

Karolina Ćwiek-Rogalska

From the Battlefield to the Stadium. The Transformation of Male and Female Bodies in German Commemorative Practices regarding the First World War in the 1920s and 1930s
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Introduction

The final scene of *Der ganz große Traum*¹ a fictionalized biopic of the German football pioneer Konrad Koch, depicts a group of English boys coming to a sleepy Westphalian town. The film, set in the 1890s, shows Koch's methods of teaching in contrast to the Turner routine, a mix of mechanical gymnastic exercises.² The pupils are to play a final football match to prove the salutary effect of the new training of a young male body.³ But the culminating match is not a happy ending. If we see it in longer perspective, it is not even a coda, but a prelude. In twenty years, the same protagonists will sit opposite each other in muddy trenches, playing a different game. Thus, World War I changed how sport was perceived: it was no longer only a corporeal activity, it became a performative way to commemorate the bodies by using the bodies.

In the following, I demonstrate that the interwar German culture of commemoration was inseparable from the issue of corporeality through performances of national identity on the sporting field.⁴ It is exemplified by mutilated and dead male bodies, as well as by politically restricted female bodies, reflected in the appearance and location of World War I memorials. War memorials, especially those connected with sport enterprises, stemmed from the long-lasting entanglement of nationality, sport and commemoration in modern German culture. Moreover, the ways different social actors engaged with them allow me to analyse that situation in terms of its performative character. I trace how the reinvention of the bodies, their making and remaking occurred in case of war memorials, starting with the period of the Weimar Republic (1918–1933), and how it resulted in an emergence of a culture of spectatorship in the Third Reich (1933–1945). Although differences between the two periods—the 1920s and 1930s—were significant, the question for the authorities remained the same: how to unify the divided society around the same issue? How to give it proper means to commemorate? How to use these means

¹ Sebastian Grobler, *Der Ganz Große Traum* (Germany, 2011), Film.

² Udo Merkel, "The Politics of Physical Culture and German Nationalism: Turnen versus English Sports and French Olympism, 1871-1914," *German Politics and Society* 21, no. 2 (2003), p. 76. Hereafter cited as Merkel.

³ On the English use of sport as a means to support the national vision as well as an ideal of manhood, intertwined with the colonial ideology, see James Anthony Mangan, "'Muscular, Militaristic and Manly': The British Middle-Class Hero as a Moral Messenger," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 13, no. 1 (1996), pp. 28–47; Tim Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2002), p. 78..

⁴ Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*, p. 79; Merkel, "The Politics of Physical Culture and German Nationalism," p. 70; Christiane Eisenberg, *English Sports Und Deutsche Bürger. Eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte 1800-1939* (Paderborn - München - Zurich: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag, 1999).

for political and social goals?

The research conducted so far stressed the political character of German First World War memorials, depicting them as tools of revanchism and blaming them for the totalization of the German state in the 1930s. Indeed, the commemoration is political, but it does not mean it has only an imposed top-down character.⁵ Every commemoration is a combination of individual and state needs:⁶ after 1918, the families called for means to focus their mourning⁷ while the nation-state required to have control over these means. It resulted in such paradoxes, as the official statement by the German Ministry for Science, Art and National Education, issued in the summer of 1919. It recommended stopping all unapproved commemorations, including the war memorials. The officers complained that the enormous amount of the fallen generated the urgent need to commemorate. And such urgency was hard to control.⁸

But acknowledging only that the German state as commemorator used the memorials to politically mobilize the defeated society means to overlook other factors. Allegedly, the mobilization resulted in the war memorials filling the lack of cultural closure, i.e. the defeat in the war, with nationalism.⁹ Yet, the resentment could have been produced not only by the ‘traditional’ German predilections that were later on institutionalized¹⁰ but also because of the socio-economic factors of post-1918 reality. Among them were the end of the monarchy, the shift towards democracy, the Communist revolution and class conflict,¹¹ as well as various crises the post-1918 German society was hit by: a crisis of sport,¹² the economic crisis, and a crisis in mourning.¹³ Altogether, they summed up to a crisis of representation.¹⁴

Various scholars have already described the connection between sport and the Great War.¹⁵ Sport was integral to the commemoration of World War I and was not specifically

⁵ Jay M. Winter, “Sites of Memory and the Shadow of War,” in *Cultural Memory Studies An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin - New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), p. 70.

⁶ Jay Winter, “Forms of Kinship and Remembrance in the Aftermath of the Great War,” *Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare* 5 (1999), pp. 40–60.

⁷ Kate V. Hartig and Kevin M. Dunn, “Roadside Memorials: Interpreting New Deathscapes in Newcastle, New South Wales,” *Australian Geographical Studies* 36, no. 1 (1998), pp. 5–20; Angela Phelps, “Memorials without Location: Creating Heritage Places,” *Area* 30, no. 3 (1998), pp. 166–68.

⁸ “Der Minister Für Wissenschaft, Kunst Und Volksbildung,” August 20, 1919, Landratsamt Schievelbein, sign. 161, Szczecin National Archive.

⁹ George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers. Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York - Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

¹⁰ Greg Eghigian, “Injury, Fate, Resentment, and Sacrifice in German Political Culture, 1914–1939,” in *Sacrifice and National Belonging in Twentieth-Century Germany*, ed. Marcus Funck, Greg Eghigian, and Matthew Paul Berg (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002), p. 90.

¹¹ Merkel, p. 90.

¹² Merkel, p. 82.

¹³ Laura Wittman, *The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Modern Mourning, and the Reinvention of the Mystical Body* (University of Toronto Press, 2011), p. 6.

¹⁴ Michaela Stoffels, *Kriegerdenkmale Als Kulturobjekte: Trauer-Und Nationskonzepte in Monumenten Der Weimarer Republik* (Böhlau Verlag, 2011), p. 12.

¹⁵ Thierry Terret and James A. Mangan, eds., *Sport, Militarism and the Great War: Martial Manliness and Armageddon* (Routledge, 2013); Thierry Terret, “Prologue: Making Men, Destroying Bodies: Sport, Masculinity and the Great War Experience,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28, no. 3–4 (2011), pp. 323–28;

German. Thus, the German way of commemoration was not a *Sonderweg*, i.e. special way in which things unfolded¹⁶ but a result of the ongoing discussion that Germans had with their dead, as happened in other parts of the world, including Central European states with which Germany had more common features than with Western ones.¹⁷

To propose a different view, I look at the corporeal character of post-1918 German society, to address the questions of: (1) What was the role of male and female bodies in the commemorative process? (2) How was it connected to the role of sport in the development of German culture and national consciousness? And finally, (3) How was it reflected in the appearance of the war memorials? Thus, the chapter not only follows the well-known hypothesis that the interwar generation invented “a new war: clean, beautiful, and above all useful,”¹⁸ but it focuses on the interwar generation reinventing the body—especially the male bodies of the fallen.

Materials and Methods

As examples, I analyse five Pomeranian memorials erected in Pollnow, Greifenberg, Kreitzig, Plathe and Warsaw.¹ I take into consideration the memorials near the recreational objects as together they form particular sportsscapas.¹⁹ They were either war memorials erected close to a playing field (Pollnow, Kreitzig, Plathe), or separate commemorations to the fallen sportsmen (Warsow, Greifenberg).

Pomerania was a German region up to 1945. Following the Potsdam peace conference, it was incorporated into Poland. Thus, I refrain from establishing one central narrative. Instead, I use the peripheral character of the region to show the processes of transformation of the central ideas,² since although policies are established in the centres, they are implemented locally in variety of ways.²⁰

The choice of cases influences the availability of particular sources. After 1945, the new Polish settlers destroyed or recycled most of the German war memorials. Thus, I rely mostly on visual sources, as they preserve the traces of the past,²¹ and I seldom refer to the content of the inscriptions that were part of the memorials. Instead, I examine the form of the memorials and the places where they were erected. The postwar destruction and relocation of archives results in

Wray Vamplew, “Exploding the Myths of Sport and the Great War: A First Salvo,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 31, no. 18 (2014), pp. 2297–2312.

¹⁶ Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870-1990* (University of California Press, 2000), p. 24. Hereafter cited as Koshar.

¹⁷ Eva Hahnová, *Sudetoněmecký Problém: Obtížné Loučení s Minulostí* (Ústí nad Labem: Albis international, 1999).

¹⁸ Laurence van Ypersèle, “Making the Great War Great: 1914–18 War Memorials in Wallonia,” in *Memory and Memorials* (Routledge, 2017), p. 37.

¹⁹ Patricia Anne Vertinsky and Sherry McKay, eds., *Disciplining Bodies in the Gymnasium: Memory, Monument, Modernism* (London - New York: Routledge, 2004).

²⁰ Katherine Verdery, *National Ideology under Socialism: Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceaușescu's Romania* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 84.

²¹ Jacek Małczyński, *Krajobrazy Zagłady: Perspektywa historii środowiskowej* (Warszawa: Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, 2018), p. 93.

the scarcity of textual materials. I did not find any description of the commemorative or sport events in the accessible newspapers of the period from the region in question. Therefore, I propose a reading of monument that connects the semiotic and functional analysis of the memorial.²²

The Gender of the Dead

One of the deciding factors behind the urgent need to commemorate the dead was the scale of loss: approximately 2 million German soldiers perished,²³ almost half of them was between 18 and 25 years old. It resulted in the imbalance of gender: in the 1920s there were 2 million women more than men.²⁴ Over 350 thousand widows run households alone.²⁵ Over 700 thousand men were war invalids.²⁶ It led to a situation when the dead were not only passive objects of commemoration, but active subjects.

The dead, as a voluminous social group, consisted in particular of trained male bodies. Therefore, the war memorials not only in general²⁷ but also in this particular case were gendered, as monument easily can celebrate masculinity²⁸ and are used as a means of compensation.²⁹ Owing to that, the role of women in the case of war memorials was marginal. Although the emancipatory movement of German women pre-1914 was pretty successful,³⁰ with World War I as an empowering breakthrough, and the group of living consisted of men and women alike, they had to mourn the lost abilities of a male body. These bodies were to be aesthetically recreated and reintroduced into society. Therefore, the same bodies that perished in the war, often disfigured beyond the point of recognition, were subjected to various signifying practices. They symbolically overrun the process of physical fragmentation³¹ and to some extent also the death itself. To achieve this goal, the communities of the living erected the figurative memorials. Such memorials stressed the masculinity of the dead. The fallen, imagined realistically in their uniforms or as ancient-like nude warriors, became timeless heroes.³²

²² Kirsten Belgum, "Displaying the Nation: A View of Nineteenth-Century Monuments through a Popular Magazine," *Central European History* 26, no. 4 (1993), p. 463.

²³ Stefan Goebel, "Re-Membered and Re-Mobilized: The 'Sleeping Dead' in Interwar Germany and Britain," *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, no. 4 (October 2004), p. 487.

²⁴ Karin Hausen, "Matki i synowie na rynku towarów i symboli. Niemiecki Dzień Matki 1923–1933," in *Porządek Plci. Studia Historyczne*, trans. Justyna Górny, Klio w Niemczech (Warszawa: Neriton, 2010), p. 125. Hereafter cited as Hausen.

²⁵ Hausen, p. 129.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 130.

²⁷ Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (John Wiley & Sons, 2013).

²⁸ Daniel J. Sherman, "Monuments, Mourning and Masculinity in France after World War I," *Gender & History* 8, no. 1 (1996), p. 95.

²⁹ Erika Doss, "War, Memory, and the Public Mediation of Affect: The National World War II Memorial and American Imperialism," *Memory Studies* 1, no. 2 (2008), p. 241.

³⁰ Joanna Jabłkowska and Magdalena Saruysz-Wolska, "Obecne – Nieobecne. Modele kobiecości w polskiej i niemieckiej kulturze," in *Wyobrażenia przeszłości. Polsko-niemieckie miejsca pamięci*, ed. Robert Traba et al. (Warszawa: Scholar, 2017), p. 423.

³¹ Goebel, "Re-Membered and Re-Mobilized," p. 490.

³² Koshar, p. 117.

The male body was a model for the memory of World War I. As such, it was used also outside Germany, especially in commemorating the ‘lost generation’.³³ Such reintroduction of bodies was also a nod to the veterans. The war was seen primarily as a masculine experience, with the memories of the veterans revolving around lost comradeship.³⁴ It was then not only about heroism. The emphasis was put on the ability to play a traditionally male role. Such an attitude was fuelled within the society where mutilated bodies, unable to function on pre-1914 conditions, were present in an extensive number, as I have indicated above. It hid the difference between the past and the present and reassured those who lived through.

The genderedness of the war memorials was manifested not only by the lack of commemorated women. Reduced to passive roles such as grieving mothers or wives, showing “mourning as women’s act,”³⁵ these representations symbolized the national community’s sacrifice.³ Also when it comes to sculptors, women were rare.³⁶ Here, however, Käthe Kollwitz should be evoked, the sculptor behind the statue “Mourning mother with dead son” (1937). The enlarged copy of this figure is a central piece in the Neue Wache where it was put after the unification of Germany. During the Weimar Republic, the place served as the temporary memorial to the unknown warrior. Although in a classic interpretation, the monument refers to the figure of suffering Christ who brings the salvation to others,³⁷ one can interpret this particular version of Pieta as an attempt to include the women in a commemorative process. Here, the woman is the main actor. It shows that the memorials did not only reflect the construction of the society but also constructed it.³⁸

Kollwitz created the sculpture at the end of the 1930s, but already in the 1920s we can spot the first attempts to limit the postwar role of women. They were to be mothers and fulfil in organizing the life of a family, as exemplified by the establishment of the German Mother’s Day in the first half of the 1920s.³⁹ Already then, the conservative and national thought combined moral values with gender. While the community was to commemorate the dead males as heroes, the role of living females was to protect the nation against the possible moral decay.⁴⁰ At the same time, living women got almost beyond-human capacities. The effort of a German mother was recognized as a “service beyond human strength.”⁴¹ Thus, the cult of the mother and the cult of the fallen could have similar roots, simply to give authorities control over private feelings of

³³ On the meaning of ‘generation’ for German history see Sigrid Weigel, “‘Generation’ as a Symbolic Form: On the Genealogical Discourse of Memory since 1945,” *The Germanic Review: Literature, Culture, Theory* 77, no. 4 (January 2002), pp. 264–77..

³⁴ Koshar, p. 117; Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers. Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*.

³⁵ Sherman, “Monuments, Mourning and Masculinity in France after World War I,” p. 98.

³⁶ E. Levinger, “Socialist – Zionist Ideology in Israeli War Memorials of the 1950s,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 28, no. 4 (1993), pp. 715–46.

³⁷ Karen E. Till, “Staging the Past: Landscape Designs, Cultural Identity and Erinnerungspolitik at Berlin’s Neue Wache,” *Ecumene* 6, no. 3 (1999), p. 270.

³⁸ Sherman, “Monuments, Mourning and Masculinity in France after World War I,” p. 83.

³⁹ Hausen, p. 89.

⁴⁰ Hausen, 99.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 120.

the citizens.⁴² Later on, in the 1930s, the Nazis subdued women to the state doctrine, where they wished to see them primarily as housekeepers.⁴³ Still, in the iconography of war memorials, the male-oriented view was central.⁴⁴ It resulted in the representation of a female body as an allegory (Germania). It only stressed the ‘real’ male bodies, fighting and dying on the front. In fact, Germany was a male body, not a female. Therefore, Kollwitz’s sculpture reflects the symbolism more than it represents reality.

The male-oriented view is noticeable when we take into consideration various networks of commemorators. In Germany, they included veterans, families, artists, and the state.⁴⁵ In fact, the groups were internally diverse. For example, the associations of veterans ranged from the traditional *Kriegervereine* to paramilitary *Kampfbünde* and *Wehrverbände*, as well as separate associations for officers and war invalids. Therefore, during the Weimar Republic, the cultures of remembrance were pluralistic. Moreover, in the Weimar Republic, most of the veterans were associated in Social Democrats,⁴⁶ which makes difficult to assume—contrary to Mosse’s general idea about ‘the myth of the war experience’—that the myth connected with the militarism was the ruling one.

Reintroducing the Dead into Society

The scale of loss followed the need of reintroducing the dead into society. The attempts to do that were however not limited to erecting the war memorials: the very problem of when to honour the dead unveil political tensions of the period in question. Initially, the dead were honoured on *Volkstrauertag* (People’s Day of Mourning). The celebration, introduced by the right-wing *Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge* (VDK) in the 1920s, was an *ersatz* for the official holiday.⁴⁷ VDK prioritized the nation by underestimating local communities.⁴⁸ As a result, at the level of the state, the creation of *Volkstrauertag* unveiled the inability of the Weimar Republic to establish a clear link between nationality and respect toward the dead.⁴⁹ Moreover, establishing the Day on Reminiscere Saturday, connoted religious notions of Easter and resurrection, and in turn, stressed the effort of symbolically reviving the dead. After the Nazi takeover of power, in 1934, the dead ceased to wait, but were reclaimed as heroes: the holiday

⁴² Ibid., 146.

⁴³ Joanna Jabłkowska and Magdalena Saruysz-Wolska, “Obecne – Nieobecne. Modele kobiecości w polskiej i niemieckiej kulturze,” pp. 423–25.

⁴⁴ Koshar, p. 87.

⁴⁵ Stefan Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory. War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914-1949* (Cambridge - New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 18.

⁴⁶ Benjamin Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations: Republican War Veterans and Weimar Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 2.

⁴⁷ Alexandra Kaiser, “The Volkstrauertag (People’s Day of Mourning) from 1922 to the Present,” in *Memorialization in Germany since 1945*, ed. Bill Niven and Chloe Paver (Springer, 2009), pp. 15–25.

⁴⁸ David Livingstone, “Remembering on Foreign Soil: The Activities of the German War Graves Commission,” in *Memorialization in Germany since 1945*, ed. Bill Niven and Chloe Paver (Springer, 2009), pp. 39–64.

⁴⁹ Kaiser, “The Volkstrauertag (People’s Day of Mourning) from 1922 to the Present,” p. 15.

was renamed as *Heldengedenktage* (Day of Heroes) and made an official national holiday.⁵⁰

Furthermore, reintroducing the dead into society by reclaiming the space, i.e. erecting war memorials, was complicated by the fact that the public space of post-1918 Germany was already filled with many war memorials commemorating past wars, e.g. the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1). However, the creators of memorials dedicated to the fallen in World War I could not use them as patterns. First, their predecessors thought on a different scale, both when it comes to the size and the number of memorials. Second, the aesthetic principles changed. Third, social functions assigned to the memorials varied. The existing monuments commemorated victories, while the new ones were the memorials of the defeat. Moreover, underestimating local communities by prioritizing the nation, as was the case with the day when to honour the dead, was not possible, as I have proven on the case of the statement by the German Ministry for Science, Art and National Education.

Thus, World War I memorials were more inclusive, “didactic objects,”⁵¹ i.e. seen and visited daily. The local society needed and ordered them; it paid for them and later on performed the commemorative practices around them. Ultimately, a new model of nation formed around the war memorials, a *Gefühlsgemeinschaft*: “a community of shared feelings.”⁵² Thus, the war memorials not only remade the experience of war chaos into a coherent narrative,⁵³ they also designed the feelings one should have in order to be a proper member of a nation.

To support these feelings, the war past was constantly re-enacted⁵⁴ around the war memorials as resources of commemoration. All aspects of their design—from place to appearance—encoded particular meanings, performed during rituals engaging the bodies.⁵⁵ The war became a combination of heroic death and sacrifice, which in turn was “a drama, which is believed by its performers ... to work.”⁵⁶ All groups engaged in the commemoration got the feeling of belongingness, the sense of the mass death, and the new orientation toward the future. However, the reciprocal character of commemoration required that the subject of the performance—either the local community or the nation-state—was obligated to give the object of commemoration, i.e. the dead, something in return.

Following Erika Fischer-Lichte to the etymological source of performativity, we see that roots of German *Aufführung* (performance) grow out of ‘the act of “introducing oneself to

⁵⁰ Kaiser, “The Volkstrauertag (People’s Day of Mourning) from 1922 to the Present,” p. 16.

⁵¹ Patricia Anne Vertinsky and Sherry McKay, eds., *Disciplining Bodies in the Gymnasium: Memory, Monument, Modernism* (London - New York: Routledge, 2004).

⁵² Greg Eghigian, “Injury, Fate, Resentment, and Sacrifice in German Political Culture, 1914–1939,” in *Sacrifice and National Belonging in Twentieth-Century Germany*, ed. Marcus Funck, Greg Eghigian, and Matthew Paul Berg (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002), p. 93.

⁵³ Mohamad Junaid, “Epitaphs as Counterhistories: Martyrdom, Commemoration, and the Work of Graveyards in Kashmir,” in *Resisting Occupation in Kashmir*, ed. Haley Duschinski et al. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), p. 265.

⁵⁴ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 72.

⁵⁵ Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, p. 72.

⁵⁶ John H. M. Beattie, “On Understanding Sacrifice,” in *Sacrifice*, ed. M. F. C. Bourdillon and Meyer Fortes (London: Academic, 1980), p. 33.

someone”.⁵⁷ Which is to say, commemorations not only reinvented mutilated male bodies.⁵⁸ The war memorials were also a particular kind of deathscapes, as they bound the dead with the living in the performative processes linked to the body.⁵⁹ The bodily practices around the memorials disciplined the living as well as the dead, by symbolically bringing the latter back to life.⁶⁰ As they animated them, the dead were reintroduced into the social structure of post-1918 Germany.

How the Commemorative Process Involved the Bodies and Sport

What was the role of bodies in commemoration? How the three groups of post-1918 German society: families, veterans and fallen, engaged in commemorative practices primary as bodies? Despite many changes in European culture when it comes to the perception of the body in commemoration,⁶¹ it became the centre of attention precisely after 1918. The war memorials were a symbolic representation of the bodies of the absent dead. Frequently, because there was no body to be mourned. It followed the fact that the exhumation process in the case of German soldiers who died outside the country was not allowed⁶² or at least extremely rare.⁶³ It opened the act of locating grief at the national level, to raising bodies to the rank of the “national bodies”⁶⁴ where the male body and the state were inseparable.⁶⁵ Since the body was a part of the native nature,⁶⁶ other ‘natural’ elements were used to commemorate its annihilation: boulders or other local materials.⁶⁷ It indirectly expressed the Romantic point of view: only nature, as well as the people living so close with it, preserve the moral values of the nation. In contrast, ‘artificial’ cities were presented as a threat for the German nation, endangering it with illnesses and weakness.⁶⁸ In turn, war memorials, mediating as the perished bodies, served as visual

⁵⁷ E. Fischer-Lichte, *Ästhetik Des Performativen* (Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag AG, 2004).

⁵⁸ Catherine Moriarty, “The Absent Dead and Figurative First World War Memorials,” *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society* 39 (1995), pp. 7–40; Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men’s Bodies, Britain, and the Great War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

⁵⁹ Ewa Wróblewska-Trochimiuk, “Performativity – Politics – Community,” *Slavia Meridionalis* 19 (December 21, 2019), p. 4.

⁶⁰ Junaïd, “Epitaphs as Counterhistories: Martyrdom, Commemoration, and the Work of Graveyards in Kashmir,” p. 252.

⁶¹ Harold Mytum, “Popular Attitudes to Memory, the Body, and Social Identity: The Rise of External Commemoration in Britain, Ireland and New England,” *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 40, no. 1 (2006), pp. 96–110; Philippe Ariès, *Western Attitudes Toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. Patricia Ranum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975).

⁶² Stefan Goebel, “Re-Membered and Re-Mobilized: The ‘Sleeping Dead’ in Interwar Germany and Britain,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, no. 4 (October 2004), p. 487.

⁶³ Siebrecht, “The Female Mourner: Gender and the Moral Economy of Grief During the First World War,” p. 145.

⁶⁴ Phelps, “Memorials without Location: Creating Heritage Places,” pp. 166–68.

⁶⁵ Uli Linke, *German Bodies: Race and Representation after Hitler* (Taylor & Francis Group, 1999), p. 46.

⁶⁶ Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, “Gärten, Natur und völkische Ideologie,” in *Die Ordnung der Natur: Vorträge zu historischen Gärten und Parks in Schleswig-Holstein*, ed. Reiner Hering (Hamburg: Hamburg University Press, Verlag der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, 2009), pp. 143–87.

⁶⁷ “Form Der Kriegerehrung,” n.d., Landratsamt Schievelbein, sign. 161, Szczecin National Archive.

⁶⁸ Andrew Lees, *Cities Perceived: Urban Society in European and American Thought 1820-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 142.

embodiments of national identity.⁶⁹

We find an example of such an approach in a war memorial erected in Pomerania, in Plathe (today Polish Płoty, Fig. 1). Built near the sport grounds, it served as a place of commemoration to the fallen from the vicinity. The memorial was a column instead of a figural monument. As a result, its form was a manner of ‘aeseptization’ of the war experience.⁷⁰ First of all, a spectator saw the front wall with the inscription. Here, we can decipher the object and the subject of commemoration. The former was local ‘fallen heroes’ (*Ihren im Weltkrieg 1914-1918 gefallen Helden*). The latter, the town and local aristocracy (*gewidmet von Stadt und Schloss Plathe*). Then, a spectator would see the plaques with the names of the fallen, curved with the smaller letters. The local meanings intertwined with the national ones. The pan-Germanic symbol of the Iron Cross⁷¹ decorated the crown of the memorial along with the local coat of arms.



Fig. 1. The war memorial in Plathe. The Facebook Group Dawne Płoty, posted on 30th of December, 2015.

On top we see a crown-like stone, with a head of a dead or sleeping soldier on each side. The heads represented soldiers who were not able to come back from the front. Yet, because of the composition—the heads only—it reminded the observer of their mutilated and fragmented bodies. Thus, the piece looked like an effect of a strange biological experiment or a pagan god with four faces. From the photography preserved to date, it is not clear if the head represented different fallen. One can determine, though, that they belonged to men of different ages. On the one hand, then, they represented the dead in general. On the other, they depicted a universal

⁶⁹ George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich*, Howard Fertig (New York, 1975).

⁷⁰ Annette Becker, *La Guerre et La Foi: De La Mort à La Mémoire: 1914-Années 1930* (Armand Colin, 2015).

⁷¹ Herfried Münkler, *Die Deutschen Und Ihre Mythen* (Rowohlt Verlag GmbH, 2010).

order of existence, as they exemplified a man in four stages of his life. From adolescence, through manhood until the death not so elderly, in a way denying death⁷² and at the same time stressing that the dead were a part of the society.

The proximity of sport grounds or locating the war memorials within their premises, is another aspect I would like to closely analyse. After 1918, sport became a mean of national mobilization. Although recent studies undermine the role of sport, especially football, in the development of nationalism,⁷³ one can give several examples of using sport in the nation-building process in various contexts.⁷⁴ Already the ancient Greeks used the term ‘agon’ for competitive sport performed in public. Today, the term is used interchangeably with the word ‘politics,’ as it refers to the activity of arguing and competing. The claims that sport were independent of politics are therefore poorly justified. When it comes to the institutionalized sport, it is inherently political.⁷⁵

However, Germany was a pioneer employing sport to represent a nation,⁷⁶ especially in the period of building the modern unified state.⁷⁷ The simultaneous development of national consciousness and modern sport activities in the German lands started already in the times of the Wars of Liberation (1812–3). Then, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778–1852), a founder of the German gymnastics movement,⁷⁸ propelled an idea of the collective forms of bodily practices, predominantly designed to maintain the military preparedness and to assure the bodies were properly trained.⁷⁹ The *Turner* movement believed the training would lead to the creation of civil society: the training of the body was at the same time the training of the soul of the citizen of future unified Germany. Its motto—*Fresh, free, happy and pious*—rooted in an ancient catchphrase *mens sana in corpore sano*, reflects that belief. Here, the fundamental value was constant movement. It was further connected with local tourism and vast knowledge on the region, often visited on foot. The soul, shaped by such practice, was deprived of the direct

⁷² Goebel, “Re-Membered and Re-Mobilized,” p. 488.

⁷³ Christopher Young, “Two World Wars and One World Cup: Humour, Trauma and the Asymmetric Relationship in Anglo-German Football,” *Sport in History* 27, no. 1 (2007), pp. 1–23; Gunter Gebauer, “German Football: Theatre, Performance, Memory,” in *German Football: History, Culture, Society*, ed. Alan Tomlinson (Routledge, 2006), pp. 237–48.

⁷⁴ Richard Holt, “Cricket and Englishness: The Batsman as Hero,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 13, no. 1 (1996), pp. 48–70; David Ross Black and John Nauright, *Rugby and the South African Nation: Sport, Cultures, Politics, and Power in the Old and New South Africas* (Manchester University Press, 1998); J. Mangan, “‘Muscular, Militaristic and Manly’: The British Middle-Class Hero as a Moral Messenger,” pp. 28–47; Birgit Krawietz, “Sport and Nationalism in the Republic of Turkey,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 31, no. 3 (2014), pp. 336–46.

⁷⁵ Allen Guttman, “Berlin 1936. The Most Controversial Olympics,” in *National Identity and Global Sports Events: Culture, Politics, and Spectacle in the Olympics and the Football World Cup*, ed. Alan Tomlinson and Christopher Young (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), p. 72.

⁷⁶ Michael Krüger, “Body Culture and Nation Building: The History of Gymnastics in Germany in the Period of Its Foundation as a Nation-State,” *International Journal of the History of Sport* 13, no. 3 (1996), p. 196.

⁷⁷ Merkel, pp. 69–96.

⁷⁸ Christiane Eisenberg, “Charismatic National Leader: Turnvater Jahn,” in *European Heroes - Myth, Identity, Sport*, ed. Richard Holt, J. A. Mangan, and Pierre Lanfranchi (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1996), pp. 14–27; Krüger, “Body Culture and Nation Building.”

⁷⁹ Merkel, p. 78.

religious connotations. Instead, it played the role of an individual moral compass. Eventually, it would morph into a healthy national consciousness. It did not mean the *Turner* movement did not have any spiritual support. On the contrary, the emphasis was put on the development of positive, collective virtues.⁸⁰

Such a notion of sport survived and was applied in the case of some commemorations of World War I. For example in the form of a *Turnerstein*. One case we can find in Warsaw (today Polish Warszewo, Fig. 2), a district of Szczecin (former German Stettin). To commemorate seven sportsmen from the local gymnastic association, the designers used two boulders. The monument, erected around the year 1920, resembled an open book. On the left boulder was the inscription. It specified the object and subject of commemoration: *Seinen im Weltkrieg 1914-1918 gefallenen Turnern gewidmet vom Turn- und Sportverein Stettin Bredow v. 1861 e.V.* On the right boulder, the names of the fallen were separately cut out in stone. Additionally, we can find the stylized crosses on both boulders. They were, however, rather symbols of the local gymnastic association⁸¹ than bear any religious meanings.



Fig. 2. The current appearance of the Warsaw Turnerstein. Posted by the Wikipedia user Hoa binh under the CC BY-SA 4.0.

We find another example in Greifenberg (today Polish Gryfice, Fig. 3). The war memorial commemorating the fallen sportsmen stood up in a local park, on the Saint Otton's Hill (*Ottoshöhe*). The monument put together in 1927 on the initiative of local male gymnastic association, had a form of an arched wall, similar to commemorative plaques often found in churches. The middle part was a triangle made of field granite. The piece, called *Turner-*

⁸⁰ Merkel, p. 86.

⁸¹ Annette R. Hofmann, "From Jahn to Lincoln: Transformation of Turner Symbols in a New Cultural Setting," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, no. 13 (October 1, 2009), pp. 1946–62.

Denkmal, i.e. Monument to the Gymnasts, makes a clear reference to the Jahn tradition. The square where it stood was called the Jahnplatz. On the plaque, *Unseren Gefallenen* (our fallen) were pointed out as the object of commemoration. Their affiliation to the local gymnastic association was evidenced by the inscription above: the mark of ‘T’ crossed with ‘D’ (to mark *Turner-Denkmal*). The names of the fallen sportsmen were inscribed on the separate stones around the memorial.⁸²



Fig. 3. The Turnerstein in Greifenberg in 1927. The collection of the Public Library in Gryfice, public domain.

In both examples, the reference to the *Turner* movement was clear. First, in using the symbolics. Second, in locating them in the vicinity of the recreational areas: they were meant to commemorate, as well as to serve as a spot to rest after an extensive walk. As a result, they evoked the tradition of constant movement to sightsee the region, to know it better and to be proud of it. At the same time, they were the commemorations of the particular dead trained males. Here, the fallen were objects of commemoration not as soldiers, but as members of the particular gymnastic association. The construction of both memorials was inclusive of other groups. The living were able to walk there, eat at a local restaurant or stroll along the park alleys.

At the basic level, the goals of various sport associations were similar. They aimed at

⁸² Krzysztof Wołoszczak, “Gryfice (Dawniej Greifenberg in Pommern),” *Facebook*, November 7, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/pomniki1wk/permalink/1954535134638732/>.

making and remaking the modern male body⁸³ Sport clubs were places of cultivating the male sociability. They shaped citizens' bodies and souls to be a part of a future war effort. They also provided their members with a sense of stability in the changing world.⁸⁴ Thus, they engaged the male and female bodies of all groups of post-1918 German society: the dead and the living as well.

The Culture of Spectatorship

Although the Weimar Republic developed some attempts to create one republican language of commemoration,⁸⁵ still the commemoration of World War I relied more on the private than public recollections.⁸⁶ The strategy of framing the war memory into purposes of the given political regime⁸⁷ occurred both in the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich. However, the attitude towards sport, as well as the means used were different. The more pluralistic approach to sport in the period of the Weimar Republic, with the variety of sport clubs and associations, in the times of the Third Reich was substituted with the model where sport was, like other domains of life, controlled by the state. Modern sport were perceived as too universalistic.⁸⁸

The Nazis proposed an answer to the crisis of sport and representation, leading to the transformation of the memorials. Here, the roles of the living and the dead were to be reversed. Individual mourning was to be replaced with the structures of power⁸⁹ through heroicizing the fallen at the national level and changing the thinking about a male body. Body became a resource, enabling to achieve a new sense of community in preparation for the future war, and death became an object of a national cult. Such an approach inevitably led to the change in the balance between the living and the dead.

Moreover, the Nazi culture was a product of a process of agglutination,⁹⁰ consisting of adding new symbols to already existing ones. In the case under scrutiny, a good example of such a strategy was a *Turnerkreuz* (*Turner cross*). To the middle of a symbol pre-existing in the memorial landscape, a swastika was added. It could have been going even further: sometimes a whole *Turnerkreuz* was re-shaped to resemble a swastika.

As a result, commemorative practices were also agglutinated. Under the Nazi regime, the memorials were to suggest the desirable version of the history of World War I.⁹¹ The eventual defeat was not imminent. Moreover, embedding the war memorials in the context of sport,

⁸³ David Kirk, "Schooling Bodies in New Times: The Reform of School Physical Education in High Modernity," in *Critical Postmodernism in Human Movement, Physical Education, and Sport*, ed. Juan-Miguel Fernandez-Balboa (New York: SUNY Press, 1997), p. 61.

⁸⁴ Merkel, p. 78.

⁸⁵ Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, p. 3.

⁸⁶ Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations*, p. 1.

⁸⁷ Koshar, p. 113.

⁸⁸ Guttmann, "Berlin 1936. The Most Controversial Olympics," p. 66.

⁸⁹ Michaela Stoffels, *Kriegerdenkmale Als Kulturobjekte*, p. 16.

⁹⁰ Koshar, p. 187.

⁹¹ James M. Mayo, "War Memorials as Political Memory," *Geographical Review* 78, no. 1 (1988), p. 72.

focused on training and disciplining the male body, successfully reoriented the memory from the past defeat to a future victory. In other words, the most difficult aspects of World War I were condemned to oblivion. The commemorations became a form of an organized forgetting.⁹²

Therefore, after 1933 all groups of post-1918 German society: the fallen, families and veterans, were to be engaged to achieve a national unity.⁹³ This time, however, the roles were rigorously assigned. Particular, individual and local visions were agglutinated to the national vision. The role of veterans was reduced. They were no longer needed as keepers of memory since it was the state that held official supervision of the commemorations. It went further with these members of society who were considered to be unwanted. They were to be eliminated.⁹⁴ The process did not omit sport, as Jewish sportsmen were banned from public life.⁹⁵ In this way, the Nazi culture of spectatorship emerged.

It was no longer about observation only. The Nazi sport policy demanded that the spectatorship was to be more active. The political engagement was to be expressed in sport activities as well. Probably the greatest example of using sport in the times of the Third Reich was the Berlin Olympics in 1936⁹⁶ with the visualisation of sport and body⁹⁷ in *Olympia* by Leni Riefenstahl, a pebble in the mountain of the culture of spectatorship. Although propaganda purposes behind this Olympic were obvious,⁹⁸ other intertwined meanings for the Nazi policy should be acknowledged.⁹⁹ To dazzle the national and international public, the monumental Olympic facilities, like the Deutsches Stadion for over 100 thousand spectators, were built.¹⁰⁰ Symbolically, hosting the Olympics closed the period of Germany's lack of participation in the international sport events that started with World War I.¹⁰¹ In the program of Olympics, the fallen as a part of the society and as spectators also found their place. One of the parts of the choreography called Olympic Youth¹⁰² was not only a 'paean to youthful idealism.'¹⁰³ It was entitled "Heroes' Struggle and Lament for the Dead" and the fallen became an immanent part of the public.

⁹² Sherman, "Monuments, Mourning and Masculinity in France after World War I," p. 84.

⁹³ Junaid, "Epitaphs as Counterhistories: Martyrdom, Commemoration, and the Work of Graveyards in Kashmir," p. 261.

⁹⁴ Linda F. Hogle, *Recovering the Nation's Body: Cultural Memory, Medicine, and the Politics of Redemption* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London: Rutgers University Press, 1999), pp. 45–58; Boris Böhm and Michal Šimůnek, *Verlegt - Verstorben - Verschwiegen. Tschechische Und Deutsche Psychiatriepatienten in Böhmen Als Vergessene Opfer Der NS-"Euthanasie"* (Červený Kostelec: Pavel Mervart, 2016).

⁹⁵ Guttman, "Berlin 1936. The Most Controversial Olympics."

⁹⁶ Hajo Bernett, "Symbolik Und Zeremonial der XI: Olympischen Spiele in Berlin 1936," *Sportwissenschaft* 16, no. 4 (1986), pp. 357–97; Hajo Bernett, "Die Olympischen Spiele 1936 in Der Retrospektive," *Stadion* 21–22 (1996), pp. 228–50.

⁹⁷ Jabłkowska and Saruysz-Wolska, "Obecne – Nieobecne," p. 433.

⁹⁸ Guttman, "Berlin 1936. The Most Controversial Olympics," p. 66.

⁹⁹ Christiane Eisenberg, *English Sports und Deutsche Bürger. Eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte 1800-1939* (Paderborn - München - Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag, 1999), pp. 411, 426.

¹⁰⁰ Peter Adam, *Art of the Third Reich* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1992), pp. 189–90, 250–53.

¹⁰¹ Guttman, "Berlin 1936. The Most Controversial Olympics," p. 65.

¹⁰² Thomas Alkemeyer and Alfred Richartz, "The Olympic Games: From Ceremony to Show," *Olympika* 2 (1993), pp. 79–89.

¹⁰³ Guttman, "Berlin 1936. The Most Controversial Olympics," p. 72.

It proves how aptly the Nazis agglutinated sport and policy. In the subject under scrutiny, some sport activities were taking place in the playing fields near the war memorials. Here, the political rallies, sport try-outs, and commemorative activities were intertwined. How to properly perform the new society, was the question constantly addressed by the Nazi authorities.¹⁰⁴ For this reason, the Nazi culture of spectatorship paid special attention to the audience. The monumentality of the buildings, reminding of Roman architecture, such as the coliseum in Nuremberg,¹⁰⁵ or the aforementioned Deutsches Stadion, resembled their ancient predecessors not only when it comes to the arena. Also, the audience attending the spectacle, the place where they seated, and the possible amount of viewers, were the important parts of the performance. In other words, it was not only about what was to be seen, but also who was to see it.

The Nazis recreated also an ancient attitude towards the body:¹⁰⁶ an idea of the male beauty as an image of a muscular, semi-Roman man. Such bodies came to fruition through training. An ideal was a soldier.¹⁰⁷ It did not matter if he was living or dead. His sacrifice was essential for the state to be renewed.¹⁰⁸ Before 1933 by “engaged or committed spectators” during the commemoration, we could understand ‘those with particular emotional investments in the memorial such as ex-servicemen, parents, wives, children, brothers and sisters, and lovers of those who are being mourned.’¹⁰⁹ After Nazis came to power, every individual regarded as a member of the German nation was to be a spectator, whether they liked it or not. The nation of spectators was literally embodied: it was made up entirely out of bodies of the dead and the living.

Let’s look at two examples of the war memorials that illustrate the process. First is the memorial in Pollnow (today Polish Polanów, Fig. 4). Pollnow was one of the most important towns in Central Pomerania, with approximately 3 thousand inhabitants at the end of the 1930s.¹¹⁰ The memorial in question, built on a hillside in 1922, was one of the most spectacular in the region. It towered over a playing field and the town in general. A spectator was going up towards it from the playing field. For this goal, the stairs made of stone were designed. The monument composed of a four-part foundation, also made of local stones, had the pedestal. It was a door-like plaque of metal with the names of the fallen from the town and the vicinity, resembling an entrance to the tomb. Inside the trapezoid piece with the additional inscription was

¹⁰⁴ Katharyne Mitchell, “Monuments, Memorials, and the Politics of Memory,” *Urban Geography* 24, no. 5 (August 2003), p. 444.

¹⁰⁵ James Wilson, *The Nazis Nuremberg Rallies* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2012); Sharon Macdonald, *Difficult Heritage: Dealing with the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond* (London: Routledge, 2009).

¹⁰⁶ Hogle, *Recovering the Nation’s Body*, pp. 45–58.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas Kühne, “Protean Masculinity, Hegemonic Masculinity: Soldiers in the Third Reich,” *Central European History* 51, no. 3 (2018), pp. 390–418; Nicole Loroff, “Gender and Sexuality in Nazi Germany,” *Constellations* 3, no. 1 (2012).

¹⁰⁸ Till, “Staging the Past,” p. 258.

¹⁰⁹ Jonathan Black, “‘Thanks for the Memory’. War Memorials, Spectatorship and the Trajectories of Commemoration 1919–200,” in *Matters of Conflict: Material Culture, Memory and the First World War*, ed. Nicholas J. Saunders (Taylor & Francis Group, 2004), p. 134.

¹¹⁰ “Pollnow in Pommern - Bis 1945,” *Geschichte Der Stadt Pollnow*, June 25, 2020, <https://www.pollnow.de/geschichte/Geschi4.htm>.

the Iron Cross. The roof over the cross was made from the same material. The whole construction brings to mind antique-related images. It looked like a small temple dedicated to the dead. In this way, they became patrons of the activities taking place on the playing fields underneath. The dead were an integral part of any social activity set in the playing field. If we analyse the postcards from Pollnow, we could see that a lot of them present the town from the top of the hill where the memorial stood. The landscape of the town is seen from this particular place like through the lens, supplying the policy of spectatorship. Even if one was not there, one was engaged in the performance via the postcard.

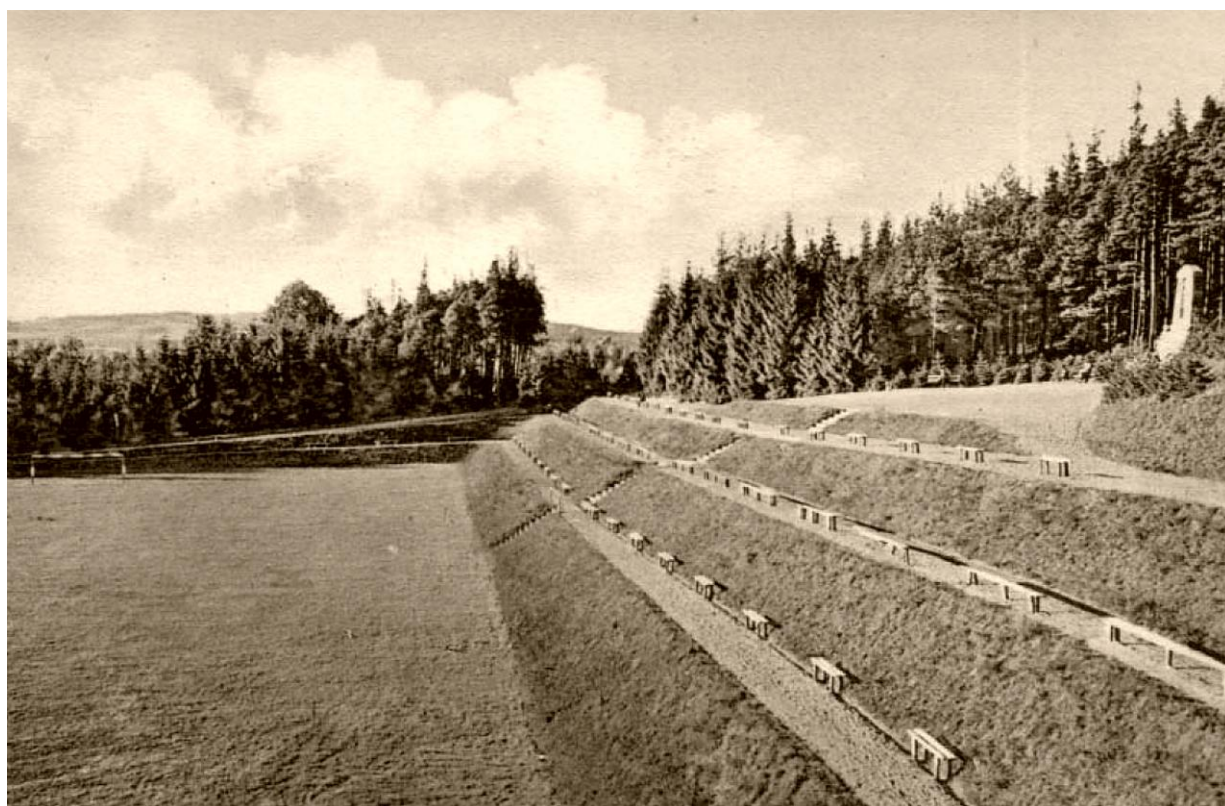


Fig. 4. The war memorial in Pollnow, towering over the playing field. From the monography Ziemia Polanowska.

Dawne widokówki i fotografie.

We find another example in the small village of Kreitzig (today Polish Krzecko). Here, nor the look or form of the memorial was important but the localization. The memorial was built next to the playing fields. Therefore, its role was like the one in Pollnow. The example illustrates that the size of the locality had any meaning. The ideology jamming the commemoration was omnipresent even in the poorest far reaches of the country. Sport activities, engaging the bodies of all groups of post-1933 German society, were to be prepared in every suitable location, regardless of the size. Every location was to be made suitable.

In both of the above examples, the memorials near playing fields became places of training for male bodies. The training envisioned the fallen as examples of sacrifice. They were to be followed only to some extent: the final outcome of the war effort was to be different. At the same time, the proximity of the playing fields to the war memorials changed the dead into the spectators. The principle was the same as that of other participants of Nazi gatherings. The memorials were easily seen from the playing fields. Furthermore, not only sport-related celebrations took place on the playing field. Aside from various sport competitions, also political rallies were held there. Thus, the dead were posthumously becoming spectators as the rest of post-1933 society.

Conclusions

To manage bereavement was one of the main problems of post-1918 Germany. It mirrored the personal grief as well as the public development of mournful policy. Searching for the sense of untimely, mass, and rapid death was a continuous effort, undertaken both in the Weimar Republic and in the Third Reich. My main argument was that the dead were reintroduced to new postwar German society as one of its constituent groups. However, the notions ascribed to the fallen changed between the 1920s and 1930s and with the emergence of the Nazi culture of spectatorship.

As such, the role of the dead male bodies was reflected in the localization and appearance of the war memorials dedicated to them. The bodies were used for different purposes. Even in death, the post-1918 male body was still to be shaped, either in stone or in training. This process was reinforced by the connection between the national consciousness and the development of sport, rooted in the development of the modern Germany. The construction of the playing fields nearby the memorials strengthened this process. Sport, then, became also a part of the German language of the commemoration of World War I.

Regardless of current politics, the dead were transcendental beings, as they connected the worlds of the past and the present. In other words, they assured the post-war society that there was a pre-1914 past. When it comes to commemoration, however, the dead bodies were reimagined according to the current political interests. The war memorials dedicated to them stabilized the identity of a given group of commemorators. They served as a collective memory set in stone. It was, however, a memory susceptible to changes along with its object.

The revisions of the war memorials during the 1930s were a part of a culture of spectatorship. Over time, the war experience was turned into ‘a national myth’ and effectively used for current political purposes.¹¹¹ The various modes of commemorating the fallen were nationalized and unified.

The Nazis added new ideological meanings to the existing memorial landscape. This agglutination strategy ended the plurality of expressing public and private grief. This

¹¹¹ D. N. Jeans, “The First World War Memorials in New South Wales: Centres of Meaning in the Landscape,” *Australian Geographer* 19, no. 2 (November 1988), p. 267.

amalgamation was especially catastrophic in the case under scrutiny. The war memorials, instead of illustrating cultural continuity, were linked directly to Nazism. They were no longer physical symbols of the past. They lost their ability to counterbalance previous meanings. Therefore, when Pomerania became a part of People's Poland in 1945, the memorials in many cases were destroyed. They were not a part of the history of the new Polish settlers. The commemorated dead had no meaning to them, and in some cases, they were read directly as military mementos of the last war. When the living were perceived as hostile in the light of the last war, so were the dead, even if they were dead a long time before the Second World War. As a result, there was no group to be consolidated and no body to be shaped by the war memorials. The analysed memorials were no exception to that rule. There is no longer a memorial in Kreitzig or Plathe. The memorials in Warsaw, Greifenberg, and Pollnow were restored only after many years. The one in Pollnow was restored by the group of expellees. It became too much of a symbol of a lost town to remember what other purposes it had before 1945.

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¹ Today Polish Polanów, Gryfice, Krzecko, Płoty and Warszewo.

² However, the processes linking sports and commemoration in national borderlands are beyond the scope of my text.

³ The comprehensive argumentation for women's bereavement during WWI, see Siebrecht "The Female Mourner: Gender and the Moral Economy of Grief During the First World War."