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“Made to Human Measure”

Nazi Architecture in Poznań

This article describes residential housing in Poznań while addressing the architecture of the Third Reich, and more broadly, its visual arts. The existing interpretations of the two are far from satisfactory. The issue becomes apparent in the following controversy: the researchers are not sure if they are dealing with the art of the Third Reich, in the Third Reich, or for the Third Reich.¹

From the very rise of the Nazi Party to power, architectural form was both to express and shape the German way of life. As such, the housing question was an inherent part of the official propaganda. With the outbreak of World War II and the German occupation of Poland, residential housing was charged with additional tasks, especially in the annexed territories. The “recovered territories” [*Zurückeroberte Gebiete*] in the German East saw the establishment of the *Reichsgau Wartheland* with its capital in Poznań. The historical mission of the province was to “Germanize the East forever by way of people and the forms of architecture and landscape design.”² Greater Poland with Poznań as its capital is an important field for research due to its aspirations to become the “model province” [*Mustergau*] of the Third Reich. This was not only intended to fulfil the ambitions of Reichsstatthalter Arthur Greiser, but also to accomplish the eastern policy of the Third Reich. The *Reichsgau Wartheland*, once its Polish past had utterly been scrapped, would have become a laboratory for implementing new urban designs in the “cultural void” [*Unkultur*]. Accordingly, “residential estates, which [were] clearly located in the landscape, [would have acted] as the designed forms of our community and the expression of our cultural will in the East.”³

Utterly transformed, the living space [*Lebensraum*] was not only to be German, but also Nazi. On the one hand, it was to resemble buildings and landscape in their traditional and indigenous forms; on the other, it was to go beyond the tradition by shaping the future

realm of greater Germany, or more precisely, pan-German Europe. Steeped in tradition, architecture was to facilitate the Germans displaced to Polish territories in their spiritual anchoring, or the (re)development of a new homeland. At the same time, an architecture which toed the Nazi party line would contribute to the making of a “new man” [*neuer Mensch*] for the Third Reich. The number and size of residential estates in Poznań demonstrate the importance of the Third Reich’s presence in its tangible form for the Nazi propaganda. The fact that the construction industry in Germany was almost at a standstill during World War II only adds to their relevance.

Holistic “investigations into the structure of landscape, economy, and society,” to be carried out by various institutions in collaboration with architects, urban planners, and local authorities were to lay the grounds for the transformation and reshaping of the cities, towns, and villages.⁴ Urban designs were to be modelled on the “healthy core” [*gesunder Kern*], namely, old mediaeval towns, often granted with Magdeburg privileges, commonly described as settlement with German law. Concurrently, in new residential areas Nazi Party buildings would be “a future expression of a Nazi community as an inherent part of the local structure and landscape.”⁵

The ideas informed Himmler’s order of 1942 which is known as “Guidelines for the Planning and Design of the Cities in the Annexed German Eastern Territories” [*Richtlinien für die Planung und Gestaltung der Städte in den eingegliederten deutschen Ostgebieten*] of 30th January 1942.⁶ Conceptually, the guidelines provided for the regular distribution of towns and villages and a hierarchy of subordinate centres of power. The German construction industry in Polish territories during World War II, especially those annexed to the Third Reich, adhered to these guidelines as a tool for the expansion and consolidation of German military conquest.

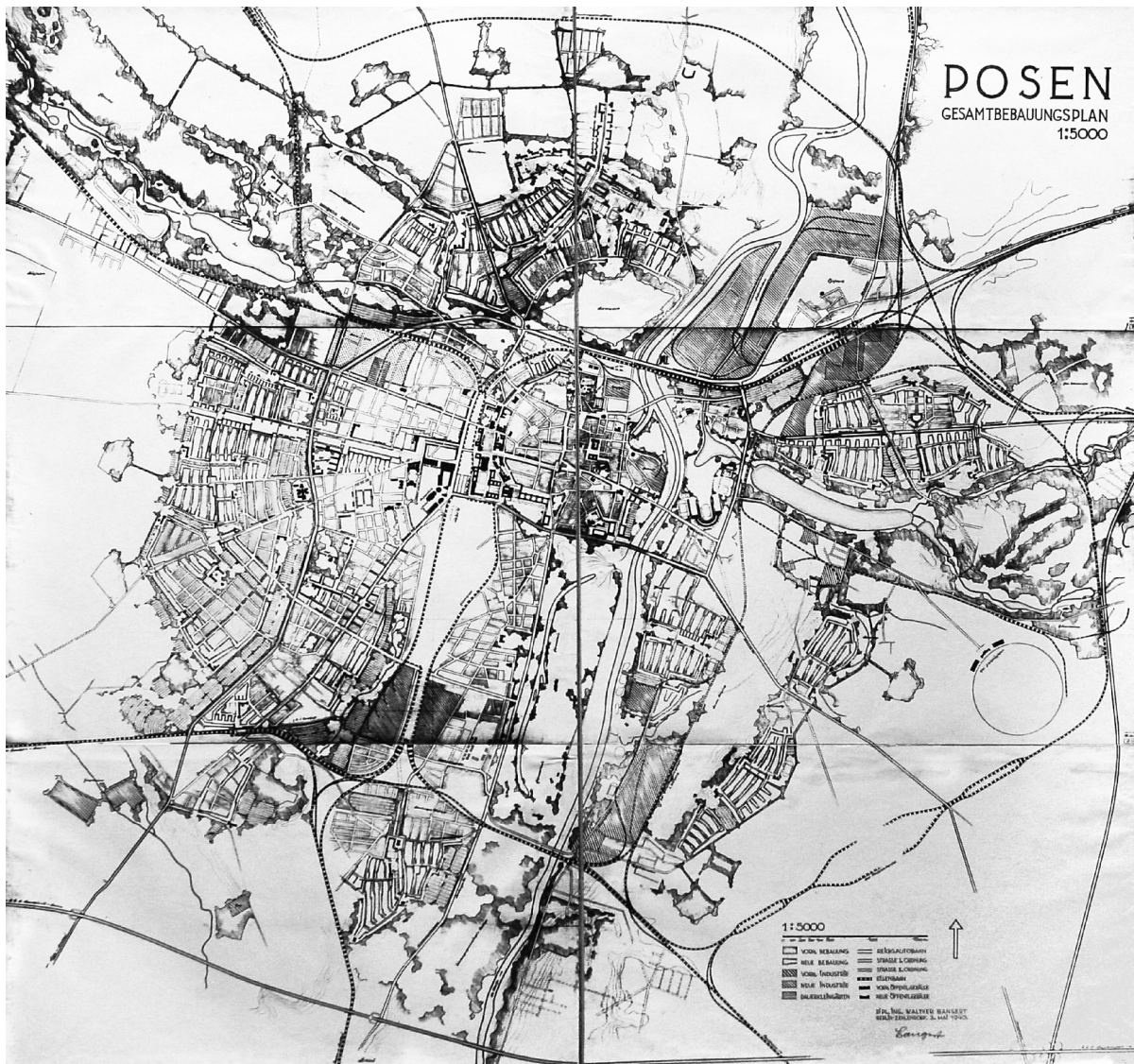


Fig. 1 Walter Bangert, Plan of the extension of Poznań, 1940

Designs transforming the landscape “in line with the German style”⁷ defined the scope and depth of the colonization process in the annexed territories not only by way of planting of towns and villages, legislation, and the economy. The designs also penetrated the structure of natural landscape, with its vegetation and topography, in order to create “a homeland effect,” both visually and spiritually. One has to bear in mind, however, that in its “homely” effect man-made landscape was to conjure up the images of what one might call indigenous Germany for the German colonists relocated to Greater Poland from the Baltics, whose visual sensitivity and the sense of anchoring

derived from different iconography. These concepts were faced with the reality of war, that is, rather limited opportunities for implementation; as such they may be defined as deliberately underspecified intellectual constructs which were mainly to excite the imagination of prospective colonists. This interpretation may add to the understanding of the Third Reich propaganda as something more than mere demagoguery and indoctrination, namely, a tool necessary for developing a meta-reality, if not downright *simulacra*. The fact remains that Poznań saw the actual attempts at the Germanization of its cityscape in the Nazi spirit, e.g. by providing man-made lakes and parks (partially

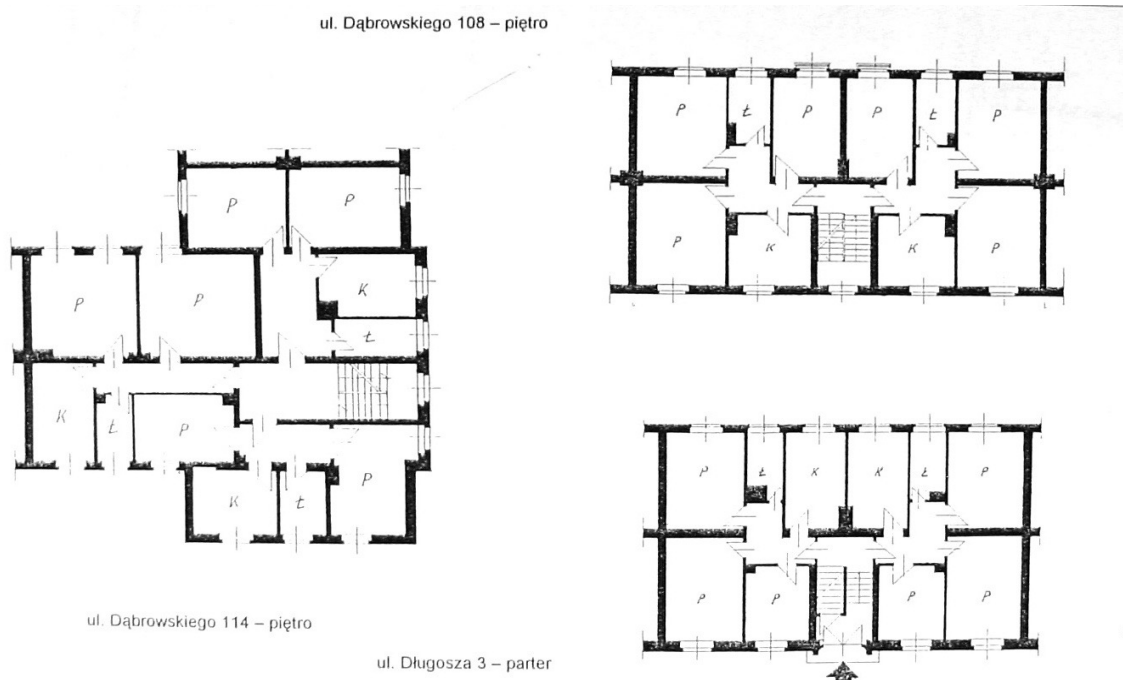


Fig. 2 Ground plan of the apartment in a residential house on ul. Dąbrowskiego and ul. Długosza in Poznań

completed): Rusałka, Kiekrze, or Malta as areas available “for Germans only” [*Nur für Deutsche*].

On their arrival in Poznań, German officials and functionaries had one basic need, that is, housing. Flats abandoned by relocated Polish residents were too few to satisfy growing demand for housing, which is why German authorities launched intensive construction activities. Special allotments were granted for the conversion of the Imperial Castle into “Deutsches Schloss,” or Hitler’s residence. That said, the city also obtained additional quotas for rationed building materials.⁸

Flats developed in Poznań at the time followed the guidelines from Hitler’s decree [„*Erlaß des Führers zur Vorbereitung des deutschen Wohnungsbaues nach dem Kriege*”] of 15th November 1940. Once the war had come to a successful end, 6 million flats would have been provided in a period of ten years, including 300 thousand in the first year, and 600 thousand in each subsequent year.⁹ The government of the Third Reich planned to achieve this massive enterprise by means of forced labour from the General Government.¹⁰ Hitler’s order chiefly provided for the development of 3-bedroom flats “for normal families with four children,”¹¹ who were expected to colonize captured

territories. For large families to afford large flats, a support system such as construction loans for investors and housing benefits was created. The maximum birth rate possible, which was necessary to “close the gaps driven by the war in the body of our nation,”¹² called for “a radical change of the flats and their purpose. Flats do not — as was previously the case — serve only a residential purpose; they now also perform ethical functions.”¹³ These “ethical functions” implied the understanding of residential housing as “a biological need for the development of the living space by the nation.”¹⁴ (Fig. 1)

In early 1940, Walter Bangert presented an urban plan for Poznań, which provided a framework for the construction of individual housing estates. The largest estates were developed at Jeżyce and Łazarz (for officials and functionaries) and at Dębiec (for workers). (Fig. 2) Deutscher Arbeitsfront’s housing cooperative “Neue Heimat” launched the construction of a housing estate in Poznań in 1941. The residential area was enclosed by the following streets: ulica Dąbrowskiego [*Saarlandstraße*], Przybyszewskiego [*Litzmannallee*], Kassusza [*Bussestraße*], and Jackowskiego [*Nollendorfstraße*]¹⁵; it was designed as a component part of the West Quarter [*Weststadt*], closely linked

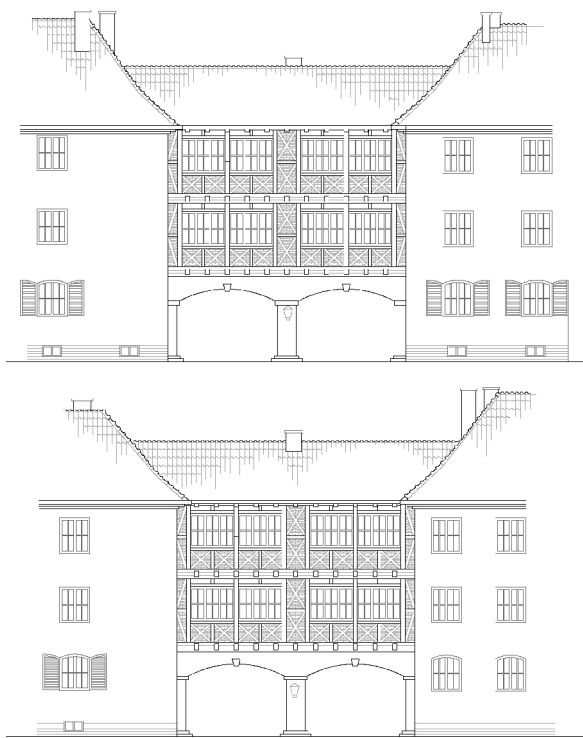


Fig. 3 Rudolf Vontenauer, Residential houses on ul. Szamarzewskiego, 1940's

with the Gauforum through ulica Bukowska [*Bukerstraße*], which served as a marching avenue. Ulica Szamarzewskiego [*Eichendorffstraße*] in turn served as the estate's axis. The street was visually amplified by front gardens. Spacious inner yards, too, augmented the perceived size of the estate. Elongated buildings were projected ahead or set back of the building line, which variegated the width of the street. Open corners leading to the yards expanded the space while serving ventilation purposes. Displaced corners added variety to the chequered design of the estate. This produced a polygonal chain of inner streets, which were also made visually truncated. Around corner shops, front gardens gave way to pavements, which created little squares at the entrances. These modifications added variety to the urban fabric, and as such were recommended to avoid the monotony of standardized, three-storey buildings covered with slightly sloping roofs (Fig. 3).

Based on Walter Bangert's design, detailed plans for the houses were made by Rudolf Vontenauer, who tried to capture the spirit of the German Labour Front

[*Deutsche Arbeitsfront*, hereinafter: DAF].¹⁶ They featured a number of references to crafts, including colonnades and arcades, bay windows, overhang wattle-and-daub gangways, projected façades and turrets, as well as entrance ornaments. Projected façades were also used at the corners. The axes of selected stairwells were made salient, and so were the gables disrupting the roof lines.¹⁷ Windows on ground floors were accentuated with arches, while entrance doors were provided with simple frames. These modifications were intended to evoke traditional forms and emphasize the continuity of the building craft.

The estate in Poznań comprised mainly two- and three-bedroom flats with a large kitchen and bathroom, which was in line with Hitler's fertility-promoting decree. Model designs provided for a separate master bedroom and accentuated the kitchen as a centre for family life. One way to connect all the rooms was with a corridor, but enfilade designs were also used, with the exception of the master bedroom. Due to different living standards in Greater Poland, which probably dated to partition times, kitchens were used for pure kitchens' sake, and not a kitchen and living room rolled into one, as had been Hitler's preference.

Smaller residential estates followed a similar design, including the interconnected housing estates on both sides of Poznań's major artery ulica Opolska [*Roseggerweg*].¹⁸ The estates housed German workers from the Cegielski plant, which saw its name altered to German Weapons and Munitions Factory [*Deutsche Waffen- und Munitionsfabriken AG*]. Georg Bamberg from the Reichsstatthalter's Office for Housing and Residential Estates in Poznań [*Wohnungs- und Siedlungsamt beim Reichsstatthalter*] was the likely author of the conceptual design and the site manager of the Dębiec estate (Fig. 4).¹⁹

In November 1940, a design was provided for an estate featuring one hundred detached homes. The design was partially executed in today's ulica Jabłonkowska [*Villingerstraße*], Ustrońska [*Rügenstraße*], and Goleszowska [*Lahrerstraße, Kehlerstraße*].²⁰ Five standardized home designs were executed by the State Commission for the Development of Social Housing [*Reichskommission für den sozialen Wohnungsbau*];²¹ they were provided as detached or semi-



Fig. 4 Estate of single-family houses at ul. Jabłonkowska, Ustrońska and Golezowska, 1940's

detached houses with little gardens, which were separated from the street with low picket fences. The homes differed mainly in the size of their residential spaces and the number of rooms. The ground floor comprised two or three rooms, kitchen, bathroom, utility rooms, and a separate toilet with a septic tank. The upper storey was designed to provide storage rooms and additional children's bedrooms, which were illuminated by dormer or gable windows. Cuboid in shape, the houses were covered with high mansard roofs featuring no architectonic details.

Adolf Schneider, Head of German Weapons and Munitions Factory [*Deutsche Waffen- und Munitionsfabriken AG*], opposed the idea of developing detached houses for German workers, many of whom were uncertain to stay in Poznań for the rest of their lives. Therefore, he suggested that *Volkswohnungen*, i.e., affordable tenement houses, should be developed in ulica Opolska [*Roseggerweg*]. They were provided in ulica Opolska and ulica Akacjowa and Jaśminowa [then one street: *Akazienweg*], where two-storey tenement buildings with large front gardens were built. Multiple-family tenement houses in ulica Akacjowa mainly comprised two- and three-bedroom flats, each storey offering two apartments. Buildings such as the one at ulica Akacjowa 11 offered ca. 60-sqm two-bedroom flats with a long corridor leading to a master bedroom, living room, kitchen, bathroom, and storage room. The children's bedroom was accessible through the room at the end of the corridor. The kitchen, 8 sqm in size, could also serve as a dining room. Three-bedroom flats, such as the ones at ulica Akacjowa 5–9, were developed according to different

floor plans. They replicated the arrangement whereby rooms were accessible through the corridor and one bedroom through the adjoining room; however, in larger flats with a large living room, all rooms were accessible through the corridor. The building also comprised several four-bedroom flats, which were similar in size to three-bedroom flats but had different floor plans and more partition walls.

One more residential estate from the time is that of houses for mail and railway staff in ulica Kossaka and Ułańska [*Kavaleriestraße*, *Schlüterstraße*]. Similar forms are nowhere to be found in the city, and the houses were probably created by an architect from outside of Poznań. Buildings in the estate surround large inner yards and are provided with front gardens, which follows the reformatory design of the Johow-Gelände estate (never fully completed, founded in the early twentieth century). These simple four-storey tenement buildings have slightly sloping roofs and share one characteristic trait: their balcony stacks are placed ahead of the wall face. Some of the entrance door heads feature ornamental carvings with allegorical representations of human and animal figures. Their symbolism brings to mind the Nazi concepts of the nation as deeply rooted in the soil: the bear motif at ulica Kossaka 4 and the shepherd motif with the personification of plenty at ulica Kossaka 6. The flats usually have three bedrooms and a large hall, and as such provide more floor space than stipulated in official quotas.

Not only architecture, but also interior design facilitated German colonization and spatial change according to Nazi ideology. Provided by the DAF, furniture designs were showcased as part of the exhibition *The Beauty of Work – The Beauty of Dwelling* [*Schönheit der Arbeit – Schönheit des Wohnens*] held in 1942 in Poznań in a model apartment, which was 75 sqm in size and comprising a kitchen, living room, master bedroom, and two children's bedrooms. Model furnishings were promoted by the DAF in publications such as *The Beauty of Dwelling* [*Schönheit des Wohnens*], which was preceded by an ideologically charged foreword.²² The authorities recognized the key role of educational measures in developing the taste of the working class, who were expected to discover beauty in the simplicity and clarity of form (Fig. 5).²³



Fig. 5 Model apartment of the German Labour Front [Deutsche Arbeitsfront, DAF], 1941

From this perspective, the housing programme might be described as an extension of warfare, as its chief task in the East “was to secure the [captured] space for Germans forever.”²⁴ As such housing called for industrial manufacturing solutions, the way they had already been deployed by the German armaments sector. In 1938, Robert Ley proclaimed that housing “just as [the production of] VWs, [needed] a maximum rationalization of all the means and workforce available” [“wie beim Volkswagen, die größtmögliche Rationalisierung aller vorhandenen Mittel und Arbeitskräfte”].²⁵ Standardized floor plans, building infrastructure, and construction modules, as well as stairs, doors, and windows,²⁶ were to streamline the construction process. The DAF requirements, especially the modular system developed by Ernst Neufert in 1938, defined the minimum floor size per resident and were intended to optimize floor use by means of standardized furniture and model suggestions for its arrangement (Fig. 6).²⁷

Admittedly, residential housing was streamlined to human measure, but the measure itself saw a meaningful shift in paradigm. While the Vitruvian Man served as a yardstick for the glorious achievements of sacred architecture, Neufert’s focus was primarily on technicalities, the human measure being one of the variables. It remained an input variable insofar as it determined the efficacy of the construction process. Despite all the virtues of standardized designs, this thinking was very much in fitting with Nazi aspirations for technocratic order and control. One term that comes in useful is Gutschow’s²⁸ “obsession with order” [Ordnungswahn]. For architecture, this is very much

like “the final solution” [Endlösung] for the Jewish question, which was used as a euphemism for extermination. “Right from the start, in its initial and defining phase, [the final solution] was conceived as a way to record and control things.”²⁹

The statement is a contribution to Germany’s debate on modernization processes in the Third Reich. It also helps to define how applicable this exchange may be to art history, as the exchange itself tries to define the nature of “the conservative revolution.” Friedrich Hacker defines Nazism as a blend of “the obsession with technology and archaizing Romanticism [...]. All means are used for the realization of the technical (psychological) potential of modernity, while denouncing it as hostile to tradition and values in the name of mythologized antiquity.”³⁰ The strivings of Nazi ideology were a contradiction in terms. This became apparent in residential architecture which used conservative form to drive modernist postulations for mass housing.

Thus, references to crafts and the emphasis on the harmony between architectural form and the local climate and building tradition merely reflected the slogans which facilitated the Nazi Party’s rise to power and set in motion “the aggressive conquest policy.”³¹ Conservative aesthetic was used for propaganda purposes to mollify the traditional groups of society in their attitude to modernization processes; it camouflaged a deliberate attempt at global sea change as a historical necessity.

Modernization processes formed an odd couple with the idea of “blood and soil” [Blut und Boden]. The idea behind it was to give a new face to the captured territories with “German landscape forms defined by the German home.”³² Modernization was also intended to reinforce conservative values, including the traditional or even “archetypical” family model. That is probably why Hitler provided in his decree an extremely clear definition of the overall flat size with the number of rooms and their respective sizes. Hitler expressed “a clear desire”³³ to phase out little kitchens which were to be replaced with living kitchens “for families to gather in the morning and evening” and provide pantries and later also “people’s refrigerators” [Volkskühlschrank]. Kitchen balconies would be used “for Sunday or evening leisure or as a space

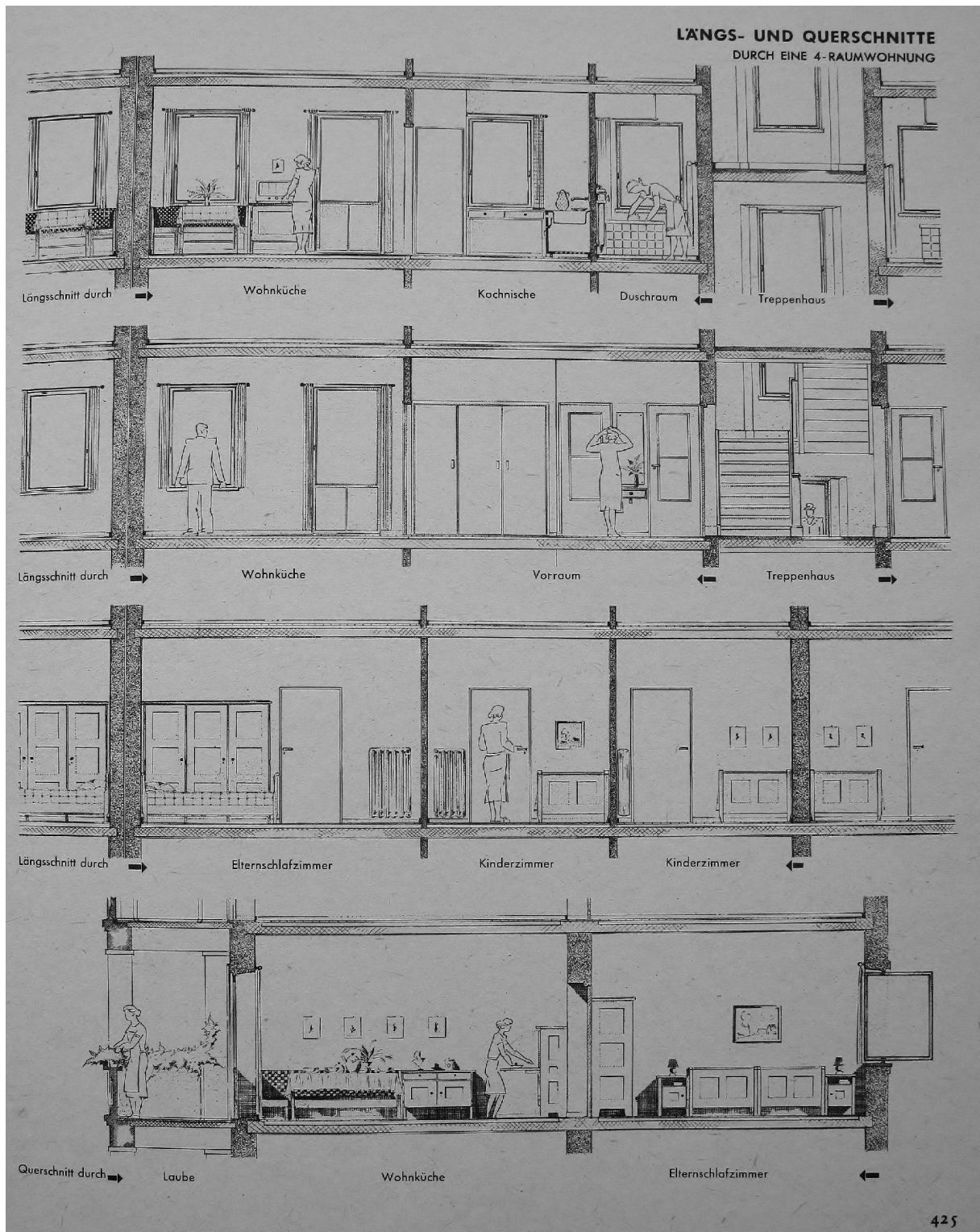


Fig. 6 Ernst Neufert, types of apartments and his calculations of human proportions, 1943

for babies in strollers; they would also make the home cosier."³⁴

The prescribed concept of idyllic family life implies surveillance over private life and the compulsory allegiance to the state-promoted orderly lifestyle. That said, the idea eclipses the unconscious workings of the family and the role Nazi ideology attributed to women; it also conflates the realms of power and privacy, which was carefully studied by Foucault, albeit on different examples.³⁵ As he strives to exercise power over "the body of the earth," the fascist despotic male exercises control over "the mother and (through her) the subservient bodies of all women in the realm."³⁶ The passage comes from Kurt Theweleit's psychoanalytic account of the complex and erotic attitude of a fascist soldier-male to women and war. This attitude evolved as part of "the continuous consolidation of power through shaping the relationship between men and women,"³⁷ including their bodies, in the European culture of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. According to Nazi propaganda slogans, "the body was the property of the nation,"³⁸ which charged the family with the task of "breeding" fit soldiers and racially pure Nazi comrades while imposing reproductive roles on healthy women. *Lebensborn*, an institution set up in late 1935 by the SS, embodies this attitude at its most extreme.

The conflation of procreation and war reveals the importance of allegiance and loyalty in the culture of the Third Reich; at the same time, it suggests an interplay which is best reflected in the mythological metaphor of Eros and Thanatos. Eros manifests itself in the cult of race and ideal man, who meets his reproductive obligations in a homely environment of his dwelling. Eros mingles with Thanatos in the orderly columns of marching men, who are ready to die for their "leader, people, and fatherland" [*Führer, Volk und Vaterland*]. Allegiance until death — allegiance being more important than death — is manifested both in housing and grand Nazi architecture designs for Nuremberg and the future Germania avenues in Berlin.

As regards housing, and the parallel structure of the party and housing estate in particular, e.g. "the party group as a housing unit" [*Ortsgruppe als Sied-*

lungszelle], both the debate on modernization and psychoanalytical investigations are worthy of note because of the same reason: "It is true only to a limited extent that the Nazis defended the family (...) — undeniably, they also eroded it";³⁹ most notably by creating a "competitive" institutional environment for the members of Nazi youth organizations: Hitlerjugend [hereinafter: HJ] for boys and the League of German Girls as part of HJ [*Bund Deutscher Mädel*]. The Nazis made an apparent effort to depersonalize the individual, the citizens of the Third Reich being treated as disposable cogs in the party and state machinery.

With many other references of this kind, the connections between the Nazi agenda, the accounts from the time, and the architecture of the Third Reich become blatantly obvious. These references are so representative of Nazi ideology that further investigations add very little to the emerging interpretation. That said, the impartial interpretations of Nazi architecture as a style and yet another art trend fail to provide an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon. The stylistic approach fails to account for the cultural context, which is obvious to art historians. This includes the "price" to be paid for the development of particular buildings, which is to say, both extermination policies and the use of forced labour.

The art and architecture of the Third Reich are often described as incongruent in style, which is due to conflicting competencies, divergent functions, and different realms in which industrial facilities, administrative buildings, and residential houses were expected to operate. However, an even more fundamental question must be explored, namely, why the art of the Third Reich was not formally self-sufficient. The art of the Third Reich is very much like many other phenomena of the time in that multiple references it makes (to various traditions, including homely, neo-classical, or modernist) are subservient to ideology. At the same time, the use of these formal patterns defines Nazi art and architecture, which strove to combine the incompatible, e.g. it forced crafts into standardized forms or fitted ancient proportions into a non-human scale. This peculiarity becomes strikingly apparent in the occupied territories, where the architecture of the Third Reich, especially housing, blatantly disregards local

visual sensitivities and deliberately implants strange architectural and urban planning codes into the conquered space.

For this reason, it is perhaps easier to notice that in their attempts at dissolving the human body into "the body of the people" [*Volkskörper*] the Nazi urban planning schemes radically changed the understanding of how the human body related to its environment. Provided the marching column was a new unit of measure, Nazi architecture — notwithstanding its neo-classical exterior — was in fact the very negation of the classical system of proportions. In this respect, the human body seems to be one of the key issues for Nazi ideology.

Nazi public spaces, which were very much like places of worship, may also offer some food for thought on the system proportions. Their size reflected the pan-European "living space" [*Lebensraum*], and they were intended to foster the experience of collective and ritualistic national unity. The columns of people marching in impeccable order made the insignificance of the individual only more apparent. The obsession with order and the cult of the uniform may in turn call for psychoanalytic interpretations. The same applies to housing as a breeding ground for the ideal, which is to say, obedient man. The fact that Nazism appropriated, abused, and devalued different notions and ideas may account for artistic phenomena in a new political if not downright propaganda context. In new circumstances, these ideas were prone to degradation as they contributed to "a schizoid space." This explains the stylistic incoherence of Nazi architecture whereby new content was implanted into traditional forms. Interestingly, most of Nazi architecture only made it to the design stage, which left a massive imaginary of mock-ups and photographs. Again, the insistent question is, was Nazi architecture intended as a mere *simulacrum*?

Sadly, contemporary scientific investigations into culture, including psychoanalytic explorations, seem to be used only rarely to discuss Nazi architecture. On that note, the study of Nazi architecture might benefit the most from the combination of heterogeneous and transdisciplinary methods for interpretation and advanced discussions on other Nazism-related issues. The German debate on modernization processes and

contemporary methodological concepts from different fields seem to open up prospects for the study of the art of the Third Reich. One reason for this is the interplay between progressive and conservative notions inherent in this art. The other is the resistance researchers are faced with when describing the relationship between history and the contemporary times which they strive to understand through a historical lens.

Endnotes

1. More on the topic, see Wojciech Szymański's article in this edition of kunsttexte.de.
2. "den Osten für alle Zeiten —in den Menschen, der baulichen und landschaftlichen Gestaltung —deutsch zu machen...". Hornung 1942, Die Aufgabe, p. 178. Unless indicated otherwise, original German quotations were translated into English by the translator (B.S.) based on the Polish translations provided by the author (H.G.-B.).
3. "Hier müssen dann klar im Landschaftsraum liegende Wohnanlagen gestaltete Form unserer Gemeinschaft und Ausdruck unseres Kulturwillens im Osten sein.", Hornung 1942, Die Aufgabe, p. 183.
4. "Die Untersuchungen der landschaftlichen, wirtschaftlichen und soziologischen Struktur (...) bilden die zur Um- und Neugestaltung unserer Städte", Hornung 1942, Die Aufgabe, p. 183. The photographic records of typical landscape designs can be found in Sammlung und Auswertung der Landschaftsbauformen für den sozialen Wohnungsbau vom 13.1.1942, Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu [State Archive in Poznań, hereinafter: APP], Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty - Poznań, or Reichsstatthalter [Reich Governor, hereinafter: Reichstatthalter], item no. 3204.
5. "Wie einst die Kirchen vom Volk als Bauten der Gemeinschaft errichtet worden sind (...), so werden in Zukunft die Parteibauten Ausdruck der nationalsozialistischen Gemeinschaft sein, deren Aufbau sowohl in der inneren Struktur des Ortsgefüges als auch im Gesamtbild klar mit der Landschaft in Verbindung stehen muß", Hornung 1942, Die Aufgabe, p. 183.
6. Richtlinien für die Planung und Gestaltung der Städte in den eingegliederten deutschen Ostgebiete, Teut 1967, Architektur im Dritten Reich, p. 347-357.
7. "...muss eine unserer germanischer Art gemäße Landschaft gestaltet werden." Hornung 1942, p. 178; "Wir sind hier im Wartheland den Gesetzen unserer Landschaft verpflichtet.", Lüers 1942, Baugestaltung im Wartheland, p. 185.
8. On the Imperial Castle in Poznań, cf. Pazder / Zimmermann 2003, Kaiserschloss Posen; Schwendemann / Dietsche 2003, Hitlers Schloß; Grzeszczuk-Brendel 2005, Zwischen Gauforum und Ehebett.
9. Erlaß des Führers zur Vorbereitung des deutschen Wohnungsbaues nach dem Kriege, Teut 1967, Architektur im Dritten Reich, p. 262-267.
10. Simon 1941, Der deutsche Wohnungsbau, p. 5.
11. Ibid., p. 5.
12. "(...) durch Geburtenzuwachs die Lücken geschlossen werden, die der Krieg dem Volkskörper geschlagen hat." Erlaß des Führers zur Vorbereitung des deutschen Wohnungsbaues nach dem Kriege, Teut 1967, Architektur im Dritten Reich, p. 262.
13. "(...) bahnbrechende Wandlung in der Zweckbestimmung der Wohnung eingetreten. Die Wohnung ist nicht mehr wie bisher eine Behausungsangelegenheit, sie hat vielmehr eine ethische Zweckbestimmung erhalten." Simon 1941, Der deutsche Wohnungsbau, p. 9.
14. "Das Volk baut den Wohnraum, den es aus biologischen Gründen benötigt.", ibid., p. 4.
15. Based on the materials obtained from Niels Gutschow, whom I made contact with through Agnieszka Zabłocka-Kos, PhD, and

- the inventory carried out at the Department of History, Theory, and Preservation of Heritage, Faculty of Architecture of the Poznań University of Technology). The original structure of the estate is now complemented and disrupted by the housing from the 1950s to the 1990s. This period in the evolution of the estate is discussed by Marciniak 2010, *Doświadczenia modernizmu*.
16. Cf. Grzeszczuk-Brendel 2012, *Miasto do mieszkania*, especially p. 375-388.
 17. Pursuant to the provisions of: Wytuczne o oszczędnościach w budownictwie z 28.7.1941 [Guidelines on Savings in Construction of 28th July 1941], APP, Akta Miasta Poznania [Files of the City of Poznań], item no. 16016.
 18. In 1942, Gemeinnützigen Wohnstättengesellschaft Wartheland GmbH 156 Volkswohnungen was mentioned to develop residential housing for Gefolgschaftsmitglieder der Deutschen Waffen- und Munitionsfabriken AG; however, no location was provided in the files. APP, Reichstatthalter, item no. 3229. That said, information on the design of the Dębica housing estate for Gefolgschaftsmitglieder der Deutschen Waffen- und Munitionsfabriken AG can be found in: APP, Reichstatthalter, item no. 3027. See more: Grzeszczuk-Brendel 2004, *Faszystowska działalność*, p. 321-332.
 19. He is mentioned in this capacity in: AAP, Reichstatthalter, item no. 3209.
 20. The estate was developed in an area expropriated from their Polish owners (according to the indirect heirs of the area).
 21. Houses were to be provided in different designs, including KS 1 (18 houses), KS 1S (7 houses), KS 2 (6 houses), KS3 (20 houses), KS 4 (21 houses), and KS 4S (28 houses). In: APP, Reichstatthalter, item no. 3027. Sadly, floor plans for particular home types have not survived, while the existing houses have been converted many times. On standardized designs in the social context cf. Münk 1993, *Die Organisation des Raumes*, p. 201.
 22. Großkinsky 1941, *Schönheit des Wohnens*.
 23. "(...) auf der anderen Seite muß der Arbeiter in seinem Geschmack dazu erzogen werden, daß das, was einfach und klar ist, in der Regel das Schönste ist.", Simon 1941, *Der deutsche Wohnungsbau*, p. 9.
 24. "(...)den von der Wehrmacht eroberten Raum durch den deutschen Menschen für immer sichern.", Derichsweiler 1942, *Die Deutsche Arbeitsfront*, p. 175.
 25. With Rober Ley as its Head, the DAF almost monopolized the housing industry in the Reichsgau Wartheland, see: *Siedlungs- und Wohnwesen 1939*, p. 875.
 26. Simon 1941, *Der deutsche Wohnungsbau*, p. 11.
 27. Neufert 1943, *Bauordnungslehre*.
 28. Gutschow 2001, *Ordnungswahn*.
 29. Aly 1984, *Die restlose Erfassung*, p. 142, as cited in: Orłowski 2000, *Nazizm, Trzecia Rzesza*, p. 55.
 30. Hacker 1992, *Das Faschismus-Syndrom*, p. 124, as cited in: Orłowski 2000, *Nazizm, Trzecia Rzesza*, p. 52.
 31. Cf. Matzerath 2000, *Teoria modernizacji*, in: Orłowski 2000, *Nazizm, Trzecia Rzesza*, p. 97.
 32. "...daß die deutsche Landschaft das Gesicht des deutschen Wohnhauses bestimmt.", Böckler 1941, *Sozialer Wohnstättenbau*.
 33. Simon 1941, *Der deutsche Wohnungsbau*, p. 9.
 34. Ibid.
 35. Foucault 1995, *Discipline and Punish*.
 36. Theweleit 1987, *Male Fantasies*, p. 300.
 37. Simon 1941, *Der deutsche Wohnungsbau*, p. 367.
 38. "Dein Körper gehört der Nation." The slogan was circulated by Hitlerjugend, cf. Prinz 1993, *Hitlerjugend- und Parteihäuser*, p. 148.
 39. Theweleit 1987, *Male Fantasies*, p. 737.

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Illustration

- 1: private collection of the architect's family
- 2: survey of the existing building, collection of the Faculty of Architecture, Poznan University of Technology.
- 3: collection of the Faculty of Architecture, Poznan University of Technology.
- 4: collection of the Library of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań.
- 5: August Großkinsky, *Schönheit des Wohnens. Ein Bildwerk über deutsche Wohnmöbel* (hg. in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Reichsheimstättenamt der DAF von Karl Kopp), Freiburg im Breisgau o. J. [1941], p. 33.

6: Ernst Neufert, *Bauordnungslehre*, ed. Albert Speer, Berlin-Amsterdam-Prag-Wien, 1943, p. 46.

Summary

The number and size of residential estates in Poznań demonstrate the importance of the Third Reich's presence in its tangible form for the Nazi propaganda. The fact that the construction industry in Germany was almost at a standstill during World War II only adds to their relevance. Hanna Grzeszczuk-Brendel shows that the impartial interpretations of Nazi architecture as a style and yet another art trend fail to provide an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon. Instead the author analysis the estates in Poznań in the context of other German plans for this city and offers new interpretation of their symbolical meaning in relation to main concepts of NS-ideology, like "blood and soil" or "the party group as a housing unit".

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Title

Hanna Grzeszczuk-Brendel, "Made to Human Measure". Nazi Architecture in Poznań, in: *kunsttexte.de/ostblick*, No. 3, 2019 (11 pages), www.kunsttexte.de/ostblick.

(Translated by Bartosz Sowiński)