

UC Santa Barbara

UC Santa Barbara Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

The Role of Museums and Historic Preservation in the Creation of German National Identity, Illustrated in the Magazine Die Denkmalpflege, 1899-1922

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6617f9jf>

Author

Luckmann, Alexander Gabriel

Publication Date

2022

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Santa Barbara

The Role of Museums and Historic Preservation in the Creation of German National Identity,

Illustrated in the Magazine *Die Denkmalpflege*, 1899-1922

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Master of Arts
in the History of Art and Architecture

by

Alexander Gabriel Luckmann

Committee in charge:

Professor Volker M. Welter, Chair

Professor Richard Wittman

Professor Harold Marcuse

December 2022

The thesis of Alexander Gabriel Luckmann is approved.

Richard Wittman

Harold Marcuse

Volker M. Welter, Committee Chair

November 2022

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the help of many people. Thank you, first of all, to my committee chair and members: Volker M. Welter, Richard Wittman, and Harold Marcuse. Their thoughtful comments and advice throughout this process has immeasurably improved my thesis, as has their kindness and support outside of the thesis process. My colleagues – Ben Jameson-Ellsmore, Sylvia Faichney, Graham Feyl, Dhaval Chauhan, Megan Sheard, Felicity Good, Leslie Huang, Hannah Kagan-Moore, Iman Salty, Victoria Jennings, Alida Jekabson, Nathan Segura, Nisha Shanghavi, Elizabeth Smith, Anahit Galstyan, and others – have shared their experience and advice on both the content of this paper and the intricacies of navigating grad school. My friends and colleagues in other departments have offered invaluable advice and support. Thank you particularly to Laura Snell, Afreen Sen Chatterji, Cassie Archer, Udam Baoagudamu, Zak Armine-Klein, Mitch Hickman, Kelsey Cooper, Abraham Hawley, and Enes Solakoglu. Without the guidance of Professor Nicholas Adams at Vassar College, I would not be in graduate school for architectural history. Finally, and most importantly, thank you to my parents, John McArthur and Mara Luckmann, and my partner, Phoebe Reuben, without whom none of this would ever have happened.

ABSTRACT

The Role of Museums and Historic Preservation in the Creation of German National Identity,

Illustrated in the Journal *Die Denkmalpflege*, 1899-1922

by

Alexander Gabriel Luckmann

This paper investigates the formation of German national identity between 1899 and 1922 through articles on museums in the magazine *Die Denkmalpflege*, the premier historic preservation magazine in Germany. I analyzed the magazine's full run from its 1899 founding until it changed its name in 1923, and read all articles about museums in depth. Based on this archival research, I argue that museums were categorized not according to their collections but according to their location and audience: local, regional, or national. Articles in *Die Denkmalpflege* argued that the nation was too abstract a concept to foster popular identification, and that local museums were therefore an essential step in developing nationalism among the lower and middle classes. These local museums were seen as developing love of the local homeland (*Heimat*) and were opposed to national museums, which were seen as allied with scholarly history. I argue that these local museums portrayed an idealized, depoliticized, peaceful, rural, and timeless past that was supposedly the shared heritage of all classes. Museums created the visual and material elements of a conservative worldview that aimed to divert the energies of an emerging mass society toward militaristic nationalism. Ironically, the techniques employed in these museums mirror some of those used in displays of colonized countries. In my conclusion, I argue that Nazi cultural politicians would later utilize the vocabulary of this idealized past as a justification and camouflage for the Third Reich's techno-industrial pursuit of violence and power.

I. Introduction

In February 1917, Baurat Meyer of Soest, in what was then the Province Westphalia of the Second German Empire, wrote an article for the historic preservation magazine *Die Denkmalpflege* (*Historic Preservation*) on a new use for his town's gate.¹ The stone structure, which consisted of two full floors and a tall attic above the ground-level portal, had been part of Soest's extensive medieval fortifications that comprised "two earth and wall ramparts, two deep ditches with 36 towers and ten permanent gates."² These fortifications were no longer needed once Soest, formerly a prominent member of the Hanseatic league, declined into the status of a small town due to economic shifts and the ravages of the Thirty Years' War. The Osthofentor in the north of the town was the only part of the fortifications to survive. It was this gate that Meyer and others turned into a war museum (Fig. 1).

Although there had been previous attempts to turn the gate into a museum, they had proven fruitless. With the start of World War I, however, "the idea was broadened to the creation of a kind of arsenal [*Zeughaus*] for the times of war that had ravaged Soest as a Hanseatic city as well as later."³ In the second floor, the museum displayed "attack and defense objects of every kind, loot from the Soest Feud [when Soest attempted to declare independence from the Archbishopric of Cologne] to the present as well as prehistoric and

¹ Meyer, "Das Osthofentor in Soest als Kriegsmuseum," *Die Denkmalpflege* 19, no. 2 (February 7, 1917): 12-13. In general, I have translated German proper names and placed the original in brackets; for a few pervasive terms such as *Denkmalpflege* and *Heimat/Heimatschutz*, I have done the opposite.

² Meyer, "Das Osthofentor in Soest als Kriegsmuseum": 12. Translations from German and French are mine throughout, unless otherwise noted.

³ Meyer, "Das Osthofentor in Soest als Kriegsmuseum": 12. The use of the term *arsenal* underlines the militaristic intention of this museum.

Roman war objects.”⁴ Meyer described how the third floor housed the “real war archive, which presents development of spiritual life in war in word and picture, and shows how a highly developed people adapted to the new living circumstances created by the war.

Although primarily dedicated to the memories of the world war, the collection and exhibition extends to all other wars that ravaged the city of Soest.”⁵ The collection included field newspapers, campaign letters, war diaries, war maps and war pictures, photographs, postcards, hand drawings, tickets, passports, coupons, coins, war poems, war songs, aerial photographs, photographs of generals, memorial plaques for the fallen, and many other objects. It also included the weapons collection of Master Baker Brandhoff. Meyer noted that Soest’s war museum was one of the first of its kind, although nearby Dortmund had similarly had a war museum since the start of the war and exhibitions of war objects had taken place in Hamburg, Cologne, Berlin, Frankfurt and elsewhere.

Soest’s war museum connects the national German military effort of 1914-18 with previous conflicts that had an essentially local influence on Soest. It therefore raises questions about agenda and audience, nation and region that lead to larger questions of museums and historic preservation. Museums were discussed extensively in *Die Denkmalpflege* starting with the magazine’s first issue in 1899. In this essay, I will examine the relationship between museums and historic preservation as displayed in *Die Denkmalpflege* from 1899 to 1922. I will argue that museums were an important site for the formation and consolidation of German national identity. In *Die Denkmalpflege*, museums were categorized by their location and intended audience – local, regional, and national – rather than by the types of objects they collected and displayed. Authors in *Die*

⁴ Meyer, “Das Osthofentor in Soest als Kriegsmuseum”: 13.

⁵ Meyer, “Das Osthofentor in Soest als Kriegsmuseum”: 13.

Denkmalpflege associated national museums with scholarly history. Local museums, on the other hand, were described as the key sites of identity formation, because they allowed the lower classes to enjoy a shared heritage and thus identify with their fellow-citizens in a way not possible on the more abstract national level. The nation was considered too conceptually abstract to allow for popular allegiance; the lower and middle classes had to be prepared for German nationalism by tangible local heritage and landscape. Ironically, the techniques employed in these museums mirror some of those used in the display of colonized countries, both in German museums and at international exhibitions.

According to *Die Denkmalpflege*'s authors, the identification with the local region fostered by museums would then add up to a sense of German national identity. Both historic preservation and the museums I analyze were ways for the ruling class to deal with and shape the emergence of a mass society throughout a time of dramatic industrialization, world war, and revolution. I argue that by displaying and reproducing the material culture of a depoliticized, peaceful, and rural past, the founders and directors of these museums – and the commentators who wrote about them in *Die Denkmalpflege* – aimed to divert popular political energies away from class struggle and toward a militarist nationalism. They made effective use of the medium of the museum to present a unified, immersive, and timeless image of the past. Analyzing these themes via a historic preservation magazine is particularly valuable because museum professionals often shunned local and regional historic museums as an “unserious proliferation” staffed by non-professionals.⁶ This large class of museums was thus discussed as much in historic preservation discourse as in museological discourse.

⁶ Martin Roth, *Heimatmuseum: Zur Geschichte einer deutschen Institution* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1990), 31.

Central to this essay and its structure are the three main categories of museums discussed in *Die Denkmalpflege*: national, regional, and local. These categories were established in three foundational articles on museums and historic preservation published in the magazine's first year, and although they were challenged after the start of World War I, they remained the established types. National and local were the two nearly universally agreed-upon poles; the regional museum existed somewhat uncomfortably in between, reflecting the unresolved tensions between national and provincial governments, institutions, and identities. *Die Denkmalpflege*'s authors understood museums against the background of history's divergence from heritage; a scholarly, academic discipline versus a patriotic fostering of love of the homeland. In theoretical discussions, national museums were associated with history and thus with an academic, international audience, while local museums were associated with heritage and with a popular audience.

The museums that form the main subject of this essay – and the main subject of museum discussion in *Die Denkmalpflege* – are often described as *Heimatmuseums*, *Heimat* meaning, approximately, “homeland.”⁷ As Martin Roth writes in his 1990 history of these museums, around 1900 “the pluralistic variety of small regional museums of the most diverse origins were gathered together under the term ‘Heimatmuseum,’ in which the small city’s cabinet of rarities counted just as much as the Museum for German Folklore in Berlin as a ‘national’ Heimatmuseum.”⁸ The period Roth describes aligns with that covered by this essay. But the term Heimatmuseum is rarely used in *Die Denkmalpflege*.⁹ Museums were

⁷ See for instance Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 93-103.

⁸ Roth, *Heimatmuseum*, 30.

⁹ Articles published elsewhere in 1910, 1912, and 1913 were still attempting to define the Heimatmuseum as a category distinct from the local, regional, national, and other categorizations. Heinrich Eidmann, in *Gemeinnützige Blätter für Hessen und Nassau. Zeitschrift für soziale Heimatkunde* 12 (1910): 47, and “Das Heimatmuseum,” *Rheydter Zeitung*, November 7, 1912; Georg Hager, “Die Museen und der Mensch,”

categorized more by their scope and intended audience than by their collection's theme or focus.

This essay has a double structure, with analyses of two sets of theoretical articles and two sets of articles on specific museums. After a close look at three foundational theoretical articles from 1899, I turn to their interpretation in articles about specific national, regional, and local museums between 1902 and 1911. Three lectures from 1911-1913 by key figures in the historic preservation movement, republished or discussed in *Die Denkmalpflege*, revealed issues that became central between 1914 and 1922 in discussions of specific museums (both actual and proposed), when new museum categories emerged and existing typologies were called into question. My conclusion considers national identity as displayed in *Die Denkmalpflege*'s discussion of museums within theoretical frameworks on museums, nationalism, heritage, and history.

II. *Die Denkmalpflege*

The bulk of my analysis consists of a close reading of *Die Denkmalpflege*'s 23-year run from its founding in 1899 until it changed its name to *Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz (Historic Preservation and Homeland Protection)* in 1923.¹⁰ *Die Denkmalpflege* was founded to cement and augment historic preservation's status as a topic worthy of national discussion. It emerged out of the *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, run by the Prussian Ministry for Public Works. The founding editors of *Die Denkmalpflege* were Oskar Hoßfeld and Otto Sarrazin.¹¹

Mitteilungen des Rheinischen Vereins für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz 7, no. 2 (1913): 141. All cited in Andreas Kuntz, *Das Museum als Volksbildungsstätte: Museumskonzeptionen in der deutschen Volksbildungsbewegung (1871-1918)* (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 1980), 43-44.

¹⁰ The magazine is available freely online at digizeitschriften.de; its successors are available through the same database with institutional access.

¹¹ Oskar Hoßfeld and Otto Sarrazin, "Zur Einführung," *Die Denkmalpflege* 1, no. 1 (January 4, 1899): 2.

Both were editors of the *Zentralblatt für Bauverwaltung*, where issues of historic preservation had begun to take up ever more space. Hoßfeld left the *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung* to co-found *Die Denkmalpflege*. Sarrazin served as editor of both publications, as well as of the *Zentralblatt*'s sister publication *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*; some of his obituaries did not mention his involvement in *Die Denkmalpflege*, and it seems that his title there may have been more honorary than substantive.¹² The Berlin publisher Wilhelm Ernst & Sohn published both magazines.¹³ Hoßfeld and Sarrazin framed the magazine's task in explicitly nationalist and ethnic terms: "to take care that the sense of the fatherland extends to the maintenance of the old monuments of the homeland, that the spring does not dry up from which the art of a people must draw if it wants to maintain its youthful energy, its power rooted in the soil [*bodenwüchsige Kraft*], and thus its educational value to the benefit of the fatherland."¹⁴ Even though *Die Denkmalpflege*'s editors saw it as a forum in which various perspectives on historic preservation could be presented, all of those perspectives fell within a broadly nationalist orientation.

Die Denkmalpflege was published 16 times a year from 1899 to 1922, with a slight reduction during some of the war years. Each issue was approximately eight pages long, although there was often a double issue after the annual Conference on Historic Preservation. Most of the magazine was devoted to detailed case studies, either of historic preservation techniques or of historic buildings. The magazine was extensively illustrated with black-and-white line drawings and black-and-white photographs. Issues ended with a one- or two-page

¹² Hermann Zimmermann, "Oskar Sarrazin †," *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 41, no. 53 (July 2, 1921): 329-30.

¹³ See Sch., "Oskar Hoßfeld †," in "Vermischtes," *Die Denkmalpflege* 17, no. 14 (November 17, 1915): 112.

¹⁴ Hoßfeld and Sarrazin, "Zur Einführung": 2.

section called “Miscellany” (*Vermischtes*) and a brief (usually between half a page and one page) Book Review “Bücherschau.”

The magazine’s form stayed constant throughout the time period 1899-1922. Less than a year after the magazine’s founding, Friedrich Schultze took over from Hoßfeld, and Schultze and Sarrazin served as coeditors until 1912, when Schultze became the sole editor. In 1921, Konrad Nonn, a reactionary critic of modern architecture and early member of the Nazi party (and later of the SS), took over Schultze’s role as editor of *Die Denkmalpflege*.¹⁵

III. *Denkmalpflege* and *Heimatschutz*

Two movements shaped the debates about museums in *Die Denkmalpflege*: the *Denkmalpflege* movement and the *Heimatschutz* (homeland protection) movement. These movements both dealt with history and the built environment, and they often overlapped, but they also had significant differences that shaped *Die Denkmalpflege*’s treatment of museums.

I translate *Denkmalpflege* as “historic preservation” although it literally means “the care/maintenance of monuments.” The first German laws to protect old buildings were passed in the last years of the eighteenth century, and with the rise of Prussia historic preservation gained increasing importance, thanks in large part to the influence of state architect and head of the Prussian Building Commission Karl Friedrich Schinkel.¹⁶ In the early 19th century, a small number of buildings, notably Cologne Cathedral in the Rhineland and the Marienburg in East Prussia, came to be seen as symbols of German history that

¹⁵ Nonn also became editor of the *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung*. On Nonn, see Barbara Miller-Lane, *Architecture and politics in Germany, 1918-1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 81.

¹⁶ See Norbert Huse, ed., *Denkmalpflege: Deutsche Texte aus drei Jahrhunderten* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1984), particularly 18-33.

helped foster an identification with an idealized medieval national past.¹⁷ By the end of the 19th century, historic preservation developed and spread to often include urban areas as well as individual monuments, vernacular and rural buildings as well as castles and cathedrals. It also extended into landscape preservation, most notably through the work of Hugo Conwentz, director of the West Prussian Museum, who argued for the importance of the natural as well as the built environment and was appointed first director of the Prussian State Office for Nature Preservation.¹⁸

In 1900, the annual Conference on Historic Preservation (Tag für Denkmalpflege) split off from a special session of the German History and Antiquities Society (Deutscher Geschichts- und Altertumsverein). Like *Die Denkmalpflege*, it attracted prominent professionals and an interested lay audience from across the country, helping to create a national dialogue of educated elites active in historic preservation. Conference speeches were frequently printed in *Die Denkmalpflege*.

Although historic preservationists often rejected an enumeration of absolute rules on the basis that every historic building and situation was different, the burgeoning field also understood itself within scholarly discourse on history. Winfried Speitkamp has described the end of the nineteenth century, just prior to the founding of *Die Denkmalpflege*, as a time of “increasingly clear borders between elite academic historical scholarship on the one hand and popular Heimat-historical orientation on the other.”¹⁹ Historic preservation generally fell on

¹⁷ See Huse, *Denkmalpflege*, 34-61; Falser, *Zwischen Identität und Authentizität*, 21-42.

¹⁸ On Conwentz, see Huse, *Denkmalpflege*, 154, and Thomas Lekan, *Imagining the Nation in Nature: Landscape Preservation and German Identity, 1885-1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 50-55.

¹⁹ Winfried Speitkamp, *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte. Denkmalpflege und Staat in Deutschland 1871-1933* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 47.

the side of elite historical scholarship, but it maintained close links to the “Heimat-historical orientation” that tried to foster love for the local and regional *Heimat* (homeland).

The *Heimatbewegung* (Heimat movement) aimed to shape reality – including habits, buildings, modes of dress, and modes of speech – to be more closely based on custom and tradition rather than what was perceived as a homogenizing and mass-produced modernity. Music professor Ernst Rudorff laid the theoretical keystone for this movement in 1880, when he published the article “On the Relation of modern life to nature” (“Über das Verhältnis des modernen Lebens zur Natur”) in the *Prussian Yearbooks*.²⁰ According to him, industrialization, modernization, and urbanization had robbed Germans of their inborn connection to nature, which he had experienced as a child at his family’s castle in the Hanoverian countryside. Although without great immediate impact, this article, and Rudorff’s energetic activism, helped the growth of the Heimat movement during the 1890s. In 1897, Rudorff coined or at least popularized the term Heimatschutz in a book of the same name.²¹ Heimatschutz became a broad, energetic movement, sometimes competing and sometimes complementary to *Denkmalpflege*. Although Rudorff alone did not create the full intellectual movement around Heimat, his ideas clearly tapped into an impulse that many Germans shared.

In 1904, Rudorff, ethnographer and preservationist Robert Mielke, publisher Georg Heinrich Meyer, and cultural critic, untrained architect, and later Nazi theorist Paul Schultze-Naumburg founded the “Heimatschutz League (*Bund Heimatschutz*)” with support from

²⁰ Ernst Rudorff, “Über das Verhältnis des modernen Lebens zur Natur,” *Preußische Jahrbücher* 45 (1880): 261-276.

²¹ Ernst Rudorff, *Heimatschutz* (Bonn: Deutscher Heimatbund Bonn, 1897).

Oskar Hoßfeld, editor of *Die Denkmalpflege*.²² By 1906, this association counted 1,000 individual and 150 institutional members.²³ The Heimatschutz League and the Heimat movement it represented encompassed widely divergent viewpoints. The most important conflict was between those closer to Rudorff, who wanted to fight industrialization and modernization wholesale, and those who believed, as Mielke put it, that “the fight is aimed not *against* industry, but against its *outgrowths*.”²⁴ This difference was a fundamental one: was the goal of Heimatschutz to oppose modernity or to shape it? In the end, the movement and the League shifted toward the latter viewpoint. This allowed it to broaden its scope to include many activities: the preservation of historic buildings and artworks; the collection of traditional tools and clothing; the promotion of folk dances and events; and the development of a simple architectural style.

To a large extent, the Heimat movement took over enthusiasm and membership from established German historical societies. In 1885 Prussia alone had about 100 such organizations; at the turn of the century there were approximately 150 significant Prussian historical societies, with memberships reaching the high three digits.²⁵ The Heimat movement displayed what Winfried Speitkamp has described, in a different context, as “a typical fin-de-siècle combination of scholarly foundation with mythical-irrational sensation.”²⁶ Heimatschutz and historic preservation shared many key figures, and in 1911,

²² Speitkamp, *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte*, 134. Schultze-Naumburg practiced as an architect but never studied architecture.

²³ Speitkamp, *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte*, 134.

²⁴ Robert Mielke, “Meine Beziehung zu Ernst Rudorff und die Gründung des Bundes Heimatschutz. Zu dem 25jährigen Bestehen der Bewegung,” *Brandenburgia* 38 (1929): 13. Cited in Speitkamp, *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte*, 135.

²⁵ Speitkamp, *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte*, 115.

²⁶ Speitkamp, *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte*, 89.

1913, and 1922 their annual conferences were combined.²⁷ But there was also tension between the two. Heimatschutz was a broader, more ambitious, and more populist movement than historic preservation. This difference in approach became increasingly relevant as articles in *Die Denkmalpflege* developed “scientific” practices that rejected the historicizing restorations many Heimatschutz followers felt created a “Heimat-like mood.”

IV. Literature Review

I engage with three main bodies of secondary literature, in historic preservation, museum studies, and history, memory, and heritage. Three books provide a grounding in the disciplinary history of historic preservation: Françoise Choay’s *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, Wim Denslagen’s *Architectural restoration in Western Europe: controversy and continuity*, and Winfried Nerdinger, Markus Eisen and Hilde Strobl’s co-edited exhibition catalogue *Geschichte der Rekonstruktion, Konstruktion der Geschichte*.²⁸ Choay’s and Denslagen’s books, from the 1990s, both focus on Western Europe, whereas Nerdinger et al.’s catalogue has a global range. Choay argues that Western European historic preservation originates in 14th-century Italy with a “mutual impregnation” of humanism and aestheticism that brought together historical discourse and the physical remains of ancient buildings.²⁹ Denslagen places German Denkmalpflege into an international context. Parallel discourses around historic preservation emerged in the UK, with John Ruskin and William Morris

²⁷ These joint conferences were supposed to occur every other year starting in 1911. Mainly due to the war, this did not happen.

²⁸ Françoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, trans. Lauren O’Connell (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Wim F. Denslagen, *Architectural Restoration in Western Europe: Controversy and Continuity* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura Press, 1994); Winfried Nerdinger, Eisen, Markus, and Strobl, Hilde, eds., *Geschichte der Rekonstruktion, Konstruktion der Geschichte: [Publikation zur Ausstellung des Architekturmuseum der TU München, in der Pinakothek der Moderne, 22. Juli bis 31. Oktober 2010]* (München: Prestel, 2010).

²⁹ Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, 31.

opposing the more restoration-happy Giles Gilbert Scott, and in France, where Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc formulated a theory of restoration that aimed at the reproduction of an idealized state of the building, “which may in fact never have existed in any given time.”³⁰ These were the two poles of historic preservation theory and practice around which early twentieth-century debates in *Die Denkmalpflege* revolved; they were generally resolved by the early 1910s, although they would flare up again after every war that brought significant architectural destruction.

Four books form the basis of the secondary literature on German historic preservation at the start of the twentieth century: Norbert Huse’s edited collection of primary texts, *Denkmalpflege: Deutsche Texte aus drei Jahrhunderten* (1984); Winfried Speitkamp’s *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte. Denkmalpflege und Staat in Deutschland 1871-1933* (1996); Rudy Koshar’s *Germany’s Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century* (1998); and Michael Falser’s *Zwischen Identität und Authentizität. Zur politischen Geschichte der Denkmalpflege in Deutschland* (2008).³¹ In *Germany’s Transient Pasts*, Koshar argues that between 1900 and 1920 – which he describes as the time in which “historic preservation became a significant public activity” – historic preservationists found new ways to navigate the public, the state(s), and the church.³² He writes that, although museums played a role in this negotiation, “local collections were criticized for what was seen as a disorganized eclecticism and superficiality that fragmented the public image of the

³⁰ Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, “Restauration,” in *Dictionnaire raisonné de l’architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle* (1854-1868), trans. Kenneth D. Whitehead, in Barry Bergdoll, ed. *The Foundation of Architecture: Selections from the Dictionnaire Raisoné* (New York: G. Braziller, 1990), 195.

³¹ Huse, ed., *Denkmalpflege*; Speitkamp, *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte*; Rudy Koshar, *Germany’s Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Michael Falser, *Zwischen Identität und Authentizität. Zur politischen Geschichte der Denkmalpflege in Deutschland* (Dresden: Thelem Universitätsverlag & Buchhandel, 2008).

³² Koshar, *Germany’s Transient Pasts*, 17.

past.”³³ My reading of *Die Denkmalpflege* presents an overall positive view of local museums as contributing to an additive national identity, not the criticisms Koshar identifies.

Speitkamp’s *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte* looks at historic preservation’s interactions with the German public, German state(s), and the church, and at how it contributed to “the history of historical scholarship and the transmission of history.”³⁴

Speitkamp proposes local history as a counter-movement to academic history “interested not in the past as a self-sufficient epoch, but the historicity of the Heimat.”³⁵ The distinction between national, scholarly museums and local, heritage-oriented museums reflected and concretized this distinction. Falser’s *Zwischen Authentizität und Identität* analyzes the “political history of German historic preservation” in a series of temporal spotlights. Although it is most interesting and original on the postwar period, it has provided useful context for this thesis.³⁶

A number of volumes informed my understanding of the history and theory of museums. *Grasping the World: the Idea of the Museum*, edited by Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago (2004), and *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*, edited by Bettina Messias Carbonell (2004), are anthologies of key texts in museum studies.³⁷ Tony Bennett’s *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (1995) and Carol Duncan’s *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (1995) argue, respectively, that museums were intentionally conceived to produce modern subjects and that they are the paradigmatic ritual spaces of

³³ Koshar, *Germany’s Transient Pasts*, 67.

³⁴ Speitkamp, *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte*, 15.

³⁵ Speitkamp, *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte*, 46.

³⁶ Falser’s focus on preservation in democracy introduces the notable lacuna of the Third Reich.

³⁷ Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago, eds., *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum* (London: Ashgate, 2004); Bettina Messias Carbonell, ed., *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004).

nominally secular nation-states.³⁸ Susan A. Crane's edited book *Museums and Memory* (2000) investigates how museums relate to their changing audiences.³⁹ The relationship among the built environment, museums (particularly outdoor or "living" museums), history, and memory are addressed in Raphael Samuel's *Theatres of Memory* (1994), Laurajane Smith's *Uses of Heritage* (2006), Rodney Harrison's *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (2012), and David Lowenthal's *The Past is a Foreign Country Revisited* (2015).⁴⁰

Two books situate the German museums discussed in *Die Denkmalpflege*: Martin Roth's *Heimatmuseum: Zur Geschichte einer deutschen Institution* (1990) and Andreas Kuntz's *Das Museum als Volksbildungsstätte* (1980).⁴¹ Roth's book focuses on the Weimar Republic and, particularly, on the Third Reich, but gives a helpful overview of what he calls *Heimat* museums – which, I argue, is a term that had little purchase in the pages of *Die Denkmalpflege*. *Das Museum als Volksbildungsstätte* focuses on museums within the discourse of popular education (*Volksbildung*). Kuntz argues that *Heimat*-type museums first emerged in the liberal nationalistic *Vormärz* movement before the 1848 revolution, but that, in the wake of that revolution's failure, they grew ever more conservative and, particularly during World War I, chauvinistic and proto-fascist. Kuntz also discusses such museums within the context of German colonialism, which informs a discussion of colonialism in my conclusion.

³⁸ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

³⁹ Susan A. Crane, ed., *Museums and Memory* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000).

⁴⁰ Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Volume 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (New York: Verso, 1994); David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country Revisited* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

⁴¹ Roth, *Heimatmuseum*; Kuntz, *Das Museum als Volksbildungsstätte*.

Celia Applegate's 1990 study *A Nation of Provincials* has been essential for my understanding of *Die Denkmalpflege*'s authors' conception of how national identity is formed.⁴² Applegate argues that Heimat, despite its regionalist connotations and its wide range of supporters, was always an inherently nationalist project that posited a German past across political, class, and religious lines. It would celebrate regional differences while promoting the idea of a unified nation-state. During World War I, the Wilhelmine government seized on Heimat as a way of boosting morale both on the battlefield and at home. This conception of Heimat as a local way of propagating a love of the nation is reflected in the articles of *Die Denkmalpflege*, and in their view of regional and local museums that, together, complement national museums.

Finally, my conclusion addresses the relationship between tangible heritage in the form of museums and historic preservation and the theoretical constructions of history, collective memory, and nation-building. I develop this conclusion in conversation with landmark texts including Maurice Halbwachs' *On Collective Memory*, Pierre Nora's *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's edited volume *The Invention of Tradition*, and Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*.⁴³

V. Theoretical foundation: Reimers, Mielke, Wolff, and von Bezold, 1899-1900

The terms of *Die Denkmalpflege*'s debate on museums were established in the magazine's first year with Heino Reimers' article on "Museums and Historic Preservation in Hannover

⁴² Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials*.

⁴³ Maurice Halbwachs, *La Mémoire Collective* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950); Pierre Nora, "Entre Mémoire et Histoire: La problématique des lieux," in Nora et. al., *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. 1., *La République* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984); Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions" and "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914," in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition (New York: Verso, 2006).

Province,” Robert Mielke’s article on “Local Museums and Historic Preservation,” and Prof. Dr. Georg Wolff’s article on “Historic Preservation and Small [Archaeological] Finds,” published in the first, third, and fifth issues of *Die Denkmalpflege* respectively.⁴⁴ These articles divided museums into central/large/national vs. peripheral/small/local, with provincial and regional museums falling sometimes on the one side and sometimes on the other. This separation generally remained standard in *Die Denkmalpflege* through 1922.

Reimers linked museums to the founding of historical societies, and thus to the emergence of the German nation.

When after the Wars of Liberation [from Napoleonic occupation] the powerful love of fatherland threatened to sink into dreary indifference or hollow cosmopolitanism due to the existing political state, Count von Stein tried to arouse a new enthusiasm in the folk soul, which, far away from the great questions of the day, would awaken and foster the love of the narrow Heimat in the quiet of the countryside, to thus prepare the ground for the love of the larger fatherland.⁴⁵

According to Reimers, the historical society that Von Stein founded in Frankfurt on the Main in 1819 inspired many others; they focused “not only [on] what written documents said, but also on the monumental evidence for it. The use objects of culture [*Cultus*] and of everyday life became the means to show the people how the ancestors lived and thought, what is permanent and what fleeting in the passage of time.”⁴⁶ Reimers presented objects as physical manifestations of history, which could be used to teach the uneducated and rural masses – “the people” – about their own history. This choice of example privileges a specific history of German museums. Andreas Kuntz has argued that many German museums before the

⁴⁴ Heino Reimers, “Die Museen und die Denkmalpflege in der Provinz Hannover,” *Die Denkmalpflege* 1, no. 1 (January 4, 1899): 9-10; Robert Mielke, “Die örtlichen Museen und die Denkmalpflege,” *Die Denkmalpflege* 1, no. 3 (February 22, 1899): 26-27; Georg Wolff, “Denkmalpflege und Kleinfunde,” *Die Denkmalpflege* 1, no. 5 (April 12, 1899): 39-40.

⁴⁵ Reimers, “Die Museen und die Denkmalpflege in der Provinz Hannover”: 9.

⁴⁶ Reimers, “Die Museen und die Denkmalpflege in der Provinz Hannover”: 9.

1848 revolution promoted a “cosmopolitan ideal of humanity” and a shared identification of the working class and the bourgeoisie, opposed to elite control of culture and society.⁴⁷

Reimers’ article in *Die Denkmalpflege* focused instead on an aristocratic historical society and praise of the quiet countryside. Reimers used cosmopolitanism as a negative term, rather than an ideal to aim at. Reimers thus framed the history of German museums in a specific, conservative fashion.

Turning from his historical description to his own times, Reimers praised the unification of public and historical society collections, as in the Hanover Museum for Art and Science. This museum combined the collections of the Historical Society for Lower Saxony, the Society for Natural History, and the public art collection. Reimers was director of the Hanover Museum, as well as head conservator (i.e., the leading historic preservation official) in Lower Saxony, and he used the Hanover Museum as a model of an integrated regional museum that addresses all aspects of regional history. He described this collection as exemplary because only objects “that were exposed to destruction” through neglect or incompetence were collected. The museum thus did not interfere with *in situ* historic preservation.

Reimers drew a clear distinction between regional and central museums. According to him, the task of regional museums

will never be to start a competition with the central museums in the national capitals of Europe. If the big museums must collect material in the largest circles and acquire it for scholarship, which is bound to no national borders, the Provincial Museums will primarily need to take over the tasks of the historical societies and to preserve and collect the monuments of the native region [*heimathliche Provinz*], as far as they cannot be preserved in situ. If the big central museums are principally the awesome collection sites for scholarship, in which an international public of scholars must be able to find the basis for its works, the provincial museum is assigned the more modest field of explaining local history through its monuments and through the

⁴⁷ Kuntz, *Das Museum als Volksbildungsstätte*, 13 and 14-17.

increase of this knowledge to also increase the love of the smaller homeland. Only an increased understanding of the monuments can raise these in the valuation of humans and bring us closer to the end goal, that the care of monuments be understood no longer as something foreign, unusual, even burdensome, but as something we take for granted [*etwas Selbstverständliches*].⁴⁸

Reimers thus categorized museums by reach (provincial/regional vs. central) and by objective (*heimatkundlich* vs. scientific/scholarly) rather than by type of object displayed (art, folklore, natural history, etc.). In Hanover, local collections run by seven historical associations supplemented the regional museums. National museums held works that were of great and irreplaceable importance for scholars, the German people, or a shared international (European) culture. These were primarily the Royal Museums in Berlin, starting with the Königliches (now Altes) Museum in 1822. Reimers claimed that there was no division between art objects and practical objects; an altarpiece and a kitchen spoon could equally well be included in a local or a national museum, as long as they possessed sufficient artistic and/or historical value.

Reimers also associated audiences with these different types of museums: a local or regional public as opposed to a scholarly or more educated elite. Reimers was explicit in the class difference between these audiences.

It is particularly the broad segments of the population that send visitors in the thousands to the museums here in Hanover, on weekdays and particularly on Sundays, often from far away, whereas those people for whom concerts and theater are possible means of education can only be found among the museum visitors in very small numbers. And therefore the arrangement of the collections and its use must be done in such a way that the great mass, the lay public, can find enrichment and entertainment. Free of charge, the less well-off man walks through the same rooms as the rich man, sharing the same rights; he feels, even if unconsciously, the power of an equalizing fairness, he takes a seed of education along with him that reduces his

⁴⁸ *Wissenschaft*, which I have translated as “scholarship” throughout, carries a double meaning of “science” and “scholarship,” as well as a connotation with associations or clubs through the suffix “schaft.” Reimers, “Die Museen und die Denkmalpflege in der Provinz Hannover”: 9.

resentment against those more favored by luck and that prepares the ground of his heart for the outlook, that also provides protection to monuments.⁴⁹

For Reimers, museums created two parallel sentiments in the uneducated masses: a feeling of unresentful democracy and a love of monuments. Museums could suppress the working-class desire for political change by allowing workers to experience the educated pleasures of the upper classes. Reimers linked anti-revolutionary politics to the protection of monuments and, earlier in the article, to the creation of love of the fatherland through a love of the narrower home region. The regional museum fostered all of these swirling feelings of equality, love of fatherland, and respect for monuments. Reimers did not distinguish between the local and the regional museum, perhaps in part because the line between the local and the regional/state-wide was more fluid in Hanover, one of the smallest German states, than in larger states like Prussia and Bavaria. The arguments he proposed regarding the regional museum would later often be applied to museums that concerned themselves with a smaller local sphere.

In *Die Denkmalpflege*'s third issue in February 1899, ethnographer and urban critic Robert Mielke's article on "Local Museums and Historic Preservation" provided a somewhat different vision of local museums as institutional centers for other tasks of historic preservation.⁵⁰ Mielke's primary goal was an expansion of the existing list [*Verzeichnis*] of historic monuments, a foundational task of historic preservation. Statewide monument lists were underway in most of Germany by the time Mielke wrote in 1899, and Georg Dehio would begin a detailed architectural guide in 1900, but Mielke feared that the size of the task would surpass the abilities of the conservator and the voluntary commissions, and that "the smallest objects" would be forgotten.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Reimers, "Die Museen und die Denkmalpflege in der Provinz Hannover": 9.

⁵⁰ Mielke, "Die örtlichen Museen und die Denkmalpflege."

⁵¹ Mielke, "Die örtlichen Museen und die Denkmalpflege": 26.

What was needed, according to Mielke, was “certain, easily accessible collection sites, where larger groups can be enlisted and prepared for collaboration.”⁵² These sites already existed in the form of local museums.⁵³ There were plenty of these, because “the foundation of new collections and expansion of existing ones is advancing so quickly, that there is reason to fear that these institutions will try to surpass each other and thus cripple a beneficial activity.”⁵⁴ And there was another danger in these museums more generally: “What good is it, to give an example, if significant prehistoric finds make their way to the small city or school collections, when the comparative overview is thus lost!”⁵⁵

In order to nip this competition in the bud, Mielke argued that one museum per province would suffice.⁵⁶ This would entail a willing abnegation on the part of the local associations. But in the end, they would be able to focus more on the local: “So a basis for a division of work between the individual museums will be found more easily, the more specifically a line can be drawn between local and central, between *heimathkundlichen* and scientific collections.”⁵⁷ This separation would also follow what Mielke described as the general evolution of museums from cabinets of curiosities to “the archives of scholarship,” a development which had recently been countered by “the aim to put [museums] in the service of folkloric [*volkskundliche*] interests and to deepen and extend the historical and *Heimath* feeling of the narrower districts through their objects, that sometimes may be neither

⁵² Mielke, “Die örtlichen Museen und die Denkmalpflege”: 26.

⁵³ For a discussion of the museum as historic preservation institution on the regional level, see “Das westpreußische Provinzialmuseum 1880 bis 1905,” in “Bücherschau,” *Die Denkmalpflege* 7, no. 16 (December 13, 1905): 132. Hugo Conwentz directed this museum, and he spent most of his time advocating for nature preservation.

⁵⁴ Mielke, “Die örtlichen Museen und die Denkmalpflege”: 26.

⁵⁵ Mielke, “Die örtlichen Museen und die Denkmalpflege”: 26.

⁵⁶ Mielke, “Die örtlichen Museen und die Denkmalpflege”: 26.

⁵⁷ Mielke, “Die örtlichen Museen und die Denkmalpflege”: 26.

beautiful nor important for the general public.”⁵⁸ Returning to his original impetus, Mielke suggested that local authorities or volunteers would fill out a detailed form for each monument or archaeological find, which would then be cataloged in museums as a way of expanding the inventory of monuments. The regional museum would thus serve the purpose the national museum had served in Reimers’ analysis: that of the centralized and scientific institution opposed to small, popular, non-scientific local museums.

In April 1899, two months after Mielke’s article, the archaeologist Prof. Dr. Georg Wolff developed the most detailed categorization in his article on “Historic Preservation and Small [Archaeological] Finds.”⁵⁹ Wolff differentiated between capital city [*hauptstädtische*] museums, provincial museums, and “local museums of the history and antiquity associations, into which the vast majority of small monuments should go in our opinion.”⁶⁰ This support of local museums accorded with Wolff’s generally positive view of local Heimat organizations that had local authority and should be granted more official power.

Wolff also elaborated on a concern that Reimers had already raised. Reimers had contrasted “interest in the maintenance of monuments in their surroundings” with bringing objects “that could not be maintained *in situ*” into the museum.⁶¹ More bluntly, Wolff noted that it “is generally recognized that if at all possible one should leave them [monuments] at the site on which and for which they were built...”⁶² In 1900 Paul Tornow, lead architect of the restoration of Metz Cathedral, posited that “All pieces of a building replaced by a restoration should, as far as they are fit for this purpose, be taken to a public museum for

⁵⁸ Mielke, “Die örtlichen Museen und die Denkmalpflege”: 27.

⁵⁹ Wolff, “Denkmalpflege und Kleinfunde.”

⁶⁰ Wolff, “Denkmalpflege und Kleinfunde”: 40.

⁶¹ Reimers, “Die Museen und die Denkmalpflege in der Provinz Hannover”: 10.

⁶² Wolff, “Denkmalpflege und Kleinfunde”: 39.

safekeeping.”⁶³ For Reimers, Mielke, and Tornow, the museum was a receptacle for the cast-offs of the restoration process.

From the beginnings of *Die Denkmalpflege*, then, museums were seen as an essential but problematic ally of historic preservation. Even though museums could recontextualize objects in their historic progression or with other objects of a similar type, they were inferior to the original setting. For instance, an altarpiece lost much of its value when removed from a church.⁶⁴ Museums were repositories for objects like paintings, altarpieces, and architectural elements that had been orphaned by the demolition of the building they had existed in. Household goods often came into museums because their owners no longer wanted them, part of what writers in *Die Denkmalpflege* saw as a damaging shift from handcrafted “traditional” objects to mass-produced “modern” ones. *Die Denkmalpflege* portrayed museums as sites of loss, filled with objects that had been saved from a destructive modernization but carried with them the implicit context of their destroyed surroundings.

A parallel tension between historic preservation and museum practice existed in bureaucratic structures. Germany’s lack of an extensive national preservation bureaucracy led to a wide array of province-level preservation structures, many of which located responsibility for historic preservation in museums or museum officials. In Bavaria, for instance, the Generalkonservatorium (General Conservation Body) was run by a curator of the National Museum in Munich until 1908.⁶⁵ Reimers himself was director of the Hanover Museum and head conservator of Lower Saxony. In theory, this structure led to a conflict of

⁶³ This was one of Tornow’s 25 “Rules and Principles for the Restoration of Built Monuments.” Paul Tornow, “Grundregeln und Grundsätze beim Wiederherstellen von Baudenkmalern,” *Die Denkmalpflege* 2, no. 15 (December 5, 1900): 116.

⁶⁴ This position was forcefully argued at the seventh annual Tag für Denkmalpflege by provincial conservator Büttner, who opposed local museums altogether. See Anton von Behr, “Der Siebente Tag für Denkmalpflege in Braunschweig,” *Die Denkmalpflege* 8, no. 13 (October 17, 1906): 101.

⁶⁵ Speitkamp, *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte*, 234.

interest between preserving objects in place and transferring them to a museum; in reality, the dual role often led to a neglect of either the museum or of the historic preservation role.⁶⁶ The relationship between museum practice and historic preservation, then, was fraught: they shared a responsibility for defining and maintaining old objects and buildings worthy of preservation, but they did so in different places and different ways. For the authors in *Die Denkmalpflege*, museums were an essential but poor substitute for *in situ* preservation.

One last article from 1899, nominally on the newly founded Museum of Thuringian Antiquities, reinforced these categories.⁶⁷ The author, Gustav von Bezold, briefly mentioned the Thuringian museum but spent most of the article describing the general condition of museums in Germany as related to historic preservation. Like Reimers, he described the evolution of art museums from connoisseurs' collections. However, "our museums are scholarly institutions," which had to be determined by clear parameters for collecting.⁶⁸ Von Bezold's article hews to the three categories of "large and universal collections," which must aim at "comprehensiveness... and limitation to the important [objects];" provincial museums, which "should illustrate the cultural history of smaller districts, must and should go into detail;" and "historical collections of a purely local character" which are "not infrequently pure junk rooms."⁶⁹

At the same time, though, von Bezold suggested a parallel division between museums of cultural history (*Kulturgeschichte*) and arts and crafts (*Kunstgewerbe*). However, the

⁶⁶ Speitkamp, *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte*, 234-235.

⁶⁷ Gustav von Bezold, "Das Museum Thüringer Alterthümer in Eisenach," *Die Denkmalpflege* 1, no. 10 (August 9, 1899): 77-78.

⁶⁸ von Bezold, "Das Museum Thüringer Alterthümer in Eisenach": 77.

⁶⁹ von Bezold, "Das Museum Thüringer Alterthümer in Eisenach": 77.

cultural history museums “place great value on artistically carried out collection objects, furnishings, metal casts, goldsmithing, etc.” – i.e., works that could also be classified as arts and crafts.⁷⁰ The arts and crafts museums collected exclusively these types of objects, according to von Bezold, and expanded their purview beyond Germany, to “oriental, Japanese, Chinese, and other exotic works.”⁷¹ They also collected newer and older works, and were “meant to be exemplary collections,” presumably examples for contemporary artists and craftsmen.⁷² Von Bezold’s categories of *Kulturgeschichtlich* and *Kunstgewerbe* museums pay attention to the types of objects being collected. However, they seem unsuccessful in drawing an actual distinction between which objects are included in which museums. In the end, size, location, and audience remain the primary classificatory structure in von Bezold’s article.

VI. Practical examples of *Denkmalpflege*, 1902-1911

In this section I analyze *Die Denkmalpflege*’s articles on specific museums between 1902 and 1911, which I divide into national, regional, and local museums using the categories proposed in the articles discussed in the previous section. The national is exemplified by the Germanic Museum in Nuremberg, whose 50th anniversary *Die Denkmalpflege* celebrated in 1902, and a proposal for an outdoor addition to the Museum for German Traditional Costumes and Handicrafts in Berlin. The regional comprises the Museum of Lower Saxon Folk Art in Bremen and the East Prussian Outdoor Museum in Königsberg/Kaliningrad.

⁷⁰ von Bezold, “Das Museum Thüringer Alterthümer in Eisenach”: 77.

⁷¹ von Bezold, “Das Museum Thüringer Alterthümer in Eisenach”: 77.

⁷² von Bezold, “Das Museum Thüringer Alterthümer in Eisenach”: 77.

Finally, the local is exemplified by the Allgäu District Museum in Kaufbeuren and the Museum of the Fatherland in Celle, Lower Saxony.

In 1902, *Die Denkmalpflege* marked the 50th anniversary of the Germanic Museum in Nuremberg with an article on its history.⁷³ The author, Hans Bösch, was the director of the museum.⁷⁴ Bösch presented the Germanic Museum as a national and Heimat-focused museum that thus formed an exception to the division between national/scientific and local/Heimat-focused (Figs. 2-4). This seeming contradiction was in part the product of the museum's 1852 founding, which predated the separation of more scholarly and more Heimat-oriented history; according to Bösch, it was proposed as "a 'General Repertory' of all sources present in Germany on German history, literature and art."⁷⁵ 1852 also predated the 1871 unification of Germany; the Germanic Museum thus presented a vision of a unified culture for a not-yet-unified nation, which in retrospect could be read as a precursor of the Wilhelmine *Kulturstaat*. Nuremberg was chosen as the museum's location because "more than any other German city it had maintained its old-fashioned character [*alterthümliches Gepräge*] and formed the most fitting frame for a Germanic Museum."⁷⁶ The museum found space in the empty Charterhouse (Carthusian monastery) in Nuremberg, which the museum had to partly pay for (a circumstance that Bösch described with some outrage). In the end,

⁷³ Hans Bösch, "Zur Jubelfeier des Germanischen Museums in Nürnberg," *Die Denkmalpflege* 3, no. 8 (June 18, 1902): 57-60.

⁷⁴ See August von Essenwein, "Vorwort," in *Katalog der im germanischen Museum vorhandenen zum Abdrucke bestimmten geschnittenen Holzstöcke vom XV.-XVIII. Jahrhunderte* (Nuremberg: Verlag des germanischen Museums, 1892): 4. Bösch also wrote *Kinderleben in der deutschen Vergangenheit* (Leipzig: Eugen Diederichs, 1900).

⁷⁵ Bösch, "Zur Jubelfeier des Germanischen Museums in Nürnberg": 57.

⁷⁶ Bösch, "Zur Jubelfeier des Germanischen Museums in Nürnberg": 57. Nuremberg continued to be seen as the best-preserved or most Germanic city, which was one of the factors that led the Nazi party to hold events there. See Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century*, esp. 140-141.

art- and heritage-obsessed Bavarian King Ludwig I., the patron of Neuschwanstein, funded much of the property's purchase.

The museum preserved the monastery, setting a precedent for many smaller museums integrated into historic buildings. This was a very concrete aspect in which museums and historic preservation were aligned: they could occupy old buildings threatened with destruction. When August Essenwein, an architect and professor, was chosen as the museum's first director, he "carried out the structural redesign [*Neugestaltung*] of the Charterhouse with particular joy and eagerness."⁷⁷ This redesign incorporated fragments from other Nuremberg buildings that were being demolished: although Essenwein "was only able to successfully combat the supposed or actual reasons for destruction in the fewest number of cases," he collected "a large number of columns, doors, windows, oriels, brackets, crests and other sculptures, plaques, and ceilings, which were incorporated into various parts of the Charterhouse during its restoration."⁷⁸ The largest of these fragments came from the Augustine monastery in 1873-75, which yielded a cloister and a chapel. The physical structure of the Germanic Museum thus preserved other parts of the Nuremberg cityscape, although this was an imperfect solution to the loss of historic buildings. The museum's interior included many period rooms acquired from Nuremberg and farther afield, representing various manifestations of German architecture and decoration.

Essenwein also fought against the demolition of Nuremberg's city wall, a common concern in late-19th-century historic preservation as medieval walls were torn down to make way for ring roads (prominent examples included the Ringstrasse in Vienna, Florence, and

⁷⁷ Bösch, "Zur Jubelfeier des Germanischen Museums in Nürnberg": 58.

⁷⁸ Bösch, "Zur Jubelfeier des Germanischen Museums in Nürnberg": 58.

Paris).⁷⁹ Following an 1882 decision, the city agreed to preserve the section of the wall that ran along the museum's property. The museum and its director thus advocated historic preservation beyond the strict walls of the museum, although ironically in this instance their scope of action was limited to the borders of museum property.

Regarding Essenwein's plans to incorporate more buildings into the Germanic Museum, Bösch remarked that "as much as we wish the realization of all of Essenwein's plans... we would greet it with joy if the transfer were never carried out, if the relevant buildings were rather preserved for eternity on the site for which they were built."⁸⁰ Bösch's description of the Germanic Museum underlines the contradictory role of the museum, simultaneously a valued and necessary site for the preservation and presentation of heritage and a necessary evil required only because of the destruction of historic buildings.

According to Bösch, the Germanic Museum was seen as a success and fostered the founding of smaller heritage museums, helped by an article Essenwein himself wrote in a Germanic Museum publication on how to establish and develop such institutions.⁸¹ This relationship underlines the symmetry *Die Denkmalpflege*'s writers claimed between local and regional identity and German national identity. What the Germanic Museum did for German culture as a whole, local museums could do for regional identity; in turn, regional identity was a way of strengthening allegiance to a homeland that then extended beyond the region. By 1902, the Germanic Museum's combination of Heimat and national reach was unusual,

⁷⁹ For instance, *Die Denkmalpflege* devoted a three-part article to a legal battle about the legality of a private individual's demolition of part of the city wall in Löwenberg, Prussia. See Polenz, "Zur Lage des Denkmalschutzes in Preußen: Eine Stadtmauergeschichte," *Die Denkmalpflege* 4, no. 5 (April 16, 1902): 33-36, and *Die Denkmalpflege* 4, no. 9 (July 16, 1902): 66-69, and *Die Denkmalpflege* 5, no. 3 (February 25, 1903): 17-19. A competition for buildings to complement wall remains also took place in Lübeck; see "Neubauten am Burgtor und an der Stadtmauer in Lübeck," *Die Denkmalpflege* 7, no. 9 (July 12, 1905): 70-71.

⁸⁰ Bösch, "Zur Jubelfeier des Germanischen Museums in Nürnberg": 60.

⁸¹ In "Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit." Bösch, "Zur Jubelfeier des Germanischen Museums in Nürnberg": 58.

but it served as an example for the creation of small museums at the local level. For instance, the Museum of Thuringian Antiquities in Eisenach, founded in 1899, had a program and organization that were both explicitly modeled on the Germanic Museum.⁸²

The full building became integrated into museal discourse with the rise of the outdoor museum [*Freiluftmuseum* or *Freilichtmuseum*]. *Die Denkmalpflege*'s first mention of outdoor museums was in Karl Mühlke's 1902 article on "Farmhouse Museums in Schleswig-Holstein."⁸³ Mühlke reported on a "growing urge to incorporate whole interiors with all movable furniture, possibly even whole farmhouses..." (Figs. 5-7).⁸⁴ The first extended treatment of this "urge" was Magnus Voß's 1904 "Proposals for the Continued Development of the Museum for German Traditional Costumes and Handicrafts in Berlin."⁸⁵

Voß called for adding farmhouses outside Berlin to the Museum on the model of the Scandinavian outdoor museums he had visited in 1896. Voß praised these models, and noted that a number of peasant rooms and buildings had already been added or turned into museums in Germany: a farmhouse was moved from the countryside to the center of Husum in Schleswig-Holstein, and peasant living rooms had been built in or moved to the Altonaer Museum, Flensburger Museum, and the Germanic Museum in Nuremberg. He also praised a doctor in Kiel who had bought an "old Saxon farmhouse" and "fitted it out with old-fashioned household wares," not to mention the "elderly workers' couple who inhabit the property."⁸⁶ This type of activity was needed because "in a few years the prosperity and obsession with novelty of the inhabitants will lead to the disappearance of the beautiful old

⁸² Von Bezold, "Das Museum Thüringer Alterthümer in Eisenach": 77.

⁸³ Karl Mühlke, "Schleswig-Holsteinische Bauernhausmuseen," *Die Denkmalpflege* 3, no. 7 (May 28, 1902): 53-55, and *Die Denkmalpflege* 3, no. 8 (June 18, 1902): 60-62.

⁸⁴ Mühlke, "Schleswig-Holsteinische Bauernhausmuseen": 54.

⁸⁵ Magnus Voß, "Vorschlag für die weitere Ausgestaltung des Museums für deutsche Volkstrachten in Berlin," *Die Denkmalpflege* 5, no. 11 (August 24, 1904): 91-92.

⁸⁶ Voß, "Vorschlag für die weitere Ausgestaltung des Museums für deutsche Volkstrachten in Berlin": 92.

house types.”⁸⁷ For Voß, the traditional farmhouse’s architecture, household objects, and even inhabitants required protection from capitalist growth and mass production. Luckily, “everywhere in German lands the desire shows itself to at least maintain for viewing the disappearing, the good and old, and to develop the museums in such a way that every object in them is displayed in its old spot and its cultural-historical frame. There is no more need for boring guides: the objects themselves speak an audible language.”⁸⁸ Of course, Voß noted that the preserved farmhouse in Kiel had to be stocked with traditional household goods; its inhabitants presumably used other wares until their house was bought by a wealthy doctor. Although Voß claimed that outdoor museums spoke directly to visitors, his article underlines that they required capital investment. The German past the farmhouses displayed was consciously constructed – by elite philanthropists, not farmers themselves.

Voß presented the heritage museum and peasant architecture as tapping into a deeper understanding on the part of the German people, one that formed a language unto itself. This language was understood by the whole populace: “And who would visit these houses? The people in all its classes. A museum of this sort is a first-rate tool for popular education [*Volksbildungsmittel*].”⁸⁹ Like Reimers’ vision of the provincial museum, the outdoor museum was a way to instill a love of the Heimat in the mass of people. The Museum for German Traditional Costumes and Handicrafts, like the Germanic Museum, was a national museum that aimed to foster a love of Heimat and therefore challenged Reimers and Mielke’s division between national/scholarly and local/Heimat-oriented museums. Voß’

⁸⁷ Voß, “Vorschlag für die weitere Ausgestaltung des Museums für deutsche Volkstrachten in Berlin”: 92.

⁸⁸ Voß, “Vorschlag für die weitere Ausgestaltung des Museums für deutsche Volkstrachten in Berlin”: 92.

⁸⁹ Voß, “Vorschlag für die weitere Ausgestaltung des Museums für deutsche Volkstrachten in Berlin”: 92.

proposal, which was not carried out, implied that visitors could identify with a national Heimat without the intermediate step of the local region.

Outdoor museums enjoyed more success in implementation at the local level. In 1907 *Die Denkmalpflege* reported on plans for a Museum of Lower Saxon Folk Art in Bremen, which would constitute “the first larger outdoor museum in Germany”; a number of small towns in Schleswig-Holstein, Beuthen in Upper Silesia, and Sanddorf in Masuria had already proceeded with plans for such a museum.⁹⁰ The initiative was led by the Bremen Museum along with the Society for Lower Saxon Ethnicity [*Volkstum*] in Bremen. On land owned by the state (presumably of Saxony), “six farmhouses with their outbuildings and gardens shall be combined into a casual village [*ungezwungene Dorfanlage*], in a surrounding that closely resembles their original sites.”⁹¹ These farmhouses would represent the various farmhouse types of Lower Saxony, each corresponding to a region or landscape.

The plans for the Museum of Lower Saxon Folk Art used the museum as a way of creating a regional identity. The combination of farmhouses from each part of Lower Saxony turned disparate landscapes that had been united largely by historical accident into an ideal, harmonious village. The museum would have been a way of concretizing the imagined community of Lower Saxony. Like other similar museums, it was explicitly intended to attract the middle and lower classes, who could picture what Lower Saxony looked and felt like as they walked through the village – and thus learn to understand themselves as Lower Saxons. This museum was not realized, but the first outdoor museum in Germany, which

⁹⁰ Konrad Mühlke, “Ein Museum niedersächsischer Volkskunst in Bremen,” in “Vermischtes,” *Die Denkmalpflege* 9, no. 6 (May 1, 1907): 47.

⁹¹ Mühlke, “Ein Museum niedersächsischer Volkskunst in Bremen”: 47.

opened in 1910, was also located in Lower Saxony: the Free Land Museum of the Amerland Farmhouse (*Freilandmuseum Amerland Bauernhaus*).⁹²

The first realized outdoor museum discussed in *Die Denkmalpflege* was the East Prussian Heimat Museum in Königsberg, the present-day Russian exclave of Kaliningrad (Figs. 8-10).⁹³ *Die Denkmalpflege*'s 1911 article on the partially erected museum discussed it in relation to the multi-volume, decade-long book series on German, Austrian, and Swiss farmhouses that the Society for German Architects and Engineers and other organizations in Austria and Switzerland had been engaged in since 1893.⁹⁴ The museum was presented as a physical embodiment of the work done in this book series: "What only lives in books has more or less lost the right to a real life, but a single living example much more closely links its right to existence, its right to continued life to the people, to the farmer."⁹⁵ The outdoor museum was described as a place of life and dynamism that gives it an advantage over books.

Funded by a combination of preservation and historical societies and local and regional government, the East Prussian Heimat Museum was located adjacent to a zoo and along a small stream, which lent the site rural charm. An original plan to buy and move old farmhouses to the site could not be carried out due to cost, difficulty, and because

⁹² Michael Kamp, "Mythos Niedersachsenhaus – Eine Spurensuche," *Der Holznagel. Zeitschrift der Interessengemeinschaft Bauernhaus* 6 (2019): 31-32.

https://igbauernhaus.de/fileadmin/pdf/aktuelles/Kamp_Niedersachsenhaus.pdf

⁹³ Richard Dethlefsen, "Ein ostpreußisches Heimatmuseum in Königsberg," *Die Denkmalpflege* 13, no. 12-13 (September 13, 1911): 101-104.

⁹⁴ The impulse for this project was given in 1893; the project was officially undertaken in 1895; the first volume was published in 1901; and the tenth and final German volume (in addition to four Austrian and five Swiss volumes) was completed in 1906. See Sch, "Das Bauernhaus im Deutschen Reich und in seinen Grenzgebieten," in "Bücherschau," *Die Denkmalpflege* 3, no. 5 (March 20, 1901): 32; "Bücherschau," *Die Denkmalpflege* 5, no. 6 (April 29, 1903): 48; "Von dem Bauernhauswerke," in "Vermischtes," *Die Denkmalpflege* 6, no. 7 (June 1, 1904): 59-60; "Das Bauernhaus im Deutschen Reiche und in seinen Grenzgebieten," in "Vermischtes," *Die Denkmalpflege* 8, no. 12 (September 19, 1906): 95; Speitkamp, *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte*, 117-118.

⁹⁵ Dethlefsen, "Ein ostpreußisches Heimatmuseum in Königsberg": 101.

“appropriate old buildings could not be found.”⁹⁶ The museum therefore consisted of reproductions of “typical” farmhouses which were constructed by craftsmen with traditional skills. The next step for the museum was to decorate the houses with traditional objects. The ultimate objective was to create “a picture of earnest grace, as it represents this land in the north, which shall simultaneously grip the observer, please every friend of good folk art, and stimulate the farmer’s desire to recognize and hold on to the beautiful and good that he possesses and that would otherwise quickly disappear...”⁹⁷ The museum’s dual aim was to create a pleasant experience for bourgeois visitors and a model for farmers, who stood on the cusp of giving up the traditions that the museum’s creators, and the authors in *Die Denkmalpflege*, so valued. The museum was seen as a way to breathe new life into traditions, but history enthusiasts, the government, and museum employees were needed to convince farmers that these traditions were worthwhile.

In fact, *Die Denkmalpflege* was a bit late to the concept of open-air museums. The national pavilions at the 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris “laid the groundwork for both the period rooms and the outdoor architectural museum of the twentieth century.”⁹⁸ These pavilions were constructed in the form of “traditional” national architectures, both of non-European countries such as Egypt and Morocco and of European countries such as Norway and Austria. Timothy Mitchell has argued that such pavilions, particularly when extended to the “Egyptian Street” at the 1889 Parisian *Exposition Universelle*, were a new way of displaying the world linked on the one hand to the rise of capitalism and on the other to an

⁹⁶ Dethlefsen, “Ein ostpreußisches Heimatmuseum in Königsberg”: 102.

⁹⁷ Dethlefsen, “Ein ostpreußisches Heimatmuseum in Königsberg”: 104.

⁹⁸ Edward N. Kaufman, “The Architectural Museum from World’s Fair to Restoration Village,” in *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*, ed. Bettina Messias Carbonell, (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004), 274.

Orientalist gaze on non-European countries.⁹⁹ But the subjects of these display were not limited to other parts of the world. In 1867, the Papal States exhibited full-scale replicas of ancient Christian catacombs under Rome.¹⁰⁰ At the 1873 Vienna Fair, a Hungarian peasant house showed vernacular architectures of the host country, representing “a repository of fast-disappearing native traditions.”¹⁰¹ At the Budapest Millennium Exposition of 1896, a “Nationalities Street” included Romanian, Swabian, Bosnian, and other “folk” architectures of the Austro-Hungarian Empire alongside a “Hungarian Street,” “so that the entire ethnographic group formed an open-air museum of Austro-Hungarian regional folk life and architecture.”¹⁰² Although temporary, these displays fostered the same kind of romanticization of a supposedly endangered lifestyle as the museums described in *Die Denkmalspflege*.

Simultaneously, the Swedish professor Artur Hazelius founded the first permanent open-air museum at Skansen, near Stockholm, in 1891. Magnus Voß had mentioned Skansen in his 1904 call for adding an outdoor component to the Berlin Museum for German Traditional Costumes and Handicrafts, and Hazelius’ work became a model for museum proponents in a number of countries.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Timothy Mitchell, “Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order,” in *Colonialism and Culture*, ed. Nicholas Dirks (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 289-317.

¹⁰⁰ Thank you to Richard Wittman for alerting me to the catacombs reproduction, described in Giovanna Capitelli, “L’archeologia cristiana al servizio di Pio IX: ‘la catacomba in fac-simile’ di Giovanni Battista De Rossi all’Esposizione Universale di Parigi del 1867,” in *Martiri, santi, patroni: per una archeologia della devozione. Atti X Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana*, ed. Adele Coscarella and Paola De Santis (Rende: Università della Calabria, 2012), 555-566.

¹⁰¹ Kaufman, “The Architectural Museum from World’s Fair to Restoration Village,” 278.

¹⁰² Kaufman, “The Architectural Museum from World’s Fair to Restoration Village,” 278.

¹⁰³ Notably Henry Balfour, British archaeologist and first curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford. See Henry Balfour, “Presidential Address to the Museums Association, Maidstone Meeting, 1909,” in *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*, ed. Bettina Messias Carbonell (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004), 252-259.

Open-air museums were powerful tools for the creation of collective identity, and they were often employed to serve conservative, nationalist political aims.¹⁰⁴ First, they were immersive: visitors could walk through them. Second, they created a synthetic unity: as in the proposal for a Museum of Lower Saxon Art, disparate architectural traditions from various areas could be combined into a “village” representing the “shared” heritage of a region or state. Third, they evacuated the political and economic realities of peasant life: by removing the farmhouse from its context or creating a facsimile of it, the frequent hardship and poverty of actual farming were ignored. Fourth, they were rural: the archetypal building of the outdoor museum was the farmhouse or the village street, not the city house, and a visit to the open-air museum thus served as a trip to the country for city residents. In Germany, these strategies allowed open-air museums to portray an idealized, depoliticized, peaceful, rural past that was supposedly the shared heritage of all classes, and therefore a discouragement to class struggle. Nevertheless, comparatively few open-air museums were built in Germany, and the first large one was not realized until 1933 in Cloppenburg, through the support of the local Nazi government.¹⁰⁵ By comparison, Sweden boasted about 150 outdoor museums in 1928.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ “Conservative” is a notoriously slippery term. Richard Bourke has argued that although conservatism is usually “a procedure for preserving values against radical change,” this definition is so vague that “conservatism, effectively, melts into air.” In the context of this essay, “conservatism” signifies a commitment to maintaining the status quo of a monarchy with a strong bourgeois elite. It is certainly not opposed to most conceptions of liberalism – an equally broad term – but is, generally, opposed to socialism. I hope to complicate this term in my conclusion by arguing that many of its objectionable characteristics were equally present in liberal thought, but it remains a useful shorthand. Richard Bourke, “What is conservatism? History, ideology and party,” *European Journal of Political Thought* 17, no. 4 (2018): 453, 454.

¹⁰⁵ Roth, *Heimatmuseum*, 154.

¹⁰⁶ Kaufman, “The Architectural Museum from World’s Fair to Restoration Village,” 279.

Much more common were small local museums. In 1902, the Allgäu District Museum (Allgäuer Bezirksmuseum) in Kaufbeuren, in Swabian Bavaria, was one of the first local museums discussed at length in *Die Denkmalpflege*.¹⁰⁷ Robert Mielke, author of *Die Denkmalpflege*'s 1899 article on local museums in general, noted that the Allgäu District Museum was part of a trend: "In other places, too, similar local collections have been created or are being created—always with the conscious intention to preserve the artistic legacy [*Nachlaß*] of farmhouses and townhouses [*Bauern- und Bürgerhaus*] and to present it in closed house interiors."¹⁰⁸ Beyond the national collections at the Germanic Museum and the Museum for German Traditional Costumes and Handicrafts, Mielke named 25 museums in communities ranging from small cities to villages. "In most cases, these goals go hand in hand with the founding of folkloric [*volkskundlichen*] societies, of which a stately number has been founded or have split off from antiquities and history societies in the last half decade."¹⁰⁹ This combination of museums and what Mielke described as folkloric societies underlines the number of museums oriented toward the memorial discourse of *Heimat* rather than the scholarly discipline of history.

Mielke wrote that the Allgäu District Museum focused on "the narrow *Heimat* history, its peasant art and customs." But unlike many others, this museum had established a plan to "unite everything that can be collected about surface building [*Oberflächenbau*], climate, the spread of plants and animals, and anthropological research," as well as the "objects of the cultural development of the district," a "plan and sketch collection (plans,

¹⁰⁷ Robert Mielke, "Das Allgäuer Bezirksmuseum in Kaufbeuren," *Die Denkmalpflege* 4, no. 12 (September 17, 1902): 98-99. Earlier the same year, Conrad Mühlke had published a two-part essay on "Farmhouse Museums of Schleswig-Holstein." Mühlke, "Schleswig-Holsteinische Bauernhausmuseen," *Die Denkmalpflege* 4, no. 7 (May 28, 1902): 53-55; and *Die Denkmalpflege* 4, no. 8 (June 18, 1902): 60-62.

¹⁰⁸ Mielke, "Das Allgäuer Bezirksmuseum in Kaufbeuren": 98.

¹⁰⁹ Mielke, "Das Allgäuer Bezirksmuseum in Kaufbeuren": 98.

drawings, photos, portraits, pictures of traditional costumes), an archive (letters of purchase, contract, gift, loans, coats of arms, apprenticeship, teaching, and other letters) and finally a library.”¹¹⁰ The museum had its origin in the Gauverein Heimat founded by District official Kahr and Curate Frank around 1899, which had gained 1400 members within three years. The organization then built and decorated “a peasant living room, a peasant bedroom and a bourgeois kitchen of the older type,” which were exhibited along with some traditional costumes in an empty schoolhouse in 1901.¹¹¹

The end of the article, though, struck a more ambivalent note. So far, the Heimat society had been unable to secure funding to turn the exhibition into a permanent museum, and Mielke noted concerns that the collection could be dispersed. For most of the article, Mielke presented the museum as a finished object; but at the end, he revealed it to be a mere temporary exhibition with grand plans for the future. For Mielke, this fate would have been particularly regrettable because “such a collection could not be brought together in the Allgäu anymore.”¹¹² Mielke thus underlined the pace of change and the disappearance of traditional objects and customs: what could be collected just two years ago would no longer be possible in fall of 1902. The museum was a repository for what was lost to the inevitable process of modernization, a process that was occurring rapidly.

The Museum of the Fatherland in Celle, Lüneburg, Lower Saxony was an example of a collection with an expressly built museum (Figs. 11-14). The building was given particular importance in *Die Denkmalpflege*'s article on the museum because the architect, Alfred Sasse, was the author.¹¹³ During celebrations of the 600th anniversary of Celle's 600th

¹¹⁰ Mielke, “Das Allgäuer Bezirksmuseum in Kaufbeuren”: 98.

¹¹¹ Mielke, “Das Allgäuer Bezirksmuseum in Kaufbeuren”: 98.

¹¹² Mielke, “Das Allgäuer Bezirksmuseum in Kaufbeuren”: 99.

¹¹³ Alfred Sasse, “Das Vaterländische Museum in Celle,” *Die Denkmalpflege* 9, no. 8 (June 19, 1907): 60-63.

founding in May 1892, an initiative was started to collect “faithful images of old residential and commercial rooms, as well as rural homes in the governmental district of Lüneburg either in reproductions or originals.”¹¹⁴ The collection soon outgrew the rooms of the schoolhouse, and Sasse was hired to design a new building. Situated across from the palace of the counts of Lüneburg, the museum occupied a prominent location in Celle. Sasse’s design emphasized this with a large museum with prominent tower, which, he wrote “references old monuments in Celle” such as “the neighboring palace, the old city hall and half-timbered houses from the heyday of Celle.”¹¹⁵ The building was financed by a range of public and private donors, including the city of Celle, the district of Lüneburg, the Provincial Senate of Hanover, and private citizens of Celle. The museum’s four stories were linked to different uses: “The upper story is concerned with historical memories of the one-time Kingdom of Hanover and antiquities from the city of Celle, while the raised ground story and the lower story [a raised basement level] are concerned with rural collections from the governmental district Lüneburg, and finally the built-out attic contains offices and meeting rooms for the museum leadership, a library, etc.”¹¹⁶

The Museum of the Fatherland thus provided an architecturally eclectic frame for local and regionally collected artifacts.¹¹⁷ The building’s location and form emphasized the museum’s role as an institution drawing on local architectural traditions and giving prominence to history and local memory in the cityscape. The Museum of the Fatherland also emphasized the link between the local Heimat and the national fatherland: while the

¹¹⁴ Sasse, “Das Vaterländische Museum in Celle”: 61.

¹¹⁵ Sasse, “Das Vaterländische Museum in Celle”: 61.

¹¹⁶ Sasse, “Das Vaterländische Museum in Celle”: 61.

¹¹⁷ In fact, a later article in *Die Museumskunde* criticized this eclecticism as “an agglomeration of various themes” that “the building of the museum as such in no way required.” *Die Museumskunde* 6 (1910): 79, 83; cited in Kuntz, *Das Museum als Volksbildungsstätte*, 37.

museum's collection focused on Celle and its district surroundings, the museum's name clearly related it to the whole nation. The ambivalence of the museum's mission is underlined by Sasse's use of the term "historical memories": history and memory were perhaps much harder to disentangle than some of the other contributors to *Die Denkmalpflege* wished.

Celle industrialist Wilhelm Bomann was the main backer of the Museum of the Fatherland. Bomann presented his museum at the Conference of the Central Organization for Worker Welfare, demonstrating a paternalistic view that such a museum would improve the behavior of local workers – who also happened to be his employees.¹¹⁸ Bomann explicitly praised both the "patriarchal" relationship between employer and employee, and the militaristic tendencies that he claimed his museum encouraged.¹¹⁹ The museum was divided into three main sections: the first focused on the Hanoverian army and officialdom; the second on urban life; and the third was a peasant museum.¹²⁰ It thus did not prioritize rurality the way many other museums did; instead, it drew connections between town, countryside, and region. The museum's militarist-nationalist orientation was also particularly pronounced. During the Weimar Republic, the Museum became more explicitly racist as exhibition texts began to mention the "master race."¹²¹ In 1933, the museum moved quickly to fully align itself with Nazi ideology, and in 1944 Celle's Mayor claimed that the museum's founding was "already then [in 1892] in the sense of the Third Reich."¹²² The Museum of the

¹¹⁸ Roth, *Heimatmuseum*, 38.

¹¹⁹ Kuntz, *Das Museum als Volksbildungsstätte*, 37.

¹²⁰ Roth, *Heimatmuseum*, 38.

¹²¹ Roth, *Heimatmuseum*, 40.

¹²² "Bomann-Museum," *Celle im Nationalsozialismus*, accessed November 2, 2022, <http://www.celle-im-ns.de/stationen/stadtrundgang/bomann-museum>.

Fatherland thus demonstrates the racism and antisemitism that were present in the turn-of-the-century German museal matrix of region-nation and history-memory.

Winfried Speitkamp has remarked that “On the one hand Heimat was the connecting link between family and fatherland. On the other hand, the multiplicity of individualities constituted the national community, which in turn could be clearly delineated from other peoples.”¹²³ Before World War I, the German nation was made up of what Celia Applegate has called a “nation of provincials.” Intellectuals argued that regional identity fostered, rather than competing with, national pride and belonging. The articles in *Die Denkmalpflege* support this argument, with the Germanic Museum and the Museum for German Traditional Costumes and Handicrafts exceptional. Much more commonly published were local museums, whether they occupied temporary lodgings, had purpose-built museums, or brought together “traditional” regional architecture in an outdoor museum. These museums were intended to create local and regional identity that authors in *Die Denkmalpflege* saw as essential building blocks for a unified national identity. Museums idealized the rural past, ignoring the hardship and repression suffered by peasants and farmers. By ignoring these class divisions, they depicted a past shared by the lower and middle classes and the upper class. This past would become a powerful ideological tool in the years before and during World War I, as Germans were pressured to make increasingly drastic sacrifices for the sake of the fatherland.

VII. Theoretical interlude: Dehio, Conwentz, Gurlitt (1911-1913)

¹²³ Speitkamp, *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte*, 40.

Three lectures by key figures in the historic preservation movement between 1911 and 1913, reprinted or discussed in *Die Denkmalpflege*, give a sense of debates and positions taken in the years leading up to World War I. Georg Dehio gave a 1911 lecture on “Historic Preservation and Museums”; Hugo Conwentz proposed the establishment of “Museums for Natural and Local History as well as for Technology”; and Cornelius Gurlitt spoke on “The Art Market and Historic Preservation.” The issues these three lectures raised would come to be more acute with the onset of war and the economic and political instability of the interwar period: a continued tension between historic preservation *in situ* and the transfer of objects to museums; new types of museums; and concerns about the international sale of German art via the art market, when postwar inflation made German artworks easily affordable to foreign collectors. Although historic preservation and museums, like all aspects of German society, were greatly influenced by the outbreak of World War I, these articles show dramatic theoretical changes and reevaluations already taking place in the years before the war.

Georg Dehio was an art historian in Strassburg and one of the most prominent voices in historic preservation. His 1905 lecture on “Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege,” delivered to an audience including Kaiser Wilhelm II., was a summation and guide for the newer tendencies in historic preservation, away from historicizing restorations and toward the maintenance of a building’s existing state.¹²⁴ Dehio had also pushed for and led the first nationally published inventory/guidebook series of historic monuments, which, in revised editions, is today still known as “the Dehio.” His voice was thus an influential one.

¹²⁴ Georg Dehio, *Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege im neunzehnten Jahrhundert: Rede zur Feier des Geburtstages Sr. Majestät des Kaisers gehalten in der Aula der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität am 27. Jan. 1905*, Strasbourg: J. H. Ed. Heitz (Heitz & Mündel), 1905. <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/dehio1905/0003/image.info.thumbs> It should be noted that in this and other lectures Dehio argued for an exclusively nationalistic understanding of historic preservation; later, he would spout explicitly racist propaganda. See Falser, *Zwischen Identität und Authentizität*, 63-65.

In 1911, Dehio gave another lecture, at the annual Tag für Denkmalpflege on “Historic Preservation and Museums.”¹²⁵ He did not give a positive account.

They [museums and historic preservation] are old comrades yet they still fight one another. Historic preservation wants to keep artworks in situ, the museum wants to snap them up. Just as the Romans robbed Greece of its artworks, so today the museums rob the churches. Only the 19th century has instituted the right of the populace to artworks, which must be extended, so that after a certain time they become the common property of the people. Today’s museums have two flaws, the private collecting through art dealing and the international range. This leads to phenomena like the theft of the Mona Lisa. ... The old museums formed out of princely property should be maintained, but otherwise new goals must be set for museums. Museums must not be an end in themselves, but must grow out of the native soil [*heimische Boden*] and mirror the respective characteristics [of the regions]. The goal is the strengthening of the provincial and state [regional, not national, state] museums and making them useful through lecture courses for everyone...¹²⁶

Dehio’s sharp criticism of museal practice aroused lively debate at the conference. He repeated his belief in common ownership of artworks and monuments, which, in his famous 1905 lecture, he had described as the “socialist tendency” of historic preservation.¹²⁷ In the end, the solution to this problem was the strengthening of the smaller and more local museums, and a correction of their practices away from buying sacred artworks via art dealers. Dehio maintained the central/large vs. peripheral/small museum categorization that Reimers, Mielke, and many others had established, although for Dehio the larger museums were regional ones. These larger museums based on princely property had been formed in an earlier era and were now merely to be maintained. On the other hand, as in the earlier description of the Bremen Museum, small local museums were described as living, dynamic places that grew organically out of the local soil. Dehio did not bring up the idea of the local

¹²⁵ U-s, “Der zwölfte Tag für Denkmalpflege in Salzburg,” *Die Denkmalpflege* 13, no. 14 (October 18, 1911): 106-110.

¹²⁶ U-s, “Der zwölfte Tag für Denkmalpflege in Salzburg”: 109-110.

¹²⁷ “Anscheinend lediglich konservativ in seiner Tendenz, führt er [der Gedanke des Denkmalschutzes] zu Konsequenzen, die... nach einer völlig anderen Richtung hindrängen: ich weiß keinen Namen dafür, als nur den des Sozialismus.” Georg Dehio, *Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, 9.

museums as building blocks of national identity, instead arguing for the importance of regional variation.

In 1912, *Die Denkmalpflege* reported on a speech by Hugo Conwentz, the head of the State Office for Nature Preservation in Prussia, Germany's largest and politically most important state. He proposed the establishment of museums for natural and local history as well as for Technology.¹²⁸ Conwentz, the former director of the West Prussian Museum, was often described as the founder of the nature preservation movement in Germany.¹²⁹ Conwentz's speech focused particularly on Düsseldorf, where "he missed a big museum for natural and local history alongside the rich and valuable collections of art."¹³⁰ Conwentz noted that smaller cities already had such institutions, and that the Löbbecke Museum in Düsseldorf had a collection of animals and antiquities that would form a fitting basis. He proposed combining this collection with that of the Bonn-based Natural History Society for the Rhineland and Westphalia, adding additional items so that "the various branches of technology in the highly developed industrial region also find consideration."¹³¹ The anonymous author of the report on Conwentz' lecture commented that "in our commercial-technological age [technical museums] belong to the necessary means of educating the people, which naturally gives them more understanding than art museums." For the first time in *Die Denkmalpflege*, an explicit distinction was drawn between museums according to their

¹²⁸ "Zur Gründung von Museen für Natur- und Heimatkunde sowie für Technik," in "Vermischtes," *Die Denkmalpflege* 14, no. 15 (November 20, 1912): 118.

¹²⁹ For more on Conwentz in *Die Denkmalpflege*, see his obituary: Julius Kohte, "Hugo Conwentz," *Die Denkmalpflege* 24, no. 7 (July 19, 1922): 55. As Kohte notes, the term "Naturdenkmal" had already been introduced by Alexander von Humboldt in the early nineteenth century, and there is a fascinating history of German historic preservation long before Conwentz; see for instance Lekan, *Imagining the Nation in Nature*; Andreas Mölder, "August Niemann (1761-1832): A pioneer of nature and landscape conservation in Schleswig-Holstein," *Natur und Landschaft: Zeitschrift für Naturschutz und Landschaftspflege* 91, no. 3 (2016): 126-131.

¹³⁰ "Zur Gründung von Museen für Natur- und Heimatkunde sowie für Technik": 118.

¹³¹ "Zur Gründung von Museen für Natur- und Heimatkunde sowie für Technik": 118.

types of collection. Antiquities and nature are judged as similar to technology, and opposed to art. Conwentz amalgamated human and natural history, creating a continuum from antiquity to the latest technology.

Finally, at the 1913 Tag für Denkmalpflege in Dresden, Cornelius Gurlitt gave a speech on “The Art Market and Historic Preservation.”¹³² Gurlitt was a prominent art historian, historic preservationist, and professor in Dresden who was notable for continuing to advocate historicizing restorations after most of his colleagues no longer approved of them.¹³³ In 1913, though, he expressed prescient fears about the effects of art dealers that would come to dominate discussions during the war and postwar years. Art dealers were a highly educated group who had always played a decisive role in the creation of collections, according to Gurlitt; however, despite the necessity of the art dealer, “there lies the great national risk, that his aim will be to bring significant native [*heimische*] artworks to foreign museums...”¹³⁴ At the same time, though, Gurlitt found satisfaction in seeing German artworks represented in the great foreign museums.

But, according to Gurlitt, the real danger lay not in exchange between European countries, which all had cultural riches, but in the United States, “which has none of this [rich treasure of artworks] but has great buying power...”¹³⁵ Gurlitt argued that “If one looks at the *heimischen* museums and their purchases from the countryside from a purely national standpoint, even in light of historic preservation and protection of homeland, one must agree with the principle that the education and enlightenment of the people [*Erziehung und*

¹³² Anton von Behr, “Die zweite gemeinsame Tagung für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz in Dresden,” *Die Denkmalpflege* 15, no. 13 (October 15, 1913): 97-101.

¹³³ He was also the father of Hildebrand Gurlitt, one of the four art dealers authorized by Hitler and Goering to trade in “degenerate art.”

¹³⁴ von Behr, “Die zweite gemeinsame Tagung für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz in Dresden”: 98.

¹³⁵ von Behr, “Die zweite gemeinsame Tagung für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz in Dresden”: 98.

Aufklärung des Volkes] is more valuable than the advantage that art historical research draws from museums, when it insists on the completeness of their contents.”¹³⁶ Gurlitt thus suggested that the value of *heimisch* or *heimatkundlich*, primarily local, museums was greater than that of the scholarly, centralized ones. He also used terms similar to that of “Heimatmuseum,” which was unusual for *Die Denkmalpflege*. In the case of objects that could not be maintained in situ, though, Gurlitt wrote that a state official must intercede to decide which category of museum the object should be assigned to. Von Bezold, the director of the Germanic Museum, agreed with Gurlitt’s arguments and added that “museum leadership fully recognized the duty to keep *heimisch* art productions in the fatherland,” but that it was also their job to ensure that their existing collections be cared for in the most scientific manner possible.¹³⁷ Countering Dehio’s criticism of museums for removing artworks from their proper sites, Von Bezold and Gurlitt praised museums for keeping artworks in Germany.

VIII. New national concepts versus local continuity: wartime and postwar museums (1914-1920)

The outbreak of World War I had a significant impact on German historic preservation, museums, and ideas of Heimat and the nation. International historic preservationists and publications voiced outrage over the German army’s destruction of historic buildings, particularly Reims Cathedral and the historic library of Louvain, Belgium, with its thousands of rare books. German historic preservationists responded aggressively and used a number of

¹³⁶ von Behr, “Die zweite gemeinsame Tagung für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz in Dresden”: 98.

¹³⁷ von Behr, “Die zweite gemeinsame Tagung für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz in Dresden”: 99.

strategies to respond to these criticisms: they accused French and Belgian troops of using historic buildings as arsenals and bases and thus ensuring their destruction; they published and discussed examples of French wartime destruction from the Napoleonic wars and before; they accused international critics of naïveté and elitism for believing that historic buildings would be spared in a war that involved widespread human death and suffering; and they emphasized the precautions the German army took to preserve as many historic buildings as possible.¹³⁸

At the same time, the German state increasingly coopted and nationalized the idea of Heimat. Celia Applegate has argued that World War I was when Heimat made the leap from a regional concept primarily fostered by local societies to a truly national concept. This was due in large part to national propaganda campaigns to keep up spirits, both of soldiers at the front and of those suffering from increasing economic deprivation on the home front. As in other countries, Germany's landscape and heritage were mobilized as reminders of both why the war was worth fighting and of the pleasure Germans could look forward to after a victory. Germany was portrayed as a country that would once again be agriculturally productive, artistically great, and economically successful after the end of the war. The notion of Heimat was used to project this vision of an idealized past connected to an idealized future, with the war as a mere interruption to be bravely tolerated.

Museums and historic preservation had a role to play in this effort. War museums sprang up to preserve and memorialize the current war, and in some cases (as in Soest) to tie

¹³⁸ See, for instance, W. Wolff, "Denkmalpflege und Krieg," *Die Denkmalpflege* 16, no. 14 (December 2, 1914): 116-117; Julius Kohte, "Die Kunstdenkmäler in Polen," *Die Denkmalpflege* 18, no. 2 (February 9, 1916): 9-12; Anton von Behr, "Die Kriegstagung für Denkmalpflege in Brüssel," *Die Denkmalpflege* 18, no. 2 (February 9, 1916): 12-15. Rhenish conservator Paul Clemen emerged as the key figure of the German wartime historic preservation complex with his 1914 appointment as conservator of the Occupied Belgian territories, a purview that was later expanded to the whole western front, then the eastern front, and in 1917 to all occupied areas. See Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts*, 81; Speitkamp, *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte*, 167-168.

it to past wars. They thus helped to normalize the conflict and to reframe living through the war as witnessing and contributing to history, underlining the importance of the war effort. War museums and exhibitions had also been created during the Franco-Prussian War, and would be taken up on a new scale by the Nazi government with the Army Museums in Munich, Dresden and Berlin.¹³⁹ New kinds of museum, mainly at the national level, served to underline the movement toward a national understanding of the Heimat that Celia Applegate has identified as a decisive shift during World War I. In *Die Denkmalpflege*, proposals for a Museum for the German People and a Museum of German Architecture envisaged new types of national museums, respectively relating them to racist discourses and representing architecture through scale models. The Lower Saxon Building Museum was an architectural museum based on scale models at the regional scale. Another article discussed the German Foreign Museum (*Deutsches Auslandmuseum*), which displayed German achievements abroad. Overall, though, the local and regional museums discussed in *Die Denkmalpflege* are remarkably similar to those created before the war.¹⁴⁰ The more innovative national museum models published in *Die Denkmalpflege* were balanced by a prevailing continuity in local and regional museums.

The idea for a Museum for the German People [*Museum für deutsches Volkstum*] was proposed in the December 1914 issue of the magazine *Museumskunde* [Museology], which

¹³⁹ Roth, *Heimatmuseum*, 173-176.

¹⁴⁰ See, for instance, "Das Freiluftmuseum in Hadersleben," *Die Denkmalpflege* 18, no. 3 (March 1, 1916): 17-19 and *Die Denkmalpflege* 18, no. 4 (March 15, 1916): 30-32; Otto Vorländer, "Das Museum in Hameln," *Die Denkmalpflege* 21, no. 5 (April 23, 1919): 33-36.

had been founded in 1905.¹⁴¹ *Die Denkmalpflege* then published an article about the proposal, which would

serve the recognition of German essence [*Wesen*] by showing the features of Germanness in contrast to other peoples; on the other hand it shall demonstrate the extraordinary variety of Germanness, by showing examples of the characteristics of people and tribe in as many regions of life as possible. The ethno-geographical map will form a significant exhibit [*Anschauungsmittel*] of the planned museum. Furthermore, the new museum, according to its task of showing the local and landscape variety of German essence, would be divided into five categories: I. Body (coloration, body size, head shape), II. Spirit (Folk character, criminality, customs and uses), III. Language (sounds, words, intonation, written characters), IV. Object (settlement and house type, house and agricultural tools, traditional costumes etc.), V. Comparative Anthropology (the ethnic features in their relationship to each other and the convergence or divergence of their borders).¹⁴²

This proposal, although not originating in *Die Denkmalpflege*, was judged important enough to be covered. It represented a convergence between museums and pseudo-anthropological ideas about inherent ethnic or racial characteristics. It was surely not coincidental that this national vision of "German essence" was proposed during a national war. The proposal nevertheless shows the continued paradox of a unified national identity made up of varied regional identities, both poles of which were supposedly represented in the Museum for the German People. This museum would have placed objects similar to those included in earlier museums – "settlements and house types, house and agricultural tools, traditional costumes etc." – within an explicitly racial understanding of German identity.

Different types of national museum were discussed at the 1917 conference for historic preservation, the first full conference held since the outbreak of war. The first was a report by an employee of the German Foreign Museum [*Deutsches Auslandmuseum*].¹⁴³ This

¹⁴¹ See "Vermischtes," *Die Denkmalpflege* 7, no. 6 (May 3, 1905): 48.

¹⁴² "Die Gründung eines Museum für deutsches Volkstum," in "Vermischtes," *Die Denkmalpflege* 17, no. 3 (March 3 1915): 24.

¹⁴³ Anton von Behr, "Tag für Denkmalpflege in Augsburg," *Die Denkmalpflege* 19, no. 13-14 (24 October 1917): 101-103.

museum's somewhat confusing name in fact accurately described its role: it displayed and celebrated the achievements of Germany and Germans beyond the nation's borders. The museum connected life within the bounds of the new German nation to the many German émigrés in the United States and elsewhere, an important function since much of the population had friends or family members who had emigrated.¹⁴⁴ The report concerned the foreign buildings of German architects, from Hungary to the United States. The museum "was occupied with collecting models of such buildings and organizing traveling exhibitions of them."¹⁴⁵ In the context of a conference that was concerned to a large extent with asserting German respect for culture in response to accusations of cultural barbarism, this report on German cultural production abroad was understandable. It reminded listeners of a German cosmopolitanism that had been cut off by the military realities and cultural isolation of the war. It also propounded the idea of Germany as a cultural nation. The idea of a traveling exhibition further spread the regard for national German achievements by allowing a widened geographic audience to view the architectural models, creating a different type of circulation from the movement of goods and people toward the front lines. Continuing this line of thought in a more explicitly militaristic direction in the following years, the museum "was related to the hope for a new Reich that would... reunite the separated portions of the *Volk*," a hope opposed to the democracy of the Weimar Republic, as Martin Roth puts it in his 1990 history of Heimat museums.¹⁴⁶

At the end of the same conference, Professor H. Schütte discussed an exhibition he had organized of models of half-timbered houses in Hildesheim. In a rare step, *Die*

¹⁴⁴ See also Celia Applegate's argument that a "preoccupation" with the United States was essential to the construction of an interwar Palatine identity. Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials*, 169-171.

¹⁴⁵ von Behr, "Tag für Denkmalpflege in Augsburg": 102.

¹⁴⁶ Roth, *Heimatmuseum*, 158.

Denkmalpflege criticized Schütte's talk for its tangents, but noted that "his explanations eventually called for the founding of a general German Architectural Museum and the participation of war-damaged [*kriegsbeschädigt*] technicians and building craftsmen in the creation of building models of valuable old bourgeois houses, which would be united in such a museum for study by the building craft schools."¹⁴⁷ This proposal unleashed "a very lively discussion"; a later article summarized the criticisms of Schütte's talk as taking the position that "architecture cannot be collected in a museum."¹⁴⁸ Schütte's proposal introduced a number of new terms to the debate around museums and historic preservation: a focus on the bourgeoisie, instead of either a cross-class focus on local heritage or the privileging of an idealized and depoliticized peasantry; the participation of those suffering from physical or mental trauma after World War 1; and scale models of buildings as an appropriate way of showing architecture in a museal setting. It would have been an entirely different kind of museum, one that created facsimiles of buildings rather than preserving pieces of the buildings themselves. It would have thus eliminated conflict with historic preservation, but also lose the function of saving parts of monuments. Because it did not rely on the availability of buildings or building elements, this strategy offered a more comprehensive overview of building types in place of saving specific parts of historic buildings. Schütte's proposal for the German Architectural Museum was not realized.

However, a museum founded in 1920 did realize some of Schütte's ideas: the Lower Saxon Architecture Museum in Hanover.¹⁴⁹ The museum initiative began in 1918, and "after

¹⁴⁷ von Behr, "Tag für Denkmalpflege in Augsburg": 103.

¹⁴⁸ Dr-Ing Eicke, "Das niedersächsische Baumuseum in Hannover," in "Vermischtes," *Die Denkmalpflege* 22, no. 1 (January 14, 1920): 7.

¹⁴⁹ Eicke, "Das niedersächsische Baumuseum in Hannover": 7.

overcoming the political upheavals” it had “gotten yearly subsidies, some significant, from a large number of cities in Lower Saxony, trade associations of master craftsmen and architects, as well as from individual members.”¹⁵⁰ According to *Die Denkmalpflege*’s coverage, the museum proved that architecture could be displayed in a museum:

Of course the artworks that the master builder creates stand immovably on the streets and can never be transferred into the museum as a whole. Nevertheless, many originals can be collected in an architecture museum. In the Lower Saxon Architecture Museum, parts of demolished buildings that lie in the cities of our homeland, sometimes even in cellars and attics, shall be collected, organized and displayed. Struts, joists, carved stands and other building elements of lost Lower Saxon half-timbered buildings, parts of sandstone and brick structures can provide an excellent picture of the creative art [*Schaffenskunst*] of our ancestors. Apart from these building elements, drawings, prints, woodcuts, and models primarily make up the highly noteworthy collection objects.¹⁵¹

These would be supplemented by an archive of documents and a library of books related to Lower Saxon architecture. The “further purpose of the Building Museum consists in being a center of enlightenment [*Aufklärungsstelle*] encompassing all of Lower Saxony, which fosters the method of building native to our homeland in the sense of the German Bund Heimatschutz.”¹⁵² The Lower Saxon Architecture Museum would have been a dedicated architectural museum that built on the incorporation of physical elements at the Germanic Museum.¹⁵³ The museum’s function was less to foster love of the fatherland, but rather to be a concrete example for those seeking to maintain building and craft traditions. It thus aligned with the Bund Heimatschutz’s shift from a retrospective to a more future-oriented outlook.

¹⁵⁰ Eicke, “Das niedersächsische Baumuseum in Hannover”: 7.

¹⁵¹ Eicke, “Das niedersächsische Baumuseum in Hannover”: 7.

¹⁵² Eicke, “Das niedersächsische Baumuseum in Hannover”: 7.

¹⁵³ A tradition stretching back to the Musée des Monuments Français organized by Alexandre Lenoir in the 1790s. Thank you to Richard Wittman for pointing me toward this history. See Christopher Greene, “Alexandre Lenoir and the Musée des monuments français during the French Revolution,” *French Historical Studies* 12, no. 2 (Autumn 1981): 200-222.

Many local and regional museums in the wartime and postwar era, however, adhered closely to established models. The Open-Air Museum Hadersleben, built between 1914 and 1916 and published in *Die Denkmalpflege* in 1916, continued the trend toward outdoor museums by collecting buildings from around northern Silesia.¹⁵⁴ The Hameln Museum had taken over and renovated a patrician house on the main street of this small market town in Lower Saxony in 1912, but was not published in *Die Denkmalpflege* until 1919.¹⁵⁵ The new museum types were counterbalanced by the continued presence of such local examples.

A radical speech at the 1922 Conference on Historic Preservation challenged this type of museum.¹⁵⁶ In his lecture on “Town Museums and Historic Preservation,” Professor Robert Bruck pointed out that local museums had remained more or less the same since the turn of the century. He argued that, when led by trained art historians, these museums fulfilled neither an art historical nor an identity-forming purpose; moreover, they were under threat due to the “seizure of existing museum spaces” to combat housing shortages. Bruck called for local museums either to be officially protected by the state, province, or city or to be dissolved; for all of them to have “leadership experienced in questions of conservation and acquisition”; and for the founding of new museums to be allowed only if they were granted permission by the state.¹⁵⁷ At the same time, Bruck argued that “a museum’s purpose was only fulfilled when a broad stream of knowledge, education and aesthetic pleasure flowed from it, and not merely for a small upper class of our people, but for the populace at large [*Allgemeinheit*].”¹⁵⁸ Bruck introduced a new perspective to debates in *Die Denkmalpflege*,

¹⁵⁴ “Das Freiluftmuseum in Hadersleben.”

¹⁵⁵ Vorländer, “Das Museum in Hameln.”

¹⁵⁶ Jüsgen, “Tag für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz in Stuttgart, am 27. bis 30. September,” *Die Denkmalpflege* 24, no. 10 (November 1, 1922): 76-81.

¹⁵⁷ Jüsgen, “Tag für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz in Stuttgart, am 27. bis 30. September”: 77.

¹⁵⁸ Jüsgen, “Tag für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz in Stuttgart, am 27. bis 30. September”: 77.

one concerned not only with molding popular opinion into specific, nationalist channels, but also with “aesthetic pleasure.” Simultaneously, providing such pleasure was not sufficient justification for the existence of a museum; it also had to have a sound scholarly backing. According to Bruck, the large number of Heimat-oriented local museums no longer accorded to what was needed for the edification and entertainment of this populace, which was subject to extreme instability that also threatened the museums themselves. Bruck’s speech aroused considerable debate among a conference audience that included many directors of local museums, and the matter was tabled.

In Bruck’s view, the Heimat discourse that had legitimized local museums no longer held the same value. It is worth noting that Bruck was Jewish, and, tragically, likely committed suicide in 1942 as a result of Nazi repression; his position vis-à-vis Heimat may thus have been different from that of many other historic preservationists.¹⁵⁹ But these debates repeated theoretical debates carried out in *Die Denkmalpflege* in 1911 and in 1899: how museums should be categorized and what their purpose was.

The museum types developed between 1914 and 1920 challenged the basic tripartite scheme of national, regional, and local museums. Although national museums had always functioned as creators of national identity – despite the primacy *Die Denkmalpflege* accorded to local museums in building identity – this function was made more explicit in proposals like the German Industry Museum. The social, economic, and political upheaval and instability of war and revolution had produced new conditions and new subjectivities that such proposals addressed in different ways. The argument that love of local (rural) Heimat would aggregate to love of a more abstract fatherland became less powerful, too, as Germany

¹⁵⁹ Gesellschaft für Christlich-Jüdische Zusammenarbeit, ed., *Buch der Erinnerung. Juden in Dresden – deportiert, ermordet, verschollen 1933-1945* (Dresden: Thelem, 2006), 60.

became an increasingly urban nation, and ever fewer Germans remembered their rural childhoods.

Yet throughout the Weimar Republic and into the Third Reich, the types of museums discussed in this article – by that time generally known as Heimat museums – flourished. Martin Roth notes three main phases of museum creation: 1885-1895, 1905-1915, and 1924-32.¹⁶⁰ Kathleen James-Chakraborty has argued that a concern with the integration of a “mass audience” into society shaped many areas of German cultural production in the early twentieth century.¹⁶¹ To some extent, this concern ran through all of the museum proposals in *Die Denkmalpflege*. But as the new mass media such as radio, cinema, and advertising grew in distribution and influence, Heimat museums searched for new ways to reach their intended popular audience. The 1920s were a time of innovation in museum displays, as broader artistic and design strategies such as the “New Objectivity,” montage, and the “Viennese method of graphic display,” developed by Gerd Arntz and Otto Neurath, were applied to exhibition design both in temporary fairs and expositions, and in permanent museums.¹⁶²

Simultaneously, the nationalist militarism of these museums frequently developed into a virulent racism, aided by pseudo-scientific “race science.” While some prominent historic preservationists resisted these developments, others, such as Georg Dehio and, most prominently, Paul Schultze-Naumburg, enthusiastically subscribed to them. Tragically, many

¹⁶⁰ Roth, *Heimatmuseum*, 33.

¹⁶¹ Kathleen James-Chakraborty, *German Architecture for a Mass Audience* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

¹⁶² Roth, *Heimatmuseum*, 193-205. Key entries in the long list of interwar German fairs and expositions include the German Exhibition for Applied Arts in Munich, 1922; the Great Exhibition for Health, Social Welfare, and Physical Exercise (GeSoLei) in Düsseldorf, 1926; a number of exhibitions by the German Werkbund, most notably the 1927 exhibition “The Apartment” in Stuttgart, which included the construction of the Weissenhofsiedlung; and the International Press Exhibition (Pressa) in Cologne, 1928. All of these events provided opportunities to develop new types of exhibition design.

of the avant-garde exhibition design innovations of the Weimar Republic were only put into practice on a large scale by the National Socialist regime after its rise to power.¹⁶³

Although museal representation changed with the National Socialists, museums of homeland and history did not play a central role in the cultural politics of Nazi Germany. As was the case with historic preservation, the Nazis' lip service to the importance of heritage could not compete with the importance the regime placed on economic and military development, and many museum and preservation professionals who initially saw the new authoritarian government as an answer to the failures of Weimar-era policy were soon disappointed. The propagandistic importance of museums was also small compared to the other media marshaled by Joseph Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry, such as radio, cinema, television, mass rallies, and performances.¹⁶⁴

These changes expose the undifferentiated, top-down view of "the people" that defined museal discourse in *Die Denkmalpflege*. Although they were far from destined to descend into fascism, the museums discussed in the magazine generally represent a conservative nationalist vision of Germany – one that was *not* shared by all historic preservationists. A counter-example is Hermann Muthesius, active both in historic preservation and in the generally progressive artistic and craft organization of the German Werkbund.¹⁶⁵ But *Die Denkmalpflege*'s museums promoted a romantic vision of a rural local, and hence regional and national, past by preserving physical remnants or, in the case of some outdoor museums, creating facsimiles of structures. The objects bore no traces of the labor and hardship of rural

¹⁶³ Roth, *Heimatmuseum*, particularly 176 and 195-205.

¹⁶⁴ Roth, *Heimatmuseum*, 118.

¹⁶⁵ That said, the "broad tent" of the Werkbund was itself often aligned with a militaristic nationalism, and was influenced by the national social theories of Friedrich Naumann, as is discussed in the conclusion. See Werner Oechslin, *Werkbundzeit: Kunst, Politik und Kommerz im Wiederstreit* (Munich: Hanser, 2021), particularly 71-81, 105-122, and 153-60.

and lower-class life, and the museums elided the political, economic, and social realities of pre-industrial Germany to portray a heritage supposedly shared by all classes. The museums displayed the lower and middle classes to themselves; but this representation was done by a conservative educated élite. As Martin Roth points out, “the workers’ movement almost never used the institution of ‘museums.’ This was far too dominated by the national-chauvinistic auto-representation of bourgeois culture.”¹⁶⁶ The museums discussed in *Die Denkmalpflege* neatly fit Walter Benjamin’s description of “the instruments of an antiproletarian education for proletarians.”¹⁶⁷

IX. Conclusion

What role, in the end, did museums and historic preservation play in the production of a shared German heritage? And how, in turn, did this heritage shape German identities and politics during a period of intense change from the turn of the century through World War I and the German revolution?

Before World War I, the clear distinction between national museums and local museums underlined the paradox of what Celia Applegate has called “a nation of provincials”: simultaneous German impulses toward a centralized, professionalized, bureaucratic nation-state and a dispersed, localized, and volunteer-based structure of implementation. Although World War I provided a unifying discourse of home front sacrifice and patriotism, regional variations and economic necessity continued to undermine the creation of a stable or predictable national identity through shared objects, buildings, and

¹⁶⁶ Roth, *Heimatmuseum*, 33-34.

¹⁶⁷ Walter Benjamin, “A Communist Pedagogy,” trans. Rodney Livingstone, in Benjamin, *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, Volume 2, Part 1, ed. Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2005), 274.

landscapes. After the war, historic preservationists valued museums more than ever as inflation and economic crisis fueled concerns that German patrimony would be sold off on the cheap to wealthy French, British, and American collectors. At the same time, new types of museums challenged existing models.

In order for something to be designated as historic and thus worthy of preservation, it must be separated from our own time; there must be a discontinuity between the era of the creation and the contemporary reality. As David Lowenthal has written, in late eighteenth century Europe, “the past, once virtually indistinguishable from the present, became ever more foreign, yet increasingly suffused by present hopes and habits.”¹⁶⁸ This phenomenon played out in historic preservation over the course of the nineteenth century, as preservationists both established disciplinary rules for the study and treatment of old buildings and placed historic architecture into a progressive worldview culminating in their own age. Writers in *Die Denkmalpflege* placed the beginnings of historic preservation in the late eighteenth century.¹⁶⁹

For instance, in 1900 Paul Tornow claimed that “the old ones were not conscious of having their own style when undertaking their kind of ‘restoration,’ so that their building activity was not the result of a reflective intellectual activity, but that they rather completely

¹⁶⁸ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country Revisited* (2nd ed, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 4, 15.

¹⁶⁹ In reality, this argument ignored earlier models of historic preservation. For Françoise Choay, historic preservation stems from the “mutual impregnation” of humanist and material that, as early as the fourteenth century, turned buildings and other objects into carriers of history in a way comparable to texts. See Choay, *The Invention of the Monument*, 31-32. David Karmon has significantly expanded this argument – and corrected some of Choay’s other claims – by pointing out “the enduring importance of the preservation of antiquity as an essential cultural tradition in Rome throughout its history,” one which has been dismissed by later scholars “based upon the normative standards generated by the same modern conservation theory that took form in the centuries following the French Revolution.” Karmon, *The Ruin of the Eternal City: Antiquity and Preservation in Renaissance Rome* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 8-9.

unconsciously used all the forms...” of their time.¹⁷⁰ Tornow thus anachronistically depicted architects and builders of previous centuries as naïve and natural, simply transferring the prevailing architectural mood of their time into buildings. He gave a specific time for the shift away from this supposed natural way of building: “Used to, that means in the age of the primacy of historic building styles and before the conclusion of their historical development at the end of the 18th century...”¹⁷¹ Tornow believed that his era’s lack of a unique or defining style meant that the historical development of styles had ended. For Tornow, this break was accompanied with a new need for a scholarly process to properly restore buildings, including a careful investigation which would then be recorded through “drawing, description, cast, and photograph.”¹⁷² Since buildings could no longer be treated naturally and unselfconsciously in the style of the day, they entered the realm of history. Tornow’s description of historic preservation thus set his present apart from the past. Historians had recently established their discipline based on facts rather than existing within the same realm as fiction, and Tornow argued that a similarly fact-based approach was required for historic preservation.¹⁷³

This link between modernity and historic preservation was made even clearer by Adolf von Oechelhäuser in a 1906 talk on “Historic Preservation in Old Times,” reported in *Die Denkmalpflege*.¹⁷⁴ Von Oechelhäuser argued that “following the processes in France and England, [the origins of historic preservation] in Germany coincided with the awakening of national sentiment. Historic preservation, born at the start of the 19th century, was a child of

¹⁷⁰ Tornow, “Grundregeln und Grundsätze beim Wiederherstellen von Baudenkmalern”: 113.

¹⁷¹ Paul Tornow, “Grundregeln und Grundsätze beim Wiederherstellen von Baudenkmalern,” *Die Denkmalpflege* 2, no. 5, (December 5, 1900): 113.

¹⁷² Tornow, “Grundregeln und Grundsätze beim Wiederherstellen von Baudenkmalern”: 113-114.

¹⁷³ See Hayden White, “The Fictions of Factual Representation,” in *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*, ed. Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 22-35.

¹⁷⁴ Anton von Behr, “Denkmalpflege in alter Zeit,” *Die Denkmalpflege* 8, no. 4 (March 14, 1906): 30-31.

modern historical research...”.¹⁷⁵ Von Oechelhäuser understood historic preservation as a modern phenomenon, closely linked to nationalism.

For Tornow, since the unquestioned continuity of craft and construction had been broken, architects and craftsmen had to be instructed in the correct approaches and techniques. Similarly, Pierre Nora unravels the relation between two different types of memory, “true memory, which has taken refuge in gestures and habits, in skills passed down by unspoken traditions, in the body’s inherent self-knowledge...” and “memory transformed by its passage through history, which is nearly the opposite: voluntary and deliberate...”¹⁷⁶ For Nora, “What we call memory today is therefore not memory but already history.”¹⁷⁷ According to him, as soon as memory becomes an object that is discussed and must be fostered, it is no longer really memory. However, just as Tornow anachronistically depicted pre-modern architects and builders as naïve and unconscious, Nora’s argument fails to account for earlier ways of writing and understanding history. While he is right that memory is transformed by its codification, the naïve image of the “body’s inherent self-knowledge” does not hold up as an analysis of memory, craft, or other traditions.

However, in its characterization of the production of memory, Nora’s argument accurately characterizes the enterprise of local, regional, and national museums discussed in *Die Denkmalpflege*. Although these museums sought to awaken a popular, collective memory, they had to resort to the didactic mechanism of the museum to do so. How effective these museums really were in creating identity is impossible to gauge. But they did serve to channel the energies of the working class away from possible social protest or unrest and

¹⁷⁵ von Behr, “Denkmalpflege in alter Zeit”: 30.

¹⁷⁶ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*,” trans. Marc Roudebush, *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 13.

¹⁷⁷ Nora, “Entre Mémoire et Histoire,” xxv.

toward a nationalist militarism. In this context, it is worth repeating Winfried Speitkamp's characterization of the *Heimat* movement's "typical fin-de-siècle combination of scholarly foundation with mythical-irrational sensation."¹⁷⁸ This mythical-irrational sensation was exactly the point: while creating heritage was sincerely desirable to the elite experts writing in the pages of *Die Denkmalpflege*, unifying Germany was the ultimate goal.

Although many local museums may have seemed disorganized to museum professionals of the day, the proliferation of historical associations, local, regional, and national museums, and historic preservation helped shift the liberal German nationalism of the early 19th century – in which the private property of citizens was paramount and took precedence over religious monarchism – in an increasingly conservative direction. The mythic, idyllic past – just as present in the "completion" of Cologne Cathedral and the reconstruction of the Marienburg as in the East Prussian Outdoor Museum in Königsberg, or the Germanic Museum in Nuremberg – provided a social and political model opposed to socialism. This was not inevitable: as many scholars of heritage have argued, museums and visual culture have often been used to tell alternative stories of the past from a working-class or subaltern perspective.¹⁷⁹ Some working-class and leftist organizations did employ the museum format to make arguments about living conditions, as at the 1908 Home Worker Exhibit (*Heimarbeiter Ausstellung*) in Frankfurt and the 1911 exhibition on Free-Time Art

¹⁷⁸ Speitkamp, *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte*, 89.

¹⁷⁹ See, for instance, Raphael Samuel's description of the Communist Party of Great Britain's use of heritage, and more generally his criticism of a simple equation between heritage and reaction. Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Volume 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (New York: Verso, 1994), 207-208 and 260-71. Other writers on heritage have developed similar arguments in greater depth. On critical approaches to heritage, particularly from subaltern, indigenous, and/or working-class perspectives, see Smith, *Uses of Heritage* and Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*. For an anti-imperialist and humanist approach, Edward Said loosely but approvingly cites C.L.R. James to the effect that "Beethoven belongs as much to West Indians as he does to Germans, since his music is now part of the human heritage." Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), xxv.

and Free-Time Work (Freistundenkunst und Freistundenarbeit).¹⁸⁰ But overall, such initiatives were negligible. German local, regional, and national museums remained bastions of a conservative, nationalist militarism. Nazi thinkers and politicians would later smoothly coopt this vision of the past, arguing that fascism would recapture the stability of pre-modern Germany. Whether or not the museums covered in *Die Denkmalpflege* were effective in fostering a popular, working-class identification with the nation, they reflected and reinforced elite political attitudes.

And what of the museums themselves? Timothy Mitchell has argued that the “Middle Eastern” streets displayed in world’s fairs and universal expositions formed European views of the countries they supposedly depicted: “Europeans brought to the Middle East the cognitive habits of the world-as-exhibition, and tried to grasp the Orient as something picturelike. On the other hand, they came to experience a ‘reality’ that they had invariably already seen represented in an exhibition.”¹⁸¹ Did this contradiction translate as well to displays of the domestic past? Could we say that, local, regional, and national museums depicting the German past – as well as the fair displays of local “traditional villages” – fostered a parallel type of attitude, a kind of internal Orientalism directed toward the dwindling rural population?

Although the situation is profoundly altered by the absence of colonial violence, this suggestion is not outlandish. As defined by Edward Said, one of the key features of

¹⁸⁰ Kuntz, *Das Museum als Volksbildungsstätte*, 51-56. Socialist and communist politics were more common – though hotly contested – in the nature conservation movement, with organizations such as the *Wandervogel* organizing trips to the countryside for working-class city dwellers. On this phenomenon in the Rhineland, see Lekan, *Imagining the Nation in Nature*, and “A ‘Noble Prospect’: Tourism, Heimat, and Conservation on the Rhine, 1880-1914,” *The Journal of Modern History* 81, no. 4 (December 2009): 825-858. Celia Applegate discusses the social democratic elements of Heimat in the Palatine: see Applegate, *A National of Provincials*, 77 and 106-107.

¹⁸¹ Mitchell, “Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order,” 309.

Orientalism is that it freezes the “Orient” in the “timeless eternal” of the past.¹⁸² The non-European present is compared to the European past, for neither “being modern [nor being] European... has true meaning without being related to an earlier alien culture and time.”¹⁸³ The spatial distance of colonialism becomes the temporal distance of “progress,” while at the same time philology allows “time [to be] transformed into the space of comparative classification.”¹⁸⁴ The museification of a domestic culture can do the same thing: by freezing the lower classes in a glorified past, it removes the motivation to take action in the present.

This museification also sublimated political power, both that held by the elite and that held by the working class, into a “culture” that produced a uniquely German “soul.” This culture and soul are vague enough to serve shifting political goals: as David Lowenthal puts it, “Relics render the past more compelling but not necessarily better understood. They bring ‘a sense of the past’ rather than *the* sense of the past.”¹⁸⁵ The vagueness of objects’ political associations, and their sublimation into culture and soul, can also hide their political nature altogether. As Herbert Marcuse has written, “That soul is of the essence makes a good slogan when only power is of the essence.”¹⁸⁶

At the same time, many of these museums were allied to the “belated” German colonial project. As Andreas Kuntz has written, “the interior consolidation of the nation undertaken by Heimat ideology is a result of and prerequisite for a claim to expansion...”.¹⁸⁷ Separate from ethnological and colonial museums such as the Museum for Natural, Folkloric and Trade Research in Bremen, which was meant to “function as a scientific aid to colonial

¹⁸² Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 72.

¹⁸³ Said, *Orientalism*, 132.

¹⁸⁴ Said, *Orientalism*, 143.

¹⁸⁵ Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country Revisited*, 394.

¹⁸⁶ Herbert Marcuse, “Affirmative Character of Culture, trans. Jeremy J. Shapiro, in Marcuse, *Negations: Essays in Critical Theory* (London: Mayfly Books, 2009), 84.

¹⁸⁷ Kuntz, *Das Museum als Volksbildungsstätte*, 39.

repression and as a transmitter of information for evading conflicts,” the museums of German history and heritage discussed here fostered a love of the modern fatherland while othering rural communities in the same way that imperialist ideologies othered subjugated non-European peoples.¹⁸⁸ They frequently and easily spilled over into a justification of colonialism by positing the oppressor’s inherent racial superiority.

However, such views were far from limited to conservative institutions like Heimat-oriented museums. Werner Oechslin has emphasized the liberal Deutscher Werkbund’s alignment with an economic and political expansionism, particularly through the decisive influence of Friedrich Naumann. Naumann, a politician and Protestant pastor, laid out his philosophy of liberal national socialism in the *National Social Catechism* [*National-sozialer Katechismus*] of 1897: “The expansion of German influence around the globe is impossible without a national sense [*Nationalsinn*] of the masses, and the expansion of the influence of these masses in the populace is impossible without the further development of German power on the world market.”¹⁸⁹ Naumann thus united nationalism, populism, and free-market

¹⁸⁸ This attitude was also related to the “interior colonization” movement in turn-of-the-century Germany. Inner colonization was a broad term that created “a continuity from colony, settlement, garden city, and ‘*Lebensraum* in the East.’” Anna Danilina, “Die moralische Ökonomie der ‘inneren Kolonie’: Genossenschaft, Reform und Rasse in der deutschen Siedlerbewegung (1893-1926),” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, special issue 26 (2019): 105. Supporters of interior colonization advocated political viewpoints from anarchist to conservative and from Zionist to antisemitic. This phenomenon advocated expansion, both into territories outside of Germany’s political borders – a program the Nazi party would push to its logical consequences in the 1930s – and into previously unsettled land like moors. But although many members of the interior colonization movement shared the nationalistic, imperial, and racist beliefs of some museum advocates, others included Zionists and anarchists. Moreover, the interior colonization movement engaged with the challenges of rural life in a way conspicuously absent from museums. See Elizabeth B. Jones, “The Rural ‘Social Ladder’: Internal Colonization, Germanization and Civilizing Missions in the German Empire,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 40, no. 4 (October-December 2014): 457-492. See also Annie E. Coombes’ related point about folk museums in the United Kingdom that “Paradoxically, the same rhetoric of extinction and preservation, once applied by academic anthropologists to specifically colonized races as a means of validating colonial expansion, was now systematically applied to certain communities within the British Isles.” Coombes, “Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities,” in *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*, ed. Preziosi and Farago, 292.

¹⁸⁹ Friedrich Naumann, *National-sozialer Katechismus. Erklärung der Grundlinien des National-Sozialen Vereins* (Berlin: Buchverlag der “Zeit,” 1897), 5. Cited in Oechslin, *Werkbundzeit*, 109.

capitalism. Moreover, his aim was to align the will of the people with a vague “national sense” that would align with the economic imperative of the bourgeoisie. Rather than address the living and working conditions of the working class, they were instead instrumentalized into a populist nationalism. Naumann’s political liberalism, here, ends in the same kind of perspective as the conservative Heimat museums. Naumann’s thinking was echoed nearly verbatim by Werkbund cofounder Fritz Schumacher when he wrote that the “ennoblement of work” would “ennoble the whole interior life of a nation” and “make it victorious in the exterior competition of the peoples.”¹⁹⁰ Here, from a contemporary architect, we find almost the same type of rhetoric and aims as those employed by conservative advocates of local, regional, and national museums in *Die Denkmalpflege*. Internal national unity was essential for international colonial expansion and competitive advantage.

Local museums and historic preservation, then, were not exceptional in their political outlook. But they underline that visual and material culture can be a powerful creator of shared identity. The museums described in *Die Denkmalpflege* depicted a rural past but stripped it of its histories of labor and power. They thus made the contemporary demands of the working class appear unreasonable and misguided. The task of cultural elites was not to address the political demands of the working and middle classes but rather to inculcate a love of local tradition and, by extension, the past of the fatherland. This approach would divert popular energies from social democracy and communism – which threatened the status quo – and toward patriotism and appreciation of tradition – which buttressed it. Later, this backward-looking cultural politics would be folded into the Nazi party’s reactionary and racially “pure” vision of Germany. Although museums were not a focus of investment in the

¹⁹⁰ Fritz Schumacher, “Die Wiedereroberung harmonischer Kultur,” *Der Kunstwart* XXI, no. 8 (January 1908): 138. Cited in Oechslin, *Werkbundzeit*, 75.

Third Reich, fascist cultural politicians turned the idealization of rural medieval German society practiced by the museums published in *Die Denkmalflege* into a visual and material blueprint for Germany – one that would simultaneously justify and hide Nazi Germany's ruthless and profoundly modern techno-industrial pursuit of genocide and all-out war.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Balfour, Henry. "Presidential Address to the Museums Association, Maidstone Meeting, 1909." In *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*, ed. Bettina Messias Carbonell, 252-259. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004.
- Bösch, Hans. "Zur Jubelfeier des Germanischen Museums in Nürnberg." *Die Denkmalpflege* 3, no. 8 (June 18, 1902): 57-60.
- Bösch, Hans. *Kinderleben in der deutschen Vergangenheit*. Leipzig: Eugen Diederichs, 1900.
- "Bücherschau." *Die Denkmalpflege* 5, no. 6 (April 29, 1903): 48.
- "Das Bauernhaus im Deutschen Reiche und in seinen Grenzgebieten," in "Vermischtes." *Die Denkmalpflege* 8, no. 12 (September 19, 1906): 95.
- "Das Freiluftmuseum in Hadersleben." *Die Denkmalpflege* 18, no. 3 (March 1, 1916): 17-19 and *Die Denkmalpflege* 18, no. 4 (March 15, 1916): 30-32.
- "Das westpreußische Provinzialmuseum 1880 bis 1905," in "Bücherschau." *Die Denkmalpflege* 7, no. 16 (December 13, 1905): 132.
- Dehio, Georg. *Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege im neunzehnten Jahrhundert: Rede zur Feier des Geburtstages Sr. Majestät des Kaisers gehalten in der Aula der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität am 27. Jan. 1905*. Strasbourg: J. H. Ed. Heitz (Heitz & Mündel), 1905. <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/dehio1905/0003/image.info.thumbs>
- Dethlefsen, Richard. "Ein ostpreußisches Heimatmuseum in Königsberg." *Die Denkmalpflege* 13, no. 12-13 (September 13, 1911): 101-104.
- "Die Gründung eines Museum für deutsches Volkstum," in "Vermischtes," *Die Denkmalpflege* 17, no. 3 (March 3, 1915): 24.
- Eicke. "Das niedersächsische Baumuseum in Hannover," in "Vermischtes." *Die Denkmalpflege* 22, no. 1 (January 14, 1920): 7.
- Hoßfeld, Oskar, and Otto Sarrazin. "Zur Einführung." *Die Denkmalpflege* 1, no. 1 (January 4, 1899): 1-2.
- Jüsgen. "Tag für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz in Stuttgart, am 27. bis 30. September." *Die Denkmalpflege* 24, no. 10 (November 1, 1922): 76-81.
- Kohte, Julius. "Die Kunstdenkmäler in Polen." *Die Denkmalpflege* 18, no. 2 (February 9, 1916): 9-12.
- Kohte, Julius. "Hugo Conwentz." *Die Denkmalpflege* 24, no. 7 (July 19, 1922): 55.
- Meyer. "Das Osthofentor in Soest als Kriegsmuseum." *Die Denkmalpflege* 19, no. 2 (February 7, 1917): 12-13.
- Mielke, Robert. "Die örtlichen Museen und die Denkmalpflege." *Die Denkmalpflege* 1, no. 3 (February 22, 1899): 26-27.
- Mielke, Robert. "Das Allgäuer Bezirksmuseum in Kaufbeuren." *Die Denkmalpflege* 4, no. 12 (September 17, 1902): 98-99.
- Mühlke, Konrad. "Schleswig-Holsteinische Bauernhausmuseen." *Die Denkmalpflege* 4, no. 7 (May 28, 1902): 53-55, and *Die Denkmalpflege* 4, no. 8 (June 18, 1902): 60-62.
- Mühlke, Konrad. "Ein Museum niedersächsischer Volkskunst in Bremen," in "Vermischtes." *Die Denkmalpflege* 9, no. 6 (May 1, 1907): 47.
- "Neubauten am Burgtor und an der Stadtmauer in Lübeck." *Die Denkmalpflege* 7, no. 9 (July 12, 1905): 70-71.
- Polenz. "Zur Lage des Denkmalschutzes in Preußen: Eine Stadtmauergeschichte." *Die Denkmalpflege* 4, no. 5 (April 16, 1902): 33-36, *Die Denkmalpflege* 4, no. 9 (July 16, 1902): 66-69, and *Die Denkmalpflege* 5, no. 3 (February 25, 1903): 17-19.

- Reimers, Heino. "Die Museen und die Denkmalpflege in der Provinz Hannover," *Die Denkmalpflege* 1, no. 1 (4 January 1899): 9-10.
- Rudorff, Ernst. "Über das Verhältnis des modernen Lebens zur Natur." *Preußische Jahrbücher* 45 (1880): 261-276.
- Rudorff, Ernst. *Heimatschutz*. Bonn: Deutscher Heimatbund Bonn, 1897.
- Sasse, Alfred. "Das Vaterländische Museum in Celle." *Die Denkmalpflege* 9, no. 8 (June 19, 1907): 60-63.
- Sch. "Das Bauernhaus im Deutschen Reich und in seinen Grenzgebieten," in "Bücherschau." *Die Denkmalpflege* 3, no. 5 (March 20, 1901): 32.
- Sch. "Oskar Hoßfeld †" In "Vermischtes," *Die Denkmalpflege* 17, no. 14 (November 17, 1915): 112.
- Tornow, Paul. "Grundregeln und Grundsätze beim Wiederherstellen von Baudenkmalern." *Die Denkmalpflege* 2, no. 15 (December 5, 1900): 113-116.
- Tornow, Paul. "Paul Clemen." *Die Denkmalpflege* 8, no. 8 (June 20, 1906): 63-64.
- U-s. "Der zwölfte Tag für Denkmalpflege in Salzburg." *Die Denkmalpflege* 13, no. 14 (October 18, 1911): 106-110.
- "Vermischtes." *Die Denkmalpflege* 7, no. 6 (May 3, 1905): 48.
- Viollet-le-Duc, Eugène-Emmanuel. "Restauration." In Barry Bergdoll, ed. *The Foundation of Architecture: Selections from the Dictionnaire Raisoné*. Translated by Kenneth D. Whitehead. New York: G. Braziller, 1990.
- Von Behr, Anton. "Denkmalpflege in alter Zeit." *Die Denkmalpflege* 8, no. 4 (March 14, 1906): 30-31.
- Von Behr, Anton. "Der Siebente Tag für Denkmalpflege in Braunschweig." *Die Denkmalpflege* 8, no. 13 (October 17, 1906): 100-103.
- .. "Die zweite gemeinsame Tagung für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz in Dresden." *Die Denkmalpflege* 15, no. 13 (October 15, 1913): 97-101.
- .. "Die Kriegstagung für Denkmalpflege in Brüssel." *Die Denkmalpflege* 18, no. 2 (February 9, 1916): 12-15.
- .. "Tag für Denkmalpflege in Augsburg." *Die Denkmalpflege* 19, no. 13-14 (24 October 1917): 101-103.
- Von Bezold, Gustav. "Das Museum Thüringer Alterthümer in Eisenach." *Die Denkmalpflege* 1, no. 10 (August 9, 1899): 77-78.
- "Von dem Bauernhauswerke," in "Vermischtes." *Die Denkmalpflege* 6, no. 7 (June 1, 1904): 59-60.
- Von Essenwein, August. "Vorwort." In *Katalog der im germanischen Museum vorhandenen zum Abdrucke bestimmten geschnittenen Holzstöcke vom XV.-XVIII. Jahrhunderte* (Nuremberg: Verlag des germanischen Museums, 1892).
- Vorländer, Otto. "Das Museum in Hameln." *Die Denkmalpflege* 21, no. 5 (April 23, 1919): 33-36.
- Voß, Magnus. "Vorschlag für die weitere Ausgestaltung des Museums für deutsche Volkstrachten in Berlin." *Die Denkmalpflege* 5, no. 11 (August 24, 1904): 91-92.
- Wolff, Georg. "Denkmalpflege und Kleinfunde." *Die Denkmalpflege* 1, no. 5 (April 12, 1899): 39-40.
- "Zur Gründung von Museen für Natur- und Heimatkunde sowie für Technik," in "Vermischtes." *Die Denkmalpflege* 14, no. 15 (November 20, 1912): 118.
- Wolff, W. "Denkmalpflege und Krieg." *Die Denkmalpflege* 16, no. 14 (December 2, 1914): 116-117.
- Zimmermann, Hermann. "Oskar Sarrazin †" *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 41, no. 53 (July 2, 1921): 329-30.

Secondary Sources

- Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition. New York: Verso, 2006.

- Applegate, Celia. *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Belgum, Kirsten. *Popularizing the Nation: Audience, Representation, and the Production of Identity in Die Gartenlaube, 1853-1900*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1996.
- Bann, Stephen. "Poetics of the Museum: Lenoir and Du Sommerard." In *Grasping the World: the Idea of the Museum*, edited by Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago, 65-83. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.
- Benjamin, Walter. "A Communist Pedagogy." Translated by Rodney Livingstone. In Benjamin, *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, Volume 2, Part 1, edited by Michael W. Jennings, 273-275. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2005), 274.
- Bennett, Tony. *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Blackbourn, David. *The Conquest of Nature: Water, Landscape, and the Making of Modern Germany*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006.
- "Bomann-Museum." *Celle im Nationalsozialismus*. Accessed November 2, 2022. <http://www.celle-im-ns.de/stationen/stadtrundgang/bomann-museum>.
- Bourke, Richard. "What is conservatism? History, ideology and party." *European Journal of Political Thought* 17, no. 4 (2018): 449-475.
- Carbonell, Bettina Messias, ed. *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004.
- Casciato, Maristella. "The Historicity of Modern Heritage." *e-flux Architecture*, December 2017. <https://www.e-flux.com/architecture/history-theory/162451/the-historicity-of-modern-heritage/>
- Choay, Françoise. *The Invention of the Historic Monument*. Translated by Lauren O'Connell. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Coombes, Annie E. "Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities." In *Grasping the World: the Idea of the Museum*, edited by Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago, 278-297. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.
- Crane, Susan A., ed. *Museums and Memory*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Crane, Susan A. "Introduction: Of Museums and Memory." In *Museums and Memory*, edited by Crane, 1-16. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Crane, Susan A. "Curious Cabinets and Imaginary Museums." In *Museums and Memory*, edited by Crane, 60-80. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Danilina, Anna. "Die moralische Ökonomie der 'inneren Kolonie': Genossenschaft, Reform und Rasse in der deutschen Siedlerbewegung (1893-1926)." *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, special issue 26 (2019): 103-132.
- Denslagen, Wim F. *Architectural Restoration in Western Europe: Controversy and Continuity*. Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura Press, 1994.
- Déotte, Jean-Louis. "Rome, the Archetypal Museum, and the Louvre, the Negation of Division." In *Grasping the World: the Idea of the Museum*, edited by Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago, 51-64. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.
- Duncan, Carol. *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Falser, Michael. *Zwischen Identität und Authentizität. Zur politischen Geschichte der Denkmalpflege in Deutschland*. Dresden: Thelem Universitätsverlag & Buchhandel, 2008.
- Foucault, Michel. "Texts/Contexts: Of Other Spaces." Translated by Jay Miskowiec. In *Grasping the World: the Idea of the Museum*, edited by Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago, 371-379. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.
- Fukuyama, Francis. "The End of History?" *The National Interest* 16 (Summer 1989): 3-18.
- Greene, Christopher. "Alexandre Lenoir and the Musée des monuments français during the French Revolution." *French Historical Studies* 12, no. 2 (Autumn 1981): 200-222.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. *La Mémoire Collective*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950.
- Harrison, Rodney. *Heritage: Critical Approaches*. New York: Routledge, 2012.

- Hobsbawm, Eric. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 1-14. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914." In *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 263-307. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Hoffmann-Axthelm, Dieter. "Plädoyer für die Abschaffung der Denkmalpflege." *ARCH+: Zeitschrift für Architektur und Urbanismus* 54 (1980): 44-50.
- Huse, Norbert, editor. *Denkmalpflege: Deutsche Texte aus drei Jahrhunderten*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1984.
- James-Chakraborty, Kathleen. *German Architecture for a Mass Audience*. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Joachimides, Alexis. "The Museum's Discourse on Art: The Formation of Curatorial Art History in Turn-of-the-Century Berlin." In *Museums and Memory*, edited by Susan A. Crane, 200-220. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Jones, Elizabeth B. "The Rural 'Social Ladder': Internal Colonization, Germanization and Civilizing Missions in the German Empire." *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 40, no. 4 (October-December 2014): 457-492.
- Kamp, Michael. "Mythos Niedersachsenhaus – Eine Spurensuche." *Der Holznagel. Zeitschrift der Interessengemeinschaft Bauernhaus* 6 (2019): 26-35.
https://igbauernhaus.de/fileadmin/pdf/aktuelles/Kamp_Niedersachsenhaus.pdf
- Karmon, David. *The Ruin of the Eternal City: Antiquity and Preservation in Renaissance Rome*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Kaufman, Edward N. "The Architectural Museum from World's Fair to Restoration Village." In *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*, edited by Bettina Messias Carbonell, 273-289. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004.
- Koshar, Rudy. *Germany's Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
- Kuntz, Andreas. *Das Museum als Volksbildungsstätte: Museumskonzeptionen in der deutschen Volksbildungsbewegung (1871-1918)*. Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 1980.
- Lekan, Thomas. *Imagining the Nation in Nature: Landscape Preservation and German Identity, 1885-1945*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- , "A 'Noble Prospect': Tourism, Heimat, and Conservation on the Rhine, 1880-1914." *The Journal of Modern History* 81, no. 4 (December 2009): 824-858.
- Lionnet, Françoise. "The Mirror and the Tomb: Africa, Museums, and Memory." In *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*, edited by Bettina Messias Carbonell, 92-103. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004.
- Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country Revisited*, 2nd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Marchand, Suzanne. "The Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns in the German Museums." In *Museums and Memory*, edited by Susan A. Crane, 179-199. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Marcuse, Herbert. "Affirmative Character of Culture." Translated by Jeremy J. Shapiro. In *Marcuse, Negations: Essays in Critical Theory*, 65-99. London: Mayfly Books, 2009.
- McIsaac, Peter. *Museums of the Mind: German Modernity and the Dynamics of Collecting*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007.
- Mitchell, Timothy. "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order." In *Colonialism and Culture*, edited by Nicholas Dirks, 289-317. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1992.
- Miller-Lane, Barbara. *Architecture and politics in Germany, 1918-1945*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985.

- Mölder, Andreas. "August Niemann (1761-1832): A pioneer of nature and landscape conservation in Schleswig-Holstein." *Natur und Landschaft: Zeitschrift für Naturschutz und Landschaftspflege* 91, no. 3 (2016): 126-131.
- Nerdinger, Winfried, Eisen, Markus, and Strobl, Hilde, eds. *Geschichte der Rekonstruktion, Konstruktion der Geschichte: [Publikation zur Ausstellung des Architekturmuseum der TU München, in der Pinakothek der Moderne, 22. Juli bis 31. Oktober 2010]*. Munich: Prestel, 2010.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich. "Vom Nutzen und Nachtheil der Historie für das Leben." In Nietzsche, *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen*, vol. 1, 99-206. Leipzig: C. G. Naumann, 1893.
- Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*." Translated by Marc Roudebush. *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 7-24.
- Nothnagle, Alan. "From Buchenwald to Bismarck: Historical Myth-Building in the German Democratic Republic, 1945-1989." *Central European History* 26.1 (1993): 91-113.
- Oechslin, Werner. *Werkbundzeit: Kunst, Politik und Kommerz im Wiederstreit*. Munich: Hanser, 2021.
- Preziosi, Donald. "Brain of the Earth's Body: Museums and the Framing of Modernity." In *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*, edited by Bettina Messias Carbonell, 71-84. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004.
- Preziosi, Donald, and Claire Farago, eds. *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.
- Roth, Martin. *Heimatmuseum: Zur Geschichte einer deutschen Institution*. Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1990.
- Smith, Laurajane. *Uses of Heritage*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.
- . *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1993.
- Speitkamp, Winfried. *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte. Denkmalpflege und Staat in Deutschland 1871-1933*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996.
- White, Hayden. "The Fictions of Factual Representation." In *Grasping the World: the Idea of the Museum*, edited by Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago, 22-35. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.

IMAGES

https://digizeitschriften.de/id/523137273_0019%7Clog11?tify=%7B%22pages%22%3A%5B19%5D%2C%22pan%22%3A%7B%22x%22%3A0.539%2C%22y%22%3A0.399%7D%2C%22view%22%3A%22info%22%2C%22zoom%22%3A0.586%7D&origin=%2Fsearch%3Fq%3D%2522osthofentor%2520in%2520soest%2522

Fig. 1. The Osthofentor in Soest. From *Die Denkmalpflege* 19, no. 2 (February 7, 1917): 13.

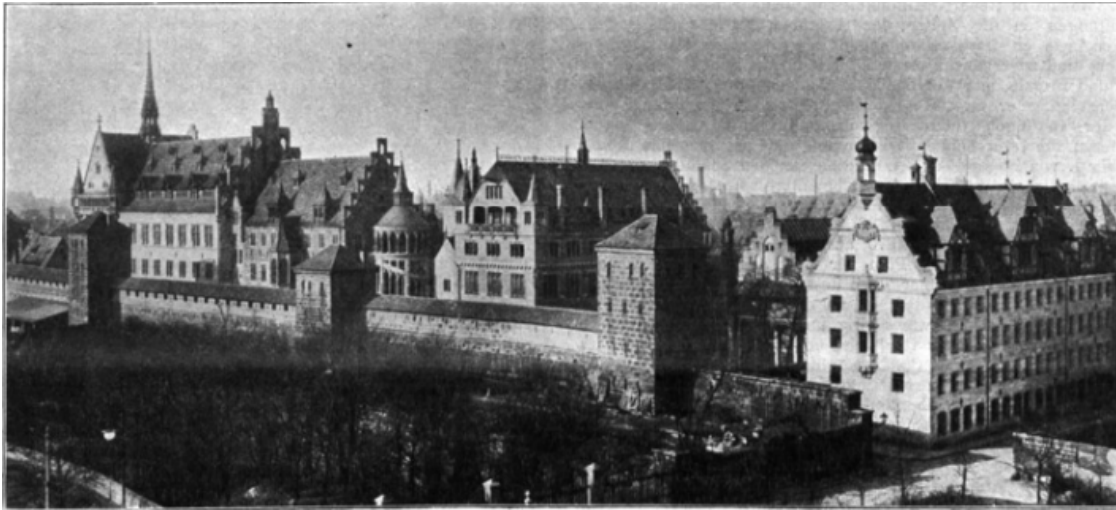


Fig. 2. Germanic Museum, Nuremberg. From *Die Denkmalpflege* 3, no. 8 (June 18, 1902): 57. Also published in *Weltrundschau zu Reclams Universum*, 1902.

https://digizeitschriften.de/id/523137273_0004%7Clog45?tify=%7B%22pages%22%3A%5B66%5D%2C%22view%22%3A%22info%22%7D&origin=%2Fsearch%3Fq%3D%2522zur%2520jubelfeier%2520des%2520germanischen%2520museums%2520in%2520n%25C3%25BCrnberg%2522

Fig. 3. The growth of the Germanic Museum from 1862 to 1902. From *Die Denkmalpflege* 3, no. 8 (June 18, 1902): 58.

https://digizeitschriften.de/id/523137273_0004%7Clog45?tify=%7B%22pages%22%3A%5B67%5D%2C%22view%22%3A%22info%22%7D&origin=%2Fsearch%3Fq%3D%2522zur%2520jubelfeier%2520des%2520germanischen%2520museums%2520in%2520n%25C3%25BCrnberg%2522

Fig. 4. The Great Cloister Garden at the Germanic Museum. From *Die Denkmalpflege* 3, no. 8 (June 18, 1902): 59.

https://digizeitschriften.de/id/523137273_0004%7Clog1?tify=%7B%22pages%22%3A%5B61%5D%2C%22view%22%3A%22toc%22%7D&origin=%2Fsearch%3Ffilter%255BZeitschriften%255D%255B1%255D%3D523137273%257CLOG_0000%26filter%255BObjektyp%255D%255B1%255D%3Dvolume%26q%3D%252A

Fig. 5. “Bunsoher Pesel,” a parlor, from the Museum of Dithmarsisch Antiquities in Meldorf, Lower Saxony. *Die Denkmalpflege* 3, no. 7 (May 28, 1902): 53, “Abb. 1. Bunsoher Pesel. Aus dem Museum dithmarsischer Alterthümer in Meldorf.”

https://digizeitschriften.de/id/523137273_0004%7Clog1?tify=%7B%22pages%22%3A%5B62%5D%2C%22view%22%3A%22toc%22%7D&origin=%2Fsearch%3Ffilter%255BZeitschriften%255D%255B1%255D%3D523137273%257CLOG_0000%26filter%255BObjektyp%255D%255B1%255D%3Dvolume%26q%3D%252A

Fig. 6. The “Heldtsche House,” which the city of Husum had bought and rebuilt in a park, in its former location in Ostenfeldt. *Die Denkmalpflege* 3, no. 7 (May 28, 1902): 54, “Abb. 3. Heldtsches Haus, einst in Ostenfeldt,” and “Abb. 4. Heldtsches Haus. Diele.”

https://digizeitschriften.de/id/523137273_0004%7Clog1?tify=%7B%22pages%22%3A%5B69%5D%2C%22view%22%3A%22toc%22%7D&origin=%2Fsearch%3Ffilter%255BZeitschriften%255D%255B1%255D%3D523137273%257CLOG_0000%26filter%255BObjektyp%255D%255B1%255D%3Dvolume%26q%3D%252A

Fig. 7. The Provost’s Parlor in the Altonaer Museum in Hamburg. *Die Denkmalpflege* 3, no. 8 (June 18, 1902): 61, “Abb. 6. Propsteier Stube, jetzt im Altonaer Museum.”

https://digizeitschriften.de/id/523137273_0013%7Clog1?tify=%7B%22pages%22%3A%5B109%5D%2C%22pan%22%3A%7B%22x%22%3A0.42%2C%22y%22%3A1.056%7D%2C%22view%22%3A%22toc%22%2C%22zoom%22%3A1.112%7D&origin=%2Fsearch%3Ffilter%255BZeitschriften%255D%255B1%255D%3D523137273%257CLOG_0000%26filter%255BObjektyp%255D%255B1%255D%3Dvolume%26q%3D%252A

Fig. 8. Layout of the East Prussian Homeland Museum. Features include a variety of farmhouses, a windmill, a moated castle, a “Grave of the Huns,” a barn, a smithy, a Viking ship, a fountain, and a number of stalls. *Die Denkmalpflege* 13, no. 12-13 (September 13, 1911): 101, “Abb. 1. Lageplan.”

https://digizeitschriften.de/id/523137273_0013%7Clog1?tify=%7B%22pages%22%3A%5B109%5D%2C%22pan%22%3A%7B%22x%22%3A0.42%2C%22y%22%3A1.056%7D%2C%22view%22%3A%22toc%22%2C%22zoom%22%3A1.112%7D&origin=%2Fsearch%3Ffilter%255BZeitschriften%255D%255B1%255D%3D523137273%257CLOG_0000%26filter%255BObjektyp%255D%255B1%255D%3Dvolume%26q%3D%252A

Fig. 9. Masurian-Warmian House, East Prussian Homeland Museum. *Die Denkmalpflege* 13, no. 12-13 (September 13, 1911): 101, “Abb. 4. Oberländisch-ermländisches Vorlaubenhäus.”

https://digizeitschriften.de/id/523137273_0013%7Clog1?tify=%7B%22pages%22%3A%5B111%5D%2C%22pan%22%3A%7B%22x%22%3A0.533%2C%22y%22%3A1.187%7D%2C%22view%22%3A%22toc%22%2C%22zoom%22%3A1.112%7D&origin=%2Fsearch%3Ffilter%255BZeitschriften%255D%255B1%255D%3D523137273%257CLOG_0000%26filter%255BObjektyp%255D%255B1%255D%3Dvolume%26q%3D%252A

Fig. 10. “Lithuanian farmstead,” East Prussian Outdoor Museum. *Die Denkmalpflege* 13, no. 12-13 (September 13, 1911): 103, “Abb. 19. Blick in das litauische Bauerngehöft.”

https://digizeitschriften.de/id/523137273_0009%7Clog106?tify=%7B%22pages%22%3A%5B69%5D%2C%22pan%22%3A%7B%22x%22%3A0.484%2C%22y%22%3A0.896%7D%2C%22view%22%3A%22info%22%2C%22zoom%22%3A0.677%7D&origin=%2Fsearch%3Fq%3D%2522das%2520vaterl%25C3%25A4ndische%2520museum%2520in%2520celle%2522

Fig. 11. Museum of the Fatherland, Celle, built 1903-1907. Alfred Sasse, architect. *Die Denkmalpflege* 9, no. 8 (June 19, 1907): 61, Abb. 1.

https://digizeitschriften.de/id/523137273_0009%7Clog106?tify=%7B%22pages%22%3A%5B69%5D%2C%22pan%22%3A%7B%22x%22%3A0.484%2C%22y%22%3A0.896%7D%2C%22view%22%3A%22info%22%2C%22zoom%22%3A0.677%7D&origin=%2Fsearch%3Fq%3D%2522das%2520vaterl%25C3%25A4ndische%2520museum%2520in%2520celle%2522

Fig. 12. Museum of the Fatherland, Celle, Interior of the Farmhouse. *Die Denkmalpflege* 9, no. 8 (June 19, 1907): 61, Abb. 2.

https://digizeitschriften.de/id/523137273_0009%7Clog106?tify=%7B%22pages%22%3A%5B70%5D%2C%22pan%22%3A%7B%22x%22%3A0.484%2C%22y%22%3A0.485%7D%2C%22view%22%3A%22info%22%2C%22zoom%22%3A0.677%7D&origin=%2Fsearch%3Fq%3D%2522das%2520vaterl%25C3%25A4ndische%2520museum%2520in%2520celle%2522

Fig. 13. Museum of the Fatherland, Celle. Vierlande Parlor (from the Hamburg district of Kirchwerder). *Die Denkmalpflege* 9, no. 8 (June 19, 1907): 62, Abb. 4.

https://digizeitschriften.de/id/523137273_0009%7Clog106?tify=%7B%22pages%22%3A%5B71%5D%2C%22pan%22%3A%7B%22x%22%3A0.484%2C%22y%22%3A0.485%7D%2C%22view%22%3A%22info%22%2C%22zoom%22%3A0.677%7D&origin=%2Fsearch%3Fq%3D%2522das%2520vaterl%25C3%25A4ndische%2520museum%2520in%2520celle%2522

Fig. 14. Museum of the Fatherland, Celle. Shield Window of the Hall of Honor. Note the military uniforms under the heraldic shields. *Die Denkmalpflege* 9, no. 8 (June 19, 1907): 63, Abb. 10.