

**PHOTOGRAPHY AND WAR. GERMAN PHOTOGRAPHY OF GHENT (BELGIUM)
DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR**
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Archives of the City of Ghent

Introduction

In the last four years the First World War (1914-1918) was remembered in a lot of places in Belgium and Flanders. One hundred years after the end of the First World War, this War is still very much alive in the minds of the people and the War is -of course- nowadays also perceived as a touristic stimulus. The Belgian Government and the Flemish government both took initiatives to promote the touristic infrastructure that is connected with the theme of the First World War¹. Two million tourists are expected and I think the real numbers at the end of 2018 will be in accordance with these expectations. The most First World War-linked museum in Flanders, the In Flanders Fields Museum in the Flemish city of Ypres (center of the frontzone during the First World War) received a lot of visitors in the last years: some 483.000 visitors in 2014, 285.000 visitors in 2015, 206.000 visitors in 2016 and 221.000 visitors in 2017.

Although Ghent was not in the frontzone during the First World War, it was still a place of importance as the Germans occupied it to install a military regime as capital of the Etappegebiet. German troops came to the city to rest, to recover from war-injuries, for training purposes and a lot of administrative bodies that had to control the region were established here. The city was also a node where transports of goods and people gathered before being redistributed to the front².



Belgium, Ghent and the Etappegebiet of the German IVth army (© Donald Buyze)

Before the First World War Ghent was already a place of importance in Flanders. Its long history dates back to the middle ages when Ghent was already an important place known for its cloth trade. In the 14th century Ghent had become the second biggest city above the Alps after Paris. In modern times Ghent industrialised quite early in the 19th century. At the outbreak of the First World War some 165.500 people lived in the city (208.500 people if one also takes into account the suburbs of Ledeborg, Gentbrugge and Sint-Amandsberg). Economically the city was one of the most important cities in the north of Belgium: the city was famous for its textile industries, its harbour and its floricultural institutes. In 1913 Ghent had hosted a World Exposition that attracted 9.5 million visitors³.

In these last years the archives of the city of Ghent invested a lot of effort into the description and the digitization of sources that are connected with the First World War. In 2013 we started a three-year project funded by the Flemish Government for the digitization of the text posters covering the whole of Flanders, used to communicate during the First World War⁴. In 2014 a World War I photo collection of the German occupying forces in Ghent, was recognized as a “Flemish Heritage Collection/Topstuk” or a part of the Flemish heritage by the Flemish Government⁵. The archives of the City of Ghent do possess of some 540 different photographs that were made by the German occupying forces in Ghent during their stay in Ghent in the years 1916-1918. A lot of these original photographs have been used to make a photo album, the “Kriegsalbum von Gent” (which was published in 1916). This album was printed in Germany as a memento of the stay of the German military in Ghent. Up to 12.000 German soldiers resided in Ghent, which was a resting place behind the front zone, the capital of the so-called Etappe-gebiet. The original photographs used for making the Kriegsalbum as well as the published photo album are kept in the stacks of the Archives of the City of Ghent. Recently we also discovered that some pictures were also commercialized as postcards (these postcards were printed in Ghent). Multiple copies of the Kriegsalbum and the postcards are known⁶.



Kriegsalbum von Gent: Cover

The re-discovery and appraisal of the German warphotographs of the Photographische Abteilung of the Kommandantur Gent as relics of exceptional value for the Flemish Community made the archives of the City of Ghent start up a project with the aim of restoring, describing, re-digitizing and promoting this collection. To present these exceptional images to a broad public the idea was also launched to make a new publication that presents the German warphotos of Ghent and contextualizes their existence. The presentation of the book was coupled with the publication of all photographs with detailed new descriptions online⁷.

Kriegsalbums

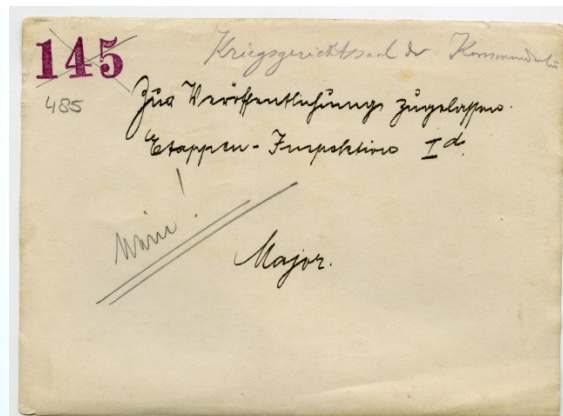
The practice of publishing memory albums was not unique for the German troops in Ghent. Also French and other armies distributed magazines and publications that can be considered as war souvenirs and propaganda and examples of censorship, e.g. the Album de la Guerre realized in Paris in 1915. Often professional artists were involved in the realization of such publications. E.g. the French painter Lucien Jonas realized as « Peintre militaire attaché au musée de l'Armée » numerous illustrations and portraits of officers for several French wartime publications such as *L'Illustration*, *Les Annales* and *Lectures pour tous*. Also the Belgian army started in 1915 with a "Section artistique de l'Armée belge en campagne", where artists and photographers (grouped in the "Service Photographique de l'Armée belge" (S.P.A.B.)) were involved that had to record the warzone from a Belgian perspective⁸.

The German photographers of the the "Photographische Abteilung" in Gent however were exceptionally active in publishing during the years 1915-1916. Two other albums of Gent of the "Photographische Abteilung" are known as well: a Weihnachtsalbum and a Leichtkranken-Abteilungsalbum, both two albums date back to December 1915. As we can see from the introduction of the Kriegsalbum that was realized in spring 1916 the Photographische Abteilung also distributed Christmas-cards to the families of wounded soldiers around Christmas 1915 and postcards of wargraves at the occasion of Totensonntag (the 25th of November 1915; on Totensonntag every year German citizens remember dead familymembers). As far as we know, in Belgium only one other album has been published with regard to another city, an album of the neighbourhood of Bruges: the Kriegsalbum des Marinekorps Flandern 1914-1917. Most German published Kriegsalbums seem to be connected with specific units in the German army. Other private photo albums of German officers in smaller towns are known for the Flemish towns Kortrijk en Ronse. These last albums are filled with original photographs (no reproductions in print!).



Two other albums realized by the Photographische Abteilung in Gent on the occasion of Christmas 1915. All of the covers of the Ghent Kriegsalbums are made by xylograph artist Otto Schwerdtner (*Leipzig 1883 - +Stuttgart 1955)

What makes the case of Ghent exceptional is that the city archive of Ghent possesses not only the original photographs taken by Photographische Abteilung for the realization of the Kriegsalbum of 1916, but that these photographs are also carrying information about the censorship and propaganda that was carried out during the editing of the Kriegsalbum. Every Photo that was published received an individual permission for publication by a German officer: some photographs were refused for publication (they have "nein" written on the back of the photo), sometimes the descriptions on the back of the photographs differ from the published subtitles in the Kriegsalbum. It is remarkable to see that even within the German army itself images were censored very severely. The photographs of the Kriegsalbum give us another confirmation of the existence of a police-state that was established in Belgium by the Germans during the First World War⁹.



German officers drinking beer and playing a ball-game. This photograph was censored and is not published. The back of the photograph still carries the marks of the censorship (SAG_MA_XII_19_FO_485_1)

The image of Ghent that is presented to the reader is very touristic and full of subtle propaganda. The photographs show us the omnipresent German military in the Etappengebiet. On the contrary Belgian and Ghent citizens rarely figure on these photographs: streets are empty and clean. Normal life seems to have halted. A lot of photographs focus on the military force and victories of the German army. We see German soldiers exercising with granates, a French airplane shot down and we see that the German army disposes of the most recent inventions in warfare like electricity and telephones. The army looks very well-organised and self-conscious. Portraits of groups of soldiers are well-composed. Remarkably some errors did occur e.g. when somebody is still busy repairing a roof while a group of soldiers is portrayed in the neighbourhood of the Saint Petersabbey in Ghent. Other pictures stress the abundant provisions of meat and show us an industry where sausages are made. At the same time the inhabitants of Ghent suffered from lack of food: meat is put on rations and is often unavailable¹⁰. Also in Germany itself people lacked food: even bread was put on rations from February 1915 onwards. These photographs are thus propaganda: they have to present an image of an invincible army that will be victorious in the end: people (families of the soldiers) at home should continue to support the war effort.



Photo nr. 188: Excercizing with granates (SAG_MA_XII_19_FO_188_1)



Photo of the Sausage-industry (SAG_MA_XII_19_FO_153)



Photo of a group of soldiers with a man repairing a roof in the background (SAG_MA_XII_19_FO_044)

Who made the Kriegsalbums von Gent?

The photographs of the Kriegsalbums of Ghent were realized by the Photographische Abteilung of the Kommandantur Ghent.

This Photographische Abteilung was founded in 1915, primarily to censor all photography realized by Belgian citizens. Already on the 4th of November 1914 the German military prohibited all news and images that hadn't passed German censorship¹¹. On 29th of October 1915 the Kommandantur Gent ordered everybody that owned a camera, negatives or film to report their belongings within three days in the offices of the Kommandantur¹². On the 6th of November 1915 this order was renewed and specified: all photomaterial had to be deposited (with exception of professional photographers) and photographing without a licence was explicitly prohibited (even for professionals). Professional photographers had to show the negatives of their photographs every month at the Photographische Abteilung of the Kommandantur. The Germans became more and more aware of the fact that Belgian and allied spies damaged the military interests of their troops. The Photographische Abteilung ordered all amateur-photographers to hand over their cameras. People that obtained an exception to this rule had to show their camera and negatives to the Photographische Abteilung every month. Photographs were only allowed if they had no military interest. No photograph was to be sold without explicit permission¹³.

Verordnung

1. Jeder Inhaber von photographischen Apparaten, nicht belichteten Platten und Films muss im Besitze einer Erlaubniskarte der Kommandantur sein.

2. Die Erlaubniskarten zum Besitz der angemeldeten photographischen Apparate, nicht belichteten Platten und Films sind von der Kommandantur, Kouter 28, abzuholen und zwar in der Zeit von 8 bis 11 Uhr vormittags und 4,50 bis 6,50 Uhr nachmittags.

Es haben zu erscheinen an :

- 12. November : Buchstaben A. und B.
- 15. November : Buchstabe C.
- 14. und 15. November : Buchstaben D., Da. — Def.
- 16. November : Buchstaben Deg — D. Schluss.
- 16. November : Buchstaben E., F., G.
- 17. November : Buchstaben H., J., K.
- 18. November : Buchstabe L.
- 19. November : Buchstabe M.
- 20. November : Buchstaben N., O., P., Q.
- 21. November : Buchstabe R.
- 22. November : Buchstabe S.
- 25. November : Buchstaben St., Sch., T., U.
- 24. November : Buchstaben V — Vanz.
- 25. November : Buchstaben Ven — V. Schluss.
- 26. November : Buchstaben W., Z.

Die Meldepflichtigen, mit Ausnahme der Berufsphotographen, haben ihre Apparate, Platten und Films mitzubringen.

5. Der Besitz von Apparaten, nicht belichteten Platten und Films ohne schriftliche Erlaubnis nach dem 28. November 1915 wird bestraft.

4. Die Erlaubniskarte zum Besitze von photographischen Apparaten, nicht belichteten Platten und Films berechtigt den Inhaber nicht zum Photographieren. Das Photographieren ist jedem Landeseinwohner mit Ausnahme der Berufsphotographen verboten.

3. Berufsphotographen haben, wenn sie die Erlaubnis zum Photographieren wünschen, bis spätestens 12. November einen begründeten schriftlichen Antrag der Kommandantur, Kouter 28, einzureichen.

6. Jede Veränderung im Besitz von photographischen Apparaten, nicht belichteten Platten und Films, ist vom Käufer und Verkäufer bzw. Besitzvorgänger und Besitznachfolger vor Kauf oder Verkauf oder Besitzübergabe der Kommandantur zwecks Genehmigung und Berichtigung der Listen anzumelden.

7. Jede vorsätzliche oder fahrlässige Zuwiderhandlung gegen die Vorschriften in Paragraphen 1 bis 6 sowie die Aufforderung oder Anreizung zu Zuwiderhandlungen wird, soweit nicht nach den bestehenden Gesetzen strengere Strafen verwirklicht sind, mit Geldstrafe bis zu 2000 Mark oder Freiheitsstrafe bis zu 3 Monaten bestraft. Beide Strafen können auch nebeneinander verhängt werden. Ausserdem verfallen die Platten, Abzüge und Apparate der Beschlagnahme.

Gent, den 6. November 1915.

Der Etappen-Kommandant.

Bekendmaking

1. Ieder bezitter van fotografische-toestellen, van niet belichte platen en films moet in bezit zijn van eene vergunning der Kommandantur.

2. Deze vergunning voor 't bezitten van de aangemelde toestellen, van niet belichte platen en films moet op de Kommandantur Gent, Kouter, 28, afgehaald worden in den tijd van 8 tot 11 uur 's voormiddags en 4,50 tot 6,50 uur 's namiddags. Er moeten verschijnen den 12 November alle personen wier naam begint

- met de letters A en B.
- den 15 November : de letter C.
- den 14 en 15 November : de letters D., Da. — Def.
- den 16 November : de letters Deg. — D. slot.
- den 16 November : de letters E., F., G.
- den 17 November : de letters H., J., K.
- den 18 November : de letter L.
- den 19 November : de letter M.
- den 20 November : de letters N., O., P., Q.
- den 21 November : de letter R.
- den 22 November : de letter S.
- den 25 November : de letters St., Sch., T., U.
- den 24 November : de letters V — Vanz.
- den 25 November : de letters Ven — V. slot.
- den 26 November : de letters W — Z.

De tot aanmelding verplichten met uitzondering der beroeps-fotografen hebben hunne toestellen, platen en films mee te brengen.

5. Het bezit van fotografische-toestellen, van niet belichte platen en films zonder schriftelijke vergunning, wordt na den 28 November 1915 gestraft.

4. De vergunning voor het bezitten van fotografische-toestellen, van niet belichte platen en films, geeft den bezitter geen recht te fotografeeren. Het fotografeeren is met uitzondering van beroepsfotografen, voor alle ingezetenen verboden.

3. Wanneer beroepsfotografen eene vergunning voor 't fotografeeren wenschen, moeten zij tot 12 November bij de Kommandantur, Kouter, 28, een met redenen omkleed schriftelijk verzoek indienen.

6. Iedere verandering van bezit der fotografische-toestellen, der niet belichte platen en films moet door den koper en verkoper, dat wil zeggen, door den voormaligen bezitter en den opvolgenden bezitter, aler de koop, verkoop of verandering van bezit volrokken wordt, ter goedkeuring en aanvulling der lijsten bij de Kommandantur aan te geven.

7. Iedere overtreding dezer verordening hetzij met voorbedachten rade, hetzij door nalatigheid (§ 1 tot § 6), alsook iedere overtreding of aansporing tot overtreding wordt, in zoover de wet geene strengere straffen eischt, met eene boete tot 2000 Mark of met eene gevangenis gestraft.

Beide straffen kunnen ook gelijktijdig toegepast worden. Bovendien kunnen de toestellen, platen en afdrukken verbeurd verklaard worden.

Gent, den 6 November 1915.

De Etappen-Kommandant.

Textposter 6th of November 1915 (SAG_MA_M_32_169)

A German military publication from 1916 described the tasks of the Photographische Abteilung der Kommandantur as ““Ueberwachungstelle der photographischen Aufnahmen, Ausgabestelle der Käuferlaubnisscheine für Platten und Filme an Inhaber von Erlaubnisscheinen, Unnahmestelle für Entwicklung von Platten und Filmen von Heeresangehörigen, Vertriebsstelle des “Kriegsalbums von Gent!” From this decription we learn that this service had to control a lot of things. Apart from these regulative tasks the Photographische Abteilung also realized photographs themselves that were commercialized for e.g. through the publication of the Kriegsalbum von Gent¹⁴.

For the moment it is still unclear how long the Photographische Abteilung of the Kommandantur Gent remained active. Probably the service was abolished already in the course of 1917, it is remarkable to see that we cannot find any publications realized by the service dating from 1917 or 1918. Propaganda and censorship were maybe reorganized from 1917 onwards. Maybe the establishment of the BUFA (Bild- und Filmamt) in Berlin from the 30th of January 1917 onwards reorganized the operations of the Photographische Abteilung in Gent. It is remarkable to see that the archives of the Photographische Abteilung that are preserved in the Archives of the City of Ghent contain some photographs of the BUFA (e.g. photos of the visit of the German emperor to Ghent at Christmas 1917)¹⁵.



BUFA-photo of Emperor Wilhelm visiting his troops in Ghent at Christmas 1917
(SAG_MA_XII_19_FO_525)

Only two names of photographers that were part of the Photographische Abteilung are known as they are mentioned in the Weihnachtsalbum: "Denecke" and "Eggeling". "Denecke" probably is (a family-member of) Hermann Denecke from Ascherleben. Hij was also responsible for printing the Leichtkranken-Abteilungsalbum in 1915. We have no indication so far on the whereabouts of "Eggeling"¹⁶.



Denecke and Eggeling, two photographers at work in the Dark Room of their office in hotel Falligan in Ghent (Kriegsweihnachtenalbum Gent 1915)

Not all Kriegsalbums are printed by the same printinghouse. Louis Koch from Halberstadt realized the Weihnachtsalbum. The Kriegsalbum von Gent was realized by Peter Luhn in Barmen (nowadays Wuppertal). It is remarkable to see that no Ghent printing houses were hired for printing these albums. We can think of three reasons why this was not the case. First: Maybe the German military thought that Belgian printers did not have enough technical knowledge to realize printed photoalbums. Two: Maybe the war caused shortage in paper and other printing necessities in Belgium. Three: For reasons of security of the one thought it was safer to print in Germany where no Belgians would be able to see what was printed.

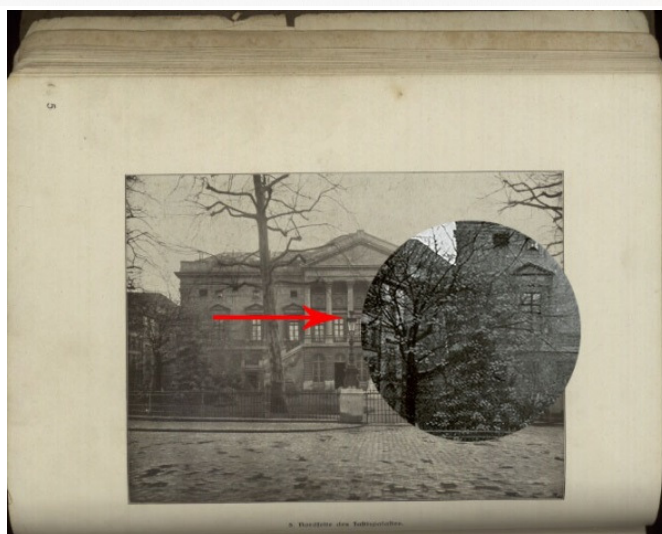
We also do not have any indication about the number of copies that was realized. After the First World War the City of Ghent took possession of some dozens of Kriegsalbums from the former offices of the Photographische Abteilung. Consequently 55 Kriegsalbums were handed over to the Archives of the City of Ghent and distributed to a list of people. In 1919 one copy was handed over to an officer of the National Security Service of Belgium, who had asked for a copy¹⁷.

Propaganda

The First World War was not only one of the first examples of industrial warfare, but also a war of propaganda as was never seen before. The enormous impact of this war and its industrial character had to be supported by a bigger mobilization of the general public than

ever before. All countries that participated in the War have started propaganda and censorship-offices during the First World War. In february 1915 the Belgian government founded a "Bureau de Documentation Belge", a military propaganda-institute that was initiated by the Ministry of War. The same Ministry also founded a Photographic archive: for the education of the Belgian youth and "to provide illustrations for propagandic publications in other countries". When the United States enter the War in 1917 they also founded a "Commission for public Information".

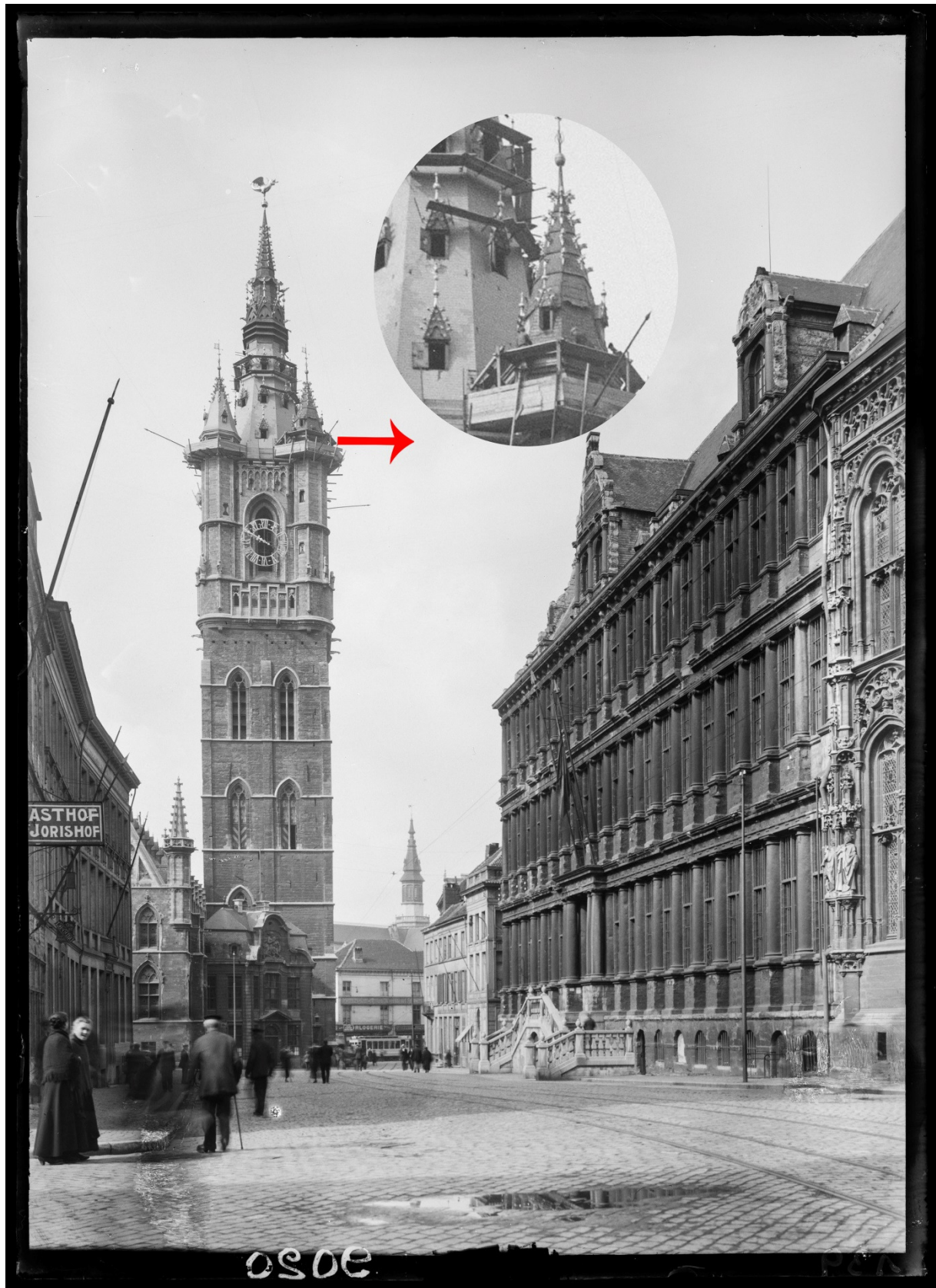
In this era photography has become an important medium. Warphotography introduced in the Krim War (1853-1856). But photography was still a complex medium back then. From the 1890's onwards we see that photography becomes more and more democratized (Kodak: "You press the button we do the rest"). With this democratization comes a bigger interest in photographs: the periode 1900-1920 are e.g. also the heydays of postcards. During the First World War this popularity of photographic images remains intact. The general public believes very much what is visible in photographs, published images, postcards, etc. When we compare the prints of the original photographs and the published images of the Kriegsalbum von Gent we can see that a few things were changed (retouches).



Original photograph without leaves and published photograph with leaves (SAG_MA_XII_19_FO_005)

The search for comparable images of Gent made by Germans also led us to other archives, museums and libraries. With the help of our colleagues from the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage, we also got acquainted with the photographs of Ghent realized by members of the Kunstschutz-program. During the last two years of the German occupation of Belgium some 30 German arthistorians, photographers and architects travelled through Belgium to record the most important heritage and monuments of Belgium. More than 10.000 photos were taken, of which almost 900 of the photographs were taken in Ghent. The Kunstschutz program was a project to make an inventory of the Belgian artistic heritage. The first aim of the project was scientific. The German occupying forces wanted detailed photographs of every interesting piece of heritage so that this heritage could be studied from the photographs back in Germany. Furthermore: through science some people wanted to prove that Germany and Belgium shared a common cultural and historical background. At last the Germans wanted to counter the image that they were destroyers of cultural heritage; with the inventory they wanted to let the public believe that they had a real interest in cultural heritage and were no barbarians (they were presented that way in the propaganda of the allied forces, especially after burning down the city of Leuven and the Leuven University Library)¹⁸.

The photographs made by the Kunstschutz-program are of remarkable quality: both technical and esthetical, they are sometimes really outstanding. This is very different from the pictures made for the Kriegsalbum von Gent: these photographs were not made by professional photographers, they show us technical failures and are often of poor quality.



Kunstschutz-photograph: Ghent cityhall and belfry. Unintentionally the photograph also records the dismantlement of the copper roof of the belfry of Ghent. This copper (some 7.204 kilograms) was claimed by the German military for their war industry in May 1918 (KIK_A009020)

Project 2018: description-conservation/restoration- digitization- book

In 2018 the archive of the city of Ghent wanted to set up a whole project around the photographs of the Kriegsalbum of Ghent. With our project we wanted to raise as much interest of the public as possible.

First of all we made up a better description of the photographs and their physical appearance with the help of part of some thirty volunteers. During the handling of the originals, the photographs were stored in new PAT-paper. The Photographic Activity Test, or PAT, is an international standard test (ISO18916) for evaluating photo-storage and display products. The test explores interactions between photographic images and the enclosures in which they are stored.

Once the inventory of the collection (and its physical state) was made up, we hired an expert in photo-conservation to clean and repair some photographs that had been damaged through the years. This expert, Herman Maes, consulted the archivists whenever ethical questions arose: how far should we go in repairing and restoring photographs? In all occasions a minimal intervention to stabilize the object was favoured instead of reconstructing a photograph to an "original state". This approach differed from the approach of a present-day famous Ghent photographer that was hired to re-interpret the original photographs with an 21th century photographers-eye. The digital adaptation of the original photographs by this photographer, Michiel Hendryckx, was often far-reaching and contrasts with the approach of the expert in photo-restoration. However without engaging a contemporary photographer the original photographs were less interesting for a 21th century public: some technical shortcomings and losses of material would avoid the spectator to appreciate these photographs as exceptional records of a period of War in our city.







12. Etappen-Inspektion, Abteilung IIa. 13. Stabsordonnanz.

Published Photograph/Photograph before restoration/after restoration and digitally remastered (SAG_MA_XII_19_FO_013_3)



Manual restoration For and after (SAG_MA_XII_19_FO_002)

The book that was made with the collaboration of photographer Michiel Hendryckx was presented to the public in the very same location where the Photographische Abteilung was located during the First World War. This location, an 18th century city hotel has not been altered very much since then. One can even recognize the dark room where photographs were developed and negatives were subjected to censorship nowadays. This exceptional book presentation combined with a little exposition arose a lot of interest from the press and the public.

We are sure that this collection rises a lot of interest from different points of view. The photographs can be re-used for different purposes: education, history of communication, tourism, artistic reuse, ...¹⁹

Conclusion

Until now, images – not only photographs, but also engravings, paintings, maps, etc. – are most often used by historians and the public to illustrate texts. Images are only added to the text in the last phase, merely as an illustration, most often without attention to the context in which the image was made. This is striking in a world where there is an abundance of images and in a world where visual culture is part of the daily life. The study of the use of German photographs in the First World War, shows that images deserve more attention and that they contain a whole world of history in themselves²⁰.

1 See e.g. <http://www.2014-18.be/> ; https://www.toerismevlaanderen.be/sites/toerismevlaanderen.be/files/assets/documents_PROMOTIE/WOI/100_jaar_Groote_Oorlog_toegankelijke_brochure.pdf and <https://www.klm-mra.be/D7t/nl/content/war-heritage-institute-herdenkt-100-jaar-eerste-wereldoorlog>

2 Capiteyn, A. (ed.), *Gent & de Eerste Wereldoorlog*. Gent, 1991, pp. 25-38; De Meester, E., *Structuur en werking Etappe tweede Duitse 4e leger in Vlaanderen (1914-1918)*. Gent, 1999.

3 A good recent synopsis of the history of Ghent is given in Boone, M. and Deneckere, G. (eds.). *Ghent: a city of all times*. Antwerpen, 2010.

4 <https://faro.be/projectendatabank/tekstaffiches-spiegel-van-het-dagelijks-leven-tijdens-de-eerste-wereldoorlog-fase->

5 <http://www.kunstenenerfgoed.be/nl/wat-doen-we-beschermen-cultuurgoederen/topstukkenlijst/fotoarchief-kriegsalbum-gent>

6 See e.g. <https://lib.ugent.be/nl/catalog/rug01:000179051> and https://digital-beta.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN719681375&PHYSID=PHYS_0001&DMDID=DMDLOG_0001

7 <https://beeldbank.stad.gent/index.php/collection>

8 Capiteyn, A., *Het Kriegsalbum van Gent*. In: Charles, L. (ed.), *Buskruit en Sauerkraut. Oorlogsbronnen in De Zwarte Doos (20^{ste} eeuw)*. Gent, 2007. For Lucien Jonas see: <http://lucien-jonas.blogspot.com/>. For the S.P.A.B.: Azoug, M. and Brion, P., *Defensie gezien door de lens*. La

Défense vua à travers l'objectif. Defense viewed through the lens. Verteidigung betrachtet durch die Linse 1914-2018. Brussel, s.d.

9 De Schaepdrijver, S., De Grootte Oorlog. Het koninkrijk België tijdens de Eerste Wereldoorlog. Amsterdam, 1997, p. 125.

10 Nath, G., Brood willen we hebben! Honger, sociale politiek en protest tijdens de Eerste Wereldoorlog in België. Antwerpen, 2013.

11 AG (Archives of the City of Ghent), MA, M32/35.

12 AG, MA, M32/160.

13 AG, MA, M32/169 and 211.

14 Deutscher Soldaten-Führer durch Gent. Berlin, Wilhelm Pilz, [1916], p. 5.

15 <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bild- und Filmamt> and AG, MA, XII/19.

16 Some information about the Buch-Kunst-und Musikalienhandlung of Hermann Denecke, located at the adress Lange Reihe 29b between 1916 and 1918, was provided to us by the Ascherleben City Archives. We like to thank our German colleagues for this information.

17 GA, AR, 508.

18 De Duitse Negatieven (1917-1918). Het Belgisch artistiek erfgoed door de lens van de bezetter. In: OKV Openbaar Kunstbezit Vlaanderen. Gent, 2017; Kott, Ch., Préserver l'art de l'ennemi? Le patrimoine artistique en Belgique et en France occupées, 1914-1918. Brussel, 2006; Arijs, H., Ftohistorisch onderzoek van een collectie Duitse glasnegatieven (1914-1918) van het Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium. In: Rochet, B. and Tixhon, A. (eds.), La petite Belgique dans la Grande guerre. Une icône, des images, Namur, 2012, pp. 431-454 and Claes, M.-Ch., Een positieve erfenis van de wereldoorlogen in België. Het concept en de verzamelingen van het KIK. In: Erfgoed Brussel, 11-12, 2014, pp. 60-73.

19 Education see e.g. <http://www.erfgoedzuidwest.be/bezetting-14-18-in-de-klas> , that was realized in close collaboration with the Archives of the City of Ghent.

20 Calle, S., De Doncker, T. and Lachaert, P.-J., Photo and film in the First World War: One and the Same. In: Proceedings of the SOIMA 2015- international conference, Brussels, KIK-IRPA, 3-4 september 2015.