

Żanna Komar

Architecture in German-Occupied Kraków

Selected Research Problems

After the Invasion of Poland, Kraków was faced with a new reality. Much of Europe would soon meet a similar fate. The material structure of the cities was affected to varying degrees. Hitler's initial goal, which he made clear before the war, was to raze Poland to the ground.¹ The first day of the invasion saw an air raid on the town of Wieluń. Subsequent days brought air attacks on other Polish cities, including Warsaw. Kraków was also affected by an air raid; however, the city's urban fabric was damaged much less than that of Wieluń or Warsaw.

As the war progressed, Nazi Germany developed detailed regulations concerning the eastern territories. Konrad Meyer-Hetling drafted first regulations, including those affecting Poland, which are generally known as the Master Plan East [*Generalplan Ost*, hereinafter: GPO].² Based on the provisions of the Master Plan East, the invaders of Poland would adjust their urban planning and architecture schemes to the circumstances on the ground. This involved various undertakings, including the development of transport networks, fortifications, industrial facilities, public buildings, and housing estates.

The time of war brought horrific damage, but it also meant the mobilization of work force. In 1944, as the war was slowly coming to an end, Hans Frank, the chief jurist in the occupied Poland "General Government" territory, wrote in his journal what Hitler had told him during their last conversation: "Yes, my dear Frank, it is odd: previously we regarded the *Generalgouvernement* as something of a backwater; today it is our bulwark against the east. [...] I promise, I will do everything in my power to avoid military operations in the area."³

The status of the General Government was notably peculiar. The area was never annexed to the Great German Reich. Unlike the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, the General Government was never part of the German customs and monetary zone either. As

such, it was considered a foreign territory.⁴ Out of all Polish territories which were either annexed to the Reich or occupied by it, the General Government experienced the most draconian colonial policies. The Führer decreed that Kraków were to become the capital of the Reich's "ancillary country" [*Nebenland des Reiches*].⁵ From then on, Kraków went through an intense transition process with a view to Germanization. The concept of Germanization was widely used by German invaders to demonstrate the superiority of German rule over Polish achievements from before 1939. Historical research was deployed to lay the scientific (historical and ethnographic) grounds for the ideological construct of the old German city of Kraków. This was to justify German claims against the East, which the Institute of German Work in the East [*Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit*] increasingly addressed from 1940.⁶

Thousands of German clerks and officials who arrived in the city were charged with the task to Germanize it. Architects and urban planners set Germanization as a priority for their designs. Hubert Ritter was dispatched from Berlin to become the Plenipotentiary for the New Urban Plan of Kraków.⁷ In a letter explaining the Master Zoning Plan for Kraków he asserted that "Germanhood should take control of Eastern Europe. One of the strongest and long-lasting means to this end will be German urban planning."⁸

The Germanization scheme in the Main Market Square, which was renamed Adolf Hiler Platz, brought the demolition of the Adam Mickiewicz Monument and the redevelopment of the Feniks House, which had been designed by Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz in 1932. In 1942, the nationwide German architecture magazine *Deutsche Bauzeitung* reported from Kraków as the building was reduced in height and its façade was made over. The rationale for this decision was that the building disrupted the German character of mediaeval Kraków, "while Polish or rather Jewish architects in

the postwar period tried to deal a fatal blow to the mediaeval and venerable character of the façades by inserting American skyscrapers in their vicinity.”

German urban planning and architecture during World War II have failed to attract as much interest from researchers as military operations or war crimes. In fact, few historians of architecture and urban planning are investigating the issue. However, the altered spatial layout of Kraków and many existing buildings in the city are yet to be discovered as a testimony to German urban planning activities. This article purports to show this rather unknown side of the city.

Current Research

First Polish studies on construction activity under Nazi occupation were offered as separate chapters in more general monographs, including a chapter on architecture in Piotr Krakowski's book *Sztuka III Rzeszy* [Art of the Third Reich].⁹ Construction activity in German-occupied Poland is described in the chapter “Architektura wojny 1939–1945” [Architecture of War: 1939–1945] in Tadeusz Barucki's upcoming book on Poland's architecture in the twentieth century.¹⁰ Architecture and urban planning in the General Government have never attracted a separate study. Only Warsaw has been described in a separate book.¹¹

The architecture of Nazi-occupied Kraków has been described in a number of publications. Presented in the late 1980s, Krzysztof Broński's master's thesis is a seminal study in this respect. His main postulations were published in the journal *Rocznik Krakowski* in 1987.¹² Broński offered a surprising conclusion on the German authorities and their policy. Filled with propaganda as it was, “it has failed to blemish the city's exterior.” Conversely, administrative decisions paved the way for the development of urban fabric, a growth of population, and the city's expansion. Within new administrative boundaries, the city was provided with new road and railway networks; it also saw the development of municipal infrastructure, new residential housing, and several industrial facilities. A large number of public buildings were also converted for new purposes.¹³ The transport network was improved, including both roads and railway (e.g. a second track on the Kraków–Warsaw railway line and the northern railway ring of Kraków).

One westerner interested in the topic is Niels Gut-schow, who devoted a chapter to Kraków, most notably Hubert Ritter's legacy, in his study on architectural designs in Polish cities in the German East [*Deutscher Osten*], which he published as part of the *Bauwelt Fundamente* series.¹⁴

The beginning of the 21st century in Poland brought several major publications focused solely on Kraków. In his in-depth study on the plans for the redevelopment of Kraków, Jacek Purchla discussed Hubert Ritter as a figure instrumental in the plans for the expansion of Kraków under Nazi rule.¹⁵ Purchla's study was chiefly focused on the plan for the expansion of the Dębniaki quarter. The plan will be discussed in detail in a subsequent section on spatial planning.

In 2010, the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków presented a permanent historical display called *Kraków under German Occupation: 1939–1945*, which showcases development plans for the Błonia Commons, as well as reconstruction plans for the Wielopolski Palace and the Feniks House.¹⁶ In 2017, the Museum launched the temporary exhibition *Germans in Kraków 1939–1945*, which touched only lightly on architecture and urban planning.¹⁷ Several detailed studies, too, were devoted to particular buildings in Kraków. In his discussion of the Feniks House, Rafał Ochęduszko touched upon the total makeover of its façade and the demolition of its attic, which was a defining feature of the building and provoked quite a discussion in the interwar years.¹⁸ Published in 2012, a biographical study on the architect Zbigniew Kupiec offered a chapter on his pursuits in German-occupied Kraków.¹⁹

Dominik Lulewicz, who specializes in railway construction, studied Kraków's railway construction under Nazi rule.²⁰ Jadwiga Gwizdałówna undertook the task to discuss Wawel Castle, which saw its royal kitchens wing converted into the residence of the new authorities (1940–1941) (designed by Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz, supervised by Franz Köttgen and Edgar Horstmann). The wing was provided with suitable access through the South-Eastern Gate (Obervant Fathers' Gate).²¹ This also produced an opportunity to demolish low-rise buildings at the foot of Wawel Hill.

In their book, Barbara Zbroja and Konrad Myślik discussed Przegorzały Castle, which was also called

Schloß Wartenberg under Nazi rule. The building was to serve as a residence of the Governor of the District of Kraków, Otto von Wächter, and later as a military sanatorium for the SS.²² The study belongs in popular science, but it is based on thorough archive research.

New foreign studies elucidated on interesting facts and hitherto unknown architectural designs in Kraków. Oswald Haerdtl's drawings were showcased in an exhibition on the architecture of the Third Reich at the Architekturzentrum Wien, Austria.²³ Jean-Luis Cohen's exhibition *Architecture in Uniform: Designing and Building for the Second World War* in turn featured a Vistula bridge design by Heinrich Tessenow from 1940.²⁴ Some studies may have provided non-verified information, but they nonetheless opened up possibilities for further research. A case in point is Franz Albert Heinen's book on the Vogelsang training camp at Eifel, which erroneously attributed Clemens Klotz's urban planning concepts for Kraków's district of Kazimierz to the town of Kazimierz Dolny nad Wisłą.²⁵

Administrative Structure

Each and every studio offering either individual or collective designs for German-occupied Kraków was part of a newly developed German administrative structure. Construction and design was monopolized by extended government structures. The competences of particular administrative bodies overlapped, which only added to their relentless competition.

The principal structure was that of the General Government authorities. They comprised central administrative bodies as well as ministries, which were called departments until December 1940. With twelve different departments in the system, number ten was responsible for construction; it was called the Department of Building [*Hauptabteilung Bauwesen*]. Throughout the entire German occupation period, the department was led by Theodor Bauder, an engineer and SA member [*Sturmabteilungen der NSDAP*] who arrived in Kraków in February 1940 from the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, where he had been in charge of road construction.²⁶

In 1943, Albert Speer had it renamed as the Central Technical Office in Kraków [*Technisches Zentralamt*]. Bauder remained in charge of the Office, but he also

acted as the General Plenipotentiary for Construction in the General Government [*Generalbevollmächtigter für Bauwesen im Generalgouvernement*].²⁷ The Department of Building was housed in two adjacent buildings in plac Inwalidów 3 and 4 [*Invalidenplatz*], which had their walls pierced to provide one office space. This only shows the lengths the German authorities would go to when solving their housing difficulties.

The Central Office featured a separate unit which was solely responsible for Kraków. The Building Authority of the General Governor in Kraków [*Baudirektion des Generalgouverneurs in Krakau*] was located in plac Kossaka 1 [*Scharffenbergplatz*]. The Authority was led by Senior Counsellor [*Oberraf*] Hofer, who was a mere clerk with no designers' responsibilities.

The Department of Building and the Building Authority were in charge of the entire General Government, including the districts of Warsaw, Lublin, and Radom. When in Kraków, Hofer reported to Bauder and was responsible for the buildings taken over by the General Government authorities. His range of responsibilities included interior design and the conversion of major public buildings for new purposes, including the conversion of Wawel Castle into Hans Frank's residence, the AGH University building into the seat of the General Government authorities [*Regierungsgebäude*], the Jagiellonian Library into the State Library [*Staatsbibliothek Krakau*], or the National Museum at Aleja 3 Maja 1 into the State Casino [*Staatskasino*].²⁸

While the Building Authority was responsible solely for the City of Kraków, a separate structure was in charge of the Kraków District. The Governor of the District of Kraków Otto von Wächter resided in the building at Rynek Główny 34–35. At the beginning of the German occupation, the Department of Building for the Kraków District [*Bauamt des Distrikts Krakau*] enjoyed a much higher standing than the municipal building department. From 1939–1941, the Department of Building enjoyed the presence of an extremely influential figure, Herbert Pohl, who arrived in Kraków in the autumn of 1939. Initially, he supervised all types of construction work in and around Wawel Castle. The task was later handed over to Koettgen & Horstmann. In 1941, Pohl was appointed President of the German Building Society [*Deutsche Wohnungs-*

und Siedlungsgesellschaft], which dealt in commercial housing.²⁹ He was replaced by his associate Rudolf Lukas, MEng, who was active in Kraków from 1941–1944. With Otto von Wächter leaving Kraków, the Kraków District began to withdraw from its construction capacity. The 1943 reform saw this role transferred to the Central Technical Office.

The municipal office was directly in charge of the city; it comprised nine departments, the number of which was extended to ten in June 1942. Department Eight was in charge of building administration. This included building administration, urban planning and development, construction police, land surveying, above-ground construction, roads, building maintenance and preservation, and street cleaning. Polish staff at the municipal building department, including their Head Czesław Boratyński, continued their work under German occupation. Polish offices were subordinate to their German counterparts, the two most important of which for architecture and urban planning were the departments of building and urban planning [*Hochbauamt* and *Stadtplanungsamt*]; from December 1940 until the end of Nazi rule in Kraków, they were led by Bauder's university colleague Georg Stahl. Stahl's office was housed in Kraków's municipal office building in plac Wszystkich Świętych [*Rathaus Platz*]. Stahl and his departments were responsible for street planning, residential housing, and public administration. From 1940–1944, the office provided master urban plans for Kraków.

With several tens of thousands of personnel, the Construction Service [*Baudienst*] was one of the largest administrative units; as such, it strove to become independent of the General Government authorities. The Construction Service was a mass forced-labour organization providing cheap and efficient work force: young people of Polish or Ukrainian origin from the General Government.³⁰ Despite efforts from its founder and leader Heinrich Hinkel, the structure of the Construction Service reflected a three-tier administrative division of the General Government authorities, including central (Head of the Construction Service), district (District Leader), and county levels. In 1941, the Construction Service at all levels was incorporated into the Department of the Interior [*Innere Verwaltung*].³¹

A separate structure was responsible for railway; however, it, too, was subordinate to the General Government authorities. The railway construction division carried out construction tasks on railway tracks and their immediate vicinity. The unit was responsible for railway stations, warehouses, control stations, repair and production facilities, and housing for railway staff.

This administrative pyramid was catered for by private businesses, both foreign, most notably German, and Kraków-based, which executed design and construction projects. One exception in this respect was the company Koettgen & Horstmann, which was located at ulica Gertrudy 7 [*Gertrudenstrasse*]. The company acted as an intermediary; they used connections among Austrian and German architects, whom they entrusted with a variety of tasks in Kraków. The business commissioned the celebrated Austrian architect Oswald Haerdtl to design showpiece buildings, including the design of the Hotel der Casino G.m.b.H. in Park Krakowski. The German artist Marta Astfalck-Vietz was commissioned to provide an interior design for the Arkadia Liqueur Bar in the Main Market Square (today's Wierzynek Restaurant).³² Additionally, Koettgen & Horstmann worked with local architects, including Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz,³³ who provided drawings and designs which were nonetheless stamped with the company's logo. In so doing, they were able to design and complete a variety of conversion, interior design, and interior decoration projects.

Spatial Planning

In their development concepts for Kraków, Germans sought to rearrange the city's urban fabric. Housing estates, industrial buildings, and leisure facilities were designed to accommodate the needs of newly arrived German white- and blue-collar workers.

The government quarter was destined to become a new city centre [*Regierungsviertel*]. From 1940–1942, the intended location of the government quarter changed several times. Three different variants were offered, which only shows how German urban planning concepts evolved for Kraków. Initially, the quarter was to be located atop of St Bronisława Hill, a treeless precipice in the Sikornik ridge, which virtually cut into the city's urban fabric. The design was developed in



Fig. 1 German government quarter, October 1940

early 1940. In August 1940, Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz saw the quarter's mock-up at one of the office rooms at the General Government's Building Authority (Fig. 1).³⁴

Although the Building Authority dedicated a team of designers for the purpose, in the summer 1940 the German Ministry of the Interior [*Reichsministerium des Innern*]³⁵ despatched one more architect, Hubert Ritter, to Kraków on a mission to provide the master zoning plan. Upon his arrival, Ritter visited Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz at Wawel Castle and informed him about the plan to provide a 1:1000 mock-up of the city.³⁶ In late 1940, he offered an alternative suggestion for the development of the government quarter on the other side of the River Vistula, in the area of Dębniaki and Ludwinów. The new location would offer 250 hectares of land (Kraków's Main Market Square being only 4 hectares in size) for a monumental urban planning scheme to accommodate 10 thousand German clerks.³⁷ The plan provided for the demolition of the existing buildings and the elevation of the terrain surface.³⁸

Jacek Purchla compares this "Nazi 'Roman forum' at the very heart of Poland" to the designs of the Nazi party rally grounds in Nuremberg.³⁹ Enclosed by the bend of the River Vistula, Ritter's "New Dębniaki" area was offered an almost square planning scheme. Two intersecting axes created a perpendicular design. One of them extended from the Grunwaldzki Bridge and ran along today's ulica Monte Cassino. The other was designed to feature showpiece public buildings with a main square in the centre. The scheme provided for abundant greenery and two gardens with oval plazas in the centre.⁴⁰

The very size and panache of the government quarter would cause a disruption to the historical urban fabric of Kraków, which was centred around the Main Market Square. A new monumental quarter would compete for space with Wawel Castle, which served as Hans Frank's official residence. Additionally, a massive urban structure on the other side of the River Vistula called for a completely new rather than merely reshaped transport network (Fig. 2).

Hubert Ritter's ideas failed to garner approval from the city authorities. His position as an external and independent architect did little to earn their trust. His son, Hans, recalls a dispute his father had with an anonymous town planner [*Stadtbaufachmann*].⁴¹ Georg Stahl, who led the municipal construction department from December 1940, was his likely opponent. In their account of Ritter's conflict with the municipality, Jacek Purchla and Niels Gutschow mention Stadthauptmann Schmidt.⁴² As a result, Hubert Ritter was made to hastily leave Kraków in the early spring 1941, his regulatory plan nearing towards completion. He finished his design in May 1941, when already outside of Kraków.⁴³

In 1941, a third design was offered. It partially returned to the initial concept, the government quarter extending along Aleja Focha [*An der Langen Wiese*]. Stahl's preferred concept transferred the quarter from the Sikornik ridge down to the Błonia Commons. Issued on the second anniversary of the General Government, a jubilee report indicated the axis of Aleja Focha (spanning the hill and the spires of the Old Town) as *Regierungsviertel's* most likely location.⁴⁴ The hill's landscape was to remain relatively intact. As the concept evolved, public buildings were to be placed along Aleja Trzech Wieszców [*Außenring*], the Błonia Commons remaining an outdoor leisure area. Stahl's subsequent design from 1942 illustrates the idea, and it places showpiece German administrative buildings among the interwar Polish buildings on the outer side of the city's ring road.

Stahl's urban planning department also took the initiative to address the Kraków Master Plan. The office drew on previous concepts, including those of Ritter and interwar Polish designers, and it continued research by offering subsequent zoning plans for what they called the Great City of Kraków [*Grosstadt Krakau*]. In May and June 1941, administrative boundaries of the city were extended beyond four suburban areas: Wola Justowska and parts of Bronowice Małe, Bronowice Wielkie, and Tonie (1024 hectares of land).⁴⁵ Subsequently, 27 communes were incorporated into the city.⁴⁶ With a considerable enlargement of the city, land surveying and development plans became a necessity. Stahl's building department commissioned them from several local operators.⁴⁷

Efforts, too, were made to separate the residents according to their ethnicity. Hubert Ritter's design provided for one exclusively German quarter, as it distributed German residential areas around the city.⁴⁸ However, the authorities were in favour of a concept typically selected for occupied cities whereby residents were to be separated according to their national and ethnic origin. In the report celebrating the second anniversary of Kraków as the General Government's capital, Pavlu described the city as a "German hub in the East,"⁴⁹ which "is now part of the long and splendid procession of German cities across new Europe." He made it clear that should no means be provided to shield Germans against foreign ethnicities, "the most excellent German blood" will be doomed to cross-contamination with that of other nations.⁵⁰ Accordingly, national zones were provided: exclusively German, mixed (Polish and German) in the city centre,⁵¹ and exclusively Jewish (the ghetto) at Podgórze.

The General Plan was also focused on transport and the reorganization of the railway transport, including the provision of a railway ring around the city and the transfer of the main railway station to a new location. Ritter's general plan, which envisioned the government quarter in the Dębniki area, also provided for the extension of the railway line and the development of a new central station in the quarter's vicinity. This would bring railway traffic to the German government area, which in principle was to be protected against railway transit. The second variant saw the main railway station relocated 1 kilometre to the east, in the area of today's Mogilskie Roundabout. Eventually, the idea was dropped due to technical difficulties. The station was finally located far away from the government quarter and the German residential area.⁵²

The most likely prospect was to develop an additional passenger station in the north of the city.⁵³ The Northern Station [*Bahnhof Nord*] was to emerge in the vicinity of today's ulica Kamienna, which called for the provision of a major road connecting the station with the city centre to the south. A new axis connecting the railway station with the Main Market Square was to intersect with Aleja Trzech Wieszców [*Außenring*] and then run along ulica Długa [*Johann Haller Straße*], then intersect with ulica Basztowa [*Wehrmacht Straße*] and feed into ulica Sławkowska [*Hauptstraße*]

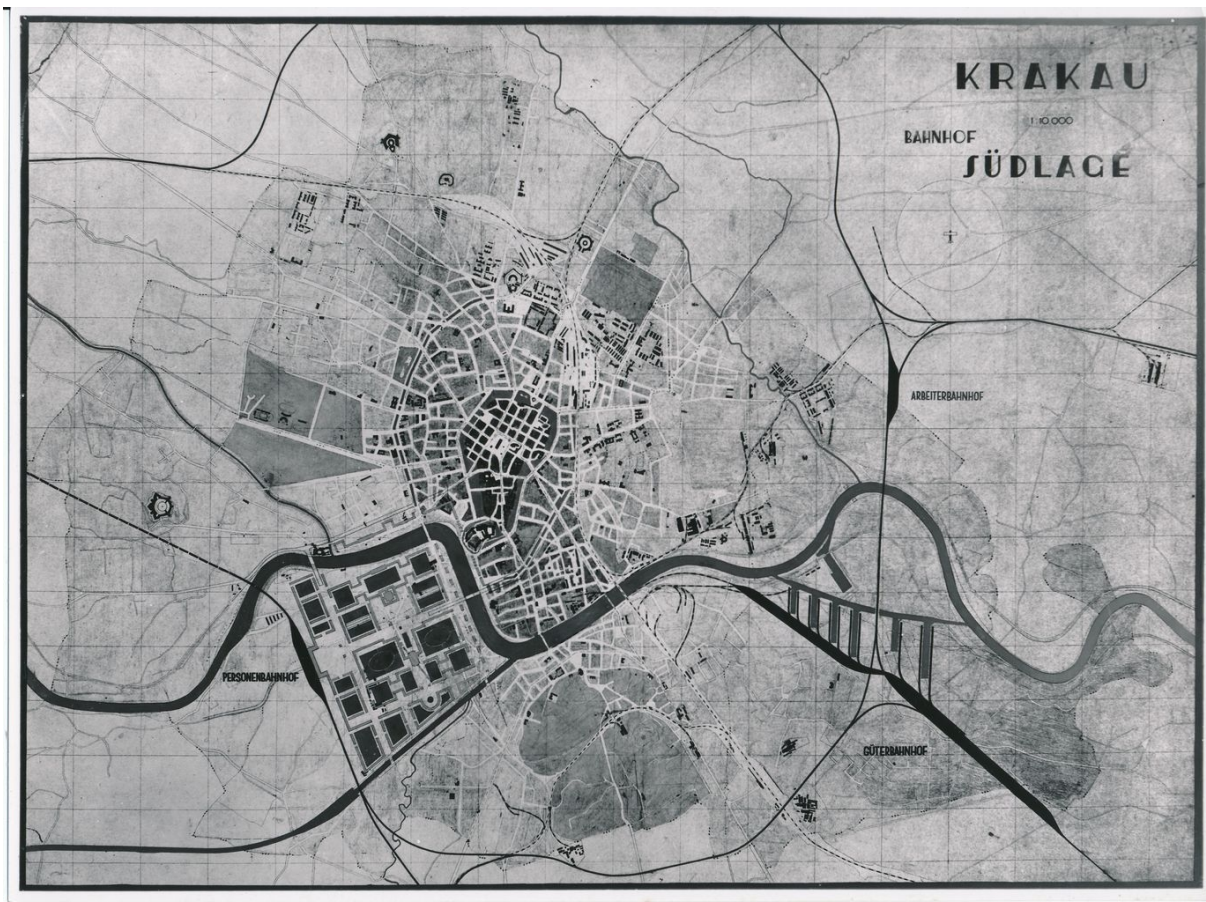


Fig. 2 Plan of Kraków - version with the official district in Dębniki, on the South facing railway line and the passenger station, 1940-1942

The solution bypassed the Old Town to allow direct access to the German residential area and government quarter through Aleje Trzech Wieszczów.

The northern station project was to secure a safe distance between the railway line and the government quarter and solve general transport issues as part of a larger transport network comprising a cargo station in the Płaszów area and a future river port and Vistula-Oder canal⁵⁴ (Fig 3-4). The northern railway ring was developed for the purpose of the project (1943). The plan to change the street layout and develop a new railway station would never see its realization; yet, it provided a serious correction to Kraków's urban fabric as it sought to relieve the main railway line running through the centre.

A residential estate in the vicinity of ulica Królewska [*Reichstrasse*] is a tangible outcome of the German urban plan to provide German residential areas between the northern railway station and the govern-

ment quarter running along Aleja Trzech Wieszczów.⁵⁵ From 1941–1944, the plan was implemented with ca. 60 new residential buildings, their high-pitched roofs covered with red tiles.⁵⁶ Exclusively German areas saw the development of infill buildings or the completion of the investment interrupted by the outbreak of war. Subsequent residential areas were to be developed in the area of Nowa Wieś, Łobzów, and Bronowice Małe.⁵⁷

In summary, German urban planning schemes for Kraków served two major purposes. One was to support the German war effort. Eastern Front operations required extended road and railway networks. As a result, a large refrigeration plant with a warehouse complex was developed in the area of Zabłocie. Manufacturing plants, warehouses, and service and repair facilities were modernized.

The other was to elevate the city as the capital of the General Government and the seat of its authorities



Fig. 3 Plan of Krakow with the Northern station, 1940-1942

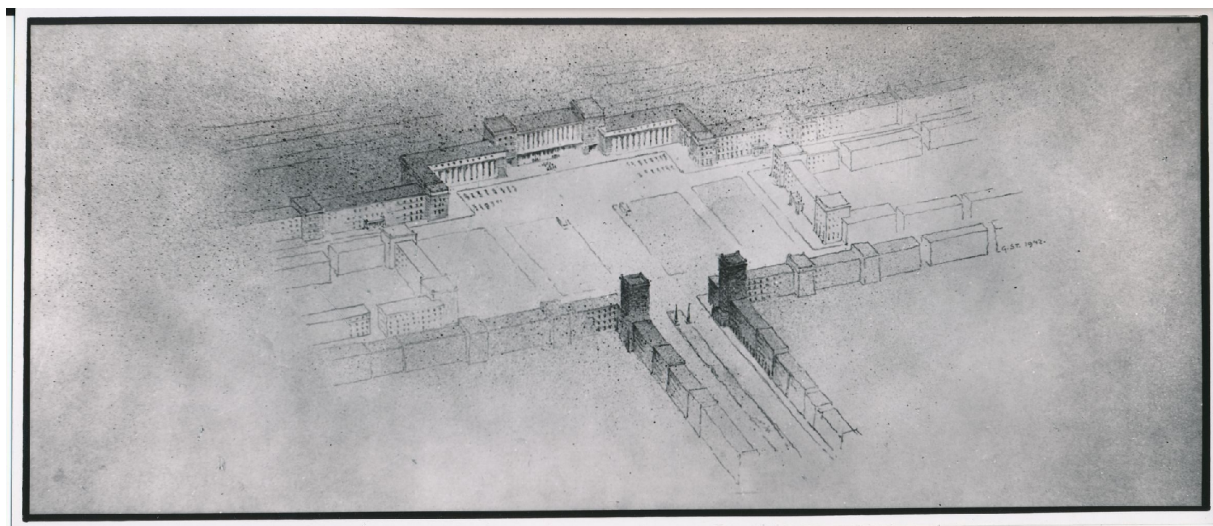


Fig. 4 Georg Stahl, Northern station, sketch, 1943

and extended German administrative network. First thing first, the city saw the demolition of the Adam Mickiewicz Monument in the Main Market Square, the Battle of Grunwald Memorial in plac Matejki, and the Tadeusz Kościuszko Monument on Wawel Hill.

Buildings around Wawel Hill were also demolished, German authorities wiping away the disjointed urban fabric at the foot of the castle. The Royal Wawel Castle also saw considerable change. In 1940, five million *złoty* was allocated from the municipal budget for the renovation purposes and sixty million for the makeover of the castle.⁵⁸ The municipal building office followed in the footsteps of the Polish prewar designers⁵⁹ in that it implemented a number of projects to improve transport, street maintenance, and road surfaces while providing arcades for pedestrians in ulica Grodzka [*Burgstrasse*] and Krakowska [*Krakauerstrasse*].⁶⁰ Subsequent German investment outlays were made to develop residential housing in the western part of the city, which saw the emergence of individual infill buildings as well as a coherent residential estate in ulica Królewska [*Reichstrasse*].

Architecture and urban planning projects were implemented at their most intense in 1941, when the German Reich was at the height of its powers. Protracted military operations, the breakdown of the Eastern Front, and looming defeat brought most of the construction projects to a halt. As a result, most of the undertakings for the development of monumental administrative buildings would never make it beyond the design stage. That said, the activity of German architects and urban planners left an indelible mark on the city.

Endnotes

1. International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. Record 1014-PS. 524; as cited in: Schenk 2009, Hans Frank, p. 44-46.
2. Madajczyk 1962, General Plan East, p. 4.
3. Schenk 2009, Hans Frank, p. 323. The quotation in English comes from David Irving's *Hitler's War*. David Irving, http://www.fpp.co.uk/books/Hitler/1977/html_chapter/34.html (18.07.2019).
4. Neumann 2009, *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism*, p. 176.
5. Chwalba 2002, *Dzieje Krakowa*, p. 41.
6. Rybicka 2002, *Instytut Niemieckiej Pracy Wschodniej*.
7. Purchla 2005, Hubert Ritter, p. 171.
8. "Der Osten Europas soll dem Deutschtum gewonnen werden. Eines der stärksten und am längsten anhaltenden Mittel wird dabei der Deutsche Städtebau sein." An excerpt from Ritter's letter, as cited in: Gutschow 2001, *Ordnungswahn*, p. 53. Unless indicated otherwise, original German quotations were translated into English by the translator (B.S.) based on the Polish translations provided by the author (Ż.K.).
9. Krakowski 1994, *Sztuka Trzeciej Rzeszy*.
10. Barucki 2017, *Architektura wojny 1939-1945*.
11. Gutschow/Klain 1995, *Urbanistyka Warszawy*.
12. Broński 1987, *Ruch budowlany w Krakowie*, p. 161-181.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
14. Gutschow 2001, *Ordnungswahn*, p. 51-53.
15. Purchla 2005, Hubert Ritter, p. 159-187; Purchla 2005, *Paradoksy*, p. 185-218.
16. Bednarek 2010, *Kraków czas okupacji 1939-1945*.
17. Bednarek 2017, *Okupanci. Niemcy w Krakowie*.
18. Ochędusko 2007, *Hitlerowska przebudowa*, p. 303-316.
19. Butelski 2012, *Architekt Zbigniew Kupiec*, p. 149-179.
20. Lulewicz 2016, *Architektura i budownictwo kolejowe*, p. 281-318.
21. Gwizdałówna 2011, *Wawel podczas okupacji niemieckiej*, p. 113-140; Gwizdałówna 2012, *Rzeźba w okupacyjnej architekturze Wawelu*, p. 159-166.
22. Zbroja 2010, *Nieznany portret Krakowa*, p. 298-301.
23. Holzschuh 2015, *Wien. Die Perle des Reiches*, p. 116-119.
24. Cohen 2011, *Architecture in Uniform*, p. 361.
25. Heinen 2014, *The Ordensburg Vogelsang*, p. 20.
26. Prag 1975, *Das Diensttagebuch*, p. 947.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 945.
28. Błońska 2014, *O Muzeum Narodowym w Krakowie*, p. 85-128.
29. Housed in plac Szczepański 5 [Stephansplatz], the institution was established in October 1940 on the initiative of Rudolf Pavlu. Julius Müller-Worgt was appointed its Managing Director. As cited in: Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie [State Archive in Kraków, hereinafter: ANK], Akta miasta Krakowa, Starosta Miasta Krakowa [Files of the City of Kraków, Starost of the City of Kraków, i.e., Der Stadthauptmann der Stadt Krakau, hereinafter: Stadthauptmann], item no. 115.
30. Wróblewski 1984, *Służba Budowlana*, p. 7.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
32. Archiwum Zamku Królewskiego na Wawelu [Archives of Wawel Royal Castle], AZK PZS-Ir-XVII/2/6.
33. Gwizdałówna 2011, *Wawel podczas okupacji niemieckiej*, p. 114.
34. Muzeum Architektury we Wrocławiu [Architecture Museum in Wrocław, hereinafter: MA], Kolekcja Architektury Międzywojennej, Rękopis tekstu Adolfa Szyszko-Bohusza pt. *Wawel pod okupacją niemiecką, wspomnienia z lat 1939-1945* [Interwar Architecture Collection. Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz's Manuscript "Wawel Hill under German Occupation. Memoirs 1939-1945"], item no. MAT IIIb-276/2, 08.1940.
35. Purchla 2005, Hubert Ritter, p. 163.
36. MA, Kolekcja Architektury Międzywojennej, Rękopis tekstu Adolfa Szyszko-Bohusza pt. *Wawel pod okupacją niemiecką, wspomnienia z lat 1939-1945* [Interwar Architecture Collection. Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz's Manuscript "Wawel Hill under German Occupation. Memoirs 1939-1945"], item no. MAT IIIb-276/2, 08.08.1940.
37. Purchla 2005, Hubert Ritter, p. 173.
38. Seibert 1983, *Plan Wielkiego Krakowa*, p. 20.
39. Purchla 2005, Hubert Ritter, p. 179.
40. *Ibid.*, Fig. 16-19.
41. Ritter 1993, *Biographische Skizze*, p. 14; Purchla 2005, Hubert Ritter, p. 171.
42. Purchla 2005, Hubert Ritter, p. 171; Gutschow 2001, *Ordnungswahn*, p. 51.
43. Purchla 2005, Hubert Ritter, p. 171.
44. *Stadt Krakau 1941*, p. 32.
45. ANK, Akta miasta Krakowa [Files of the City of Kraków], Stadthauptmann, item no. 5956.
46. ANK, Zbiór kartograficzny [Cartographic Collection], item no. Okupacja 1.
47. ANK, Akta miasta Krakowa [Files of the City of Kraków], Stadthauptmann, item no. 5956.
48. Gutschow 2001, *Ordnungswahn*, p. 53.
49. „Brennpunkt der deutschen Ostinteressen”, *Stadt Krakau 1941*, p. 1.
50. „(...) glanzvollen Kreis deutscher Städte eines neuen Europa”, Gutschow 2001, *Ordnungswahn*, p. 56.

51. Residential areas were divided into separate zones for German, Polish, and Jewish population. Cf. ANK, Zbiór kartograficzny [Cartographic Collection], item no. Okupacja 6.
52. Stadt Krakau 1941, p. 34.
53. Ibid., p. 35.
54. Ibid., p. 35.
55. Krakaus ausschließlich Deutsches Wohnviertel 1941, p. 2.
56. ANK, Archiwum Planów Budownictwa Miejskiego – Teki Architektury i Urbanistyki [Municipal Development Plans Archive; Architecture and Urban Planning Files], item no. 27, sheet 531, 532–533, 546, 567, 571, 574, 576, 582, 587, 589.
57. ANK, Akta miasta Krakowa [Files of the City of Kraków], Stadthauptmann, item no. 5958.
58. Szyszko-Bohusz 1957, Wawel pod okupacją niemiecką, p. 165.
59. Based on previous studies, including those by Krystian Seibert and Krzysztof Broński, Jacek Purchla demonstrates a continuity between German and Polish urban planning concepts. Cf. Purchla 2005, Hubert Ritter, p. 173.
60. Die Stadt Krakau 1942, p. 43.
- Gutschow/Klain 1995, Urbanistyka Warszawy
Niels Gutschow, Barbara Klain, *Urbanistyka Warszawy w latach 1939–1945 [Urban Planning in Warsaw 1939–1945]*, Frankfurt am Main 1995.
- Gutschow 2001, Ordnungswahn
Niels Gutschow, *Ordnungswahn. Architekten planen im "einge-deutschten Osten" 1939–1945*, Gütersloh et. al. 2001.
- Gwizdałówna 2011, Wawel podczas okupacji niemieckiej
Jadwiga Gwizdałówna, *Wawel podczas okupacji niemieckiej. Przemiany architektury. Echa architektury nazistowskiej [Wawel Hill under German Occupation. Evolving Architecture. The Echoes of Nazi Architecture]*, in: Rocznik Krakowski, 2011, p. 113–140.
- Gwizdałówna 2012, Rzeźba w okupacyjnej architekturze Wawelu
Jadwiga Gwizdałówna, *Rzeźba w okupacyjnej architekturze Wawelu 1939–1945 [Sculpture in the Architecture of German-occupied Wawel Hill]*, in: Rocznik Krakowski, 2012, p. 159–166.
- Heinen 2014, The Ordensburg Vogelsang
Franz Albert Heinen, *The Ordensburg Vogelsang: The History of the NS-Elite Training Centre in the Eifel*, Berlin 2014.
- Krakaus ausschließlich Deutsches Wohnviertel 1941
[No author] *Krakaus ausschließlich Deutsches Wohnviertel entsteht*, Krakauer Zeitung, 15/02/1941, p. 2.
- Krakowski 1994, Sztuka Trzeciej Rzeszy
Piotr Krakowski, *Sztuka Trzeciej Rzeszy [The Art of the Third Reich]*, Kraków 1994.
- Lulewicz 2016, Architektura i budownictwo kolejowe
Dominik Lulewicz, *Architektura i budownictwo kolejowe jako element „germanizacji” przestrzeni miejskiej Krakowa czasów okupacji niemieckiej [Railway Architecture and Construction as a Means for the Germanization of Kraków’s Urban Fabric under German Occupation]*, in: Piękne, Użyteczne, Zbędne... Obiekty kolejowe w Polsce [Beautiful, Useful, Obsolete... Railway Facilities in Poland], ed. Michał Kapias, Dawid Keller, Rybnik 2016, p. 281–318.
- Madajczyk 1962, General Plan East
Czesław Madajczyk, *General Plan East. Hitler’s Master Plan for Expansion*, in: Polish Western Affairs, Poznań, vol. III, No. 2, 1962, <http://www.worldfuturefund.org/wffmaster/Reading/GPO/gpoarticle.htm> (1.06.2019).
- Neumann 2009, Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism
Franz Neumann, *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism, 1933–1944*, Lanham 2009.
- Ochęduszek 2007, Hitlerowska przebudowa
Rafał Ochęduszek, *Hitlerowska przebudowa gmachu towarzystwa ubezpieczeniowego „Feniks” w Krakowie [Nazi Makeover of the „Feniks” Insurance Company Building in Kraków]*, in: Mecenat artystyczny a oblicze miasta], Conference Proceedings from 16. Nationwide Symposium of the Polish Art Historians’ Association 8th–10th November 2007], p. 303–316.
- Präg 1975, Das Diensttagebuch
Werner Präg, Wolfgang Jacobmeyer ed., *Das Diensttagebuch des Deutschen Generalgouverneurs in Polen 1939–1945*, Stuttgart 1975.
- Purchla 2005, Hubert Ritter
Jacek Purchla, *Hubert Ritter i hitlerowskie wizje Krakowa [Hubert Ritter and Nazi Visions for Kraków]*, in: Rocznik Krakowski, vol. LXXI, 2005, p. 159–187.
- Purchla 2005, Paradoksy stołeczności
Jacek Purchla, *Paradoksy stołeczności [Capital Cities and Their Paradoxes]*, in: Kraków i Norymberga w cywilizacji europejskiej. [Kraków and Nuremberg in the European Civilization], Conference
- Barucki 2017, Architektura wojny 1939–1945
Tadeusz Barucki, *Architektura wojny 1939–1945 [Architecture of War 1939–1945]*, SARP–Warszawa, http://sarp.warszawa.pl/sarp_wiedza/architektura-wojny-1939-1945/ (26.10.2017)
- Bednarek 2010, Kraków czas okupacji 1939–1945
Monika Bednarek, Edyta Gawron, Grzegorz Jeżowski, Barbara Zbroja, Katarzyna Zimerer ed., *Kraków czas okupacji 1939–1945 [Kraków under German Occupation 1939–1945]*, Kraków 2010.
- Bednarek 2017, Okupanci. Niemcy w Krakowie
Monika Bednarek, Katarzyna Zimerer ed., *Okupanci. Niemcy w Krakowie 1939–1945 [Invaders. Germans in Kraków: 1939–1945]*, Kraków 2017.
- Błońska 2014, O Muzeum Narodowym w Krakowie
Diana Błońska, *O Muzeum Narodowym w Krakowie w czasie drugiej wojny światowej [National Museum in Kraków During World War II]*, in: Klio. Czasopismo poświęcone dziejom Polski i powszechnym, vol. 28 No.1, 2014, p. 85–128.
- Bolanowski 2013, Architektura okupowanej Łodzi
Tomasz Bolanowski, *Architektura okupowanej Łodzi. Niemieckie plany przebudowy miasta. [Architecture of German-occupied Łódź. German Plans for the Redevelopment of the City]*, Łódź 2013.
- Broński 1987, Ruch budowlany w Krakowie
Krzysztof Broński, *Ruch budowlany w Krakowie pod okupacją hitlerowską [Building Initiatives in Nazi-occupied Kraków]*, in: Rocznik Krakowski, vol. LIII, 1987, p. 161–181.
- Butelski 2012, Architekt Zbigniew Kupiec
Kazimierz Butelski, *Architekt Zbigniew Kupiec 1905–1990. Ewolucja twórczości od modernizmu do regionalizmu [Architect’s Life: Zbigniew Kupiec 1905–1990. From Modernism to Regionalism]*, Kraków 2012.
- Cohen 2011, Architecture in Uniform
Jean-Louis Cohen, *Architecture in Uniform: Designing and Building for the Second World War*. Montreal 2011.
- Chwalba 2002, Dzieje Krakowa
Andrzej Chwalba, *Dzieje Krakowa. Kraków w latach 1939–1945 [History of Kraków 1939–1945]*, Kraków 2002.
- Dobesz 2005, Wrocławska architektura spod znaku swastyki
Janusz Dobesz, *Wrocławska architektura spod znaku swastyki na tle budownictwa III Rzeszy [Nazi Architecture in Wrocław and the Construction Industry in the Third Reich]*, Wrocław 2005 (2nd edition).

Proceedings, 6th–7th December 2004, ed. Jacek Purchla, Kraków 2005, p. 185–218.

Purchla 2016, Wawel – dziedzictwo kłopotliwe?
Jacek Purchla, *Wawel – dziedzictwo kłopotliwe? [Wawel Hill: Troublesome Heritage?]*, in: *Velis quod possis. Studia z historii sztuki ofiarowane Profesorowi Janowi Ostrowskiemu [Velis quod possis. Studies in Art History. A Tribute to Professor Jan Ostrowski]*, ed. Andrzej Betlej et al. Kraków 2016, p. 491–498.

Ritter 1993, Biographische Skizze
Hans Ritter, *Biographische Skizze zum Leben und Schaffen von Dr. Ing. Hubert Ritter*, in: *Hubert Ritter und die Baukunst der zwanziger Jahre in Leipzig, Dresden 1993*, p. 8–16.

Rybicka 2002, Instytut Niemieckiej Pracy Wschodniej
Anetta Rybicka, *Instytut Niemieckiej Pracy Wschodniej. Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit [Institute of German Work in the East. Der Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit] Kraków 1940–1945*, Warszawa 2002.

Schenk 2013, Krakauer Burg
Dieter Schenk, *Krakauer Burg. Wawel jako ośrodek władzy Generalnego Gubernatora Hansa Franka w latach 1939–1945 [Wawel Castle as Governor-General Hans Frank's Centre of Power 1939–1945]*, Kraków 2013, p. 44–46.

Schenk 2009, Hans Frank
Dieter Schenk, *Hans Frank. Biografia generalnego gubernatora [Hans Frank. General-Governor's Biography]*, Kraków 2009, 323.

Seibert 1983, Plan Wielkiego Krakowa
Krystian Seibert, *Plan Wielkiego Krakowa [Master Plan Kraków]*, Kraków 1983.

Stadt Krakau 1941
[No author] *Stadt Krakau. 26. Oktober 1939–1941*. Kraków 1941 [a mimeographed manuscript with a foreword by Rudolf Pavlu].

Die Stadt Krakau 1942
[No author] *Die Stadt Krakau im dritten Jahr deutschen Verwaltung*, Krakau 1942.

Szyszko-Bohusz 1957, Wawel pod okupacją niemiecką
Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz, *Wawel pod okupacją niemiecką [Wawel Hill under German Occupation]*, in: *Rocznik Krakowski*, vol. XXI, 1957, p. 153–182.

Urban 1942, Krakaus Adolf-Hitler Platz
Herbert Urban, *Krakaus Adolf-Hitler Platz zeigt wieder ein deutsches Stadtbild*, in: *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, No. 11, 1942, p. 108.

Holzschuh 2015, Wien. Die Perle des Reiches
Ingrid Holzschuh, Monika Platzer ed., *Wien. Die Perle des Reiches: Planen für Hitler*, Wien 2015.

Wróblewski 1984, Służba Budowlana
Mściśław Wróblewski, *Służba Budowlana (Baudienst) w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie 1940–1945 [Construction Service (Baudienst) in the General Government 1940–1945]*, Warszawa 1984.

Zbroja 2010, Nieznany portret Krakowa
Barbara Zbroja, Konrad Myślik, *Nieznany portret Krakowa [Unknown Image of Kraków]*, Kraków 2010, p. 298–301.

Illustrations

All: Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie [State Archive in Kraków]
1: Zbiór kartograficzny [Cartographic Collection], item no. Okupacja 8
2: Zbiór fotografii [Photography Collection], item no. 670/5943.
3: Zbiór fotografii [PhotographyCollection], item no. 670/5942.
4: Zbiór fotografii [Photography Collection], item no. 670/5923.

Summary

This article offers a summary of up to now research of german projects for Kraków as capital city of the General Government. The status of this administrative region was notably peculiar. The area was never annexed to the Great German Reich. Unlike the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, the General Government was never part of the German customs and monetary zone either. As such, it was considered a foreign territory. Out of all Polish territories which were either annexed to the Reich or occupied by it, the General Government experienced the most draconian colonial policies. Żanna Komar shows in what way those ideas, developed by Hans Frank as Generalgouverneur were put into effect by german architects and which offices of local authorities were responsible for planning initiatives.

Author

Żanna Komar, PhD, is an art and architecture historian and an alumna of the Institute of Art History of the Catholic University of Lublin. Her research interests are focused on the history of architecture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the biographies of unknown architects from Galicia and eastern borderlands of Poland (most notably in Lwów and Stanisławów, or today's Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk), and the preservation of cultural heritage. She has published a number of articles and reviews in Ukrainian, Polish, and Austrian press. In 2008, Komar published *Trzecie miasto Galicji. Stanisławów i jego architektura w okresie autonomii galicyjskiej* [Third Largest City in Galicia. Stanisławów and its Architecture in Autonomous Galicia]. She works at the Institute of European Heritage of the International Cultural Centre in Kraków, Poland.

Title

Żanna Komar, *Architecture in German-Occupied Kraków. Selected Research Problems*, in: *kunsttexte.de/ostblick*, No. 3, 2019 (11 Seiten), www.kunsttexte.de/ostblick.

(Translated by Bartosz Sowiński)