

Résumé. Dans la prestigieuse collection d'albums de photographie *Die Blauen Bücher*, d'une très bonne qualité artistique et typographique, inaugurée, en 1911, par Karl Robert Langewiesche, sont apparues de nombreuses photographies au sujet de la Transylvanie, les monuments, surtout – avec l'accent sur les églises fortifiées – et les costumes des saxons transylvains. En plus, deux des volumes de la collection, parus en 1941, furent exclusivement dédiés à la Transylvanie. Une partie de ces photographies a été faite par deux photographes saxons transylvains: Emil Fischer de Hermannstadt/Sibiu et Oskar Netoliczka de Kronstadt/Braşov. Les photographies représentent aujourd'hui une source importante d'information sur l'aspect des villages et des villes saxons de Transylvanie de l'entre-deux-guerres.

Keywords: Saxon Transylvania, fortified churches, vernacular architecture, folk costume.

Karl Robert Langewiesche (18.12. 1874, Rheydt-12.09.1931, Königstein im Taunus) was the German publisher who in 1902 opened his own publishing house, Karl Robert Langewiesche Verlag¹, to offer to the general public works at the lowest prices².

Karl Robert Langewiesche was a man of two centuries: of the 19th century, 'the world of yesterday' as so rightly characterised by Stefan Zweig, and of the 20th century, the one that would change the world. The beginning of the 20th century was also the beginning of the search for national identity, for the national identity of architecture³ and arts, and Langewiesche was a man of his age.

From the very beginning, most printed works were thought of and actually published as (mini-)photo-albums, 19x 27 cm, a size that has been used ever since,

TRANSYLVANIAN SAXONS' MONUMENTS AND FOLK COSTUME IN THE *DIE BLAUEN BÜCHER* COLLECTION

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their editors managing to include photo of extremely high quality.

In 1908 Langewiesche launched the now famous *Die Blauen Bücher* Collection that became a trademark. Its name stems from the fact that it had dust blue jackets. Upon Langewiesche's death, Stefanie Rampelmann (1878-1956), his wife and an illustrator continued his work, together with Hans Köster (1902-1996)⁴. Over the years, dozens of titles have appeared in the *Die Blauen Bücher* Collection, and, through many reprints⁵, thousands of volumes have been produced. The publishing house is still running today.

What interests us the most when it comes to the *Die Blauen Bücher* Collection is the fact that Langewiesche was so keen on high quality photographs that he worked only with first class German photographers. It is true that we have no information of Langewiesche's collaboration with Kurt Hielscher⁶, who became famous for his photo albums published in the *Orbis Terrarum* Collection⁷, such as *Rumänien* in 1933, with French and Romanian editions. Nevertheless, the pictures that accompany the *Die Blauen Bücher* Collection are not second to the ones from *Orbis Terrarum*.

The *Die Blauen Bücher* Collection has been dedicated to a variety of subjects: arts (*Die deutsche Plastik des Mittelalters*), religious iconography (*Maria im Rosenhag*), architecture (Wilhelm Pinder, *Deutscher Barock. Die grossen Baumeister des 18. Jahrhunderts*; Wilhelm Pinder, *Deutsche Dome des Mittelalters*), cities (*Deutsche Burgen und feste Schlösser*), ethnography (*Deutsche Bauernhäuser, Deutsche Trachten*), landscapes and animals (*Tiere in schönen Bildern*), to name just a few.

The word DEUTSCHE occurs obsessively throughout this brief tittle enumeration. We believe that for Robert Langewiesche and his *Die Blauen Bücher* Collection DEUTSCHE does not refer to the *Vaterland*⁸, the national identity, to Germany, but to the *Heimat*, the ethnical identity. Our claim is supported by the fact that pictures with Germans settled for centuries in other countries or territories that have never belonged to Germany have been portrayed in the Collection's volumes. Emphasis is placed on Transylvania, situated 1500 miles from the *Vaterland*. The obvious intention has been to present the Germans from the *Heimat*, the so-called *Auslandsdeutsche/Volksdeutsche*. The Transylvanian Saxons anthem, *Siebenbürgen, Land des Segens*, composed by Johann Hedwig⁹, lyrics Maximilian Moltke¹⁰, states the following: 'Siebenbürgen, süsse *Heimat*' (italics mine)¹¹. Reference has been made to the Saxon Transylvania in several thematic issues of the *Die Blauen Bücher* Collection, some dedicated to ethnography and others to historical architecture (e.g. *Deutsch-Südost in auserlesenen Bildern. Österreichische Länder, Deutsch-Böhmen, Siebenbürgen*, 1926¹²). In 1941 there were two issues entirely dedicated to the Saxon Transylvania – Heinrich Zillich, *Siebenbürgen und seine Wehrbauten*, and Heinrich Zillich, *Siebenbürgen – Ein abendländisches Schicksal*.

*The Transylvania Fortified Churches*¹³

Pictures capturing the identity of the Transylvanian Saxons were present in Karl Robert Langewiesche's *Die Blauen Bücher* Collection earlier on, a good example being the fortified churches from the villages Wurmloch (Ro. Valea Viilor) and Eibesdorf (Ro. Ighişu Nou)¹⁴ in the 1916 issue *Deutsche Burgen und feste Schlösser aus allen Ländern Deutscher Zunge*¹⁵. The captions, with brief explanations, are placed below the images, together with their source. The picture of the fortified church from Wurmloch (Ro. Valea Viilor)¹⁶ has the following caption: Wurmloch, Siebenbürgen. Source: Privataufnahme Dr. V. Roth¹⁷, Hermannstadt. The caption of the fortified church from Eibesdorf (Ro. Ighişu Nou)¹⁸ states Siebenbürgisch-sächsische Kirchenburg in Eibesdorf, Siebenbürgen. Source – Aus: Sigerus¹⁹ 'Siebenb. sächs. Kirchenburgen'. 10. Auflage. Drotleff, Hermannstadt. In the picture, besides the church, there are two Transylvanian Saxon women dressed in folk/traditional costumes, one of them wearing the traditional wide-brimmed straw hat specific to Transylvania. (Fig. 1)

Historic Landmarks

A picture of the Rathaus/ the Town Hall from Kronstadt (Ro. Braşov)²⁰ appears in the 1921 issue, *Bürgerbauten aus vier Jahrhundert(en) Deutscher Vergangenheit*²¹. Emil Herrmann Sr., editor and head of a publishing house from Leipzig²², chose this picture, without specifying the source or the photographer. Its framing is classic. Several merchants, probably from the Schei²³ neighbourhood are displaying their merchandise. Yet again, the women are wearing the same wide-brimmed straw hats. Its caption: Rathaus in Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen, vor der Erneuerung des Turmes²⁴.



Fig. 1 – (Unknown photographer), *Siebenbürgisch-sächsische Kirchenburg in Eibesdorf* (*Deutsche Burgen* 1916, p. 111).

The Peasant House

In 1935, Klaus Thiede, a historian, edited the *Deutsche Bauernhäuser*²⁵, which was reprinted again in 1937. The volume is important because it presents the vernacular architecture, especially the peasant house, specific for the identity of the *Heimat*. Here we find photographs from Transylvania: a picture from Birk (Ro. Petelea) village, Mureş county, depicts a dug well and two houses whose appearance suggests that they may belong to the Romanian quarter; a peasant woman, with the traditional wide-brimmed straw hat, tries to get some water. Caption: *Siebenbürgische Gehöfte in Birk im Nössergau*²⁶. In this volume, each photograph is accompanied by brief general historical and ethnographic explanations displayed at the bottom of the page, and by the photographer's name at the top right corner. In our case, the photographer was Prof. Dr. H. Phleps-Danzig²⁷. The next photograph displays three households on the village main road (Langgasse) of the Deutsch-Weisskirch (Ro. Viscri²⁸) village. The village dirt road is in perfect order and clean, with only a cart pulled by a horse. Caption: *Dorfstrasse in Deutsch-Weisskirch*

bei Reps²⁹. Photographer: Hans Retslaff³⁰, Berlin-Charlottenburg. (Fig. 2)

In 1992-1998, while I was working in this village to an inventory of the buildings from Transylvanian Saxon settlements, the road looked almost the same as in 1935. (Fig. 3)

Going back to the 1935 photograph, Hans Retslaff (04.10.1902, Berlin-01.12.1965, Tann/Rhöngebirge), a professional German photographer, was famous for his photographs taken in Transylvania. In 1935 he made a 20-minute film, *Die Siebenbürger Sachsen*, about the way in which Transylvanian Saxons worked and celebrated their important holidays. *Bildnis eines deutschen Bauernvolkes. Siebenbürgen*, Berlin, 1936 is one of his famous photo albums. In 1942, he published a series of twelve colour postcards with images from Transylvania, in Berlin. His photo negatives disappeared during the war, as did those of Kurt Hielscher. In 1945 Retslaff moved to Tann where he continued his activity, especially reproducing works of art³¹. Another photo Hans Retslaff took has the following caption: *Aus Klein-Bistritz am Maros-Oberlauf*³² and it displays a continuous row of house with their long side facing the street.



Fig. 2 – Hans Ressler, *Dorfstrasse in Deutsch-Weisskirch bei Reps (Deutsche Bauernhäuser 1935, p. 111).*



Fig. 3 – Aurelian Stroe, *Deutsch-Weisskirch/Viscri. Langgasse, 1998, Agfachrome.*

The Traditional Costume

Next stop is the 1958 issue *Deutsche Trachten* (Photographs: Erich Retzlaff. Text: Margarete Baur-Heinhold)³³. What interests us most here is its topic that defines the identity of the *Heimat*, i.e. the folk/traditional costume, the volume's cover and the photographer. All the photos, including those

of the Transylvanian Saxons' traditional costume were taken by the famous German photographer Erich Retzlaff (1899, Reinfeld-1993, Diessen am Ammersee, Bavaria). He fought in the Great War, being decorated with the Iron Cross. He began his career very early on, and in 1930 his first photo album appeared – *Das Antlitz des Alters. Photographische Bildnisse*, an album that

impressed many and propelled him among the most appreciated photographers of his time. Erich Retzlaff's work continued in the early 1930s with two other projects – ‘the German agricultural field worker’, and ‘the German industrial worker’ that were transformed into two new albums, the 1931 *Die von der Scholle* and the 1933 *Menschen am Werk*. Following this success, the National Socialists commissioned him to take portraits of the Nazi leaders such as Rudolf Hess, Joseph Goebbels and Ernst Röhm, pictures that were published in a special issue of the *Wegbereiter und Vorkämpfer für das neue Deutschland* (1933)³⁴. Erich Retzlaff was one of the most ardent promoters of the Agfacolor Neu film (1936)³⁵. He continued his work after the war³⁶, but he no longer had the same strength and the same impact.

Going back to the 1958 volume, its novelty resides in its front cover, which depicts a colour photo of several Transylvanian Saxons wearing their traditional costumes. (Fig. 4) Yet again, the Saxon Transylvania in ‘The Blue Books’ Collection. Nevertheless, we believe that the picture was taken not in Transylvania, but in Germany, because the building from the background belonging to the *Fachwerk* architecture was not present in Transylvania. Moreover, there is one more clue in the picture that could suggest the picture was not taken in Transylvania: the blonde ‘peasant’ woman wearing the traditional costume does not have her head covered, which was mandatory in the Transylvanian Saxon traditional costume.



Fig. 4 – Front cover *Deutsche Trachten*, Königstein im Taunus, 1958. Fotograf: Erich Retzlaff.



Fig. 5 – Erich Retzlaff, *Siebenbürgisch-sächsische Bauernfrau aus Jad Bistritz in der Kirchentracht* (*Deutsche Trachten* 1958, p. 68).

In this issue there are 9 full-page photos taken in Transylvania, three of them colour: (1) a Transylvanian Saxon peasant woman from Jad bei Bistritz (Ro. Livezile), Bistrița-Năsăud county, wearing traditional church clothing (Fig. 5); (2) a colour picture of Transylvanian Saxons wearing ceremonial traditional costumes, also appearing on the front cover; (3) a colour picture of traditional summer church clothing worn by a woman; (4) a colour picture of traditional church winter clothing; (5) a picture of a woman wearing traditional church clothing from Stolzenburg bei Hermannstadt (Ro. Slimnic), Sibiu county; (6) a picture of a man from Treppen bei Bistritz (Ro. Târpiu),

Bistrița-Năsăud county, wearing a traditional costume while going to church; (7) a picture of a Transylvanian Saxon woman from Jad bei Bistritz (Ro. Livezile), wearing a traditional costume; (8) a picture of a Transylvanian Saxon girl from Stolzenburg bei Hermannstadt (Ro. Slimnic); (9) a picture of a Transylvanian Saxon woman from Lechnitz bei Bistritz (Ro. Lechința), Bistrița-Năsăud county, wearing a ceremonial costume³⁷. It is almost certain that old pictures were used in this volume, including the colour ones, as Erich Retzlaff could not have come back to Transylvania during the '50 to take more photos for several reasons, such as the fact that the Transylvanian Saxons³⁸ had just

only returned from the deportation to Russia, that in 1956 the Hungarian anti-communist revolution took place and the fact that the Cold War was going stronger.

Fortifications

The *Siebenbürgen und seine Wehrbauten*, 1941³⁹ mentioned above is the last issue of the *Die Blauen Bücher* Collection that we are going to discuss in more detail as we believe it the most important issue completely dedicated to the Saxon Transylvania. This time Transylvanian Saxons were the authors themselves. Heinrich Zillich, a Transylvanian Saxon writer and publicist⁴⁰, wrote the extensive text, and Hermann Phleps signed the *Afterward*. Emil Fischer from Hermannstadt (Ro. Sibiu) and Oskar Netoliczka from Kronstadt (Ro. Braşov), two Transylvanian Saxons and Karl Ernst Krafft, an *Auslandsdeutscher* photographer who had his studio in Kronstadt (Ro. Braşov) at the time, took the 87 photographs.

The most important of the three is undoubtedly Emil Fischer (29.12.1873, Philippopol/ Plovdiv, Bulgaria-09.05.1965, Hermannstadt, Ro. Sibiu). He was the son of Germans coming from Bohemia. In 1897, he took over a photo-studio in Hermannstadt (Ro. Sibiu), and later in 1900 he opened his own studio in the same city, a studio that was nationalized in 1959. In 1905 he was awarded the title of *Hoffotograf* of the Imperial Court of Austria-Hungary; in 1920 *Königlicher Hoffotograf* of the Royal House of Romania⁴¹.

Thanks to his valuable portraits, his traditional costume photo studies, his photographs illustrating rural life, landscapes and mountains, and those that appeared in newspapers and other publications, he became the most acclaimed photographer in the city. His photographs of architectural and industrial details were

also much appreciated. Much of his remarkable achievements in photography were due his constant use of large-format glass negatives⁴² that could render even the finest details.

Oskar Gerhard Netoliczka (04.07.1897, Kronstadt, Ro. Braşov-23.02.1970, Tutzing/Obb.) – graduated from the Honterus High School in his hometown; 1919, after studying Architecture at the *Hochschule* in Dresden, he moved to *Kunstakademie* in the same city, then to *Kunstakademie* in Kassel, which he finally graduated in 1924. He was a photographer, sculptor and illustrator. He started photography in 1927. He had a studio in Kronstadt (Ro. Braşov). He was a war reporter between 1941-1945. After the war, he continued to work as a photographer in Germany. He collaborated as an illustrator and photographer to the prestigious Transylvanian periodical *Klingsor* (1924-1939)⁴³. He was appreciated as a portrait artist and photographer⁴⁴.

Karl Ernst Krafft (27.05.1902, Esseg/Osijek, Croatia-14.08.1945, Makejewka, Ukraine) was a pharmacist and a photographer. He trained as art designer between 1940 and 1941 in Germany. He had a photo studio in Kronstadt (Ro. Braşov)⁴⁵, but it is not known exactly when. He was a war correspondent and journalist with *Deutsche Volksgruppe* in Rumänien, a fact that led to his deportation to the Soviet Union, where he later died. He was extremely well-known and appreciated as a photographer of the fortified churches of the Transylvanian Saxons⁴⁶.

Unlike in most volumes of 'The Blue Books' Collection, in the *Siebenbürgen und seine Wehrbauten*, most photos are inserted into the text, except thirteen full-page ones. The photographers are mentioned on the title backpage⁴⁷, with references to the pages where their photos appear.

The theme of the volume, i.e. the Transylvanian fortifications, overlaps with the history of Saxon Transylvania. Beginning

with the great Mongol invasion of 1241, the newly arrived *Saxones*⁴⁸ had to face a series of invasions, wars, lootings and attacks. Hence the need for human fortifications which, together with the natural ones – forests and mountains – turned Transylvania into a mysterious, impenetrable land where, before entering, you would think carefully and pray. This is how the refuge fortresses, the fortified churches, the fortifications of the cities came to exist in Transylvania.

There are just a couple of photographs of refuge fortresses, the oldest of all, because just a few have been preserved⁴⁹, such as the Roseanu/ Ro. Râșnov Fortress, Brașov county (Emil Fischer)⁵⁰. (Fig. 6)

But most of the volume is dedicated to the fortified churches, depicted in photographs either in full or only some details of their fortifications. There are also several general photographs that illustrate the location of the fortified churches within the

village⁵¹, such as the one in the Waldhütten (Ro. Valchid) village, Sibiu county (Emil Fischer)⁵². (Fig. 7)

Through the overall images of the fortified churches, the authors wanted to convey the resistance and safety of these constructions, a symbol of the Transylvanian Saxon communities, for example, the fortified church from Probstdorf bei Agnetheln (Ro. Stejărișu), Sibiu County (Oskar Netoliczka)⁵³. (Fig. 8)

In the detail photographs, the authors selected fortification elements that, besides the information they provided related to the actual construction, also have artistic value: extremely well-fortified choirs, as in Buszd bei Mediasch (Ro. Buzd), photo: Emil Fischer⁵⁴. (Fig. 9) Such details are defence towers⁵⁵, gate towers⁵⁶, portcullises⁵⁷ or rooms used to live in, attached to the enclosure wall, such the ones from Tartlau (Ro. Prejmer), photo: Karl Ernst Krafft⁵⁸.



Fig. 6 – Emil Fischer, *Die Rosenauer Burg* (Siebenbürgen 1941, p. 101).



Fig. 7 – Emil Fischer, *Waldhütten. Kirchenburg* (Siebenbürgen 1941, p. 47).



Fig. 8 – Oskar Netoliczka, *Probstdorf bei Agnetheln. Kirchenburg* (Siebenbürgen 1941, p. 74).



Fig. 9 – Emil Fischer, *Bussd bei Mediasch. Kirchenburg mit besonders stark befestigtem Chor* (*Siebenbürgen* 1941, p. 30).

An interesting photograph taken from a less common angle shows the *intramuros* atmosphere of a fortified church: the courtyard of the church from Deutsch-Weisskirch (Ro. Viscri), Braşov county, with Transylvanian Saxons, both men and

women, wearing their church costumes (Karl Ernst Krafft)⁵⁹. This photograph also appears on the front cover of the *Siebenbürgen – Ein abendländisches Schicksal*, 1957 edition. (Fig. 10)



Fig. 10 – Karl Ernst Krafft, *Deutsch-Weisskirch* (Siebenbürgen 1941, p. 65).

The photographs of fortified cities capture only a few gates (Schässburg, Ro. Sighișoara⁶⁰), bastions (the Weavers Bastion, Kronstadt, Ro. Brașov⁶¹), curtains (Hermannstadt, Ro. Sibiu⁶²) and towers (Mediasch, Ro. Mediaș, Hermannstadt, Ro. Sibiu and Schässburg, Ro. Sighișoara)⁶³.

The presentation of the Transylvanian fortifications would not have been complete without the Bran Castle (Törzburg, Ro. Bran, Brașov county), a border fortification, later transformed into a royal residence (Oskar Netoliczka)⁶⁴. (Fig. 11)



Fig. 11 – Oskar Netoliczka, *Törzburg* (*Siebenbürgen* 1941, p. 100).

The *Die Blauen Bücher* Collection has managed, over time, to continue on the same path laid by its founder, Karl Robert Langewiesche. Although the publication continued to appear between 1933-1945, we believe that the hundreds of photographs published during this period did not serve the National Socialist propaganda⁶⁵.

In the volumes published up until the 1960, Germany and the lands inhabited by the *Auslandsdeutsche/Volksdeutsche* people were depicted as they were before the great destruction of the World War II. A huge thesaurus of photographs! The general public

for whom the *Collection* was created has long forgotten it; only academics and collationers have been studying them lately (Britta Fritze, *Die Blauen Bücher. Eine nationale Architekturbiographie?*, Berlin 2014).

Recalling all the photographs from the *DIE BLAUEN BÜCHER* Collection, Edgar Reitz's movie *Die andere Heimat – Chronik einer Sehnsucht*, 2013, comes to our minds. The characters, the costumes (Esther Amuser), the scenography (Anton Gerg, Hucky Hornberger), the cinematography (Gernot Roll) seem to be taken out of the *Die Blauen Bücher* Collection.

Notes

¹ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl_Robert_Langewiesche (25.04.2020).

² On the last page, there were ads for the future titles, mentioning their price: 1.80 DM (1909, 1910), 1.80 DM (1915), 1.80 RM (1940), 2.40 RM (1941).

³ See Carmen Popescu, *Le style national roumain. Construire une Nation à travers l'architecture 1881–1945*, Rennes, 2004, for the context in which national architecture styles appeared throughout Europe.

⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl_Robert_Langewiesche (25.04.2020).

⁵ For example, *Die deutsche Plastik des Mittelalters* had 9 reprints until 1960–1909, 1911, 1920, 1924, 1925, 1933, 1935, 1941, 1953. <https://www.booklooker.de/B%C3%BCcher/Angebot/e/titel=Deutsche+Plastik+des+Mittelalters+%C2%96+Die+Blauen+B%C3%BCcher%2A?page=2&page=3> (30.04.2020).

⁶ Kurt Hielscher, German photographer (07.01.1881, Striegau, today Strzegom, Poland-10.06.1948, Lichtenstein in Sachsen). He was extremely well-known and appreciated during the interwar period due to the photo-albums published in the *Orbis Terrarum* Collection: Austria (*Österreich Landschaft und Baukunst*, 1928), Germany (*Deutschland. Baukunst und Landschaft*, 1924), Italy (*Italien. Baukunst und Landschaft*, 1925), Yugoslavia (*Jugoslawien. Slovenien, Kroatien, Dalmatien, Montenegro, Herzegowina, Bosnien, Serbien. Landschaft, Baukunst, Volksleben*, 1926), Romania (*Rumänien. Landschaft, Bauten, Volksleben*, 1933; *Siebenbürgen: Banat, Sathmar, Marmorosch: Landschaft, Bauten, Volksleben*, 1936), Spain (*Das unbekannte Spanien. Baukunst, Landschaft, Volksleben*, 1922), The Nordic Countries (*Skandinavien, Danemark, Schweden, Norwegen, Finnland: Baukunst, Landschaft und Volksleben*, 1924).

⁷ A closer look to the two collections – *Die Blauen Bücher* și *Orbis Terrarum* – reveals the fact that both the type of photography used as well as the subjects discussed overlap. Both have an academic, documentary, scientific approach, which was specific to the second half of the 19th century. They differ in that all photos that appeared in several volumes of the *Die Blauen Bücher* were gather in only one from the *Orbis Terrarum* Collection. This aspect is extremely visible especially for those volumes dedicated to a specific country. Their format also differs.

⁸ The term was used mostly by the German national-socialists, especially before and after the beginning of the World War II.

⁹ Johann Lukas Hedwig (1802, Heldsdorf/Hälchiu-1849, Kronstadt/Brașov), a composer, a chorus director and a music teacher (*Die Sibenbürger Sachsen. Lexikon. Geschichte, Kultur, Wissenschaften, Wirtschaft, Lebensraum Sibenbürgen [Transsilvanien]*, Thaur bei Innsbruck, 1993, p. 182) (*Lexikon* 1993).

¹⁰ Leopold Maximilian Moltke (1819-1894), a German poet. In 1846 he wrote the lyrics of the *Siebenbürger Volkslied* (*Lexikon* 1993, pp. 342-343).

¹¹ *Lieder der Heimat. Siebenbürgisch-sächsisches Chorbuch für gemischte und gleiche Stimmen*, [Brașov-Kronstadt], [ca. 1975], p. 21.

¹² Regarding this title, reference is also made to *Deutsch-Böhmen*. Following this line of thought, we believe that Transylvanian Saxons could also be referred to as *Siebenbürger Sächsen*.

¹³ Today, the Transylvanian Saxons' fortified churches are all well-known all over the world. There are three types: with a fortified enclosure (Prejmer Ro. Tartlau, Brașov county), with defensive elements on the actual church and with a fortified enclosure (Wurmloch, Ro. Valea Viilor, Sibiu county) and with defensive elements on the actual church (Keisd, Ro. Saschiz, Mureș, county). All three mentioned villages were inscribed in 1999 in the World Heritage List under the heading 'Rural sites with fortified churches'.

¹⁴ Wurmloch (Ro. Valea Viilor) village, Eibesdorf (Ro. Ighișu Nou), village, both from Sibiu county.

¹⁵ *Deutsche Burgen und feste Schlösser aus allen Ländern Deutscher Zunge*, Königstein im Taunus & Leipzig, [1916] (*Deutsche Burgen* 1916). Full-page photo.

¹⁶ *Deutsche Burgen* 1916, p. 110. Wurmloch (Ro. Valea Viilor), Sibiu county.

¹⁷ Victor Roth, a pastor and important Transylvanian art historian (1878-1936) (*Lexikon* 1993, p. 417-418).

¹⁸ *Deutsche Burgen* 1916, p. 111. Eibesdorf (Ro. Ighișu Nou), Sibiu county.

¹⁹ Emil Sigerus (1854-1947), a very knowledgeable ethnographer, an art and ethnographic objects collector. From 1957 the Museum of Ethnography and Transylvanian Saxon Folk Art, Sibiu bears his name (*Lexikon* 1993, p. 485-486).

²⁰ *Bürgerbauten* 1921, p. 72.

²¹ *Bürgerbauten aus vier Jahrhunderten<sic> Deutscher Vergangenheit*, Königstein im Taunus & Leipzig, 1921 (*Bürgerbauten* 1921). Full-page photo. Photographs from this volume were borrowed from other publishing houses, a fact that was mentioned at p. 2.

²² Emil Herrmann Senior, a publicist, editor and printer from Leipzig, a close collaborator of Karl Robert Langewiesche. In 1882, he published Carmen Sylva, *Pelesch Märchen*. <https://www.anticariatuldenoapte.ro/cumpara/carmen-sylva-pelesch-marchen-povestile-pelesului-editie-princeps-in-7744770> (02.05.2020). Carmen Sylva, the literary penname of Elisabeth Pauline Ottilie Luise zu Wied (29.12.1843-18.02/02.03.1916), the wife of King Carol I of Romania, and from 1881 the Queen of Romania until 10.10.1914.

²³ Schei, in German Obere Vorstadt, Brașov's Romanian neighbourhood.

²⁴ The tower renovation took place between 1909 and 1910.

²⁵ *Deutsche Bauernhäuser*, Königstein i. Taunus und Leipzig, 1935, 1937 (*Deutsche Bauernhäuser* 1935). Full-page photo. For the photographs taken in Transylvania that were reproduced this volume, see also Aurelian Stroe, 'Fotografia în cadrul inventarierii monumentelor istorice (mini-ghid pentru inventariatori)', in: *Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice*, Nr. 1-2/2011, pp. 200-206.

²⁶ *Deutsche Bauernhäuser* 1935, p. 110. Petelea village of Bistrița, Mureș county.

²⁷ Herrmann Phleps, an archaeologist and art historian (01.06.1876, Biertan/Birtheim, Transylvania - 10.04.1964, Marburg), who also worked in Darmstadt. He is the author *Ost- und westgermanische Baukultur unter bes. Würdigung der ländlichen Baukunst Siebenbürgens*, Berlin, 1934 (*Lexikon* 1993, p. 338).

²⁸ *Deutsche Bauernhäuser* 1935, p. 111. Deutsch-Weisskirch (Ro. Viscri) village, Brașov county. One of the well-preserved Saxon villages, with its very well-known fortified church that has a chapel from the end of the twelfth century. The Romanian branch

of the Mihai Eminescu Trust Foundation, patron Charles, the Prince of Wels, has its headquarters in the village. The branch is run by the Transylvanian Saxon Caroline Fernolend. The whole village was included, in 1999 in the World Heritage List under the heading "Rural sites with fortified churches".

²⁹ Reps (Ro. Rupea), Braşov county.

³⁰ His name was misspelled in this volume, Ressler instead of Retzlaff. His full name is Hans Hermann Theodor Retzlaff.

³¹ *Lexikon* 1993, p. 407; https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hans_Retzlaff (05.05.2020).

³² *Deutsche Bauernhäuser* 1935, p. 112. Klein-Bistritz Ro. Dorolea village, Bistriţa-Năsăud county.

³³ *Deutsche Trachten*, Aufnahmen von Erich Retzlaff. Text von Margarete Baur-Heinhold, Königstein im Taunus, 1958 (*Deutsche Trachten* 1958). Full-page photographs, except that from the introductory text – two photos (p. 6,7) show two young Transylvanian girls before the confirmation from Rode an der Kleinen Kockel (Ro. Zagăr), Mureş county, and newly-married young women from Lechnitz bei Bistritz (Lechinţa), Bistriţa-Năsăud county, all wearing their ceremonial clothing.

³⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Erich_Retzlaff (08.05.2020).

³⁵ "Without doubt, colour photography is a tremendous asset to the scientist, especially for the 'Heimat' researcher, but also for the 'Heimat friend', for through faithful colour reproduction they have a unique educational material to hand..." (Erich Retzlaff and Wilhelm Pessler, *Niederdeutschland. Landschaft und Volkstum*, München, 1940, p. 62) https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Erich_Retzlaff (08.05.2020).

³⁶ For example, the 1951 well-known portrait of Konrad Adenauer, German Chancellor <http://www.artnet.com/artists/erich-retzlaff/konrad-adenauer-OJSHnI3DxnQYIk9VqSH2gA2> (09.05.2020); Christopher Webster van Tonder, 'Erich Retzlaff: Volksfotograf', in: *PhotoResearcher*, No 16/2011, pp. 8-21. A book dedicated to the renowned photographer appeared in 2013: Christopher Webster van Tonder, *Erich Retzlaff. Volksfotograf*.

³⁷ *Deutsche Trachten* 1958, p. 68-71, 73-77.

³⁸ The men between 17 and 45 years old, and the women between 18 and 30 years old, as the documents stated.

³⁹ Heinrich Zillich, *Siebenbürgen und seine Wehrbauten*. Mit einer Darstellung der Baugeschichte von Hermann Phleps, Königstein im Taunus & Leipzig, 1941 (*Siebenbürgen* 1941).

⁴⁰ Heinrich Zillich (23.05.1899, Kronstadt, Ro. Braşov-22.05.1988, Stamborg). He attended the University in Berlin. He was a journalist at *Kronstädter Zeitung*. In 1924, he was one of the founders of the *Klingsor* magazine. (1924-1939). In

1936 he moved to Germany (*Lexikon* 1993, p. 267-268, 590-591).

⁴¹ Emil Fischer http://bcu.ulbsibiu.ro/smart/istorie/Emil_Fischer.htm (04.06.2020); <http://www.wolffzeit.de/die-evangelische-kirche-in-hermannstadt-biserica-evangelica-din-sibiu-emil-fischer> (04.06.2020).

⁴² *Lexikon* 1993, p. 127-128.

⁴³ *Klingsor* (1924-1939), an important cultural periodic; it appeared in Braşov. Its main aim was to spread culture among the Transylvanian general readership. It was mainly dedicated to literary works. Ernst Jünger, Octavian Goga, Lucian Blaga, Mihail Sadoveanu published here (*Lexikon* 1993, p. 267-268).

⁴⁴ *Lexikon* 1993, p. 367.

⁴⁵ "Karl Ernst Krafft, Kronstadt" (*Siebenbürgen* 1941, p. 2).

⁴⁶ *Lexikon* 1993, p. 277-278.

⁴⁷ *Siebenbürgen* 1941, p. 2.

⁴⁸ Term floated in chronicles, see Thomas Nägler, *Aşezarea saşilor în Transilvania. Studii*, Bucureşti, 1981, p. 107.

⁴⁹ *Siebenbürgen* 1941, p. 55, 61, 86, 93, 101, 102.

⁵⁰ *Siebenbürgen* 1941, p. 101.

⁵¹ *Siebenbürgen* 1941, pp. 10, 11, 22, 33, 37, 40, 47, 52, 53, 80, 103.

⁵² *Siebenbürgen* 1941, p. 47.

⁵³ *Siebenbürgen* 1941, p. 74.

⁵⁴ *Siebenbürgen* 1941, p. 30. The fortified church from Bussd bei Mediasch (Ro. Buzd), Sibiu county.

⁵⁵ The fortified church from Meschen (Ro. Moşna), Sibiu county (Karl Ernst Krafft) (*Siebenbürgen* 1941, p. 32); The fortified church from Birtihalm (Ro. Biertan), Sibiu county (Emil Fischer) (*Siebenbürgen* 1941, p. 43).

⁵⁶ *Siebenbürgen* 1941, p. 44. The fortified church from Absdorf (Ro. Apoş), Sibiu county (Karl Ernst Krafft).

⁵⁷ *Siebenbürgen* 1941, p. 20. The fortified church from Holzmengen (Ro. Hosman), Sibiu county (Emil Fischer).

⁵⁸ *Siebenbürgen* 1941, p. 96. The fortified church from Tartlau (Ro. Prejmer), Braşov county.

⁵⁹ *Siebenbürgen* 1941, p. 65.

⁶⁰ *Siebenbürgen* 1941, p. 51. The Upper Town's gate (Emil Fischer).

⁶¹ *Siebenbürgen* 1941, p. 92. Photo: Karl Ernst Krafft.

⁶² *Siebenbürgen* 1941, p. 8. Photo: Emil Fischer.

⁶³ *Siebenbürgen* 1941, p. 27, 49. Photo: Emil Fischer.

⁶⁴ *Siebenbürgen* 1941, p. 100.

⁶⁵ Obviously, the National Socialists could not miss the opportunity and used photographic material from the collection, especially from Erich Retzlaff's photographs. However, Karl Robert Langewiesche died in September 1931, so he could not be linked to the propaganda of the Third Reich.