

Wojciech Szymański

Vernacularism, Lesser Poland's Heimat, and Auxiliary Sciences in the Study of Architecture for the Third Reich

How did you translate Heimat?

Heimat is an untranslatable word.

And does the concept even exist?

It's a human fabrication: an illusion.

Paul Celan in conversation with Jean Daive¹

Essentially, the article provides methodological suggestions for the study of architecture for the Third Reich in the General Government. However, it also offers an interpretation of the phenomenon. These suggestions are very much present in the title, which brings together four different terms that are key for understanding my investigations. These terms are: vernacularism, Lesser Poland's *Heimat*, auxiliary sciences, and architecture for the Third Reich.

Naturally, vernacularism, or vernacular architecture, is hardly a new thing for the study of Nazi architecture and the architecture of the Third Reich (or in the Third Reich).² The term recurs in considerations on "indigenous styles" such as the *Heimatstil* and *Heimatschutzstil*. My understanding of vernacularism is rather conventional: it is a style of architecture that engages in a peculiar dialogue with its pre-existing geographical and historical setting and is embroiled, as it were, in both geopoetics and geopolitics.³ While the very definition of vernacularism encapsulates its geopolitical potential, the vernacular designs of individual buildings or building complexes draw upon the traditions of local and regional architecture and deploy a wide array of forms that are historically fitting for particular regions. As such, vernacularism is a performance work in which particular places with their space and history are exposed to different policies and ideologies.

This ostensibly straightforward definition of vernacularism as a type of regionalism offers intriguing implications for the study of the architecture of the Third Reich. One question frequently reappears: what does it mean that the *Heimatstil* and *Heimatschutzstil*,

which happen to recur in the studies on the architecture of the Third Reich, are types of vernacular architecture? Surely, both the *Heimatstil* and *Heimatschutzstil*, by their very definition, are types of indigenous architecture. That said, the *Heimatstil*, as the late embodiment of historicist architecture, may be described as a type of vernacular architecture whose form and repertoire depend on its local, that is, regional, setting and its geopoetics. Admittedly, the *Heimatschutzstil*, too, draws on indigenous and traditional qualities, regionalism, and building techniques deriving from folk traditions and peasant crafts: elements such as high-pitched and tiled gable or hip roofs, wattle-and-daub walls, and their modern re-statements, etc., the use of which is grounded both in history and available materials.⁴ Nevertheless, it is still more of a universal and pan-German architectural style in that it disregards both its local and regional setting. In contrast to the vernacular indigenous style (*Heimatstil*), the *Heimatschutzstil* seems to use a narrow and codified array of "indigenous" means, which in fact are imagined rather than real and based on traditional materials (timber, bricks, and tiles) and elements (high-pitched and mansard roofs or mullion windows). The *Heimatschutzstil* is similar to the monumental Neoclassicism of the Third Reich in that it ignores its surroundings. The *Heimatstil* acts to the contrary: it engages in a vernacular dialogue with a place and its history. In other words, while there is only one *Heimatschutzstil*, it is useful to identify different types of *Heimatstils* insofar as they may be described in vernacular terms.

I am now moving on to the second issue mentioned in the title: did Lesser Poland's *Heimat* ever exist? If so, it did primarily exist as a space subservient to Nazi ideology, a place imagined and discursive rather than real. The resulting question is this: were there attempts at creating and using indigenous regional architecture (the *Heimatstil*)?

This question is very much relevant given the differences between the vernacular *Heimatstil* and the universal *Heimatschutzstil*, and the equally universal Neoclassicism. It also brings out the term *Heimat* in its ambiguity and idiosyncrasy, the notion of the little homeland, serving as the ultimate expression of one's attitude to a place. For *Heimat* is not so much Fatherland but "little fatherland," or even patrimony, and its geopoetics tends to be defined as the privatization of space in a particular region. In subsequent sections of the article I will try to examine this attitude to Lesser Poland in its historic range;⁵ I will also try to demonstrate how the attitude is reflected in the discourse of architecture and on architecture.

The third issue from the title is that of the auxiliary sciences, which can play a rather helpful role in the examination of the architecture that was designed and built in the General Government. Auxiliary sciences are in fact vital for such studies. One reason for this is that few, if any, urban planning schemes or architectural designs or their respective general concepts, let alone completed buildings, have survived in the historic range of Lesser Poland in the General Government. The five years of German occupation and Nazi rule in the area⁶ proved too short, quite felicitously, for the full realization of Nazi genocide policies, which heavily shaped the spatial planning and architecture of the time.

Essentially, larger surviving construction projects were executed in Kraków (the capital of the General Government) and its closest surroundings, which were incorporated into the city by its Nazi-German authorities.⁷ These projects included the conversion of the Royal Wawel Castle and selected buildings in the city centre for new purposes,⁸ as well as the provision of pedestrian arcades and the construction of a housing estate. Designed by the General Government's Department of Building, the estate was to comprise ca. 100 buildings as part of a German residential area and was partially completed near the then *Reichstrasse* (today's ulica Królewska).⁹ Hubert Ritter's architecture and urban planning designs have also survived. This Leipzig-based architect envisaged the construction of a monumental government quarter in the area of Błonie Commons and Dębniaki. Similar designs, also Neoclassical in style, had been offered for metropolit-

an areas in the Third Reich.¹⁰ Designs and buildings for numerous Nazi-German labour and extermination camps in the General Government as well as styleless military buildings such as bunkers, shelters, air raid trenches, antitank barriers, and water reservoirs are a whole separate issue. The rural areas or smaller towns and cities in the historic range of Lesser Poland that was incorporated into the General Government offer only a fraction of what Kraków possesses in terms of extended designs and buildings surviving from the time. Therefore, I have no other choice but to rely on auxiliary sciences when offering hypotheses on the architecture of the time, most notably on the indigenous style of Lesser Poland. These auxiliary sciences include ethnography and the history of ethnography, as well as literary studies and literary history.

Let me move on to the fourth issue from the title, namely, "architecture for the Third Reich." The concept is a common-sensical one, albeit rarely addressed in the study of the Nazi architecture of the Third Reich or in the Third Reich.¹¹ The term *Architecture for the Third Reich* differs from that of *Architecture (in) the Third Reich* or *Nazi Architecture* in that it furnishes a particular understanding of architecture from the time of the German occupation in the General Government (1939–1945). The concept was formulated to avoid controversy, terminological inaccuracies, or interpretative problems which are caused by commonly-used and competing terms such as the *Architecture of the Third Reich (or in the Third Reich)* and *Nazi architecture*. My contention is that as a term "architecture for the Third Reich" is more relevant and useful than the other two. Firstly, the General Government was never formally annexed to the Third Reich, as had been the case with other Polish territories such Pomerania, Upper Silesia, Greater Poland and the area of Łódź/Litzmannstadt, as well as stretches of Mazovia and Kuyavia. Insofar as "the architecture of the Third Reich" is perfectly apt for areas such as Poznań/Posen and the vicinity, it is slightly inaccurate to use the term for cities such as Kraków. Secondly, Nazi architecture is not only ambiguous but also emotionally charged to the extreme. It was not only the Nazis who designed and developed buildings in the General Government while many people were used as forced labour in these projects. Additionally, contem-



Fig. 1 German housing estate at Królewska Street in Kraków, present-day-view

porary users of these buildings often fail to view them as Nazi architecture or dissonant heritage. Given the above, my contention is that architecture for the Third Reich should be adopted as a term to describe these phenomena. The term encapsulates the ancillary role of architecture in the policies of the Third Reich and its entanglement with ideology. From the geopolitical and geopoetical point of view, it also offers more accuracy than its alternative historical and spatial terms.

Urban planning schemes implemented in Kraków as the capital of the General Government may serve

as a testimony to the vernacular character of architecture for the Third Reich in the General Government; they also demonstrate how local building traditions were consciously used by architects and urban planners. One case in point is the residential building complex in today's ulica Królewska [*Reichsstrasse*]. The other is what we know as Przegorzały Castle, located in the area incorporated into Kraków in 1941. Both designs make conscious and consistent use of Kraków's local architectural vocabulary.



Fig. 2 Curate's House near St. Mary's Church in Kraków. In the foreground Prelate's House with stone buttresses, characteristic of old Kraków, present-day-view



Fig. 3 View of the villa of Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz in Przegorzały in the 1930s, on the right the garage building is visible, Aero-photography by Photo-Platoon of the 2nd. Air Regiment



Fig. 4 Przegorzały Castle, designed by Richard Pfob, Hans Petermair in collaboration with Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz, Photo: 2018

What is known as the German estate in ulica Królewska was developed from 1941–1943, and it comprised both detached buildings and compact building patterns (Fig. 1).¹² As rightly pointed out by Kamila Twardowska, the estate was designed using centralized master plans; however, it was adjusted to Kraków's local setting by a team of more than ten locally-based architects under the supervision of Zbigniew Kupiec, who had been a well-known figure in the world of Polish interwar architecture.¹³ The German estate may thus be described as an intriguing battlefield of universal and vernacular forces. Admittedly, master plans were centrally approved with little concern for their local setting. However, as demonstrated by Kraków's German estate, they could be adjusted to their surroundings both in their stylistics and style. As such, the German estate in ul. Królewska showcases the universal (pan-German) in a vernacular disguise, which in turn reveals certain characteristics of what I would call Lesser Poland's *Heimat*.

As it may be concluded from similar plans for the annexed or occupied territories,¹⁴ general and top-down guidelines in the zoning plans mentioned by Twardowska probably focused mainly on cubic capacity, functional floor plans in particular buildings, the general arrangement of the buildings as part of the estate, and traditional building materials, roof types, etc. which are the quintessential characteristics of the *Heimatschutzstil*. Kraków-based architects added vernacular components to bring out the local character of the design. These included Pińczów limestone, which is probably one of the most defining building materials chosen for monumental sacred and defensive architecture and showpiece town houses and palaces in the Old Town of Kraków; and intervisual architectural citations, the most prominent of which were buttresses and counterforts at the houses' corners, intended as a throwback to the mediaeval and early modern residential houses and palaces of historic Kraków (Fig. 2).¹⁵

Similar procedures were used in what we know as Przegorzały Castle and a free-standing watchtower and garage building nearby (Fig. 3). The most monumental of all Nazi buildings developed in Kraków, the mediaevalist castle was erected from 1941–1943, concurrently with the residential complex in ulica



Fig. 5 Interior of the Przegorzały Castle, 2017 view of the ground floor

Królewska. The castle's design was offered by Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz and two Austrian architects Richard Pfohb and Hans Petermair, with whom Szyszko-Bohusz was coerced to collaborate (Fig. 4).¹⁶ The castle was erected in Szyszko-Bohusz's former estate, in the immediate vicinity of his suburban villa, which had been developed from 1924–1926. Redolent of a mediaeval castle keep, the villa and the surrounding area were requisitioned by the Nazis as a future residence for the General Governor Hans Frank. Initially, Szyszko-Bohusz's home was converted into a summer residence for the Governor of the District of Kraków Otto von Wächter.¹⁷ When he was transferred to the Galicia District in 1942, the house became Hans Frank's property, and a year later in 1943, it was presented to Heinrich Himmler, who recommended the location as a future sanatorium for SS soldiers.

Michał Wiśniewski recounts: "the new owner decided to extend the complex by adding a free-standing building to the villa. The Schloss Wartenberg design was developed in 1941 [...]. The design was similar to prewar extension plans for the villa, and it provided for the development of a three-storey structure to be inserted along the arched profile of the hilltop which extended to the east of the building. The ground floor of the building cuts into sloping terrain, the projected space creating a terrace supported by stone arcades. The building is covered with a high-pitched roof with dorm windows. The building was intended to tower above the River Vistula's escarpment

while bringing to mind German architecture, e.g. castles on the Rhine."¹⁸

Admittedly, the extension of the complex proved to be a success in that the mediaeval-like structure has dominated the landscape of this particular stretch of the River Vistula. As a result, today's residents of Przegorzały live in the shadow of Schloss Wartenberg. However, Wiśniewski's account is intriguing for a completely different reason: he argues that the building which followed a prewar design by Szyszko-Bohusz was there to produce a semblance of the Rhineland. The implication for the indigenous landscape of Lesser Poland would be that it had to undergo a Germanization process in order to imitate the Rhineland. This is because the local version of Germanhood could not be distilled from the geopoetics of Lesser Poland. The landscape of Lesser Poland, both natural and cultural, including its cityscape, was in fact exposed to Germanization processes. That said, these processes were different than those hinted at by Wiśniewski. First, castles perched on the rocks in river valleys may be found in places other than the Rhineland. Second, Wiśniewski fails to provide any of the castles on the Rhine as a model or paradigm for the intervisual allusions inherent in the Przegorzały design. His claim is more akin to wishful thinking. It is true that the landscape of Przegorzały was exposed to Germanization processes, as it were, but it was Germanized using the local vernacular tradition. This produced a semblance of Lesser Poland's *Heimat* rather than that of the Rhineland.

In Przegorzały Castle and the adjacent watchtower, the local tradition is apparent in the use of intervisual components which derive from Kraków's geopoetics, as it were. One such component is the watchtower's stonework, which is the same as in Szyszko-Bohusz's pseudo-Romanesque villa and modelled on the early Romanesque buildings to be found in Wawel Hill. Admittedly, the watchtower was built before the war, but it must have been extended under Nazi rule. The other component is the castle's ground floor, which follows a prewar design by Szyszko-Bohusz. Its three-nave structure has a groin vault, its intersecting arches supported on the pillars (Fig. 5). As such, its spatial arrangement is almost identical with that of



Fig. 6 St. Leonard's Crypt under the Wawel Cathedral, Present-day view

Romanesque St. Leonard's Crypt under the Wawel Cathedral (Fig. 6). The arrangement, too, was provided by Szysko-Bohusz roughly around the same time as he worked on the extension design for his suburban villa at Przegorzały.

Arguably, Wawel and quasi-Wawel citations are hardly a surprise in the legacy of Szysko Bohusz. Firstly, they feature in his other designs and buildings. Secondly Szysko-Bohusz was known to be a long-standing supervisor of the restoration work in Wawel Hill before the war;¹⁹ from 1937–1938 he was directly in charge of the conservation of St Leonard's Crypt, including the reinforced concrete structure of the vault and stone arches.²⁰

Returning to the problem I raised earlier, namely, the contextual characteristics of vernacularism which are shaped by evolving politics and ideology, the same component parts and syllables of the regional language of architecture may mean something different when used by different people and for different purposes. One is tempted to paraphrase Ludwig Wittgenstein: the meaning of a language is its use.²¹ Accordingly, the same set of components, when used by Szysko-Bohusz in the 1920s and 1930s, attested to the continuity of the local architectural tradition of Kraków and produced an indigenous Polish cityscape. Under Nazi rule, these components were in turn deployed as a local yet originally Germanic testimony to the German heritage of Lesser Poland. As such, the local variant of the late indigenous style from the inter-war period transmogrified into the German *Heimatstil*, which was subservient to Nazi ideology and a useful tool in the hands of the Third Reich.²² When filtered

through Nazi ideology, the Polish and the homely revealed its indigenous German qualities, which was suggestive of Lesser Poland's *Heimat*.

The German past of Kraków was allegedly present not only in the Romanesque relics, which were hailed as the Ottonian legacy, but also in the Gothic art and architecture of the city. I am not going to address the issue in detail, as it has been discussed many times in detail.²³ This approach to the architectural heritage of Kraków is best seen in the following excerpt from the Beadecker guide to the General Government (published in 1943 in Leipzig): "It is now easier to access the remote and dispersed wonders of nature as well as countless yet forgotten testimonies to the pioneering efforts of Old German cultural work, most notably the works of architecture."²⁴ Also: "Kraków's townscape reveals the city in its very German qualities. [...] The history of Kraków offers the most distinct and varied mirror reflection of the German creative effort in the East."²⁵

The sections above seem to provide a convincing account of the Nazi use of Kraków's local architectural tradition for the development of the city's unique *Heimatstil*. That said, the rural areas and smaller towns and cities of the General Government within the historic range of Lesser Poland are yet to be described in detail. The General Government's hinterland saw no spectacular architectural projects such as the ones completed in Kraków: the planning schemes have been poorly preserved, and archive collections on projects that never went beyond the design stage are either scarce or yet to be discovered. As such, they allow no synthetic conclusions to be drawn regarding the *Heimatstil* in Lesser Poland's towns and rural areas. Therefore, auxiliary sciences, ethnography and literary studies, which elucidate a number of rather intriguing phenomena, may be of great assistance to the study of the General Government's hinterland. These phenomena may not be able to create a panoramic image of the future indigenous hinterland, yet they can nevertheless furnish a perfect context for the study of its architecture.

The examination of Nazi ethnographic discourse in the General Government and its manifestations, such as exhibitions, reveals a number of historic moments which - had they been harnessed by Nazi propaganda

– would have served as suitable points of reference for the discourse of architecture and urban planning promoting the indigenous *Heimat* of Lesser Poland. Sabine Arend addresses this context in her description of the exhibition *The Old German Art of Kraków and Karpathenland*, which was held in 1942. According to the exhibition's programme, art history "was [...] to serve as a testimony to German artistic activity in the former German master province [...] and bring to light the interconnections between the region, the German motherland, and its offshoots such as the German element in the Carpathians."²⁶ Arend also asserts that "a hypothesis was made whereby 'historic settlers' and 'ethnic tribes' who had settled on the other side of the Carpathians were in fact 'German' colonists. This in turn created a new 'German' cultural area: 'The Land of the Carpathians' (*Karpathenland*)."²⁷

Dieter Schenk in turn elucidates on the exhibition *The Legacy of Germanic Peoples in the Vistula Basin*, which was launched in Kraków on 12th September 1941. The exhibition harnessed history, archaeology, and ethnography to demonstrate the eternal German presence in the territories incorporated into the General Government. As such, it set out an allegedly scientific proof for the German claims to the area. The launch of the exhibition was attended by Hans Frank, who also delivered a speech in which he addressed the principles of Nazi geopoetics: "It is not Germans but non-Germans who are strangers in this country. The Germanic people are the largest people in this territory. We can easily prove this, which is why we can also ask the following question: Poland, what are your achievements from this period? What ancient wonders have survived under Polish rule? What? Where? How? The answer is none. Nothing! The Germanic people have a heartfelt attachment with this land and have always been determined to stay here. Throughout history, this area had been under Germanic reign long before one could even conceive of what is now called Polishness and its origins."²⁸

The speech, which followed the "blood and soil" (*Blut und Boden*) ideology, not only conceptualized Lesser Poland as an innately German *Heimat*, but it also became a telling manifestation of Nazi ideology turned history and ethnography. Such manifestations

proliferated at the Institute of German Work in the East [*Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit*, hereinafter: IDO], which Hans Frank had set up in 1940 as a future basis for the Nicolaus Copernicus German University of Kraków. The research institute comprised several sections responsible for ancient history, history, art history, race studies, and ethnic studies; it also had a library, archive collections, and a colossal and still growing photographic collection. Its German and Austrian ethnographers performed anthropological field work in the area of race and ethnic studies. The projects they completed were intended to reinforce and substantiate claims to the German presence in the East. Their findings were deliberately used for the purpose of the Germanization and re-Germanization of Lesser Poland's local landscape and population.

The researchers chiefly focused on the area of Podhale and Lemkivshchyna. In her account of the Austrian ethnologist and anthropologist Anton Adolf Plügl during his stint at the IDO, Lisa Gottschall notes that the Nazis, as they strove to find German blood in the East, tried to establish if the Gorals were prone to Germanization. This would have supported the thesis on the German origins of Lesser Poland; it would also have secured large human reserves for the Wehrmacht.²⁹ The Section for Regional and Cultural Studies [*Sektion Landeskunde*] in turn collected the photographs of the buildings in the towns and rural areas of southern Lesser Poland. Its surviving collection of glass positives boasts the photographic records of brick buildings in Gołkowice Niemieckie [*Deutsch Golkowitz*] near Nowy Sącz,³⁰ cottages in the village of Biały Dunajec in Podhale,³¹ and timber residential buildings and outhouses in Haczów [*Hanshau*] near Krosno.³² These spots were selected on purpose (more on the subject below). Their local population exposed to ethnological and anthropological studies, the places were chosen and photographed as representative of one idea, namely *Volkstum* (the people): a term which was formed and entered German usage under Nazi rule. According to Gretchen E. Schafft, this kind of study called for "the identification of the homogeneous groups of people and the definition of their ethnic identity. Thus, ethnic studies were likely to facilitate political decisions concerning these groups."³³ Newly coined, the term *Volkstum* entered

the malleable vocabulary of *Lingua Tertii Imperii* (LTI)³⁴ and became a useful tool at the hands of the IDO functionaries. Accordingly, the Institute provided patronage for the exhibition *The German People in the General Government*. Held in August 1944 in Kraków, immediately before the IDO's evacuation from the city, the display showcased folk art exhibits, including folk outfits from the Museum of Sanok, Haczów embroidery, mob-caps from Jasło, guild books from Brzozów, and Gothic carvings.³⁵

Nazi ethnic studies [*Volkstumsforschungen*] at the IDO continued the prewar tradition of Polish and German ethnography. However, their purpose was to create a brand new geopoetics for Lesser Poland. I would venture to say that the IDO researchers were particularly focused on two stages in the German colonization of Lesser Poland and their respective cultural relics. The first stage overlapped with late mediaeval colonization, which attracted Polish researchers and German ethnographers such as Kurt Lück.³⁶ The second stage covered Emperor Joseph's colonization. The settlement action carried out by the Austrian Emperor Joseph II in the latter part of the 18th century involved the Nowy Sącz region and the area of Markowa in Podkarpacie. Researchers exploring the former focused on Haczów; those interested in the latter studied Gołkowice, which was founded in the 18th century.

Obviously, IDO's ethnographic and pseudo-ethnographic investigations into the folk architecture of Lesser Poland are not tantamount to the postulated future programme for the make-over of architecture and urban planning in the General Government. More importantly, however, these investigations reveal a policy whereby German homeliness was sought in Lesser Poland, the area that German invaders poorly understood and were rather unfamiliar with. Arguably, this balancing act, which reconciled art history, ethnography and history, is indicative of the efforts at creating Lesser Poland's *Heimat*. Obviously, it is still open for debate whether the IDO researchers derived inspiration for Lesser Poland's *Heimatstil* from the vernacular folk architecture of Lesser Poland and which features were actually used in new buildings that were developed in the region; however, this inspiration is quite likely given the intense, meticulous and diverse

studies and documentary activities in the region. The fact that the Nazis tried to use Haczów's architectural heritage for propaganda purposes is a case in point. The interface of wartime ethnography and literary history, too, reveals an intriguing dynamic that may have given rise to Lesser Poland's *Heimatstil*.

Located in the vicinity of Brzozów and Krosno, Haczów still boasts the UNESCO listed late Gothic timber Church of Our Lady and St Michael the Archangel. Erected in the latter part of the 15th century, this log-frame building is also Europe's largest Gothic timber church. The celebrated structure as well as the entire village heavily attracted Nazi wartime propaganda, which brought together the discourse of ethnography with that of architecture. As a result, a small village of Haczów became the target of Action Hatschower (a German name for the resident of Haczów), which was carried out under Nazi rule. The rationale for the re-Germanization of the Brzozów District in its prewar range was provided by scientific and pseudo-scientific ethnic studies. The main focus of the action was on Haczów, the operation deriving its name from the German appellation of its residents. The action, which was soon to expand into other areas in the Podkarpacie region, was corroborated by these ethnic studies, including that of Kurt Lück. The goal of the operation was not only to discover the relics of German colonization in the East (the church in Haczów being one of its prime examples), but also to bring the revival of German national consciousness among the descendants of the German colonists who had arrived in the area in the Middle Ages.

The ethnographic group of *Gluchoniemcy* [*Taubdeutsche, Walddeutsche*], who inhabited the Jasielsko-Sanockie Pits (the area stretching between the Wisłoka and San Rivers) and allegedly descended from mediaeval German colonists, was well described in literature. They had already attracted interest from Polish historians and ethnographers in the 19th century. Joachim Lelewel, Wincenty Pol, Oskar Kolberg, and others³⁷ described *Gluchoniemcy's* distinct customs and language; they also provided the factual accounts of *Gluchoniemcy's* gradual Polonization and the disappearance of their distinct traditions back in the 18th century. One vestige of *Gluchoniemcy's* presence concerned their names, these being German in

origin and typical of the area. German ethnography, which had been expressive of nationalistic attitudes already in the 1930s, harnessed the notions of folklore [*Volkstum*] and farming culture [*Bauernkultur*]. Although it rediscovered the *Głuchoniemcy* during the German occupation of Poland and tried to investigate their traditions, it primarily served the particularistic interests of the Third Reich.

Inconspicuous yet incredibly interesting, a propaganda book called *Zew przodków* [Call of the Ancestors] casts new light on this action and its propaganda goals, as well as the formation of Lesser Poland's *Heimat* and the new German man as a master of the area. This pseudo-historical young adult Bildungsroman was published in 1944 in Kraków by Hauptabteilung Propaganda. As pointed out by Krzysztof Woźniakowski, the author of this one single, and only, Polish literary expression of *Blut and Boden* ideology and Nazi falsification of history is still anonymous.³⁸ The book was published under an extremely telling *nom de plume*: Emil Haczowski.

Whoever produced this manifestation of Nazi propaganda, he or she must have been proficient at compiling Polish literary *topoi*. Turned inside out, these *topoi* were intended to attract a Polish audience as its implied readers (those familiar with Polish literature, its traditions and geopoetics). The tale has an innocuous beginning: Karolek, still in his teens, leaves Kraków for summer vacation at his uncle's Franciszek, a village history teacher. The story is set in the Krosno District, in a fictional village of Furmany, immersed in the pastoral landscape of the Podkarpacie region. This naturally triggers two typically Polish literary *topoi*: Jan Kochanowski's pastoral common place of "wsi spokojna, wsi wesola" [O, country! Bless'd thy virtues, bless'd thy bounty!]³⁹ and the arch-Polish epic poem *Pan Tadeusz* by Adam Mickiewicz.⁴⁰ These two Polish literary classics serve as a paradigmatic hypotext for what Gérard Genette calls the novel's hypertext.⁴¹

Karolek is a young boy, his identity yet to be defined. Admittedly, "in Geography class, he learned about the people called *Głuchoniemcy*, who live in a stretch of land between the San and Wisłok Rivers. [...] A story has it that after the Mongol invasions, they were brought to this country to set up towns and villages according to German laws and German models.

[...] Allegedly, their descendants forgot the German language and are now Polish to the very core."⁴² Karolek even asked his teacher "how on earth can someone be Polish if their descendants are German?"⁴³ The teacher replied that "the *Głuchoniemcy* merged with the Poles and their culture, and whoever adopts the Polish language, Polish culture and Polish attitudes becomes Polish."⁴⁴ Essentialistic in his views, Karolek is far from satisfied with this constructivist account for the origins of the nations. "He might be only sixteen, but he has a mind of his own. Suppose his teacher was right, a Polish-speaking Jew would also be Polish. 'A fine countryman,' says Karolek and spits contemptuously through the window. No way, there must be Polish blood in your veins for you to be Polish."⁴⁵

The events that follow are quite easy to predict, the plot reaching the climax when Karolek, previously indoctrinated by the interwar Polish school, discovers his newly prescribed national identity. The final pages of the novel envision "the imminent arrival of swastika-emblazoned banners in the *Głuchoniemcy* community, the hearts of young and old burning with love and adoration for Adolf Hitler."⁴⁶ "There'll come a time for the *Głuchoniemcy* to stand as one man and follow Adolf Hitler as an invincible army of the German national community."⁴⁷ The protagonist experiences something of a dramatic metamorphosis. "Which 'camp' am I in? Do I belong to the nation of my language? The people I hitherto loved so greatly? Suppose I never disown these people, it's like stealing their national identity. [...] Can I then take German identity as my own? One must truly love his nation. But how am I to love something I don't know?"⁴⁸ asks Karolek. His wise uncle dispels all his doubts in reply: "Your words are written with your forefathers' blood, by the German conscience. You're honest with yourself, which is a defining German characteristic."⁴⁹

That said, the study of architecture focuses more on the time between "the return of the young master" and "the birth of Conrad"⁵⁰ rather than the identity dilemmas of the protagonist and his inner metamorphosis. Haczowski's (pseudo)historical novel offers a frame narrative whereby Karolek and his imagination take readers to the times of mediaeval German colonization. As it recreates the geopolitics of Lesser Po-

land, this dreamlike story within a story furnishes a number of intriguing remarks on Lesser Poland's *Heimatstil*. Redundant for the plot and the world depicted in the novel, they nonetheless add a discursive layer that draw on ethnography, art history, archaeology, and architecture.

The dreamlike account imitates historical novels in that it tells the tale of the plucky Matys Fuhrmann (the story, mind you, is set in the village of Furmany), a German colonist hailing from Neurode (today's Nowa Ruda) in Kłodzko Land. In the latter part of the 13th century, Matys leaves his old haunts to colonize the East, and he eventually arrives in the area of today's Podkarpacie. A group of travellers embark on a formidable journey. Yet, they are fortunate enough to meet the Germans on their way to the East: in Silesia, Kraków, and Groß Salze (Wieliczka).⁵¹ When in Kraków, they come across the Mayor of Nysa (German *Neiße*), Jakub, almost their compatriot, whose parlance is very much like that of Hans Frank: "I took a liking to Kraków, which is the queen of the German cities in the East and a harbinger and herald of the Reich. [...] For Kraków to flourish and thrive, the German plough has to till the land to the South, the North, and the East."⁵² This intended anachronism, whereby mediaeval figures are prone to Nazi thinking and phraseology, is rather intriguing; it attributes Nazism with long history, the characters in the novel mouthing Nazi slogans, most notably the Mayor of Nysa, who speaks as if he were Hans Frank incarnate.

The novel turns Third Reich ideology into actual history. The same happens to discourse on architecture. Based on the findings of Nazi-infiltrated archaeology, art history, history, and ethnography, the accounts of the planting of villages and the depictions of Lesser Poland's townscapes were designed to substantiate their German origins. More importantly, however, they may also have served as a model for contemporary architecture in Lesser Poland's *Heimat*. Through this lens, each and every settlement with German law and each and every colonist who had left Silesia for Lesser Poland in the Middle Ages attested to the Germanhood of its local landscape.

Surprisingly, this historical young adult novel provides quite a lot of information on architecture. As it depicts the planting of villages, the story may serve

as a recipe for a model Nazi-German settlement in the East in the 1940s. "River banks shall be planted with thickets to protect land against flooding. The houses shall be facing the road, each house thirty steps away from the road. The women shall plant gardens in front of the houses."⁵³ "The village square shall be located at the upper end of the village. The colonists were to settle around the square."⁵⁴ The buildings are described thus: "Houses were made up of two chambers. Women and boys carried clay to lay the floors in the chambers. [...] 'These houses will have to do for a start! When we clear more land, we will finally build the houses we used to have in Neurode.'"⁵⁵

The excerpt proves to be extremely intriguing in the context of Lesser Poland's indigenous style, which may have served as a disguise for "architecture for the Third Reich." This is true, says Haczowski: Lesser Poland indeed boasts its own vernacular architecture. Apart from Kraków, however, this type of architecture is influenced by the local architecture of Silesia and Kłodzko Land. In this light, the historic and vernacular architecture of Lesser Poland's towns and villages becomes a useful tool in the Nazi plans and designs for the remaking of the region. Additionally, its particular forms may be accounted for by Silesia's vernacular architecture, which turns out to be representative of the whole of Germany. As such, the particular *Heimatstil* again dissolves in the universal *Heimatschutzstil*. As a result, historic regional architecture not only attests to the particular differences between the regions, but also embodies a certain nationwide principle and its peculiar verse metre. In other words, vernacular architecture could also be perceived as universal. Uncle Franciszek follows this line of reasoning as he utters the following maxim: "I once told you that each and every nation has its spirit and its art. Look at our towns, be it Nowy Sącz, Sanok, Jasło or our Krosno. Mediaeval towns in Germany look exactly the same. Our villagers still build their houses in the Franconian style."⁵⁶

It is also fitting to ask: what characteristics of "our" towns, most notably Krosno, the uncle Franciszek had in mind? What peculiarities make them look like mediaeval German cities even if they barely look like mediaeval German cities? As demonstrated by the Nazi developed geopoetics of Kraków, these peculiarities

were cherry-picked from the local architectural and cultural heritage. This daring point is perfectly illustrated by the designs of German flyers featuring the image of the Krakowska Gate in Lublin (published to celebrate the sixth centenary of Lublin as a German city). In “our” Krosno, the German qualities of the city were best exemplified by two Gothic churches and arcaded houses at two frontages of the Market Square. The German authorities had a large number of buildings knocked through to provide pedestrian arcades in Kraków’s Old Town. The same feature could also be found in Nazi designs for a new centre of the town in Oświęcim/Auschwitz. By all accounts, the arcades were particularly prone to Nazi attempts at the falsification of the history of the architecture. This becomes particularly evident in the light of the pre-1939 German studies on arcaded houses in Silesia. These studies showcased the local character of architecture in a broader cultural and geographical context.⁵⁷ With its monumental architecture and Gothic forms, Kraków was able to morph into the Nuremberg of the East. Similarly, as argued by the uncle Franciszek, the descendant of the Fuhrmann family from Neurode, “our Krosno” could become the Neurode (today’s Nowa Ruda) of the German Orient.

Endnotes

1. Perloff 2016, *Edge of Irony*, p. 125.
2. See: Fehl 1995, *Kleinstadt*, p. 132–175; Lehne 1989, *Heimatstil*; Szejnmann / Umbach 2012, *Heimat, Region, and Empire*; Paradowska 2016, *Polish Roads*. Wolfgang Voigt’s monograph on the role of the *Heimatstil* in German architectural designs in Alsace is of particular note for the study of the annexed territories: Voigt 2012, *Deutsche Architekten*, p. 110–129.
3. More on *geopoetics* see: Rybicka 2014, *Geopoetics*.
4. Krakowski 1994, *Art of the Third Reich*, p. 47–93. Interestingly, the first extended Polish study on the art of the Third Reich, including architecture and urban planning, describes the native or indigenous style primarily as the *Heimatstil*. The *Heimatschutzstil* is mentioned only several times as a phenomenon typical of the German Empire and the Weimar Republic: a model of architecture steeped in tradition and its local setting.
5. The General Government mainly comprised Lesser Poland in its historic range. Accordingly, four out of five districts (Kraków, Radom, Lublin, and Galicia) were located within the historic range of Lesser Poland. The fifth and smallest district was that of Warsaw. Primarily located in Mazovia, it also covered Lesser Poland in its historic range (the area of Siedlce).
6. The Nazi-German occupation of the District Galicia [Distrikt Galizien], which was annexed to the General Government on 1st August 1941, was even shorter, and it extended for three years.
7. I am referring to the area of Przegorzały, which was incorporated into Kraków in 1941. To find out more on Nazi-German designs for Kraków, cf. Żanna Komar’s article in this book.
8. E.g. the Feniks House (designed by Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz) in the Main Market Square. See: Ochęduszek 2008, *Nazi Makeover of the Feniks*, 303–316.
9. Bednarek / Zimmerer 2017, *Invaders*, p. 163.
10. Purchla 2005, Hubert Ritter.
11. This is not to say, however, that “architecture for the Third Reich” is nowhere to be found in literature. The concept can be found in the title of the following publication: Bültemann 1986, *Architektur*. All I am saying that it is rarely used as a viable alternative for the other two: architecture of the Third Reich (or in the Third Reich) and Nazi architecture.
12. More on residential buildings in Kraków, cf. Żanna Komar’s article in this book.
13. Twardowska 2017, *German Residential Estate*.
14. See: Paradowska 2016, *Polish Roads*.
15. Interestingly, a building that was very much similar to those in the German estate had been erected in Kraków before the war. The case in point is the Rectory of Saint Mary’s Basilica. Located between the Little Market Square [Kleiner Markt] and St Mary’s Square [Marien Platz], the Rectory was thoroughly made over in the 1930s by Franciszek Mączyński. Covered with a hip tiled roof, the building features stone counterforts and arcades, which were used during German occupation both in ulica Królewska and other locations across the Old Town.
16. Wiśniewski 2013, *Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz*, p. 148.
17. *Ibid.* More on the Governor of the District of Kraków, see: Rączy 2014, *Holocaust*, p. 100–102, 129–132.
18. Wiśniewski 2013, *Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz*, p. 148–149.
19. Fuchs 1962, *Renovation of Wawel*, p. 50–56. Cf. Terlecki 1933, *Royal Wawel Castle*, p. 65–70.
20. Płuska 2009, *St Leonard’s Crypt*, p. 263.
21. Wittgenstein 1986, *Philosophical Investigations*, p. 43.
22. This is best evidenced by numerous propaganda publications on modern and historic architecture, featured in books and periodicals, most notably in *Das Generalgouvernement*.
23. The Nazi use of Kraków’s history for ideological and particularistic purposes has been described multiple times with reference to Kraków-based artists such as Hans Dürer, Hans Kulmbach, and most notably Veit Stoss. The natural outcome of this approach was to picture Kraków as the Nuremberg of the East. See: Schenk 2013, *Krakauer Burg*, p. 123–124.
24. Baedeker 1943, *Generalgouvernement*. The English translation is based on the Polish rendering of the German original. The Polish version is available online at: *Niemiecki Kraków 1939–1945*

Wojciech Szymański	Vernacularism, Lesser Poland's Heimat, and Auxiliary Sciences in the Study of Architecture for the Third Reich	kunsttexte.de/ostblick	3/2019 - 12
--------------------	--	------------------------	-------------

- widziany oczami kolonizatorów: <https://niemieckikrakowblog.wordpress.com/page/2/> (last retrieved: 10/10/2017).
25. Baedeker 1943, Generalgouvernement.
 26. Arend 2017, Art History Section, p. 25–26.
 27. Arend 2017, Art History Section, p. 26.
 28. Schenk 2013, Krakauer Burg, p. 124–125.
 29. Gottschall 2015, Anton Adolf Plügel, p. 101. Cf. Johst 2017, Journey the East, p. 732.
 30. In 1953, the village was renamed Gołkowice Dolne.
 31. Walanus 2017, Staatliche Bildstelle Photographs, p. 46.
 32. Duszeńko-Król 2014, Photographic Collection, p. 130, 131.
 33. As cited in: G.E. Schafft, in: Gottschall 2015, Anton Adolf Plügel, p. 100.
 34. Klemperer 2013, Lingua Tertii Imperii.
 35. Deutsches Volkstum im Generalgouvernement 1944.
 36. Born in today's Chodzież (then Kolmar) in 1900, Lück pursued his career in interwar Poland (in the region of Greater Poland, a Prussian province before 1918). An avid supporter of National Socialism, he wrote a number of works adherent to German ethnic studies, or Volkstumsforschungen: Lück 1931, Deutsche Siedlungen; Lück 1934, Deutsche Aufbaukräfte. Both publications provided maps depicting the German mediaeval colonization of Lesser Poland and Red Ruthenia. More on Lück, cf. <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd140015094.html#ndb-content> (12.06.2018).
 37. It is worth-noting that 19th-century Polish researchers did not shy away from describing the positive impact of mediaeval German colonization in the then sparsely populated borderland area. Mediaeval rulers promoted colonization as a way to improve economic prospects and increase population density in the area. The Giuchoniemy were thus described by Kolberg: "It is our realization that several tens of thousands of Germans commingling with Polish population improved the crafts, industry, and farming culture the way smallpox vaccines improved the health of our population." Kolberg 1974, Krosno and Sanok Area, p. 14.
 38. Woźniakowski 2007, Polish Historical Fiction, p. 42. More on the subject cf. Woźniakowski 1997, Official Literary Production.
 39. Kochanowski 16th century, Midsummer Sabbath (last retrieved: 18/04/2019).
 40. Dziady [Forefather's Eve] by Adam Mickiewicz serves as a third paradigmatic hypotext for the novel.
 41. Genette 1992, Palimpsestes, p. 13.
 42. Haczowski 1944, Call of the Ancestors, p. 6.
 43. Ibid., p. 6.
 44. Ibid., p. 6.
 45. Ibid., p. 6.
 46. Ibid., p. 75.
 47. Ibid., p. 75.
 48. Ibid., p. 71.
 49. Ibid., p. 72.
 50. References to Adam Mickiewicz's Pan Tadeusz and Dziady. The "young master" is the titular character of the former (naive, inexperienced, and politically ignorant), while Konrad one of the main protagonists of the latter (experienced, belligerent, self-aware, and, most importantly, politically conscious).
 51. Haczowski 1944, Call of the Ancestors, p. 72.
 52. Ibid., p. 29.
 53. Ibid., p. 48.
 54. Ibid., p. 48.
 55. Ibid., p. 57.
 56. Ibid., p. 75.
 57. I am referring to the following publications: Plümecke 1927, Schlesische Laubenhäuser; Wiedermann 1931, Schlesisch-böhmische Laubenhäuser; Kulke 1939, Laube. I would like to acknowledge and thank Radostaw Giliński for discovering these publications. Kolberg, too, described timber and brick arcades as a typical feature of Galicia's towns and villages and a testimony to their indigenous Polish qualities. "Such arcades are one of the defining characteristics of Polish towns and cities." As cited in: Kolberg 1974, Krosno and Sanok Area, p. 4. The issue was also described by Jan Sas-Zubrzycki in the context of the Polish code of architecture, see: Sas-Zubrzycki 1916, Polish Arcades.

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Wojciech Szymański	Vernacularism, Lesser Poland's Heimat, and Auxiliary Sciences in the Study of Architecture for the Third Reich	kunsttexte.de/ostblick	3/2019 - 13
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List of illustrations

1, 2, 4: Photo: Author
3, 5, 6: Author's collection - informations about photographer and origin of the photos are unknown.

Summary

The article provides methodological suggestions for the study of architecture for the Third Reich in the General Government. However, it also offers an interpretation of the phenomenon. These suggestions brings together four different terms that are key for understanding the author's investigations. These terms are: vernacularism, Lesser Poland's *Heimat*, auxiliary sciences, and architecture for the Third Reich in relation to examples from Krakow and Lesser Poland. The article tackles the following issues: what does it mean that the *Heimatstil* and *Heimatschutzstil*, which happen to recur in the studies on the architecture of the Third Reich, are types of vernacular architecture? Did Lesser Poland's *Heimat* ever exist? If so, were there attempts at creating and using indigenous regional architecture (the *Heimatstil*) in Nazi appropriation policy on the territory of conquered Lesser Poland?

Author

Wojciech Szymański, PhD, is an Assistant Professor at the Department of History of Modern Art and Culture of the Institute of Art History, University of Warsaw. He holds an MA in Art History from the Institute of Art History, Jagiellonian University in Kraków (2008), and an MA in Philosophy from the Institute of Philosophy, Jagiellonian University in Kraków (2010). In 2013 Szymański presented and defended his doctoral dissertation *Postminimalizm w sztukach wizualnych w latach 1985-2000. Artyści wobec dziedzictwa minimalizmu. Roni Horn, Felix Gonzalez-Torres, Derek Jarman* [Postminimalism in the Visual Arts 1985–2000. Artists and Their Attitudes to Minimalism: Roni Horn, Felix Gonzalez-Torres, and Derek Jarman] at the Faculty of History of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków in 2013. From 2014–2017 he worked as an Assistant Professor at the Department for the History of Modern Art at the Institute of Art, University of Wrocław, where he completed his post-doctoral placement *Obrazy (z) Wielkiej Wojny. Sposoby reprezentacji Wielkiej Wojny 1914-1918 w sztuce w Polsce* [Images of the Great War. The Representations of the Great War 1914–1918 in Art in Poland] (awarded by the National Science Centre, Poland). Szymański has been awarded a

scholarship by the Foundation of Polish Science (2016) and a scholarship for leading young researchers by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education (2017). An art critic and independent curator, he is also an AICA member and a member of the Polish Art Historians' Association.

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