

# Eternal memory the Galician way: The War Graves Department in Kraków (1915–1918)

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## THE GENESIS AND GALICIAN CONTEXT OF AUSTRIA'S WAR GRAVES

The treatment of the fallen has always influenced the morale of both the army and the civilian population. According to tradition, the burial of soldiers is the preserve of the army. From August 1914 until 18 March 1915, when the Austro-Hungarian Communications Zone High Command (*Etappeoberkommando*) issued an order regulating issues pertaining to war graves throughout the entire Imperial and Royal monarchy, Battlefield Ordering Units (*Schlachtfelder-Aufräumungs-Abteilungen*) were already in operation in conjunction with the Communications Zone Commands of individual armies.<sup>1</sup> The laying out of separate military cemeteries was treated at that time as a last resort, as there was a preference for carrying out burials near religious sites, in separate quarters of existing cemeteries. However, the vast number of fatalities that Emperor Franz Joseph's soldiers suffered in the ensuing stages of the Great War made it essential for the war graves to be coordinated by the central administration. On 3 December 1915, the Presidium of the Ministry of War, headed by Minister and Colonel-General of the Army (*Generaloberst*) Alexander von Krobotin, established the 9th War Graves Department of the Ministry of War (*IX Kriegsgräber-Abteilung des Kriegsministeriums*, KGA KM) in Vienna. Its task was to organise burials and take care of soldiers' graves in all locations where Austro-Hungarian forces were engaged in combat. Owing to the military cooperation of the Central Powers, which was enhanced in the preparations that preceded the breaking of the front in May 1915, the German War Graves Department (*Deutsche Kriegsgräber-Abteilung*) was affiliated with it, and in 1919 this was transformed into the German War Graves Commission (*Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge*), which is still active today.

The launch of the KGA KM was accompanied by the publication of 'Instructions for the Establishment and Maintenance of War Cemeteries' (*Weisungen für Errichtung und Erhaltung der Kriegergrabstätten*). This document defined the scope of the department's activities, from its functioning principles, through its procedures concerning the burial of soldiers (encompassing its own, those of coalition forces, and enemy troops), the registration of them and the recording of losses, to the detailed division of tasks between military and civil authorities at various levels in relation to the above-mentioned matters.<sup>2</sup>

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See Oktawian Duda, *Cmentarze I Wojny Światowej w Galicji Zachodniej*, Warsaw 1995, p. 31.

2

See Jan Schubert, 'Organizacja grobownictwa wojennego w Monarchii Austro-Węgierskiej. Dziewiąty Wydział Grobów Wojennych (*Kriegsgräber-Abteilung*) przy Ministerstwie Wojny – powstanie i działalność w latach 1915–1918', *Czasopismo Techniczne. Architektura* 3-A/2009, no. 13, pp. 169–200.

3

See Jan Schubert, 'Cmentarze wojenne Twierdzy Kraków z lat 1914–1918 i ich autor, rzeźbiarz Karl Korschmann', *Państwo i Społeczeństwo* 2018, no. 2, pp. 171–206, especially pp. 172–173. From the outbreak of war, soldiers' burials in Kraków and on the outskirts of the fortress were within the remit of the Fortress Command, and were carried out by the *Kriegsgräber-Abteilung Festung Krakau*. However, projects were so delayed that ultimately they had to be completed by the KGA, which was created towards the end of 1915 and was subject to the I Corps Command.

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Each inspectorate included a staff officer or captain, and in cases that involved a wider than normal scope of activity, an additional captain or NCO was appointed. See Jan Schubert, *Cmentarze żołnierskie bitwy pod Limanową i Łapanowem (2–12 grudnia 1914). Analiza form i przestrzeni*, Kraków 2020, p. 18.

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Data from J. Schubert, *Galicyskie cmentarze...*, op. cit., p. 192, 194, 196 and 197.

8

Jerzy J. P. Drogomir, *Polegli w Galicji Zachodniej 1914–1915 (1918). Wykazy poległych, zmarłych i pochowanych na 400 cmentarzach wojskowych w Galicji Zachodniej*, vols. 1–3, Tarnów 1999, 2002 and 2005. This author, in cooperation with Izabela Chlost, also prepared historical and reconstruction-related documentation for over 250 Western Galician cemeteries.

4

The author of the only publications to date on the history and results of Austrian cemetery-building in this part of Galicia is Jan Schubert. See his essay 'Służby grobownicze armii austro-węgierskiej, niemieckiej i rosyjskiej w czasie I wojny światowej (1915–1918)', *Czasopismo Techniczne. Architektura* 2011, no. 5-A, pp. 201–224 and his book *Inspekcja Grobów Żołnierskich w Przemyslu. Powstanie i działalność w Galicji Środkowej 1915–1918*, Kraków 2012.

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For Western Galicia, these data concern those who fell and were buried by 1918. From the outbreak of war until the Gorlice Offensive, 60 829 soldiers fell in battle here (according to the KGA's documentation), while from 1914–1918 an additional 7000 people were buried at the 22 cemeteries of the Kraków Fortress.

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See the selection of works by this author in the bibliography.

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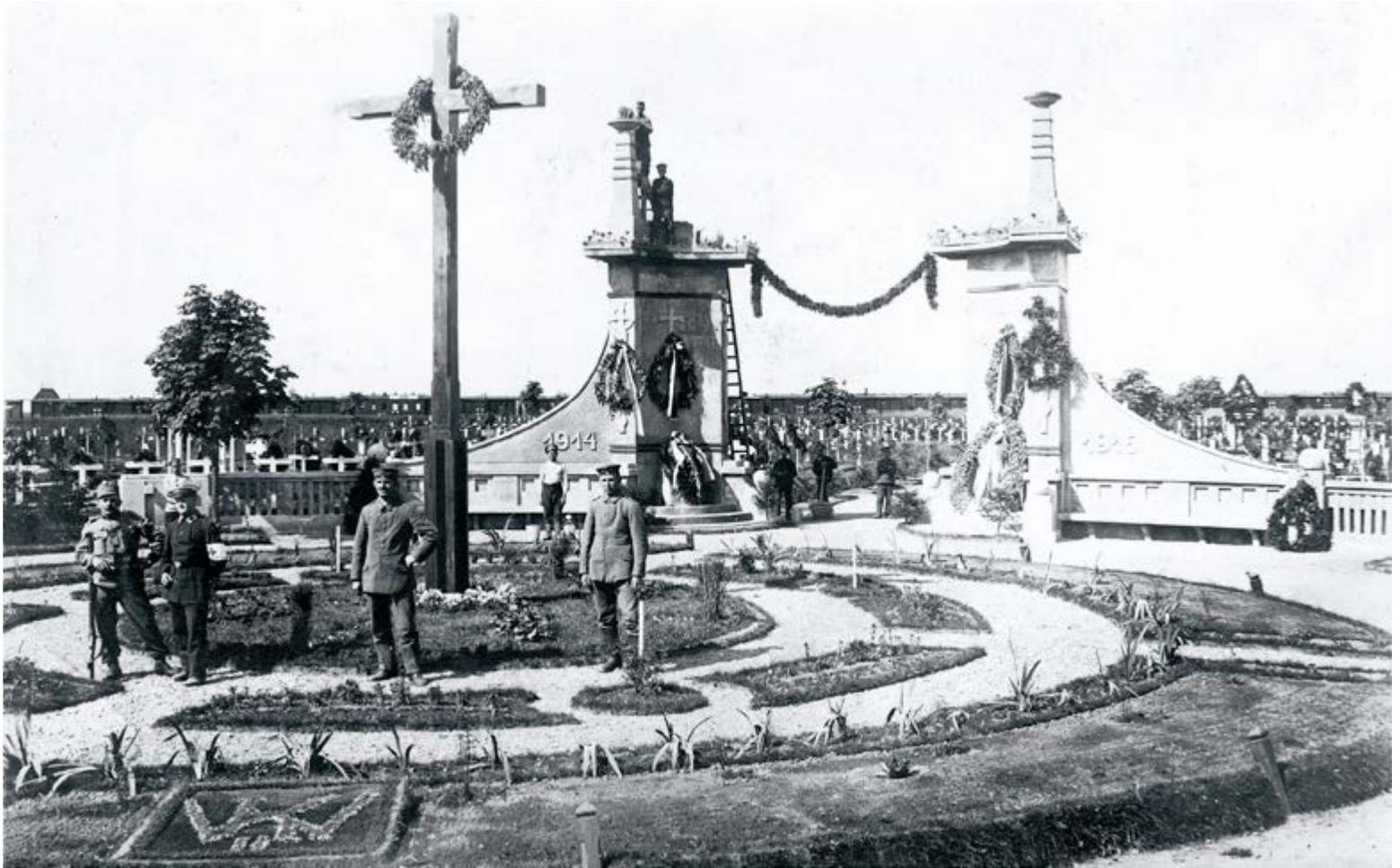
Jerzy Palosz, *Śmiercią złączeni. O cmentarzach z I wojny światowej na terenach Królestwa Polskiego administrowanych przez Austro-Węgry*, Kraków 2012; Krzysztof Orman and Piotr Orman, *Wielka Wojna na Jurze. Przebieg wydarzeń i cmentarze wojenne I wojny światowej między Krakowem a Częstochową*, Kraków 2008; and the same authors, *Wielka Wojna na Jurze. Działania i cmentarze wojenne z roku 1914 na Wyżynie Krakowsko-Wieluńskiej i terenach przyległych*, Kraków 2015.

Nine organisational units of the Viennese department led by Brigadier General (*Generalmajor*) Eduard Hentke von Hesshart were linked with the command structures of various corps, who in turn were obliged to create Inspectorates of War Graves (*Kriegsgräber Inspektionen*). Thereby, Galicia was divided into western, central, and eastern spheres, corresponding with the three corps of the region: Kraków (no. I), Przemysł (no. X) and Lemberg (no. XI). However, a new unit had already started to function in Kraków, prior to the changes initiated by the central administration. This was the Imperial and Royal 9th War Graves Department (*IX Kriegsgräber-Abteilung des K.u.K. Militärkommando Krakau*, KGA), affiliated with the I Corps Command in Kraków (*K.u.K. Korpskommando*), and until the outbreak of war, the latter had been responsible for burials of soldiers on its terrain (with the exception of the Kraków Fortress).<sup>3</sup> Western Galicia had found itself beyond the immediate theatre of war following the Central Powers' triumphant offensive launched at Gorlice from 2–5 May 1915, a clash that involved 20 German and Austrian divisions (357,400 soldiers) and 17 Russian ones (219, 000 soldiers).

The Kraków KGA, whose name may have reflected the earlier war graves structure there, officially began operating in November 1915. In the remaining parts of the crownland, which were closer to the front at that time, war graves inspectorates (*Kriegsgräberinspektionen*) were established in Przemysł (KGIP, Central Galicia), and Lemberg (KGIL, Eastern Galicia).<sup>4</sup> The Western Galician KGA and both inspectorates nevertheless had the same objectives and competencies. Amidst the trying wartime realities, they were responsible for realising the colossal undertaking of clearing battlefields, exhuming bodies from scattered graves, choosing locations for permanent war cemeteries, then designing and building them, as well as organising the maintenance of the newly created memorial sites.<sup>5</sup> The Kraków KGA was the only branch that by and large managed to complete its programme. Economic and propaganda-related factors were of great importance. There is no doubt that building such a vast complex of cemeteries was easier at that time on account of the low cost of labour (this was carried out by prisoners of war), land, and materials (besides purchases and donations there were also requisitions and expropriations). According to researcher Jan Schubert's calculations, 750, 000 crowns were spent on the Western Galician cemeteries. Construction after the war would have cost many times more — the heads of the KGA estimated about 15 million crowns.

The KGA's work was the easiest of the three branches, both in terms of ordering battlefields and carrying out exhumations, yet also in regard to availability of materials and labourers — and this was not just on account of being far from the front. The numbers of fallen on the respective terrains of the KGA, the KGIP, and the KGIL were about 70, 000, 260, 000, and 227, 000.<sup>6</sup> These disproportions were reflected in the number of graves and cemeteries. By the end of the war there were 22, 590 graves on the terrain of the KGA, 86 684 on that of the KGIP, and 129, 570 on that of the KGIL. The Western Galician KGA had initially worked at 610 locations, and it managed to design and lay out 400 permanent cemeteries by the end of hostilities. Meanwhile, sources indicate that the Przemysł unit began with 621 temporary cemeteries and laid out 65 permanent ones, and the Lemberg branch managed about 610 temporary cemeteries and built 75 permanent ones.<sup>7</sup> Jerzy Drogomir's publications cover the burials in the context of the unprecedented losses of the armies fighting in this area, chiefly based on the KGA's documentation in the National Archives in Kraków.<sup>8</sup> Exploring the Western Galician cemeteries and battlefields has been made easier by Roman Frodyma, who has written several pioneering guidebooks.<sup>9</sup> Meanwhile, the cemeteries laid out by Austria-Hungary in lands taken from Congress Poland by the Central Powers may serve as a reference point, as these areas were in fact under their rule from 1915 (even though *de jure* they were a part of the Russian Empire until 1917). The Congress Kingdom was indeed divided into occupied zones (General Military Governorates), with an Austrian one that initially had its seat in Kielce, then in Lublin (from 1 October 1915), and a German one which had its seat in Warsaw.<sup>10</sup>

On 5 June 1916, the Ministry of War in Vienna published 'Stipulations for the Construction, Maintenance, Decoration and Registration of War Cemeteries' (*Bestimmungen für die Errichtung, Erhaltung, Ausschmückung und Evidenz der Kriegergrabstätten*), thereby



Reprezentacyjny cmentarz wojenny w Stryju (*Kriegsgräber Inspektion Lemberg*). Wokół bramy-pomnika żołnierze armii niemieckiej i austro-węgierskiej. W głębi widoczny pociąg sanitarny

1915, pocztówka  
własność prywatna

The imposing war cemetery in Stryj (today Stryi, Ukraine), on terrain assigned to the *Kriegsgräber Inspektion Lemberg*. Soldiers of the German and Austro-Hungarian armies stand by the monumental gateway. A sanitary train can be seen in the background

1915, postcard  
private collection

11

Each regiment was permanently assigned to a supplementary district where the service language was German (or if necessary Hungarian or Croatian also). There were also 'regimental languages' (*Regimentsprache*) in which training was conducted. The regimental language could be one of the 10 official languages of the monarchy, and it had to be used by at least 20 percent of the soldiers in the regiment in question.

13

In 1918, the building was taken over by the Polish Army so that it could house the Corps District Command no. V.

15

In the Austro-Hungarian, German, and the earlier Prussian army, this was a person with secondary or higher education who could carry out a shorter period of military service than the ordinary citizen, but had to cover certain costs himself, e.g. food, uniform.

16

The cemetery is entered via Simmeringer Hauptstrasse, gate IV. Broch's grave (no. 005) is located in quarter 019k, row 003, where in the years 1938–1945 'non-Aryan' Christians were buried. Information according to: Israelitische Kulturgemeinde Wien. Friedhofes-Datenbank.

12

Paweł Pencakowski, 'Sztuka w hołdzie bohaterom. Austriacko-węgierskie cmentarze wojenne z lat 1914–1918 w Galicji Zachodniej', *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* 2015, no. 40, p. 130.

14

O. Duda, *Cmentarze...*, op. cit., p. 31. General Brandner took over the command of the Kraków Corps after General of the Cavalry Karl von Kirchbach. See Adam Brandner von Wolfszahn Adler, Family Tree [online], <https://gw.geneanet.org/khoss?lang=en&pz=georg+ignaz+gunter+maria&nz=khoss+sternegg&ocz=0&p=adam&n=brandner+von+wolfszahn+edler> [accessed: 18 II 2022]; Karl Freiherr von Kirchbach [online], <http://www.weltkriege.at/Generalitaet/02%20Generaloberst/Kirchbach%20Karl/kirchbachKarl.htm> [accessed: 18 II 2022].

regulating matters relating to war graves from the top down. From henceforth, the concept was implemented of fallen soldiers 'lying in rest together', regardless of state, national, ethnic, or religious affiliations, thereby alluding to Franz Joseph's motto *Viribus unitis* (With united forces). This inclusive concept, that treated all victims equally, not only Austria's own soldiers and those of its allies, but also fallen enemies, also served a practical purpose in the designs of the KGA and those of other Galician inspectorates. It is clear that their activity, besides state and religious obligations, was to be another tool of Habsburg propaganda, not only glorifying the successes of the Austro-Hungarian army, which had been distinctly problematic since 1916, but also the monarchy itself, with its progressive principles with regards to the co-existence of nations, religions, and cultures. The Imperial and Royal Army's military regulations were printed in three languages: German, Hungarian (pertaining to the formation launched in 1867, namely Honvéd: the Royal Hungarian 'Defender of the Homeland') and Croatian (VII Honvéd district H — Zagreb), yet also in an abridged version in several other languages.<sup>11</sup> The war graves units in Galicia implemented this 'union' as the empire's diversity was reflected in its members, who came from various parts of the monarchy. Nevertheless, as Paweł Pencakowski has rightly stated, 'it was also about the dignity of the soldier who became a hero by dying for the Fatherland and monarchy'.<sup>12</sup>

## THE PERSONNEL AND PHILOSOPHY OF THE KGA IN KRAKÓW

The formal head of the KGA was the commander of the *Korpskommando Krakau* (I Corps Command), based at its headquarters in the city at Stradomska Street 12/14.<sup>13</sup> From 1916 to 27 May 1918, this was Lieutenant Field Marshal (*Feldmarschallleutnant*) Adam Brandner von Wolfszahn (Wolfszahn). His successor until the end of the war was Lieutenant General (*Feldzeugmeister*) Siegmund von Benigni in Müldenbergl.<sup>14</sup> The chief of the KGA was Captain Rudolf Broch (promoted to major on 1 November 1916). He was assisted by Captain Hans Hauptmann and Captain Ludwig Brixel, as planning officers.

Rudolf Broch was born in 1871 in the Moravian city of Prossnitz (Prostějov). His family were Jewish merchants and he graduated from Vienna's College of Technology (*Technische Hochschule*), and he also attended lectures at the city's Academy of Fine Arts as an unenrolled student. He began his military career in 1890 as a one-year-volunteer (*Einjährig-Freiwilliger*).<sup>15</sup> In 1906, he began to attend the academy of the officer corps in Vienna, completing his course in 1908, when — probably on account of his promotion to captain — he converted to Catholicism, and he was duly given command of a company in the town of Tschaslau (Časlav). He was in Galicia almost consistently from 1891–1918, serving successively until 1901 in Wadowice, Kraków, Nowy Sącz, and Tarnów, thanks to which he became perfectly acquainted with both the province and the mentality of its inhabitants, which undoubtedly made things easier when he was ultimately entrusted with the task of building military cemeteries in the region. As of 1909, he was based in Kraków, where he served as a planning officer in the Imperial-Royal Territorial Army (*K.u.K. Landwehr*), from which he was transferred in November 1915 to the newly established KGA, as its commandant. He remained there until the end of the war in 1918. In 1920, he was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and a year later he was withdrawn to the reserves, at the rank of colonel. In 1933, he was honoured with high state distinctions, partly in recognition of his achievements in the sphere of military cemeteries. As of the second half of the 1930s, he was persecuted due to his Jewish origins, and he committed suicide on 23 September 1942. Six days later he was interred at Vienna's Zentralfriedhof, in the New Jewish Cemetery (*Neuer Israelitischer Friedhof*).<sup>16</sup> It is a sad fact that a man who ensured the dignified burial of tens of thousands of soldiers during the First World War, and later paved the way for the care for hundreds of thousands of other war graves as one of the organisers of the Austrian Black Cross (*Österreichisches Schwarzes Kreuz*), himself lies in an unmarked grave.

Johann (Hans) Hauptmann, who cooperated with Broch in the KGA, was born in 1865 in Coburg-Gotha, and his father worked for an insurance company, which brought the family to the Moravian city of Brno, where the son completed his studies at the School of Commerce. He joined the army in 1884, initially as a one-year-volunteer, like Broch. In 1887 he left the military, having passed his exam to become a reserve officer of the 9th Infantry Division. He then worked as an insurance clerk. In 1915, following the outbreak of war, he was sent to the Kraków command of the *Landwehr*, as a retired captain (a rank he had held since 1906), where he was drafted as planning officer to the KGA. He served in this department, eventually as the commandant's deputy, until the end of the war in 1918. Very little is known of what later became of him. As Broch's subordinate, he revealed his talents as a writer. Most of the inscriptions provided for the cemeteries in Western Galicia should be ascribed to him. This unprecedented collection of dictums is striking on account of both their pathos and literary merit, setting a new standard for commemorating soldierly valour and sacrifice.

In 1918, Broch and Hauptmann recorded their work for posterity in a monumental publication *Die westgalizischen Heldengräber aus den Jahren Weltkrieges 1914–1915* (The Western Galician Heroes' Graves from the Years of the World War 1914–1915),<sup>17</sup> which for many years was the principal source of information about this exceptional network of cemeteries. There are many indications that the idea of creating a meticulous, richly illustrated publication, which the Imperial-Royal Ministry of War gave permission for on 22 March 1917, had been in their thoughts since the very beginning of the KGA's operations. The book was not only a monument to their own work, but also one of the first examples of the realisation of a specific historical policy. The layout and information were structured in such a way that the publication could serve families of the fallen as a kind of guidebook to the burial sites. Thereby, it became a prototype for later guides to cemeteries.

The second planning officer in Kraków's KGA was Captain Ludwig Brixel, yet little is known of his activities in this organisation. We can at least conclude that he was born in 1879 in Moravský Krumlov (Mährisch Kramau), and that he died in Traunkirchen, Austria, having chiefly worked as a lawyer. His education began at a German-language gymnasium (school) in Uherské Hradiště (Ungarisch Hradisch), before attending Vienna University, which he graduated from in 1903. As of 1905 he worked in Karl Richter's office in Ostrava (Ostrau). While working as a barrister he was also active in other local spheres, and served as a member of the city council. After 1918, he became an ardent campaigner for the German minority in Silesia and Moravia, and an active politician as a member of the Deutsche Nationalpartei, which was ultimately banned in Czechoslovakia in 1933.<sup>18</sup>

These officers, who were accustomed to military drill, skilfully balanced exceptional organisational prowess with respect for creative freedom, managing a group of artists from circles across the entire monarchy — architects, sculptors, painters, print-makers, and photographers, who had different attitudes not only to art itself, but also to the tasks that they were set during the war. 'One can see in all of this a particular artistry, a creative freedom that is not banal, and original ideas' — wrote Władysław Zabierowski in 1938.<sup>19</sup> Poles in this group included the painters Wojciech Kossak (see p. 146) and Henryk Uziembło (see p. 186) — both participants in the famous Viennese parade marking sixty years of Franz Joseph's reign, and the sculptor Jan Szczepkowski (see p. 178), future creator of the coffin and sarcophagus of Marshal Józef Piłsudski, as well as his death mask. This group of artistic talents was aided by professionals from the spheres of construction and engineering, as well as a multitude of prisoners of war, mainly Russians, but also Italians.

With Major Broch's approval, the designers and builders of the Western Galician cemeteries were guided by a novel interpretation of death for the homeland, compared with what had been the norm since the outbreak of the war. Irrespective of rank, actual achievements or the circumstances of death, they were to bring out a sense of individual sacrifice from the anonymous mass of fallen soldiers. It was no accident that the motto of the Kraków department was a quotation from the Old Testament Book of Exodus (Ex 3,1–6), containing God's words to Moses by the Burning Bush: 'Take your sandals off your feet, for the place where you

17

Rudolf Broch, Hans Hauptmann, *Die westgalizischen Helden-gräber aus den Jahren Weltkrieges 1914–1915*, Wien 1918; Polish version *Zachodniogalicyskie groby bohaterów z lat wojny światowej 1914–1915*, translated by Henryk Sznytka, edited with footnotes and an introduction by Jerzy Drogomir, Tarnów 1996. One can find potted biographies of both officers in the Polish edition, written by J. Drogomir (pp. VII–VIII).

18

JUDr. Ludwig Blixel, [online] *Encyklopedie Dějin Města Ostrava*, [https://encyklopedie.ostrava.cz/home-mmo/?acc=profil\\_osobnosti&load=1298](https://encyklopedie.ostrava.cz/home-mmo/?acc=profil_osobnosti&load=1298) [accessed: 8 III 2022].

19

Władysław Zabierowski, 'Gorlickie cmentarze wojenne', *Turysta w Polsce* 1938, nos. 6–8, p. 11.

20

R. Broch, H. Hauptmann, *Zachodniogalicyskie groby bohaterów...*, op. cit., p. 3.

22

*Nowości Ilustrowane*, 16 June 1917, no. 24, pp. 2–4 (and fig. p. 3, 4).

23

Andrzej Stasiuk, *Fado*, English edition translated by Bill Johnston, Champaign and London, 2009, p. 115.

24

This pupil of Otto Wagner also designed several cemeteries in other districts, for example in Lubcza Szczepanowska (192) in District VI (no. Tarnów), and he also handled several horticultural designs, particularly in the vicinity of Kraków.

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See R. Broch, H. Hauptmann, *Zachodniogalicyskie groby bohaterów...*, op. cit., p. 6, 19 and among others Józef Szymon Wroński, 'Architektura limanowskich cmentarzy z I wojny światowej', *Almanach Sądecki* 1995, no. 1 (10), pp. 62–71; and recently J. Schubert, *Cmentarze...*, op. cit., among others p. 222 and figs. p. 162, 163, 168, 172, 175, 180, 185, 203, 205. A plaque referring to the construction of 378 cemeteries in the years 1916–1917 was immured in the chapel/mausoleum at the cemetery in Jabloniec (368), District X (Limanowa).

21

Ibid., p. XIV. According to KGA documentation, certain cemeteries were looked after by war invalids or veterans who lived close to the cemeteries in question. This was done on the basis of civil-legal contracts, and involved either direct payment or payment in kind. This was the case near Tarnów, Kraków, Jasło and at several other locations.

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J. Schubert, *Organizacja grobownictwa...*, op. cit., p. 191. Part of that military cemetery (in the Černovir district) was a Turkish quarter. It was the only cemetery of the Ottoman XV Corps that was founded by Sultan Mehmed V. See Piotr Nykiel, *Mahometanie Wernyhory. Turcy na froncie galicyjskim w latach 1916–1917*, Kraków 1920, pp. 593–624, p. 611 and figs. on pp. 612–614 and 618.

stand is holy ground!' Aside from the indisputable artistic merits of this group of cemeteries, so perfectly inscribed in the landscape, their special character was reflected in the fact that most of the graveyards were essentially completed by the end of the war.

The organisers of the enterprise, which was in keeping with the historical policy of the Vienna authorities, were nevertheless guided by the idea of creating unique sites of memory — legible to both the wartime generation and future ones. Broch and Hauptmann stated: 'These cemeteries should forever be places of catharsis and profound reflection for future generations.'<sup>20</sup> Their far-reaching plans for this network envisaged a momentous role in the patriotic education of future generations of the Imperial and Royal monarchy. It was planned that following the war, veterans would be employed to take care of the cemeteries, and these witnesses of the glorious sacrifice of their comrades in arms would simultaneously serve as guides, describing this heroic chapter in the empire's most recent history. However, owing to competency-based disputes between the military authorities and the Austrian Black Cross, of which Broch was initiator and the first vice president, this particular idea never went beyond the concept stage.<sup>21</sup>

However, in spite of the imminent collapse of Austria-Hungary, the main aim was achieved, as noted by the press of the time. In mid-1917, Kraków's *Nowości Ilustrowane* referred to the work of the Galician war graves inspectorates as 'the most beautiful institutions created by the military authorities during the current world war', adding that they were 'genuinely beautiful and ideal in nature... treating our own and foreign warriors with equal care and love, feeling the pain of all families.'<sup>22</sup> This opinion was shared recently by the writer Andrzej Stasiuk, who in his essay 'Will-o'-the-Wisps of the Dead' concludes that 'the creators of this whole artistic project, it seems, were seeking to bring it into eternity, to locate it all outside of time'.<sup>23</sup>

## TERRITORIAL SCOPE, STRUCTURE, AND PERSONNEL OF KRAKÓW'S KGA

The Kraków War Graves Department held jurisdiction over an area of about 10,000 km<sup>2</sup>, embracing Cieszyn Silesia, and a small portion of northern Moravia. That is why the work of the Kraków 'shirkers', as they were dubbed, encompassed both war cemeteries there and a garrison cemetery in the Moravian city of Olmütz (Czech Olomouc). The designer of the latter was KGA architect Gustav Rossmann, a Moravian German who designed over twenty cemeteries in District V (Pilzno).<sup>24</sup> On 18 December 1917, the Olomouc cemetery was raised to the status of a central military necropolis by the new Emperor Karl I (who's reign began on 21 November 1916).<sup>25</sup> By comparison, the KGIP, which was launched in January 1916, operated over an area of 32 000 km<sup>2</sup>, while the KGIL, which was inaugurated in May of that year, was responsible for a little over 7000 km<sup>2</sup>. However, the latter remained an arena of hostilities almost to the very end of the war, which prevented permanent cemeteries from being laid out there.

Western Galicia was divided into ten cemetery districts, concentrated on the regions that had seen the fiercest fighting in 1914 and 1915. The network of these local branches encompassed both single and mass graves constructed until the end of 1917, quarters in municipal and parish cemeteries, and separate war cemeteries of varying sizes, which were numbered from 1 to 378.<sup>26</sup> According to the numbering system adopted, they were: District I: Żmigród — 31 cemeteries (nos. 1–11, 43–62), District II: Jasło — 31 cemeteries (nos. 12–23, 25–42), District III: Gorlice — 54 cemeteries (nos. 63–111, 126–130), District IV: Łuzna — 27 cemeteries (nos. 112–125, 131–143), District V: Pilzno — 26 cemeteries (nos. 217–232, 234–243), District VI: Tarnów — 62 cemeteries (nos. 145–206), District VII: Dąbrowa Tarnowska — 14 cemeteries (nos. 207–208, 244–253, 257–258), District VIII: Brzesko — 51 cemeteries (nos. 209–216, 254–256, 259–298), District IX: Bochnia — 46 cemeteries (nos. 299–321, 323–344) and District X: Limanowa — 36 cemeteries (nos. 144, 233, 345–378). In addition, 22 cemeteries were laid out in a zone created on the outskirts of the Kraków Fortress, numbered 379 to 400.

## Kriegergräber auf Ortsfriedhöfen und im Freiland.



### Nr. 201. Einzelgräber auf dem jüdischen Friedhof in Tarnów.

Eisenbahn: Krakau—Tarnów.

Baustoffe: Davidssteine.

Einzelgräber: 43 - Grabnummern: 1—43.



### Nr. 162. Einzelgräber auf dem jüdischen Friedhof in Tuchów.

Eisenbahn: Tarnów—Tuchów.

Baustoffe: Davidssteine.

Einzelgräber: 4 - Grabnummern: 1—4.



### Nr. 146. Ein Massengrab bei Gromnik.

Eisenbahn: Tarnów—Tuchów.

Landstraße: Von der Eisenbahnstation Tuchów aus auf der nordostwärts über Garbek führenden Landstraße, sodann auf dem nach Westen abweigenden Fahrweg über Buschoice und Mesza Salatecka zu erreichen.

Baustoffe: Eisengitter und Betonwerk. Grabsteine mit gelbem Namensfeldern.



272



Kriegergrab Tuchów Nr. 162. Eisenbahnstation Tarnów—Tuchów.



Kriegergrab Tuchów Nr. 162. Eisenbahnstation Tarnów—Tuchów.



Kriegergrab Tuchów Nr. 146. Eisenbahnstation Tarnów—Tuchów.

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18

Fragment książki Rudolfa Brocha i Hansa Hauptmanna  
*Die westgalizischen Heldengräber aus den Jahren  
Weltkrieges 1914–1915* (Zachodniogalicyskie groby  
bohaterów z lat wojny światowej 1914–1915)

1918, druk  
własność prywatna

Rudolf Broch and Hans Hauptmann's book  
*Die westgalizischen Heldengräber aus den Jahren  
Weltkrieges 1914–1915* [The West Galician heroes' graves  
from the years of the World War 1914–1915]

1918, print  
private collection

27

As a general principle, when specifying a given cemetery, we named the locality first and then provided the official number of that graveyard in brackets [editor's footnote].

29

This functioned as an army-run camp from 1915–1918. See Michał Kozioł, *Groby, kwatery i cmentarze wojenne z lat 1914–1920 na terenie gminy Kraków*, Kraków 2008, pp. 21–27. Besides the garrison hospital (no. 15), ten fortress hospitals were operational in Kraków in September 1915 (*K.u.K. Festungsspital*, Nr. 1–10) and two epidemic hospitals (*K.u.K. Epidemiespital*, Nr. 1–2). These were located in public buildings (76 were used). There were also two convalescent hospitals, the Landwehr Hospital, and from 1916 there was also a school for war invalids. See J. Schubert, *Cmentarze wojenne Twierdzy Kraków...*, op. cit., p. 176.

31

Beata Nykiel, 'Cmentarze wojenne Twierdzy Kraków z okresu I wojny światowej', in: *Przez dwa stulecia XIX i XX w. Studia historyczne ofiarowane prof. Wacławowi Felczakowi*, ed. Elżbieta Orman, et al., Kraków 1993, pp. 125–127. The construction of a series of fortifications around Kraków was confirmed by a decree issued by Franz Joseph on 12 April 1850, who was named supreme commander of the fortress that same year.

33

J. Schubert, *Inspekcja...*, op. cit., p. 53 (according to a table from May 1916, the KGIP encompassed about 480 people — officers and support staff, as well as 1200 prisoners of war), and p. 57: 'During the entire period of its operations, 36 to 44 officers worked in its ranks, 584 to 1104 soldiers, and 374 to 697 prisoners of war. The incredibly small number of prisoners working there looks astonishing'.

36

R. Broch, H. Hauptmann, *Zachodniogalicyskie groby bohaterów...*, op. cit., p. 14 (organisational chart), pp. 20–22.

28

O. Duda, *Cmentarze...*, op. cit., p. 35. For more on Pustki, see Beata K. Nykiel, 'Cmentarz wojenny nr 123 Łużna Pustki (okręg IV Łużna). Z problematyki badań i ochrony wojennych nekropolii z okresu I wojny światowej w Galicji Zachodniej' in: *Militarne tradycje Kędzierzyna-Koźła, Śląska i Rzeczypospolitej. Praca zbiorowa*, ed. Tomasz Ciesielski, Kędzierzyn-Koźle 2013, vol. 2, pp. 195–237.

30

A contract signed on 10 November 1892 between the town hall and the Garrison Hospital no. 15 (currently the No. 5 Military Hospital Clinic) on 1–3 Wrocławska Street was still binding. It specified that the municipality was obliged to provide a grave and a funeral only for privates who died at this hospital (no other ranks were included), and the cost was to be set at 3 crowns. The contract was indefinite, but it could be terminated if six months' notice were given. It was implemented, with minor modifications, until the end of the war. See J. Schubert, *Cmentarze...*, op. cit., p. 174.

32

A list of their names was provided by Broch and Hauptmann, in: R. Broch, H. Hauptmann, *Zachodniogalicyskie groby bohaterów...*, op. cit., pp. 15–16.

34

Following the Gorlice Offensive, there were about 180 000 of them in Galicia, and thousands flowed into Kraków. By the end of May 1915 there were over 1500 held in transit at the Franz Joseph Barracks on Rajska Street (currently the Provincial Public Library), waiting to be moved elsewhere.

35

Many of them were laid to rest at cemeteries located in today's Bielsko-Biała, as well as in Stare Bielsko and Aleksandrowice. While building cemeteries, local quarries were also used. These included ones near Pustki and at the foot of Łysa Góra [the Bald Mountain], in the vicinity of Limanowa and in Zagórzany.

Each of these districts, which enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy, were provided with a main cemetery, with other smaller ones dotted around the area – sometimes several dozen. In places that saw especially fierce fighting, each district was given a cemetery that was designed to be usable for military and religious ceremonies, and these sites were distinguished by their size and design: I — Konieczna Beskidek (46<sup>27</sup>), II — Ołpiny (34), III — Gorlice (91, Góra Cmentarna), IV — Pustki Hill (123), V — Bukowa (218), VI — Lichwin (185, 'Głowa Cukru' Hill (*Zuckerkopf*)), VII — Otfinów (252), VIII — Brzesko (285), IX — Leszczyna (308) and X — Jabłoniec Hill (368).<sup>28</sup> In the case of the Kraków Fortress (*Festung Krakau*), the role of grand cemetery was fulfilled by specially created quarters at Rakowicki Cemetery (388), a municipal graveyard. In the Brzesko, Bochnia, and Limanowa districts, where fighting had taken place in 1914, there were typically small cemeteries, but a lot of them. Meanwhile, in the Tarnów, Gorlice, and Łużna districts, created on terrain where there were key clashes in 1915, cemeteries with larger surface areas were predominant. The fierceness of the fighting was reflected above all in the number of burials.

In contrast to the remaining ten districts, the soldiers who died in the relatively few clashes that took place near Kraków were rarely buried where they had fallen. This outcome was influenced by both protests from local inhabitants and the fact that the already existing cemeteries in Kraków and Podgórze (a neighbouring town that was officially amalgamated with the city on 4 July 1915) were close by. The fallen heroes of the clashes of November and December 1914 were soon outnumbered by fatalities in Kraków's numerous military hospitals, where soldiers from all over Galicia died from both wounds and epidemics that broke out, with infectious diseases also taking a heavy toll at the prisoner-of-war camp that was set up on the terrain of the barracks of the 3rd Field Artillery Regiment (*K.u.K. Feldkanonenregiment Nr. 3*) in Dąbie.<sup>29</sup> The majority of those who died in hospitals, yet also prisoners of war, prisoners, and those who had been executed, were interred in quarters created at the municipal Rakowicki Cemetery. The local military authorities got into a dispute with the town hall, as the latter not only had to find places to bury soldiers in communal graveyards that had limited space, but the city also had to expend considerable funds on maintaining these sites.<sup>30</sup> Kraków, which had fortress status, did not indeed have its own military cemetery.<sup>31</sup>

The heads of Kraków's War Graves Department had 3000–3500 people at their disposal while carrying out their tasks — soldiers and civilians. Key staff included eight architects, two engineers, five sculptors, and 22 painters.<sup>32</sup> By comparison, the KGIP in Przemyśl had about 40 civilians, between 580 and 1100 soldiers and 300–700 prisoners of war at its disposal, while the KGIL in Lemberg had about 590 people in total, which unquestionably put the KGA in a privileged position.<sup>33</sup> Exhumations, the ordering of terrain, and construction work were chiefly done by prisoners of war, mainly Russians, among whom there were some very adept masons and carpenters.<sup>34</sup> A group of Italian prisoners of war helped in the sphere of stone masonry.

The *Kriegsgefangene* (POWs) were used among others as the crew of the main supplier of masonry elements — the quarry in Straconka near Bielsko (now a district of Bielsko-Biała) and another in Chrzanów.<sup>35</sup> A lot of the wooden elements were made at the Knobsch woodwork plant in Olomouc, and sawmills, among others in Rytro and Magura, were also used. However, the main principle was to make use of construction materials that were available on site. In their book, Broch and Hauptmann provide a diagram showing the structural hierarchy of their organisation, but they also include lists of the workshops and facilities that were involved, together with metriculous inventories of the building materials and seedlings (plants and trees) used in the construction of the cemeteries. These lists are impressive on account of their precision and length.<sup>36</sup>

Three major formations operated within the structures of the KGA: the Headquarters for Ordering Battlefields (*Schlachtfeldaufräumungs Kommando*), which was responsible for establishing cemeteries — based in Tarnów and with its main warehouse on the terrain of the city's cargo station, and it had branches in all districts; the Records Group (*Evidenzgruppe*), which was responsible for gathering information about the fallen; and the Construction Group



Budowa zaprojektowanego przez Dušana Jurkoviča (1868–1947) cmentarza w Koniecznej (46), okręg I (Žmigród)

1916, fotografia  
Slovenský národný archív, Bratislava

Construction of the cemetery in Konieczna (46), District I (Žmigród), designed by Dušan Jurkovič (1868–1947)

1916, photograph  
Slovak National Archive, Bratislava

(*Baugruppe*), whose task was to create — on the basis of designs provided by KGA artists and architects — the elements of the cemeteries, first temporary ones, using less durable materials, then permanent, with resources that would last.

At the head of the Commandant's Office for Ordering Battlefields were: Captain Emanuel Breier (retired from combat service) as an inspection officer; Landsturm Lieutenant Ottokar Ranna — commanding officer; reserve lieutenant Johann Andersch — head of the land surveying services; and reserve Second Lieutenant Julius Heinzel — accounting officer.<sup>37</sup> The KGA's registry group was led by retired Lieutenant Franz Nemeč (Němec?). His work involved pinpointing battlefields and temporary graves that had been dug on them in all ten KGA districts. An especially difficult task lay in locating Russian graves, which were often unmarked. Before being transferred to a new place of burial, either temporary or permanent, the bodies were registered, using items that might be found on the dead, thereby verifying information obtained from lists of the fallen (kept by field hospitals) and those of losses of line units. Civil sources were sometimes also of help, such as parish registers of the dead. Thereby, a coherent registration system was applied, based on a three-tier card-index marked with the letters A (basic identification according to date of death and place where a given body was found, nationality, parent unit, and a new grave number), B (an alphabetical list of all the fallen across the entire terrain of the KGA's operations), and C (lists of losses in army units, divided into officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates).<sup>38</sup> In some cases their task was made easier by the publication of photographs of those killed in action and other deceased soldiers. In Kraków, such images were displayed at the town hall on Wszystkich Świętych Square 3–4.<sup>39</sup>

An artistic director (*Künstler Rayon Leiter*) stood at the head of each district. They were helped, both at the Kraków headquarters and in the field, by teams of sculptors and painters, modellers, photographers, builders, and gardeners, such as Lambert Hummel.<sup>40</sup> In total, the artists of the KGA drew up about 600 conceptual designs, close to 400 implementation designs, and about 2000 detailed working drawings.<sup>41</sup> Both the department's leadership and workshops (where models and designs were developed) were based on Wawel Hill. Towards the end of the war, the management of the KGA moved to a corner-house at 27 Stradomska Street (close to the the I Corps Command). Most of the models of cemeteries and monuments were made by the painter Reinhold Völkel the Younger (see pp. 119, 192). However, internal competitions were held for the most important projects. The cemeteries of the Kraków Fortress (nos. 379–400) were an exception, as no artistic director was appointed there. The designers of the memorial sites in Kraków and its vicinity were subordinate to the fortress's command, and they were the Brno sculptor Lieutenant Karl Korschann (see pp. 115, 142) (Rakowice, Podgórze [386], Wieliczka [381], Kocmyrzów [392]) and Lieutenant Hans Mayr (see p. 116) (Mogiła [390], Łagiewniki [384], Kocmyrzów [391], the Jewish cemetery at Miodowa Street [387]), a Viennese architect who was called up during the general mobilisation, and who also worked for the KGA as artistic director of District III (Gorlice).<sup>42</sup> During the creation of the entire network of Western Galician cemeteries, numerous plaques for individual and mass graves were designed, and various types of grave crosses, which were mass produced and used abundantly. The differences related to both the material used, the type of grave on which these elements were to be installed, and also to the specific army that soldiers had served in (motifs of laurel leaves were used for Austro-Hungarian soldiers, oak leaves for German ones, and lime leaves for Russians) and religious denomination. At first, the shape of the crosses for Russian graves was a source of much confusion. Finally, following consultation with the Imperial and Royal Orthodox Military Chaplaincy in February, it was decided to mark their graves with a two-barred cross, without the additional diagonal bar.<sup>43</sup>

37

Ibid, p. 16, p. 17 (herein a list of the command structure of the 12 individual districts); O. Duda, *Cmentarze...*, op. cit., p. 33.

38

O. Duda, *Cmentarze...*, op. cit., pp. 39–43, particularly pp. 39–40.

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For more on the lives and work of these remarkable figures, see Agnieszka Partridge's essay.

39

*Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, 10 October 1915, no. 261, p. 6; *Czas*, 5 December 1915, no. 661, p. 1.

41

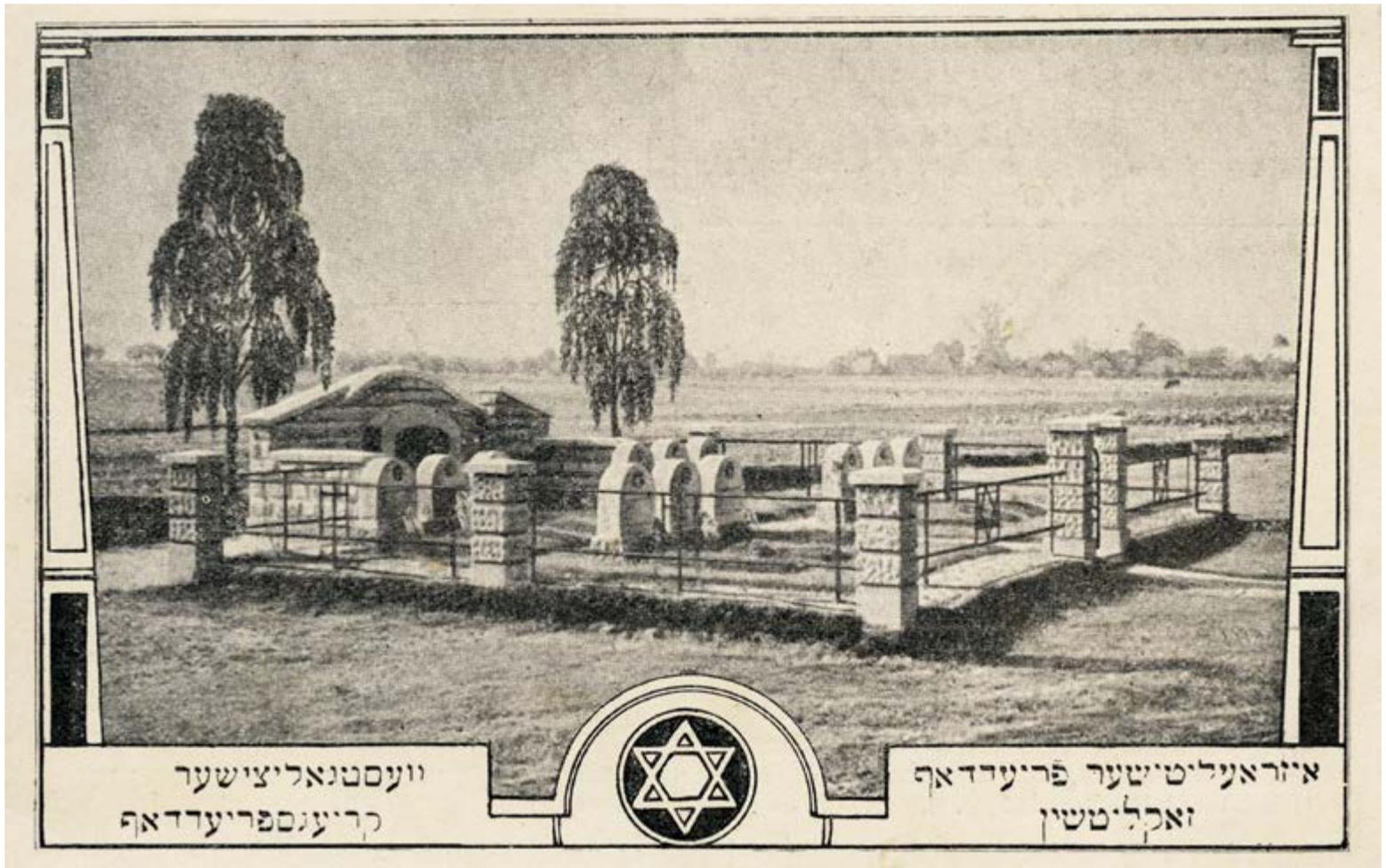
R. Broch, H. Hauptmann, *Zachodniogaliczyjskie groby bohaterów...*, op. cit., pp. 18–19.

42

See J. Schubert, *Cmentarze wojenne Twierdzy Kraków...*, op. cit., pp. 193–198.

43

See J. Pałłasz, *Śmiercią złączeni...*, Kraków 2012, p. 115.



Cmentarz wojenny (293) w Zakliczynie, okręg VIII (Brzesko), projektu Roberta Motki (1874-?), na którym spoczywają austro-węgierscy żołnierze wyznania mojżeszowego. Unikatowa pocztówka austriackiego *Kriegsgräberfürsorge*

1917, pocztówka, nakład wiedeńskiego wydawnictwa Beck & Sohn  
własność prywatna

The war cemetery (293) in Zakliczyn, District VIII (Brzesko) designed by Robert Motka (1874-?), where Austro-Hungarian soldiers of the Jewish faith were laid to rest. This unique postcard of the Austrian *Kriegsgräberfürsorge*

1917, postcard, issued by the Viennese publishing house Beck & Sohn  
private collection

## MILITARY BURIALS IN WESTERN GALICIA — ORGANISATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS

Soldiers were initially buried on the battlefield itself. Normally, such graves were marked provisionally, with the diggers expecting that individual and mass graves would be transformed into intermediate graves. The latter were laid out in the hope that a permanent burial place would be created on the site in question, and they were chiefly created in areas where the front held for a long period.<sup>44</sup> As many as 60 829 soldiers fell on the terrain of Western Galicia, and by the end of 1917, the KGA had exhumed 42 749 bodies and transferred them to new places.<sup>45</sup> A key factor here was that such work was prohibited during the summer months.

Sanitary reasons were the decisive factor in determining initial burials. They were typically organised by comrades in arms or enemy soldiers, often without following any religious requirements. The second burial, which by law was accompanied by funeral rites, was by definition modest. An element of *pompa funebris* only appeared beyond the terrain of direct hostilities, and it was most often patriotic and propagandistic in tone. Aside from cemeteries that gathered the fallen regardless of which side they were fighting on, there were also quarters and cemeteries that were created exclusively for the soldiers of one army, nation, or faith. Where religious affiliation was the main criterion, efforts were made to follow all the necessary requirements. An example of the burial of soldiers of one nationality can be found in cemetery no. 122, which was designed by Jan Szczepkowski for a plot at the foot of a key position in the Gorlice operation — Pustki Hill in District IV (Łużna), where only Russians were interred. It is also worth mentioning a site that is close to Poles' hearts, namely the cemetery in Łowczówek (171) in District VI (Tarnów), which was consecrated on 7 November 1917 with the participation of Lieutenant Siegfried Haller (see p. 114), who had designed and overseen the construction of it. It was created on the site of a notable battle fought by the 1st-Brigade of Józef Piłsudski's Legions on 22–25 December 1914, on a plot donated by its Jewish owner Israel Wechsler.<sup>46</sup> Members of the Legions were laid to rest at several other cemeteries created by the KGA.<sup>47</sup>

When Protestant or Orthodox soldiers were buried, it sometimes happened that if there were no clergymen of those faiths close at hand, the funerals were conducted by Catholic ministers. Burials of Jewish and Muslim soldiers were carried out respectively by rabbis and imams, in accordance with their own religious precepts. In the case of Muslims, it was essential that the body of a given soldier faced Mecca; besides this, custom dictated that it was necessary to bury the deceased in the quickest possible time, ideally within twenty-four hours of death. However, it appears that no consistent procedure was enacted in this regard. For example, on 25 June 1915, Krakow's town hall recommended in relation to burials of Muslims at Rakowicki Cemetery, that 'Mohammedans should be buried together, on a separate part of the municipal cemetery chosen for this purpose, in the manner prescribed the Mohammedans, i.e. facing east'.<sup>48</sup> Throughout Galicia, burials of Muslims pertained to both Austro-Hungarian soldiers from Bosnian units (2nd and 4th Infantry Regiments [*K.u.K. Bosnisch-herzegowinisches Infanterie Regiment Nr. 2, 4*]), and Muslims from the Russian army. One can find the graves of Bosnian soldiers at the cemeteries in Ujście Jezuickie (251) and Czchów (297) — both of which are in District VIII (Brzesko), as well as at the cemetery in Jodłowa (232) in District V (Pilzno). The Jodłowa graveyard was probably designed by Rossmann, who conceived the cemetery for Ottoman officers in Olomouc. Indeed, as of August 1916, the Central Powers were supported on terrain within the remit of the KGIL (southwest of Brzeżany, today Berezhany Ukraine) by the XV Corps of the Ottoman Empire (19th and 20th Divisions). The first Muslim cemetery for its soldiers was completed in Autumn 1917, as a large separate quarter of the imposing war cemetery in Stryj (today Stryi, Ukraine).<sup>49</sup>

Observant Jewish soldiers were buried in separate quarters of cemeteries belonging to their own religious communities, for example in Kraków (387), in part of the New Jewish cemetery at 55 Miodowa Street, or in Bochnia, in a quarter designated as war cemetery no. 313, District IX (Bochnia). All in all, 15 Jewish cemeteries were created on terrain covered by

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Those buried in mass graves were interred without a funeral, and the site was provisionally marked and fenced off, for example with barbed wire, so as to protect the bodies from animals or looters.

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R. Broch, H. Hauptmann, *Zachodniogalicyskie groby bohaterów...*, op. cit., p. 19; O. Duda, *Cmentarze...*, op. cit., p. 40.

46

This graveyard, where 483 Austro-Hungarian and Russian soldiers were laid to rest, including 80 members of the Polish Legions, was created jointly by Heller and Heinrich Scholz.

47

These include the following cemeteries: Ogonówka (158), Meszna Opacka (159), Nowy Sącz (350), Kraków Rakowice (388).

48

B. Nykiel, *Cmentarze wojenne Twierdzy Kraków...*, op. cit., p. 130.

49

See P. Nykiel, *Mahometanie...*, op. cit., pp. 593–624 and figs. on pp. 594–595, 597–598, and *Nowości Ilustrowane*, 8 December 1917, no. 49, p. 3 (Fig. p. 7).

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See Mirosław Łopata, 'Groby żydowskich żołnierzy na cmentarzach z I wojny światowej w Beskidzie Niskim', *Magury* 2003, pp. 6–24; id., 'Groby żydowskich żołnierzy Wielkiej Wojny w Galicji', in: *Materiały z konferencji naukowej 'Znaki Pamięci'* Gorlice 27.10.2007 r., Gorlice 2008, pp. 5–26.

51

There were instances of crosses being placed on Jewish graves. Furthermore, there were cases in which a tombstone in the form of a cross was placed on a mass grave, and the authorities did not allow the bodies to be exhumed, such as at cemetery no. 106 in Biecz, District III (Gorlice).

52

The first card sent by Szczepkowski to his wife was stamped with the date 4 September 1915, and the next 7 September. The family collection was made available to the author of this essay, together with Jerzy Drogomir, and Krzysztof Gardula, by the artist's granddaughter Ewa Mickiewicz from Milanówek.

53

Szczepkowski's letter to his wife, featuring a stamp of the Gorlice Schlachtfelderaufrümmungs Abteilung No 2, stamped 19 October 1915, family collection.

54

*Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, 20 June 1916, no. 20, p. 7. His design was not implemented and instead one by the Slovakian architect Dušan Jurkovič, artistic director of District I (Żmigród) was used. Ultimately, the monumental memorial at Góra Cmentarna (Cemetery Hill) took the form of a large stone cross, designed by Captain Gustav Ludwig; Robert Motka was responsible for the temporary design of this cemetery. See also Paweł Pencakowski, 'O cmentarzu wojennym w Sękowej koło Gorlic i działalności wiedeńskiego architekta Hansa Mayra w Galicji w latach 1914–1918', *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 1994, vol. 39, no. 3, pp. 187–205.

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*Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, 1 June 1916, no. 179, p. 7.

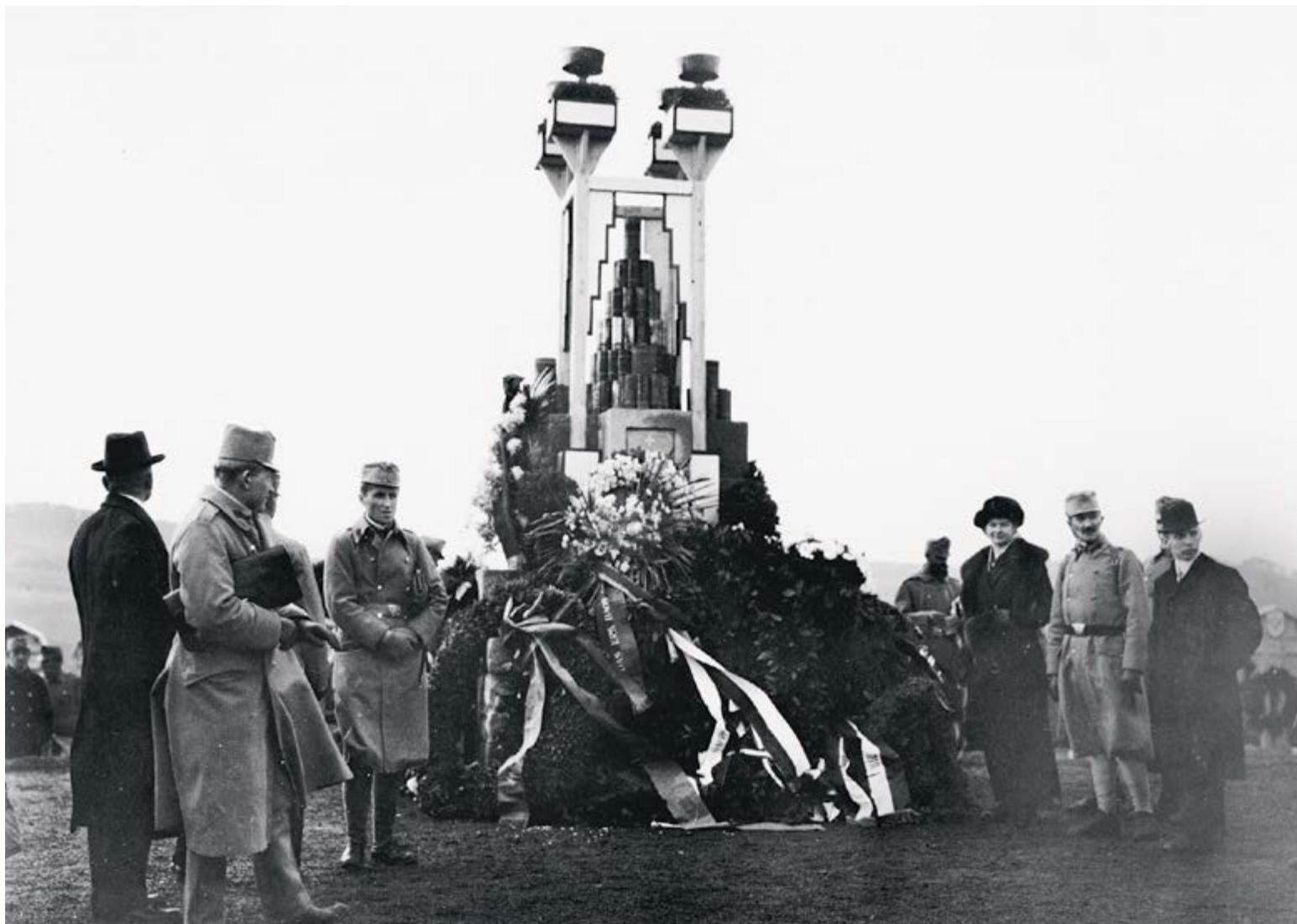
the KGA, including soldiers from all three armies that fought in these parts. Only one of these cemeteries was a stand-alone graveyard, and miraculously it has endured until the present day. It was designed by Austrian architect Robert Motka and is located in Zakliczyn (293) in District VIII (Brzesko).<sup>50</sup> There were also instances of Jewish burials in multi-denominational cemeteries, in spite of initial plans for the fallen to be exhumed and transferred to exclusively Jewish graveyards. One such example is the cemetery at Magura Małastowska (60) in District I (Żmigród), where among the graves of Jewish soldiers one can find a surviving wooden matzevah of Mendel Brod, at a site where in terms of ethnicity, most of the other fallen soldiers were Poles from the 4th Rifle Battalion (*K.u.K Feldjäger Battalion Nr. 4*). Another example is the cemetery in Owczary (70), in District III (Gorlice), where, probably due to the efforts of the fallen soldier's family, one finds a stone tablet dedicated to Pinkas Stern, a private in the Imperial and Royal 21st Infantry Regiment. The graves of Jewish soldiers were most often marked with a board that resembled a matzevah, sometimes with the Star of David. However, the recommendations issued by the main department were not always strictly followed, hence one finds considerable variety in the graves of Jewish soldiers.<sup>51</sup>

In spite of the initial difficulties in obtaining materials and workers, the temporary cemeteries in Western Galicia were soon endowed with a new appearance, as conceived by the KGA. For example, Szczepkowski, who was appointed artistic director of District IV (Łużna), arrived at the terrain under his jurisdiction at the beginning of September 1915. He described the situation in letters sent to his wife from Ciężkowice: 'It's nice here in the hills, like the famed Staszkówka which lies before us, as well as Gromnik and Gorlice — thickly covered with little crosses and entire cemeteries. The zone of activity is copious. There is going to be a dearth of material and workers'; and three days later: 'Yesterday I explored the area on horseback. Tomorrow or the day after I will surely be in Siemiechów. It's pouring with rain, and I'm sitting at home all the time, sketching designs. I cannot start any work, as I have no workers'.<sup>52</sup> Delegated to Gorlice in mid-October, he noted: 'An order came through today from the Military Command [in Kraków] that after completing the work in the field I can prepare models in my workshop etc. That means indefinitely, as there is so much work to do here that there is simply no way of calculating how long it will take to get everything done'.<sup>53</sup>

In the neighbouring District III (Gorlice), which had Hans Mayr as its artistic director, a monumental stone cemetery designed by him was almost ready in Sękowa (80) by the end of June 1916. Following its completion, he planned to work on an imposing cemetery in Gorlice, which was supposed to feature a large obelisk.<sup>54</sup> This site was cemetery no. 91. In July 1916, the temporary wooden cemetery there was dismantled, and the military authorities began working on its permanent stone incarnation. A makeshift railway line was laid for this purpose, via which materials were transported from the station in Gorlice to the top of the hill, where the cemetery was being constructed.<sup>55</sup>

## THE KGA AS A PROPAGANDA TOOL AND IN THE SERVICE OF SOCIETY

Before work had got far in bringing to life the concepts planned for Western Galicia, which were ambitious both from the organisational and artistic perspectives, an opportunity arose to unveil the KGA's early activity, owing to the traditional ceremonies for the dead which are held on 1 and 2 November (All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day). A great deal of effort and resources were expended so as to mark the dates in Kraków and Gorlice, at the largest cemeteries in Western Galicia. The scenery for the ceremonies was temporary, but spectacularly arranged. At Kraków's Rakowicki Cemetery, the tributes took place against the backdrop of a 1:1 model of the central monument, designed by Karl Korschann, while in Gorlice they were held at the vernacular cemetery, built almost entirely from wood but Modernist in form. The latter cemetery (in future no. 91), was erected on hill no. 357 (Góra Cmentarna) that had been purchased from the municipal authorities in Gorlice, 'whose slopes wrapped tens of thousands



Uroczystości na tymczasowym cmentarzu na wzgórzu 357 (Góra Cmentarna) w Gorlicach, rozebrany w lipcu 1916 roku, w którego miejscu w 1917 roku powstał reprezentacyjny stały cmentarz 91

1 listopada 1915, fotografia  
Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Wiedeń

Ceremony at the temporary cemetery at hill no. 357 (Góra Cmentarna) in Gorlice, dismantled in 1916, and built according to a new design in 1917 as the imposing cemetery 91

1 November 1915, photograph  
Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Vienna

56

Quotation from *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, 3 November 1915, no. 285, pp. 2–3. The entrance to the Gorlice shrine was decorated with the Austrian and Hungarian crowns. The wings of the structure were adorned with eagles of 'both friendly powers', and the arms of the cross featured two ravens. The chapel's altarpiece featured a relief of two praying angels. *Nowości Ilustrowane*, 13 November 1915, no. 46, pp. 1–3, 4, 13, 6 November 1915, no. 45, pp. 1–2 and *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, 3 November 1915, no. 285, p. 4. See also Kamil Ruszała, *Wielka Wojna w małym mieście. Gorlice w latach 1914–1918*, Kraków 1915, p. 226 and 227–232.

58

For example, there was a visit by the 454 members of the II Circle of the Stanisław Wyspiański Association of Folk Schools, from Nowy Sącz. See *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, 19 June 1916, no. 67, p. 7.

60

*Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, 6 December 1915, no. 318, p. 3; 8 December 1915, no. 320 p. 4 — quote therein; and *Czas*, 6 December 1915, no. 633, p. 3 — here one finds the names of all the officials.

61

*Nowości Ilustrowane*, 18 December 1915, no. 51, pp. 1–2 — here Bjelik is mentioned as Father Biolk, the Kraków Fortress's parish priest.

62

J. Schubert, *Cmentarze...*, op. cit., p. 193 — with reference to the CV written by the artist. The 13-metre-high iron and concrete obelisk was referred to as Korschann's design in *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny* (no. 318).

57

The Krakow maquette, which took the form of a stylised Egyptian pylon, differed from the 'altar of the Fatherland' that was erected in 1917 with its officers' crypt. These differences can be found for example in the arrangement of the platform and stairs, the inscription 'Pro patria mortuis 1914–1915' on the wall and the torches crowning the wings. See *Nowości Ilustrowane*, 2 October 1915, no. 40, p. 3 with fig. The subject is explored in-depth in J. Schubert, *Cmentarze...*, op. cit., pp. 177–188.

59

However, in fact the hill was not the westernmost site of clashes between Russian and Austro-Hungarian soldiers during the so-called second battle of Kraków. See Jakub Jamka, *Pamiętniki bieżanowskiego organisty*, eds. Marta Wójcik-Lukasa, Wojciech Tokarski, Kraków 2012, [online] <https://ank.gov.pl/biezanowian/bitwa.html> [accessed: 3.2.2022]. On the subject of clashes near Kraków, see Henryk Łukasik, *Twierdza Kraków. Wokół krakowskiej twierdzy. Epizody, bohaterowie, ślady bitwy o Kraków 1914 r.*, Międzyzdroje 2009, pt. IV, pp. 43–69.

of Austrian, German and Russian soldiers in a deadly embrace'. The dominant features of the cemetery were the characteristic gates, chapel, and monument to the fallen, which took the form of a stone obelisk, adorned with artillery shells of various calibres. Several hundred Russian prisoners of war were corralled into building the cemetery, and they even worked shifts at night.<sup>56</sup>

Besides officials and soldiers, the ceremonies in Rakowicki were also attended by a large crowd of civilians, while the tributes in Gorlice were strictly military in character. Participants in the latter included Lieutenant-General Brandner von Wolfszahn, the head of the War Correspondents' Headquarters (*K.u.K. Kriegspressequartier*, KPQ) Major-General Maximilian von Hoen, Baron von Hanke — a colonel who was a member of the German general staff, Major Władysław von Szalay — a representative of the Honvéd, and Władysław Długosz, a former minister for Galicia, who owned the nearby estate at Siary and was a pioneer in the oil industry. He later criticized the military authorities for undue extravagance, when they agreed to implement a new, permanent layout for the cemetery. A field mass was conducted by military chaplain Father Józef Kondelewicz, assisted by Evangelical, Jewish, and Muslim clerics, who recited a prayer for the fallen together. Music and a guard of honour were provided by soldiers of the Imperial and Royal 20th Infantry Regiment.<sup>57</sup> The site of the ceremony, which was immortalised in postcards issued by the Polonia publishing house in Jarosław, whose owner was the teacher Adam Wilusz (1916) and by Wilhelm Spiro in Tarnów (1916 and 1917), swiftly became the main attraction of trips organised on this terrain, which had been so devastated by fighting in May 1915.<sup>58</sup>

The KGA's activity was also used in war propaganda at a site that was symbolic, yet not actually a battlefield or a cemetery as such. On 6 December 1915, a thirteen-metre high commemorative obelisk was unveiled on Kaim Hill, 12 kilometres south of central Kraków, on the fringe of the what was then the village of Bieżanów (today a district of the city), not far from Wieliczka. The monument, which was situated within the outer ring of the Kraków Fortress, was intended to commemorate the place where the Russian advance, led by units of the Third Army's XXI Corps, commanded by General Radko Dimitriev, was stopped at its farthest point west.<sup>59</sup> 'Kraków, as it had done before, once again became the bulwark of Central Europe. As in the past, it halted the hordes that were advancing from the east'.<sup>60</sup> Funded by the headquarters of the fortress, the obelisk was blessed on the first anniversary of the clash by Apostolic Field Vicar (*Apostolischer Feldvikar*) Emmerich Bjelik, who was joined by figures such as commander of the fortress General Karl Kuk, Archbishop of Kraków Prince Adam Stefan Sapieha, Mayor of Kraków Juliusz Leo, members of the City Council, and rectors of universities and academies. The ceremony was the subject of a photo-report in the weekly *Nowości Ilustrowane*.<sup>61</sup> One side of the monument was adorned with the Habsburg coat of arms, and the plinth bore the Austrian and Hungarian crowns, and a bilingual inscription in German and Polish: 'Hier wurden am 6 Dezember 1914 die Soldaten der Russ. Armee endgültig zurück geschossen' / 'Tu odparto dnia 6 grudnia 1914 najdalej naprzód oddziały rosyjskiej armii' (Here on 6 December 1914, units of the Russian army reached their farthest point'). It was designed by Karl Korschann.<sup>62</sup> A notable part of Kraków's cultural landscape, this is the only authentic monument from the Great War to have survived until the present day, yet although restored in 2001, it is repeatedly vandalised. In recent years, it made headlines once again in the context of a controversial investment by local developers who, regardless of the fact that they were dealing with a symbolic site of memory (*lieu de mémoire*), built an estate of single-family houses on the slopes of Kaim Hill, almost reaching the monument itself. It is worth remembering that this piece of Austro-Hungarian propaganda nevertheless indirectly glorifies Poles who fought in the ranks of the Habsburg army during the Great War. Indeed, a significant proportion of those who defended the terrain around the Kraków Fortress were local people, who although dressed in 'foreign' uniform, were defending their own homes.

Krakovians were given an opportunity to become acquainted with the entire spectrum of the KGA's activities from 18–28 June 1916. Seven halls of the Palace of Art (*Pałac Sztuki*) hosted an exhibition about the war cemeteries at that time, thanks to the initiative of



Ufundowany przez dowództwo twierdzy Kraków i odsłonięty 6 grudnia 1915 roku obelisk na wzgórzu Kaim projektu Karla Korschanna (1872–1943), związanego z powołanym przez *Festungskommando* oddziałem grobowniczym, którego prace kontynuował następnie KGA

2016, fotografia  
własność prywatna

The obelisk on Kaim Hill, funded by the command of the Kraków fortress and unveiled on 6 December 1915, built according to a design by Karl Korschann (1872–1943), who was connected with the war graves department created by the *Festungskommando*. The work of this department was continued by the KGA

2016, photograph  
private collection

63

*Nowości Ilustrowane*, 10 June 1916, no. 24, pp. 1–4.

64

R. Broch, H. Hauptmann, *Zachodniogalicyskie groby bohaterów...*, op. cit., p. 23.

65

The term Cisleithania (Ger. Cisleithanien) comes from the River Leitha, which ran along part of Austria's border with the Kingdom of Hungary.

66

See Kamil Ruzsała, 'Organizacja ogólnego Dnia Grobów Bohaterów w Austrii w 1917 i 1918 roku', in: *Materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej 'Znaki Pamięci V' — Bitwa Gorlicka, jej znaczenie i skutki*, Gorlice 2012, pp. 63–69.

67

*Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, 26 August 1917, no. 235, p. 4; *Nowości Ilustrowane*, 3 November 1917, no. 44, p. 13.

68

Paweł Pencakowski, 'Zapomniane pomniki nieczyłych bohaterów', in: *Wobec Thanatosa. Galicyskie cmentarze wojenne z lat 1914–1918 / Galizische Kriegsriedhöfe aus den Jahren 1914–1918*, Kraków 1996. This is a catalogue of an exhibition held by the ICC.

69

*Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, 3 November 1917, no. 304, pp. 4–5 — H. Hauptmann and Czas, 1 November 1917, no. 505, p. 1 — F.S. Krysiak.

70

As of 1 January 1918, 2662 such plaquettes were sold, and 104 200 badges. See R. Broch, H. Hauptmann, *Zachodniogalicyskie groby bohaterów...*, op. cit., p. 23.

71

K. Ruzsała, *Organizacja ogólnego Dnia Grobów...*, op. cit., p. 65.

72

Hašek consciously predated the postcard, so that it fitted in with an episode in Svejč's adventures that took place at Budapest's train station on 23 May 1915. See Antoni Kroh, *O Szejčku i o nas*, Nowy Sącz 1992, pp. 94–95.

*Oberkommando Krakau*. Although the 9500 soldiers and youngsters who saw the exhibition probably did so on account of their superiors and elders, a further 12,000 patriotically inclined locals visited the show during those ten days.<sup>63</sup> Given the scope of the KGA's activities, both in terms of territory and complexity, the financial resources allocated by the military authorities were rather modest. Thus, funds were supposed to be supplemented by donations and social contributions, collected in various ways. This action was coordinated centrally from Vienna by the Committee for the Maintenance of War Graves in Austria (*Komitee für Kriegsgräberfürsorge in Österreich*), which was based at Canisiusgasse 10 (Wien IX/4, Alsergrund), under the patronage of Emperor Karl I, yet it was handled regionally by individual war graves inspectorates, including the KGA. The fundraising campaign lasted from 1 April 1916 until 1 January 1918, raising the considerable sum of 235, 537 crowns and 41 thalers.<sup>64</sup> The funds for the construction and maintenance of war cemeteries were supposed to be obtained by exhibitions, fundraising initiatives, lotteries, special events, concerts and readings, and above all via the sale of special pins, plaquettes, badges, publications, and postcards, some of which were designed by artists associated with the KGA.

One of these special events was the Day of War Graves, held twice in Cisleithania (the Austrian part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire)<sup>65</sup> around All Souls' Day in 1917 and 1918, organised by the Vienna-based Committee for the Maintenance of War Graves, and it also had a Galician edition. From 31 October to 2 November 1917 and on 3 November the following year, money was collected at all cemeteries (families traditionally tend graves of ancestors at this time), with the proceeds going towards war graves. The action was supported by the local clergy. Numerous commemorative appeals and special booklets entreated citizens of the monarchy to show their generosity.<sup>66</sup> The enterprise was conducted in cooperation with both the civil authorities (the governorships' administrations, crownland governments, district authorities, municipalities) and the military. Local honorary councils and executive committees were subordinate to the central office in Vienna in this respect. In Galicia, where the organisation of the event was handled by the army, the collected funds were intended to be exclusively allocated for the maintenance of the 378 cemeteries that had already been erected in Western Galicia.

Apart from Kraków, where another exhibition devoted to the cemeteries was held in August 1917, this time in the department's design workshops on Wawel Hill, exhibitions on the war graves were also held in Berlin, Vienna, Olomouc, Cieszyn, Moravská Ostrava, Bielsko, Opava, Brno, and Przemyśl (October–November 1917).<sup>67</sup> The first was organised as early as May 1915, under the title *Kunstaussstellung der Kriegsgräberabteilung des K. u. k. Militärkommandos Krakau, Friedhofsprojekte und Bilder vom westgalizischen Kampfgebiet*.<sup>68</sup> In Kraków, speeches were held in 1917 at the Opieka (Care) cinema at 17 Zielona Street (today Sarego). On 31 October, Hans Hauptmann gave a lecture there that was attended by the military and civil authorities, focusing on the cemeteries created by his department. Another was held at the same venue on 1 November by Franciszek Salezy Krysiak, a representative of the town hall, noting that with regards to the cemeteries 'in the western part of the crownland the number has already exceeded 350'. Slides were shown at both talks, and the speakers appealed to the generosity of the attendees, encouraging them to care for the graves of fallen heroes in Western Galicia (at the second lecture, also those of the Polish Legions).<sup>69</sup>

The most popular plaquettes and badges, which featured the words 'Troska o groby' (care for the graves) were the distinctive pieces by Franz Mazura, an Austrian sculptor who was a member of the KGA.<sup>70</sup> Meanwhile, Korschann designed a popular military badge for caps (*Kappenabzeichen*) with a likeness of his imperial highness Franz Joseph and the inscription *Festung Krakau*. Commemorative badges were also created to tie in with the previously discussed Days of War Graves in 1917 and 1918. There was also a badge in the form of a wreath of oak leaves, inside which there was a helmet and two crossed bayonets, as well as the dates 1914–1918.<sup>71</sup> Of the four series of postcards connected with the KGA's activity, it is worth recalling the famed sketch of the cemetery no. 152, which was designed around an already existing wayside shrine in Siedliska, near Tuchów. This view was made famous by the writer Jaroslav Hašek in the third volume of his novel *The Good Soldier Svejk* (see p. 158).<sup>72</sup> The cemetery

depicted on the postcard was, as Svejek so neatly put it, a work by ‘the scrimshanking sculptor, the one-year volunteer Sergeant Scholz’, specifically artistic director of District VI (Tarnów) Heinrich Scholz. Here we find a good example of how people’s distance from the front line affected how they evaluated the unfolding situation and the notion of patriotic commitment, meaning that views certainly varied on the activities of the KGA and its staff. However, when looking at the legacy of the War Graves Department in Kraków from today’s perspective, it is difficult to be as dismissive as the Czech writer and journalist when assessing the moral virtues of most of the KGA’s members, particularly regarding the aesthetic aspect of their work.

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The Central European everyman (*Jedermann*)<sup>73</sup> who was caught up in the 1914–1918 theatre of war gave his blood on the stage that is today’s Poland. One can only hope that the fallen, along with those who created monuments in their memory, will soon obtain not only restored graves, but also the respect of future generations for both the sacrifices they made, and works that glorify those sacrifices. An inscription adorns the cemetery in Gładyszów (55), once part of District V (Żmigród):

The soldier’s death is sacred  
It breaks the dictates of hatred  
Wounded friend or foe  
Deserves the same love, you know.<sup>74</sup>

73

*Jedermann. Das Spiel vom Sterben des reichen Mannes* is the title of a play by the Austrian poet and playwright Hugo von Hofmannsthal, from 1911; colloquially the *Jedermann* is an ordinary person, i.e. an everyman.

74

R. Broch, H. Hauptmann, *Zachodniogaliczyjskie groby bohaterów...*, op. cit., p. 43.