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The Architecture of the Third Reich in Silesia and Spatial Planning in the “German East”*

A quick glance at the map shows what ‘frontier struggle’ really means in Silesia [Grenzlandkampf]. The external borders of Silesia run into 1,200 km in length, while the region itself is connected with the Reich through a bottleneck, not even one-fourth of these borders.

The *Gauleiter* of Silesia [Schlesien], Josef Wagner, in an interview with *Schlesische Tageszeitung* (1937)¹

Researchers tend to focus on individual buildings or sections within a city; unfortunately, this prevents a more holistic view being taken of the urban fabric. Hence, a glance at the map may not only be taken for auxiliary reasons, such as locating particular spots, it may also provoke new research questions. Attempted new readings of maps and urban plans have given birth to a new field of study on cartography and a new methodology which is used mainly by historians.²

In the 1920s, Karl Haushoffer invented a new type of map known as the suggestive map,³ which became increasingly popular in interwar publications as an excellent medium for representing shifting geopolitics with a wide array of visual means, including arrows and geometric figures. This type of imagery was a perfect carrier for political content and propaganda. As such, it made its way to numerous publications which often postulated the revision of the borders and lambasted the Treaty of Versailles (1919) as particularly damaging to the Reich.

A glance at the diagrammatic map of the Reich from 1938 (Fig. 1), one of the many cartographic representations in the publications from the time, gives a better idea of the peculiar location of Silesia, which the sources of the time described as “a bulwark in the German South-East” [*Bollwerk im deutschen Südosten*]. The plan provides a persuasive representation which operates with a contrasting juxtaposition of colours. Interestingly, Germany is rendered in white, while the surrounding countries are painted black. The

juxtaposition of black and white brings to mind the conflicting concepts of light and darkness as the symbols of good and evil. As such, the Third Reich appears to be a lonely island, oppressed and stifled by neighbouring countries. What gains in significance are the eastern provinces of Germany, i.e. the exclave of East Prussia and the projecting expanse of Silesia. It must be added that the map represents Germany after the Annexation of Austria on 12 March 1938 [*Anschluss*], that is, after the launch of territorial expansion to the South-East.

The geopolitical situation of Silesia fed into the narrative present in the accounts from the time. The press releases and literature of the time gave weight to the border question and special tasks for the authorities of the region and its population. This rhetoric can be traced in official political statements, e.g. made during an interview by the *Gauleiter* of Silesia, Josef Wagner,⁴ as well as official documents and correspondence. The geographical location of Silesia served as an important reason in lobbying for investment in the area. The investment was intended to consolidate the eastern flank of the Reich.⁵

The sources from the era feature a peculiar narrative, or newspeak, which I would suggest may be called “frontier discourse.” The discourse, which penetrated official statements by Nazi authorities, began to intensify in the late 1930s as Germany braced itself for military conflict. Silesia was described as an eastern outpost of the Reich. Eroded by its national,



Fig. 1 Schematic map of the German Reich from 1938

ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity, the region was thus susceptible to “foreign” influence, Slavic in particular. These accounts produced a mounting sense of danger, and as such called for the revival of Germanhood [*Deutschtum*] in the area.⁶

These visual metaphors travelled to domains other than politics or propaganda. Scientists, too, began to use similar rhetorical devices. In so doing, they pictured a vivid image of their challenging circumstances and the importance of their work, which was to bring a sea change in Eastern Europe. It must be emphasized that the discourse on the risks carried by the “Slavic element” had figured in academic publications long before it was harnessed by Nazi war propaganda.

One important trend in this respect was the *Ostforschung*, i.e., a school of historical research on the East, which developed greatly in Wrocław/Breslau. Eastern studies were pursued by Hermann Aubin and his fellow researchers, who created the Eastern Europe Institute [*Osteuropa Institut*]. Wrocław/Breslau soon achieved the status of a major hub for *Ostforschung*. As the Nazis rose to power, this line of research became increasingly politicized.⁷

The way academic research was deployed in settlement designs and eastern colonization concepts, or how it penetrated them, is of much interest to architecture and urban planning. The process of coloniza-

tion called for the expertise of Silesia-based professionals: a variety of specialists in a variety of fields due to the territorial proximity and a long tradition of research, most notably on Slavic nations. Being a frontier province and a melting pot may have been Silesia’s great asset.

In the 1920s and 1930s, researchers in Silesia’s urban planning focused their interest and analysis on two areas: mediaeval location privileges, known as settlement with the Magdeburg or German law, and King Frederick’s Colonization in the 18th century.⁸ Both exemplified German colonization models and a long tradition of Germanization in Silesia’s architecture and urban planning. The issue is yet to be analyzed in detail. This particularly concerns the deployment of historical settlement models and stylistic models in the colonization of the eastern territories, which as the authorities and urban planners believed called for a total makeover.

A Prussian-Style Public Building

The New Administration [*Neue Regierung*] building in Wrocław/Breslau, which now houses the Lower Silesia Provincial Office (Fig. 2), is worthy of note, being the Third Reich’s largest public building to have been erected in Silesia. Urban plans from 1935–1937, which are held at the Construction Archive in Wrocław,⁹ demonstrate the evolution of the building’s architectural concept. That said, they proved insufficient to establish its designer. Formerly, the design was attributed to Felix Bräuler,¹⁰ a largely unknown government planner [*Regierungsbaufach*]. Alternatively, Bräuler was said to have collaborated with locally-based architects such as Herbert Boehm and Richard Konwiarz.¹¹ These ambiguities can now be dispelled thanks to the survey of periodical publications from the time and an exhibition catalogue showcasing the building’s model.

The *Regierung* building in Wrocław/Breslau was designed by the Berlin-based architect Arthur Reck in collaboration with Erich Böddicker. Its 1:100 model (Fig. 3, 4) was showcased at the prestigious *Second German Architecture and Art and Crafts Exhibition* [*2. Deutsche Architektur- und Kunsthandwerkerausstellung*, 10.12.1938–10.04.1939] at the *Haus der Deutschen Kunst* in Munich as a model design of the



Fig. 2 The New Administration [Neue Regierung] building in Wrocław/Breslau, now the Lower Silesia Provincial Office

Prussian State Building Administration [*Preußische Staatshochbauverwaltung*],¹² the office responsible for public buildings and subordinate to the German Ministry of Finance [*Finanzministerium*].¹³

Who was Arthur Reck and his local associate Erich Böddicker? The former was an architect and government planner; from 1937 he was in charge of the Prussian State Building Administration [*Preußische Staatshochbauverwaltung*] and the Department of Building at the Reich Finance Ministry (*Finanzministerium*). His earlier architectural designs in Silesia included St. Peter and Paul's Church in Opole/Opeln (1923–1924), which drew heavily on Ottonian architecture.¹⁴ One of Reck's more famous works is the mint building at Mühlendamm 3 in Berlin, designed in collaboration with Fritz Keibel in the mid-1930s. Erich Böddicker, who was also known as Böddiger, was a town planner active in Upper Silesia; he designed the police headquarters [*Polizeipräsidium in Hindenburg*] located at the intersection of ulica 1 Maja and ulica

gen. Ch. de Gaulle'a in today's Zabrze. The building was completed in 1930.¹⁵

The decision to develop the building had been made at the dawn of Nazi rule in Germany, probably in 1934, a long time before Wrocław/Breslau was covered by the Law on the Redesign of German Cities" [*Gesetz über die Neugestaltung deutscher Städte*] of 4th October 1937 and urban plans by the Berlin-based architect Werner March (1938–1939).¹⁶ Thus, the building was designed at the initial stages of the process which saw the metamorphosis of the city into an East German metropolis. The *Regierung* building itself and the administrative facilities to be developed nearby, including the High President's Office [*Oberpräsidium*], were intended to create a new government quarter around today's plac Społeczny [then *Lessingplatz*].

In Werner March's designs, the area rose to become a Gauforum, a showpiece space with a marching square as the very embodiment of power. This

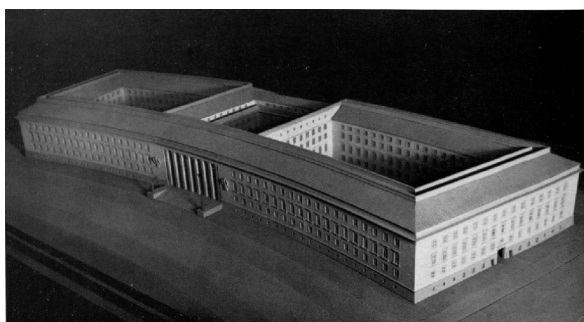


Fig. 3, 4 Model of the New Administration building, at the Second German Architecture and Art and Crafts Exhibition [2. Deutsche Architektur- und Kunsthandwerksausstellung], 10.12.1938-10.04.1939 at the Haus der Deutschen Kunst in Munich, Photos by Wasow, Munich and Dr. Weskamp

surpassed previous urban plans both in its size and programme and provided for the makeover of the transport network and urban fabric. That said, Reck and Böddicker's building was incorporated into both March's urban design and a competing design by Herbert Boehm.¹⁷ Eventually, only the 26-thousand sqm *Regierung* building was actually erected. The building now serves as a relatively modest testimony to the grand urban transformation which awaited the city at the time.

As previously said, the creation of Wrocław/Breslau as a model East German metropolis played an instrumental role in elevating the entire region. As such, the city was showcased as a centre for research on the German East and a bulwark of Germanhood at the south-eastern frontier of the Reich.

Both the monumental and functional qualities of the building are described multiple times in the publications listed above. However, no effort has been made at providing the analysis of Reck's use of architectural language. Similarly, future elaborations are

yet to allow a better understanding of the architectural design of the building and its political import in the landscape of Silesia. It is essential that such elaborations describe the Wrocław/Breslau building in the context of its contemporary Koszalin/Köslin and Erfurt *Regierung* offices (Reck's descriptions of the two have survived).¹⁸ Not without a reason, the creator of these buildings called them a "particularly Prussian architectural question" [*spezifisch preußische Baufrage*].

This brings to mind the notion of "Prussian style" and the importance of Prussia at the time. One of the key figures in this respect was Arthur Moeller van den Bruck (1876–1930), a German cultural historian and exponent of a conservative revolution who is also known as "the promoter of Prussia."¹⁹ It is worth noting that Moeller van der Bruck also coined the term "Third Reich," which was later appropriated by Nazi ideology.²⁰

Apart from *Das dritte Reich* (1922), worthy of note is also *Prussian Style* [*Der Preußische Stil*]²¹, one of his 1930s publications which elaborates on a number of issues at an intersection of politics, culture, and art, including architecture.

Moeller van der Bruck envisioned Prussia as something more than just a model political entity based on militarist principles. His "Prussianhood" [*Preußentums*] served as "a principle of the world",²² a modernity rule which informed lifestyle; as such, it paved the way for the inner colonization and restoration of Germany. He wrote separate chapters on Andreas Schlüter and Friedrich Gilly; however, the chapters on style and monumental architecture are those that prove to be particularly important for the examination of Reck's favourite concepts.

Moeller van der Bruck was not the only one to extol the virtues of Prussia in the interwar years. That said, his publication is particularly resonant with Reck's descriptions of the three *Regierung* buildings. "Prussianhood" was to be a defining feature of the architectural designs of the three buildings in three distinct parts of the Reich (Silesia, Thuringia, and Pomerania). "If these construction projects deserve special attention because of their size and monumental design, then a distinctly Prussian attitude has been made clear in them, which still gives sufficient expres-

sion to the landscape and indigenous content of their respective sites."²³

Developed at a key moment for the Reich, the *Regierung* building was thus intended as a manifestation of particular political content. Reck highlighted this idea in his presentation of the *Regierung* building in Koszalin/Köslin, which was completed as German troops headed for Poland in order to "recapture the ancient German culture and territory."²⁴

A Model Settlement in Silesia

During the Third Reich, much effort was made to offer model solutions for the eastern territories. These solutions drew from vernacular architecture and historical settlement models. The results particularly showcase the impact of scientific research on theory and design practice. The *Ostforschung* mentor Hermann Aubin believed that science had a vital role to play in the shaping of national consciousness; he pointed out that: "our nation's movement to the East, which defined the Middle Ages and modernity, was one of the most significant events in its history."²⁵

In their works, researchers from Hermann Aubin's circle sought to explore these issues, and they often conflated historical arguments with current political narratives. A prime example in this respect is Herbert Schlenger's study on the town of Międzybórz (then Neumittelwalde; its previous name Medzibor had been Germanized in 1886).²⁶ Born in the town in 1904, Schlenger worked closely with Aubin, whose intercession won him a habilitation in 1936 at the University of Breslau (without presenting a written dissertation), and a special professorship in 1944. He was very much involved in politics and was a Nazi Party member; from 1940 he was in charge of the Office for Regional and Cultural Studies in Silesia [*Amt für schlesische Landeskunde*].²⁷

The very title of his book *Wie eine Grenzstadt wurde. 300-Jahrfeier der Stadt Neumittelwalde* [The Making of a Border Town. 300 Years of Neumittelwalde] brings to mind the headlines of propaganda press releases. The book itself provides an analysis of the town's development across history and a critique of the post-Versailles dispensation, which serves as a scientific basis for border revisionism. In the final sentence of Schlenger's book, Neumittelwalde is elev-

ated as a symbol of the oppressed German nation, who have to defend their living space by colonizing frontier territories: "Thus, the destiny of the remotest border town becomes the fate of the whole people. This destiny is to expand the population at an exposed frontier of the Reich."²⁸

Illustrated books with detailed plans, inventory drawings, and information on traditional building techniques served as major references on vernacular architecture, as well as architectural templates. One such book was *Oberschlesische Landbaukunst um 1800* [Lower Silesia's Rural Architecture around 1800] by Hans-Joachim Helmigk,²⁹ who was a practising architect. There were also other specialist publications.³⁰ Some of the traditional architectural features such as arcades [Germ. *Lauben*] were described as quintessentially Germanic.³¹ The arcade greatly flourished in the architecture of Silesia. Its historical development is most notably analyzed in an extensive publication by Erich Kulke.³² Interestingly, Kulke also shows various ways in which arcades were used in the then-emerging buildings. This may serve as evidence for an increased interest in vernacular architecture and its impact on the designs from the time.

Of particular interest are those housing estates which have a thoughtful layout and were intended to carry out a specific programme or a social experiment. A prime example in this respect is an SA estate near Gliwice [*SA-Siedlung Eichenkamp*], the area now known as Wilcze Gardło.³³ Designed by Rudolf Fischer, the plan of the estate provided for two centres: a market square and an oval stadium, surrounded by residential houses and other facilities. Eventually, the scheme was implemented only in part, and the stadium with the stands, as well as an outdoor open swimming pool, SA house, and watchtower were never built.³⁴ Nevertheless, the centralizing scheme remains apparent even today.

While Wilcze Gardło has survived and is well described in literature, little is known of the settlement called Pogorzele [*Werkssiedlung Neuvorwerk/Primkenau*], (Fig. 5, 6), which was developed in the woods north of Przemków, and no research exists on it. One likely reason for this is that it was utterly obliterated after the war, when the surrounding area became a military training ground. This unique radial

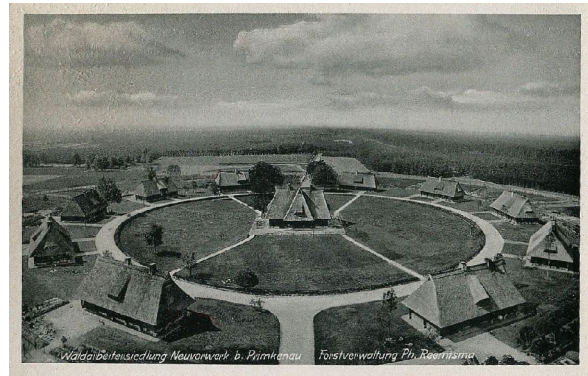


Fig. 5, 6 Settlement of forest workers in Pogorzela near Przemków [Werksiedlung Neuvorwerk Primkenau], built by the Ph. Reemtsma concern

planning scheme was created in the latter part of the 1930s as a model settlement for forestry workers.

The settlement supplanted a village which dated to the 18th century. The village had been destroyed in a massive fire on 15th August 1904, which virtually wiped away 4,300 hectares of woods near Przemków.³⁵ Desiccated by drought, the forest caught fire from a spark dropped by a railway engine. As a result, the railway had to pay compensation of 2.9 million German marks: a massive amount.³⁶ The event provoked a popular response not only in Silesia, but in the entire Reich. One interesting piece of evidence from the time is an commemorative postcard depicting the charred wreckage of the buildings and the Red Cross bringing relief to the victims. The postcard was signed "Der Waldbrand bei Primkenau."³⁷

The settlement for forestry workers was based on a strictly symmetrical radial scheme. Ten identical residential houses were distributed at regular intervals along a circular road. Departing from the road, four simple and symmetrical paths led to a centrally-located community house [*Gemeinschaftshaus*], the only building standing on a green lawn inside the circle. At a certain distance from the circle, a complex of forest management buildings was located; it was topped with a watchtower, clock tower, and bell tower rolled into one,³⁸ with a passageway leading to an inner yard. A granary [*Futterspeicher*] and adjacent outbuildings were also placed at a certain distance from the settlement.

Provided with stone foundations, the houses had brick walls with wooden sidings and high-pitched thatched roofs. Wooden supports on the outside were

typical of the Upper Lusatian house [*Umgebendehaus*], a structure commonly used at the confluence of Bohemia, Germany, and Poland. Thus, the design drew a visible inspiration from local rural buildings. However, its final form was a fusion of various elements typical of vernacular architecture.

In its spatial design, Pogorzela draws upon the historical concepts of ideal cities; these follow a strictly geometrical urban scheme, most notably the French revolutionary architecture of the late 18th century, such as the Royal Saltworks in Arc-et-Senans by Claude-Nicolas Ledoux. Such regular urban planning schemes can also be traced in Opole, Silesia. The village of Pokój (Carlsruhe O/S) (Fig. 7), the radial village of Nowy Kup (1780), and several settlements from the time of King Frederick's Colonization show the impact of these models on local architecture.³⁹ The rise of mass reproduction led to the dissemination of these designs in the interwar years.

The spatial design of Pogorzela resembles that of the Royal Saltworks of Arc-et-Senans in that it reflects the concept of an ideal community living their lives in a logical, orderly, and appealing surroundings. On one hand, this is very much expressive of the investor's modern approach whereby workers were provided with suitable living and working conditions to improve their work performance. On the other, the settlement may be treated as a social model laid down by the authorities because of the strict symmetry of the whole design, the identical form of the houses, and the dominating central position of the community house. Thus, the settlement is an attempted vision of an ideal,

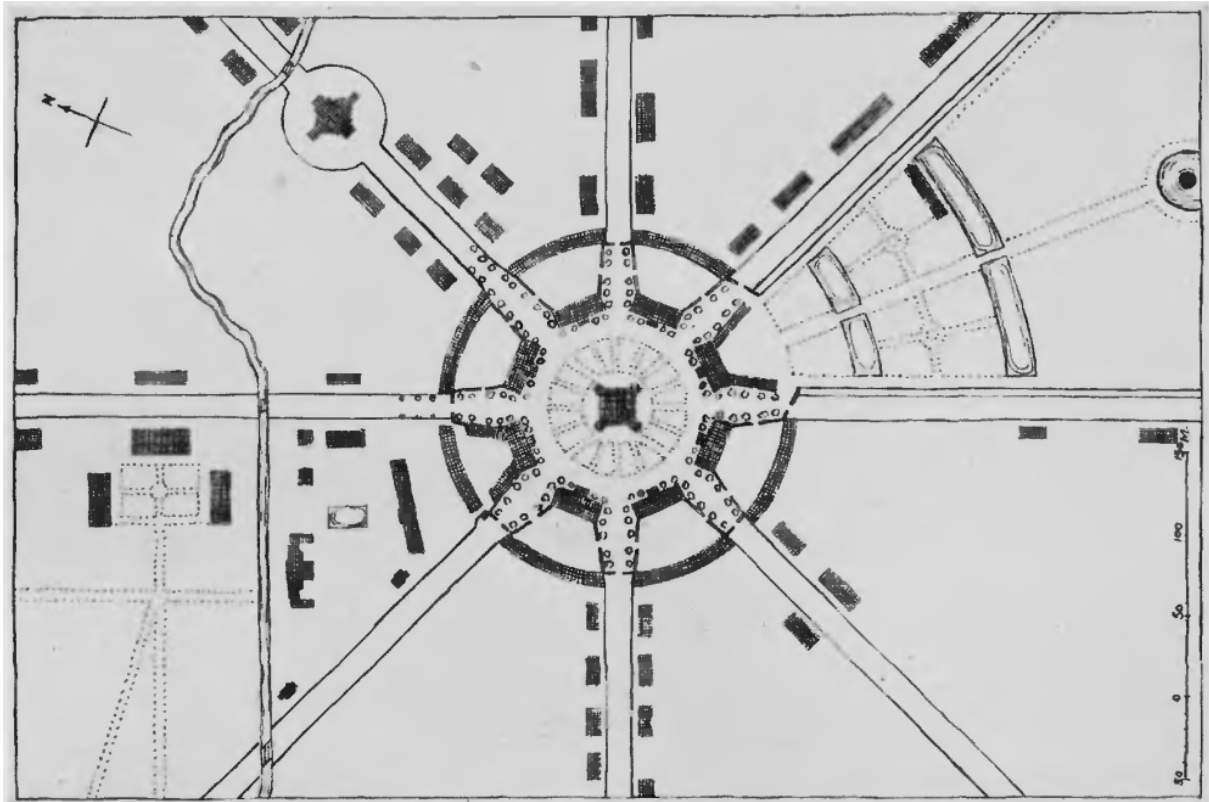


Fig. 7 Plan of the radial village of Pokój [Carlsruhe] in Upper Silesia, Photo: H. J. Helmigk

healthy community. Visions such as this were heavily promoted under Nazi rule.

Two photographs of the model are known to have survived, as well as several photographs of the village. Ursula Kellner mentions the design in her dissertation;⁴⁰ however, she fails to notice the design was actually implemented. As such this extraordinary concept may be linked to the associates of Heinrich Friedrich Wiepking-Jürgensmann (1891–1973) or even Wiepking-Jürgensmann himself, one of the most prominent landscape architects [*NS-Gartenarchitekt*] of the time (alongside Alwin Seifert) and the precursor of the Nazi-approach to garden and landscape design.⁴¹ Wiepking-Jürgensmann was in charge of landscape design for the prestigious Tannenberg Memorial [*Reichsehrenmahl Tannenberg*] (in collaboration with Walter and Johannes Krüger); he also provided a spatial design for the Olympic village and stadium in Berlin [*Olympia Stadion*], in collaboration with Walter and Werner March.⁴²

A completely new planning scheme was financed by Philipp Fürchtegott Reemtsma's tobacco company

[*Reemtsma Cigarettenfabriken GmbH*]. Established in Erfurt in 1910, the business implemented automated production solutions to become a powerhouse tobacco brand in the 1930s. The company had an arrangement with Nazi authorities. After 1933, this secured its development, profitable deals, and access to forced labour,⁴³ including forced labour camps in Polish and Russian occupied territories.⁴⁴

In a sense, Reemtsma's investment continued the tradition of 18th-century King Frederick's Colonization, which was mainly driven by Prussian nobility. Helmigk asserts: "The credit for the inner colonization (in Silesia) from 1770 and its greatest achievements goes not so much to the state authorities and their financial support but to the enterprising spirit of the local landowners,"⁴⁵ who built settlements and brought colonists to their estates. It must be emphasized that Reemtsma's connections with the Nazi authorities were instrumental in his success.

Little is known about the purpose of the scheme; however, it may be safely assumed it was not built for utilitarian purposes. The form, the materials, and

probably construction costs went beyond the standard requirements for forestry workers’ lodgings. With much certainty, Pogorzale was a uniquely prestigious development, and as such was showcased to politicians, e.g. a delegation of Nazi district leaders [*Kreisleiter*] from Baden.⁴⁶

From Silesia to the “German East”

A radical change in the approach to plans for the architectural development of Gau Silesia came in 1939, when it expanded onto Poland’s Silesian Voivodeship and in 1941, when parts of the Krakow and Kielce Voivodeships were incorporated. Thus, Silesia gained a new role as a buffer zone between the Reich and the annexed or occupied eastern territories. It resulted also in the administrative reorganization and division into two separate party districts: the Gau Niederschlesien and Gau Oberschlesien. The parts previously belonging to Poland would soon become an experimental area for creating a new living space for German citizens [*Lebensraum*] in an ongoing expansion to the East.

A prime example in this respect are spatial designs for the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp and urban designs for the town of Oświęcim/Auschwitz; they were provided by Hans Stosberg (1903–1989) from 1941–1943. Stosberg acted as Special Plenipotentiary for the Zoning Plan of the Town of Oświęcim/Auschwitz [*Sonderbevollmächtigter für den Bauungsplan der Stadt Auschwitz*]. Previously, from January 1930, Stosberg had worked in the Development Office of the City of Breslau [*Stadterweiterungsamt der Stadt Breslau*]; he also defended his doctorate at the Technical University of Hannover [*Technische Hochschule Hannover*] on the historical development of transport routes in Wrocław/Breslau, which was published in 1935.⁴⁷

Stosberg’s doctoral pursuits suggest that architects read academic publications on Silesia as they developed the urban plans and architectural designs for the region. The first book Stosberg cited in his dissertation was Joseph Partsch’s extended monograph on Silesia. His *Schlesien, eine Landeskunde für das deutsche Volk* expressed a mounting sense of dread in the face of Slavic nations. Interestingly, this sense

of dread had been present since the late 19th century.⁴⁸

Heinrich Wiepking-Jürgensmann,⁴⁹ who should be attributed with the Pogorzale settlement plan, was charged with the task to provide a landscape design for the town of Auschwitz and its vicinity. In 1939 he was appointed Special Representative of the Reichsführer SS and Reichskommissar on Landscape Architecture for the Consolidation of German Nationhood in the Annexed Eastern Territories [*Sonderbeauftragter des Reichsführers SS und Reichskommissars für Festigung deutschen Volkstums in den eingegliederten Ostgebieten für Fragen der Landschaftsgestaltung*].

Arthur Reck, the designer of the Wrocław/Breslau *Regierung* building, also pursued his career in the eastern territories. In the summer of 1940, he was in charge of the Department of Building of the German Ministry of Finance as it took over urban planning responsibilities in the *Regierungsbezirk Zichenau*. He made drawings for Ciechanów [*Zichenau*], Mława [*Mielau*], and Pułtusk [*Ostenburg*] in collaboration with Jan Wilhelm Prendel. According to Niels Gutschow, these “[were] rather imperial fantasies, combining the elements from previous Gauforum designs.” However, they differed from the Old Reich designs in that they provided for the demolition of the existing buildings and the development of “superior” German towns for newly-arrived colonists. These projects were never completed. However, preparatory efforts were made to displace and exterminate the local population and demolish Polish and Jewish houses. Such projects could only be implemented in the eastern territories, which had little to no value to their German invaders.⁵⁰

As he discussed urban plans for the *Regierungsbezirk Zichenau*, Reck showcased Prussian architecture as a style to be adopted by public buildings in the Third Reich. In so doing, he reiterated what he had said in the descriptions of the *Regierung* offices of his own design. In *Die Baukunst*, a supplement to the prestigious magazine *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich*, Reck wrote about the “transplantation” of Prussian architecture to Ciechanów, the capital of a new *Regierungsbezirk* in the Reichsgau East Prussia, and its re-development as a “German colonial city” [*deutsche*

Kolonisationstadt.⁵¹ "In its individual design, it makes a conscious reference to the Prussian classicism of the great master builders of the 18th and 19th centuries, most notably those of King Frederick's Prussia, which is relevant to our time with its heroic lifestyle and the elevation of Fuehrer's personality."⁵²

Undeniably, spatial planning in the East was considered to be an important task for architects and urban planners. This produced unprecedented opportunities for creating visionary projects. A mere overview of the architects, including their names and places they came from, demonstrates they travelled to the annexed or occupied territories from almost every corner of the Reich. However, the decisive factors were their knowledge of the local reality, experience, and special interest in the German East. That is why Silesian urban planners or those who had previously worked in the eastern frontiers of the Reich constituted a considerable staffing base. The issue requires further investigations, including a detailed examination of the architects active in Silesia who later travelled to the occupied territories.

This article only signals major issues and problems to be investigated in further research work. One such issue is the image of Silesia as an area exposed to colonization and Germanization processes from the Middle Ages. Another is the Third Reich's selective use of history and the architecture of the past in propaganda, which fed into the myth of German Silesia and the superiority of German achievements in the region. This showed both in public buildings, the *Neue Regierung* Office in Wrocław/Breslau being a case in point, and model settlement solution designs such as the one in Pogorzale. Harnessing the myth of Prussia or picturing traditional architecture as typically Germanic reveals the need to anchor new designs in precisely defined constructs of the past and to showcase German achievements as the *longue durée*. This also legitimized the right of the German Reich to its frontier territories such as Silesia and its further territorial expansion to the East.

Admittedly, these two examples are only a small excerpt and do not give an overall picture of the designs implemented in both urban and rural areas of Silesia. They nonetheless encourage an approach which I find particularly interesting given new readings

of the architectural heritage of Silesia during the Third Reich. The readings were made possible by the discovery of intriguing designs and attributions. New interpretations of Silesia's architecture under Nazi rule may be offered by analyzing new sources and publications and addressing the issue of territorial expansion of Nazi Germany to the East.

Endnotes

- * Karolina Jara's input to this article was possible within the framework of the predoctoral programme "Preludium 13" from the National Science Centre in Poland (project no. 2017/25/N/HS2/01279) and was supported by the Foundation for Polish Science (FNP). I am preparing a PhD thesis on urban planning and architecture in Silesia from 1933–1945 at the University of Wrocław (UWr) under the supervision of Agnieszka Zabłocka-Kos PhD, Associate Professor at the University of Wrocław, and auxiliary supervisor Aleksandra Paradowska PhD (University of Fine Arts in Poznań).
1. "Schon ein Blick auf die Karte zeigt, was in Schlesien das Wort Grenzlandkampf bedeutet. Schlesiens Grenzen gegenüber anderen Staaten sind über 1200 Kilometer lang, während seine unmittelbare Verbindung mit dem Reich wesentlich schmaler ist und nicht ein Viertel dieser Grenzlänge ausmacht," in: *Im Grenzgau Schlesien 1937*, [n. pag.].
 2. Schlögel 2003, *Kartenlesen*; Schlögel 2009, *Im Raume lesen wir die Zeit*; Haslinger (ed.) 2012: *Kampf der Karten*; Górný 2017, *Krešlarze ojczyzn*.
 3. Górný 2017, *Krešlarze ojczyzn*, p. 202.
 4. Josef Wagner (1899–1945) was the Nazi Party leader in Silesia; he was appointed the Gauleiter of Westphalia-South [Westfalen-Süd] and the Gauleiter of Silesia [Schlesien] in 1928 and 1935, respectively; he also served as High President of Lower and Upper Silesia (merged into the Province of Silesia in 1938). In 1941, Wagner was dismissed from office for his Catholic sympathies; as cited in: Biały / Długoborski 2001, *Wagner Josef*, p. 880.
 5. Jara 2016, *Wrocławski „waterfront”*, p. 3–4.
 6. Cf. Arend 2009, *Studien zur »Ostforschung«*; Polak-Springer 2018, *Recovered Territory*.
 7. Mühle 2005, *Für Volk*; Bömelburg 1995, *Das Osteuropa-Institut in Breslau*; Burleigh 1988, *Germany Turns Eastwards*.
 8. Helmigk 1937, *Oberschlesische Landbaukunst*; *Altpreussische Landbaukunst 1938*.
 9. *Architecture Museum in Wrocław, Construction Archive of the City of Wrocław*, item no. MAT-1444 and MAT-1001.
 10. Dobesz 1998, *Breslau (Wrocław)*, p. 344; Dobesz 1999, *Wrocławska architektura*, p. 40–44.
 11. Ilkosz 1997, *Dawna „Nowa Rejencja”*, p. 105; Szymański-Störckuhl 1998, *Plac Powstańców Warszawy*, p. 408–409; Sawińska 2011, *Bräuler*, p. 957; Störckuhl 2013, *Moderne Architektur in Schlesien*, p. 367–368.
 12. *2. Deutsche Architektur- und Kunsthandwerker Ausstellung (1938)*, p. 56, Böckler 1939, *Die Zweite Deutsche Architektur- und Kunsthandwerker Ausstellung*, p. 138.
 13. Cf. "Preußische Staatshochbauverwaltung," in: Henning 1934, *Einführung*, p. 131–133.
 14. Chojecka et al.(eds.) 2009, *Sztuka Górnego Śląska*, p. 365.
 15. Syska 2011, *Międzywojenne obiekty*, p. 190.
 16. Jara 2016, *Wrocławski „waterfront”*.
 17. Jara 2016, *Wrocławski „waterfront”*, p. 146–148.
 18. Reck 1940, *Neue preußische Regierungsdienstgebäude*; Reck 1941, *Neubau des Regierungsdienstgebäudes*.
 19. Kunicki (ed.). 1999, *Rewolucja konserwatywna*, p. 40–44.
 20. Kunicki (ed.). 1999, *Rewolucja konserwatywna*, p. 36.
 21. Moeller van der Bruck 2008, *„Der Preußische Stil”*.
 22. Moeller van der Bruck 2008, *„Der Preußische Stil”*, p. 41.
 23. "Verdiene diese Bauvorhaben [...] schon wegen ihrer Größe und monumentalen Gestaltung besondere Beachtung, so ist darüber hinaus an ihnen eine betont preußische Haltung deutlich ge-

- macht worden, die trotzdem den Landschafts- und Stammesgehalt des jeweiligen Standortes genügend zum Ausdruck kommen läßt." in: Reck 1940, Neue preußische Regierungsdienstgebäude, p. 273.
24. "Die endgültige Fertigstellung des gesamten Gebäudes und seine Ingebrauchnahme gelang Ende August 1939 in dem Augenblick, als die deutschen Divisionen zum Marsch nach Polen zur Rückgewinnung des alten deutschen Kultur- und Volksbodens angetreten waren." in: Reck 1940, Neue preußische Regierungsdienstgebäude, p. 284.
 25. As cited in: Kleßmann (ed.) 2014, „Niemiecki Wschód“, p. 24.
 26. Schlenger 1937, Wie eine Grenzstadt wurde.
 27. Mühle 2004, Die „schlesische Schule der Ostforschung“, p. 575.
 28. "So wird auch das Schicksal der fernsten Grenzstadt zum Schicksal des ganzen Volkes. Und dieses heißt: Volksmehrung an der gefährdeten Grenze", in: Schlenger 1937, Wie eine Grenzstadt wurde, p. 30.
 29. Helmigk 1937, Oberschlesische Landbaukunst.
 30. E.g. Dienwiebel 1938, Oberschlesische Schrotholzkirchen.
 31. Radoslaw Gliński conducts a research project on arcades in the town's architecture at the territory of Silesia and shifting interpretations on this architectural element, e.g.: Gliński / Patała 2017, *Krajobraz kulturowy*, p. 49–50.
 32. Kulke 1939, Die Laube.
 33. Kozina 2001, *Wilcze Gardło*; Kozina 2005, *Chaos i uporządkowanie*, p. 184–190; Störckuhl 2013, *Moderne Architektur in Schlesien*, p. 357–359.
 34. Kozina 2001, *Wilcze Gardło*, p. 175.
 35. Primkenauer Wochenblatt 1939, p. 591.
 36. Primkenauer Wochenblatt 1939, p. 591.
 37. Herder-Institut für historische Ostmitteleuropaforschung – Institut der Leibniz-Gemeinschaft, Bildarchiv, Sammlung Goettinger-Bildwerk, Inv.Nr. 143610; <https://www.herder-institut.de/bildkatalog/iv/143610>, 01.10.2018.
 38. It is captioned as a bell tower [Glockenturm] in one of the photographs, and a fire watchtower [Feuerwachturm] in the other.
 39. Małgorzata Chorowska and Agnieszka Zabłocka-Kos were the first to describe French revolutionary architecture as a possible inspiration for 18th-century urban planning schemes in Silesia. Chorowska / Zabłocka-Kos 1988, *Radial Planning Schemes*.
 40. Kellner 1998, Heinrich Friedrich Wiepking, p. 168–169.
 41. Gröning / Wolschke-Bulmahn 1987, *Die Liebe zur Landschaft*, p. 415.
 42. Schmidt 1992, Werner March, p. 88.
 43. Lindner 2007, *Die Reemtsmas*.
 44. Roth / Abraham 2011, *Reemtsma*.
 45. "Nicht die Staatsgewalt errang durch ihre finanzielle Unterstützung der inneren Kolonisation seit 1770 (in Schlesien) die größten Erfolge, sondern die freie Unternehmungsgeist der Rittergutsbesitzer", in: Helmigk 1937, *Oberschlesische Landbaukunst (1937)*, p. 217.
 46. Primkenauer Wochenblatt 1939, p. 5.
 47. Stosberg 1933, *Brückenkopf Breslau*, also cf. Gutschow 2001, *Ordnungswahn*, p. 77–143.
 48. Partsch 1896, *Schlesien*, 651. Cf. Górny 2017, *Kreślarze ojczyzn*, p. 37–38.
 49. Gutschow 2001, *Ordnungswahn*, p. 106.
 50. See Düwel / Gutschow 2013, *A Blessing in Disguise*.
 51. Reck 1941, *Neubau des Regierungsdienstgebäudes*, p. 222.
 52. "In der Einzelgestaltung ist bewußt die Anlehnung an den preußischen Klassizismus der großen Landbaumeister des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts, insbesondere der Epoche des friderizianischen Kraftzentrums, betont worden, die gerade unserer Zeit mit ihrem heroischen Lebensstil und der Wertung der Führerpersönlichkeit so nahe steht": Reck 1941, *Städtebau der deutschen Osten*, p. 226.

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Illustrations

- 1: Breslau. Handelsplatz im großdeutschen Raum. Vierteljahresbericht des Statistischen Amtes der Stadt Breslau, Nr. 4, Breslau 1938, p. 5.
- 2: Photo by the Author.
- 3, 4: Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung vereinigt mit Zeitschrift für Bauwesen, vol. 59 No. 6 (08/02/1939), p. 138.
- 5, 6: Author's collection. Information about the photographer and the origin of the image remain unknown.
- 7: Oberschlesische Landbaukunst um 1800, Berlin 1937, p. 221.

Summary

The article highlights major issues and problems regarding our understanding of the architecture of the Third Reich in Silesia through two examples: a public building of the Neue Regierung Office in Wrocław/Breslau, and a small village Neuvorwerk/Pogorzele near Przemków, a model settlement for forestry workers. One such issue is the image of Silesia as an area exposed to colonization and Germanization processes, especially in the Middle Ages and in the eighteenth century. Another is the Third Reich's selec-

tive use of history and the architecture of the past in propaganda, which fed into the myth of German Silesia and the superiority of German achievements in the region. The impact of these concepts and personal relationships are evident in projects implemented later in the occupied territories.

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