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War museums at the former frontline between Austria-Hungary and Italy during World War I

Abstract: The Great War as reflected by three permanent exhibitions on display in the war museums located along the former Isonzo Front Line. The author focuses on contemporary exhibitions whose objective is to focus on the daily life of the soldiers at the front and on killing and being killed.

1. On the significance of World War I 100 years after the beginning of the fights

Following Jan and Aleida Assmann's definition of a communicative or social memory, which they indicate as having a lifespan of about 80 to 100 years¹, a 100-year-anniversary is a particularly interesting point in time for taking a look at a historical event. Contemporary historians are currently discussing the boundaries of their own subject, these being defined by Rothfel as an "epoch of contemporaries"² and as such are based on communicative memory. Nevertheless, the enormous amount of attention paid to World War I in 2014 raises the question of whether it might be more appropriate to speak of an "epoch of empathy"³.

With regard to World War I, however, numerous other facts besides the time span have had an influence on the way this event is perceived today: the collective and cultural memory regarding the war was shaped to a great degree by later decisive events of the 20th Century. Consequently, in many states, the memory of

1 Cf. Assmann, Jan: *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Kultur in frühen Hochkulturen*, München 1997, p. 56; Assmann, Aleida: "Vier Formen des Gedächtnisses. In: *Erwägen Wissen Ethik. Deliberation Knowledge Ethics* 1/13 (2002), pp. 183–190.

2 Cf. Rothfels, Hans: "Zeitgeschichte als Aufgabe". In: *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 1/1953, pp. 1–8.

3 Cf. Tagungsbericht: "Quo vadis Zeitgeschichte? / L'histoire du temps présent et ses défis au XXI^e siècle" 01.10.2014–02.10.2014 Paris. In: *H-Soz-Kult*. 21.02.2015, <http://www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-5841> (28.02.2015).

World War II and National Socialism, as well as of the Cold War, has to a large degree supplanted that of World War I⁴. This is, for instance, reflected in the fact that World War I has not been included in various volumes on national lieux de mémoire⁵. The editors of the volume on the European lieux de mémoire, too, failed to dedicate an article to World War I, whilst including one on “Verdun”⁶. In the Italian volume on lieux de mémoire titled “I luoghi della memoria”, however, a text entitled “La Grande Guerra” can be found⁷.

This intended omission can also be noted in museum presentations. In Germany and Austria, for example, the presentation of the Second World War by far exceeds that of World War I. Nowadays, however, regions that were immediately affected by the armed conflicts offer enormous open air museums presenting the military events. The numerous memorials and theatres of war preserved for future generations have given rise to a kind of “World War tourism”. Hence, the war is “not seen as the primal catastrophe of the 20th Century, but occasionally as a nostalgic spectacle”, according to Manfred Rauchensteiner⁸. These journeys, however, also encourage a critical debate about the war. This is, for example, the guiding principle for the Park of Peace on Mt. Sabotin north of Gorizia, where part of the system of caverns has been reconstructed⁹. Further examples include the Walk of Peace, a route of about 100 kilometres through the upper Soča valley

4 Cf. Hirschfeld, Gerhard: “Der Erste Weltkrieg in der deutschen und internationalen Geschichtsschreibung”. In: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* B 29–30 (2004), pp. 3–12, here p. 3.

5 Cf. Brix, Emil/ Bruckmüller, Ernst/ Stekl, Hannes (eds.): *Memoria Austriae I–III*. Wien 2004/2005; François, Ettiène/ Schulze, Hagen (eds.): *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte, volume 1–3*. München 2001.

6 Krumeich, Gerd: “Verdun”. In: Boer, Pim de/ Duchhardt, Heinz/ Kreis, Georg/ Schmale, Wolfgang (eds.): *Europäische Erinnerungsorte 2. Das Haus Europa*. München 2012, pp. 437–444.

7 Isnenghi, Mario: “La Grande Guerra”. In: Isnenghi, Mario (ed.): *I luoghi della memoria. Strutture ed eventi dell’Italia unita*. Roma/Bari 1997, pp. 273–309.

8 Rauchensteiner, Manfred: *Geschichte der Erinnerung. Die Transformation des Ersten Weltkriegs (Vortrag im Rahmen der Tagung Isonzofront 1915–1917: Die Kultur des Erinnerns 29. September 2005 bis 01. Oktober 2005 in Bovec/Slowenien)* [Lecture at the conference Isonzofront 1915–1917: Die Kultur des Erinnerns (29 September, 2005 to 01 October, 2005 in Bovec/Slovenia)].

9 Cf. Mazohl-Wallnig, Brigitte/ Barth-Scalmani, Gunda/ Kuprian, Hermann J. W./ Bösche, Andreas: “Einleitung”. In: Mazohl-Wallnig, Brigitte/ Barth-Scalmani, Gunda/ Kuprian, Hermann J. W. (eds.), *Ein Krieg – zwei Schützengräben. Österreich – Italien und der Erste Weltkrieg in den Dolomiten 1915–1918*. Bolzano 2005, pp. 9–21.

established in 2007, which connects numerous open-air museums and the most important remnants and plaques in memory of the Isonzo Front¹⁰.

The following analysis, however, shall focus on museums, which face particular challenges with respect to the representation of war:

The representation of violence and war situations in showcases and dioramas [...] remains extremely risky. The various informative and explanatory texts make clear that there is an unbridgeable gap between the *real* past and the *reconstructed* past as it is presented in a museum. [...] Bringing *war to life* in a museum [...] implies striking a fragile balance between aesthetics and historically accurate representations¹¹.

Museums, especially historical ones, cannot only be described as a mirror of cultural memory; in the words of Aleida Assmann, the exhibitions display functional memory¹². Therefore, the question arises of whether museum representations react to changes in society and, in particular, to new findings and emphases in research. In recent years, experts have repeatedly emphasised a paradigm shift from so-called “classical war history” towards a “cultural history of war” which “has valorised the role of the individual in the war, thus individualising the representation of war. The acting, feeling and suffering of the (plain) combatant, his subjective impressions and experiences form a substantial part, at times even the centre of the historical analysis,”¹³ as Thomas Thiemeyer points out, and so these aspects are also increasingly taken into account in exhibitions.

The question to what extent such a perspective is realised in exhibitions shall subsequently be examined more closely on the basis of three permanent exhibitions which are located along the former Isonzo Front Line: The museum in Casa III. Armata in Redipuglia, the Museo della Grande Guerra in Borgo Castello in Gorizia, and the Kobariški Muzej.

10 Cf. <http://www.potmiru.si/deu/> (05.07.2014).

11 Gryse, Piet de: “Introduction”. In: Muchitsch, Wolfgang (ed.): *Does War Belong in Museums? The Representation of Violence in Exhibitions*. Bielefeld 2013, pp. 13–17, here p. 16.

12 Assmann, Aleida: “Funktions- und Speichergedächtnis. Zwei Modi der Erinnerung”. In: Platt, Kristin/ Dabag, Mihran (eds.): *Generation und Gedächtnis. Erinnerungen und kollektive Identitäten, herausgegeben unter Mitwirkung von Susanne Heil*. Opladen 1995, pp. 169–185.

13 Thiemeyer, Thomas: *Fortsetzung des Krieges mit anderen Mitteln. Die beiden Weltkriege im Museum*. Paderborn/Vienna 2010, p. 243.

2. Permanent exhibitions: overview

2.1 Casa III. Armata in Redipuglia

In Redipuglia, one can find probably the most extraordinary memorial site of the region, which was inaugurated in 1938 by Mussolini¹⁴. At the foot of the memorial site, there is a small exhibition in Casa III. Armata (House of the Third Army), which dates back to the year 1974¹⁵, but has been modified in certain areas in recent years¹⁶.

The exhibition is split into three rooms: Sala “3^A Armata” offers an overview of the First World War, with the main focus on the Isonzo Front. The course of the war is extensively explained in text, albeit only available in Italian, as well as in pictures and on a large map. Various items of equipment used by the soldiers, as well as letters and postcards from the war are displayed in showcases.

In Sala “Duca D’Aosta”, the visitor first finds a recreation of an Italian entrenchment from the front line on Monte Sei Busi. In this room, the focus is put on the Italian Navy and Air Force, as well as the memories of this war, while the history of the memorial site in Redipuglia itself is also accounted for. Finally, as the room’s title already suggests, the exhibition also refers to the Duke of Aosta.

Sala “Grande Guerra” is the museum’s largest showroom. There, the exhibition is dominated by an arrangement placed in the centre of the room and manifesting the Italian triumph. Placed on the wall at the far end of the showroom, the exhibition’s focal point is the Italian flag (naval ensign of 1851–1946), which was hoisted on 9 August 1916 in Gorizia (i.e. one day after it had been conquered by the Italian Army during the Sixth Battle of the Isonzo), and placed beneath the flag in the centre of the room, a display with all kinds of war waste and a variety of weapons. Displays on the walls of the large room are dedicated to various special themes, such as life in Gorizia and the capture of the city, the trenches, war letters, storm troops, and the war industry. The crammed showcases alongside the walls show a variety of equipment, such as medical aids or various models of gas masks.

14 For more details hereto, cf. i.a. Wörsdorfer, Rolf: *Krisenherd Adria 1915–1955. Konstruktion und Artikulation des Nationalen im italienisch-jugoslawischen Grenzraum*. Paderborn 2004, p. 109 f.

15 Verbal information to the author by the museum staff on 22.03.2014.

16 Verbal information to the author by a member of staff at Kobariski Muzej on 23.03.2014. Changes can also be seen on the basis of the German-language brochure of the museum, which shows room views that are not (no longer) existent.

Illustration 1: View of the “Grande Guerra” showroom



The majority of objects displayed in this exhibition are of Italian provenance. One of the few exceptions is an Austro-Hungarian “Schwarzlose” 8mm machine gun, pointed at the visitors left of the entrance to Sala “3^A Armata”. In addition, the texts in the exhibition are only in Italian. Thus, the museum offers a rather one-sided Italian view of World War I and particularly the Battles of the Isonzo.

2.2 Museo della Grande Guerra in Gorizia

An entirely different approach can be found at Museo della Grande Guerra, which is accommodated in Borgo Castello in Gorizia, in a building in the town’s castle district. Kept in black, the showcases already make it clear that the museum has no intention of presenting war in a heroic way. The exhibition is kept extremely modest. According to the museum’s leaflet, the goal of the exhibition is to “convey a transparent and effective illustration of the war with all its human and social impacts”. In this regard, the text continues, “emphasis is put on an impartial portrayal of the events which shall be a message of peace.” The fact that the exhibition aims to reach an audience of different nations is reflected in the German, English and Slovenian translations of the Italian exhibition texts in all showrooms in the form

of sheets that can be taken from the exhibition. The museum is evidently aware of the fact that there can be no final answer to the question of how war shall be displayed, which becomes apparent at the end of the exhibition, with a look into the past of the museum through various photographs and explanatory texts, as well as an exhibition of numerous donated items which played a central part in the establishment of the museum.

The current exhibition stands out through its specific selection of objects that clearly contradicts the large accumulation of military equipment found in Redipuglia. In addition, the objects in Gorizia are contextualised and explained in detail together with other objects, using texts written in four languages. This is illustrated, for example, in a showcase with an Italian gas mask, which has a photograph showing soldiers with the same kind of gas masks attached in the background, and which is accompanied by an instruction manual in Italian.

Illustration 2: Italian gas mask (Polivalente model), Italian instruction manual and photographs



Besides the above-mentioned modest presentation, two larger orchestrations can be found: Right at the beginning of the exhibition, the visitor is presented with a staged field of corpses, or more precisely a reconstruction of a destroyed trench with two dead soldiers wearing different uniforms. According to the exhibition's caption, the two soldiers killed in action "symbolise the awful blood toll of the war"¹⁷.

The second orchestration is considerably larger: The museum has re-enacted a life-size trench modelled on the Austro-Hungarian layout, also partly equipped with Italian objects. It features smaller caverns equal to those inhabited by soldiers, as well as a number of simulated weapons. As visitors pass through, they experience light and sound effects simulating the shelling of the trench. Although it has been apparent for many years that the "idea of the museum as a classical temple of muses and dusty place of learning [...] has changed"¹⁸ and these institutions are increasingly trying to assimilate to the leisure society¹⁹, the question of to what extent such reconstructions are capable of conveying a "feeling" for past living conditions, in this case the life of the soldiers in the trench, remains controversial, particularly as the visitors do not expose themselves to any danger. The spatial dimensions of a trench and the resources available to the soldiers, however, do become apparent.

17 Transcribed in the exhibition on 22.03.2014.

18 Schäfer, Hermann: "Zwischen Disneyland und Musentempel: Zeitgeschichte im Museum". In: *Museumskunde* 60 (1995), pp. 27–32, here p. 29 f.

19 Cf. Lord, Gail Dexter: "Function & Form: Museums in Response to a Changing Social, Cultural and Economic Climate". In: Matt, Gerald/ KUNSTHALLE wien (edd.): *Jetzt oder nie. 5 Jahre Kunsthalle Wien. Elfenbein und Disneyland. Kooperationen, Internationalisierung, Globalisierung. Kunstinstitutionen im nächsten Jahrtausend (Schriftenreihe der KUNSTHALLE wien 3)*. Klagenfurt 1997, pp. 191–200.

Illustration 3: View of the re-enacted trench



The remaining exhibition offers a chronological overview of the First World War with a special focus on the South-West Front, where both opposing armies are presented and particular attention is given to the Battle of Caporetto, the ensuing dismissal of General Cadorna from his post of Chief of Staff, and the fighting along the Piave River. In addition, there are a number of thematic focal points, such as the one found in the 3rd showroom, which sheds light on the situation in Gorizia. The main focus here is an extensive list of the fallen volunteers from Gorizia with a detonated warhead of a large calibre shell placed in front; the presentation is reminiscent of a memorial. After the 8th showroom, which is dedicated to the history of the museum, visitors finally reach the Diaz hall, dedicated to Armando Diaz, Chief of Staff of the Italian Army, at the end of the exhibition. The room forms a contrast to the otherwise critical examination of the war and its consequences, particularly as it presents classical souvenirs of a commander: from his war memoirs to school essays and children's drawings which were created on the occasion of the General's death in the year 1928. A particularly positive feature, however, is the large didactic room that offers plenty of space to present the exhibition and

its subject matter to school classes or other groups; the numerous decorations Diaz received in the course of his military career are also displayed in this room.

Although the narration in this exhibition was developed from the Italian side of the front, most of the objects are of Italian provenience and a focus is put on the history of the region, what makes the museum stand out is the considerable critical distance it assumes from the events. The museum also avoids creating a victorious pose, as can be found in Redipuglia, emphasising instead the enormous losses also suffered on the Italian side, whereby the emphasis is placed on human suffering and the destruction of cultural heritage alike. Thus, the Museo della Grande Guerra in Gorizia manages to meet many of the expectations set for a modern war museum. It is neither possible, nor necessary for all museums to attempt to create an overall presentation of the First World War, an attempt that must be doomed to failure anyway. The only regrettable point is that the name of the museum does not express the particular cultural-historical and regional focal points by which the exhibition distinguishes itself.

2.3 Kobariški Muzej

Kobariški Muzej, which is located right in the old town centre of Kobarid, regards itself as a mirror of the keen public interest in World War I and the Isonzo Front Line²⁰ and is based on a collection put together by the local population. Since its opening in 1990, it has drawn much attention in Slovenia and beyond. In 1993, the exhibition was awarded the Council of Europe Museum Prize. At the award ceremony in Strasbourg, Friedrich Waidacher explained:

In the course of my professional career I visited hundreds of museums, among them war museums. Kobarid was the first one where I could not find the slightest trace of chauvinism, bias, or glorification. Its display is deeply touching. It takes its visitors by their hearts and souls and conveys a message which cannot be disseminated too often and too loud: war is insanity, crime, it only generates victims²¹.

The museum seems to be incredibly proud of the praise it has received from various sides, which is reflected in an own room especially dedicated to awards and prizes, as well as the many “notable persons” who have visited the museum.

The exhibition is mainly dedicated to the Isonzo Front and is spread over two floors. The entrance foyer on the ground floor features a variety of symbols: Flags indicate the nations that were involved in the war at the Isonzo River. Coming in

20 Cf. Museum von Kobarid. Führer. 1. Weltkrieg – Isonzofront. 1914–1918, [Kobarid 1993], p. 5.

21 <http://www.kobariski-muzej.si/museum/awards/> (24.08. 2014).

through the entrance, one finds 36 photographs of soldiers and various grenades below them to the right, while 18 crosses and five gravestones can be seen on the opposite side of the foyer. The museum's focus on the "blood toll that was paid by the soldiers on this part of Slovenian soil, regardless of their origin"²², becomes apparent even at this stage.

The exhibition begins on the ground floor with a 20-minute film offering an overview of World War I and, in particular, the Isonzo Front, followed by a number of showrooms on the two upper floors, which are thematically arranged. For most objects, short captions in four languages (German, English, Slovenian and Italian) are available. In addition, there are a few short summaries offering an overview of the course of the war, as well as some quotes by contemporary witnesses.

The showrooms on the first floor, the Krn Room, the White Room, the Room of the Rear, and the Black Room are all characterised by the fact that none of the opposing armies is afforded more attention, and that the main focus is put on the human suffering, although visitors can follow changes in the front lines on various maps. The Black Room resembles an oratory for the fallen soldiers, which becomes particularly apparent through the staging of a cross and, the sculpture placed before it of a soldier mourning at a grave. In addition, photographs of seriously injured soldiers and the gate of the Italian military prison in Smast near Kobarid, where numerous accounts of prisoners are written, are very present.

Illustration 4: View of the Black Room



22 Museum von Kobarid. Führer, p. 10.

The entire museum not only stands out with a flood of photographs, but also with various showcases which, similar to Redipuglia, have been filled with equipment of different types and provenance, such as a showcase with different picks and spades of Italian, Austro-Hungarian and German origin, or one with Austro-Hungarian as well as Italian wire cutters found in the White Room.

On the second floor, two rooms are particularly dedicated to the battle for Kobarid. A large ground relief of the upper Isonzo Valley not only illustrates the military situation before the Twelfth Isonzo Battle, but also sheds light on the geographic conditions. The recreation of the mountainous landscape from Bovec to Tolmin and from the Krn mountain range to the Friulian Plain indicates the exact distribution of units, weapons and equipment on 23 October, 1917, the day before the 12th Battle of Isonzo began.

At the end of this room, attention is drawn once more to the suffering of the soldiers at the front: the visitors can enter a recreated cavern that shows an Italian soldier writing a letter, the lines of which can be heard through an audio installation. The text expresses the soldiers' life in the high mountains and the deprivations they had to suffer.

Besides the permanent exhibition on World War I, the ground floor offers rooms for special exhibitions, and the first floor has three rooms dedicated to Kobarid that offer a short outline of the township's historical development from Iron Age to the 1990s, with a special focus on the changing powers ruling over the area.

3. Representations of war by comparison

For a long time, the representations of wars in museums were places of hero worship and glorification of war, serving war propaganda: In all the nations involved in World War I, for instance, exhibitions of the spoils of war were shown²³. Weapons and other militaria therefore dominated the presentation of the war in the museum²⁴. The guiding principles, however, have shifted: War museums are increasingly becoming institutions of peace and commemoration

23 Cf. Krumeich, Gerd: "Der Erste Weltkrieg im Museum. Das *Historial de la Grande Guerre* in Péronne und neuere Entwicklungen in der musealen Präsentation des Ersten Weltkrieges". In: Korte, Barbara/ Paletschek, Sylvia/ Hochbruck, Wolfgang (eds.): *Der Erste Weltkrieg in der populären Erinnerungskultur (Schriften der Bibliothek für Zeitgeschichte 22)*. Essen 2008, pp. 59–71, here p. 59.

24 Cf. Thiemeyer, Thomas: "Waffen und Weltkriege im Museum. Wie sich die museale Darstellung der beiden Weltkriege und der Umgang mit Militaria gewandelt haben". In: *Militär-geschichtliche Zeitschrift 1/69* (2010), pp. 1–16, here p. 2.

of the victims²⁵. Despite the fact that since the 1990s, many new museums and exhibitions on World War I have been established and many of them pursue this aim, the Kobariski Muzej is a striking example here, but the same motif can also be seen in Museo della Grande Guerra in Gorizia, it must be stated that not all museums arrange their exhibitions in this spirit. The small exhibition in Redipuglia shows a narration that places the heroisation of the war, the technical advances and the glorification of the heroes at its centre.

In addition, present-day war exhibitions tend to abandon a national-historical interpretation of the war. This is facilitated by renouncing the look at the offenders, and choosing to look more at the victims on both sides of the front, as accusations are avoided and war appears as a “jointly endured disaster”. Such a transnational point of view is evidently aspired by the exhibition in Kobarid and, with some limitations, also the one in Gorizia, whereas the exhibition in Redipuglia presents a classical Italian viewpoint. This not only becomes evident through the display of objects that are largely of Italian provenience and the use of texts only available in Italian language, but particularly through the orchestration in the museum’s Sala “Grande Guerra”, where the Italian capture of Gorizia is celebrated as a heroic victory.

Besides the central messages of war exhibitions, the forms of representation have also seen major changes since the first war exhibitions. Once it was no longer the objective to glorify spoils of war and a nation’s own powerful weapons, museums began trying to find ways of conveying a realistic image of the war to the soldiers’ relatives and descendants. In response to the strongly text-laden exhibitions that had been seen for many years, museums began to show increasing numbers of staged exhibitions, particularly from the late 1970s and the 1980s. In the course of the 1970s and 1980s, more and more exhibitions were arranged by designers, who took over the curators’ and museum directors’ work of assembling the showcases; ever more exhibitions showed orchestrated showrooms²⁶. Since that point, as the historian Martin Große Burlange argues, a certain event character can be assumed in exhibitions that are received as a social event²⁷. Many modern museums of contemporary history, however, are currently going one step further: “[T]he primacy

25 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 1.

26 Cf. Klein, Hans-Joachim/Wüsthoff-Schäfer, Barbara: *Inszenierungen an Museen und ihre Wirkung auf Besucher (Materialien aus dem Institut für Museumskunde 32)*. Berlin 1990, p. 5.

27 Große Burlange, Martin: *Große historische Ausstellungen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1960–2000 (Zeitgeschichte – Zeitverständnis 15)*. Münster 2005, p. 176.

of the museum experience has shifted from object to performance”²⁸, as Valerie Casey points out. This, at least, is the claim often made to date. The museum in Gorizia, in particular, presents the war in this spirit: The recreated trench with various light and audio effects shows that the museum’s intention is not merely to convey knowledge, but to provide a “historical experience” for the visitors.

Often, orchestrations in exhibitions are accompanied by a reduction of the number of original objects, consequently upgrading individual objects. The museums in Redipuglia, in Gorizia and in Kobarid show, however, that this does not necessarily have to be the case. While the staged parts of the exhibitions do indeed only show very few objects, and in Kobarid it remains unclear whether any of the objects are originals, the showcases in the remaining parts of the museums are used to show a host of objects, in particular photographs and equipment used by the soldiers.

Orchestrations always imply structuring the perception of the visitor, the facilitation of certain understandings, but also the hindrance or prevention of others²⁹. The replicas of the trenches and caverns attempt to direct the visitors’ perspective to daily life at the front and the suffering of the soldiers. Thus, the exhibitions in Gorizia and Kobarid already show various elements of a cultural-historical perspective on war, although both museums had already been inaugurated before the change of paradigm in military history, which John Keegan introduced in his work “A history of warfare”³⁰ in 1993³¹. The focus is not on the subjects of major military policy and operational history, but on the daily life of the soldiers at the front, and on killing and being killed.

Unless otherwise indicated, illustrations are the author’s own.

28 Casey, Valerie: *The museum effect. Gazing from object to performance in contemporary cultural-history museum*. www.archimuse.com/publishing/ichim03/095C.pdf (28.02.2015), p. 4.

29 Cf. Hoffmann, Detlev: “Laßt Objekte sprechen! “Bemerkungen zu einem verhängnisvollen Irrtum. In: Spickernagel, Ellen/ Walbe, Brigitte (eds.): *Das Museum. Lernort contra Musentempel (special volume of the journal “Kritische Berichte”)*. Gießen 1979, pp. 101–120, here p. 101.

30 Keegan, John: *A history of warfare*. London 1993.

31 Cf. Nowosadtko, Jutta: “Gewalt – Gesellschaft – Kultur”: Ein Ersatz für “Krieg – Staat – Politik?”. In: *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History, Online-Ausgabe, 1/2 (2005)*, <http://www.zeithistorische-forschungen.de/1-2005/id=4619> (27.02.2015).

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