well as the Communist occupation forces in those years; and the main pastor of St. John’s church in Riga, Bernhard Gimis (Giehm, 1872–1933). The one Estonian member in the wider honorary committee seems to have been more of a natural choice: the Tartu city councillor Roman Tarrask (1879–after 1940) was a very German-friendly lawyer¹¹⁴. But even if some of the few Estonians/Latvians that were included in the exhibition wanted to have a say in the outcome, the higher up the (political) ladder they were, the less they probably had time for interfering in an exhibition – in a situation where a number of different countries were actively trying to seize power.

When describing the attitudes towards the German occupying power more generally, the Estonian historian Hans Kruus (1891–1976) wrote that – although greeted by many Estonians at first, hoping for liberation from Russian power – it soon became evident that the new German rulers did not seek any particular input from them, often appointing the local heads of administration from among the Baltic German nobility instead:

Abbreviations

AHL – Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck [Archive of the Hanseatic City of Lübeck]

BABL – Bundesarchiv [German Federal Archives], Berlin-Lichterfelde

DSHI – Dokumentensammlung, Herder-Institut Marburg

RA – Eesti Riigiarhiiv [Estonian National Archives], Tartu

TLA – Tallinna Linnaarhiiv [Tallinn City Archives]

Endnotes

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1. Cf. Arend Buchholtz, *Die deutschen Ostseeprovinzen*, Berlin 1915 (Volksschriften zum großen Krieg, vol. 61/62); [Theodor Schiemann,] *Die deutschen Ostseeprovinzen Russlands: geschichtlich, kulturell und wirtschaftlich dargestellt von Kennern der Baltischen Provinzen*, Berlin 1915; A.[lexis] von Engelhardt, *Die deutschen Ostseeprovinzen Russlands. Ihre politische und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung*, München 1916. All in multiple editions.
2. See Olavi Arens, *The Estonian Question at Brest-Litovsk*, in: *Journal of Baltic Studies*, vol. 25 no. 4, 1994, pp. 305–330; Ago Pajur, *Eesti ajutine valitsus priiuse põlistumise vaatepunktist* [The Estonian Provisional Government from the Point of View of Consolidating Independence], in: *Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi Aastaraamat / Yearbook of the Learned Estonian Society*, 2013, pp. 79–97; Mark R. Hatlie, *Riga at War 1914–1919: War and Wartime Experience in a Multi-ethnic Metropolis*, Marburg 2014 (Studien zur Ostmitteleuropaforschung, vol. 30).
3. E.[ugen] Stieda, *Zur Einleitung*, in: *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung. Zur Einführung in die Arbeitsgebiete der Ausstellung*, ed. by E.[ugen] Stieda, Berlin 1918, p. XI.
4. Juhan Maiste, *Eesti mõisad ja lossid*, vol. I: *Aadlikultuuri seitse aastasadada* [Estonian Manors and Castles, vol. I: Seven Centuries of Noble Culture], Tallinn 2022, p. 195.
5. See Kristina Jöekalda, *A Land Rich or Poor in Outstanding Monuments? Heritage Protection between Russian Imperialism, Baltic German Patriotism and Estonian Nationalism (until 1930s)*, in: *Architecture in the Baltic States: Cities, Landscapes and Heritage of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania*, ed. by Marco Falsetti, London / New York [forthcoming].
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7. See Kristiāna Ābele, *Out from Behind the Fireplace. The Progress of Latvian National Emancipation in Art Life during the First World War*, in: *Art and Artistic Life during the Two World Wars*, ed. by Giedrė Jankevičiūtė and Laima Laučkaitė, Vilnius 2012 (Dailės istorijos studijos / Art History Studies, vol. 5), pp. 14–36, here pp. 34–35; Mārtiņš Mintāurs, *Arhitektūras mantojuma aizsardzības vēsture Latvijā* [The History of the Conservation of Latvia's Architectural Heritage], Riga 2016, p. 79.
8. Christoph Roöf, *Deutsche Kulturgüter-Rückforderungen gegenüber Russland und der deutsche Kunst-, Archiv- und Bibliotheksschutz im östlichen Europa im Ersten Weltkrieg (1914–1918)*, in: *Apologeten* 2017, pp. 103–139.
9. Beate Störckuhl, *Art Historiography during World War I: Kunstschutz and Reconstruction in the General Government of Warsaw*, in: *Kunsttiteaduslikke Uurimus / Studies on Art and Architecture*,

vol. 23 no. 3/4, 2014, pp. 157–182, here p. 179. Cf. A.[bba] Strazhas, *Deutsche Ostpolitik im Ersten Weltkrieg. Der Fall Ober Ost, 1915–1917*, Wiesbaden 1993 (Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Institutes München; Reihe Geschichte, vol. 61).

10. RA, EAA.1895.1.30; EAA.1972.1.226; EAA.1944.1.227. See also Jaanika Anderson, *Das Kunstmuseum der Universität Tartu vor, während und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg*, in: *Mars und Museum. Europäische Museen im Ersten Weltkrieg*, ed. by Christina Kott and Bénédicte Savoy, Cologne et al. 2016, pp. 201–211, here pp. 203–204.
11. E.g. RA, EAA.1655.3.235: Correspondence on the evacuation of church property, 1917–1918.
12. Arnold Feuereisen, *Die Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga vor und nach dem Weltkriege*, Riga 1923, p. 1. Cf. Idem., *Ein Notstand des baltischen Archivwesens. Beitrag zur Geschichte der Regierungsarchive in den Ostseeprovinzen*, in: *Arbeiten des Zweiten Baltischen Historikertages zu Reval, 1912*, Reval 1932, pp. 248–272; Idem., *Denkschrift über die Notwendigkeit einer Organisation der archäologischen Forschung in den Ostseeprovinzen*, in: *Baltische Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte. Arbeiten des Baltischen Vorbereitenden Komitees für den XVI. Archäologischen Kongress in Pleskau 1914*, Berlin 1914, pp. 265–282.
13. Wilhelm Neumann, *Das Museum in Riga*, in: *Museumskunde. Zeitschrift für Verwaltung und Technik öffentlicher und privater Sammlungen*, vol. II, 1906, pp. 68–74; Idem., *Die Jahrhundertfeier des Rigaer Kunstmuseums*, in: *Baltische Blätter für Theater und Kunst*, Berlin-Steglitz et al. 1918, pp. 5–12.
14. E.g. *Kriegstagung für Denkmalpflege. Brüssel 28. und 29. August 1915. Stenographischer Bericht*, Berlin 1915; *Kunstschutz im Kriege. Berichte über den Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf den verschiedenen Kriegsschauplätzen und über die deutschen und österreichischen Maßnahmen zu ihrer Erhaltung, Rettung, Erforschung*, vol. 2: *Die Kriegsschauplätze in Italien, im Osten und Südosten*, ed. by Paul Clemen, Leipzig 1919. See Emil Hädler, *Paul Léon versus Paul Clemen. Zwei Denkmalpfleger in feindlichen Lagern. Kriegsdenkmalpflege, 1914–1918*, München 2014; Evonne Levy, *The German Art Historians of World War I: Grautoff, Wichert, Weisbach and Brinckmann and the Activities of the Zentralstelle für Auslandsdienst*, in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 74 no. 3, 2011, pp. 373–400.
15. Roöf 2017, *Deutsche*, pp. 132–133.
16. *Polnische Bücher- und Kunstschätze in Russland*, in: *Deutsche Warschauer Zeitung*, vol. 1 no. 52, 30.09.1915, p. 3.
17. Roöf 2017, *Deutsche*, pp. 130, 135–136. Many of his letters from Riga are preserved in the AHL, 01.2 Neues Senatsarchiv, 02434: Livland-Estland-Ausstellung, 1917–1920.
18. Incl. Wilhelm Neumann, *Werke mittelalterlicher Holzplastik und Malerei in Livland und Estland*, Lübeck 1892.
19. *Feuereisen, Arnold* Heinrich (1868–1943)*, in: *Baltisches Biographisches Lexikon digital* [henceforth BBLd], s.a. https://bbld.de/0000000115729230_07.08.2023.
20. Roöf 2017, *Deutsche*, p. 135.
21. E.g. Stephan Selzer, *Fritz Röhrigs 'Gründungsunternehmerthese' in der deutschen Geschichtsforschung der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Zeitschrift für Lübeckische Geschichte*, vol. 96, 2016, pp. 9–51; Ulrike Förster, *Untersuchungen zum Hansebild Fritz Röhrigs*, in: *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, vol. 135, 2017, pp. 115–185, here p. 171.
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- Geschichte*, ed. by Teresa Walch et al., Göttingen 2022 (Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte, vol. 49).
23. AHL, 5.5-110 Rörig, 19–21; 53. Cf. Paul Johansen, *Fritz Rörig* †, in: *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. 174, 1952, pp. 739–741; Höhn 2022, *Fritz Rörig*, pp. 54–92.
 24. Jevgeni Kaljundi, *Baltimaade kunstiajaloo isa* [The Father of Baltic Art History], in: *Sirp*, 08.10.1999; Peter Wörster, 'Der Vater der baltischen Kunstgeschichte'. *Wilhelm Neumann – Architekt, Kunsthistoriker und Denkmalpfleger*, in: *Jahrbuch des baltischen Deutschums*, vol. 55, 2008, pp. 83–100. See Kristina Jõekalda, *German Monuments in the Baltic Heimat? A Historiography of Heritage in the 'Long Nineteenth Century'*, Tallinn 2020, pp. 25–27, 43–44.
 25. See Märtiņš Mintauris, *A Heritage for the Public? The "Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde in Riga" and the Protection of Architectural Monuments in the Baltic Provinces, 1834–1914*, in: *Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi / Studies on Art and Architecture*, vol. 23 no. 3/4, 2014, pp. 111–133, here p. 128.
 26. Präsenz-Liste, in: *Offizieller Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Kunsthistorischen Kongresses zu Nürnberg, 25.–27. September 1893*, Nendeln 1978 [1894], pp. 1, 6; Joseph Neuwirth, *Kunsthistorischer Kongress in Lübeck, II*, in: *Kunstchronik: Wochenschrift für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, N.F., vol. XII no. 3, 1900/1901, pp. 33–37.
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 28. Heinz Pirang, *Denkmalpflege*, in: *Arbeiten des Ersten Baltischen Historikertages zu Riga 1908*, Riga 1909, pp. 219–228, here p. 224.
 29. TLA, 1481.1.331: Arnold Feuereisen, Reports from archaeology congresses, 1902–1914. See Arnold Feuereisen, *Bericht über den XII. Archäologischen Kongress in Charkov, Jurjew (Dorpat) 1903* [1902].
 30. See Margit Romang, *Die Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der russischen Ostseeprovinzen zu Riga*, in: *Vereinskultur und Zivilgesellschaft in Nordosteuropa. Regionale Spezifik und europäische Zusammenhänge / Associational Culture and Civil Society in North Eastern Europe: Regional Features and the European Context*, ed. by Jörg Hackmann, Wien et al. 2012 (Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte, vol. 20), pp. 203–223.
 31. Wilhelm Neumann, *Erster Bericht der Kommission für Denkmalpflege*, in: *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands (1910)*, pp. 304–305; Wilhelm Neumann, *Merkbüchlein zur Denkmalpflege auf dem Lande*, Riga 1911, p. 4. See Mintauris 2014, *A Heritage*, pp. 124–126.
 32. DSHI.190.Livland.315, p. 36: Arnold Feuereisen, *Denkschrift über die Notwendigkeit einer Regelung der Archivfrage und der Restituierung der verschleppten baltischen Archive bei den Friedensverhandlungen mit Russland*, Dezember 1917, Riga. Cf. Arnold Feuereisen, *Zur Frage des baltischen Archivwesens*, Riga 1905.
 33. Feuereisen, s.a. BBLd.
 34. Wörster 2008, *Der Vater*, pp. 89–90, 95; Roolf 2017, *Deutsche*, p. 135.
 35. Wilhelm Lenz, *Baltische Propaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg. Die Broschürenliteratur über die Ostseeprovinzen Rußlands*, in: *Die Baltischen Provinzen Russlands zwischen den Revolutionen von 1905 und 1917*, ed. by Andrew Ezergailis and Gert von Pistohlkors, Köln et al. 1982 (Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte, vol. 4), pp. 187–204. See Hans-Erich Volkmann, *Die deutsche Baltikumpolitik zwischen Brest-Litovsk und Compiègne. Ein Beitrag zur 'Kriegzielsdiskussion'*, Köln et al. 1970 (Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, vol. 13).
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 37. Wörster 2008, *Der Vater*, p. 90. He was forced to resign only weeks later. See Bert Becker, Georg Michaelis. *Preußischer Beamter – Reichskanzler – Christlicher Reformator, 1857–1936. Eine Biographie*, Paderborn et al. 2007, pp. 502, 506, 531.
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 43. Störkuhl 2014, *Art*, p. 180. See *Gründungs-Versammlung des Deutschen Ausland-Museums Stuttgart. Museum und Institut zur Kunde des Auslandsdeutschtums und zur Förderung deutscher Interessen im Ausland. 10. Jan. 1917*, Stuttgart [1917]. See Berit Pleitner, *Deutsches Ausland-Institut (DAI), Stuttgart*, in: *Online-Lexikon zur Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa*, 2012, <https://ome-lexikon.uni-oldenburg.de/p32835>, 12.12.2023.
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 45. *Kurland. Mit 16 Abbildungen*, [Stuttgart] 1917.
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 49. Delivered a lecture at the Kurländische Gesellschaft on 10.05.1916 (Otto Clemen, *Kunstgeschichtliches aus Mitau*, in: *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. 41, ed. by Karl Koetschau, Berlin 1919, pp. 238–250, here p. 238).
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60. *Kleiner Führer durch die Livland-Estland-Ausstellung 1918*, Hamburg 1918, p. 18.
61. *Die Livland-Estland-Ausstellung in Lübeck*, in: *Lübecker Jahrbuch der Vaterstädtischen Blätter*, no. 28, 1917/18; Muth 2014, *Lübecker Alltag*, p. 309.
62. E.g. University Library (Universitätsbibliothek), Leipzig, Nachlass Wilhelm Stieda, NL 254/5/7/57: Letter from Ludwig Stieda to Wilhelm Stieda [Eugen von Stieda's nephews], 09.07.1918; RA, EAA.2399.1.119, pp. 2–3: correspondence between Tartu and Lübeck, Sept. 1918.
63. *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung* [Bekanntmachung], Berlin 1917/1918.
64. *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung. Zur Einführung* 1918, pp. III–V.
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66. *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung. Zur Einführung* 1918, p. II.
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Abstract

The little researched *Livland-Estland-Ausstellung* was a German propaganda exhibition during World War I that was shown in Berlin, Hamburg and Lübeck in the summer and autumn of 1918. This article looks at the organisational and preparatory stage of that major undertaking, particularly from the side of the Baltic partners, who were not indifferent informants, but active participants in this colonial endeavour. A perfect testimony to the political instrumentalisation of research, including art history, this exhibition could in many ways be seen as part of the German *Kunstschutz im Kriege* efforts that took advantage of existing debates on German colonialism on the one hand, and prepared the ground for the later Nazi German *Ostforschung* on the other. But art was not the centrepiece of the display, and the Baltic Germans had their own agenda in all of this.

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