

Introduction

Planning and Building in Occupied Poland: The Architecture of National Socialism as a Multidisciplinary Research Field

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Fig. 1: Polish territories under German occupation during the Second World War. Conception of the map: Karolina Jara, Aleksandra Paradowska; graphic design: Krzysztof Wachowiak. First published in: JARA/PARADOWSKA

Research into the German occupation of Poland has in recent years benefited from a number of new methodological impulses. Different studies have converged on the topic with new questions and research perspectives.¹ One approach, which has generated a quite lively discussion among researchers in Poland and Germany, looks at the architectural history of the occupation. In view of the immeasurable atrocities committed by the Germans in occupied Poland, a focus on architectural history might at first sight seem rather peripheral. Therefore, a few comments on the relationship between architecture and occupation policies seem apropos. That Poland had a special place in National Socialist ideology and policies is well known. The Second World War began with the German army's invasion of the country on 1 September 1939, and from the very beginning, the occupation was plainly a colonization project. Stereotypes of "Polish economy," anti-Slavic racism, and supposedly historically-based territorial claims to a region imagined as the "German East" all made essential (from the viewpoint of the German occupier) a setting in motion of a radical and broad reshaping of the region. The phantasm of a German *Drang nach Osten* serving the claimed need for *Lebensraum* was the underlying premiss in the various versions of the General Plan East (Generalplan Ost), which envisioned a complete Germanization of the annexed Polish territories and large parts of the General Government.

In no other occupied territory did the Germans focus on such a comprehensive reshaping of industry and agriculture, infrastructure, architecture, population composition, and culture. The ideal of "the East" as being a *tabula rasa* for such a project was to a certain extent projected onto the existing buildings and infrastructure. Yet they first had to create this clean slate, an action which had a devastating effect on the local population; the Germans expelled, exploited, and decimated a great number of Polish inhabitants and systematically murdered Jews. Although the Holocaust was carried out by the Germans as a project intended to encompass all of Europe, the majority of the victims were murdered in the territory of occupied Poland.

But what does this have to do with building activity? The reality was that few if any planning processes remained uninvolved in these crimes, either directly or indirectly. That was true for residential and administrative buildings as well as for industrial, cultural, or party-affiliated structures. Moreover,

¹ Following a "Daily Life History" approach are, for example: ANNA CZOCHER: *W okupowanym Krakowie: Codzienność polskich mieszkańców miasta 1939–1945* [In Occupied Cracow: Daily Life of the City's Polish Inhabitants, 1939–1945], Gdańsk 2011; STEPHAN LEHNSTAEDT: *Occupation in the East: The Daily Lives of German Occupiers in Warsaw and Minsk, 1939–1944*, New York 2016 (German edition München 2010). For a gender studies perspective, see, for example: MAREN RÖGER: *Wartime Relations: Intimacy, Violence, and Prostitution in Occupied Poland, 1939–1945*, Oxford 2021 (German edition Frankfurt am Main 2015; Polish edition Warszawa 2016); JOANNA OSTROWSKA: *Przemilczane: Seksualna praca przymusowa w czasie II wojny światowej* [Untold: Forced Sexual Labor during the Second World War], Warszawa 2018.

ghettos were constructed in Poland, giving the persecution of the Jews an actual urbanistic form. In the concentration and extermination camps, construction was an essential component in the murderous process. With this inclusion of ghettos and camps, it becomes clear that the concept of architecture we will use here is not restricted to architectural works of art, but instead involves every kind of building project. Nor does architecture solely mean buildings that were actually constructed; it also encompasses the protracted and complex processes of their planning and completion. These multifaceted undertakings were characterized by the involvement of a large number of participants; in addition to the architects, there were first of all the personnel in the different offices, then too the employers, businesses, various craftsmen, construction workers, and many more. Owing to the legal, administrative, and economic contingencies of all these processes, architecture in itself is indeed a political phenomenon. That having been said, dependencies and rivalries at a personal level often played a role as well. Above and beyond that, we are not dealing here exclusively with individual buildings, but also with the town and spatial planning to which the structures are intimately connected, and which would include infrastructure and traffic corridors as well as landscape design and the planning of green spaces. Such a broadly conceived understanding of architecture suggests that researching it would benefit greatly from contributions from multiple disciplines.

The scope of this topic links the history of architecture to economic and political, as well as ideological aspects of National Socialism, and also entangles it with the persecution and exploitation of the Polish civilian population as well as the Holocaust. Consequently, the contributions in this volume reveal the architects and town planners (independently of their conscious intentions) as conveyers of National Socialist ideology and as important actors in the colonization of the East.² This topic also transcends the Nazi period when one considers the pronounced continuities which inhere in the theory and practice of the architectural profession in general and especially in the uninterruptedness of most of the protagonists' careers. This applies to post-war Germany and Poland—with little research having been conducted so far on the Polish architects. Ultimately, this is a complex topic with far-reaching connections to research questions that lie outside the history of architecture. Against this backdrop, for a comprehensive analysis of the complex roles which architecture, town planning, and spatial planning played in the conquest of the East, we most assuredly need to combine research approaches from various disciplines.

² The contributions originate primarily from the conference “The Planning of the New East: Conceptions, Drafts, and Realization of Building Projects in Occupied Poland.” The conference program is available at: <http://www.cbh.pan.pl/de/planung-des-neuen-ostens-architektur-und-st%C3%A4dtebau-unter-deutscher-besatzung> (2020-06-26).

The Growth and Development of this Field of Research

An inter- or even transdisciplinary strategy for researching National Socialist planning and construction activities in the East represents a new contribution to the historiography of the German occupation of Poland. In general, the topic of architecture has been a relatively late arrival in the research on National Socialism.³ It was art history research which stood at the beginning of the scholarly debate about National Socialist architecture. It appeared beginning in the 1960s, primarily in Germany, and will be presented in the next section. The building projects for occupied Poland were not in this field's initial focus; for quite a while, the main emphasis was on the large pretentious projects within the Reich, as shown by the following overview of the current state of research.

That National Socialist architecture would even come up for discussion was a research initiative that, for one thing, first needed a certain "secure temporal distance" of about a generation from the central characters of the building activity undertaken during National Socialism. Secondly, a change in the discipline itself was required: directing itself towards the most recent past, a new understanding developed of art history as a discipline which might now pose socio-political questions about the past and then proffer answers.⁴ Thirdly and finally, there was the insight that an expansion of its objects of study was not necessarily limited to those structures which fulfilled a normative definition of high culture.

A comfortable justification for dismissively declaring an examination of the architecture of National Socialism as superfluous was for a long time the verdict that such depraved objects were "no art"—a moral judgment (more often than not based on personal taste), by which definition the respective objects fell outside the jurisdiction of art history. Moreover, this approach also offered the possibility of de-Nazifying, at a certain formal-aesthetic level, any supposedly or actually uncompromised buildings, i.e., those which did not correspond to a cliché image of a heavy-handed, coarse monumental classicism.⁵ This option accords well with the statements of the actual architects,

³ As pioneering studies, which had received international attention, one can name here for example: DEBORAH DWORK, ROBERT JAN VAN PELT: *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present*, New York—London 1996; PAUL B. JASKOT: *The Architecture of Oppression*, London 2000.

⁴ This shift is referred to in the specialist literature as "New Art History." Cf. JONATHAN HARRIS: *The New Art History: A Critical Introduction*, New York 2001.

⁵ For more detail on the apologetic/defensive strategy: HANS-ERNST MITTIG: *NS-Kunst im milderen Licht? Apologien heute*, in: *Kritische Berichte: Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaften* 29 (2001), 1, pp. 5–22; PAMELA M. POTTER: *Art of Suppression: Confronting the Nazi Past in Histories of the Visual and Performing Arts*, Oakland 2016.

who presented themselves as non-political professionals,⁶ allowing them for the most part to continue their careers in West Germany, quite often with considerable professional success and public recognition. Against this backdrop, the first art-historical examination of the architecture of the National Socialist period shows itself not only as a pioneering contribution to the research of a certain aspect of National Socialism, but also as an important impulse toward a new self-understanding of the discipline, its objects of research, and its methods. In what follows, we will outline the development of the thematic field, principally in German-language art history research since the 1960s. After a brief description of early stimulating studies, we will present different aspects which the research has taken up in recent years.

This survey will illustrate the breadth of possible research objects and (disciplinary) approaches. Some of these include: considering the individual protagonists and (professional) organizations, the different formal trends and building assignments in the architecture of National Socialism, the wide palette of the architects' and engineers' fields of activities, the question about the personnel and structural continuities that carried over into the Federal Republic of Germany, and last but not least, the issue of which architects were disqualified by the Nazi regime from working in their profession in Germany between 1933 and 1945.

The footnotes will reference the relevant literature; however, neither the list of topics nor the bibliographic references make any claim to completeness. The intention is more to consider the various aspects of this broad field in order to point out the diversity of the topics and the possible ways to approach the task. For reasons of space, publications which cover several aspects will only be referenced once and we will largely avoid noting individual contributions in edited volumes of collected articles.

We hope that this overview will also aid the reader in positioning our subsequent examination of the methodological-theoretical challenges present in the researching of National Socialist architecture. Two fundamental problems which require continuing reflection are the relationship of National Socialism to Modernity (whether that be in an emphatic, epochal, or cultural sense) and the relationship between the ideology and completed building projects. Any such analysis of concrete architectural formats must operate within a field of interacting forces created by the (postulated) intentions of the creator, the perception by others, the actual utilization, and the changeable appropriations

⁶ This professional self-awareness is widely present even today and is in no way limited merely to Germany. In a comparative study of Sweden and Germany in the first half of the twentieth century, the author comes to the following conclusion: The architects "viewed themselves as empiricists, not as utopians, and while they used what are today viewed as intensely normatively hued instruments, in their view they were 'objective' instruments." DAVID KUCHENBUCH: *Geordnete Gemeinschaft: Architekten als Sozialingenieure. Deutschland und Schweden im 20. Jahrhundert*, Bielefeld 2010, p. 292.

and interpretations. When dealing with these buildings as historical sources, questions do arise as to whether there is indeed a certain National Socialist style and whether one can speak of a political readability of certain building designs.

After taking up these general considerations, we will present the current state of research into the plans and buildings in occupied Poland. This will deal with a field that has in the last two decades experienced dynamic development. It seems timely to provide a comprehensive overview of the existing studies, and to inquire of them what new questions and realizations they have produced and how they might help reveal any further research gaps. At the end of the paper, we offer an introduction to the individual contributions to this volume and then seek to position them within the research context outlined here.

The Beginnings and Differentiation of the Research into National Socialist Architecture

One of the first publications on National Socialist architecture in Germany was a collection of documents edited by Anna Teut in 1967 entitled “Architecture in the Third Reich.”⁷ A year later, Barbara Miller Lane in the U.S. presented a monograph in which she began to work through the diversity in appearance of National Socialist architecture; however, this was a finding which was not always appropriately taken into consideration by later studies.⁸ A monograph from 1976 on building styles and town planning⁹ was the prelude to art historian Joachim Petsch’s steady and multi-faceted scholarly examination of the art of the Third Reich.¹⁰ Further groundbreaking contributions came from two exhibition projects on the topic at a cross-genre level, which also triggered discussions that extended beyond academic specialists: there was the show “Art in the Third Reich—Documents of Subjugation” in

⁷ ANNA TEUT (ed.): *Architektur im Dritten Reich*, Berlin 1967. Four years before this, a compilation of documents as well as a monograph study about art policy during National Socialism was published, in which there are also selected texts specifically about the architecture in a subchapter about “National Socialist conception of buildings.” JOSEPH WULF (ed.): *Die bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich*, Frankfurt am Main et al. 1983 (first edition 1963); HILDEGARD BRENNER: *Die Kunstpolitik des Nationalsozialismus*, Reinbek 1963.

⁸ BARBARA MILLER LANE: *Architecture and Politics in Germany 1918–1945*, Cambridge 1968.

⁹ JOACHIM PETSCH: *Baukunst und Stadtplanung im Dritten Reich: Herleitung, Bestandsaufnahme, Entwicklung, Nachfolge*, München—Wien 1976.

¹⁰ Reference can be made here to two monographs: JOACHIM PETSCH: *Kunst im Dritten Reich: Architektur, Plastik, Malerei, Alltagsästhetik*, 3rd ed., Köln 1994 (1st ed. 1983); IDEM: *Eigenheim und gute Stube: Zur Geschichte des bürgerlichen Wohnens. Städtebau—Architektur—Einrichtungsstile*, Köln 1989.

the Frankfurt Art Association (Kunstverein)¹¹ in 1974 and then in 1987 the exhibit “Staging of Power: Aesthetic Fascination in Fascism” in Berlin.¹² In between these two events, a volume of collected articles appeared with contributions about various phenomena in the field of art and media in National Socialism, providing important impulses toward expanding the field of research, for example, by including industrial buildings in the discussion.¹³

As a critical comment to this, these first studies often operate with a notion of fascism that put economic and class-political questions in the forefront, and so none has a concept of antisemitism,¹⁴ nor adequately takes into account the racist motivations in National Socialist art policies. Unquestionably, however, it is to the credit of these authors that they opened up a field of inquiry which has produced increasingly nuanced work in the decades since. Special emphasis goes here to publications about the continuity of those German architects’ careers which extended from the Nazi period through to the Federal Republic of Germany,¹⁵ as well as other studies which have cast a critical eye on the prominent exponents of modern architecture.¹⁶

¹¹ Kunst im 3. Reich—Dokumente der Unterwerfung [exhibition catalogue], Frankfurt am Main 1979, in which there are articles about “Großbauten des Staates und der Partei” (pp. 106–147), “Autobahnen” (pp. 148–182), “Das Bauprogramm der Deutschen Arbeitsfront” (pp. 183–216).

¹² KLAUS BEHNKEN, FRANK WAGNER (eds.): *Inszenierung der Macht: Ästhetische Faszination im Faschismus* [exhibition catalogue], Berlin 1987.

¹³ BERTHOLD HINZ (ed.): *Die Dekoration der Gewalt: Kunst und Medien im Faschismus, Gießen 1979*, in which there are articles about the redesigning of Berlin (pp. 149–162), of the Reich Chancellery (Reichskanzlei) (pp. 163–172) and about the newly-founded industrial towns of Wolfsburg and Salzgitter (pp. 173–184).

¹⁴ For an example of a direct connection between anti-Semitic policies and construction projects, see PAUL B. JASKOT: *Anti-Semitic Policy in Albert Speer’s Plans for the Rebuilding of Berlin*, in: *Art Bulletin* 77 (1996), 4, pp. 622–632.

¹⁵ JOACHIM PETSCH: *Zum Problem der Kontinuität nationalsozialistischer Architektur und Stadtplanung in den fünfziger Jahren am Beispiel der Zeitschrift “Baumeister,”* in: HINZ, *Die Dekoration der Gewalt*, pp. 231–242; WERNER DURTH: *Deutsche Architekten: Biographische Verflechtungen 1900–1970*, Stuttgart—Zürich 2001 (first edition 1986).

¹⁶ GERHARD FEHL: *Die Moderne unterm Hakenkreuz: Ein Versuch, die Rolle funktionalistischer Architektur im Dritten Reich zu klären*, in: HARTMUT FRANK (ed.): *Faschistische Architekturen: Planen und Bauen in Europa 1930–1945*, Hamburg 1985, pp. 88–122; JEAN-LOUIS COHEN: *Architektonischer Rationalismus und Modernisierung in Europa zwischen den Weltkriegen*, in: “Die Axt hat geblüht ...”: *Europäische Konflikte der 30er Jahre in Erinnerung an die frühe Avantgarde* [exhibition catalogue], Düsseldorf 1987, pp. 68–74; WINFRIED NERDINGER (ed.): *Bauhaus-Moderne im Nationalsozialismus: Zwischen Anbiederung und Verfolgung*, München 1993. As to the complex relationship between National Socialist ideology and Modernity using an example from architecture, see HSIU-LING KUO: *Monumentality and Modernity in Hitler’s Berlin: The North-South Axis of the Greater Berlin Plan*, Oxford 2013.

But even architectural trends which were closely associated with National Socialism, such as the *Heimatschutz* movement, have not been examined until relatively recently.¹⁷ Proportionally, many studies have chosen instead a biographical or a monographic approach toward prominent individual architects, which also includes those who served the National Socialist regime, but who have remained unknown outside of specialist circles.¹⁸ So, while Albert Speer's life and work have been examined several times,¹⁹ one should point out that he was among those architects who were later afforded an apologetic rehabilitation.²⁰ Even with this, however, his high profile position during National Socialism still had to be taken into account in such deferential explanations. For many other architects, who were more often than not critically

¹⁷ BIRGITTA RINGBECK, *Architektur und Städtebau unter dem Einfluß der Heimatschutzbewegung*, in: EDELTRAUD KLUETING (ed.): *Antimodernismus und Reform: Zur Geschichte der deutschen Heimatbewegung*, Darmstadt 1991, pp. 216–287; JOACHIM PETSCH: *Heimatschutzbewegung und Heimatschutzstil im Dritten Reich*, in: *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift: Ausgabe A* 38 (1992), 1/2, pp. 18–22; IDEM: *Heimatkunst—Heimatschutz: Zur Geschichte der europäischen Heimatschutzbewegung bis 1945*, in: *Werk—Archithese* 66 (1979), 27/28, pp. 49–52; MARCO KIESER: *Heimatschutzarchitektur im Wiederaufbau des Rheinlandes*, Köln 1998; IDEM: *Heimatschutzarchitektur: Aufstieg und Fall einer "anderen Moderne"*—nicht nur im Bergischen Land, in: *Rheinische Heimatpflege* 41 (2004), 4, pp. 242–256.

¹⁸ LIOBA SCHMITT-IMKAMP: *Roderich Fick (1886–1955)*, Wien et al. 2014; TIMO NÜSSLEIN: *Paul Ludwig Troost (1878–1934)*, Wien et al. 2012; ANDRÉ DESCHAN: *Im Schatten von Albert Speer: Der Architekt Rudolf Wolters*, Berlin 2016; JO SOLLICH: *Herbert Rimpl (1902–1978): Architekturkonzern unter Hermann Göring und Albert Speer—Architekt des deutschen Wiederaufbaus*, Berlin 2013; SYLVIA NECKER: *Konstanty Gutschow 1902–1978: Modernes Denken und volksgemeinschaftliche Utopie eines Architekten*, München—Hamburg 2012; EDUARD FÜHR: *Identitätspolitik: "Architekt Professor Cesar Pinnau" als Entwurf und Entwerfer*, Bielefeld 2016; PATRICIA MERKEL: *Das Wirken Ernst Neuferts in den Jahren von 1920 bis 1940*, Wiesbaden 2017; RALF DORN: *Der Architekt und Stadtplaner Rudolf Hillebrecht: Kontinuitäten und Brüche in der deutschen Planungsgeschichte im 20. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 2017.

¹⁹ MAGNUS BRECHTKEN: *Albert Speer: Eine deutsche Karriere*, München 2017; SEBASTIAN TESCH: *Albert Speer 1905–1981*, Wien et al. 2016; SUSANNE WILLEMS: *Der entsiedelte Jude: Albert Speers Wohnungmarktpolitik für den Berliner Hauptstadtbau*, Berlin 2000; MATTHIAS SCHMIDT: *Albert Speer: Das Ende eines Mythos*, Bern 1982.

²⁰ Among others by the historian Joachim Fest, the publisher Wolf Jobst Siedler as well as the architect and architecture theoretician Léon Krier; see, with this, from a critical perspective: PETER NEITZKE: *Wollüstige Beklemmung—hinreißende Bilder*, in: *Bauwelt* (1987), 28/29, pp. 1048–1055. Criticizing Speer's self-mystification are: ANGELA SCHÖNBERGER: *Die Staatsbauten des "Tausendjährigen Reiches" als Ruinenprojektion? Zu Albert Speers "Ruinenwerttheorie,"* in: GÜNTHER SCHAUERTE, MORITZ WULLEN (eds.): *Denken in Bildern, Ostfildern* 2008, pp. 168–175; ROMAN B. KREMER: *Autobiographie als Apologie: Rhetorik der Rechtfertigung bei Baldur von Schirach, Albert Speer, Karl Dönitz und Erich Raeder*, Göttingen 2017, pp. 133–250. To the context in the Federal Republic: ISABELL TROMMER: *Rechtfertigung und Entlastung: Albert Speer in der Bundesrepublik*, Frankfurt am Main—New York 2016.

acclaimed and highly decorated in the post-war period, their activity before 1945 was plainly kept quiet or was at least shrouded. On the other hand, there has hardly been any investigation of the lives and work of those who could no longer practice their craft during the time of National Socialism (and often even thereafter).²¹

In the last 20 years, a series of studies have appeared that focus on individual cities, among them Vienna,²² Salzburg,²³ Leipzig,²⁴ Brunswick,²⁵ Weimar,²⁶ Augsburg,²⁷ as well as the Reich capital “Germania” (Berlin),²⁸ and the “movement’s capital” (Munich).²⁹ Yet over and above examining specific persons, cities, and various architectural trends, what also deserves attention are professional associations, institutes of higher learning,³⁰ traditional and newly created ministries,³¹ as well as other Nazi organizations in which architects were working. Architects received commissions from the German Labor

²¹ For an overview: MYRA WAHRHAFTIG: *Deutsche jüdische Architekten vor und nach 1933: Das Lexikon. 500 Biographien*, Berlin 2005.

²² INGRID HOLZSCHUH, MONIKA PATZER (eds.): *Wien: Die Perle des Reiches. Planen für Hitler* [exhibition catalogue], Zürich 2015; INGRID HOLZSCHUH: *Wiener Stadtplanung im Nationalsozialismus von 1938 bis 1942: Das Neugestaltungsprojekt von Architekt Hanns Dustmann*, Wien 2011. Zum “austrofaschistischen” Bauen in Wien vor dem “Anschluss,” see INGE PODBRECKY: *Unsichtbare Architektur: Bauen im Austrofaschismus. Wien 1933/1934–1938*, Innsbruck—Wien 2020.

²³ INGRID HOLZSCHUH: *Otto Strohmayer (1900–1945): Hitlers Architekt für die Neugestaltung der Stadt Salzburg im Nationalsozialismus*, Wien et al. 2015.

²⁴ PETER LEONHARDT: *Totalitär: Leipzig 1933–1945. Städtebau und Architektur im Nationalsozialismus* [exhibition catalogue], Leipzig 2008.

²⁵ MARKUS MITTMANN: *Bauen im Nationalsozialismus: Braunschweig, die “Deutsche Siedlungsstadt” und die “Mustersiedlung der Deutschen Arbeitsfront” Braunschweig-Mascherode: Ursprung, Gestaltung, Analyse*, Hameln 2003.

²⁶ KARINA LOOS: *Die Inszenierung der Stadt: Planen und Bauen im Nationalsozialismus in Weimar*, PhD thesis Bauhaus-Universität Weimar 2000, <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:gbv:wim2-20040225-502> (2021-06-28).

²⁷ WINFRIED NERDINGER (ed.): *Bauten erinnern: Augsburg in der NS-Zeit*, Berlin 2012.

²⁸ WOLFGANG SCHÄCHE: *From Berlin to “Germania”: Architecture and Urban Planning*, in: DAWN ANDES et al. (eds.): *Art and Power: Europe under the Dictators 1930–45*, London 1995, pp. 326–329; IDEM, HANS J. REICHARDT: *Von Berlin nach Germania: Über die Zerstörung der “Reichshauptstadt” durch Albert Speers Neugestaltungsplannungen*, rev. and enlarged ed., Berlin 2005; MATTHIAS DONATH: *Architektur in Berlin 1933–1945: Ein Stadtführer*, Berlin 2004.

²⁹ HARTMUT MAYER: *Paul Ludwig Troost: “Germanische Tektonik” für München*, Tübingen 2007; GAVRIEL D. ROSENFELD: *Munich and Memory*, Berkeley 2000.

³⁰ KATJA BERNHARDT: *Stil—Raum—Ordnung: Architekturlehre in Danzig 1904–1945*, Berlin 2015.

³¹ WOLFGANG SCHÄCHE: *Architektur und Städtebau in Berlin zwischen 1933 und 1945: Planen und Bauen unter der Ägide der Stadtverwaltung*, Berlin 2003.

Front (Deutsche Arbeitsfront, DAF),³² and in the occupied territories one should mention, first and foremost, Organisation Todt (OT).³³

In September 1933, the Association of German Architects (Bund Deutscher Architekten, BDA) adopted a new constitution according to which membership was now conditional on whether the architect “assures that at every point and without reservation he supports the National Socialist state and that he of is Arian heritage.”³⁴ In spite of this voluntary *Gleichschaltung* (forced coordination with the state), two months later upon the creation of the Reich Chamber of Culture the BDA was disbanded. For the association’s president, Eugen Hönig, who had been in office only since March, this actually brought a career bounce: now he could take over the leadership of the Reich Chamber for the Visual Arts. A new association also formed: the Combat League of German Architects and Engineers (Kampfbund Deutscher Architekten und Ingenieure, KDAI). This was later absorbed into the National Socialist League of German Technology and Engineers (Nationalsozialistischer Bund Deutscher Technik/Techniker, NSBDT).³⁵

As mentioned, in addition to designing individual buildings, the architects, engineers, and planners were primarily working in town and spatial planning,³⁶ landscape architecture, and the planning of green areas.³⁷ At the same time, some were also involved in the preservation of monuments,³⁸ furniture

³² MICHAEL FLAGMEYER: *Die Architekturen der Deutschen Arbeitsfront: Eine nationalsozialistische Kontrollorganisation als Planungsinstrument*, PhD thesis TU Braunschweig 2009.

³³ FABIAN LEMMES: *Arbeiten für das Reich: Die Organisation Todt in Frankreich und Italien 1940–1945*, Wien 2020; FRANZ W. SEIDLER: *Die Organisation Todt: Bauen für Staat und Wehrmacht 1938–1945*, Koblenz 1987.

³⁴ Cited by: ANDREA BÄRNREUTHER: *Revision der Moderne unterm Hakenkreuz: Planungen für ein “neues München”*, München 1993, p. 95.

³⁵ Specifically focused on engineers, see ULRICH KUDER (ed.): *Architektur und Ingenieurwesen zur Zeit der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft 1933–1945*, Berlin 1997.

³⁶ KARL KEGLER: *Deutsche Raumplanung: Das Modell der “Zentralen Orte” zwischen NS-Staat und Bundesrepublik*, Paderborn 2015; DIETER MÜNK: *Die Organisation des Raumes im Nationalsozialismus: Eine soziologische Untersuchung über den Zusammenhang der nationalsozialistischen Ideologie mit den vorherrschenden Leitbildern in Architektur, Städtebau und Raumplanung des Dritten Reiches*, Bonn 1993; URSULA VON PETZ: *Stadtansanierung im Dritten Reich*, Dortmund 1987.

³⁷ JOACHIM WOLSCHKE-BULMAHN, GERT GRÖNING: *The National Socialist Garden and Landscape Ideal: Bodenständigkeit (Rootedness in the Soil)*, in: RICHARD A. ETLIN (ed.): *Art, Culture, and Media under the Third Reich*, Chicago 2002, pp. 73–97; JOACHIM WOLSCHKE-BULMAHN: *The Nationalization of Nature and the Naturalization of the German Nation: “Teutonic” Trends in Early Twentieth-century Landscape Design*, in: IDEM (ed.): *Nature and Ideology: Natural Garden Design in the Twentieth Century*, Washington 1997, pp. 187–219; as well as various German-language publications of the same authors.

³⁸ SUSANNE FLEISCHNER: *“Schöpferische Denkmalpflege”: Kulturideologie des Nationalsozialismus und Positionen der Denkmalpflege*, Münster 1999; THOMAS SCHECK:

and interior design,³⁹ exhibitions, and popular and academic publications, as well as other areas of propaganda. Their building tasks were wide-ranging, from ostentatious edifices selected by the party, such as the *Gauforen*,⁴⁰ to youth hostels,⁴¹ air raid shelters⁴² and residential buildings⁴³ as well as building and planning for industry,⁴⁴ administration, traffic,⁴⁵ culture/leisure time,⁴⁶ and the party.⁴⁷ In all these areas, structures were planned and built with a view toward ensuring the projects would be in accord with the explicitly pre-

Denkmalpflege und Diktatur: Die Erhaltung von Bau- und Kunstdenkmälern in Schleswig-Holstein und im Deutschen Reich zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus, Berlin 1995.

³⁹ On expropriation and restitution in Austria: ILSEBIL BARTA, HERBERT POSCH: *InventARISIERT: Provenienzforschung und Restitution arisierter Wohnungseinrichtungen in den Sammlungen der Bundesmobilienvverwaltung*, in: GABRIELE ANDERL (ed.): ... wesentlich mehr Fälle als angenommen: 10 Jahre Kommission für Provenienzforschung, Wien et al. 2009, pp. 107–126.

⁴⁰ NORBERT KORREK, JUSTUS H. ULBRICHT, CHRISTIANE WOLF: *Das Gauforum in Weimar: Ein Erbe des Dritten Reiches*, 3rd rev. and enlarged ed., Weimar 2011; CHRISTIANE WOLF: *Gauforen: Zentren der Macht*, Berlin 1999.

⁴¹ STEPHANIE LESSEL: *Jugendherbergen des Reichsverbandes für Deutsche Jugendherbergen als eine Bauaufgabe nationalsozialistischer Jugenderziehung*, Köln 2017.

⁴² HELGA SCHMAL, TOBIAS SELKE: *Bunker: Luftschutz und Luftschutzbau in Hamburg*, Hamburg 2001; SILKE WENK (ed.): *Erinnerungsorte aus Beton: Bunker in Städten und Landschaften*, Berlin 2001.

⁴³ MICHAEL HABEN: *Berliner Wohnungsbau 1933–1945: Mehrfamilienhäuser, Wohnanlagen und Siedlungsvorhaben*, Berlin 2017; MAIK LINDEMANN: *Wolfsburg: Erbe des nationalsozialistischen Siedlungsbaus*, Weimar 2003; TILMAN HARLANDER: *Zwischen Heimstätte und Wohnmaschine: Wohnungsbau und Wohnungspolitik in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*, Basel et al. 1995.

⁴⁴ Wilhelm Wichtendahl (1902–1992): *Architekt der Post, der Rüstung und des Wiederaufbaus* [exhibition catalogue], Berlin 2011; HANS-ERNST MITTIG: *Industriearchitektur des NS-Regimes: Das Volkswagenwerk*, in: GABI DOLFF-BONEKÄMPER, HILTRUD KIER (eds.): *Städtebau und Staatsbau im 20. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1996, pp. 77–112.

⁴⁵ ERHARD SCHÜTZ, ECKHARD GRUBER: *Mythos Reichsautobahn: Bau und Inszenierung der “Straßen des Führers” 1933–1941*, Berlin 1996; ANKE GRÖNER: *“Zieh die Bahn durch deutsches Land”: Gemälde zur Reichsautobahn von Carl Theodor Protzen (1887–1956)*, forthcoming Köln 2022.

⁴⁶ On theaters and cinema, see DIETER BARTETZKO: *Illusionen in Stein: Stimmungsarchitektur im Nationalsozialismus*, Berlin 2012; SABINE STEIDLE: *Kinoarchitektur im Nationalsozialismus: Eine kultur- und medienhistorische Studie zur Vielfalt der Moderne*, Trier 2012.

⁴⁷ ULRIKE GRAMMBITTER, IRIS LAUTERBACH (eds.): *Das Parteizentrum der NSDAP in München*, Berlin—München 2009; YASMIN DOOSRY: *“Wohlauf, laßt uns eine Stadt und einen Turm bauen ...”*: Studien zum Reichsparteitagsgelände in Nürnberg, Tübingen 2002; JOACHIM PETSCH: *Architektur als Weltanschauung: Die Staats- und Parteiarchitektur im Nationalsozialismus*, in: BERND OGAN, WOLFGANG W. WEISS (eds.): *Faszination und Gewalt: Zur politischen Ästhetik des Nationalsozialismus*, Nürnberg 1992, pp. 197–204.

scribed (or even just surmised) political-ideological tenets of the National Socialist regime.

Investigating such themes is not limited solely to the time period between 1933 and 1945; questions also arise concerning the continuities that carried over into post-war society and even the present day, and also about the role these themes play in the collective memory. Many of the studies mentioned to this point actually consider these questions. It is important for the editors to connect the historical research of National Socialism with its aftermath and the relevance and meaning which different social groups attribute to it. For that reason, the individual contributions to this volume refer time and again to this broader timeframe, even though the period of the occupation is the primary focus of all the articles.

Theoretical-Methodological Challenges in the Researching of National Socialist Architecture

Since it is not possible here to look individually into the numerous and diverse publications about the architecture of National Socialism, it will suffice to name and clarify fundamental methodological challenges that wind their way through the research literature. The central and enduring question is how to analyze the concrete buildings and interpret them as objects of research. Architecture as a “slow” and resource-intensive cultural technology can often outlive political regimes. The history of architecture is replete with innumerable examples of repurposing or maintaining usage after political upheavals. Historiography on the period of National Socialism has oftentimes neglected to examine the actual buildings, whether because authors are not familiar with methods of analysis for material objects, or because it is simply considered superfluous to do so. In the latter case, the buildings are perceived as being devoid of expression; contemporaneous self-interpretations (as in official speeches or articles in journals) are employed as surrogates to elucidate them. This is where the methodological problem is found: rolling the intentions of the creators or interpreters into a single whole with what is actually expressed in the works while neglecting to examine the existing buildings as they still stand. Yet, this cannot come down to an either/or situation, and the discursive framing and material object indeed stand in relation to one another. Christian Fuhrmeister goes so far as to define this relationship such that the “falling apart of claim and reality” deals with “basically a structural characteristic of the ‘operating system art’ during National Socialism.”⁴⁸ James van Dyke points out that in relation to the visual arts, the official art press and

⁴⁸ CHRISTIAN FUHRMEISTER: Die (mindestens) doppelte Zurichtung der “gewordenen Kunst,” in: SILKE VON BERSWORDT-WALLRABE, JÖRG-UWE NEUMANN et al. (eds.): *Kunst und Politik im Nationalsozialismus*, Bonn 2016, pp. 103–109.

exhibition activities of the regime repeatedly claim to have brought the art-work itself into harmony with National Socialist ideals. But this purported consonance first of all had to be discursively produced and in no way came about as such simply from the images themselves.⁴⁹ The erroneous conclusions to which an equating “of assertion and fact” can lead is pointed out by Eduard Führ in the example of the concentration camp Sachsenhausen: the supposedly ideal plan proved to be problematic for the surveillance of the inmates and was not used again in other camp locations.⁵⁰

A critical examination of Adolf Hitler’s oft-quoted dictum about architecture as “Word in Stone”⁵¹ must not, however, lead to the conclusion that the specific forms of the stones and the quantitative preponderance of paper architecture are irrelevant, even when they individually show no ostensible ideological motifs. There has been contentious discussion in the research as to the specifics or even the lack of specifics in building designs intended as National Socialist propaganda.⁵² How classical antiquity was adapted is something that has been thoroughly considered.⁵³ This neoclassicism was and frequently still is understood as National Socialist architecture, even though early studies on Nazi architecture, such as Barbara Miller Lane’s monograph mentioned above, do refer to both the formal multiplicity as well as the adaptation or continuation of architectural trends that came out of the Weimar Republic.⁵⁴

However, what had dominated for decades was the assumption of a simple binary opposition between National Socialism and Modernity specifically in the realm of art (although in other areas as well). Even though this bipolar

⁴⁹ JAMES VAN DYKE: Über die Beziehung zwischen Kunst, Propaganda und Kitsch in Deutschland 1933–1945, in: HANS-JÖRG CZECH, NIKOLA DOLL (eds.): *Kunst und Propaganda im Streit der Nationen 1930–1945*, Dresden 2007, pp. 250–257, here p. 255.

⁵⁰ EDUARD FÜHR: Morphologie und Topographie eines Konzentrationslagers, in: GÜNTHER MORSCH (ed.): *Von der Erinnerung zum Monument: Die Entstehung der nationalen Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Sachsenhausen*, Berlin 1996, pp. 30–58.

⁵¹ Eponymous with: ROBERT R. TAYLOR: *The Word in Stone: The Role of Architecture in the National Socialist Ideology*, Los Angeles 1974.

⁵² See as well: JOCHEN GUCKES: Ordnungsvorstellungen im Raum: Überlegungen zur deutschen Stadtplanungs- und Architekturgeschichte zwischen 1918 und 1945 aus kulturhistorischer Sicht, in: *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 48 (2008), pp. 661–702, here pp. 689–692, even though we do not agree with some of Guckes’s appraisals of art-history research in other places in the text.

⁵³ Lastly: IAIN BOYD WHYTE: National Socialism, Classicism, and Architecture, in: HELEN ROCHE, KYRIAKOS DEMETRIOU (eds.): *Brill’s Companion to the Classics, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany*, Leiden—Boston 2017, pp. 404–434; an important monography is: ALEX SCOBIE: *Hitler’s State Architecture: The Impact of Classical Antiquity*, University Park/PA 1990.

⁵⁴ A continuation of these findings is manifested in the conference texts: TILMAN HARLANDER, WOLFRAM PYTA (eds.): *NS-Architektur: Macht und Symbolpolitik*, Berlin 2010.

way of considering the issue has been refuted in different places,⁵⁵ it still shows up in a few publications. The architectural historian Werner Durth, on the other hand, shows that the National Socialists did not throw out the different reform movements of the preceding decades altogether, but instead adapted and integrated them. He sees in this very point an explanation for the successful incorporation of numerous individual architects into the work of the new political regime, and indeed not only at a pragmatic level, but also ideologically.⁵⁶ This assimilation was accompanied by the ousting of both prominent representatives of Modernist architecture and Jewish architects from their posts, a situation which resulted in primarily younger architects having unexpected career opportunities which they eagerly seized upon.

With regard to the question of what characterized typical National Socialist building designs, the assumption (as proposed in the earlier research) of a hierarchically-organized collation of various styles and certain building projects has in the meantime also been refuted⁵⁷ as have been any exculpatory accounts in which industrial construction is presented as having been a kind of inner exile for architects.⁵⁸ Using the example of painting, art historian Hans-Ernst Mittag shows that the level of the political content of the works may oftentimes only be discovered by undertaking “a sweeping examination.” For that, a context was necessary—for example, in landscape paintings

⁵⁵ For the area of architecture, see e.g. SABINE STEIDLE: *Kinoarchitektur im Nationalsozialismus: Eine kultur- und medienhistorische Studie zur Vielfalt der Moderne*, Trier 2012; KAI KRAUSKOPF, HANS-GEORG LIPPERT et al. (eds.): *Neue Tradition: Konzepte einer antimodernen Moderne in Deutschland von 1920 bis 1960*, Dresden 2009; GERHARD FEHL: *Kleinstadt, Steildach, Volksgemeinschaft: Zum “reaktionären” Modernismus in Bau- und Stadtbaukunst, Braunschweig—Wiesbaden 1995*. For Bauhaus, see PAUL B. JASKOT: *The Nazi Party’s Strategic Use of the Bauhaus: Marxist Art History and the Political Conditions of Artistic Production*, in: WARREN CARTER, BARNABY HARAN et al. (eds.): *Re/new Marxist Art History*, London 2013, pp. 382–397. In relation to the DAF, see RONALD SMELSER: *How “Modern” were the Nazis? DAF Social Planning and the Modernization Question*, in: *German Studies Review* 13 (1990), pp. 285–302. As to the relationship of National Socialism to Modernism, see KONRAD H. JARAUSCH: *Organic Modernism: National Socialism as Alternative Modernism*, in: SHELLEY BARANOWSKI, ARMIN NOLZEN et al. (eds.): *A Companion to Nazi Germany*, Hoboken/NJ 2018, pp. 33–46; also, see JEFFREY HERF: *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich*, Cambridge 1984.

⁵⁶ WERNER DURTH: *Utopie der Gemeinschaft: Überlegungen zur Neugestaltung deutscher Städte 1900–1950*, in: ROMANA SCHNEIDER, WILFRIED WANG (eds.): *Moderne Architektur in Deutschland 1900 bis 2000: Macht und Monument*, Ostfildern-Ruit 1998, pp. 135–162, here pp. 147–148.

⁵⁷ Cf. MITTIG, *Industriearchitektur*.

⁵⁸ WOLFGANG PEHNT: *Deutsche Architektur seit 1900*, 2nd ed., München 2006, p. 220. This also deals with the continuity of the Weimar Republic in National Socialism regarding the personnel and in relation to different basic principles of modern construction (pp. 216–218).

which were intended to conjure up a *Heimat*, or which renounced industry and urbanization and so “provided flanking support for an agricultural ‘close-to-the-earth’ meme in the Nazi propaganda.”⁵⁹ In addition to these contexts, the specific National Socialist “multimedia system” deserves attention;⁶⁰ in it artworks, buildings, and planning were featured (for example, in the daily and specialist press, in illustrated books, on postcards, or in exhibitions).⁶¹ This was all the more pressing for the architectural planning of National Socialism, given that the predominant percentage of it existed only on paper; it was essential for it to circulate in various media contexts directed at quite different publics. Worthy of note here is that using these images as sources also requires taking into consideration the specifics of the respective media.

Generally speaking, we have to distinguish between planning and building: there is hardly a building that ever comes to be as it was initially conceived, since revisions and changes are inherent to the process of developing such an idea. In the case of architecture, it is about a slow cultural technology characterized by a high degree of division of labor, legal and administrative regulations, and economic expense. In this regard, the twelve years of what was supposed to be a “Thousand-Year Reich” were a short span of time, especially given the conditions of a war economy. Looking at the whole range of factors that influenced production, distribution and reception, it becomes clear that the architects and planners in no way found themselves in a non-political “niche,”⁶² but instead were directly and indirectly participating in the crimes. That also shows that the question of a specific National Socialist style of architecture (which then would qualify individual buildings as being part of National Socialist architecture) in some circumstances conceals more than it explains, as Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper argues: “in this context it is not about art and style, but instead about political morality and personal responsibility,” and in the end what persists is an indissoluble “entanglement of architecture

⁵⁹ HANS-ERNST MITTIG: Zum Umgang mit NS-Kunst, in: Deutsche Kunst 1933–1945 in Braunschweig: Kunst im Nationalsozialismus [exhibition catalogue], Hildesheim 2000, pp. 11–19, here p. 16.

⁶⁰ BERTHOLD HINZ: Bild und Lichtbild im Medienverbund, in: IDEM, Die Dekoration der Gewalt, pp. 137–148, on the relation between photography and fine arts in National Socialism.

⁶¹ ANJA WIESE: “Entschandelung und Gestaltung” als Prinzipien nationalsozialistischer Baupropaganda: Forschungen zur Wanderausstellung “Die schöne Stadt” 1938–1943, in: Die Denkmalpflege 69 (2011), 1, pp. 34–41; JÖRN DÜWEL, NIELS GUTSCHOW: Baukunst und Nationalsozialismus: Demonstration von Macht in Europa 1940–1943. Die Ausstellung “Neue Deutsche Baukunst” von Rudolf Wolters, Berlin 2015.

⁶² Polemically and aptly characterized by Hiltrud Kier as “the popular German whereabouts in this century.” HILTRUD KIER: Einführung, in: EADEM/DOLFF-BONEKÄMPER, pp. 7–9, here p. 7.

with the extermination of people through forced labor and war.”⁶³ Analogously to Hans-Ernst Mittag’s reflections in relation to works of art, the labeling of National Socialist architecture therefore connotes not a stylistic categorization, but rather a functional perspective: it was architecture, “which was designed for the use of the regime or even commissioned by it.”⁶⁴

Those who commissioned projects for the National Socialist regime were numerous; among them, the SS was particularly important in a political and economic respect. Paul B. Jaskot, in his study *The Architecture of Oppression*, proposes using the notion of an “architectural policy of the SS” as a way of bringing into synoptic view the whole process of design, planning, and execution.⁶⁵ Jaskot considers concentration camps in his work, i.e., a phenomenon whose affiliation with the category of architecture is often called into question, such that in the works providing an overview of architecture of the Nazi period, concentration camps are either not mentioned or, if so, only peripherally.⁶⁶ This indicates that even if the distinction mentioned at the beginning of the paper between architecture-as-art and mere unartistic construction has been obsolete for decades at a scholarly level, a few building projects of National Socialism nevertheless test the borders anew as to what we are willing to accept as architecture. While there are individual studies available about the architecture of the camps,⁶⁷ integrating the camps into the history of architecture, which Robert Jan van Pelt first urged⁶⁸ and which he with Debórah Dwork has suggested for the town and the camp at Auschwitz,⁶⁹ remains a desideratum. An exhibition project under the leadership of Winfried Nerdinger that encompassed the total construction activity in National Social-

⁶³ GABI DOLFF-BONEKÄMPER: Einführung, *ibidem*, pp. 10–14, here p. 14. Cf. also: WINFRIED NERDINGER (ed.): *Architektur und Verbrechen: Die Rolle von Architekten im Nationalsozialismus*, Göttingen 2014.

⁶⁴ MITTIG, *Zum Umgang mit NS-Kunst*, p. 17.

⁶⁵ PAUL B. JASKOT: *The Architecture of Oppression*, London 2000; IDEM: Heinrich Himmler and the Nuremberg Party Rally Grounds: The Interest of the SS in the German Building Economy, in: RICHARD A. ETLIN (ed.): *Art, Culture, and Media under the Third Reich*, Chicago 2002, pp. 230–256.

⁶⁶ An exception to this is: HELMUT WEIHMANN: *Bauen unterm Hakenkreuz: Architektur des Untergangs*, Wien 1998, where the concentration camps are considered as comprising a unique building typology.

⁶⁷ ANNIKA WIENERT: *Das Lager vorstellen: Die Architektur der nationalsozialistischen Vernichtungslager*, 3rd rev. ed., Berlin 2018; STEPHANIE ENDLICH: *Die äußere Gestalt des Terrors: Zu Städtebau und Architektur der Konzentrationslager*, in: WOLFGANG BENZ, BARBARA DISTEL (eds.): *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 1, München 2005, pp. 211–229; ERIC PENET: *Architecture concentrationnaire et idéologie national-socialiste*, PhD thesis Université Lille III 2012, <http://www.theses.fr/2012LIL30043> (2020-06-05).

⁶⁸ ROBERT JAN VAN PELT: *After the Walls Have Fallen Down*, in: *Queen’s Quarterly* 96 (1989), 3, pp. 641–660.

⁶⁹ DWORK/IDEM.

ist Bavaria, including the several camps, also served a pioneering function.⁷⁰ These kinds of systematic categorizations are not available for other regions, which is highly regrettable, not least with regard to monument preservation. During recent decades, this field has increasingly come to include what is referred to as “difficult heritage.”⁷¹ To identify and preserve such objects, experts need comprehensive surveys of the building legacy of the Third Reich.

The issue is not just the lack of a reliable overview of the inventory of objects. Case studies show again and again that the particular actors, institutions, offices, resources, and decision processes oftentimes first have to be actually identified. Research into architectural history frequently confirms findings from the historiography on National Socialism, such as the polycratic character of the regime and the (sometimes considerable) discretion of local actors; in other words, these case studies demonstrate how general patterns of National Socialist ruling were actually functioning in specific local contexts. This proves yet again the necessity of an interdisciplinary and international exchange. An explicit cross-disciplinary approach was apparent in the wide-ranging 14 projects in the research proposal “Building and Planning in National Socialism: Presuppositions, Institutions, Effects” announced in 2018 by the Federal Institute for Research on Building, Urban Affairs, and Spatial Development (Bundesinstitut für Bau-, Stadt- und Raumforschung, BBSR).⁷² The primary goal of this was to look at the responsible institutional bodies and their areas of competence for the different building sectors.⁷³

⁷⁰ WINFRIED NERDINGER (ed.): *Bauen im Nationalsozialismus: Bayern 1933–1945*, München 1993; for Lower Austria, as the result of artistic research: MARIA THERESIA LITSCHAUER: *Architekturen des Nationalsozialismus: Die Bau- und Planungstätigkeit im Kontext ideologisch fundierter Leitbilder und politischer Zielsetzungen am Beispiel der Region Waldviertel 1938–1945*, Wien 2012; making no claim to completeness, but with a broad spectrum of functions and objectives: KONSTANTIN HERMANN (ed.): *Führerschule, Thingplatz, “Judenhaus”*: Orte und Gebäude der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur in Sachsen, Dresden 2014.

⁷¹ SHARON MACDONALD: *Difficult Heritage: Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and beyond*, London 2009; *Politisch unbequeme Denkmale: Umgang mit Zeugnissen der NS-Zeit*, Berlin 2015; GABRIELE HAMMERMAN, DIRK RIEDEL (eds.): *Sanierung, Rekonstruktion, Neugestaltung: Zum Umgang mit historischen Bauten in Gedenkstätten*, Göttingen 2014; ALEXANDRA KLEI: *Der erinnerte Ort—Geschichte durch Architektur: Zur baulichen und gestalterischen Repräsentation der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, Bielefeld 2011.

⁷² CHRISTIAN SCHLAG: *BBSR vergibt Aufträge zur Erforschung des Bauens und Planens im Nationalsozialismus*, <https://idw-online.de/de/news699375> (2021-02-25).

⁷³ Two subprojects are being worked on at Institute for Research on Society and Space, Erkner: “Städtebau und Bestandspolitik 1933-1945,” <https://leibniz-irs.de/forschung/projekte/projekt/bbsr4/> and “Wohnungs- und städtebauliche Weichenstellungen in SBZ und DDR bis 1955,” <https://leibniz-irs.de/forschung/projekte/projekt/bbsr11/>. An additional project with the title “Großraum und Gewalt—Die ‘Durchdringung des Ostens’ in Planung und Praxis der NS-Raumordnung” is being researched by Alexa

As far as the goal of internationality is concerned, up to now the research field has been dominated by German-language studies.⁷⁴ As it stands, though, one can assume with a certain justification that these German studies are also being picked up on by researchers in non-German academic communities who use other primary languages, since ultimately for any scholar in this field, a considerable portion of the source materials for researching National Socialism is in German. However, the situation remains such that studies which are published in languages other than the academic *lingua franca* of English, are hardly given any attention in Germany and even the available sources and materials in the respective countries are taken into account only limitedly. It is not least of all for this reason that the editors of this volume decided to publish all the contributions in English. Furthermore, this publication (as well as the conference that preceded it) is intended to stimulate (or secure) an ongoing exchange of research results and more cooperation between Poland and Germany, but in the future hopefully at the international level as well.

Responding to the research available up to this point on the other regions or states occupied by the German Reich is by necessity contingent on several factors: the language skills of the editors, suggestions offered by colleagues, and the availability of the literature in German libraries. For the states neighboring Germany to the west, a monograph about annexed Alsace is available⁷⁵ as well as an overview of the destruction of historic monuments in Western Europe.⁷⁶ A recently published study considers the building activity in Norway, a country which in the research of National Socialism has been investigated relatively little.⁷⁷ The Luxemburg Research Fund sponsored from 2014 to 2016 a study of the local city development plan as directed by the architect Hubert Ritter, who had previously worked in occupied Cracow;

Stiller (ETH Zürich) in collaboration with Karl Kegler (Hochschule München). A table of all subprojects is currently not available (2021-02-25).

⁷⁴ The most recent English language publication is: JOSHUA HAGEN, ROBERT C. OSTERGREN: *Building Nazi Germany: Place, Space, Architecture, and Ideology*, London 2020; a publication in French: MARC CLUET: *L'architecture du IIIe Reich: Origines intellectuelles et visées idéologiques*, Berne et al. 1987.

⁷⁵ WOLFGANG VOIGT: *Planifier et construire dans les territoires annexes: Architectes allemands en Alsace de 1940 à 1944*, Strasbourg 2008 (German edition: *Deutsche Architekten im Elsass 1940–1944: Planen und Bauen im annektierten Grenzland*, Tübingen—Berlin 2012).

⁷⁶ NICOLA LAMBOURNE: *War Damage in Western Europe: The Destruction of Historic Monuments during the Second World War*, Edinburgh 2001.

⁷⁷ DESPINA STRATIGAKOS: *Hitler's Northern Utopia: Building the New Order in Occupied Norway*, Oxfordshire 2020.

however, no monograph is yet forthcoming.⁷⁸ The case of Ritter suggests that along with other actors, given their mobility within German-occupied Europe, it would be possible to write an international or transnational history of their planning and construction.

A comparative approach has been employed for historic monuments in Germany and France.⁷⁹ Moreover, there are articles available on this topic for the Netherlands⁸⁰ and Belgium,⁸¹ and as well on research into the architectural historiography in Norway and in the region of what is today Romania.⁸² As to Lithuania when it was under German occupation, an article has appeared regarding the settlement policies;⁸³ there are also monographs about the city planning in Prague⁸⁴ and the German Technical University located there between 1938 and 1945.⁸⁵

Recently, two studies have appeared which (as evident in the titles) transnationally address East Central Europe. It must be noted, however, that in Martin Kohlrausch's monograph⁸⁶ the emphasis is on the time before the war began, and he mentions the period of the occupation only briefly when dis-

⁷⁸ Partial results were published as articles: STEFAN HEINZ: Machtsymbole während der nationalsozialistischen Herrschaft in Luxemburg, in: ANNELIES AMBERGER, URSULA MÄNNLE (eds.): *Bildzeichen der Macht*, München 2018, pp. 99–127; IDEM: Der andere Ritter: Über den wichtigen Leipziger Baurat in den Jahren nach 1933, in: *Leipziger Blätter* 68 (2016), pp. 19–21.

⁷⁹ SANDRA SCHLICHT: *Krieg und Denkmalpflege: Deutschland und Frankreich im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Schwerin 2007.

⁸⁰ MARIEKE KUIPERS: Art Protection and Architectural Preservation in the Netherlands (1938–1945), in: MAGDALENA BUSHART (ed.): *Kunstgeschichte in den besetzten Gebieten 1939–1945*, Köln 2016, pp. 141–162.

⁸¹ CHRISTINA KOTT: Die Denkmalpflege im belgischen Wiederaufbaukommissariat unter deutscher Besatzung (1940–1944), *ibidem*, pp. 163–184.

⁸² ROBERT BORN: Zwischen Siebenbürgen und Norwegen: Die Forschungen von Hermann Phleps zur Holzarchitektur und deren politische Instrumentalisierung, *ibidem*, pp. 275–308.

⁸³ CHRISTOPH DIECKMANN: Plan und Praxis: Deutsche Siedlungspolitik im besetzten Litauen 1941–1944, in: ISABEL HEINEMANN, PATRICK WAGNER (eds.): *Wissenschaft—Planung—Vertreibung: Neuordnungskonzepte und Umsiedlungspolitik im 20. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 2006, pp. 93–118.

⁸⁴ MILOŠ HOŘEJŠ: *Protektorátní Praha jako německé město: Nacistický urbanismus a Plánovací komise pro hlavní město Prahu* [Protectorate Prague as a German City: National Socialist Urban Planning and the Planning Commission for the Capital City Prague], Praha 2013.

⁸⁵ MILENA JOSEFOVIČOVÁ: *Německá vysoká škola technická v Praze (1938–1945): Struktura, správa, lidé* [The German Technical University in Prague (1938–1945): Structure, Administration, Persons], Praha 2017.

⁸⁶ MARTIN KOHLRAUSCH: *Brokers of Modernity: East Central Europe and the Rise of Modernist Architects, 1910–1950*, Leuven 2019.

cussing the example of Warsaw. In the second publication,⁸⁷ the time between 1938 and 1945 is certainly Richard Němec's central focus, but the broadly conceived title, advertising Central and Eastern Europe, may give rise to expectations that are higher than what the included case studies can meet. Yet, this in no way diminishes his important contribution to the research of National Socialist planning in what is today the Czech Republic, specifically in Reichenberg, the capital of the Reichsgau Sudetenland (formed in 1939), present-day Karlovy Vary (which also belonged to this Gau), and Prague, which after the invasion by the German troops was designated the capital city of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.⁸⁸

Research into National Socialist Architecture in Poland

The research of National Socialist town and spatial planning, and the building activity that resulted from it in occupied Poland is the most robust area of current analysis, with the large majority of the proffered publications having appeared in the last ten years. It is chiefly Polish art historians who have directed increasing attention to this topic, and along the way they have built up an informal network to which we, as editors of this volume, belong. So far, this has resulted in three conferences (Poznań 2017, Cracow 2018, Berlin 2019) and in two edited volumes that then appeared (in both Polish and English), joined now by this special issue with its particular focus.⁸⁹ The meetings allowed for an exchange among research projects that were often locally or regionally oriented, and also enabled the new approaches to be cooperatively refined and further developed. Perspectives for possible future research crystallized out of this, with one of them being to further expand the interdisciplinary treatment of the topic and, secondly, to search for possible ways to integrate the findings comparatively with international efforts. Moreover, there was a discussion at a conference in Bern in December 2019 about the role of

⁸⁷ RICHARD NĚMEC: *Die Ökonomisierung des Raums: Planen und Bauen in Mittel- und Osteuropa unter den Nationalsozialisten 1938 bis 1945*, Berlin 2020. Worth noting are the extraordinarily rich and detailed illustrations in the book.

⁸⁸ Moreover, it contains a chapter about Pressburg in Slovakia (which was first occupied beginning in 1944) as well as a chapter that offers an overview about parts of occupied Poland, namely the General Government and the Warthegau.

⁸⁹ KAROLINA JARA, ALEKSANDRA PARADOWSKA (eds.): *Urbanistyka i architektura okresu III Rzeszy w Polsce*, Poznań 2019 (English edition: *Urban Planning and Architecture of the Period of Third Reich in Poland*, in: *kunsttexte.de/ostblick* (2019), 3); ŻANNA KOMAR, JACEK PURCHLA (eds.): *Kłopotliwe dziedzictwo? Architektura Trzeciej Rzeszy w Polsce*, Kraków 2020 (English edition: *Dissonant Heritage? The Architecture of the Third Reich in Poland*, Kraków 2021).

Digital Humanities in the research of National Socialist planning in East Central Europe.⁹⁰

The most current research on National Socialist architecture in Poland is able to build upon various studies presented in the 1990s. First and foremost were the analyses of General Plan East coming from various disciplines,⁹¹ as well as studies of the German occupation of Poland in general.⁹² Spatial and settlement policies were inextricably tied to occupation policies, for which advanced studies are now available.⁹³ A special characteristic of this field of research lies in how absolutely essential it is to highlight the work of a single individual German architectural historian: Niels Gutschow. The importance of his many years of research into the role of German architects in National Socialism and particularly in occupied Poland is hard to overstate, with regards to both his findings as well as his role in promoting German-Polish collaboration in this field. Importantly, he and Barbara Klain organized an exhibition in 1994 in Warsaw and Frankfurt am Main and the companion brochure was published in both Polish and German.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Organized by Richard Němec; for the conference program, see <https://www.hsoz-kult.de/event/id/termine-41962> (2020-06-26).

⁹¹ BRUNO WASSER: *Himmlers Raumplanung im Osten: Der Generalplan Ost in Polen 1940–1944*, Basel et al. 1993; MECHTILD RÖSSLER, SABINE SCHLEIERMACHER (eds.): *Der “Generalplan Ost”: Hauptlinien der nationalsozialistischen Planungs- und Vernichtungspolitik*, Berlin 1993; CZESŁAW MADAJCZYK (ed.): *Vom Generalplan Ost zum Generalsiedlungsplan: Dokumente*, Berlin 1994; revised and expanded ed.: IDEM (ed.): *Generalny plan wschodni: Zbiór dokumentów [Generalplan Ost: Select Documents]*, Poznań 1990. In recent research, one may mention: ISABEL HEINEMANN: *Wissenschaft und Homogenisierungsplanungen für Osteuropa: Konrad Meyer, der “Generalplan Ost” und die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*, in: EADEM/WAGNER, pp. 45–72. About General Plan East see as well the contribution from Oliver Werner in this volume and the literature referenced there.

⁹² Primarily the studies by Madajczyk; also, see MICHAEL G. ESCH: “Gesunde Verhältnisse”: Deutsche und polnische Bevölkerungspolitik in Ostmitteleuropa 1939–1950, Marburg 1998; recently: GERHARD WOLF: *Ideologie und Herrschaftsrationalität: Nationalsozialistische Germanisierungspolitik in Polen*, Hamburg 2012.

⁹³ MICHAEL HARTENSTEIN: *Neue Dorflandschaften: Nationalsozialistische Siedlungsplanung in den “eingegliederten Ostgebieten” 1939 bis 1944*, Berlin 1998; GERT GRÖNING: *Planung in Polen im Nationalsozialismus*, Berlin 1996; MICHAEL ESCH: “Ohne Rücksicht auf historisch Gewordenes”: *Raumplanung und Raumordnung im besetzten Polen 1939–1944*, in: GÖTZ ALY (ed.): *Modelle für ein deutsches Europa: Ökonomie und Herrschaft im Großwirtschaftsraum*, Berlin 1992, pp. 77–123; ROLF-DIETER MÜLLER: *Hitlers Ostkrieg und die deutsche Siedlungspolitik*, Frankfurt am Main 1991.

⁹⁴ NIELS GUTSCHOW, BARBARA KLAIN: *Vernichtung und Utopie: Stadtplanung Warschau 1939–1945*, Hamburg 1994; a shortened version of this book was published in Polish: IDEM, EADEM: *Zagłada i utopia: Urbanistyka Warszawy w latach 1939–1945*, Warszawa 1995.

Gutschow's 2001 monograph on the "Germanized East"⁹⁵ remains the standard reference work even today for any research that touches upon the National Socialist town and spatial planning in occupied Poland. Regrettably, it did not spark much interest in the first years after its publication, neither among the architectural community nor among historians. Currently, the German Historical Institute in Warsaw is preparing the first Polish-language edition of this book, augmented by a new preface from the author as well as an additional article that helps orientate Polish readership on how the study fits into the current state of research.⁹⁶ This forthcoming translation carries with it two hopes: that providing this contribution will help sustain the recent research interest in Poland and that the topic may also be available for university level courses.

The research efforts that began around 2000 are, as mentioned, generally locally or regionally oriented and limit themselves to the territory of present-day Poland. The possible objects of research fall into at least three groups: those territories which belonged to Germany before 1939; those regions which after the German army's invasion of Poland were assimilated as a Reichsgau into the German Reich; and finally, those located in what was called the General Government and the district of Białystok, which in the National Socialist legal order also received the status of occupied territories. As to these last two categories, it is wise to differentiate the issue further. Given the heterogeneity of the starting point, an inner-Polish comparison would be both instructive but also challenging. So far, this has happened only selectively, meaning that a comprehensive synthesis is still lacking. The current research trend is to adopt regional or micro-historical approaches, a direction that is presently discernable generally in the research into National Socialism. Now the question is how from individual studies (so highly rich in findings) one can draw overarching conclusions; this is something that remains an ongoing challenge for research into National Socialist architecture.

Two Polish towns which belonged to the German Reich before the Second World War were Gdańsk (Danzig)⁹⁷ and Wrocław (Breslau).⁹⁸ The region of

⁹⁵ NIELS GUTSCHOW: *Ordnungswahn: Architekten planen im "eingedeutschten Osten" 1939–1945*, Basel et al. 2001.

⁹⁶ IDEM: *Obsesja porządku: Niemieccy architekci planują w okupowanej Polsce 1939–1945* [Obsessive Orderliness: German Architects Plan in Occupied Poland, 1939–1945], Warszawa 2021; ibidem, pp. 7–62; CHRISTHARDT HENSCHER, ALEKSANDRA PARADOWSKA, ANNIKA WIENERT: *Historia architektury jako historia okupacji: Niels Gutschow i badania nad architekturą nazistowską na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945* [History of Architecture as History of Occupation: Niels Gutschow in the Context of Research on Nazi Architecture on Polish Territories, 1939–1945].

⁹⁷ BIRTE PUSBACK: *Stadt als Heimat: Die Danziger Denkmalpflege zwischen 1933 und 1939*, Köln et al. 2006; an excerpt from this book (pp. 251–268) is published in Polish as: *Miasto jako ojczyzna: Gdańska konserwacja zabytków w latach 1933–1939*, in: KRZYSZTOF GUTFRĄSKI (ed.): *Do jutra!: Gdański skok w nowoczesność*, Gdańsk

Silesia is in this regard a more complex object of study, since after the First World War (in a long and conflict-laden process) East Upper Silesia was allotted to the Polish Republic. In the Gau Oberschlesien (established during the German occupation of the region) lay the small town Oświęcim: its name changed to Auschwitz.⁹⁹ Irma Kozina's monograph about the architecture in the industrial region of Upper Silesia from the middle of the eighteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century dedicates a chapter to the time period of the Third Reich.¹⁰⁰ At the Research Laboratory on Urban Planning and Modern Architecture (Pracownia Badań nad Urbanistyką i Architekturą Nowoczesną) of the University of Wrocław, a dissertation is being written about Silesia.¹⁰¹ As to the newly-founded Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreußen, articles addressing selected aspects have appeared about the towns Bromberg¹⁰² and Gdynia¹⁰³ (renamed "Gotenhafen" by the occupiers). The most intensive work to this point has been done on the Reichsgau Wartheland and especially the town Poznań, with special mention given here to the studies by Hanna

2013, pp. 235–268; ANNA PERZ: Paul-Beneke-Jugendherberge, in: *Porta Aurea: Rocznik Instytutu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego* 7/8 (2009), pp. 396–413; JAGODA ZAŁĘSKA-KACZKO: Organizacja "Kraft durch Freude" w Wolnym Mieście Gdańsku i jej kąpielisko morskie [The Organization "Strength Through Joy" in the Free City of Danzig and Their Open Air Sea Bath], in: *Argumenta Historica* 1 (2014), pp. 172–181.

⁹⁸ JANUSZ L. DOBESZ: *Wrocławska architektura spod znaku swastyki na tle budownictwa III Rzeszy* [Breslau Architecture under the Swastika, in the Light of Building in the Third Reich], Wrocław 2005.

⁹⁹ About the town: SYBILLE STEINBACHER: "Musterstadt" Auschwitz: Germanisierungs-politik und Judenmord in Ostoberschlesien, München 2000; PIOTR SETKIEWICZ: Niemieckie plany przebudowy Oświęcimia [German Development Plans for Oświęcim], in: *Oświęcimensis* (2015), 3, pp. 21–39; as to the history of construction in the camp, recently: GIDEON GREIF (ed.): *Todesfabrik Auschwitz: Topografie und Alltag in einem Konzentrations- und Vernichtungslager*, Köln 2016 (three languages: German, Polish, English).

¹⁰⁰ IRMA KOZINA: *Chaos i uporządkowanie: Dylematy architektoniczne na przemysłowym Górnym Śląsku w latach 1763–1955* [Chaos and Order: Architectural Predicaments in Industrial Upper Silesia, 1763–1955], Katowice 2005, pp. 171–198.

¹⁰¹ The initial results are available as an article: KAROLINA JARA: The Architecture of the Third Reich in Silesia and Spatial Planning in the "German East," in: *kunst-texte.de/ostblick* (2019), 3 (13 pages), <https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/bitstream/handle/18452/21476/Jara.pdf> (2020-06-04).

¹⁰² MICHAŁ PSZCZÓŁKOWSKI: *DAG Bromberg: Z dziejów bydgoskiej fabryki materiałów wybuchowych 1939–1945* [DAG Bromberg: From the History of the Explosives Factory in Bydgoszcz, 1939–1945], Bydgoszcz 2012.

¹⁰³ MAŁGORZATA OMILANOWSKA: *Budowanie nad Bałtykiem: Studia z architektury i sztuki Gdańska, Pomorza i Żmudzi* [Building on the Baltic: Studies on Architecture and Art from Gdańsk, Pomerania, and Samogitia], Gdańsk 2018, pp. 188–199.

Grzeszczuk-Brendel¹⁰⁴ und Aleksandra Paradowska¹⁰⁵ as well as a monograph about town planning in Poznań in the first half of the twentieth century.¹⁰⁶ There are also articles available for other towns in this Gau: Łódź,¹⁰⁷ Sieradz¹⁰⁸ and Turek.¹⁰⁹ A monograph about the railroad station in Gniezno

¹⁰⁴ For example, as to residential construction: HANNA GRZESZCZUK-BRENDEL: *Miasto do mieszkania: Zagadnienia reformy mieszkaniowej na przełomie XIX i XX wieku i jej wprowadzanie w Poznaniu w pierwszej połowie XX wieku* [A City to Live in: The Issue of Residential Reform around the Turn of the 19th and 20th Centuries and Their Implementation in Poznań in the First Half of the 20th Century], Poznań 2012 (German edition: *Eine Stadt zum Leben: Städtebau und Wohnungsreform in Posen in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 2018); on Poznań, Łódź, and Cracow: EADEM: "Mecenat" ideologiczny? Hitlerowskie projekty urbanistyczne dla miast polskich [Ideological "Patronage"? National Socialist Urban Planning for Polish Cities], in: DARIUSZ NOWACKI, JANUSZ ANTOS (eds.): *Mecenat artystyczny a oblicze miasta*, Kraków 2008, pp. 287–302; as to the question of public and private: EADEM: *Zwischen Gauforum und Ehebett: Das öffentliche und private Leben unter NSDAP-Kontrolle. Das Beispiel Posen 1939–1945*, in: ARNOLD BARTETZKY, MARINA DMITRIEVA et al. (eds.): *Neue Staaten—neue Bilder? Visuelle Kultur im Dienst staatlicher Selbstdarstellung in Zentral- und Osteuropa seit 1918*, Köln et al. 2005, pp. 147–157.

¹⁰⁵ As to rural spaces: ALEKSANDRA PARADOWSKA: "Polskie drogi" w niemieckim kraju: Narodowo-socjalistyczna wizja porządkowania polskiej wsi na terenie Kraju Warty / Polish Roads in a German Land: A National-socialist Vision of Putting the Polish Countryside in Order in the Reichsgau Wartheland, in: WOJCIECH SZYMAŃSKI, MAGDALENA UJMA (eds.): *Pany chłopcy chłopcy pany*, Nowy Sącz 2016, pp. 72–87; 142–156; as to town planning: EADEM: "Wyjątkowe zadania" na "nowym niemieckim Wschodzie": Nazistowska urbanistyka i architektura w Kraju Warty jako element okupacji polskich terenów podczas drugiej wojny światowej ["Extraordinary Tasks" in the "New German East": National Socialist Urban Planning and Architecture in the Warthegau as a Means of the Occupation of Polish Lands during the Second World War], in: ROBERT TRABA, ANNA WOLFF-POWĘSKA et al. (eds.): *"Fikcyjna rzeczywistość": Codzienność, światy przeżywane i pamięć niemieckiej okupacji w Polsce*, Berlin 2016, pp. 133–158.

¹⁰⁶ GRAŻYNA KODYM-KOZACZKO: *Urbanistyka Poznania w XX wieku: Przestrzeń, ludzie, idee* [Town Planning in Poznań in the 20th Century: Space, People, Ideas], Poznań 2017, chapters 6 and 7 for the time period of National Socialism.

¹⁰⁷ TOMASZ BOLANOWSKI: *Architektura okupowanej Łodzi* [The Architecture of Occupied Łódź], Łódź 2013.

¹⁰⁸ KRZYSZTOF LESIAKOWSKI: Hitlerowskie plany przebudowy Sieradza [National Socialist Plans for the Development of Sieradz], in: *Dzieje Najnowsze* 47 (2015), pp. 45–59.

¹⁰⁹ MAKARY GÓRZYŃSKI: *Przestrzeń postkolonialna? Gmach Starostwa Powiatowego w Turku i nieureczywistnione projekty przebudowy miasta z okresu okupacji hitlerowskiej na tle XX-wiecznej idei dzielnicy zachodniej* [Postcolonial Space? The Seat of the County Administrator in Turek and Unrealized City Development Plans from the Time of National Socialist Occupation in the Light of 20th-century Ideas for Western Urban Quarters], in: *Konińskie Zeszyty Muzealne* (2013), 8, pp. 63–79.

attends to its position within the context of the German army's program for upgrading traffic links.¹¹⁰

As regards the research on the General Government and primarily the city of Cracow, the International Cultural Centre (located there) plays an important role.¹¹¹ A monograph appeared back in the 1980s about the so-called *Baudienst* ("Construction Service," exploiting Polish forced laborers) in the General Government.¹¹² The town planning aspects of the anticipated complete "Germanization" of the small town of Zamość are analyzed in an article from 2017.¹¹³ In 2018, an article appeared about the town Radom, dealing mostly with the rebuilding of a house (previously under Jewish ownership) into an apartment complex for employees of the "German Post East."¹¹⁴ Both the district of Galicia, which was annexed to the General Government after the German attack on the Soviet Union in 1941, and the region of Białystok have up to now only been limitedly researched from an architectural perspective.

Yet, consolidating the extant individual studies into a whole is not the only desideratum. It would seem desirable as well to integrate the "architectural policy" of all the German and local actors collectively into the research of the history of the German occupation. In view of this there is a further methodological challenge to consider, and it has also affected other branches of the re-

¹¹⁰ MIRON URBANIAK: Zabytkowa stacja kolejowa Gniezno: Od Kolei Górnośląskiej do Planu Otto [The Historical Monument "Railway Station Gniezno": From Upper Silesia Railways to the Otto Plan], Łódź 2010, pp. 76–106.

¹¹¹ JACEK PURCHLA: The Architecture of the Third Reich in Cracow—a Dissonant Heritage?, in: RIHA Journal (2020), 0253, <https://doi.org/10.11588/riha.2020.0.77095>; IDEM: Hubert Ritter i hitlerowskie wizje Krakowa [Hubert Ritter and the National Socialist Visions for Krakow], in: Rocznik Krakowski 71 (2005), pp. 159–187; ŻANNA KOMAR: Architecture in German-occupied Kraków, in: kunsttexte.de/ostblick (2019), 3 (11 pages), <https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/bitstream/handle/18452/21477/Komar.pdf> (2020-06-04), see as well the literature referenced there. See also Dieter Schenk's study on occupied Cracow that uses the Wawel Castle as its focal point: DIETER SCHENK: Krakauer Burg. Die Machtzentrale des Generalgouverneurs Hans Frank 1939–1945, Berlin 2010 (Polish edition: Krakauer Burg: Wawel jako ośrodek władzy generalnego gubernatora Hansa Franka w latach 1939–1945, Kraków 2013); JADWIGA GWIZDAŁÓWNA: Architektura Wawelu w czasie okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1945 [The Architecture of the Wawel Castle during the German Occupation, 1939–1945], Kraków 2019.

¹¹² MŚCISŁAW WRÓBLEWSKI: Służba Budowlana (Baudienst) w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie 1940–1945 [Baudienst in the General Government, 1940–1945], Warszawa 1984.

¹¹³ ALEKSANDRA PARADOWSKA: "Niedoszły Himmlerstadt": O niemieckich planach przebudowy Zamościa i Zamojszczyzny ["Failed Himmlerstadt": On German Development Plans for Zamość and the Zamojszczyzna Region], in: Quart (2017), 1–2, pp. 55–78.

¹¹⁴ JAKUB FREJTAG: Turning "Polish Boxes into German Houses": On the Transformations of Architecture in Poland during the Second World War as Exemplified by the Changing Design of the Zajdensznir Tenement in Radom, in: Ikonotheke 28 (2018), pp. 97–119.

search on National Socialism and the Holocaust, namely, the uneven status of the sources. The Germans produced paperwork in their offices and bureaus which at an archival level are (more or less) easily accessible. When research turns to these documents in its effort to reconstruct the events, it runs the risk of reproducing the view of the perpetrators. Sources, on the other hand, which can provide information about the perspectives of different groups within the occupied society, are as a rule difficult to find and to evaluate, given their origins in rather clandestinely compiled archives and their specific characteristics as ego-documents, oral accounts, and various retrospective reports and assessments. Along with this methodological problem also comes a practical one: for researchers outside of Poland, one cannot assume that they would have the necessary language proficiency to fully understand a source. This is yet a further reason why transnational cooperation and exchange are important for expanding the level of knowledge.

About the Individual Contributions

This issue is a collection of eight articles from Polish and German scholars. All the contributions present the results of current research projects. The first article focuses on two different urbanistic planning concepts within the administrative district of Zichenau. This district was formed by taking an annexed section of the Voivodeship Warsaw and adding it to the Gau Ostpreußen. Using the examples of the towns of Zichenau (Ciechanów) and Schröttersburg (Płock), Christhardt Henschel analyzes town planning as an instrument of occupation policies.

The author lays out how two greatly different planning concepts, characterizable as ideas of new construction versus modification, were added to the ideology and practice of Germanization. In the result, it becomes clear that it was difficult to derive a single formal solution to meet the ideological demand for the annexation of claimed areas to Germany. In fact, what instead turned out to be the case was the remarkably wide latitude afforded to the respective decision-makers, allowing for them to flexibly adjust a complex bundle of factors to the given ideological guidelines, i.e., in light of the construction and infrastructure requirements on site, the available resources, or even their personal preferences and desires. This shows how even in one discrete administrative district the result could include almost contrary urbanistic planning conceptions, which further underscores the importance of micro-level case studies. Yet such case studies can only be examined through their relationship to the mid- and macro-levels. An important question posed by Henschel's article is therefore the interrelationship of regional and central governance, in other words, the question as to the breadth of the respective spheres of influence the different actors in the area of provincial and Reich administration could secure for themselves.

In her contribution, Aleksandra Paradowska directs attention to the numerous architectural competitions that were held in what was called Warthegau. Based on selected examples in which the winning design was almost never actually built, she explores the political function of “planning without building,” in what was essentially “paper architecture.” The article looks at draft drawings and their treatment in the mass media of professional journals and the daily press. This shows how the visual representations (independently of the buildings depicted) can be interrogated as to their iconicity, and in what kind of distributive contexts they were incorporated in whichever way. Accompanying this analysis are methodological considerations about researching the town planning activities of the German occupiers. The author argues for a broad understanding of urbanistics, which for one thing attends not only to construction projects that were carried out, but also to the planning itself, and additionally opens up this particular research object to different historical disciplines. Her contribution demonstrates how the perspectives of ‘visual cultural studies’ can benefit the research into such planning; this approach reveals how the complex and often contradictory relationship of illusion and reality, and fiction and fact, played a role in specific examples of National Socialist Germanization policies and ideology.

Starting with the question of the connection between home and homeland, Hanna Grzeszczuk-Brendel’s article looks at the ideologically-charged idea of housing construction. Using town planning concepts for Poznań as an example, she analyzes central concepts and topics of National Socialist ideology and puts them in relation to both concrete architecture and the question of how they are intertwined from a viewpoint of daily life history and gender studies. The question about the role of gender in Nazi architecture has to this point not yet been addressed, especially given that the protagonists in that period were almost exclusively male. By reaching back to written and visual sources as well as the buildings from the occupation period themselves, it becomes clear which images of maleness and femaleness were insinuated in planning. An aspect is introduced from the perspective of a history of daily life which has been largely neglected in architectural history research, namely, the actual use and perception of the buildings by their residents.

Anja Wiese deals with a travelling exhibition promoting model town planning. Her paper addresses the normative and pedagogical claim in National Socialist building activity. The discussed exhibit was not directed merely at specialists, but also at the public, the *Volksgemeinschaft* (national community), who by attending could become familiar with a canon of positive and exemplary building and town planning solutions. Yet, this canon in fact only took shape during the exhibition’s itinerary, or indeed not until it had progressed through its itinerary. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that by establishing a set of model examples, National Socialist cultural policy in architecture was able to accomplish something that it was never able to attain for the visual arts. In the latter case, the protagonists of the regime could only define what they rejected: to a certain extent coherently and with huge effect on ex-

ceptionally large audiences, the art shows demonstrated works denounced with the neologism *entartet* (degenerated). Yet, the actual positive criteria for “German art” were never convincingly formulated and today can scarcely be derived from the works that were in fact completed.

The travelling exhibition quite successfully propagandized *Entschandelung* (a getting rid of the unsightly and shameful) as a new approach to town planning and monument preservation. The goal was to eliminate the heterogeneity and patchwork effect that accumulates in a town’s historical center during its development, with the aim of creating unified façades that were suited to a normative-ahistorical concept of beauty and order. While most of the building activity had to be suspended because of the limitations arising from the war economy, after its success in the *Altreich*, the exhibition still continued its tour through different occupied regions. Using the stops in Poznań, Łódź, and in Litoměřice (Leitmeritz, Reichsgau Sudetenland) as examples, the author illustrates the local receptions as well as compares them at least selectively with the other occupied regions.

The three following articles take up the topic of the General Government. Małgorzata Popiołek-Roßkamp sets her focus on the behavior of Polish architects and points out the bandwidth among the professionals seeking to position themselves in relation to the new reality of the occupation. Warsaw, Cracow, and Zakopane serve as case studies. The author addresses questions about the voluntary nature or forced character of any cooperation or collaboration by them, about individual guilt and responsibility, and about any professional consequences that resulted from such for those taking on post-war positions at various institutions and in different contexts in Poland.

The intentional demotion and downsizing of Warsaw by the German occupiers resulted in few building projects being planned or completed in the city. Wojciech Wólkowski looks at the projects that did go forward, but also investigates the activity of the Polish city administration, which continued its work under the more or less tight control of the occupiers. In addition to attending to any planning and the few completed building projects, the author shows the documenting of war damage to historic monuments as having been an important activity of the Polish professionals.

The article by Ewa Perlińska-Kobierzyńska looks at the actions of the architectural circles in Warsaw who developed a cooperative, collaborative relationship with the Polish personnel of the city administration. There are two main strands noticeable here: on the one hand, the effort to continue the planning of urbanistic modernizing that had started in the pre-war period; on the other, preparations for the rebuilding of the town. This contribution also provides an overview as to which municipal offices and administrative units were able to continue their work under the German occupation, or at least assesses the conditions under which this took place. Attention is also paid to both official as well as conspiratorial activities. In the case of the latter, a most important issue was to ensure training for architects, both the basic and advanced education of the designers.

Taking up the topic of the role of Polish architects is a sensitive issue, and not just for political reasons. The research is confronted with the reality that the available sources are chiefly retrospective recollections of the protagonists themselves, with whom one may assume that a self-justifying narrative could well come into play and be something their peers would gladly accept. This is especially the case in the example of the Warsaw ghetto, where the Germans incarcerated the largest gathering of Jews in all of Europe. A gap is present amidst these recollections: one generally hears in these remembrances nothing about the fate of the Jewish population, of those fellow architects who were Jewish, or of the destruction or preservation of Jewish historic monuments.

The final contribution looks at the role of German spatial science in the Holocaust. This newly formed interdisciplinary research field was initiated at the beginning of the twentieth century, and already by 1935 was institutionalized in Germany with the creation of Reich Working Group for Spatial Research (Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft für Raumforschung, RAG) and was understood explicitly as a political science. Oliver Werner argues that immediately after the start of the war, the researching of the “East” by the RAG was declared essential to the war effort. He plots out the interface between spatial research, mass murder, and the Holocaust in occupied Poland. In spite of this problematic entanglement, Konrad Meyer, the first director of the RAG and the leading author of the General Plan East project was nevertheless still able, at the Military Tribunal trial no. 8, to represent his activity in this as non-political, fundamental research. Moreover, the successor institution of the RAG for a long time was able to seamlessly reference back to the very research that had been undertaken in the period of National Socialism. A re-evaluation of the institution’s own history did not begin until the 1990s. Using the RAG as an example, this article presents in a nutshell how fruitful it is to bring together research from different disciplinary perspectives, and how the history and aftermath of the Holocaust should not be considered as discrete periods of time, but instead as a continuum.

Translated from the German by Philip Jacobs

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