

Sylvia Grochowina

**CULTURAL POLICY
OF THE NAZI OCCUPYING FORCES
IN THE REICH DISTRICT GDAŃSK–WEST PRUSSIA
THE REICH DISTRICT WARTHELAND
AND THE REICH DISTRICT OF KATOWICE
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SYLWIA GROCHOWINA

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TRANSLATED BY
AGNIESZKA CHABROS

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Markup and corrections
ANETA DĄBROWSKA-KORZUS

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BARTOSZ DRZEWIECKI

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AGdGVP – Arbeitsgemeinschaft der deutsche Gesangvereine in Polen
AmŁ – Files of the City of Łódź
AmP – Files of the City of Poznań
AmT – Files of the City of Toruń
AP – State Archive
BA – Bundesarchiv
BDM – Bund Deutscher Mädel
BGKBZHwP – Bulletin of the Main Commission for the Investigation
of Hitler's Crimes in Poland
BGKBZNP – Bulletin of the Main Commission for the Investigation
of German Crimes in Poland
DAF – Deutsche Arbeitsfront
DNVP – Deutschnationale Volkspartei
DVL – Deutsche Volksliste
EUKuG – Erziehung, Unterricht, Kultur und Gemeinschaftspflege.
Amtliches Schulblatt für den Reichsgau Danzig–Westpreussen
Gestapo – Geheime Staatspolizei
GG – Generalgouvernement
GPL – Gaupropagandaleitung der NSDAP
HJ – Hitler-Jugend
HTO – Haupttreuhandstelle Ost
KdF – Nationalsozialistische Gemeinschaft „Kraft durch Freude“
KfdK – Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur
NSDAP – Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei
NSDDB – Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Dozentenbund
NSDStB – Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund
NSF – Nationalsozialistische Frauenschaft
NSFK – Nationalsozialistisches Fliegerkorps
NSKG – Nationalsozialistische Kulturgemeinde
NSKK – Nationalsozialistisches Kraftfahrkorps
NSLB – Nationalsozialistischer Lehrerbund
NSV – Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt
NSVK – Nationalsozialistisches Volkskulturwerk

OHB	– Oberschlesischer Heimatbund
PROMI	– Propagandaministerium
RAD	– Reichsarbeitsdienst
RFK	– Reichsfilmkammer
RGBI	– Reichsgesetzblatt
RKBK	– Reichskammer der bildenden Künste
RKFDV	– Reichskommissar für die Festigung des deutschen Volkstums
RKK	– Reichskulturkammer
RKS	– Reichskultursenat
RMfVuP	– Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda
RMfWEuV	– Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung
RMK	– Reichsmusikkammer
ROL	– Reichsorganisationsleitung der NSDAP
RPÄ	– Reichspropagandaämter
RPK	– Reichspressekammer
RPL	– Reichspropagandaleitung der NSDAP
RRK	– Reichsrundfunkkammer
RSHA	– Reichssicherheitshauptamt
RSK	– Reichsschrifttumskammer
RTK	– Reichstheaterkammer
SA	– Sturmabteilungen der SS
SD	– Sicherheitsdienst der SS
Sipo	– Sicherheitspolizei
SS	– Schutzstaffeln der NSDAP
VdBD	– Verband deutscher Buchdrucker
VdBHP	– Verband deutscher Buchhändler in Polen
VdBP	– Verband deutscher Büchereien in Polen

INTRODUCTION

Cultural policy (Kulturpolitik) was not a well-known element of the nationalist policy carried out by the German occupying forces in Poland incorporated into the German Reich.¹ No detailed and complex study has been written about the problem. Professor Czesław Madajczyk, a distinguished scholar and expert in the period of WWII, in September 1977 organized an academic seminar – colloquium – devoted to cultural problems in the years 1939–1945. Underlining the necessity to commence thorough research in the field.² The author's intention was to try to define the aims, assumptions and manners to carry out the German cultural policy in the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich. The issue should be considered taking into account two fundamental aspects: culture as an element of the German nationalistic policy and as an integral part of the social part of the reality. Addressing the problem, I am aware of the difficulties connected with the detailed definition of the scope of the subject matter as research problems included in the term “cultural policy” are very extensive and complex. I presented selected issues which illustrate forms and organization of the German cultural life in the Polish territories annexed by the Third Reich. However, the analysis of the problems belonging to such disciplines as Cultural Studies, Theatre Studies, Music Studies, Literature Studies or History of Art is limited. Although this work does not address the problem in all its aspects, it opens up a discussion on the element of the war reality, which has been marginalized by historians.

As far as the territorial scope is concerned, the work refers to the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich: the Reichsgau Danzig–West Prussia (Reichsgau Danzig–Westpreussen), The Reich District of the Reichsgau Wartheland and the region of Katowic (the Regiernungsbezirk Kattowitz). The subject of the research are not the territories of the above mentioned districts which prior to 1 September 1939 belonged to the Third Reich. The research does not include the Free City of Gdańsk [Danzig], where according to the data of 1939 the Polish population constituted merely 10% of the whole population, and the Nazi cultural policy had been carried out there since 1933, which means that after the

¹ Further on I use the unofficial but more popular and commonly used name of the German state in the years 1933–1945 – “the Third Reich.”

² The aftermath of the seminar was the publication: *Inter arma non silent Musae. Wojna i kultura 1939–1945*, pod red. Cz. Madajczyka, Warszawa 1982.

Nazi invasion of Poland it was not necessary to introduce it from scratch. In order to avoid repeating the German names of the administrative units, I also use the terms: Gdańsk Pomerania, Greater Poland, Upper Silesia despite the fact that they do not overlap with the territorial division introduced by the occupying forces. The chronological boundaries constitutes the period of the Nazi occupation in Poland.

The above mentioned suggestion of Prof. Czesław Madajczyk to carry out the thorough research on the problem of culture during WWII was conducted only partly. Numerous publications in the German language address the topic of cultural life in the territory of the so called Old Reich (Altreich), which means on the territories of the German state within the boundaries from the period before the incorporation of Austria in March 1938, but they fail to include German cultural policy conducted in the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich. However, it does not mean that the issue of culture in occupied Poland has not been addressed yet. The greatest number of publications concerning this issue was devoted to the extermination of the Polish intelligentsia, the shutdown and confiscation of Polish cultural institutions and the destruction and deprecation of the cultural heritage of the Polish nation. Still, there are no works which would make an attempt to analyze in a multifaceted way the German cultural policy in the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich. In few studies one may find selective information concerning the questions touched upon in this publication. To my disappointment, in many monographs of cities, towns, counties and gminas the problem of German culture during the occupation period is treated marginally. Their authors concentrate mainly on the destruction of Polish culture and, in this context, they underline that German culture was a tool to Germanize the Polish territories annexed by the Third Reich and to indoctrinate the Germans living there. However, they fail to present the German cultural life in detail.

The essential knowledge about the German theatrical life on the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich is provided by the pioneering work by Bogusław Drewniak.³ The monograph by Hubert Orłowski includes some fragmentary data about the German literary life in the Polish areas annexed by the Reich.⁴ What plays a major role to outline the background of the subject matter is the literature concerning the Nazi “cultural revolution” in Germany in the years 1933–1939 and the cultural life of the German minority in pre-war Poland. It must be underlined that although the question of the German minority in the Second Polish Republic was the field of historical research, in most publications it

³ B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy w systemie hitlerowskiej propagandy*, Gdańsk 2011; idem, *Organizacja niemieckiego życia teatralnego na obszarach Polski wcielonych do Rzeszy w latach II wojny światowej*, *Przegląd Zachodni*, nr 4: 1978, pp. 55–65. Bogusław Drewniak is also the author of the publication devoted to selected issues concerning cultural life in the Third Reich titled *Kultura w cieniu swastyki*, Poznań 1969.

⁴ H. Orłowski, *Literatura w III Rzeszy*, Poznań 1979.

oscillates around the political and economic issues. Authors who wrote about the cultural activity of the German minority included: Roman Dąbrowski, Otto Heike, Wojciech Kotowski, Danuta Sieradzka, Andrzej Szefer.⁵ A great deal of information about German cultural organizations and activists in the prewar Silesian Province is included in the lexicon prepared by Piotr Greiner and Ryszard Kaczmarek.⁶ As the German cultural policy in the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich cannot be analyzed without ethnic policy, it was necessary to use the elementary literature devoted to this question by Martin Broszar, Włodzimierz Jastrzebski, Ryszard Kaczmarek, Czesław Łuczak, Czesław Madajczyk, Karol Marian Pospieszalski and Jan Sziling.⁷ Those authors' works create a broad panorama of the problem in the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich. The areas which are addressed more extensively include the extermination of the Polish population, the displacement of Poles and the settlement of the Germans, or the German People's List (the Deutsche Volksliste). Little space is devoted to the issue of the German cultural life. The publication written by Eugeniusz Cezary Król⁸ turned out to be useful define the scope of the propaganda and indoctrination of the Nazi cultural policy. An important source of basic biographic information about artists working in the Third Reich is the lexicon by Ernst Klee.⁹ Information about some local representatives of the cultural world appeared in the so called German periodicals of the natives [*periodyki ziomkowskie*] *Beiträge zur Geschichte Westpreussens, Jahrbuch Weichsel-Warthe* and *Westpreussen Jahrbuch*.

The source base are the documents collected in the State Archives in Gdańsk, Katowice, Łódź, Poznań, Toruń and the Federal Archive in Berlin (Bundesarchiv

⁵ A. Szefer, *Życie kulturalno-oświatowe mniejszości niemieckiej w Polsce w okresie międzywojennym*, Zaranie Śląskie, R. XXIX: 1966, z. 2, pp. 268–280; D. Sieradzka, *Niemieckie organizacje kulturalne na terenie województwa śląskiego w okresie międzywojennym*, Kwartalnik Historyczny, R. LXXXVIII: 1981, nr 3, pp. 691–702; R. Dąbrowski, *Mniejszość niemiecka w Polsce i jej działalność społeczno-kulturalna w latach 1918–1939*, Szczecin 1982; O. Heike, *Die deutsche Minderheit in Polen bis 1939. Ihr Leben und Wirken kulturell-gesellschaftlich-politisch. Eine historisch-dokumentarische Analyse*, Leverkusen 1985; W. Kotowski, *Teatry Deutsche Bühne w Wielkopolsce i na Pomorzu 1919–1939*, Warszawa–Poznań 1985.

⁶ P. Greiner, R. Kaczmarek, *Leksykon mniejszości niemieckiej w województwie śląskim w latach 1922–1939. Zarys dziejów. Organizacje. Działacze*, Katowice 2002.

⁷ M. Broszar, *Nationalsozialistische Polenpolitik 1939–1945*, Frankfurt am Main–Hamburg 1965; K. M. Pospieszalski, *Polska pod niemieckim prawem 1939–1945 (Ziemie Zachodnie)*, Poznań 1946; Cz. Madajczyk, *Polityka Trzeciej Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce*, t. I–II, Warszawa 1970; W. Jastrzebski, J. Sziling, *Okupacja hitlerowska na Pomorzu Gdańskim w latach 1939–1945*, Gdańsk 1979; Cz. Łuczak, *Polityka ludnościowa i ekonomiczna hitlerowskich Niemiec w okupowanej Polsce*, Poznań 1979; idem, *Polska i Polacy w drugiej wojnie światowej*, Poznań 1993; idem, *Dzień po dniu w okupowanej Wielkopolsce i na ziemi łódzkiej (Kraj Warty). Kalendarium wydarzeń 1939–1945*, Poznań 1993; R. Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej. Między utopią niemieckiej wspólnoty narodowej a rzeczywistością okupacji na terenach wcielonych do Trzeciej Rzeszy*, Katowice 2006.

⁸ E. C. Król, *Propaganda i indoktrynacja narodowego socjalizmu w Niemczech 1919–1945. Studium organizacji, treści, metod i technik masowego oddziaływania*, Warszawa 1999.

⁹ E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich. Wer war was vor und nach 1945*, Frankfurt am Main 2007.

Berlin – Lichterfelde). In the archives in Poland there are mainly files of local German occupying forces, both administrative and political, which were responsible for culture. In terms of quantity, the material is quite extensive, but in most parts it is fragmentary. It includes selected information about the activity of German organizations and cultural institutions, and it allows us to become familiar with selected cultural events. The few files of the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda (Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda) and the Reich Chamber of Culture available in the Federal Archive in Berlin include mainly reports and statistical data connected with the work of theatres.

What constitutes a valuable source of information about the reality in occupied Poland is daily press of the years 1939–1945. Thanks to the press it was possible to reconstruct many details of the German cultural life in the Polish lands annexed by the Third Reich. I examined the following newspapers: *Der Danziger Vorposten*, *Deutsche Rundschau*, *Kattowitzer Zeitung* (from 1 September 1942 *Oberschlesische Zeitung*), *Lodzer Zeitung* (from 1 January 1940 *Lodscher Zeitung*, and from 12 April 1940 *Litzmannstädter Zeitung*), *Ostdeutscher Beobachter* and *Thorner Freiheit*. Referring to the information included in *Kattowitzer Zeitung* I provide in the footnotes the titles of articles as this daily does not have page numbering. *Lodzer Zeitung* and *Ostdeutscher Beobachter* were available in digital versions, so I provided the page numbers.

Among numerous source publications the most important one is the documentation collected and published by Joseph Wulf. It reveals the possibilities and development of separate fields of cultural life in the Third Reich, such as theatre, the fine arts, literature, music.¹⁰ A comprehensive, if biased, source of knowledge is the diary of Joseph Goebbels, who as the Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, the chairman of the Reich Chamber of Culture and Reichsleiter of the propaganda of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) decided about the cultural policy and controlled the German cultural life. I used the edition of the diary prepared by Elke Fröhlich¹¹ and Ralf Georg Reuth.¹² The German source publication *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik*¹³ and the collection

¹⁰ J. Wulf, *Theater und Film im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation*, Gütersloh 1964; idem, *Die bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation*, Frankfurt am Main–Berlin 1989; idem, *Literatur und Dichtung im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation*, Frankfurt am Main 1989; idem, *Musik im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation*, Frankfurt am Main 1989.

¹¹ *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels. Sämtliche Fragmente. Teil I. Aufzeichnungen 1924–1941. Band 2 (1.1.1931–31.12.1936)*, hrsg. von E. Fröhlich, München 1987; *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels. Sämtliche Fragmente. Teil I. Aufzeichnungen 1924–1941. Band 3 (1.1.1937–31.12.1939)*, hrsg. von E. Fröhlich, München 1987.

¹² *Joseph Goebbels Tagebücher 1924–1945. Band 1–5*, hrsg. von R. G. Reuth, München–Zürich 2008.

¹³ *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik. Band 1: Die nationalsozialistische Revolution 1933*, Berlin 1939; *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik. Band 2: Der Aufbau des deutschen Führerstaates 1934*, Berlin 1939; *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik. Band 3: Deutschlands Weg zur Freiheit 1935*, Berlin 1939.

of the most important speeches of Goebbels published by Helmut Heiber¹⁴ helped me to define the premises of the Nazi cultural policy.

The source material described above enabled me to present the picture of the cultural policy of the German occupying forces in Gdańsk Pomerania, in Greater Poland and Upper Silesia. However, the limitations in the source material made it impossible to discuss all the elements of the cultural policy in the same extent.

The whole work is divided into four chapters according to the chronological and problem-based criteria. In Chapter One the premises of the Nazi cultural policy constitute the starting point for further deliberations. The fundamental book to become familiar with the creed of the Nazi movement is the political autobiography of Adolf Hitler *Mein Kampf*. I considered it well-grounded to analyze the cultural postulates presented in the book. The speeches and texts of other leading Nazi dignitaries, including Joseph Goebbels, constitute only the development of Hitler's concept. Next, I present the bodies of the state and the party responsible for introducing the national socialist cultural policy. I briefly discussed the process of introducing it – the so called cultural revolution in the Third Reich in the years 1933–1939. Chapter One is closed with the synthetic description of the cultural life of the German minority in interwar Poland. Addressing this problem is necessary owing to the fact that after the incorporation of the Polish territories Volksdeutsche were the first recipients of the cultural policy of the occupying forces. The associations and institutions set up by them before 1939 constituted the foundation for the organization of the German cultural life. Chapter Two emphasizes the integral tie between the German cultural policy and nationalistic policy, with the focus on the occupying authorities' attitude towards Polish culture and the Polish intelligentsia. It must be underlined that the aim of this study is to signal the problem and show the most characteristic examples of the destruction and depredation of Polish culture. The aim of this book was not to establish the losses suffered by Polish culture. It was the local administrative and party authorities along with the district cultural organizations that determined the possibilities and forms of the development of cultural life in the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich. I did not address the problem of cultural work conducted by the organization affiliated in the NSDAP such as Nationalsozialistische Gemeinschaft "Kraft durch Freude," Nationalsozialistische Frauenschaft, Hitler-Jugend and Bund Deutscher Mädel, because cultural activities played a marginal role in those bodies. The final part of the chapter concerns the recipients of culture. The last two chapters show the organization and functioning of the German cultural life in Gdańsk Pomerania, Greater Poland and Upper Silesia. Chapter Three presents the most important German cultural institutions such as libraries, museums and theatres. I omitted mass media (the press, radio and film) and cinema in the sense of an institution dealing with the distribution and public viewing of films. To some extent they transmitted the cultural content, but their major function was social communica-

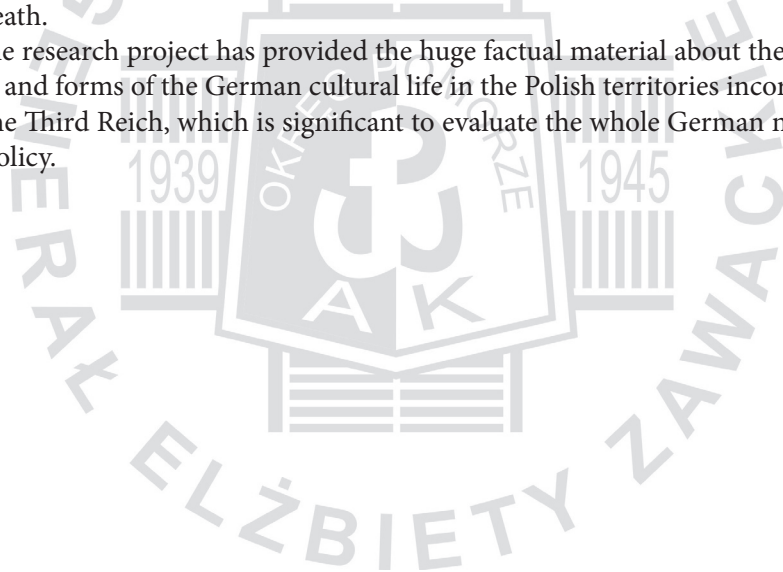
¹⁴ *Goebbels Reden 1932–1939. Band 1*, hrsg. von H. Heiber, München 1971.

tion. The subject matter of Chapter Four is the German artistic activity including the entourage of the fine arts, literary life and musical culture.

The names of streets of the years 1939–1945 appearing in the book are given in German with their prewar equivalents provided in parentheses. The names of German offices, organizations, political parties, cultural events, titles of German museum expositions and theatrical performances are provided in their original versions with the Polish translation. Fragments of German sources have been translated by me and are cited in Polish.

In order to make it easier for the reader to order the information about leading executors of the German cultural policy carried out in the Polish territories incorporated by the Third Reich, at the end of the book there is an appendix with short biographical notes of selected functionaries of the state and party administration responsible for cultural affairs, persons holding leading positions in the institutions of culture, artists. The provided information concentrates on the years 1939–1945. Unfortunately, not all the entries are provided with the date of birth and death.

The research project has provided the huge factual material about the organization and forms of the German cultural life in the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich, which is significant to evaluate the whole German nationalistic policy.



Chapter I

CULTURAL POLICY OF NATIONAL SOCIALISTS IN THE YEARS 1933–1939

The definition of the term “culture” is very complex. As early as the 18th century the German pastor, writer and philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder wrote that “there is nothing more indefinite than the word ‘culture’ and nothing more misleading than applying it to whole nations and epochs.”¹

The Latin term “culture” was originally connected with the cultivation of soil (*cultura agri*). The Roman writer Marcus Tullius Cicero in *Tusculanae Disputationes*² used the term *cultura animi* (the cultivation of the soul) to refer metaphorically to philosophy. In the 18th century the term “culture” was used in reference to the moral and mental education of man, while in the 19th century it referred to the whole spiritual and material heritage of society.³

At present many definitions of culture are used in science; they focus on different research aims. According to the American anthropologist of culture Ralph Linton: “The essence of any definition [of culture – S.G.] is the fact that it selects some aspects of the whole term and emphasizes it at the expense of other aspects. This emphasis and the value of the definition will depend on what aim was taken into account. There are many possibilities to define culture, and each of them is useful in connection with a different aspect.”⁴

According to the most universal encyclopedic definition, culture consists of the whole material and spiritual heritage of the humanity, which has been collected, consolidated and enriched throughout history and transmitted from generation to generation. Material culture embraces all the creations of the human activity such as architecture and everyday objects. Spiritual culture includes non-material creations, which do not have any practical use such as works of art, literary works, rules of social life, models of behaviour, criteria of esthetic and moral judgments.

¹ J. G. Herder, *Mysli o filozofii dziejów*, przełożył J. Gałęcki, wstępem i komentarzem opatrzył E. Adler, t. 1, Warszawa 1962, p. 4.

² *Wielcy filozofowie. Ciceron. Rozmowy tuskulańskie i inne pisma*, Warszawa 2010.

³ See more: M. A. Krąpiec, *Człowiek i kultura*, Lublin 2008, pp. 9–18.

⁴ R. Linton, *Kulturowe podstawy osobowości*, Warszawa 2000, p. 47.

Despite the lack of the clear-cut precise definition of “culture,” it is undeniable that the phenomenon of culture is one of the most important factors determining the creation, functioning and development of social life. Culture is the binder of social integration, the substance of national identity and it constitutes the distinguishing feature thanks to which a given community stands out of other communities. Apart from this, culture plays a major role in the communication process since its products are treated as transmitters of information.

The influence of culture on society and its development is best realized by the participation in culture. Man is the creator of culture and its recipient at the same time. Culture models social life and propels its development providing that it functions in a democratic social system where the freedom of creation is not restricted, and citizens have a free access to it; they have the right to accept or to negate the content transmitted by culture. In a totalitarian political system, which is the opposition of the democratic system, there is no space for independent creative culture as the authorities control all aspects of citizens' life, including culture.

The state authority affects culture through a deliberate and systematic cultural policy, which – generally speaking – consists in initiating and supporting the creativity in various fields of culture and aims at creating a wide range of its recipients. The cultural policy constitutes a tool with which the state influences the generation, distribution and consumption of cultural goods; it also determines the manner and scope of the society's participation in culture and shapes the society's world view. In totalitarian systems the cultural policy is determined by ideological assumptions. Culture – in principle apolitical – is to serve the propaganda and to support the omnipresent ideology. Sharp censorship eliminates the content which is not in line with the political tendency and which fails to transmit ideological slogans.

1. Culture in the times of the German Republic in the years 1919–1933

The creation of the Third Reich was preceded by a dozen of years of the existence of the democratic German Republic. After the outbreak of the November revolution in 1918 the Emperor Wilhelm II abdicated and the republic was proclaimed, the constitution of which was enacted on 31 July 1919 by the National Assembly in Weimar (it entered into force on 11 August 1919). Since then the German state of the years 1919–1933 would be referred to as the Weimar Republic.

The change of the political system and a new democratic form of the state entailed serious social modifications such as the creation of the powerful and politically active burgher social class, which also affected culture. As Graf Harry Kessler noticed, “the changes in German art from the burghers' style (Impressionism) to folks' style (Expressionism) overlapped with the political changes in the state.”⁵

⁵ Cited after T. Kotłowski, *Historia Republiki Weimarskiej 1919–1933*, Poznań 2004, p. 318.

The Weimar Republic, unstable politically and economically, in the years 1924–1928 belonged to the leading scientific-cultural centres in the world (the so called golden twenties). The abolition of 23 German monarchies, which had spread patronage over cultural life and made artists follow conservatism in art, encouraged people of culture to greater freedom of creativity, experimenting and searching for new forms of expression, which bore fruit in the form of a variety of artistic styles and conventions. The cultural image of the Weimar Republic was not consistent as the expert of the classic German modern art D.J.K. Peukert said: “What is typical of the epoch is the non-homogeneity of styles, their synchronicity, incompatibility, chaotic order of appearance, the lack of dialogue between their protagonists and any ‘other’ along with the reproduction of media rings for their competitive struggle.”⁶

In the cultural modernization of the Weimar Republic the avant-garde styles and tendencies of Expressionism, Cubism, Surrealism, Dadaism and Postimpressionism were superior and in opposition to Impressionism, Aestheticism, and Naturalism.⁷ Their aim was not to reproduce the reality and refer to tradition, but to express subjective emotions using original surprising means of expression, which created a “glimmering kaleidoscope of forms, shapes and colours.”⁸ Artistic avant-garde was characterized by experimentalism and innovation, expressing a protest not only against tradition, but also against commercialization of art and burghers who had sufficient financial resources, but refused to adopt patronage over artists creating art deforming the reality. However, no avant-garde movement was powerful enough to dominate the whole cultural creation in the Weimar Republic.

“Grand styles shaping our image of classical modernism appeared quickly one after another and they competed against each other.”⁹ The intense cultural development was particularly strong in the German capital city – Berlin, which became one of the European centres of culture and science.¹⁰

The theatrical life of the Weimar Republic was mainly affected by Erwin Piscator and Max Reinhardt (actually Max Goldmann).¹¹ The former created political

⁶ D. J. K. Peukert, *Republika weimarska. Lata kryzysu klasycznego modernizmu*, Warszawa 2005, p. 173.

⁷ See more: *Ibid.*, *passim*; J. Hermand, F. Trommler, *Die Kultur der Weimarer Republik*, Frankfurt am Main 1988, *passim*; P. U. Hein, *Die Brücke ins Geisterreich. Künstlerische Avantgarde zwischen Kulturkritik und Faschismus*, Reinbeck 1992; Cz. Karolak, W. Kunicki, H. Orłowski, *Dzieje kultury niemieckiej*, Warszawa 2007, pp. 420–421; E. D. Weitz, *Niemcy weimarskie. Nadzieje i tragedia*, Kraków 2011, pp. 221–259.

⁸ Cited after: T. Kotłowski, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

⁹ D. J. K. Peukert, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

¹⁰ See more: O. Büsch, W. Haus, *Berlin als Hauptstadt der Weimarer Republik 1919–1933*, Berlin–New York 1987.

¹¹ E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich. Wer war was vor und nach 1945*, Frankfurt am Main 2009, pp. 415, 434.

theatre¹² and the artistic concept of mass theatre. He carried out his innovative theatrical concepts as the head of Piscator-Bühne (Piscator's Stage) in Berlin, the activity of which he inaugurated in 1927. In his productions he used a huge range of technical devices, including film and photographic projections. Among Piscator's closest co-workers was Bertold Brecht¹³ considered one of the most outstanding playwrights and reformers of the theatre of the 20th century. He formulated the so called epic theatre (episches Theater) promoting the breaking away with theatrical illusion (considering artistic fiction to be real). He also generated the so called V-effect – the effect of alienation applying all available means of the director, actor and scenography. It consisted in arising in viewers the critical distance and inspiration to independent thinking. Max Reinhardt, who in the years 1905–1932 ran Deutsches Theater (the German Theatre) in Berlin, was an outstanding stage-manager. He carried out gorgeous monumental and collective performances using a variety of techniques (the so called impressionistic-magical theatre of Max Reinhardt).¹⁴ In 1920 along with Richard Strauss and the poet Hugon von Hofmannsthal¹⁵ he organized the first theatre festival in Salzburg.¹⁶

The most characteristic literary genre of the Weimar Republic a social-political novel. The leading novelists included Heinrich Mann, Erich Maria Remarque (E. Paul Remark) and Erich Kästner. The anti-war trend was also quite popular; it was represented by Edlef Köppen, Theodor Pliever, Erich Maria Remarque, Ludwig Renn, Ernst Wiechert, Friedrich Wolff, Arnold Zweig.¹⁷

Political literature had a significant influence on the German public. What is characteristic for the right-wing circles of this literature is the so called conservative revolution – according to the definition by Hugon von Hofmannsthal, or “neoconservative counterrevolution” as it was referred to by the philosopher and sociologist Ernst Troeltsch. Advocates of this trend protested against social and political conventions of the Weimar Republic, which for them was identified with chaos and instability. They did not form an organized group, but still they were quite active. Representatives of the “conservative revolution” were mainly Oswald

¹² E. Piscator presented the project of theatre as the means to shape the political awareness in his treaty published in 1929 titled *Das politische Theater*. See Polish translation: E. Piscator, *Teatr polityczny*, Warszawa 1983.

¹³ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 68.

¹⁴ See more: *Reinhardt und seine Bühne. Bilder von der Arbeit des Deutschen Theaters*, hrsg. von E. Stern und H. Herald, Berlin 1920; M. Leyko, *Reżyser masowej wyobraźni. Max Reinhardt i jego „teatr dla pięciu tysięcy”*, Łódź 2002; M. Reinhardt, *O teatrze i aktorze*, oprac. M. Leyko, Gdańsk 2004.

¹⁵ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 236.

¹⁶ See more about theatre in the Weimar Republic: J. Hermand, F. Trommler, op. cit., pp. 193–260; C. A. Brandt, *Theater in der Weimarer Republik. Eine quantitative Analyse*, Karlsruhe 1990; L. Schöne, *Neuigkeiten vom Mittelpunkt der Welt. Der Kampfun Theater in der Weimarer Republik*, Darmstadt 1995; G. Rühle, *Theater in Deutschland 1887–1945. Seine Ereignisse – seine Menschen*, Frankfurt am Main 2007, pp. 343–721; Cz. Karolak, W. Kunicki, H. Orłowski, op. cit., pp. 426–427; T. Kotłowski, op. cit., p. 320; W. Czapliński, A. Galos, W. Korta, *Historia Niemiec*, Wrocław 2010, p. 606.

¹⁷ E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 263, 351–352, 417, 436, 597, 621.

Spengler – the author of the famous work *Untergang des Abendlandes* (*The Decline of the West*), Arthur Moeller van den Bruck (actually Arthur Moeller) – known for the creation of the term *Das Dritte Reich* (the Third Reich), Ernst Jünger – the author of many novels glorifying war and foretelling the “epoch of brutality,” also Stefan George, Hans Grimm, Edgar Jung, Ernst Niekisch, Othmar Spann.¹⁸ The left-wing was represented by a minor group of pacifist writers and journalists centred around the weekly paper *Die Weltbühne* (The Scene of the World) set up in 1918. In 1926 its chief editor became Carl von Ossietzky cooperating with Kurt Tucholsky.¹⁹ It was then that *Die Weltbühne* became the press body of the artistic-literary modernism promoting antimilitarism and pacifism. Other writers associated with the left-wing such as Arnold Zweig, Alfred Döblin and playwrights Ernst Toller and Bertolt Brecht propagated pacifist ideas.²⁰

In the cultural life of the Weimar Republic fine arts played a major role. Germany became the home of new architectural trends. The outstanding architect and urban planner Walter Gropius²¹ set up an artistic school in Bauhaus. It was established in 1919 in Weimar upon the combination of the Academy of Fine Arts and the Schools of Artistic Crafts. In 1925 Bauhaus was moved to Dessau owing to the negative attitude of the conservative authorities of the Weimar. In 1932 the school was based in Berlin as a private school of Ludiwg Mies van der Rohe.²² The term “Bauhaus” also refers to the architectural trend created by this school which propagated the modernization and functionalization of architecture, urban planning and arts and crafts.²³ In painting, sculpture and graphics the Expressionism was represented by the whole range of artists including Ernsts Barlach, Max Beckmann, Otto Dix, Max Ernsts (also a Dadaist), Erich Heckel, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner,

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 161, 179, 259, 373, 392, 520.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 401–402, 559–560.

²⁰ See more about German literature during the Weimar Republic: P. Pörtner, *Literaturrevolution 1910–1925. Dokumente, Manifeste, Programme*, Darmstadt 1960; *Expressionismus als Literatur. Gesammelte Studien*, hrsg. von W. Rothe, Bern 1969; A. Mohler, *Die konservative Revolution in Deutschland 1918–1932. Ein Handbuch*, Darmstadt 1972; S. Vietta, H. G. Kemper, *Expressionismus*, München 1975; T. Anz, M. Stark, *Expressionismus. Manifeste und Dokumente zur deutschen Literatur 1910–1920*, Stuttgart 1982; J. Hermand, F. Trommler, op. cit., pp. 128–192; *Neue Sachlichkeit. Literatur im “Dritten Reich” und im Exil*, hrsg. von H. R. Paucker, Stuttgart 1991; S. Breuer, *Anatomie der konservativen Revolution*, Darmstadt 1993; *Literatur der Weimarer Republik 1918–1933*, hrsg. von B. Weyergraf, München 1995; *Rewolucja konserwatywna w Niemczech 1918–1933*, wybór i oprac. W. Kunicki, Poznań 1999; H. Lethen, *Neue Sachlichkeit 1924–1932. Studien zur Literatur des “weissen Sozialismus”*, Stuttgart–Weimar 2000; T. Anz, *Literatur des Expressionismus*, Stuttgart 2002; T. Kołowski, op. cit., p. 318, 321; Cz. Karolak, W. Kunicki, H. Orłowski, op. cit., pp. 433–437, 440–442; W. Czapliński, A. Galos, W. Korta, op. cit., pp. 604–606; M. Czarnecka, *Historia literatury niemieckiej. Zarys*, Wrocław 2011, pp. 248–271.

²¹ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 181.

²² Ibid., p. 370.

²³ M. Droste, *Bauhaus 1919–1933*, Köln 1990; J. Fiedler, P. Feierabend, *Bauhaus*, Köln 1999; Cz. Karolak, W. Kunicki, H. Orłowski, op. cit., pp. 423–425; B. Polster, *Bauhaus design. Die Produkte der neuen Sachlichkeit*, Köln 2009.

Paul Klee, Oscar Kokoschka, Wilhelm Lehmbruck, Franz Marc, Emil Nolde (actually Emil Hansen), Karl Schmidt-Rottluff.²⁴ Dadaist art also became popular in the Weimar Republic; its supporters broke away with the cultural heritage and all the authorities. Although originally Dadaism in the so called Zurich stage (it was created during WWI in Zurich) was a kind of artistic play, but in Berlin it adopted a political character. Its representatives such as Hans Arp, George Grosz, John Heartfield (actually Helmut Herzfeld), Richard Huesenbeck, Max Ernst²⁵ promoted the need for radical social-political reforms. In 1920 in Berlin a big exhibition of Dadaist art was opened. The career of Dadaism was flashy, but short and terminated at the beginning of the 1920s. In 1924 the Expressionism started to lose its significance, too. A new trend was created which took on the name invented by the head of the museum in Mannheim Gustaw Hartlaub²⁶ – *Neue Sachlichkeit* (*New Reality*). It promoted the acceptance of the reality, not searching for ideological meanings and accepting the established acts. Art was to present the real world devoid of subjectivity and idealization.²⁷ Among avant-garde musicians one should enumerate the composer Arnold Schönberg, who created dodecaphonic music (twelve-note composition), which ignored the existence of eight tones on minor and major scales. His alumni included Alban Berg, Hanns Eisler, the pianist Rudolf Serkin, the conductor Hans Swarowsky, Anton Webern. The centres of avant-garde music became Berlin, Frankfurt and Darmstadt.²⁸

The German culture of the Weimar period was diversified, but it did not appeal to the man in the street, who did not understand art, and, what is more, who identified it with negatively perceived political, economic and social changes. It was the mass media (film and radio) that shaped the public opinion rather than culture. The mass media reached vast groups of people and were in opposition to the Weimar Republic.

Mass culture constituted a kind of competition for the avant-garde culture of the Weimar Republic. It was identified with the influence of the American civilization. Its hallmarks were jazz music, very popular from the early 1920 thanks to phonograph records; illustrated periodicals having a high circulation; American films. The phenomenon of the “Americanization” of culture was connected with providing entertainment to the masses, searching for a relationship between

²⁴ E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 29, 36, 103, 126, 204, 278, 279–280, 295, 325, 354, 395, 481.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 23, 181–182, 204.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 197.

²⁷ See more about art in the Weimar Republic: H. Lethen, *Neue Sachlichkeit 1924–1932*, Stuttgart 1975; J. Hermand, F. Trommler, op. cit., pp. 108–127, 353–437; H. Buderer, M. Fath, *Neue Sachlichkeit*, München 1994; O. Peters, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Nationalsozialismus. Affirmation und Kritik 1931–1947*, Berlin 1998; S. Becker, *Neue Sachlichkeit*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2000; T. Kotłowski, op. cit., pp. 317–319; D. J. K. Peukert, op. cit., *passim*; Cz. Karolak, W. Kunicki, H. Orłowski, op. cit., pp. 421–422; W. Czaplinski, A. Galos, W. Korta, op. cit., p. 607.

²⁸ J. Hermand, F. Trommler, op. cit. pp. 299–352; Cz. Karolak, W. Kunicki, H. Orłowski, op. cit., pp. 419–420, 430–433; E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 42, 119, 486, 510, 545, 584.

a mass-culture recipient and modernist art. According to D.J.K. Peukert: “In the 1920s »Americanization« became a symbol of unconditional modernity free from any ties. In the public debate about »America« the major role played one’s own culture and a challenge it had to face thanks to Modernism. The point was to judge the rationalization of the surrounding world, which intended to leave the whole burden of tradition behind [...], myths about America converted into the symbol of modernity *par excellence*. The image of a gleaming face of a victorious American, the image of the country of infinite opportunities, the economic and financial power of America and its supremacy in the mass production and mass consumption merged with the images of unlimited rationality, innovation free of any tradition, the avant-garde of mass culture, the development of the world of new media and conventional lifestyles.”²⁹

The sign foretelling the end of the “golden twenties” and the collapse of the Weimar Republic was the beginning of the world economic crisis of 1929, which affected Germany much more than any other European country. The political crisis became more and serious, as did the economic one. The hatred towards the democracy of the Weimar Republic was common. The NSDAP, which had little support in the 1920s, now propagated enthusiastically its vision of the new, better reality and won more and more advocates.

2. Basic premises of the Nazi cultural policy

The political-ideological foundations of the Nazi cultural policy were announced by Adolf Hitler in his political autobiography *Mein Kampf*, which became the most important publication of the NSDAP. Its first volume came out in print in July 1925, while the second one in December 1926.

The basis for the Nazi cultural policy was strong nationalism. Deliberating over the the humans’ abilities to create culture, Hitler divided people into three groups:

- creators of culture (Kulturbegründer),
- bearers of culture (Kulturträger),
- destroyers of culture (Kulturzerstörer).³⁰

The only creators of culture were the Aryans, who, according to Hitler, were the representatives of the best and superior human race. He thought that “everything that we see in front of us as human culture, achievements of art, science and technology, is the product of the Aryan. This fact leads to the conclusion that he was the only creator of higher humanity, which means that he constitutes the archetype of what we understand by the word »human«. He is the true Prometheus of humanity [...]. He gave the foundations and walls for all human works, and only the external form and colour were affected by other nations. The Aryan race

²⁹ D. J. K. Peukert, op. cit., p. 185.

³⁰ A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, München 1940, p. 318.

provides the strong foundations and plans for any progress of the humanity and individual nations only carry out those plans in the manner that corresponds with their nature.”³¹ In another fragment of his work Hitler stated that “human cultural civilization in this continent is closely connected with the presence of the Aryan. His disappearance or extinction would cause the Earth to be covered with the dark curtain of the time devoid of culture.”³²

According to the author of *Mein Kampf*, the German nation as the most perfect product of the Aryan race was totally self-sufficient in its cultural creation. In practice it was connected with rejecting any foreign influences that could lead to the “degeneration” (Entartung) of culture. According to Hitler, the most evident sign of this “degeneration” were the avant-garde, innovative trends in artistic creation. They were treated without any indulgence as they were regarded as the evidence of racial strangeness, the crisis of culture, and the collapse of Weimar Republic. As a result of the great “clean-up” announced in *Mein Kampf*, culture was to be purified from “phenomena of rotten world and subordinated to the ethical ideals serving the state and culture.”³³

The author of *Mein Kampf* maintained that the extent of the development of culture is a factor that defines the power of the nation. Racism, which is the element of the national socialist outlook, led to the conviction about the “culture-forming mission” of the German nation, which is part of the Nordic race. It was only “where the Aryans were confronted with inferior nations, subduing them and forcibly imposing obedience upon them”³⁴ that the first culture began to develop. The so called German cultural mission in practice means the necessity to enslave inferior nations.

However, not all “inferior nations” were entitled to use the culture created by the Aryans. The fundamental criterion was race. The German culture as the greatest good and the exclusive property of the German nations was not to be accessible to foreign races and nations since the Aryan, “sinking into the racial chaos, gradually loses his abilities to create culture, which makes him spiritually and physically more similar to slaves and natives than to his ancestors [...]. Mixing blood and lowering the racial level is the only reason why any culture disappears; people

³¹ Ibid., pp. 317, 318. The theory about the Aryans as the only ‘creators of culture’ was presented by Hitler for the first time on 13 August 1920 in his speech in one of the pubs in Munich. He said that “those races which are referred to as Aryan, were actually the creators [...] of all high cultures. We know that Egypt received its high culture from Aryan immigrants; the same was true for Persia, Greece [...] we also know that apart from those countries there are no other cultural states on Earth.” See K. Backes, *Hitler und die bildenden Künste. Kulturverständnis und Kunstpolitik im Dritten Reich*, Köln 1988, p. 49.

³² A. Hitler, op. cit. p. 421.

³³ Ibid., pp. 279, 283.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 324.

do not die because of the war they lost, but owing to the lack of immunity, which guaranteed only by the purity of blood.”³⁵

According to *Mein Kampf*, the nation considered as the “bearers of culture” at the same time unable to create their own culture, but able to use the culture created by the Aryans, were the Japanese. He wrote that “it is not like some people say that Japan took over European technology, but European technology and enriched the Japanese elements. The basis for the real life in Japan is not genuine Japanese culture, despite the fact that it is this culture that [...] attracts attention of Europeans. In fact, the foundations is the enormous scientific-technical work Europe and America, which are Aryan nations [...]. Should the Aryan impact on Japan stop, the scientific and technical progress in Japan would stop [...]; the current culture would ossify and fall into sleep, from which it was woken up seventy years ago by the Aryan cultural wave [...].”³⁶ Hitler concluded his considerations concerning Japanese culture with the words: “It is obvious that when a nation receives its culture from other races [...], it may only be called the bearer of culture, but never its creator.”³⁷

The term “devastator of culture” was used by Hitler to refer to Jews, who, to his mind, were a destructive element and constituted the source of any evil. Analyzing the abilities to create culture, he concluded that they were not only unable to create any culture, but they also steal culture from other nations. In his opinion: “They constitute the most horrifying opposition of the Aryans [...] as they have never had their own culture [...]. The pseudo-culture owned by a Jew is the desecrated good of other nations [...]. What the Jews achieve in the field of art is either a deformation or a spiritual theft. A Jew lacks the quality which characterize the creative and culturally privileged race [...]. A Jew poisons art, literature, theatre; he destroys the natural sensitivity, undermines all the canons of beauty and sublimity, nobility and goodness, imposing his mean nature upon other people.”³⁸ The ‘non-creative Jew’ was in total opposition to the Aryan – the only proper creator of culture.

Defining the place of culture in the planned retaliatory war, Hitler pointed out that the toughest combat against the Treaty of Versailles was necessary to “wake up the military drive” of the German nation; “every single school manual, newspaper, theatre and every single empty wall” should serve this “mission.” The Germans as the “bearers of culture,” were to inoculate it to the East, which constituted one of the premises of their territorial expansion.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 318–319.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 319. Having started the political and military cooperation with Japan and having concluded the so called Anti-Comintern Pact, this view was somehow annulled, and Hitler recognized the Japanese as “honorable Aryans” wanting to make up for the earlier insults inflicted to the Japanese.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 329, 330, 332, 358.

The above mentioned divagations of Hitler³⁹ constituted the foundations of the Nazi cultural policy, in which the major role was played by the Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. Developing the arguments put forward by Hitler, he formulated the concept of culture as the derivative of ideology, considering it to be the tool serving to take control over the “spiritual life” of German society, which he frequently verbalized in his numerous speeches. During the ceremony celebrating the establishment of the Reich Chamber of Culture (Reichskulturkammer) Goebbels – its head – in the presence of Hitler, all the ministers, the diplomatic corps and representatives of the world of culture gave a speech titled *Die deutsche Kultur vor neuen Aufgaben* (*German culture in the face of new tasks*), in which he argued that “culture is the highest exponent of the creative forces of the nation.” He declared that Nazism would be “a good patron of German culture and art.” He deprecated the artistic activity during the period of the Weimar Republic, which – in his opinion – “supported only the individual notion of freedom, which led it to spiritual anarchy and reaching the bottom of unproductive prowess.” He accused the artists of the period that they “broke away with the nation,” which caused them to “lose the source of their fruitful activity. Thus, they should break away with the past. Wanting to win the support of the cultural entourage, he declared that the state “does not want to limit the artistic-cultural development, but support it” having the patronage on talented artists through the Reich Chamber of Culture. He promised that each artist who would act as a member of the Reich Chamber of Culture and a “pioneer, bearer of new forms and creator of the new century,” might feel safe as the state would facilitate his “artistic activity.”⁴⁰ In his speech of 17 June 1935 in Hamburg given to celebrate the opening of the second theatrical week in the Reich (*2. Reichs-Theaterfestwoche*) Goebbels firmly argued that in the centralized political system subordinated to one party there was no place for creative autonomy since “art and politics make one cohesive whole; being political does mean anything else but to serve the public opinion reasonably.” He demonstrated that “national socialism is not only a political doctrine, but also penetrates all public matters, that is why it should become an obvious foundation of our whole life.” It is national socialism that “the new cultural thought defining our whole national existence comes from.” Goebbels refuted an accusation that “German art have become subordinated to matters concerning exclusively propaganda.” In his opinion, propaganda was a “kind of art,” which gave people the “spiritual image.” Following Hitler’s opinions, the Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda promoted the cultural isolationism, which rejected foreign influences in creating

³⁹ See also: T. Mathieu, *Kunstauffassungen und Kulturpolitik im Nationalsozialismus*, Saarbrücken 1997, pp. 18–81; *Adolf Hitlers Reden zur Kunst- und Kulturpolitik 1933–1939*, hrsg. von R. Eikmeyer, Frankfurt am Main 2004.

⁴⁰ *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik. Band 1: Die nationalsozialistische Revolution 1933*, Berlin 1939, pp. 364–371; L. Biały, *Izba Kultury Rzeszy w systemie propagandy hitlerowskiej*, *Studia nad fałszywym i zbrodniami hitlerowskimi XII*, Wrocław 1987, pp. 249–250.

culture, but also did not exclude the cultural expansion as art, which is “perfect in its national form, has the right to break the boundaries of its own country and fill in the whole territory of world culture.” He denied the existence of the so called cultural universalism, which was characterized by the universality and the lack of national cultures. He believed that “there is no international art, which drew its international values from national sources. Shakespeare became an international artists as he was the best Englishman. Corneille became a world-wide artist as he was the best known Frenchman. Goethe became the world’s artists, because he was the best German. Apart from the nation, the artists cannot create valuable works as “at the moment in the artist cannot create valuable works of art because “the moment art breaks away with the nation, it goes astray.”⁴¹

Undoubtedly, the basic components of the Nazi cultural policy were ideological. The forms and content of the “new” culture as products of the racial perfection were filled with the slogans of Pan-Germanism, nationalism and antisemitism. The characteristic feature of the Nazi cultural policy was its total subordination to social-political aims and integration with the propaganda apparatus. Through its “spiritual influence” culture was to unite the German nation in its common goal of reaching the aims put forward by Führer.

3. The bodies of the authority responsible for forming and carrying out the cultural policy in the Third Reich

One of the first legal acts of the authorities of the Third Reich was the act about the removal of the jeopardy of the nation and state (Gesetz zur Behebung der Not von Volk und Reich) of 24 March 1933⁴² referred to as the act about the authorizations to act (Ermächtigungsgesetz). It consisted of five short articles and was an act of extraordinary character determined by a difficult internal situation of the state and the need to repair it. On the strength of this act the legislative power was shifted from Reichstag to the government of the Reich, which for the period of four ears (until 1 April 1937) received the authority to pass common laws which could be contrary to the constitution. In practice “the act about the authorizations to act” enabled carrying out the process referred to as “Gleichschaltung” – “standardization,” which constituted a prelude to the creation of the totalitarian state. The close unification of the state took place – not only in the legal – political sense through the abolition of federalism, but also in all the areas of public life. According to the ideological premises, Führer and the party were to be the only exponents of any interests and aspirations of the German nation.⁴³ It concerned also the whole cultural

⁴¹ *Goebbels Reden 1932–1939. Band 1*, hrsg. von H. Heiber, München 1971, pp. 219–228. See also: T. Mathieu, op. cit., pp. 82–163.

⁴² Reichsgesetzblatt (further cit. RGBl), 1933, I, p. 141, Gesetz zur Behebung der Not von Volk und Reich. Vom 24. März 1933.

⁴³ See more about the process of ‘standardization’: F. Ryszka, *Państwo stanu wyjątkowego. Rzecz o systemie państwa i prawa Trzeciej Rzeszy*, Wrocław 1985, *passim*; V. Dahm, *Nationale Einheit und*

life, starting from the organizational structure down to the promoted content. That is why, tight control over cultural creations and the distribution of culture was introduced using the qualified bodies of the state and party administration.

3.1. The Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda of the Reich (Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda)

What was a novelty in the “standardization” process was the establishment of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda of the Reich (Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda), which was commonly referred to as the Ministry of Propaganda (Propagandaministerium, PROMI). It was set up upon the decree of the President of the Reich Paul von Hindenburg and the Chancellor of the Reich Adolf Hitler issued on 13 March 1933 in order to “enlighten the population, to promote the policy of the Reich government and to carry out the national reconstruction of the German fatherland.”⁴⁴ The head of the new ministry became Dr. Joseph Goebbels, who on 28 October 1926 had been appointed gauleiter of the Berlin-Brandenburg District and in 1928 had become one of the twelve Nazis elected to the Reichstag. In April 1930 Hitler had appointed him the head of the propaganda of the National Socialist German Workers’ Party NSDAP (Reichspropagandaleiter der NSDAP)⁴⁵.

Originally, Goebbels suggested that the name of the new ministry be Reichsministerium für Kultur und Volksaufklärung (the Ministry of the Reich for Affairs of Culture and National Enlightenment). In this way he wanted to underline the special role of this ministry in the process of running cultural policy. However, the name was not accepted by Hitler.⁴⁶ Two days after being appointed minister of PROMI, in his speech given to the representatives of the German press during his first press conference (Pressekonferenz) in Kaiserhof Hotel in Berlin, Goebbels explained the double-barrelled name of the ministry in the following way: “National enlightenment is something passive, while propaganda is something active. We cannot be satisfied just by telling the nation what we want and explain the manner in which we want to do it. We have to support the Enlightenment with active propaganda of the government, with the propaganda whose aim is to win the support of people.” He stressed that the Nazis would not be satisfied with the 52% support⁴⁷

Partikulare Vielfalt. Zur Frage der kulturpolitischen Gleichschaltung im Dritten Reich, Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, R. (43)1995, pp. 221–265.

⁴⁴ RGBl, 1933, I, p. 104, Erlass über die Errichtung des Reichsministeriums für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda. Vom 13. März 1933. According to Bogusław Drewniak, the PROMI was the first ministry of culture in the history of Germany owing to the range of its authority. See B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy. W systemie hitlerowskiej propagandy*, Gdańsk 2011, p. 10, fn. 5.

⁴⁵ See more: R. G. Reuth, *Goebbels*, Warszawa 2004; P. Longrich, *Goebbels. Biographie*, München 2012.

⁴⁶ R. G. Reuth, op. cit., p. 192; P. Longrich, op. cit., p. 263.

⁴⁷ In the elections of 5 March 1933 the NSDAP got 43.9% of the votes, which provided it 288 seats in the Parliament out of 647 seats. The conservative nationalists from the German National

of society in the elections to the Reichstag, but they would aim at winning the support of the remaining 48% of the population since the “new ministry has no other aim but to unite the nation for the idea of the national revolution.” Goebbels assumed it was a process demanding time, which “needs hard work. It may not be carried out within two weeks or two months, or even two years.” What was to guarantee the success in reaching all the aims was the close centralization of all the offices and institutions “responsible for national enlightenment.”⁴⁸

The decree of 13 March 1933 did not specify the range of powers of the new ministry. They were defined in the regulation issued by the Chancellor of the Reich of 30 June 1933. According to it, the Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda became responsible for all the works connected with the spiritual influence on the nation and winning the nation’s support for the state, culture and economy.” In order to achieve it, the PROMI took over a number of rights from other ministries. For example, the Ministry of Internal Affairs was no longer responsible for the organization of national celebrations, press affairs, radio affairs, the national anthem, the German Library (Deutsche Bücherei) in Leipzig, art, music (including philharmonic orchestras), theatre, cinematography.⁴⁹

On 1 October 1933 the organization of PROMI was as follows:

- the minister Dr. Joseph Goebbels
- the secretary of the state Walther Funk (until 1938), at the same time the head of the press service of the government (until 1937)
- the Cabinet – the head Karl Hanke (until 1938);
- Department I: Administration and Law (3 branches); the head – Erich Greiner
- Department II: Propaganda (10 branches); the head – Wilhelm Haegert;
- Department III: Radio (3 branches); the head – Horst Dressler-Andress;
- Department IV: Press, the Section for the Press Service of the Reich government (11 branches); the head – Kurt Jahncke;
- Department V: Film (3 branches); the head – Ernst Seeger;
- Department VI: Theatre, Music and Art (3 branches); the head – Otto Laubinger;
- Department VII: Defence against Lies at Home and Abroad (8 branches); the head – Hermann Demann.⁵⁰

People’s Party (Deutschnationale Volkspartei, DNVP) headed by Alfred Hugenberg won 8%. In this way the government had 52% of seats in the Reichstag.

⁴⁸ *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik. Band 1...*, pp. 289–298.

⁴⁹ RGBI, 1933, I, p. 449, Verordnung über die Aufgaben des Reichsministeriums für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda. Vom 30. Juni 1933. See also: G. Müller, *Das Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda*, [b.m.w.] 1940 r.; R. G. Reuth, op. cit., pp. 191–192; P. Longerich, op. cit., pp. 227–231.

⁵⁰ E. C. Król, *Propaganda i indoktrynacja narodowego socjalizmu w Niemczech 1919–1945. Studium organizacji, treści, metod i technik masowego oddziaływania*, Warszawa 1999, p. 127; R. G. Reuth, op. cit., pp. 193–194; P. Longerich, op. cit., pp. 230–231; E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 108, 189, 321–322, 506.

In the subsequent years the ministry run by Goebbels became much bigger both in terms of its structure and personnel. In the culminating moment of the extension in 1942 the ministry consisted of 17 departments and employed almost 2000 workers. It may be the evidence of Goebbels' great ambitions. He wanted to extend his possibilities of influencing society. Issues of culture (excluding the mass media) were subordinated to the following departments: XII – Writing (8 branches), XIII – Theatre (7 branches), XIV – Arts (4 branches), XV – Music (10 branches). In the autumn of 1944 the structure of the PROMI was considerably reduced owing to the negative condition of the German military forces and the government officials' being called up to the army. Instead of the dissolved departments of Theatre, Arts and Music the new department was set up – the Department of Culture run by Rainer Schlösser.⁵¹

3.2. The Reich Ministry for Science, Upbringing and Education (Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung)

The Reich Ministry for Science, Upbringing and Education (Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung RMfWEuV) was set up upon the decree of the President and Chancellor of the Reich of 1 May 1934.⁵² It was headed by Bernhard Rust,⁵³ who in the years 1933–1934 had held the office of the appointed minister of Education and Religious Denominations in Prussia. Before the ministry was set up, Goebbels had insisted that his range of responsibilities include also the issues connected with education and upbringing. In his diaries dated 22 January 1932 he recorded that he had talked with Hitler about the establishment of the Ministry of National Education (Volkserziehungsministerium). As the head of this ministry he was to control film, radio, new education centres (neue Bildungsstätten), art, culture and propaganda. He defined the aim of the establishment of Volkserziehungsministerium as follows: “it will be a revolutionary institution, centrally administered and representing unequivocally the ideas of the Reich. It is a grand project, never seen by the world before [...]. It is to provide the spiritual foundations to our authorities and to win the support of not only the whole state apparatus, but the whole nation.”⁵⁴ In his entry of 9 August 1932 Goebbels expressed his premature joy that the affairs connected with education and

⁵¹ Bundesarchiv Berlin (further cit. BA-Berlin), R 55/441, Nachrichtenblatt des Reichsministeriums für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, Nr. 23, 13. September 1944, p. 1; E. C. Król, op. cit., pp. 127–132.

⁵² RGBl, 1934, I, p. 365, Erlass über die Errichtung des Reichsministeriums für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung. Vom 1. Mai 1934; *ibid.*, p. 375, Erlass über die Aufgaben des Reichsministeriums für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung. Vom 11. Mai 1934.

⁵³ U. Pedersen, *Bernhard Rust: Ein nationalsozialistischer Bildungspolitiker vor dem Hintergrund seiner Zeit*, Steinhorster Schriften und Materialien zur regionalen Schulgeschichte und Schulentwicklung, Band 6, Braunschweig/Gifhorn 1994; A. C. Nagel, *Hitlers Bildungsreformer. Das Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung 1934–1945*, Frankfurt am Main 2012.

⁵⁴ *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels. Sämtliche Fragmente. Teil I. Aufzeichnungen 1924–1941. Band 2 (1.1.1931–31.12.1936)*, hrsg. von E. Fröhlich, München 1987, p. 113.

upbringing should be in his hands: “I get the school, university, film, radio, theatre, propaganda. This is a huge area. It may fill in my whole life. This is a historic task [...]. The education of the German nation is now in my hands. I will handle it properly.”⁵⁵ In the meantime half a year later, at the beginning of February 1933 he wrote with bitterness about the disappointment he had experienced when he received the information that the Ministry of Education should be headed by Rust, whom he had planned to appoint his viceroy in the Ministry of Culture. Goebbels felt deeply humiliated by this fact and became frustrated.⁵⁶

The establishment of the RMfWEuV caused that Goebbels had to give up his hopes to control the affairs of education and upbringing. In the structure of the RMfWEuV the Office for the affairs of National Education (Amt für Volksbildung, Amt V), set up in the summer of 1934, had some influence on the shape of cultural policy. The Office was headed by respectively: Wolfgang von Staa (a few months), Otto von Kursell ((November 1934 – May 1935), Klaus Graf von Baudissin (autumn 1935 – March 1938), Karl Hermann.⁵⁷

Organizationally, the Office for the affairs of National Education was originally divided into several sections:

- A. General matters (Allgemeines);
- B. Continuing education courses (Freies Volksbildungswesen);
- C. Museums and castles (Museen und Schlösser);
- D. Protection of monuments and archeological objects (Pflege der Denkmäler und Bodenalertümer);
- E. Ethnology and preservation of regional monuments (Volkskunde und Heimatschutz);
- F. Music in general education, upbringing and science ((Musik in Volksbildung, Erziehung und Wissenschaft);
- G. Visual arts (Bildende Kunst);
- H. Literature and theatre (Literatur und Theater);
- I. Film and radio (Film und Funk).

From January 1937 the organizational structure of the Office for the affairs of National Education was as follows:

Department (Abteilung V I):

- A. General matters (Allgemeines); Karl Hermann;
- B. Public libraries and education of adults (Volksbüchereiwesen und Erwachsenenbildung); Dähnhardt;

⁵⁵ *Joseph Goebbels Tagebücher 1924–1945. Band 2: 1930–1934*, hrsg. von R. G. Reuth, München–Zürich 2008, p. 681. See also: G. Reuth, op. cit., p. 192.

⁵⁶ *Joseph Goebbels Tagebücher 1924–1945. Band 2...*, p. 759 (zapis z 1 II 1933 r.), 760 (zapis z 3 II 1933 r.), 761 (zapis z 6 II 1933 r.), 762 (zapis z 10 II 1933 r.).

⁵⁷ According to the most recent findings A. C. Nagel, op. cit., pp. 119–121. Por. BA-Berlin, wstęp w inwentarzu dla zespołu R 4901 (Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung), Bd. 1. Behörden- und bestandsgeschichtliche Einleitung, s. 68; E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 31–32, 312–313.

- C. Museums, castles and gardens (Museen, Schlösser und Gärten); Hermann;
- D. Visual arts in primary education, upbringing and science (Bildende Kunst in Volksbildung, Erziehung und Wissenschaft); Hermann/Eberlein;
- E. Music, primary education, upbringing and science (Musik, Volksbildung, Erziehung und Wissenschaft), Martin Miederer; in January 1942 transformed into the independent department of Office III for the affairs of National Education (Abteilung V III, Musik);
- F. Artistic writing and theatre in primary education, upbringing and science (Künstlerisches Schrifttum und Bühnenwesen in Volksbildung, Erziehung und Wissenschaft); Dähnhardt;
- G. Film and radio in primary education, upbringing and science (Film und Funk in Volksbildung, Erziehung und Wissenschaft).
Department II (Abteilung V II):
- H. Preservation of archeological monuments (Pflege der Bodendenkmale);
- I. Preservation of regional monuments and ethnology (Heimatschutz und Volkskunde).

In December 1944 numerous sections of the Office for the affairs of National Education were united into three departments:

The general branch: general administrative and legal issues (Generalreferat Va: Allgemeine Verwaltungsangelegenheiten, Justitiariat)

- Department 1: visual arts, museums, castles and gardens; public libraries (Abt. V 1: Bildende Kunst; Museen, Schlösser und Gärten; Volksbüchereiwesen);
- Department 2: the preservation of monuments and regional values (Abt. V 2: Denkmalspflege und Heimatpflege);
- Department 3: music (Abt. V 3: Musik).⁵⁸

The organizational structure of the Office for the affairs of National Education shown above indicates that in reference to culture, the institution had some impact on museums, libraries⁵⁹ and the preservation of monuments. The RMfWEuV also supervised artistic education and musical education. However, it is not possible to establish what its influence on the shape and realization of cultural policy looked like.⁶⁰

The range of powers held by Gobbels' ministry on the one hand and the ministry run by Rust on the other hand was very precisely defined and divided, which constituted the source of a serious conflict. On 19 June 1934 during the session of

⁵⁸ BA-Berlin, the introduction tot he inventory fort he team R 4901, Bd. 1, *passim*; O. Graf zu Rantzau, *Das Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung*, Berlin 1939; H. Brenner, *Die Kunstpolitik des Nationalsozialismus*, Reinbek 1963, p. 242; U. Pedersen, op. cit., *passim*; A. C. Nagel, op. cit., *passim*.

⁵⁹ On behalf of the Reich Ministry for Science, Upbringing and Education from 1937 Dr. Fritz Heiligenstaedt, as the head of the Reich Post for Public Libraries (*Leiter der Reichstelle für das Volksbüchereiwesen*), was responsible for the scrutiny of public libraries. E. Klee, op. cit., p. 208.

⁶⁰ The chancellery of RMfWEuV was bombarded twice (November 1943 and January 1944). Its remains include the fragmentary documentation.

the government there were attempts to terminate it and the following decisions were made:

- a. "Education and upbringing in the field of art is transferred to the Reich Ministry of National Enlightenment and Propaganda. The institutions which serve this aim shall be also transferred to the Reich Ministry of National Enlightenment and Propaganda.
- b. The property of those institutions becomes the property of the Reich.
- c. It is the responsibility of the Reich Ministry of National Enlightenment and Propaganda to take care of modern art."⁶¹

In reference to the above mentioned decisions the minister Rust insisted that point a. be clarified and that teachers of artistic subjects – music, drawing and handicraft fall under his supervision. Apart from this, he objected to public libraries being transferred to the minister of propaganda. At the end of June 1934 Goebbels presented Rust with a draft of an act which was to guarantee that his ministry be responsible for the education of teachers of art and music.⁶² Goebbels' demands forced Rust to prepare a counter-draft of the act including the following explanations:

"1. The protection over 'living art', education and upbringing is the exclusive task of the state. In this respect it is the Reich minister of national enlightenment and propaganda. According to this act, 'living art' includes music, visual arts, architecture, artistic craft, theatre, cinematography, literature and dance.

2. The capacities enumerated in point 1 do not embrace such elements of science, education and upbringing as the knowledge of art, ethnography, museum studies, the preservation of monuments including archeological monuments and monuments belonging to the state (castles, gardens, lakes), technical higher education, continuing education and vocational education, institutions training teachers of drawing, music, educational film and educational radio programmes."⁶³

In February 1937 the minister of propaganda asked the head of the Reich Chancellery Hans Heinrich Lammers to settle the conflict with Rust, but it did not bring any effect.⁶⁴

Frictions between both dignitaries lasted till the end of the war. Goebbels persisted in attempts to remove Rust from the position he held. In 1937 the minister of the PROMI, trying to get the influence on the artistic universities subordinated to the RMfWEuV, accused Rust, whom he contemptuously called a "school teacher" considering him "not to be of sound mind"⁶⁵ of the lack of initiative to fight the

⁶¹ U. Pedersen, op. cit., p. 101; A. C. Nagel, op. cit., p. 140.

⁶² U. Pedersen, op. cit., p. 101; A. C. Nagel, op. cit., pp. 140–141.

⁶³ U. Pedersen, op. cit., p. 102.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ *Joseph Goebbels Tagebücher 1924–1945. Band 3: 1935–1939*, hrsg. von R. G. Reuth, München–Zürich 2008, p. 1051 (zapis z 3 III 1937 r.), 1177 (zapis z 13 I 1938 r.). Goebbels referred to the ministry headed by Rust as 'a pigsty'. See *Joseph Goebbels Tagebücher 1924–1945. Band 3...*, p. 1051 (zapis z 3 III 1937 r.), 1096 (zapis z 27 VI 1937 r.).

tendencies regarded as “pathological” in artistic creativity. He also tried to cause the liquidation of the Berlin Academy of Fine Arts, which was subordinated to the RMfWEuV, but he did not manage to do it.⁶⁶ He maintained that the educational policy run by Rust “was worth a bucket of spit.”⁶⁷ In March 1943 Goebbels, acting as the gauleiter of Berlin, accused the Reich minister of science, education and upbringing and other leading politicians and military officials such as Walter von Brauchitsch, Walter Darré, Wilhelm Frick, Erich Raeder of profiteering in selling food. He hoped them to be brought to justice, which eventually did not occur.⁶⁸

3.3. The Reich Chamber of Culture

The establishment of the Reich Chamber of Culture (Reichskulturkammer, RKK), whose head was also Goebbels, served to institutionalize cultural life. The first stage to its creation was the foundation of the Temporary Chamber of Film (vorläufige Filmkammer) on the strength of the act passed by the government on 14 July 1933. Its responsibility was to take care of the development of German cinematography and to represent the interests of the filming industry. What is more, Art. 3 said that only a member of the Temporary Chamber of Film had the right to work in the filming industry. According to art. 7 the head of the PROMI was responsible for enforcing the act; he was also to appoint the board consisting of three people, which was the head of the Temporary Chamber of Film.⁶⁹

The Reich Chamber of Culture was set up on the strength of the act of 22 September 1933 (Reichskulturkammergesetz). Art. 1 of the act authorized the minister of the PROMI to unite all artists in associations of public law (Körperschaften des öffentlichen Rechts). It led to the creation of six chambers (Fachkammer), which embraced the basic spheres of cultural activity and the mass media. They were: the Reich Chamber of the Radio (Reichsmusikkammer, RMK – it existed from 28 October 1939, later the issues connected with the radio became subordinated to the minister of propaganda), the Reich Chamber of Music (Reichsmusikkammer, RMK), the Reich Chamber of Theatre (Reichstheaterkammer, RTK), the Reich Chamber of Visual Arts (Reichskammer der bildenden Künste, RKBK), the Reich Chamber of the Press (Reichspressekammer, RPK) and the Reich Chamber of Writing (Reichsschrifttumskammer, RSK). The Reich Chamber of Culture also in-

⁶⁶ *Joseph Goebbels Tagebücher 1924–1945. Band 3...*, p. 1101 (zapis z 15 VII 1937 r.), 1102 (zapis z 16 VII 1937 r.), 1104 (zapis z 17 VII 1937 r.), 1106 (zapis z 24 VII 1937 r.), 1112 (zapis z 5 VIII 1937 r.); E. C. Król, op. cit., pp. 157–158; A. C. Nagel, op. cit., pp. 143–144.

⁶⁷ *Joseph Goebbels Tagebücher 1924–1945. Band 3...*, p. 994 (zapis z 21 X 1936 r.).

⁶⁸ *Joseph Goebbels Tagebücher 1924–1945. Band 5: 1943–1945*, hrsg. von R. G. Reuth, München–Zürich 2008, p. 1914 (zapis z 17 III 1943 r.); P. Longerich, op. cit., p. 568. See also: L. Gruchmann, *Korruption im Dritten Reich. Zur “Lebensmittelversorgung” der NS-Führerschaft*, Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, R. 42: 1994, pp. 571–593.

⁶⁹ RGBl, 1933, I, pp. 483–484, Gesetzes über die Errichtung einer vorläufigen Filmkammer. Vom 14. Juli 1933; *ibid.*, pp. 531–532, Verordnung über die Errichtung einer vorläufigen Filmkammer. Vom 22. Juli 1933; B. Drewniak, op. cit., 177–178; L. Biały, op. cit., p. 245.

corporated the Temporary Chamber of Film, which was converted into the Reich Chamber of Film (Reichsfilmkammer, RFK).⁷⁰

On 1 November 1933 Goebbels along with the Reich Minister of Economy Kurt Schmitt issued the first regulation concerning the enforcement of the act about the Reich Chamber of Culture, which clarified the aims of the Reich Chamber of Culture: “To support German culture under the leadership of the Minister of National Enlightenment and Propaganda feeling responsibility for the nation and the Reich; to regulate economic and social issues concerning professions connected with cultural life; to fulfil the aims of all the professional groups dealing with culture.” Art. 4 defined the conditions of belonging to individual chambers of the Reich Chamber of Culture: “Everybody who takes part in creating, reproducing, mental or technical processing, preserving, selling cultural goods should become a member of the chamber which corresponds with their professional activity.” The chambers set up within the Reich Chamber of Culture (RKK) were professional organizations which centered separate professional groups and institutions (Fachverbände) dealing with cultural work understood broadly. The regulation of 1 November 1933 defined the powers of Goebbels as the president of the Reich Chamber of Culture. They included: appointing his deputies and secretaries, appointing presidents of individual chambers and members of the Presidential Council (Präsidentialrat), deciding about the content of statutes of individual chambers, approving of budgets plans of the RKK. He could also cancel the decisions of presidents of all the chambers and was a mediator in contacts between the RKK and the Reich government. Apart from Goebbels the executive board of the RKK consisted of: the secretary of the state Walther Funk – the vice-president, the ministerial counselor Dr. Hans Schmidt-Leonhardt – the secretary, Dr. Karl Friedrich Schrieber and Dr. Hans Esdras Mutzenbecher – noticers. The base of the Reich Chamber of Culture RKK was in the building of the PROMI in Berlin, at 8/9 Wilhelmplatz.⁷¹

On 9 November 1933 the second regulation concerning the enforcement of the act about the RKK appeared. It was signed by Walther Funk. According to the regulation, everybody who wanted to take up any cultural activity, had to be a member of one of the chambers of the RKK until 15 December 1933. The membership in the RKK determined the right to work by people connected with culture.⁷²

Implementing provisions concerning the act about the Reich Chamber of Culture RKK were enforced on 15 November 1933. On the same day the celebration of the inauguration of the RKK's activity took place in the Berlin building of Krol-

⁷⁰ RGBl, 1933, I, pp. 661–662, Reichskulturkammergesetz. Vom 22. September 1933. More about the origin of the RK.: V. Dahm, *Anfänge und Ideologie der Reichskulturkammer*, Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, R. 34: 1986, pp. 53–84.

⁷¹ RGBl, 1933, I, pp. 797–800, Erste Verordnung zur Durchführung des Reichskulturkammergesetzes. Vom 1. November 1933. Por. L. Biały, op. cit., p. 247.

⁷² RGBl, 1933, I, p. 969, Zweite Verordnung zur Durchführung des Reichskulturkammergesetzes. Vom 9. November 1933. Por. L. Biały, op. cit., p. 249.

loper. The following people held the position of presidents (Präsident) of separate chambers: the Reich Chamber of Music – Richard Strauss, from July 1935 Peter Raabe; the Reich Chamber of Writing – Hans Friedrich Blunck, from October 1935 Hanns Johst; the Reich Chamber of Visual Arts – Prof. Eugen Hönig, from December 1936 the painter Adolf Ziegler (in 1943 he was replaced by the sculptor Arno Breker as Ziegler was sent to the concentration camp in Dachau for having expressed his support for peace negotiations with Great Britain in the face of the defeat of the Third Reich); the Reich Chamber of Theatre – the ministerial counselor, the Berlin dramatic actor Otto Laubinger, from October 1935 the theorist of literature and editor of the theatre section in *Völkischer Beobachter* Dr. Rainer Schlösser, and from 5 April 1938 to 21 April 1942 the president of the Chamber was Ludwig Körner (Vivegnis). He was dismissed from the position owing to some financial charges, and his place was taken by the actor Paul Hartmann; the Reich Chamber of the Press – the head of the central publishing house of the NSDAP Max Amann; the Reich Chamber of Film – the attorney Dr. Fritz Scheuermann, from October 1935 Oswald Lehnich, from July 1939 Carl Froelich; the Reich Chamber of the Radio – the ministerial counselor Horst Dressler-Andress.⁷³

On 15 November 1935 at the annual session of the RKK in the Berlin concert hall, Goebbels assured that the Reich Chamber of Culture had achieved its aim of uniting all German creators of culture to serve the national socialist state and the national socialist idea of culture. Its members had the lofty aim to take care of the national socialist viewpoint with the use of culture and present to the nation. In fact, it is a significant cultural institute of the new state which shows the right direction.”⁷⁴

3.4. The management of the Reich Propaganda of the NSDAP (Reichspropagandaleitung der NSDAP)

Cultural work took a significant space in the propaganda and indoctrination activities carried out by the NSDAP. Art. 7 of the statute of the NSDAP, registered on 30 July 1926, informed about the creation of the Management of the Reich Propaganda of the NSDAP (Reichspropagandaleitung der NSDAP, RPL) headed by Gregor Strasser, who became a member of the central authorities of the party (Reichsleitung der NSDAP).⁷⁵ From 26 June 1930 the head of the RPL (Reichsleiter

⁷³ See more: H. Brenner, op. cit., pp. 57–58, 243–248; L. Biały, op. cit., pp. 250–254; V. Dahm, *Künstler als Funktionäre. Das Propagandaministerium und die Reichskulturkammer*, [in:] *Hitlers Künstler. Die Kultur im Dienste des Nationalsozialismus*, hrsg. von H. Sarkowicz, Frankfurt am Main–Leipzig 2004, p. 76 i n.; E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 18, 55–56, 69–70, 108, 151, 198, 231, 258, 293, 321–322, 325, 426–427, 472, 476, 538–539, 616.

⁷⁴ *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik. Band 3: Deutschlands Weg zur Freiheit 1935*, Berlin 1939, p. 279.

⁷⁵ E. C. Król, op. cit., pp. 49–50.

NSDAP) was J. Goebbels.⁷⁶ In the entry of 28 April 1930 he wrote in his diary: “Hitler in the same breath announced my nomination to the head of propaganda [...]. Strausser was as white as chalk. In the end he stammered out a few sentences and that was it. We reached total victory. The opposition is lying shattered on the floor. Strasser is finished.” In the entry of 2 May 1930 he added: “I have been fighting against Dr. Strasser for four years. I consider Gregor Strasser to be insidious and dishonest.”⁷⁷

Along with the structural extension of the NSDAP there were set up units responsible for cultural work. At the end of 1930 within the range of the Organizational Management of the NSDAP (Reichsorganisationsleitung der NSDAP, ROL) II Department for the affairs of Race and Culture (Abteilung für Rasse und Kultur, ROL II) was set up, which until 1932 was headed by Hanno Konopacki⁷⁸ (Konpacki). His task was to animate the cultural work of the NSDAP, which at this stage consisted in promoting the Nazi concept of cultural policy through in-party indoctrination. The actions organized to satisfy this aim was for example the organization of the series of lectures about cultural themes on all levels of the organizational structure of the NSDAP, the creation of the library with the ‘desirable’ literature and the detection of “improper” texts in public libraries and bookshops. The whole action was supervised by a group of the so called guardians of culture (Kulturwarte) appointed in the district and county levels of the party. After some time sub-departments were set up as part of the organization ROL. Three sub-departments were created: of film (the head Konrad Dreher, next Arnold Raether), of the press (the head Otto Tröbes), of the radio (the head Horst Dressler-Andress), and of the theatre (Hans Severus Ziegler).⁷⁹

The structural connection of the party’s cultural work with the ROL, and not with the supreme propaganda authorities of the NSDAP gave rise to the discontentment of Goebbels, who, as the head of the RPL, wanted to have a say in the cultural activity of his party. His centralizing steps caused that in 1932 Hitler allowed him to liquidate II Department for the affairs of Race and Culture of the ROL and to incorporate it to the RPL. According to the entry of October 1932, the head of the RPL supervised four Main Department (Hauptabteilungen): I – Propaganda (the head Heinz Franke), II – Intelligence Services (the head Arthur Schumann), III – Film (the head Arnold Raether) and IV – the Radio (the head Horst Dressler-Andress). In the middle of December 1932 the Main Department II of National

⁷⁶ More about the circumstances of Goebbels’s taking over the office: R. G. Reuth, op. cit., pp. 116–118; P. Longerich, op. cit., pp. 127–129, 138–139.

⁷⁷ *Joseph Goebbels Tagebücher 1924–1945. Band 2...*, pp. 479, 480.

⁷⁸ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 298.

⁷⁹ E. C. Król, op. cit., pp. 66–70, 112–113 (fn 225). The biographical information about the heads of the sub-departments, see: E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 108, 428, 616–617.

Education was set up. It was responsible for social indoctrination administered by Rudolf Buttman.⁸⁰

Along with the creation of the PROMI Goebbels took measures to put the propaganda structures of the NSDAP to the new ministry as some areas of the powers of the headquarters of the RPL were already controlled by him. In the middle of May 1933 the District Managements of Propaganda of the NSDAP (Gau-propagandaleitung der NSDAP, GPL), which existed in 31 party districts, were regarded as Home Posts of the Reich Ministry for Propaganda (Landesstellen des Reichspropagandaministeriums) upon Hitler's decree of 9 September 1937.⁸¹

The Home Posts were converted into Offices of the Reich Ministry of Propaganda (Reichspropagandaämter, RPÄ), which were to carry out the decisions and instructions of the PROMI in close cooperation with the structures of the party on the district level. At the same time the Reich Management of Propaganda consisted of four offices – the active propaganda, film, radio and culture. The Office for Culture was set up in October 1935 with Franz Morraler⁸² as its head. However, his possibilities to act were limited, which was caused by the protests of Führer's plenipotentiary for the affairs of scrutiny on the totality of spiritual and ideological education along with the education of the NSDAP (Der Beauftragte des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP) Alfred Rosenberg,⁸³ who expressed his protest to the head of the Chancellery of the Party Rudolf Hess with the intention of satisfying his own ambitions to participate in making decisions concerning cultural policy of the Third Reich.⁸⁴ The significance of this office increased in the years 1941–1942 when it was converted into the Main Office of Culture (Hauptamt Kultur) headed by Karl Cerff,⁸⁵ who became responsible for the organization of public events and celebrations (more precisely, he was responsible for selecting scenography and music).⁸⁶ At the beginning of May 1942 upon the decision of Goebbels, the organi-

⁸⁰ From December 1932 the individual departments had the following numbers: Chief Department I – Propaganda, Chief Department II – National Education, Chief Department III – Intelligence Service, Chief Department IV – Film, Chief Department V – Radio; E. C. Król, op. cit., pp. 82, 84–85, 119 (fn 310); E. Klee, *Das Personenlexikon zum Dritten Reich. Wer war vor und nach 1945*, Frankfurt am Main 2007, pp. 88–89 (biographica note of R. Buttman).

⁸¹ RGBL, 1937, I, p. 1009, Erlass des Führers und Reichskanzlers über die Änderung von Behördenbezeichnungen im Geschäftsbereich des Reichsministeriums für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda. Vom 9. September 1937.

⁸² E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, p. 376. He held the post of head of the Bureau of Culture in the Management of Propaganda until 1939. Next, until mid-1941 the post remained vacant.

⁸³ A. Molau, *Alfred Rosenberg. Der Ideologe des Nationalsozialismus. Eine politische Biografie*, Koblenz 1993; E. Piper, *Alfred Rosenberg. Hitlers Chefideologe*, München 2007; E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, p. 452.

⁸⁴ More about the actions undertaken by Rosenberg in order to increase his influence on the cultural policy of the Third Reich in sub-chapter 3.5. The conflict between Goebbels and Rosenberg, pp.41–48 of this work.

⁸⁵ E. Klee, *Das Personenlexikon...*, p. 91.

⁸⁶ H. Brenner, op. cit., p. 242; E. C. Król, op. cit., pp. 135–139, 231.

zation NS-Volkskulturwerk⁸⁷ was subordinated to the Main Office of Culture. The organization associated centres of folk culture and amateur artistic movements (such as singing societies, folk music bands, amateur theatres).⁸⁸

The review of the organizational structure of the NSDAP provided above indicates that the Party's officials treated the political sphere with premeditation. The party was interested mainly in having influence on mass culture, based on the functioning of the mass media, which aroused emotions and affected the senses. They were to play the major role in the execution of propaganda indoctrination tasks.

3.5. Conflict between Goebbels and Rosenberg

The standardization and institutionalization of cultural life conducted by Goebbels guaranteed him a monopoly for the creation of cultural policy. However, it does not mean that other parts of the authority apparatus did not compete with him. Taking into account the fact that the establishment of the PROMI was connected with taking over some powers of other ministries and non governmental institutions, it had to arouse discontentment among some Nazi dignitaries and made them undertake steps to weaken the position of the rival.

It was Alfred Rosenberg, whom Goebbels' referred to as "the philosopher of the Reich," "cold Balt" and a "thoughtless stubborn bigot," that made the most serious attempts to reduce the range of Goebbels' influence. Alfred Rosenberg wrote *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts (The myth of the 20th century)*, which Goebbels called "a philosophical fart."⁸⁹ Rosenberg was an architect. From 1921 he held the function of the chief editor of the press body of the NSDAP *Volkischer Beobachter*. At the beginning of January 1928 he set up the National Socialist Association for Culture and Science (Nationalsozialistische Gesellschaft für Kultur und Wissenschaft), and the decision to create it was made at the third congress of the NSDAP (Parteitag) in Nuremberg in 19–21 August 1927. In December 1928 the association was transformed into the Union of the Combat for German Culture (Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur, KfdK). According to the statute of 19 December 1928 it was to unite "all the powers able to stop the decay in Germany in the field of culture." The main aim of the Union's activity was the combat with the so called

⁸⁷ It was set up as the NS-Kulturwerk in April 1940, and the name NS-Volkskultur was void from the moment of its becoming subordinated to the Main Bureau of Culture in the Reich Management of Propaganda of the NSDAP.

⁸⁸ Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku, Landrat powiatu Wejherowo 1939–1945, sygn. 500, Kulturpolitisches Mitteilungsblatt, April 1943; Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach, Naczelne Prezydium w Katowicach 1941–1945, sygn. 415, statut NSVK; E. C. Król, op. cit., pp. 231–232, 233, 272 (przypis 216); R. Bollmus, *Das Amt Rosenberg und seine Gegner. Studien zum Machtkampf im nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftssystem*, München 2006, p. 109.

⁸⁹ *Joseph Goebbels Tagebücher 1924–1945. Band 2...*, p. 848 (zapis z 24 VIII 1934 r.); R. G. Reuth, op. cit., p. 216. Although Goebbels did not think highly of Rosenberg's book, the truth is that *The Myth of the 20th century* is the most important and most frequently quoted ideological work apart from *Mein Kampf*.

cultural bolshevism (Kulturbolschewismus), which, according to the Nazi criteria constituted any unwanted artistic orientations. The objective was “to protect German values and support any appropriate signs of German cultural life. Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur inaugurated its activity on 23 February 1929 during the ceremonies organized at Munich University. The philosopher Othmar Spann gave a lecture titled *Die Kulturkrise der Gegenwart* (*The contemporary crisis of culture*), where he stated that “democracy is responsible for ruining culture” and only the creation of “the modern state under one leader” (moderne Führerstaat) may “solve the urgent cultural problems.”⁹⁰ In his entry of 23 January 1930 Goebbels wrote with anxiety in his diary: “I have a feeling that Rosenberg would like to cheat me. I must be careful!”⁹¹

From April 1933 Rosenberg ran the Office of Foreign Policy of the NSDAP (Aussenpolitisches Amt der NSDAP), and on 24 January 1934 Hitler appointed him his plenipotentiary for the control of spiritual and ideological education of the NSDAP. On 22 February 1934 Rosenberg made a speech in the Kroll Opera House in Berlin, where he indicated that he should make steps to unite culture and art with the national socialist ideology, signaling the possibility of the interference in the sphere of Goebbels’ influence.⁹² Another organizational instrument used by Rosenberg in the sphere of cultural life was the National Socialist Cultural Community (Nationalsozialistische Kulturgemeinde, NSKG), which was set up on 6 June 1934 as a result of the merge of the organizations Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur i Deutsche Bühne.⁹³

As his position became stronger. Rosenberg started to attack the minister of PROMI more intensively, wanting to undermine the authority of his rival and to decrease his influence on cultural policy. In his diary, in the entry of 5 June 1934 Rosenberg judged negatively the activity of the RKK saying that he was not the only person to think so:” Now the formal tug-of-war about culture starts. Everywhere I arrive I hear complaints about the activities of the Reich Chamber of Culture [...] as the national socialist holds the office of the president of the Reich Chamber of Culture, it is hard to set up another [rival – note S.G.] organization.”⁹⁴ In the conflict between Goebbels and Strasser, Rosenberg supported the latter. In

⁹⁰ H. Brenner, op. cit., pp. 7–21; E. C. Król, op. cit., p. 111 (fn 207); A. Molau, op. cit., p. 138; R. Bollmus, op. cit., pp. 27–54; E. Piper, op. cit., pp. 259–275; J. P. Barbian, *Die Beherrschung der Museen. Kulturpolitik im “Dritten Reich,”* [in:] *Hitlers Künstler...*, pp. 47–48.

⁹¹ *Joseph Goebbels Tagebücher 1924–1945. Band 2...*, p. 450 (zapis z 23 I 1930 r.).

⁹² See the text of the speech in: *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik. Band 2: Der Aufbau des deutschen Führerstaates 1934*, Berlin 1939, pp. 315–329.

⁹³ *Das politische Tagebuch Alfred Rosenbergs aus den Jahren 1934/35 und 1939/40*, hrsg. von H. G. Seraphim, Göttingen–Berlin–Frankfurt 1956, p. 37; H. Brenner, op. cit., pp. 237–238; A. Molau, op. cit., s. 141; R. Bollmus, op. cit., p. 66; E. Piper, op. cit., pp. 386–399. The organization Deutsche Bühne was set up in April 1933 as “einzigste Theaterbesuchorganisation für die NSDAP,” and was headed by Walter Stang.

⁹⁴ *Das politische Tagebuch...*, p. 26.

his diary he wrote that Strasser “saw in the small doctor⁹⁵ Hitler’s downfall [...]. What Goebbels writes in his book⁹⁶ about Strasser is only a donkey’s kick of the triumphant and secure rival. It has aroused aversion in everybody.”⁹⁷

In the summer 1934 Rosenberg accused Goebbels of supporting Bolsheviks of culture and hindering the “cultural revolution” (kulturelle Revolution). The grounds for this accusation were Goebbels’ steps to acquire for the Nazism such avant-garde artists as Ernst Barlach and Emil Nolde.⁹⁸ In the entry of 20 July 1934 Goebbels recorded in his diary “Rosenberg makes me worry a lot.”⁹⁹ Another “cultural scandal” generated by Rosenberg to undermine the minister of the PROMI was a commonly known case of a composer, an outstanding representative of the avant-garde Paul Hindemith.¹⁰⁰ Despite the fact in his artistic activity he referred to the Neo-Baroque and Expressionist tendencies, colliding with the Nazi cultural policy, in the circular letter of the authorities of the Reich radio Goebbels regarded him as “one of the greatest talents of the younger generation of German composers.” At the same time, in November 1934 Rosenberg initiated a witch-hunt against Hindemith. In the periodical *Die Musik* he was considered to be “unacceptable in the sense of cultural policy.”¹⁰¹ In the article “Ästhetik oder Volkskampf” [Aesthetics or the fight of nations] published on 7 December 1934 in *Völkischer Beobachter*, Rosenberg accused the composer of spreading foreign influence and “the worst debasement of German music.” He underlined that it should not happen that “he is introduced to the highest artistic institutions of the Reich only on the ground of his Aryan background.”¹⁰² The close co-worker of Goebbels, a popular conductor and the vice-president of the Reich Chamber of Music Wilhelm Furtwängler defended Hindemith. On 25 November 1934 in the paper *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* there appeared his statement in which he wrote: “we cannot afford to resign from such a man as Hindemith in the face of the lack of truly productive musicians in the whole world.”¹⁰³ The minister of the PROMI also took a stand in the case. In the ambiance of an aggressive campaign against Hindemith and wishing to neutralize Rosenberg’s attack, Goebbels changed his opinion about the artistic activity of the composer and on 6 December 1934 at the Berlin Sportpalast in the district of Schöneberg he made a speech in which he disapproved of the artistic achievements of the composer. In such circumstances, Furtwängler, disappointed with a lack of

⁹⁵ This is how they called Goebbels in the party. He got his PhD in German Studies in 1921 at Heilderberg University.

⁹⁶ It refers to Goebbels’ work *Vom Kaiserhof zur Reichskanzlei*, München 1934.

⁹⁷ *Das politische Tagebuch...*, p. 36.

⁹⁸ K. Backes, op. cit., pp. 58–59; E. C. Król, op. cit., p. 159, 193 (fn 257); R. G. Reuth, op. cit., p. 228; R. Bollmus, op. cit., pp. 61, 75, 106.

⁹⁹ *Joseph Goebbels Tagebücher 1924–1945. Band 2...*, p. 846 (zapis z 20 VII 1934 r.).

¹⁰⁰ E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, p. 225.

¹⁰¹ R. G. Reuth, op. cit., pp. 229–230.

¹⁰² J. Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation*, Frankfurt am Main 1989, p. 380.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 376.

support from Goebbels handed in his resignation from the positions he held – the vice-president of the Reich Chamber of Music, the head of the Berlin Opera House and the head of the Berlin philharmonic.¹⁰⁴ Hindemith emigrated to the USA. The case Hindemith–Furtwängler (Fall Hindemith–Furtwängler) might seem to have finished successfully for Rosenberg. However, soon the situation changed for the benefit of Goebbels, who managed to convince Furtwängler to give up the protest. In March 1935 in the periodical *Die Musik* there appeared a communication titled “Furtwängler bedauert” (“Furtwängler regrets”) with the information that the outstanding composer “in any case does not intend to interfere in the matters of the decision-makers of the artistic policy of the Reich, which, to his mind, is run by Führer and the chancellor of the Reich along with the proper minister authorized to act by Führer.”¹⁰⁵ At the same time Furtwängler gave up the idea of leaving the country and returned to the position of the vice-president of the Reich Chamber of Music and the head of the Berlin Opera House. In 1936 he additionally became the head of the Wagner Festivals in Bayreuth, which was undoubtedly Goebbels’ great success.¹⁰⁶

Another pretext that Rosenberg tried to use to undermine the authority of the PROMI minister was the case concerning the composer Richard Strauss. On 24 June 1935 in Dresden there took place a preview of the comic opera *Die schweigsame Frau* (*The Silent Woman*) prepared by Richard Strauss. The author of the libretto to this opera was a German writer of the Jewish origin Stefan Zweig. Owing to the “non-Aryan” background of the libretto’s author, Rosenberg demanded that Goebbels withdraw it. He threatened Goebbels that if he did not withdraw the opera, there would break out a “cultural scandal.” Goebbels was forced to give in as Rosenberg’s arguments were supported by the deputy of Hitler – Rudolf Hess. After the fourth performance *The Silent Woman* was withdrawn from the repertoire of the German opera stages, and Strauss had to resign from the position of the president of the Reich Chamber of Music, which he had held since November 1933. In July 1935 the position was taken over by the conductor Peter Raabe. According to the official communication his resignation was unsolicited; his decision was said to have been caused by his elderly age and the deteriorating health condition. Yet, Rosenberg’s success was only partial since Strauss was not excluded from the German cultural, and the disfavor with Hitler and Goebbels was only momentary. Pragmatic reasons caused that the Nazi decision-makers did not intend to

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 376–378.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 378.

¹⁰⁶ About the case of Hindemith–Furtwängler see also: B. Drewniak, *Kultura w cieniu swastyki*, Poznań 1969, pp. 179–180; Cz. Madajczyk, *Klerk czy intelektualista zaangażowany? Świat polityki wobec twórców kultury i naukowców europejskich w pierwszej połowie XX wieku. Panorama*, Poznań 1999, pp. 274–275; E. C. Król, op. cit., p. 159; R. G. Reuth, op. cit., pp. 230–231; R. Bollmus, op. cit., pp. 76–78; P. Longerich, op. cit., pp. 283–284. Goebbels himself called the end of the case of Hindemith–Furtwängler “the great moral success.” See *Joseph Goebbels Tagebücher 1924–1945. Band 3...*, s. 857 (zapis z 2 III 1935 r.).

resign from Richard Strauss – one of the most important German composers who was famous world-wide.¹⁰⁷

In the second half of 1935 Rosenberg's ambitions connected with getting a much bigger influence on the cultural life of the Reich were so great that he felt powerful enough to put forward his own initiative to create a new ministry headed by him – the so called Reich Ministry of Ideology and Culture (Reichsministerium für Weltanschauung und Kultur). Goebbels' decisive reaction caused that the project was not supported by Führer.¹⁰⁸

In the ambiance of a sharp conflict between Goebbels and Rosenberg, on 15 November 1935 Goebbels set up the Reich Senate of Culture (Reichskultursenat, RKS). However, the author of the idea was Rosenberg who was authorized by Hitler to set up the RKS with the aim of "finding and supporting all creative forces in art and science, active for Germany in the 'national socialist' spirit."¹⁰⁹ Through cunning intrigues the PROMI minister managed to convince Hitler that the creation of the Reich Senate of Culture was his initiative. Eventually, on 13 October 1935 Hitler withdrew the support given to Rosenberg and asked Goebbels to set up the RKS. The Reich Senate of Culture launched his activity formally on 15 November 1935. It included 105 members, who were mostly officials of the RKK and outstanding persons of the cultural life of the Third Reich. This is how Goebbels commented this event in his diary: "The ceremonial event. Respectable members. Very effective [...]. Führer deeply moved [...]. Rosenberg's crazy plan fell through. The managing of culture is unequivocally in my hands"¹¹⁰. In fact, the Reich Senate for Culture did not play a major role in cultural life. Being its member was more a matter of prestige.¹¹¹

Another reason for a confrontation between Goebbels and Rosenberg was the fact of establishing in 1935 by the NSKG the award in the field of art and science (Preis für Kunst und Wissenschaft). It was to reward the most outstanding creators of culture. Goebbels interpreted this initiative in the following way: "all this is a mere emulation intended to attack me."¹¹² In January 1937 Hitler gave this prize the rank of the state award (Der Deutsche Nationalpreis für Kunst und Wissenschaft). One of the first people awarded with the prize was Alfred Rosenberg, which aroused the PROMI minister's great discontentment. He maintained that

¹⁰⁷ B. Drewniak, *Kultura w cieniu...*, pp. 113–115; J. Wulf, op. cit., s. 196–197, 203–216; E. C. Król, op. cit., pp. 154, 159; R. G. Reuth, op. cit., pp. 229, 234; R. Bollmus, op. cit., pp. 75, 78; P. Longericz, op. cit., pp. 282, 284–285; V. Dahm, *Künstler als Funktionäre...*, pp. 84–86.

¹⁰⁸ E. C. Król, op. cit., p. 159; A. Molau, op. cit., p. 145; R. Bollmus, op. cit., p. 81.

¹⁰⁹ R. G. Reuth, op. cit., p. 237.

¹¹⁰ *Joseph Goebbels Tagebücher 1924–1945. Band 3...*, p. 910 (zapis z 17 XI 1935 r.).

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 898–899 (zapis z 13 X 1935 r.), 906 (zapis z 9 XI 1935 r.), 909 (zapis z 15 XI 1935 r.), 910 (zapis z 17 XI 1935 r.); K. Backes, op. cit., p. 60; Cz. Madajczyk, op. cit., p. 239; E. C. Król, op. cit., p. 159; R. G. Reuth, op. cit., p. 237–238; R. Bollmus, op. cit., p. 80, 81; E. Piper, op. cit., p. 392–394; P. Longericz, op. cit., p. 337; V. Dahm, *Künstler als Funktionäre...*, pp. 102–104.

¹¹² *Joseph Goebbels Tagebücher 1924–1945. Band 3...*, p. 886 (zapis z 13 IX 1935 r.).

“Rosenberg does not fit the remaining awarded persons.” Looking for the justification of Hitler’s decision, he concluded that in this way “Führer wants to put a plaster on [Rosenberg’s] injuries on his unsatisfied ambition.”¹¹³

In mid-July 1936 Goebbels put forward a project of incorporating the NSKG into the RKK as its eighth chamber, which was to deal with the protection of art (Kunstpflge). He hoped that such a solution “would lead to the peace with Rosenberg.”¹¹⁴ In fact, it was another step to weaken the serious rival. Eventually, the plan fell through, and the NSKG was incorporated into the structure of the organization National Socialist Community “Power through Joy” (Nationalsozialistische Gemeinschaft “Kraft durch Freude,” KdF), run by Robert Ley, Rosenberg’s ally in his campaign against Goebbels.¹¹⁵ Their common battle against the minister of PROMI was not free of conflicts, though. The reason for the frictions between them were financial.¹¹⁶ As pretext to attack Goebbels, Rosenberg used also the affair of the Minister of Propaganda with the Bohemian actress Lida Baarova.¹¹⁷

The conflict between Ley and Goebbels started in 1933. On 10 May 1933 Ley became the head of the German Labour Front (Deutsche Arbeitfront, DAF), the organization affiliated with the NSDAP, which mandatorily had to be joined by all employers and employees after the liquidation of the independent trade unions. Ley intended to integrate all the professional associations of artists, which in the Ministry of Propaganda “gave rise to panic reactions.” It seems understandable as such a move would entail the decrease of Goebbels’ authority. In such circumstances on 13 July 1933 the Minister of Propaganda sent a letter to the Reich Chancellery, in which he wrote that Ley “supports Marxist class and trade union ideas.” He asked “the Reich Chancellor to react as quickly as possible” suggesting that “the Labour Front be given guidelines in the field of art so that the further existence of professional associations should not be questioned.”¹¹⁸ He argued his standpoint saying that he was planning to set up the Reich Chamber of Culture, which would focus all creators of culture under his leadership. The lack of Hitler’s immediate response caused that a few days later Goebbels presented the project of the creation of the Reich Chamber of Culture (Grundgedanken zur Errichtung einer Reichskulturkammer) in the Reich Chancellery, in which he sharply disputed with the ideological excesses of Ley and underlined that one of the responsibilities of the

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 1117 (zapis z 3 IX 1937 r.).

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 970 (zapis z 15 VII 1936 r.), 974 (zapis z 1 VIII 1936 r.).

¹¹⁵ E. C. Król, op. cit., p. 160; A. Molau, op. cit., s. 147–148; R. Bollmus, op. cit., pp. 84, 101–102; P. Longeric, op. cit., pp. 337–338. Goebbels’ commentary to this event: *Joseph Goebbels Tagebücher 1924–1945. Band 3...*, p. 1090 (zapis z 16 VI 1937 r.).

¹¹⁶ See more: *Joseph Goebbels Tagebücher 1924–1945. Band 3...*, p. 1026 (zapis z 5 I 1937 r.), 1028 (zapis z 15 I 1937 r.); K. Backes, op. cit., pp. 59–60; R. Bollmus, op. cit., p. 85–101; E. Piper, op. cit., p. 391.

¹¹⁷ *Das politische Tagebuch...*, pp. 64–65. See also: R. G. Reuth, op. cit., *passim*; S. Motl, *Lida Baarova–Joseph Goebbels. Die verfluchte Liebe einer tschechischen Schauspielerin und des Stellvertreters des Teufels*, Prag 2009; P. Longeric, op. cit., *passim*.

¹¹⁸ V. Dahm, *Anfänge und Ideologie...*, p. 62.

Minister of Propaganda is “to melt into unity civic educational and the formation of personality, which means culture,” which requires “associations of the press, literature, theatre, film, music, visual arts – and not associations of employers and employees, which emphasize heavily the equality of economic interest at the expense of relations in professional branches.” Finally, the plans of the head of the DAF were carried out as Hitler approved of Goebbels’ plans and on 22 September 1933 the regulation about the establishment of the Reich Chamber of Culture was introduced. Apart from this Ley, planning the creation of the organization which would deal with filling in free time of all working people, needed the approval of the Minister of Propaganda for his cultural programme. That is why, he chose “the temporary cease-fire.” The organization called Nationalsozialistische Gemeinschaft “Kraft durch Freude” (KdF)¹¹⁹ launched its activity on 27 November 1933 during a special session of the DAF in Berlin, as one element of this body. Goebbels made a speech in which he thanked Ley for the fact that the project of the creation of the organization “was well thought out and carried out in the close cooperation with the Reich Ministry of Propaganda.” With time, Goebbels, concerned with numerous successes and autonomy of the organization KdF in the field of organizing free time for workers, took steps aiming at the incorporation of the KdF into the RKK as its eighth chamber called the Reich Chamber of National-Cultural Labour (Reichskammer für volkskulturelle Arbeit). Although at the beginning of 1939 he recorded joyfully in his diary that the realization of this ideas was proceeding successfully, the outbreak of the war thwarted his plans and he did not manage to take over the organization KdF.¹²⁰

The centralized system of control and organization of cultural life was to guarantee the effective introduction of the Nazi model of cultural policy. However, the lack of the clear distribution of professional responsibilities among the bodies dealing with cultural policy and the developing Officecratic apparatus led to numerous frictions, the reason for which was mainly caused by ambition, which entailed chaos in the current cultural work. In the secret report of the Security Service (Sicherheitsdienst, SD) of 1938 the problem was presented in the following way: “Despite the on-going development of culture there is no uniform planning. The Ministry of Education, the Home Ministry, the Ministry of Propaganda, Rosenberg’s office, administrative bodies responsible for culture in the lands and provinces, cultural institutions of the party, the Reich Chamber of Culture with its separate chambers, the organization “Power thorough Joy,” the Association of Docents, the Association of Students, appropriate professional societies, military

¹¹⁹ W. Buchholz, *Die nationalsozialistische Gemeinschaft “Kraft durch Freude.” Freizeitgestaltung und Arbeiterschaft im Dritten Reich*, München 1976.

¹²⁰ *Joseph Goebbels Tagebücher 1924–1945. Band 3...*, p. 1297 (zapis z 20 I 1939 r.), 1301 (zapis z 26 I 1939 r.), 1311 (zapis z 20 III 1939 r.), 1311–1312 (zapis z 21 III 1939 r.); H. Brenner, op. cit., pp. 55–56; E. C. Król, op. cit., p. 157; R. G. Reuth, op. cit., pp. 207–208, 216–217; R. Bollmus, op. cit., pp. 51–52.

scientific and research institutions, institutions responsible for economy and industry, etc. undertake actions to deal with the national socialist cultural policy, but we did not manage to unite all those institutions and establish their entitlements to create the planned cultural policy.”¹²¹

4. The Nazi “cultural revolution” in the years 1933–1939

In the eyes of the Nazis the culture of the Weimar Republic personified the cosmopolitan chaos. The first actions undertaken by national socialists in order to “heal” culture were conducted in two directions:

- the reorganization, and further liquidation, of the existing cultural institutions;
- the “purification” of cultural life from the so called undesirable elements both in terms of the personnel and ideology.

One of the fundamental slogans promoting the “cultural revolution” was the contamination of the pure racially German culture with Jews. Any art deforming the reality was stigmatized as the sign of “the Jewish-plutocratic-bolshevik sleaze.” The national socialist consistently carried out their planned extermination of “non-Aryan” cultural and scientific elites, which concerned mostly the Jews, whose contribution to the German cultural life was considerable. What is more, the Jews were now not as well integrated with the German society as in the period of the Weimar Republic¹²². They constituted at that time only 1% of the population, 2.65% of the university staff, 0.53% of other employees working in education, 5.6% of theatrical producers, 3% of actors and dancers, 2.04% of musicians and singers, 2.5% of booksellers, 2.44% painters and sculptors, 3.05% of publishers and authors.¹²³ The campaign triggered against the “hegemony of the Jews in culture” constituted an element of the Nazi policy aiming at the exclusion of the Jews from any fields of life.¹²⁴

The Nazis most violently attacked literary men, and the main object of their attack became the head of the section of literature (Abteilung für Dichtung) at the Prussian Academy of Art (Preussische Akademie der Künste) Heinrich Mann,¹²⁵ whom the authorities decided to punish for the support given to the left-wing during the pre-election campaign. On 5 February 1933 Mann led the session of the section of literature for the last time, and on 15 February he resigned from the office¹²⁶ and from the membership in the Academy; six days later he left for France.

¹²¹ *Meldungen aus dem Reich 1938–1945. Die geheimen Lageberichte des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS*, hrsg. von H. Boberach, Bd. 2, Herrsching 1984, p. 80.

¹²² M. Brenner, *Jüdische Kultur in der Weimarer Republik*, München 2000; Cz. Karolak, W. Kuniczki, H. Orłowski, op. cit., pp. 427–430.

¹²³ Cz. Madajczyk, op. cit., p. 241.

¹²⁴ See more: P. Longrich, op. cit., pp. 355–356; J. P. Barbian, op. cit., pp. 54–58.

¹²⁵ E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, p. 351.

¹²⁶ Gottfried Benn was the appointed head of the section. See E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, pp. 39–40.

In the letter of 14 March 1933 the president of the Prussian Academy of Art, a composer and conductor, Max von Schillings¹²⁷ addressed 31 members of the section of literature with a rhetoric question whether in the new political situation they were ready to "put themselves at the disposal of the Prussian Academy of Art" making a reservation that "the affirmative reply excludes any public political activity against the government and binds the person to the loyal cooperation to carry out cultural tasks in accordance with the statute of the Academy."¹²⁸ In June 1933 the section of literature of the Prussian Academy of Art was raised to the range of the independent German Academy of Literature (*Deutsche Akademie der Dichtung*). The head of the Academy became Hanns Johst,¹²⁹ who since 1935 had supervised the Reich Chamber of Writing. Among the people deprived of their membership in the Academy there were Leonhard Frank, Georg Kaiser, Bernhard Kellermann, Thomas Mann, René Schickele, Jakob Wassermann, Franz Werfel.¹³⁰

The German section of the international union of writers PEN-Club also got rid of members who were undesirable for political or racial reasons. The same phenomenon occurred in the Union of the Protection of German Writers (*Schutzverband Deutscher Schriftsteller*). It was acknowledged that in order to carry out its tasks as the representative of "the German spirit," the German section of the PEN-Club should "break away with the past and people representing it and should form a totally new board consisting of people who know that only somebody who is deeply rooted in their own nation is in a position to represent the nation in the world,"¹³¹ which was tantamount to carrying out purges. Having got rid of unwanted writers on 23 April 1933 there took place a meeting of the "purified" German section of the PEN-Club in which new members took part.¹³² At the end of May 1933 the delegation of the German section of the PEN-Club went to the international congress of the PEN-Club in Ragusa (now Dubrovnik). The Palestinian section of the PEN-Club did not take part in the meeting, which was to demonstrate their opposition to the persecutions of the Jewish population in Germany. In the telegram they sent it read: "As the Germans are also in Dubrovnik, there is no reason for us to come."¹³³ During the session delegates of other national sections criticized the Germans for the removal of the members from the German section of the PEN-Club for political or racial reasons. The acts of burning books of po-

¹²⁷ See: W. Raupp, *Max von Schillings. Der Kampf eines deutschen Künstlers*, Hamburg 1935; E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, pp. 473–474.

¹²⁸ J. Wulf, *Literatur und Dichtung im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation*, Frankfurt am Main 1989, pp. 22–23.

¹²⁹ E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, p. 258.

¹³⁰ J. Wulf, *Literatur und Dichtung...*, *passim*; H. Orłowski, *Literatura w III Rzeszy*, Poznań 1979, pp. 26–27; E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, pp. 103, 145–146, 264, 271–272, 352–353, 472, 582–583, 593.

¹³¹ J. Wulf, *Literatur und Dichtung...*, pp. 68–69.

¹³² *Ibid.*, pp. 69–74.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

litically undesirable authors in public was also heavily criticized.¹³⁴ When men of letters who had been forced to leave Germany took the floor (e.g. Schalom Asch, Emil Ludwig, Ernsts Toller), and the president of the PEN-Club – the British writer, Herbert Wells put forward a motion of the anti-Nazi final resolution, the German delegation ostentatiously left the room to demonstrate their protest against the “campaign of hatred” towards Germany.¹³⁵ Yet, the international criticism against the Germans did not decrease, which made the PROMI authorities order the Germans members of the PEN-Club to leave this organization, which eventually took place on 8 November 1933 during the session of the Executive Committee of the PEN-Club in London. In January 1934 the Union of National Writers (Union Nationaler Schriftsteller) was set up with H. Johst as its head; it took over the wealth of the dissolved section along with the majority of its members. On 1 March 1934 Hanns Johst and Gottfried Benn published an appeal to *Writers from all the countries* (*An die Schriftsteller aller Länder*) in *Völkischer Beobachter*, in which they called for undertaking the “collegial cooperation” in order to protect the national literature against communism, taking into account the racial criteria, which was to counterbalance the “internationalistic activity of the PEN-Club.”¹³⁶ The appeal did not win much support abroad, and the Union of National Writers did not develop its activity.

In mid-1933 the Union of the Protection of German Writers along with other similar organization were dissolved. In their place the Union of German Writers of the Reich (Reichsverband Deutscher Schriftsteller) was set up headed by Goebbels’ good friend – a journalist and poor writer Götz Otto Stoffregen.¹³⁷ In the paper *Berliner Lokal – Anzeiger* of 29 July 1933 it said that the aim of the organization was “to make the Union an obligatory organization, the members of which shall decide in the future whether a given work of art should be published or not. The Union shall be the only organization of this kind. Members of the Union shall be only writers of pure German origin, politically immaculate.”¹³⁸

Within a short period of time all the associations representing the interests of writers, booksellers, publishers and librarians¹³⁹ were forced to join the Chamber of Reich Literature, which – as was defined by Eugeniusz Cezary Król – constituted “the prolonged arm of the Department of Literature”¹⁴⁰ in the Ministry of Propaganda.

¹³⁴ See more p. 52 of this work.

¹³⁵ J. Wulf, *Literatur und Dichtung...*, pp. 76–93.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 99–101.

¹³⁷ E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, pp. 535–536.

¹³⁸ J. Wulf, *Literatur und Dichtung...*, p. 192.

¹³⁹ See more: *ibid.*, p. 195.

¹⁴⁰ It was set up in October 1934. Earlier the matters connected with literature belonged to one of the branches of the Dept. of Propaganda. The Department of Writing was headed by (chronologically): Dr. Heinz Wismann (1934–1937), Karl Heinz Hederich (1937–1938), Alfred Ingemar Berndt (1938–1939) and Wilhelm Haegert (1939–1945). See E. C. Król, *op. cit.*, pp. 129–130, 377–378; E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, pp. 44, 189, 204–205, 604–605.

ganda. Although the Department of Literature and the RSK undoubtedly had the major influence on literature in the Third Reich, it must be stated that there were also other administrative bodies which attempted to interfere in this sphere such as Rosenberg's Office (Amt Rosenberg), which was part of the Office for the Protection of Literature (Amt Schrifttumspflege) headed by Hans Hagenmeyer; the Reich Ministry for Science, Learning and Education; the bodies of the party such as the Official-Party Commission of the Scrutiny for affairs of the Protection of National-Socialist Literature (Parteiamtliche Prüfungskommission zum Schutze des nationalsozialistischen Schrifttums)¹⁴¹ headed by Philip Bouhler; the police apparatus such as the Mission for Literature (Schrifttumsstelle) of the SD which operated from June 1934 in Leipzig and was headed by Dr. Wilhelm Spengler.¹⁴²

The personnel purges and institutional modifications in the literary entourage were accompanied by the long-term action of removing from libraries and bookshops publications which were regarded as improper." It was launched by the so called awareness-raising campaign (Aufklärungsfeldzug) *Against the non-German spirit (Wider den undeutschen Geist)*, which in the period from 12 April to 10 May 1933 was conducted by the German Union of Students (Deutsche Studentenschaft). In the press appeared the so called black lists with the titles of the publications deserving to be burnt (verbrennungswürdig). Apart from belles-lettres, the lists also included titles of books concerning philosophy, history, pedagogy or political sciences. Among stigmatized writers there were Alfred Döblin, Lion Feuchtwanger, Friedrich Wilhelm Förster, Sigmund Freud, Ernst Glaeser, Erich Kästner, Alfred Kerr (Kempner), Egon Erwin Kisch, Emil Ludwig (Cohn), Heinrich and Thomas Mann, Carl von Ossietzky, Erich Maria Remarque, Kurt Tucholsky, Theodor Wolff, Arnold and Stefan Zweig.¹⁴³ Most of them emigrated. It is estimated that in the first years of the Nazi government about 2500 writers left the Third Reich.¹⁴⁴

The culminating and most spectacular point of the campaign run by the Deutsche Studentenschaft were the acts of burning "destructive literary works" in public (zersetzende Schrifttum), which on 10 May 1933 was carried out in almost every university town. The event was specially celebrated in the Opera Platz in Berlin, where it was attended by the Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels, who, in the presence of about 40,000 people made a speech about the combat with decadence, materialism, Marxism and non-German tendencies; he announced the end of the epoch of the extreme Jewish intellectualism and the "victorious revival of the new spirit, which led to the external and internal purification of the na-

¹⁴¹ See K. H. Hederich, *Die Parteiamtliche Prüfungskommission zum Schutze des NS-Schrifttums, ihre Aufgaben und ihre Stellung in Partei und Staat*, Breslau 1937.

¹⁴² See more: J. Wulf, *Literatur und Dichtung...*, pp. 229–267; E. C. Król, op. cit., pp. 378–380; E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, pp. 67–68, 191, 208, 591.

¹⁴³ E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, pp. 103, 136, 142, 148, 167, 263, 274, 279, 344, 351–352, 352–353, 401–402, 436, 559–560, 608, 621.

¹⁴⁴ E. C. Król, op. cit., p. 376.

tion.”¹⁴⁵ Although the action of burning books was mainly symbolic and did not lead to the complete destruction of all the publications regarded “by the Nazis as “pernicious,” it made many writers remain silent or decide to emigrate. It also indicated the targets of the purge in the German literary entourage conducted by the bodies of the German state administration. The purge was conducted mainly by the Reich Chamber of Literature, which in 1935, upon the authorization of the Ministry of Propaganda, announced the secret list of unwanted and pernicious writers (*Liste des schädlichen und unerwünschten Schrifttums*).¹⁴⁶ Lists of this kind were also made after the outbreak of WWII, having taken into account the literary legacy of the occupied states. The national-socialist literature was to translate the Nazi ideas into the literary language. Apart from doctrinal works and the Nazi party’s texts, referred to as the “literature of the movement,” there existed also the so called *völkische Literatur*, the important element of which was the theory of “blood and Earth” (*Blut und Boden*), which promoted the racist origin of the German nations, the value of the national community based on the blood ties and the attachment to Mother Earth. The leading motif of many literary works was the heroic war glorifying the war and the heroism of German soldiers. Referring to the period of the German Empire, the Nazis explained the necessity to extend the “life space” for the German nation.¹⁴⁷

Next, the Nazis carried out “revolutionary” changes among artists. Along with the whole Weimar Republic they did away with the main movements of modern art such as Cubism, Futurism, Dadaism and Expressionism, which were referred to as “degenerated art” (*entartete Kunst*). The condemned movements were accused

¹⁴⁵ *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik. Band 1...*, p. 338–340; G. Reuth, op. cit., p. 203; “*Das war ein Vorspiel nur...*” *Bücherverbrennung Deutschland 1933: Voraussetzungen und Folgen*, hrsg. von H. Haarmann, W. Huder, K. Siebenhaar, Berlin–Wien 1983; H. Denkler, E. Lämmert, “*Das war ein Vorspiel nur...*” *Berliner Colloquium zur Literaturpolitik im “Dritten Reich”*, Berlin 1985, *passim*.

¹⁴⁶ More about the action of removing books considered ‘improper’ from libraries and the publishing market J. Wulf, *Literatur und Dichtung...*, pp. 44–67; H. Brenner, op. cit., pp. 43–53; H. Orłowski, op. cit., p. 28–29; H. Łucejko-Drewniak, *Literatura piękna niemieckiego obszaru językowego na listach proskrypcyjnych w Trzeciej Rzeszy*, *Przegląd Zachodni*, R. XL: 1984, nr 2, pp. 51–86. It is worth saying that as early as 16 May 1933 the first official ‘black list’ (*erste amtliche Schwarze Liste*) was published in *Börsenblatt für die Deutsche Buchhandlung*, and its author was the Prussian Ministry for Science, Art and Education (*Preussische Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung*).

¹⁴⁷ See more J. Wulf, *Literatur und Dichtung...*, *passim*; F. Schonauer, *Deutsche Literatur im Dritten Reich. Versuch einer Darstellung in polemisch-didaktischer Absicht*, Olten und Freiburg im Breisgau 1961; D. Strothmann, *Nationalsozialistische Literaturpolitik. Ein Beitrag zur Publizistik im Dritten Reich*, Bonn 1963; E. Loewy, *Literatur unterm Hakenkreuz. Das Dritte Reich und seine Dichtung*, Frankfurt am Main 1966; H. Denkler, K. Prümm, *Die deutsche Literatur im Dritten Reich. Themen, Traditionen, Wirkungen*, Stuttgart 1976; H. Orłowski, op. cit., *passim*; U. K. Ketelsen, *Literatur und Drittes Reich*, Greifswald 1994; H. Orłowski, *Zrozumieć świat. Szkice o literaturze i kulturze niemieckiej XX wieku*, Wrocław 2003, *passim*; E. C. Król, op. cit., pp. 385–398; A. Mentzer, H. Sarkowicz, *Literatur in Nazi-Deutschland. Ein biographisches Lexikon*, Hamburg–Wien 2002, pp. 9–66 [Einleitung]; M. Czarnecka, op. cit., pp. 281–284; H. Sarkowicz, “*Bis alles in Scherben fällt...*” *Schriftsteller im Dienst der NS-Diktatur*, [in:] *Hitlers Künstler...*, pp. 176–209.

of being distant from the German spirit, “hostile” towards the Nazism and that they went beyond Realism, which was the fundamental indicator of the whole artistic creation. During the Parteitag of 5 September 1934 Hitler called the whole avant-garde creation as the “cultural complement of the political destruction.”¹⁴⁸

What was considered to be the example of the worst in German art were the works by the president of the Prussian Academy of Art, the representative of the German Impressionism Max Liebermann.¹⁴⁹ In the atmosphere of the witch-hunt against him launched at the beginning of May 1933, he resigned from the position of the president of the Prussian Academy of Art and explained his decision in his statement to the press: “During my long life I have done my best to serve German art. To my way of thinking art has nothing to do either with politics or with race; that is why I cannot [...] belong to the Prussian Academy of Art any longer.”¹⁵⁰ In mid-May another nine members were excluded from the institution – architects Paul Mebes, Erich Mendelsohn, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe; painters – Otto Dix, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Emil Nolde, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff; a sculptor René Sintenis and a medallist Ludwig Gies. The fact that they became members of the Academy not by being elected but by being nominated by the Prussian minister of Education and Culture Adolf Grimme served as a pretext to their being removed from the Academy. The above mentioned president of the Academy M. von Schilling asked them formally to resign from their membership in the institution represented by him. He suggested that it was possible to elect them as members of the Academy later on, which was not true as nobody thought of admitting artists whose works were qualified as “degenerated.”¹⁵¹ Most persecuted artists decided to emigrate.

After the first stage of personnel purges conducted in 1933 in art there took place a three-year period of “Liberalism” publicized by Goebbels, who claimed that it gave artists an opportunity to abandon improper forms of art. There appeared attempts to rehabilitate some modern artistic movements, but they were halted by Hitler. During the assembly of the party in Nuremberg on 5 September 1934 he made a speech in which he firmly stated that Cubism, Dadaism and Futurism did not correspond the ideas of the national socialism. Representatives of those artistic movements were called “impostors,” who “are mistaken saying that they could become artists of the new Reich” as their creativity led only to the “political destruction.”¹⁵²

The next stage of the policy towards fine arts commenced at the end of 1936 along with the reorganization of the Reich Chamber of Visual Arts, which con-

¹⁴⁸ K. Backes, op. cit., p. 61; E. Piper, op. cit. pp. 379–380.

¹⁴⁹ E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, p. 332.

¹⁵⁰ J. Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation*, Frankfurt–Main–Berlin 1989, pp. 34–35.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 36–42; B. Drewniak, *Kultura w cieniu...*, pp. 139–140; E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, pp. 103, 165, 278, 364, 370, 395, 481, 514.

¹⁵² V. Dahm, *Künstler als Funktionäre...*, pp. 97–98.

trolled artists, institutions and bodies operating in the field of painting, architecture, art and sculpture. The reorganization including numerous personnel changes meant the bigger centralization of the office, which was to exacerbate the Nazi policy in the field of fine arts. According to the data at the end of 1936 about 100,000 people were subordinated to the Reich Chamber of Visual Arts.¹⁵³ As fine arts were regarded as a particularly important propaganda tool, they were also scrutinized by the Minister of Propaganda. Goebbels controlled whether the development of art in the Third Reich “corresponds to the spirit of New Germany in terms of its artistic level and ideological content.”¹⁵⁴ From May 1935 in the Ministry of Propaganda there was employed a commissioner of the Reich for affairs concerning the shaping of the artistic form (Reichsbeauftragter für künstlerische Formgebung). The position was held by the caricaturist Hans Schweitzer-Mjöltnir. He was responsible for keeping the ideological purity of the art of the Third Reich.¹⁵⁵

The first important task of the new president of the Reich Chamber of Visual Arts A. Ziegler was to prepare to exhibitions – *The Great German Exhibition of Art (Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung)*, which was to celebrate the opening of the House of German Art (Haus der Deutschen Kunst) designed by Paul Troost¹⁵⁶ and the exhibition of the so called degenerated art. The chief organizers were also Walter Hansen and Wolfgang Willrich.¹⁵⁷ As part of the preparation works a huge action of purging galleries and museums from exhibits representing “hostile” artistic movements made by “foreign” mainly “non-Aryan” artists was carried out. It was accompanied by the reorganization of museums, which were given new tasks: “It is necessary to shape our museums anew as we cannot be satisfied only with the elimination of several ‘dangerous’ pictures [...]. Museum are to serve the nation, to strengthen the racial awareness, the national, spiritual and mental community of Germans [...]. Our museum have to cheer up our nation, provide Germans with courage and power to fight for life and enable our nation to confirm its own origin. Our museums have to become national museum again, the sites of the national and racial self-consciousness.”¹⁵⁸

On 27 November 1936 Goebbels issued a directive prohibiting free artistic criticism: “As the year 1936 did not bring any satisfactory improvement in artistic criticism, as of today I prohibit artistic criticism in the form hitherto applied. In-

¹⁵³ J. Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste...*, p. 108–111.

¹⁵⁴ Cited after E. C. Król, op. cit., pp. 130–131.

¹⁵⁵ J. Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste...*, pp. 99–101; E. C. Król, op. cit., pp. 133–134; E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, p. 504; H. Brenner, *Die Kunst im politischen Machtkampf der Jahre 1933/34*, Vierteljahrshfte für Zeitgeschichte, R. 10: 1962, p. 17–42. Contrary to H. Brenner and E. Klee, E.C. Król maintains that the office of the Reich commissioner for the artistic form existed in the structure of the Reich Chamber for Visual Arts.

¹⁵⁶ E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, p. 558.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 194–195, 600. It is worth underlining that Willrich was the author of the pamphlet titled *Die Säuberung des Kunsttempels (The Purification of the art temple)* issued in the spring of 1937, which constituted a symbol of the intensification of the Nazi policy against artists.

¹⁵⁸ J. Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste...*, p. 56.

instead of the current artistic criticism, which has been totally distorted in the period of the Jewish alienation of art and has been understood as the evaluation of art, I declare from now on the information about art; the position of a critic of art shall be replaced by an artistic editor. The information about art shall not constitute its evaluation, but its presentation and acceptance.” At the same time he postulated the “observation of art,” which should be done with a “pure heart and the consciousness of the national socialist.” In practice, it meant that the evaluation of art was excluded for the benefit of its politically involved description (*Kunstbericht*) following the “Nazi esthetic canon.”¹⁵⁹

The central tabernacle of German art was the monumental House of German Art in Munich,¹⁶⁰ erected in the years 1933–1937 in Ludwigsplatz, designed by Paul Ludwig Troost. On 18 July 1937 it was put into service. The first Great German Exhibition of Art was opened there. From among 15,000 artistic works about 900 exhibits were shown. Their authors were artists whose art was considered to be a model to follow such as painters – Arnold Böcklin, Elk Eber, Wilhelm Petersen, Wilhelm Otto Pitthan, Adolf Ziegler; sculptors – Arno Breker, Fritz Klimsch, Georg Kolbe, Kurt Schmid-Ehmen, Josef Thorak and Josef Wackerle.¹⁶¹ According to Gobbels, art was to be “heroic, romantic, devoid of sentimentalism, down to earth, nationalistic, full of pathos.”¹⁶² The preferable motifs included genre scene, particularly idealizing peasants’ life, landscape painting, military and war themes, female and male nudes characterized by precise anatomy, the leading figures of the national socialist movement.¹⁶³

The Great Exhibition of German Art was deliberately contrasted with the exhibition of “degenerated art” opened on 19 July 1937 in the building of the Archaeological Museum situated in the Hofgarten park not far from the House of German Art. In the inauguration speech A. Ziegler described the character of the exhibition as follows: “You can see the products of madness, arrogance, amateurism and degeneration. What is shown in this exhibition arouses in all of us shock and repulsion.”¹⁶⁴ Adolf Hitler also made a speech, in which he underlined the exacerbation of his policy towards the artistic entourage: “From now on we run

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 126–137; K. Backes, *op. cit.*, p. 69, 72; P. Longerich, *op. cit.*, pp. 336–337.

¹⁶⁰ K. Arndt, *Das Haus der Deutschen Kunst ein Symbol der neuen Machtverhältnisse*, [in:] *Die “Kunststadt” München 1937. Nationalsozialismus und “Entartete Kunst,”* hrsg. von P. K. Schuster, München 1988, pp. 61–82.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 200–201, 203–204, 210–212, 278–285; E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, pp. 69–70, 111–112, 282, 295, 411, 416, 478, 552, 572–573.

¹⁶² *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik. Band 1...*, p. 323.

¹⁶³ More about the Great German Art Exhibition and the rules in Nazi art: J. Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste...*, *passim*; K. Backes, *op. cit.*, *passim*; *Kunst im 3. Reich. Dokumente der Unterwerfung*, hrsg. von G. Bussmann, Frankfurt am Main 1974, *passim*; P. Krakowski, *Sztuka Trzeciej Rzeszy*, Kraków 1994, *passim*; Cz. Karolak, W. Kunicki, H. Orłowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 475–477; J. Petsch, “Unersetzliche Künstler.” *Malerei und Plastik im Dritten Reich*, [in:] *Hitlers Künstler...*, pp. 245–277.

¹⁶⁴ J. Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste...*, pp. 361–362.

a ruthless war against the last elements of the decay of our culture.”¹⁶⁵ At the exhibition 730 works of “cultural decay” by 112 artists were shown. Their authors belonged the leading artists of the German avant-garde: abstractionists (Willy Baumeister, Otto Freundlich, Paul Klee), Dadaists (Max Ernsts, George Grosz, Kurt Schwitters), Expressionists (Ernst Barlach, Heinrich Campendonk, Erich Heckel, Karl Hofer, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Emil Nolde, Max Pechstein, Christian Rohlf, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff), Impressionists (Lovis Corinth, Otto Dix). In the period from 19 July to 30 November 1937 the exhibition was seen in Munich by over 2 million people. Next, it was shown in other bigger German cities such as Berlin, Düsseldorf and Frankfurt am Mein.¹⁶⁶

The preparation of the exhibition of “degenerated art” did not mean the end of the action of purging of galleries and museums. Moreover, on the strength of the regulation of 31 May 1938 the state was allowed to requisition products of “degenerated art” also from private owners.¹⁶⁷ In the first five years of the Nazi rule over 5000 pictures and 12 000 graphics were removed without any compensation from 101 galleries. They were referred to as “Bolshevik art,” “cultural and political anarchy” or they were regarded as “decadent.” The galleries which suffered the greatest losses included Kunsthalle in Mannheim, the museum in Düsseldorf, Folkwang-Museum in Essen, the national gallery in Hanover and the Munich collections. Some of them were destroyed, others were to be sold abroad.¹⁶⁸ At the spectacular auction in Lucerne organized on 30 July 1939 in Grand Hotel National 125 works were exhibited including pictures by Marc Chagall, Paul Gauguin, Vincent van Gogh, Henri Matisse, Pablo Picasso.¹⁶⁹ The national socialist “cultural revolution” also affected the field of music. As with literature and art, the major authority in music remained Führer, which was confirmed in 1934 in one of the German musical periodicals: “We Germans are a happy nation. Our Führer is not only the greatest man and politician of the 20th century, but also the greatest living expert in music. Under such a leadership German musicians may expect triumphant days for German music. It goes beyond doubt that the superiority of German music is certain forever as it is Adolf Hitler who manages it.”¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 360–361. Two months later at the 9th session of the NSDAP on 6 September 1937 Hitler referring to ‘degenerated art’ again made a speech about artistic creation. See *Reden des Führers am Parteitag der Arbeit 1937*, München 1938, pp. 26–49.

¹⁶⁶ J. Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste...*, pp. 363, 364–373; B. Drewniak, *Kultura w cieniu...*, pp. 158–159; K. Backes, op. cit., pp. 73–77; *Die “Kunststadt” München 1937...*, passim; Cz. Karolak, W. Kunicki, H. Orłowski, op. cit., pp. 474–475; E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, pp. 29, 33, 81, 89, 103, 126, 148, 181–182, 204, 234, 278, 279–280, 395, 409, 448–449, 481, 505; *Polowanie na awangardę. Zakazana sztuka w Trzeciej Rzeszy*, pod red. B. Górskiej i J. Schönwiesner, Kraków 2011.

¹⁶⁷ J. Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste...*, p. 377.

¹⁶⁸ Cz. Karolak, W. Kunicki, H. Orłowski, op. cit., p. 474. Comp. B. Drewniak, *Kultura w cieniu...*, p. 157.

¹⁶⁹ J. Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste...*, pp. 381–382.

¹⁷⁰ B. Drewniak, *Kultura w cieniu...*, p. 168. About Hitler’s influence on the musical life in the Reich: J. Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich...*, pp. 328–333.

Formally it was the Branch of Music (Musikabteilung) in the 6th PROMI Department and the Reich Chamber of Music that supervised the German musical life.¹⁷¹ During the first ceremonial session of the Reich Chamber of Music held on 13 February 1933 in Berlin's concert hall, R. Strauss defined its role as follows: "The Reich Chamber of Music [...] constitutes the most important stage on the way to reconstruct our whole musical life [...] is one stage on the way to reach our major aim: the German nation and its music should closely connected with each other [...]. While it is true that the German music triumphed in the whole world particularly in the 19th century, strengthening the significance of German art and German artists abroad [...], it is also true that the general cultural, economic and technological development of the recent 4–5 decades led to [...] that the German nation has been drifting away from high musical culture. As result, the economic situation of the German musical world has deteriorated [...] and the musical taste, which could not exert a long-time influence on our whole culture, has become shallow [...] when after several months the national socialist government set up the Reich Music Chamber, which means that New Germany does not intend to leave artistic matters as they are, but it wants to provide our musical life a new impulse to act."¹⁷²

As with the remaining Reich Chambers, artists of "other races," of the Jewish background were refused to join the organization, which eliminated them from the cultural life. Such artists included: Paul Abraham, Hanns Eisler, Victor Hollaender, Ernst Krenek, Otto Klemperer, Gustav Mahler, Arnold Schönberg, Franz Schreker, Erwin Schulhoff, Bruno Walter (Schlesinger), Kurt Weill.¹⁷³ The majority of persecuted musicians decided to emigrate.

The symbolic moment of the termination of the process of the reforms of the German musical life were the Days of the Reich Music (Reichsmusiktage) in Düsseldorf, organized upon the initiative and with the participation of the minister Goebbels from 22 to 29 May 1938. Heinz Drewes was responsible for their organization,¹⁷⁴ who since 1937 had been the head of the Music Branch in the Ministry of Propaganda. During this event they celebrated the 125th anniversary of Richard Wagner's birthday, who was considered to have glorified the German culture; the celebration became a tool of exerting the propaganda influence on the society.¹⁷⁵ In

¹⁷¹ More about the institution J. Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich...*, pp. 119–138.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 194–195.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 21–23, 40–49; E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, pp. 13–14, 119, 240, 348, 281, 306, 486, 493, 498, 580, 587. In 1940, Institut der NSDAP zur Erforschung der Judenfrage (The NSDAP Institute to Examine the Jewish Issue) published a propaganda book *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik*, prepared by Herbert Gerigk, responsible for music in the office of the commissioner for the supervision of spiritual and ideological education of the NSDAP (Leiter der Hauptstelle Musik beim Beauftragten des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP) and Theophil Stengel, a notifier of the Reich Chamber of Music.

¹⁷⁴ E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, p. 108.

¹⁷⁵ See more: J. Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich...*, pp. 311–322.

the speech given during the Days of the Reich Music the minister Goebbels criticized heavily the German musical culture of the Weimar Republic, making “international Jews” responsible for its crisis: “The collapse of the German spiritual and artistic life in the years 1918–1933 also affected music [...]. In 1933 the German musical life was in a hopeless situation. There was a threat of a dangerous spiritual and artistic decay [...]. The German master who created [...] the immortal works of German music, were replaced with treacherous elements of the Jewish culture.”¹⁷⁶ Deprecating the musical culture of the Weimar Republic, he underlined the exceptional musical gift of the Germans and their huge musical achievements: “As far as music is concerned, we are a chosen nations in the world, not only because of the musical creativity itself, but also thanks to our ability to receive it properly, which constitutes a privilege of the masses of the German nation.”¹⁷⁷ At the same time he indicated the achievements of the Nazis in the “healing” process of the German musical life: “National socialism caused that changes [...], the German musical life has been purified from any traces of the Jewish arrogance and supremacy. Our classics present themselves to the public in the pure and undistorted form. Thanks to concerts organized on a large scale, the classics shall be presented to the masses of the German nation. Instead of pure Constructivism and empty Expressionism, the artistic intuition becomes the source of creativity.”¹⁷⁸

During the Days of the Reich Music, the general officer of the National Theatre in Weimar (Generalintendant des Nationaltheaters Weimar) Hans Severus Ziegler,¹⁷⁹ in cooperation with the general music director (Generalmusikdirektor) in Weimar Paul Sixt,¹⁸⁰ the leading drama playwright (Chefdramaturg) of the National Theatre in Weimar Otto zur Nedden¹⁸¹ and Hein Drewes, prepared the exhibition of “degenerated music” (Entartete Musik), which was shown in the so called Weimar palace of art (Kunstpalaſt). What was considered to be degenerated was the works of the atonal avant-garde composers.¹⁸² Arnold Schönberg, whose works were referred to as the “typical non-German abstract anti-melodious music,” became the main object of the violent criticism. In May 1933 he was dismissed from the post of the head of the masters’ class of composers in the Berlin Akademie der Künſte and emigrated to France, later to the USA. Another two outstanding students of Schönberg – Alban Berg¹⁸³ and Anton von Webern – also had

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 462–463.

¹⁷⁷ B. Drewniak, *Kultura w cieniu...*, p. 169.

¹⁷⁸ J. Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich...*, pp. 463–464.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 472–474; E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, pp. 616–617. H. P. Ziegler prepared a brochure titled *Entartete Musik – Eine Abrechnung* issued along with the exhibition of ‘degenerated art’. See J. Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich...*, pp. 466–470.

¹⁸⁰ E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, p. 515.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 388.

¹⁸² See more J. Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich...*, pp. 227–228, 230–231, 365–370.

¹⁸³ E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, p. 42.

to emigrate. Jazz music was also disqualified due to racial reasons.¹⁸⁴ In the exhibition they showed musical scores of the musical pieces, photos and caricatures of the musicians regarded as the creators of “degenerated” music,” their publications and publications dedicated to them. The exhibition condemned such musicians as Paul Abraham, Hanns Eisler, Leo Fall, Paul Hindemith, Victor Hollaender, Erich Kleiber, Ernst Krener, Heinz Unger, Kurt Weill¹⁸⁵ along with the above mentioned musicians of the Jewish background. The exhibition was on display until 14 June 1938 in Düsseldorf, next it was also shown in Munich, Weimar and Vienna. During the Days of the Reich Music there took place a scientific conference attended by outstanding musicologists, who discussed the relation between race and musical creativity.¹⁸⁶

Although in the Third Reich many people wrote about music – including both theoreticians and practitioners, there did not exist any common formula for artists. It is interesting that any kind of applied music (military music, entertainment music, dance music, etc.) became prosperous. The authorities highly appreciated the music of primitive German tribes (e.g. old choirs), most of the achievements of the Romantic and classical composers, which provided the propaganda alibi that despite the radical political changes, Germany continued to be a nation with the developed rich culture. Among the German and Austrian composers whose music was most commonly played there were Johann Sebastian Bach, Ludwig van Beethoven, Johannes Brahms, Anton Bruckner, Georg Friedrich Händel, Joseph Haydn, Albert Lortzing, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Robert Schumann, Johann Strauss (Jr.), Richard Wagner, Carl Maria von Weber.¹⁸⁷ Most of the promising young musicians left the Third Reich. In Germany stayed Richard Strauss. The new authorities supported and honoured such composers as Hermann Abendroth, Karl Böhm, Werner Egk, Wilhelm Furtwängler, Ottmar Gerster, Joseph Haas, Paul Höfer, Eugen Jochum, Herbert von Karajan, Hans Knappertsbusch, Franz Konwitschny, Clemens Krauss, Eduard Künneke, Paul Lincke, Carl Orff, Hans Pfitzner, Carl Schuricht.¹⁸⁸ Foreign music was heavily scrutinized. Before a given piece of music was included in the German musical repertoire, it was verified not only whether its composer had the right political-ideological views, but also the relations with the composer’s country of origin were checked. For example, the German-Italian coexistence caused that opera works of such Italian masters as Giacomo Puccini, Gioacchino Rossini, Giuseppe Verdi and Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari were frequently

¹⁸⁴ See more J. Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich...*, pp. 383–396.

¹⁸⁵ E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, pp. 13–14, 119, 132, 225, 240, 280, 306, 563, 587.

¹⁸⁶ J. Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich...*, pp. 464–465, 470–471.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 434–437, 442, 444–445; B. Drewniak, *Kultura w cieniu...*, pp. 176–178.

¹⁸⁸ J. Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich...*, pp. 194–202; B. Drewniak, *Kultura w cieniu...*, p. 170–172; *idem*, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, pp. 123–154; E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, pp. 13, 58, 115, 154–155, 164, 187–188, 229, 256–257, 267–268, 286–287, 298, 303, 311, 334, 400–401, 413, 501–502, 538–539. It is not a complete list of composers recognized by the Third Reich.

staged. The works of the Austrian musicians Nico Dostal and Hans Lange¹⁸⁹ were also appreciated by the Third Reich. It was also allowed to present the Czech musical pieces of Antonín Leopold Dvořák and Bedřich Smetana. French artists such as Georges Bizet were not so popular. Until the outbreak of WWII Polish music (Stanisław Moniuszko or Karol Szymanowski) and Russian music (Pyotr Tchaikovsky, Nikolai Rimski-Korsakov) were played sporadically. On the other hand, the music of the Hungarian composer Ferenc Lehár enjoyed great popularity in the Third Reich; despite being Hungarian, he was regarded as the “master of German operetta.”¹⁹⁰

The Nazis also “repaired theatre”,¹⁹¹ which was one of the best developed branches of art in the Weimar Republic. The minister Goebbels criticized the theatre of the Weimar Republic for amateurism, paying too much attention to individuality, being apolitical, distancing art from the reality and making art for art’s sake. According to him, “on the stage there must be the art of life, without adornment and without presenting it in too dark colours.” As a consequence, all this caused that “theatres were empty.” On 8 May 1933 the minister Goebbels met the directors of public theatres in Kaiserhof Hotel in Berlin to explain to them the “substance of the enormous spiritual and political revolution which is taking place in Germany.” At the same time he appealed to them that they should join “the political and spiritual steering of the nation” by combing their theatrical work with propaganda activity to “allow the ideals of our times to be shaped artistically.”¹⁹²

On the central level, the issues concerning theatre belonged to the responsibility of the Reich Ministry of National Enlightenment and Propaganda, which included the Branch of Theatre (Theaterabteilung) in Department VI.¹⁹³ Its responsibilities concerning the scrutiny of theatrical life in the Third Reich were defined and sanctioned by the so called theatrical regulation (Theatergesetz) of 15 May 1934.¹⁹⁴ The responsibilities included the authorization of the management personnel in theatres, the approval of the repertoire (the heads of theatres had to consult their repertoire with the Branch of Theatre of the PROMI), deciding about the creation of new theatres and running the financial policy connected with the theatrical budget.

¹⁸⁹ E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, pp. 107, 318.

¹⁹⁰ See more about music in the Third Reich: P. Raabe, *Die Musik im Dritten Reich. Kulturpolitische Reden und Aufsätze*, Regensburg 1935; F. K. Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, Köln 2000; H. W. Heister, *Maskierung und Mobilisierung. Zur Rolle von Musik und Musikern im Nazismus*, [in:] *Hitlers Künstler...*, pp. 313–345; E. Kroll, *Verbotene Musik*, Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, R. 7: 1959, pp. 310–317.

¹⁹¹ Numerous articles about the ‘reparation’ of German theatre according to the Nazi ideology are to be found in the publication of J. Wulf, *Theater und Film im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation*, Gütersloh 1964, *passim*.

¹⁹² *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik. Band 1...*, pp. 313–327.

¹⁹³ J. Wulf, *Theater und Film...*, pp. 52–53; B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, pp. 9–10.

¹⁹⁴ RGBL, 1934, I, pp. 411–413, Theatergesetz. Vom 15. Mai 1934; J. Wulf, *Theater und Film...*, pp. 50–51.

Actors and all the remaining employees of theatres were forced to join the Reich Chamber of Theatre (RTK).¹⁹⁵ Its first president and the director of the Branch of Theatre in the PROMI Otto Laubinger called the creation of the RTK “a milestone in the history of German theatre, which will make it possible to execute important points of the party’s programme and to carry out the fundamental requests of theatrical artists of any kind.”¹⁹⁶

Like in other cultural entourages, the “healing” of German theatre started with purges. For fear of repressions the following artists emigrated: the general officer (Generalintendant) Leopold Jener, the actor Fritz Kortner (Nathan Kohn), directors Erwin Piscator and Max Reinhardt, outstanding authors of plays: Bertolt Brecht, Ferdinand Bruckner (Theodor Tagger), Bruno Frank, Ludwig Fulda, Georg Kaiser, Alfred Kerr (Kempner).¹⁹⁷

The Nazis took over the material legacy of the Weimar Republic, which enabled the development of theatrical life. In Germany there was an extended network of theatres, many of which represented a very high artistic level. During the Reich-Festwoche in 1937 in Düsseldorf Goebbels stated with pride that: “In the field of theatre Germany is the leading nation in the world; no other country has so many theatres.”¹⁹⁸ The biggest numbers of seats in theatres were to be found in Berlin (43,000), Hamburg (9000), Dresden (8145), Munich (6600), and Stuttgart (3000). Other important centres of theatrical life included: Bochum, Duisburg, Essen, Hanover, Cologne. It is not possible to give the exact number of musical theatres or only dramatic theatres as it was a common practice to combine operetta or opera houses with dramatic theatres. Apart from the extended network of permanent theatrical stages there existed also numerous outdoor theatres (e.g. in 1937 there were about 200 such theatres).¹⁹⁹

The repertoire policy conducted by the authorities of the Third Reich was determined by political and ideological premises.²⁰⁰ The minister Goebbels indicated that it was necessary that the state interfere in theatrical repertoires: “Our ambition is not to order the conductor how to conduct a score, but we reserve our right to decide what shall be played and what suits the spirit of our times [...] it is the privilege of the political authority over the state. This political authority defines the style of the epoch. That is why the head of the theatre cannot say: I decide

¹⁹⁵ J. Wulf, *Theater und Film...*, pp. 31–50.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁹⁷ B. Drewniak, *Kultura w cieniu...*, pp. 202, 204–205; *idem*, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, p. 68; G. Rühle, *op. cit.*, pp. 995–1067; E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, pp. 68, 75, 145, 154, 256, 264, 274, 300, 415, 434.

¹⁹⁸ Cited after B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, p. 9.

¹⁹⁹ More about the network of theatres in the Third Reich: B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, pp. 15–31.

²⁰⁰ See more B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, p. 61–122; G. Rühle, *op. cit.*, pp. 733–736, 762–763, 773–776.

what has artistic values, because I am exclusively responsible for the theatre.”²⁰¹ The task to shape the repertoire policy was given to the Reich drama playwright (Reichsdramaturg)²⁰² – Rainer Schlösser. He was the head of the Branch of Theatre in the Ministry of Propaganda, and from 1935 he also held the office of the president of the Reich Chamber of Theatre, which meant that the whole theatrical life in Germany was in his hands.

The theatre repertoire was to be diversified and interesting enough to attract the biggest number of viewers, which was to be the evidence of the richness of German culture and to shape their consciousness in the national socialist spirit. The authorities of the Third Reich adopted for their purposes the significant part of the German drama theatrical works including the classics such as Johann Wolfgang Goethe and Friedrich Schiller. The most popular Austrian drama playwright was Franz Grillparzer. The writer of the German Enlightenment literature Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and one of the leading representatives of the European Romanticism Heinrich von Kleist were also appreciated by the Third Reich. The same was true for another Romantic playwright Joseph von Eichendorff. However, it must be stressed that their literature was treated selectively – only elements overlapping with the Nazi ideology were presented. Among the current German playwrights the most popular was the most outstanding living playwright Gerhart Hauptmann.²⁰³ Other leading playwrights of the time included Friedrich Bethge and Hanns Johst.²⁰⁴ The most important playwrights – not for literary reasons, but for political ones – were Max Dreyer, Otto Erler, Paul Ernst, Hanns Gobsch, Max Halbe, E König, Gerhard Menzel, Wilhelm Schäfer, Wilhelm von Scholz, Heinz Steguweit, Emil Strauss.²⁰⁵ The most popular playwright of the young generation was Eberhardt Wolfgang Möller,²⁰⁶ employed by the Branch of theatre in the PROMI, the leading representative of the anti-Semite trends in dramaturgy. Other popular young playwrights included: Hans Baumann, Curt Langenbeck, Hans Rehberg, Gerhard Schumann.²⁰⁷ Siegmund Graff,²⁰⁸ a worker of the Branch of Theatre in the PROMI, was an appreciated author of theatrical military plays. The works written by playwrights in the years 1933–1945 were very poor artistically, which the Nazi authorities were aware of. Walter Stang, the head of the Office for the Protection of Art (Amt Kunstpflege) in 1939 described the quality of the dramaturgy of the time as follows: “It is a public mystery that despite the huge quantity of drama plays, our theatres complain about the lack of good and stageable plays. Mundane daily work of the theatre directors and literary heads of theatres who

²⁰¹ *Goebbels Reden 1932–1939. Band 1...*, pp. 227–228.

²⁰² J. Wulf, *Theater und Film...*, p. 39.

²⁰³ E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, pp. 201–202.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 258.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 126, 168–169, 192, 292, 366, 466, 490–491, 528, 538.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 32–33, 319, 432, 500–501.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 177–178.

check the quality of submitted plays brings minor results. Most plays which can be taken into account were well thought out, but the ambitions turned out to be bigger than skills. Hopes placed in some or other young playwright have fallen through.²⁰⁹ What was the most popular among the public was the light repertoire such as comedies, farce comedies, operettas, dancing performances. Such popular authors of comedies as Hermann Bahr, Fritz Peter Buch, Geza von Cziffra, Friedrich Forster-Burggraf (Waldfried Burggraf), August Hinrichs, Wilhelm Utermann²¹⁰ provided entertainment to German viewers.

Foreign writers were treated with aloofness, which made it constituted a minor part of the theatrical repertoire. As far as English dramaturgy was concerned, William Shakespeare was highly appreciated.²¹¹ Other recognized authors included Bernard Shaw, Oscar Wilde. Scandinavian plays were frequently staged in German theatres, mainly Norwegian playwrights Henrik Ibsen and Knut Hamsun. The theatrical repertoire of the Third Reich also included the Swedish dramaturgy as represented by August Strindberg and Selma Lagerlof. The most popular Danish playwrights included: Svend Borberg, Axel Breidahl and Ludvig Holberg. The dramaturgy of Finland was omitted, the main reason for which the lack of Finnish plays translated into German. Plays of Ancient Greece, Rome and Romance countries were staged very rarely (and only until the outbreak of the war) – they included the plays of French playwrights such as Pierre Beaumarchais, Moliere, Alexander Dumas, and the Italians playwrights such Classical comedies by Carl Goldoni, dramas of contemporary authors Roberto Bracco, Gherardo Gherardi, Nicolo Manzari. Tightening the ties with Franco's Spain caused that from 1939 more and more Spanish plays were staged in German theatres including such playwrights as Calderon de la Barca, Tirso de Molina, Lope de Vega. Owing to the exacerbation of the international situation many foreign plays were removed from the repertoires of German theatres.²¹²

A new phenomenon in the theatrical life of the Third Reich was the so called Thingtheater based on a kind of a play called Thingspiel. The names come from the Old German word Thing meaning a tribal assembly of males gathered to discuss

²⁰⁹ Cited after B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, p. 82.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, *passim*; E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, pp. 76, 91, 143, 226, 565.

²¹¹ His plays were performed successfully in German theatres from the end of the 16th century: J. Wulf, *Theater und Film...*, p. 187. The Reich playwright Dr. Schlösser explained the popularity of Shakespeare in the following way: "If Shakespeare is received in Germany with enthusiasm, there is no doubt that he has blood connections with the German nation. In other words, in Shakespeare's plays we notice the same racial Nordic elements which we consider as the most valuable for our nation." See also: B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, pp. 103–107.

²¹² The description of the theatrical repertoire was prepared on the basis of the following publications: J. Wulf, *Theater und Film...*, *passim*; B. Drewniak, *Kultura w cieniu...*, pp. 199–224; *idem*, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, pp. 61–122; H. Orłowski, *Literatura w III Rzeszy...*, pp. 221–225; G. Rühle, *op. cit.*, *passim*; H. Rischbieter, "Schlageter" – *der "erste Soldat des Dritten Reichs."* *Theater in der Nazizeit*, [in:] *Hitlers Künstler...*, pp. 210–244; H. Glaser, *Wie Hitler den deutschen Geist zerstörte. Kulturpolitik im Dritten Reich*, Hamburg 2005, pp. 184–199.

the important issues or to judge the guilty. Richard Euringer,²¹³ one of the leading theoreticians of this eccentric form of theatre put forward its thesis as follows: “From theatrical craft Thingspiel leads to places, where the Day of Judgment will take place [...]. There appear fire, water, air and earth. Elements of Thingspiel are stones, stars, the Sun’s orbit. In the theatre of nature shelter is found by mermaids, sorceresses, nymphs, fauna [...]. Thing cannot exist without the vow of blood and exorcism, without banishment and curse. In the suburban neighborhood the crowd, tied by the vow, remains silent [...], the performance is created by the nation, and not by a dozen outstanding figures or famous stars. All the surnames are anonymous! Only the nation is famous! [...] The activities of the nation are acts of creation and sacrifice. The nation sees its martyrs, worships and adores them. The cult of the dead will be fulfilled; the fallen will rise and the spirit will call from the stones. The substance of the performance is not ‘art’, but cult.”²¹⁴ Thingtheater was often referred to as the “theatre of the community” (Gemeinschaftstheater), “theatre of confession” (Bekennnistheater), “national theatre” (Nationaltheater) or “theatre of the spirit” (Geistestheater). In practice, the idea of Thingtheater was connected with organizing outdoor theatrical performances from the masses. They were modelled on mystery plays and religious services with a very rich setting of light, sound and movement. They took place in the specially constructed Thingspielstätten, also called Thingplätze. They were outdoor theatres referring to the ancient architectural concepts, usually situated in the vicinities of the Old German worship places (on the hills, near grave mounds) or near the sites of national remembrance (the sites of the battles of WWI, the ruins of castles). The first Thingspielstätte in the mounds of Brandberge near Halle was opened in June 1934 at the ceremony attended by Goebbels himself. The subsequent forms of this kind were set up near Heidelberg in Bad Schmiedeberg (Saxony), Eichstädt (Bavaria) Heringsdorf on the Usedom island, in Koblenz, Stolzenau/Weser. Performances were prepared on the basis of the so called Thingspiel, which was defined as the “national-cultic and heroic drama of New Germany, the monumental pulpit from which Nazism shall be announced; a Nazi service; the festival of the national community of life.” The leading authors of Thingspiele included: Kurt Eggers, Richard Euringer, Kurt Heynicke, Eberhardt Wolfgang Möller and Heinrich Zerkaulen.²¹⁵ Those mass outdoor performances were organized with great splendor, filled with the *sacrum* ambience; they included elements of pagan rites and generated associations with Passion plays. They were to arouse deep emotions and manipulate the consciousness of the crowd. They were to integrate, to strengthen the feeling of the national community, to provide the feeling of the legitimization of the authorities, to demonstrate the power and unity of the national socialist state. Thingtheater as a new form of the Nazi theatre did not survive a long time and in 1937 it dis-

²¹³ E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, p. 129.

²¹⁴ J. Wulf, *Theater und Film...*, pp. 168–169.

²¹⁵ E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, pp. 114–115, 222, 614–615.

appeared from the cultural life and the official language of the Third Reich. The impossibility of carrying out its premises caused its collapse.²¹⁶

For the mass public numerous occasional theatrical performances were organized, the most famous of which were Reichstheater-Festwoche, which took place for the first time in 1934 in Dresden, next in Hamburg (1935), Munich (1936), Düsseldorf (1937) and twice in Vienna (1938, 1939). According to Goebbels, the event was a “magnificent demonstration of German theatrical culture.” Apart from formal performances, during Reichstheater-Festwoche each time there took place a ceremonial meeting of the Reich Chamber of Theater.²¹⁷ Occasional theatrical performances were also organized in big workplaces and production plants.

The events in Germany in the years 1933–1939 showed that it was easy to eliminate independent culture from public life and to subject artists to close administrative and ideological control. The Nazis did not need much time to change the country famous for liberty – one of the most important centres of culture– into a totalitarian state, in which the new cultural policy excluded the artistic freedom. The Nazi “cultural revolution” was totally subjected to the omnipresent ideology and was purely political. In the totalitarian state, culture became one of the main pillars of power and the means stimulating the consciousness of the German society in the pro-Nazi direction. The destructive reaction to Modernism and cultural avant-garde was to symbolize the dusk of the epoch of the Weimar Republic. The only permitted forms of cultural activity were those which confirmed the propaganda slogans promoted by Nazism. All people who refused to accept new rules of the cultural policy carried out by the Nazi authorities were definitely excluded from the cultural life of the Third Reich.

5. Cultural life of the German minority in Poland in the years 1919–1939

After WWI Poland was the first of the newly created states, which had to accept the Polish Minority Treaty of 28 June 1919 (commonly known as the Little Treaty of Versailles), which guaranteed the ethnic, religious and language minorities the international protection of numerous rights and privileges, including the possibility of the cultural development.

According to the census executed in 1910 prior to WWI, Germans constituted 42.5% of the population in Gdańsk Pomerania (421,011 Germans in the total number of 989,715 inhabitants). In Poznań Province there lived 1,949,087 people, including 686,628 Germans (35.2%); in Polish Upper Silesia among 1,034,109 in-

²¹⁶ About the idea of Thingtheater m.in.: J. Wulf, *Theater und Film...*, pp. 163–172; H. Brenner, *Die Kunstpolitik...*, pp. 95–106; B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, pp. 83–84; H. Orłowski, *Literatura w III Rzeszy...*, pp. 202–221; Cz. Karolak, W. Kunicki, H. Orłowski, op. cit., pp. 464–465; G. Rühle, op. cit., pp. 776–779.

²¹⁷ J. Wulf, *Theater und Film...*, pp. 49, 54–57.

habitants there were 306,235 Germans (29.6%).²¹⁸ According to the census of 30 September 1921 the number of Germans in Poland – in comparison with the prewar period – decreased by more than a half. Some Germans went to Germany during the war, while others left in the first years after the war (the biggest emigration wave took place in the years 1919–1923). In general, in 1921 Germans constituted 3.9% of the population of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (in the total number of 27,160,163 of Polish citizens, not less than 1,092,371 were Germans), and most of them (826,376 people, which is 75.65% of the whole number of Germans) resided in the western territories of the Polish state (Pomerania – 175,771 Germans – 16.1%; Poznań Province – 327,846 Germans – 30%; Upper Silesia – 322,759 Germans – 29.6%). The next census carried out on 9 December 1931 revealed the continuous fall in the number of the German population, which constituted 2.3% of the population of Poland (31,915,800 citizens, including 741,095 Germans). The Germans lived mainly in three western provinces and in Central Poland (Warsaw Province and Łódź Province. In Poznań Province among 2,113,783 inhabitants there were 1,912,374 Poles (90.5%). There were only 9.5% of inhabitants of non-Polish origin (201,409). The highest percentage of the German population lived in the county of Chodzież (39.6 %) and Nowy Tomyśl (31%), while in the remaining counties the number of Germans did not exceed 25% of inhabitants. In 1932, after the county of Grodzisk had been incorporated into Nowy Tomyśl, the number of Germans in this area fell to 18.8%.²¹⁹ In Pomerania Province in the total number of 1,080,138 inhabitants there were 105,400 Germans (9.7%). The highest percentage of the German population resided in the county of Sepólno (40.4%).²²⁰ In Silesian Province there lived 1,295,027 inhabitants, including 90,600 Germans (almost 7% of the whole population). The number of Germans, established on the basis of the language criterion, did not reflect the factual state. On the day of the census in Silesian Province there lived about 160,000 Germans, which constituted 12.6% of the whole population.²²¹

The presence of Germans in Poland was to legitimize the revision of the Treaty of Versailles as requested by the Weimar Republic and the return to the borders of 1914. That is why innumerable attempts were made not to allow the fall in the number of the German population on the Polish territories. One of the factors hin-

²¹⁸ The statistical data takes into account the administrative division of 1921. See: D. Matelski, *Niemcy w Polsce w XX wieku*, Warszawa–Poznań 1999, p. 41.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 43–44; D. Matelski, *Mniejszość niemiecka w Wielkopolsce w latach 1919–1939*, Poznań 1997, p. 31. Comp.: Z. Urbański, *Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce*, Warszawa 1932, pp. 161–169; M. Nadobnik, *Niemcy w województwach zachodnich w świetle spisu ludności z r. 1931*, Strażnica Zachodnia, R. XII: 1933, nr 1–2, pp. 33–44.

²²⁰ P. Hauser, *Mniejszość niemiecka w województwie pomorskim w latach 1920–1939*, Wrocław 1981, pp. 15, 25.

²²¹ R. Staniewicz, *Mniejszość niemiecka w województwie śląskim w latach 1922–1933*, Katowice 1965, p. 22–24; F. Serafin, *Stosunki demograficzne i społeczne*, [in:] *Województwo śląskie (1922–1939). Zarys monograficzny*, pod red. F. Serafina, Katowice 1996, pp. 78–100; P. Greiner, R. Kaczmarek, *Mniejszości narodowe*, [in:] *Województwo śląskie (1922–1939)*..., pp. 178–195.

dering the emigration of Germans from Poland was the material support offered to them by Germany. As the authorities of Prussia and the Weimar Republic could not become formally involved in this action, the mediators were special organizations, which were formally not connected with the activity of the government.²²² Material resources were to serve to integrate the German community and to maintain its national identity (*deutsche Eigenart*) and independence of the Polish state (through caring for German culture and customs by different organizations). The German Foundation (*Deutsche Stiftung*),²²³ set up in November 1920 and subjected to the scrutiny of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, played the main role in financing the cultural activity. The head of the Foundation was Erich Kraemer-Möllenberg.

It is impossible to discuss the German cultural activity in interwar Poland without the reference to the political life since both fields blended together. The indissolubility of political aims from cultural actions was described in the following way by one of the interwar authors: “The efforts of the German cultural-educational activity aim at deepening this awareness [of national identity – S.G.] and German cultural traditions among the masses, underling the special German cultural mission in the East consisting in affecting the Polish population, not hiding the associations with the Reich, but stressing the fact that the borders of the state cannot overlap with the borders of culture. That is why each group of Germans living abroad considers it to be their duty to maintain the cultural connections with the motherland.”²²⁴ Victor Kauder,²²⁵ the leading activist of the German minority in Upper Silesia, defined the main assumptions of the German cultural work in interwar Poland: “The task of the Germans in the East is to assure to dominance of the German culture and creation [...]. Each individual living abroad must be aware of their German nature, must know the value of German culture, must deepen their national consciousness, at the same time behaving in impeccably as every German

²²² See more: T. Kowalak, *Zagraniczne kredyty dla Niemców w Polsce 1919–1939*, Warszawa 1972; R. Dąbrowski, *Pomoc finansowa Niemiec dla mniejszości niemieckiej w Polsce*, [in:] *Rola mniejszości niemieckiej w rozwoju stosunków politycznych w Europie 1918–1945*, pod red. A. Czubińskiego, Poznań 1984, pp. 349–354; F. H. Gentzen, *Rola rządu niemieckiego w dziele budowy niemieckich organizacji mniejszościowych na terenach zwróconych Polsce (1919–1922)*, Najnowsze dzieje Polski. Materiały i studia z okresu 1914–1933, t. X, Warszawa 1966, pp. 127–146; N. Krekler, *Revisionsanspruch und geheime Ostpolitik der Weimarer Republik. Die Subventionierung der deutschen Minderheit in Polen 1919–1933*, Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, Nummer 27, Stuttgart 1973.

²²³ T. Luther, *Volkstumspolitik des Deutschen Reiches 1933–1938. Die Auslandsdeutschen im Spannungsfeld zwischen Traditionalisten und Nationalsozialisten*, Stuttgart 2004, p. 38–40; I. Eser, “Volk, Staat, Gott!” *Die deutsche Minderheit in Polen und ihr Schulwesen 1918–1939*, Wiesbaden 2010, p. 156–159; F. H. Gentzen, “Deutsche Stiftung” – *tajna instytucja rządu niemieckiego do organizowania “Piętej Kolumny”*, Przegląd Zachodni, R. XVII: 1961, nr 4, pp. 295–303.

²²⁴ J. F., *Niemiecka działalność kulturalno-oświatowa na Pomorzu i w Wielkopolsce*, Strażnica Zachodnia, R. XII: 1933, nr 1–2, pp. 173.

²²⁵ R. Breyer, *Victor Kauder (1899–1985). Ein Organisator deutscher Wissenschaft und Volkskultursarbeit*, Jahrbuch Weichsel-Warthe, Jahrgang 33: 1987, pp. 82–87; P. Greiner, R. Kaczmarek, *Leksykon mniejszości niemieckiej w województwie śląskim w latach 1922–1939. Zarys dziejów. Organizacja. Działacze*, Katowice 2002, pp. 173–174.

abroad is considered to be the representative of the great German nation, which generated huge responsibility for the whole nation. The task of the Germans in Poland is to arouse respect and esteem for German culture and creation. That is why we need a conscious cultural life of the nation with strictly defined aims and the strong will to carry them out."²²⁶ The political organizations of the German minority such as Vereinigung des deutschen Volkstums in Polen (The Association of the German Population in Poland) – from 1921 referred to as Deustchtumsbund zur Wahrung der Minderheitsrechte in Polen (The German Union for the Protection of the Rights of the Minority in Poland)²²⁷ and from 1923 Deutsche Vereinigung im Sejm und Senate (The German Federation in the Sejm and Senate, DV) attached considerable importance to promoting German culture and tradition. At the end of February 1921 the authorities of Vereinigung des deutschen Volkstums in Polen decided that in all towns in which there were branches of this body there be set up cultural commissions (Kulturausschuss) responsible for the organization of the cultural life of the German minority in a given area. The Cultural-Educational Department run by Dr. Hans Titze, a gymnasium school teacher in Bydgoszcz, was set up as part of Deustchtumsbund. The Department supervised amateur theatres, cultural and sporting societies. Deutsche Vereinigung no longer played the role of the organizer of cultural life to such an extent as the organizations mentioned earlier as this task had been taken over by numerous cultural bodies set up after 1919 or continuing their activity commenced before WWI. This organization played the scrutinizing function and inspired various cultural ventures. Moreover, it supported the work of many cultural organizations thanks to the material resources it received from Germany.²²⁸

In Upper Silesia the cultural activity of the German minority was coordinated by Deutscher Kulturbund für Polnisch-Schlesien (The German Cultural Union for Polish Silesia), set up at the turn of 1921 and 1922. It was part of the organization Deutscher Volksbund für Polnisch-Schlesien (The German People's Union for Polish Silesia), which, as the leading representative of the German interests in

²²⁶ Cited after: W. Kotowski, *Teatry Deutsche Bühne w Wielkopolsce i na Pomorzu 1919–1939*, Warszawa–Poznań 1985, p. 11. See B. Drewniak's publications on selected aspects of Polish-German cultural relations in the years 1919–1939: *Polen und Deutschland 1919–1939. Wege und Irrwege kultureller Zusammenarbeit*, Düsseldorf 1999; *Polsko-niemieckie zbliżenia w kręgu kultury 1919–1939. Studia – szkice – sylwetki*, Gdańsk 2005.

²²⁷ Silesian activists centered around Otto Ulitz did not comply with the organization. At the assembly in Katowice on 8 Nov 1921 they set up the supra-party organization called Deutsch-Oberschlesischer Volksbund für Polnisch Schlesien zur Wahrung der Minderheitsrechte (The German-Upper Silesian People's Union for Polish Silesia). Its first president was Karl Egon von Reitzenstein, and the first secretary Otto Ulitz. See P. Greiner, R. Kaczmarek, *Leksykon mniejszości niemieckiej...*, pp. 71–74.

²²⁸ W. Kotowski, op. cit., pp. 12–14; K. Gostyński, *Zarys historii politycznej Niemców w wojództwach zachodnich po wojnie*, Strażnica Zachodnia, R. XII: 1933, nr 1–2, pp. 45–81; P. Turowski, *Deustchtumsbund i organizacje afiliowane na Pomorzu w latach 1920–1923*, [in:] *Prace Komisji Historii Bydgoskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego*, t. X, Bydgoszcz 1974, pp. 135–164.

Silesia, concentrated in its regional branches almost all German organizations and associations operating in the field of economy, charity, education and culture. The statute of the German Cultural Union defined the objective of the organization as follows: "To unite all the unions operating in the sphere of mind and body in the spirit of German culture excluding religious and political aims."²²⁹ The Union was based originally in Królewska Huta, and from 1928 in Katowice. The first president of the Kulturbund was Helmuth Birkner, next Feliks Pokorny (1928–1930), Alfons Urbanek (1930–1934), Johann Goll (1934–1936) and Paul Sornik (1936–1939). Its leading activists were Edmund Boidol, Victor Kauder and Helmuth Zipser. In 1939 the Kulturbund had about 48,000 members and consisted of 28 organizations.²³⁰

The most popular and most important form of promoting German culture in interwar Poland was theatre. German professional theaters operated in Bielsko and Łódź.²³¹ The Bielsko theatre, which continued its work owing to the fact of the town's previous belonging to Austria-Hungary, was supported by the Society of the Deutsche Theatergemeinde in Bielitz²³² (The German Theatrical Society in Bielsko) set up in 1920 by Wolfgang Josephy.

The professional German theatre in Łódź was originally based in a small room of the former cinema "Urania" at 34 Cegielnia street, where it inaugurated its activity in October 1921. After a few months the theatrical team moved to the so called White Room in Manteuffel Hotel at 48 Zachodnia street. As the room was quite small, after some time the theatre started to rent a professional stage in the theatre "Scala" at 15 Cegielniana street. The activity of the German professional theatre in Łódź was supported by Theaterverein Thalia (the Theatrical Association Thalia) set up on 12 December 1923.²³³

Apart from German professional theatres there existed also amateur theatres which followed the model of professional theatres, which were referred to as Deutsche Bühne. In the territory of Pomeranian and Greater Poland such theatres

²²⁹ Cited after: D. Sieradzka, *Niemieckie organizacje kulturalne na terenie województwa śląskiego w okresie międzywojennym*, Kwartalnik Historyczny, R. LXXXVIII: 1981, nr 3, p. 692.

²³⁰ E. Boidol, *Der Deutsche Kulturbund in Ostoberschlesien (1922–1939)*, [in:] *Kreis Kattowitz. Deutscher Lebens- und Wirtschaftsraum in Oberschlesien*, Salzgitter-Bad 1964, pp. 60–63; R. Dąbrowski, *Mniejszość niemiecka w Polsce i jej działalność społeczno-kulturalna w latach 1918–1939*, Szczecin 1982, pp. 139–140, 147; O. Heike, *Die deutsche Minderheit in Polen bis 1939. Ihr Leben und Wirken kulturell-gesellschaftlich-politisch. Eine historisch-dokumentarische Analyse*, Leverkusen 1985, p. 352; P. Greiner, R. Kaczmarek, *Leksykon mniejszości niemieckiej...*, pp. 58–60; A. Szefer, *Życie kulturalno-oświatowe mniejszości niemieckiej w Polsce w okresie międzywojennym*, Zranie Śląskie, R. XXIX: 1966, z. 2, pp. 269–270; D. Sieradzka, op. cit., p. 692 i n.

²³¹ In the period of Poland's partitions professional theatres existed in Bydgoszcz, Katowice, Poznań and Toruń. See: P. Papée, *Dziesięć lat teatru w Polsce Zachodniej (1918–1928)*, Strażnica Zachodnia, R. IX: 1930, nr 1, p. 85; L. Müller, *Das deutsche Theater in Lodsch*, [in:] A. Kargel, E. Kneifel, *Deutschum im Aufbruch. Vom Volkstumskampf der Deutschen im östlichen Wartheland*, Leipzig 1942, pp. 210–215; O. Heike, op. cit., pp. 416–422.

²³² P. Greiner, R. Kaczmarek, *Leksykon mniejszości niemieckiej...*, pp. 51–52.

²³³ See more: K. Prykowska-Michalak, *Teatr niemiecki w Łodzi. Sceny, wykonawcy, repertuar 1867–1939*, Łódź 2005.

were set up in Bydgoszcz, Chodzież, Chojnice, Grudziądz, Poznań, Świecie, Tczew, Toruń and Wolsztyn. Artistic teams of Deutsche Bühne consisted predominantly of amateurs recruited from teachers, merchants and representatives of liberal professions. Special courses to increase their skills were often organized.²³⁴

The interests of German amateur theatres in Pomerania and Greater Poland were represented by theatrical societies acting under the name of Verein Deutsche Bühne or Theaterverein,²³⁵ while in Silesia – by Deutsche Theatergemeinde für Polnisch-Schlesien (The German Theatrical Society for Polish Silesia),²³⁶ which was part of the organization Deutscher Kulturbund and had its permanent bases in Katowice and Królewska Huta, and from 1930 also in Siemianowice.

In Pomerania and Greater Poland the most active theatres were Deutsche Bühne in Bydgoszcz, Grudziądz, Poznań and Toruń. The oldest was Deutsche Bühne Poznań. As early as 6 November 1911 the German operetta team conducted by Hermann Hoefert commenced the season 1919–1920 in the theatre hall “Alt-Posen” of the Poznań zoo the operetta by Hoefert *Aber Lotte*. At the beginning of 1920 the German organization Zentralarbeitsgemeinschaft and the operetta team with a few dramatic actors and several amateurs set up in Poznań the theatre Posener Liebhabertheater “Alt Heilderberg” (The Poznań Amateur Theatre “Old Heidelberg”). It was run by Willi Schlicht, the director of the German Stadttheater dissolved by the Polish authorities. The season of 1919–1920 was inaugurated at the end of September 1920 with the play of the Norwegian playwright Bjørnstjerne Bjørnsona *The Newly Married* in the theatre room of the Poznań zoo. From March 1921 the theatre operated under the name Deutsche Bühne Poznań, and Schlichta was replaced by the former actor of the Chamber Theatre in Vienna Attilio Mordo. In 1925 for financial reasons and because of housing and personnel problems the Poznań Deutsche Bühne was suspended. In 1935 the amateur theatre was reactivated; it was run by Günther Reissert. Theatrical performances took place in the building belonging to the dissolved Masocin Lodge “Eintracht,” which converted into Deutsches Haus.²³⁷

In February 1920 upon the initiative of the teacher Willy Damaschke²³⁸ an amateur theatre group Hans Sachs – Bühne consisting of 9 members was set up (The Stage of Hans Sachs 1920).²³⁹ On 14 July 1920 on the basis of the team and under the auspices of Deutsche Vereinigung the theatre Deutsche Liebhaberbühne (The German Amateur Stage) was set up. On 9 September 1920, using the team of

²³⁴ See more about actors of Deutsche Bühne in: W. Kotowski, op. cit., pp. 74–81.

²³⁵ See more: W. Kotowski, op. cit., *passim*.

²³⁶ P. Greiner, R. Kaczmarek, *Leksykon mniejszości niemieckiej...*, pp. 52–53.

²³⁷ W. Kotowski, op. cit., pp. 49–53.

²³⁸ C. C. Rössler, *Erinnerungen an Willi Damaschke*, Jahrbuch Weichsel-Warthe, Jahrgang 15, 1969, pp. 89–94; R. Breyer, *Willi Damaschke. Leben und Werk*, Westpreussen Jahrbuch, Bd. 37, Münster 1987, pp. 73–82.

²³⁹ The name referred to the repertoire consisting of the plays by Hans Sachs (1494–1576), an outstanding representative of the German Renaissance burgher literature.

Damaschke, an amateur theatre Deutsche Bühne Bydgoszcz was created; it originally consisted of fourteen people. In the years 1920–1937 it was run by a teacher and theatre critic Dr. Hans Titze. He was succeeded by Arthur Sonnenberg, and from 29 March 1937 by Damaschke. The theatrical team presented to the public for the first time on 11 November 1920 with the drama by Schiller *Die Räuber*. The performances took place normally on the stage of the so called Summer Thetare “Elysium” at 52 Gdańska street. The Bydgoszcz theatre was the only one to have its own operetta and opera teams, which was possible thanks to the cooperation with the local German conservatoire. In total, the team of the Bydgoszcz Deutsche Bühne staged 1509 dramatic, opera and operetta performances, including 286 first nights. Over 250 times it gave guest performances in Gniezno, Inowrocław, Jabłonna, Janowiec, Margonin, Mogilno, Poznań, Strzelno and Wolsztyn.²⁴⁰

Deutsche Bühne Grudziądz commenced its activity in May 1921 upon the initiative of the bookseller Arnold Kriedte. The theatre was situated in a house belonging to the Evangelical community (Gemeindehaus), where there was a small stage, which was later extended.²⁴¹

On 1 December 1921 the amateur German theatre Deutsche Bühne Toruń was set up; its director became Poldi Larsen. The inauguration performance of the drama by Henrik Ibsen *Hedda Gabler* staged on 6 December was not warmly received by the public. That is why the drama was no longer staged and the team of actors was dissolved. At the end of July 1922 Verein Deutsche Bühne Toruń was set up. Its task was to coordinate the works aiming at the creation of an amateur theatre in the city. The first theatrical season of 1922–1923 was opened on 9 December 1922 with the comedy by Oscar Blumenthal and Gustav Kadelburg *Im weissen Rössl*. The play was watched by important guests. The ordinary public saw it on 17 December. In the season of 1922–1923 performances took place in a small auditorium in the Victoria Park, while from the autumn of 1923 in the building of Deutsches Heim (the German House) at 3/5 Wola Zamkowa street (now the location of the theatre “Baj Pomorski”), where one of the biggest auditoria in Toruń was situated.²⁴²

The activity of the remaining amateur theatres in Pomerania and Greater Poland was much more modest. On 23 April 1921 upon the initiative of the Literary-Dramatic Society (Literarisch-Dramatischer Verein) in Chojnice there was set up a theatrical teams consisting of 42 people – Konitzer Volksbühne (The Chojnice People’s Scene); later it operated under the name of Deutsche Bühne Chojnice.

²⁴⁰ W. Kotowski, op. cit., p. 34–41; M. Romaniuk, *Mniejszość niemiecka w Bydgoszczy (1920–1939)*, [in:] *Historia Bydgoszczy. Tom II. Część pierwsza 1920–1939*, pod red. M. Biskupa, Bydgoszcz 1999, pp. 496–499.

²⁴¹ W. Kotowski, op. cit., p. 41–44; B. Łaukajtys, Z. Waszkiewicz, *Życie kulturalno-oświatowe i sportowe międzywojennego Grudziądza*, [in:] *Historia Grudziądza 1920–1945*, t. 2, pod red. R. Szuździńskiego, Grudziądz 2012, pp. 82–83.

²⁴² W. Kotowski, op. cit., pp. 44–49; M. Wojciechowski, *Mniejszości narodowe w Toruniu w okresie międzywojennym (1920–1939)*, [in:] *Historia Torunia. Tom III. Część II. W czasach Polski Odrodzonej i okupacji niemieckiej (1920–1945)*, pod red. M. Biskupa, Toruń 2006, p. 201.

It was run by a teacher Joseph Pestke. A private room with a stage was rented in Januszewski's house in Chojnice; the theatre inaugurated its activity on 3 May 1921. The actors of Deutsche Bühne did not act very often and failed to develop their activity.²⁴³

The German amateur theatre in Chodzież performed for the first time on 28 October 1922 presenting the folk's play by Peter Rosseger *Am Tage des Gerichts* (*On the Day of Judgement*). The theatrical team was run by Koell. Financial and personnel difficulties caused that after 1927 Deutsche Bühne Chodzież ceased to operate. For the same reasons Deutsche Bühne Świecie, set up on 3 March 1923, did not develop its activity.²⁴⁴

Deutsche Bühne Wolsztyn (originally Wollsteiner Liebhaberbühne – the Wolsztyn Amateur Scene) was set up in November 1922, and its head became B. Schulz. The Wolsztyn theatre did not stage many plays; it performed mainly in smaller towns and villages as in Wolsztyn there was no appropriate room for theatrical performances.²⁴⁵

In January 1927 Max Krull and Helmut Obuch organized the German theatrical scene in Tczew. For the first time the team of Deutsche Bühne Tczew played for the public on 3 February 1927 staging the comedy by Adolphe L'Arronge *My Leopold*. In the years 1930–1931 the theatre suspended its activity; it started operating again in the spring of 1932 giving a dozen performance in a season, including also performances outside Tczew.²⁴⁶

Choosing the repertoire, the directors of the theatres had to follow the guidelines from Germany sent by Deutsche Stiftung. They had to take into account the abilities of its actors, accommodation conditions, funds and the taste of the public. As far as the artistic level is concerned, the highest standard was represented by the theatres in Bydgoszcz and Grudziądz – they staged the German classical repertoire. Among the contemporary German writers the most popular were Max Halbe, Gerhart Hauptmann and Hermann Sudermann. The other theatres staged mainly comedies, which attracted the mass audience. Until 1933 the considerable part of the repertoire of individual theatres constituted foreign plays. Bigger theatres preferred the plays by William Shakespeare, August Strindberg, Adolphe L'Arronge, and to a lesser extent – Jules Romains and Bernard Shaw. English and Scandinavian literature was preferable, while French authors were not so popular. After 1933 the repertoire, following the model of the Reich theatres, underwent significant changes and started to include the plays promoted by the new authorities. They were mainly plays promoting the national socialist ideology.²⁴⁷

²⁴³ W. Kotowski, op. cit., p. 54.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 55–56.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 56–57.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 57–58; B. Okoniewska, M. Stażewski, *Życie kulturalne w XIX–XX wieku*, [in:] *Historia Tczewa*, pod red. W. Długokęckiego, Tczew 1998, p. 404.

²⁴⁷ See more about the repertoire: W. Kotowski, op. cit., pp. 59–74, 122–137.

The activity of the theatres *Deutsche Bühne* was often accompanied by performances of theatrical teams and individual artists from Germany and the Free City of Gdańsk. Professional actors often came from Germany to take part in performances prepared by theatres *Deutsche Bühne*.²⁴⁸

An important element of the activity of German theatrical troupes was the organization of travelling performances. *Deutsche Bühne Bydgoszcz* was particularly active in this field. Typically wandering theatres were *Deutsche Bühne Poznań* and *Deutsche Bühne Wolsztyn* as they did not have their own permanent stages. Apart from performances, *Deutsche Bühne* organized such forms of cultural life for the German population as projections of films, concerts, lectures, balls, dance and evening parties.²⁴⁹

In Silesian Province there was an amateur theatrical team in Katowice. It presented about nine performances a month. Some German theatres (e.g. from Bytom and Morawska Ostrawa) visited Silesian Province with their performances.²⁵⁰

An important field of the cultural life of Germans in interwar Poland were libraries. The Union of German Libraries in Poland (*Verband deutscher Büchereien in Polen, VdBP*), set up in 1924, was responsible for the creation of an extensive network of German libraries in Poland, the training of librarians and the promotion of literature in the German language. The Union was based in Poznań at 1 *Zwierzyniecka* street. The range of its activity embraced mainly Poznań Province, Pomeranian Province and Volhynia. Chronologically, the Union was headed by Dr. Hermann Rauschnig (1924–1926), Dr. Paul Zöckler (1926–1934) and Dr. Kurt Lück (1934–1939). During the first two years of the Union's activity about 50 libraries with the collections of 150,000 books were opened in Greater Poland, Pomerania, Central Poland and Volhynia. *Verband deutscher Büchereien in Polen* was dissolved upon the decision of the Voivode of Poznań on 4 August 1939 made in response to the fact of finding in the libraries anti-Polish books such as *Mein Kampf* by Adolf Hitler, *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* and *Blut und Erde* by Rosenberg. The organizations which closely cooperated with the VdBP were the Union of German Booksellers in Poland (*Verband deutscher Buchhändler in Polen, VdBHP*) and the Union of Germans Publishers (*Verband deutscher Buchdrucker, VdBD*). The former was based in Bydgoszcz at 19 *Gdańska* street, and its president was Arnold Kriedte. The main seat of the VdBD was Poznań; its branches were set up in Bydgoszcz, Inowrocław and Leszno. Its first head was Robert Wiesner, and from 1932 Arthur Spang.²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ See more about contacts with German professional theatres: W. Kotowski, op. cit., pp. 98–104.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 93–98, 104–121.

²⁵⁰ A. Szefer, op. cit., pp. 274–275; D. Sieradzka, op. cit., pp. 698–699; O. Heike, op. cit., p. 421.

²⁵¹ R. Dąbrowski, op. cit., pp. 148–149; D. Matelski, *Mniejszość niemiecka...*, pp. 290–292.

In Silesia and Lesser Poland the sister institution of Verband deutscher Büchereien in Polen was Verein Deutscher Volksbüchereien in Polen²⁵² (The Union of German People's Libraries in Poland) seated in Katowice. It was set up on 26 October 1921 and originally operated exclusively in the territory of Silesian Province. The first president of the Union was Richard Rzehulka (until 1923), next Kurisz (1923–1924), Andreas Duder (1924–1931) and Johann Golla (1931–1939). The function of the central library of the Union was played by Bücherei für Kunst und Wissenschaft (The Artistic-Scientific Library) in Katowice, opened in 1929. It was first headed by Schuster (1921–1928) and next by Victor Kauder (1928–1939). The Union acquired more and more books – in 1922 the book collection included merely 5000 volumes, while five years later it consisted of 100,000 publications. According to the statistical data prepared by Verband deutscher Volksbüchereien in Polen as of 1 April 1930 thanks to the Union 264 libraries had been established, which altogether owned the book collection of 120,000 volumes and served 20,000 readers.²⁵³ After 1933 the German libraries were supplied with national socialist propaganda publications.

Apart from stationary libraries there existed also the so called wandering libraries (Wanderbüchereien). They were gradually done away with and replaced by library posts set up in each village or town inhabited by at least five German families.

The activity of libraries was not limited only to lending books to readers; they also carried out various cultural projects such as concerts, lectures, social meetings.

The integration of the German community took place also in singing and musical societies, which predominantly had been set up in the 19th century.²⁵⁴ After 1920 numerous German choirs (mostly male choirs) and singing bands were concentrated in six unions embracing whole Poland: Bund deutscher Gesangvereine Posen–Pommerellen (The Union Of German Singing Societies Poznań-Pomerania), Deutscher Sängerbund für Polnisch-Schlesien²⁵⁵ (The German Singing Union for Polish Silesia) seated in Katowice, Arbeitersängergau (The Workers' Singing District) in Bielsko, Arbeitersängerbund (The Workers' Singing District) in Królewska Huta, Vereinigung deutschsingender Gesangvereine in Polen (The Association of German Singing Societies in Poland) seated in Łódź and Männergesang-verein "Frohsinn" (The Male Singing Society "Joy") in Lviv. Out of all those institutions the most active was Bund deutscher Gesangvereine Posen–Pommerellen. It was set

²⁵² Until 1936 as the Verband Deutscher Volksbüchereien in Polnisch Oberschlesien (The Union of German People's Libraries in Poland).

²⁵³ A. Szefer, op. cit., pp. 272–273; D. Sieradzka, op. cit., p. 696–698; R. Dąbrowski, op. cit., pp. 149–150; O. Heike, op. cit., pp. 353–354; P. Greiner, R. Kaczmarek, *Leksykon mniejszości niemieckiej...*, pp. 152–153.

²⁵⁴ See more: O. Heike, op. cit., pp. 355–368.

²⁵⁵ Originally as Ostschlesischer Sängerbund. It changed the name when singing societies from Cieszyn Silesia had joined it.

up in November 1922 and was divided into two districts: Deutscher Sängergau in Bydgoszcz (4 Krasińskiego street) and Deutscher Sängergau in Poznań (14 Ogrodowa street). The president of the Union was a copper-smith Karl Kretschmer. In 1929 the Union of German Singing Societies Poznań-Pomerania consisted of 27 choirs. The most active amateur centre for singing was Bydgoszcz, where operated four male choirs: “Germania,” “Gutenberg,” “Kornblume” and “Liedertafel” for 9000 German people living in this city. In Poznań the most active German musical association and choir was Posener Bachverein (The Poznań Bach Society),²⁵⁶ which in the interwar period was headed by a parish priest and an organist of the Church of the Holy Cross – Karl Greulich and Georg Jaedeke.²⁵⁷

Deutscher Sängerbund für Polnisch-Schlesien was established in 1921 and consisted of singing societies from Silesian Province. The Union was headed by Waldemar Holz (?–1935) and Andreas Dudek (1935–1939). The music director (Bundesliedermeister) was a popular composer and organ soloist Fritz Lubrich²⁵⁸ from Bielsko. The Upper Silesian Musical Weeks (Oberschlesische Musikwoche) were a significant musical event organized by Deutscher Sängerbund für Polnisch-Schlesien and Deutscher Kulturbund. Thanks to the German Singing Union for Polish Silesia there took place regular singing reunions (Bundessingen) attended by all associated choirs. In Upper Silesia among a huge number of amateur musical bands the Singing Society under the name of Meister (Meisterscher Gesangverein), set up in 1883 in Katowice by Oscar Meister, stood out for its professionalism. Under the direction of F. Lubrich the choir often gave concerts all over Poland and Germany. Other active organizations included: The Male Singing Societies (Männergesangverein) in Katowice (set up in 1857) and Mysłowice (set up in 1842). The Choir Association (Chorvereinigung) in Chorzów, the Community of Singers (Sängergemeinschaft) in Rybnik, The Singing Circle (Liedertafel) in Siemianowice, the Bielsko-Biała Male Singing Society (Bielitz-Bialaer Männergesangverein), The Stare Bielsko Male Singing Society (Altbielitzer Männergesangverein). In 1938 The Singing Union for Polish Silesia included 26 singing societies and 2900 members (1400 active members and 1500 contributing members).²⁵⁹

²⁵⁶ It dates back to 1896, when the Evangelica choir was established in the Church of the Holy Cross, which in 1910 was transformed into Posener Bachverein.

²⁵⁷ R. Dąbrowski, op. cit., pp. 154–155; R. H. Schulz, *Pastor D. Karl Greulich – ein bedeutender Posener Kirchenmusiker*, [in:] *Polen und sein preussischer Streifen 1919–1939. Die deutsche Volksgruppe in Posen und Pommerellen*, hrsg. von W. Threde in Zusammenarbeit mit P. Nasarski, Berlin–Westkreuz/Bonn 1983, p. 75–76; O. Heike, op. cit., pp. 369–370; D. Matelski, *Mniejszość niemiecka...*, pp. 292–296; K. Michałowski, *Życie muzyczne mniejszości niemieckiej*, [in:] *Dzieje Poznania 1918–1945*, pod red. J. Topolskiego i L. Trzeciakowskiego, Warszawa–Poznań 1998, pp. 1262–1263.

²⁵⁸ W. Reiprich, *Fritz Lubrich, ein Mittler zwischen den Völkern*, Jahrbuch Weichsel–Warthe, Jahrgang 18, 1972, pp. 98–100; P. Greiner, R. Kaczmarek, *Leksykon mniejszości niemieckiej...*, pp. 174–175.

²⁵⁹ O. Heike, op. cit., pp. 370–371; P. Greiner, R. Kaczmarek, *Leksykon mniejszości niemieckiej...*, pp. 31, 62–63, 112.

On 9 January 1937 at the assembly in Grudziądz all the German singing societies in Poland set up the Labour Community of German Singing Societies in Poland (Arbeitsgemeinschaft der deutsche Gesangvereine in Polen, AGdGVP), the president of which became Andreas Dudek from Katowice. Apart from the musical activity. The choirs often organized evening dance parties.

The union called Evangelischlutherische Posaunenchor Vereinigung Polens (The Evangelical-Lutheran Association of Church Choirs in Poland) united Evangelical church choirs. The main seat of the Union was in Łódź. In Silesia Catholic male choirs were part of Verband deutscher Kirchenchöre der Diözese Katowice (The Union of German Church Choirs of the Katowice Diocese) in Katowice, which was set up in 1929 upon the initiative of the bishop Arkadiusz Lisiecki. It was headed by Rev. Paweł Czaja (1929–1939) and Georg Bednorz (1939). In 1939 the Union consisted of 38 choirs and 2000 members. Church choirs sang not only during religious ceremonies, but at occasional meetings.²⁶⁰

Apart from the singing movement, there also existed other forms of German musical life such as amateur musical bands, orchestras including the ones which were part of Deutsche Bühne. Theatrical orchestras usually consisted of 8–15 people including both professional musicians and amateurs. The highest artistic level was represented by the Deutsche Bühne Bydgoszcz orchestra of eight men, which was set up in 1920 and was the oldest theatrical orchestra. Most musicians were recruited from the staff and graduates of the local musical conservatoire (Bromberger Konservatorium für Musik). In the years 1920–1923 the Deutsche Bühne Bydgoszcz orchestra was conducted by a music teacher Otto Niehuss, and next by the head of Bromberger Konservatorium für Musik, a composer and violinist Wilhelm von Winterfeld.²⁶¹ The orchestra did not perform outside the theatre as it was the symphonic orchestra of the German conservatoire that gave guests concerts in many towns in Greater Poland and Pomerania. From July 1922 Deutsche Bühne Grudziądz owned an orchestra consisting of amateurs, which was established by a music teacher D. Grabowski. It gave concerts of entertainment and dance music in the town and sporadically outside Grudziądz – in the territory of the Grudziądz county. In the second half of the 1920s many musicians left the orchestra. In 1927 the director of the theatre created a youth orchestra (Jugendkapelle), but it represented a much lower artistic level. The second orchestra in Grudziądz was set up the singing society Liedertafel; it was run by a music teacher Willy Elisat. It gave concerts mainly outside the town. In late August/early September 1922 the Toruń theatrical orchestra was established; it gave musical evenings and summer concerts with opera, operetta, dance and marching music. The Deutsche Bühne Świecie orchestra was very popular among the German minority in Pomerania. It operated under the name Schwetzer Kapelle Paul Knopf. Its founder and conductor was the

²⁶⁰ D. Sieradzka, op. cit., p. 699; O. Heike, op. cit., p. 375–377; P. Greiner, R. Kaczmarek, *Leksykon mniejszości niemieckiej...*, pp. 142–144.

²⁶¹ Z. Pruss, A. Weber, R. Kuczma, *Bydgoski leksykon muzyczny*, Bydgoszcz 2004, pp. 637–638.

merchant Paul Knopf. At the end of 1923 he set up an additional theatrical orchestra consisting of 12 members, which played exclusively in theatrical performances. Small orchestras existed also in the theatres in Chojnice, Poznań and Tczew.²⁶²

The biggest and most active German artistic entourage operated in Upper Silesia. Its interests were represented by Kattowitzer Künstlergruppe (The Katowice Artistic Group), which was set up in 1929 with the participation of such artists as the illustrator and caricaturist Willi Heier, the landscapist Rudolf Kober, the portraitist and documentarian Hans Konheisner, the painter of female nudes and landscapist Vincenz Oczko, the painter Franz Sikora. Artists belonging to this association in their art focused on regional motifs. Prior to the outbreak of WWII the association changed its name into Deutsche Künstlergruppe in Polen (The German Artistic Group in Poland) since it had become the representative of the interests of German artists not only from Silesian Province, but of all German artists living in Poland.²⁶³

The press occupied an important place in the cultural life of the German minority. Friedrich Badendieck, the author of the book *Die Presse des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums* published in 1925 defined its role in the following way: "School, associations and press are the pillars of the combat to maintain the nationality. The press must interfere in politics, economy and culture. That is why, its activity requires the knowledge of the conditions of combat, tact, caution and courage."²⁶⁴ The main publishing centre of the German press was Greater Poland, where in Poznań and Bydgoszcz about 40% of all German titles came out along with the majority of quarterlies issued in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The most important German dailies in Poland in Poznań and Pomeranian Provinces were *Deutsche Rundschau* seated in Bydgoszcz, *Posener Tageblatt* issued in Poznań, *Pommerellen Tageblatt* issued in Tczew, which were politically connected with Deutschtumsbund and later with the DV. The daily *Freie Presse* issued in Łódź and the weekly *Der Volksfreund* were the press bodies of Deutscher Volksverband in Polen (The German People's Association in Poland). Jungedeutsche Partei (The Youth German Party) from 1934 issued in Poznań the daily *Deutsche Nachrichten*. Among national socialist papers there were the Bydgoszcz weekly *Volkszeitung* and the Łódź daily *Lodzer Volkszeitung*. In Silesian Province there came out *Kattowitzer Zeitung* in Katowice as the body of Volksbund and *Schlesische Zeitung* in Bielkso – the body of Deutsche Partei, *Der Oberschlesische Kurier* in Chorzów – the body of Deutsche Katholische Volkspartei (The German Catholic People's Party), the socialist weekly *Volkswille* in Katowice. The circulation of the newspapers and periodicals oscillated around from 2500 copies (*Lodzer Volkszeitung*) to 25,000 copies (*Deutsche Rundschau*). In 1938 in Poland there came out 112 titles

²⁶² W. Kotowski, op. cit., *passim*.

²⁶³ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 2 z 3 I 1940 r., *Künstlergruppe Ost*; O. Heike, op. cit., p. 347; P. Greiner, R. Kaczmarek, *Leksykon mniejszości niemieckiej...*, pp. 105–106, 170, 174, 179.

²⁶⁴ Cited after: D. Matelski, *Niemcy w Polsce...*, p. 131.

(42 titles of the political press, 37 of the religious press, 13 of the economic press, 11 – of the cultural-educational press, 3 – journals).²⁶⁵

German writers' and poets' contribution to the development of German culture in interwar Poland was relatively small. In the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth there lived the following writers: the superintendent Paul Blau, Karl Heinz Fenske, Friedrich Just, Franz Lüdtkke, Brunhild Lüttmann, Carl Meissner, Franz Wilhelm Metzlin, Ilse Molzahn, pastor Johannes Mühlrad, Anei Angelika Müller, Clemens Conrad Rössler, Gertrude Wendorff. The motif of "injustice" inflicted to Germans living in Poland by the Treaty of Versailles prevailed in their literature.²⁶⁶

The German minority in interwar Poland constituted a closed group, which defended itself against any Polish influences for fear of being denationalized. At the same time, they had extensive privileges which enabled them to develop the social-economic, political and cultural life without restrictions. Various cultural institutions maintained contacts with Germany and preserved German traditions and customs integrating the German population and helping them to preserve their national identity. During cultural events of various kinds anti-Polish sentiments were aroused and the thesis of the absolute superiority of German culture over Slavonic culture was propagated. The changes occurring in the Reich from 1933 were approved of by the majority of the Germans living in Poland, which affected their cultural work. Culture was no longer only an instrument to maintain the national identity and to promote anti-Polish sentiments. Now, its task was also to spread the national socialist ideology.

²⁶⁵ See more: A. Szefer, op. cit., pp. 273–274; T. Kowalak, *Prasa niemiecka w Polsce 1918–1939. Powiązania i wpływy*, Warszawa 1971; D. Matelski, *Niemcy w Polsce...*, p. 128.

²⁶⁶ R. Gerlach-Damaschke, *Geschichte und Dichtung der Posener Deutschen*, [in:] *Polen und sein preussischer Streifen 1919–1939...*, pp. 137–144; O. Heike, op. cit., pp. 331–334; D. Matelski, *Mniejszość niemiecka...*, pp. 277–278. See also: J. Chodera, *Literatura niemiecka o Polsce w latach 1918–1939*, Katowice 1968.

Chapter II

GERMAN CULTURE UNDER THE OCCUPATION SYSTEM IN POLISH LANDS INCORPORATED INTO THE THIRD REICH IN THE YEARS 1939–1945

One of the basic slogans of the Nazi political program, formulated when the movement was just beginning to grow, was acquisition of the so-called living space (Lebensraum) for the German nation, which involved revisiting the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, including the restitution of the Polish-German border. On 25 March 1939 Hitler informed the commander-in-chief of the Army General Walther von Brauchitsch that the new Eastern border of Germany would run “from the Easternmost point of East Prussia to the Silesian industrial region inclusively.”¹ Thus it equalled an announcement that the Western, Northern and Southern Polish lands (Gdańsk Pomerania, Greater Poland and Upper Silesia) would be incorporated into the Third Reich. The plans of annexation of these territories were supported with historical as well as economic and strategic arguments.² Political and diplomatic actions undertaken by the Third Reich authorities and aiming at making Poland a satellite state turned out to be futile, which consequently led to the military attack on Poland on 1 September 1939. After the Anschluss of Austria, subjugation of Czechoslovakia and annexation of the Lithuanian autonomous district of Klaipėda, this was a next stage of implementation of the Nazi plan to gain hegemony and “living space” in Europe.

1. Objectives of German nationality policy and the role of culture in its implementation

After several weeks of fighting, German military forces occupied almost half of the territory of Poland, i.e. 188,705 km² (in November 1939, 752 km² were given

¹ K. Radziwończyk, *Plany polityczne Trzeciej Rzeszy wobec Polski i ich realizacja w okresie od 1 września do 25 października 1939 r.*, Najnowsze dzieje Polski. Materiały i studia z okresu II wojny światowej, t. XII, Warszawa 1968, p. 8.

² See: J. Krasuski, *Stosunki polsko-niemieckie 1919–1932*, Poznań 1975; M. Wojciechowski, *Stosunki polsko-niemieckie 1933–1938*, Poznań 1980; S. Żerko, *Stosunki polsko-niemieckie 1938–1939*, Poznań 1998; idem, *Niemiecka polityka zagraniczna 1933–1939*, Poznań 2005.

to Slovakia). Until 25 October 1939 the occupied Polish lands remained under military administration, which means that all the power was in the hands of Wehrmacht. Chiefs of civil administration were appointed at the command of each army; they constituted the executive organs of the army commanders responsible for civil administration tasks. This matter was regulated in detail by Hitler's decrees from 8 and 25 September 1939.³ The military administration was replaced by civil authorities on 26 October 1939, when the Führer's decree of 8 October 1939 on the structure and administration of Eastern territories came into force. By this regulation the pre-war Silesian, Pomeranian and Poznań voivodeships and parts of Łódź, Kraków (Western part) and Warszawa (Northern part) voivodeships as well as Suwałki country from Białystok voivodeship became incorporated into the Third Reich.⁴ Parts of the annexed Polish lands were turned into two new administrative units, i.e. Reichsgau Westpreussen (the Reich Province of West Prussia), whose name was changed on 2 November to Reichsgau Danzig–Westpreussen (the Reich Province of Gdańsk–West Prussia),⁵ and Reichsgau Posen (the Reich Province of Poznań), renamed 29 January 1940 Reichsgau Wartheland (the Reich District Wartheland).⁶ The Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia comprised the following territories: the Free City of Gdańsk; six counties of the German province of East Prussia, i.e. Elbląg (Town), Elbląg (Rural), Kwidzyn, Malbork, Susz and Sztum; most of the pre-war Pomeranian voivodeship (without the counties of Inowrocław, Nieszawa, Szubin and Włocławek); and a small part of Warsaw voivodeship. The total area amounted to 26,056 km² (21,237 km² of which were Polish lands). The highest administrative authority in the province was a Reich governor (Reichsstatthalter) Albert Forster,⁷ who was also the NSDAP leader for the province (Gauleiter der NSDAP). As an administrative unit, a province was divided into three districts (Regierungsbezirk): Bydgoszcz, Gdańsk and Kwidzyn; each of them was governed by the district president (Regierungspräsident). The lower levels of the state administration were town counties (Stadtkreis) governed by an high mayor (Oberbürgermeister), rural counties (Landkreis) ruled by star-

³ T. Berenstein, A. Rutkowski, *Niemiecka administracja wojskowa na okupowanych ziemiach polskich (1 wrzesień–25 październik 1939 r.)*, Najnowsze dzieje Polski. Materiały i studia z okresu II wojny światowej, t. VI, Warszawa 1962, pp. 45–57.

⁴ Reichsgesetzblatt (dalej cyt. RGBl), 1939, I, pp. 2042–2043, Erlass des Führers und Reichskanzlers über Gliederung und Verwaltung der Ostgebiete. Vom 8. Oktober 1939; K. M. Pospieszalski, *Polska pod niemieckim prawem 1939–1945 (Ziemie Zachodnie)*, Poznań 1946, pp. 9–11.

⁵ RGBl, 1939, I, p. 2135, Erlass des Führers und Reichskanzlers zur Änderung des Erlasses über Gliederung und Verwaltung der Ostgebiete. Vom 2. November 1939.

⁶ Ibid., 1940, I, p. 251, Zweiter Erlass des Führers und Reichskanzlers zur Änderung des Erlasses über Gliederung und Verwaltung der Ostgebiete. Vom 29. Januar 1940.

⁷ More about Forster: W. Löbsack, *Albert Forster. Gauleiter und Reichsstatthalter im Reichsgau Danzig–Westpreussen*, Danzig 1940; M. Podgóreczny, *Albert Forster gauleiter i oskarżony*, Gdańsk 1977; D. Schenk, *Albert Forster. Gdański namiestnik Hitlera. Zbrodnie hitlerowskie w Gdańsku i Prusach Zachodnich*, Gdańsk 2002.

ostas (Landrat) and gminas (Gemeinde) governed by the office commissioners (Amtskommissar).⁸

The Reich District Wartheland included the following areas: pre-war Poznań voivodeship; a fragment of Pomeranian voivodeship with Inowrocław; Nieszawa, Szubin and Włocławek counties; from 9 November 1939 also the City of Łódź with Łask, Łęczycza, Łódź, Sieradz and Wieluń counties as well as the Western parts of Brzeziny, Piotrków and Radomsko counties; and Gostynin and Kutno counties from Warszawa voivodeship. Its total area was 43,942.49 km². The province comprised three districts: Poznań, Inowrocław and Łódź (from 1 April 1940, previously Kalisz district). The offices of the governor and the party leader of the Reich District Wartheland were held by Arthur Greiser.⁹

The other annexed Polish lands, i.e. the territory of Silesian voivodeship with Cieszyn, Katowice, Lubliniec, Pszczyna, Rybnik, Świętochłowice and Tarnowskie Góry counties; a fragment of Kielce voivodeship with Będzin, Olkusz, Sosnowiec and Zawiercie counties; as well as Chrzanów, Wadowice and Żywiec counties from Kraków voivodeship were incorporated into the 19th-century Province of Silesia (Provinz Schlesien), comprising three administrative districts of Legnica, Wrocław and Opole. Lubliniec and Zawiercie counties with Blachownia (which before the war belonged to Częstochowa country in Kielce voivodeship) were included in Opole district. The remaining part of the Silesian voivodeship became the fourth district, the District of Katowice with the area of approximately 8924 km².¹⁰ At the end of 1939 The Reich District of Katowice had six town counties: two purely German counties of Bytom and Gliwice, as well as Katowice, Królewska Huta, Sosnowiec, Zabrze and 16 rural counties. The area of the Province of Silesia was 47,591 km², with Polish lands constituting less than 25% of this area, i.e. 10,500 km². The Prussian Law from 20 December 1940¹¹ created a new administrative division and on 18 January 1941 the Province of Silesia, the largest in Prussia, was divided into two new provinces. i.e. Provinz Niederschlesien (the Province of Lower Silesia) with the capital in Wrocław, and Provinz Oberschlesien (the Province of Upper Silesia)

⁸ See more about the administrative division of occupied Polish territories: Z. Janowicz, *Ustrój administracyjny ziem polskich wcielonych do Rzeszy Niemieckiej 1939–1945. Tzw. Okręgi Kraju Warty i Gdańska–Prus Zachodnich*, Poznań 1951; Cz. Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce*, t. I, Warszawa 1970, pp. 64–71; E. Jędrzejewski, *Hitlerowska koncepcja administracji państwowej 1933–1945. Studium polityczno-prawne*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1975; Cz. Łuczak, *Polska i Polacy w drugiej wojnie światowej*, Poznań 1993, pp. 91–97; R. Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk w strukturze terenów wcielonych do Trzeciej Rzeszy*, Studia i materiały z dziejów Śląska, t. 22, Katowice 1997, pp. 128–140.

⁹ See more about A. Greiser: Cz. Łuczak, *Arthur Greiser. Hitlerowski władca w Wolnym Mieście Gdańsku i w Kraju Warty*, Poznań 1997; C. Epstein, *Wzorcowy nazista. Arthur Greiser i okupacja Kraju Warty*, Wrocław 2011.

¹⁰ Decree of 8 Oct 1939 stipulated the creation of The Reich District of Katowice, but its borders were not strictly defined. The issue was solved in November 1939.

¹¹ Preussische Gesetzsammlung, Nr. 1/den 4. Januar 1941, s. 1, Gesetz über die Bildung der Provinzen Oberschlesien und Niederschlesien. Vom 20. Dezember 1940.

with the capital in Katowice. The province of Upper Silesia was divided into two districts: Katowice and Opole, with the capital in Katowice, and Polish lands were incorporated into them; in turn, the Province of Lower Silesia consisted of two districts: Wrocław and Legnica. The Province of Upper Silesia was governed by high president Josef Wagner (in 1941 replaced by Fritz Bracht). During the whole war, the mayor of The Reich District of Katowice was Walter Springorum.¹² The administrative changes in the remaining Polish lands annexed to the Third Reich after 1939 were not as significant as those in Upper Silesia.

The Third Reich authorities treated the “incorporated lands” as fundamentally German territories which became Polonized because during the inter-war period they belonged to Poland. Through firm introduction of the policy of Germanization they were to be fully Germanized and integrated with the Third Reich as soon as possible. Those plans were supposed to be implemented through different methods and means, the most important of which – used in the three mentioned administrative territorial units, albeit with varying intensity – were extermination and expulsion of the Polish population and German settlement; the German People’s List (Deutsche Volksliste, DVL); destruction of Polish culture and all signs of Polishness; discrimination of Poles in terms of financial situation and living conditions.¹³ The differences in the ways of implementing the nationality policy in different provinces resulted primarily from the fact that their governors understanding the process of Germanization differently.

Albert Forster and Fritz Bracht were supporting the “Germanization of people” to “recover” for Germany the people of German origin who, according to them, succumbed to Polonization. Thus their approach to e.g. the issue of determining nationality was much more liberal than Greiser’s, which can be confirmed for instance by the action of registering the inhabitants of Pomerania and Upper Silesia in the DVL *en masse*, while this practice was relatively limited in the Reich District Wartheland. Another significant difference present in the nationality policy as realized by Forster and Bracht on the one hand and Greiser on the other was the issue of using Polish language. While in Pomerania and Silesia – in the name of the principle of “Germanizing people” – the use of Polish was entirely forbidden, in the Reich District Wartheland the use of Polish by the Polish population

¹² See more: R. Kaczmarek, *Pod rządami gauleiterów. Elity i instancje władzy w Rejencji Katowickiej w latach 1939–1945*, Katowice 1998.

¹³ Among the extensive literature of the subject matter see K. M. Pospieszalski, op. cit., *passim*; M. Broszat, *Nationalsozialistische Polenpolitik 1939–1945*, Frankfurt am Main–Hamburg 1965; Cz. Madajczyk, op. cit., *passim*; E. Serwański, *Wielkopolska w cieniu swastyki*, Warszawa 1970; Cz. Łuczak, “Kraj Warty” 1939–1945. *Studium historyczno-gospodarcze okupacji hitlerowskiej*, Poznań 1972; W. Jastrzębski, J. Sziling, *Okupacja hitlerowska na Pomorzu Gdańskim w latach 1939–1945*, Gdańsk 1979; R. Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej. Między utopią niemieckiej wspólnoty narodowej a rzeczywistością okupacji na terenach wcielonych do Trzeciej Rzeszy*, Katowice 2006.

was mostly overlooked. The nationality policy was also significantly influenced by economic matters, which was particularly visible in Upper Silesia.¹⁴

On 21 September 1939 Governor Greiser thus described the objectives of his policy: "All the Polish influences, whether in the sphere of politics or culture or economy, will be eliminated once and forever. We Germans came here as masters, and the Poles are to be our servants [...]. Our most important task is to settle this land with people to whom the concept of Poland will be in the future merely a historical memory."¹⁵ At the same time he strongly disassociated himself from the nationality policy of Forster and Bracht, a sentiment he expressed among others at a secret meeting of the NSDAP Office of Nationality Policy on 20 March 1943, saying: "If anyone asks whether we should not achieve the same result [Germanization of the Reich District Wartheland] by simpler, quicker means, as it is being done in the Province of Gdańsk–East Prussia or in Upper Silesia, then my answer is No! Ad hoc we can achieve a theoretical success, but saving time will not ensure a better result, as the territory will be threatened by the Slavic nation. Let us recall briefly Streicher's saying from the time of political struggle: If you put a herring in wine, it will not emerge from it a better fish [...]. We have to follow a more arduous path. In the racial struggle we must be consistent [...] we will serve the case better by exploiting the Polish work force to the fullest degree and thus we will build a firm foundation for the centuries to come, on which the future generations will feel good. We will make an effort here, in the Reich District Wartheland, to build on the rock while around us they build on sand."¹⁶ In the nationality policy he was implementing, Greiser did not need to consider economic matters to the same extent as e.g. Bracht as the province he governed had a different economic potential. He based his nationality policy mostly on the doctrine premises of the National Socialist movement, particularly on the biological criterion (the racial doctrine), proposing above all the so-called Germanization of the land. The primary consequences were expulsions of Poles, full separation between the Poles and Germans in all aspects of everyday life and demotion of the Polish population to the status of slaves. The nationality policy realized by Greiser was to lead to creating a so-called model province (Mustergau), whose solutions in the sphere of nationality policy were to be an example for other occupied territories.

Despite differences in implementation of nationality policy in individual administrative units on the Polish lands incorporated into the Third Reich, their common denominator was ruthless and complete elimination of Polish cultural life.

¹⁴ See: *Praca przymusowa Polaków pod panowaniem hitlerowskim 1939–1945. Wybór źródeł i opracowanie Alfred Konieczny i Herbert Szurgacz*, Documenta Occupationis, t. X, Poznań 1976, pp. 282–297 (przemówienie gauleitera Górnego Śląska F. Brachta dotyczące zasad polityki narodowościowej).

¹⁵ Posener Tageblatt, nr 212 z 22 IX 1939 r., p. 3.

¹⁶ Cited after: Cz. Madajczyk, op. cit., pp. 440–441.

The plans of campaign against Polish culture were prepared both by central authorities of the Third Reich and German science and research institutions. Ost-europa-Institut (the Eastern Europe Institute) in Wrocław was particularly active in this sphere.¹⁷ Its director, Professor Hans Uebersberger even stated that the “national-political and cultural” issues of Poland were dominating their research work. The studies in the Cultural Section (from 1942 known as Historical and Political Section) were mostly conducted by professors Albert Hesse and Manfred Laubert.¹⁸ A propaganda action against Polish culture (Kulturpropaganda) was carried out through different publications. It stressed the alleged primitiveness and deficiency of Polish culture, which supposedly had no eminent authors, traditions and works of its own (e.g. Kurt Lück¹⁹ and Joachim Schmomaker were proving in their texts the “Germanness” of Nicolaus Copernicus and Wit Stwosz). It forced the idea that all the products of Polish culture that had any value were a direct result of German influences. It also strove to find “historical evidence” of presence and cultural domination of Germans on Polish lands. Disparagement of Polish cultural achievements was not only an end in itself as the German cultural influences in Polish lands were an argument supporting the demands to redraw the German-Polish border. It was argued that any land reached by the influence of German culture was German land. The plans of campaign against Polish culture were therefore a part of general plans of expansion and extermination connected with implementing the concept of “Lebensraum.”²⁰

After Germany attacked Poland, the main principles of German cultural policy to be implemented in the occupied Polish territories were unequivocally formu-

¹⁷ More about the activity of the Institute for Eastern Europe in Wrocław in the publications by Z. Szuszkiewicz: *Struktura organizacyjna Instytutu Wschodniej Europy i jego niejawną działalność*, Rocznik Wrocławski, t. XI/XII: 1967/1968, s. 100–114; *Działalność wydawnicza Instytutu Europy Wschodniej we Wrocławiu (1918–1945)*, Przegląd Zachodni (dalej cyt. PZ), 1970: nr 3, pp. 131–153; *Działalność popularyzatorska i propagandowa Instytutu Europy Wschodniej we Wrocławiu w latach 1918–1944*, PZ, 1971: nr 3, pp. 131–151; *Ost-europa-Institut w latach 1933–1939 (Niektóre aspekty działalności)*, PZ, 1974: nr 3, pp. 107–132.

¹⁸ About M. Laubert see: G. Rhode, *Manfred Laubert 1877–1960*, Jahrbuch Weichsel–Warthe, Jahrgang 8, 1962, pp. 35–40; R. Kaczmarek, *Środowisko naukowe i artystyczne w prowincji górno-śląskiej (1941–1945)*, [in:] *Losy inteligencji śląskiej w latach 1939–1945*, pod red. Z. Kapały, t. 2, Bytom 2005, pp. 17–18.

¹⁹ See: V. Kauder, *Dr. Kurt Lück. Volkstumskämpfer und Forscher*, Jahrbuch Weichsel–Warthe, Jahrgang 8, 1962, pp. 60–65; E. C. Król, *Propaganda i indoktrynacja narodowego socjalizmu w Niemczech 1919–1945. Studium organizacji, treści, metod i technik masowego oddziaływania*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 523–524, 593–594 (przypis 110); R. Kaczmarek, *Środowisko naukowe i artystyczne...*, pp. 17. In the book of almost 700 pages titled *Deutsche Aufbaukräfte in der Entwicklung Polens*, and published in 1934, K. Lück argued that the civilization achievements of Poles were the consequence of the German influence.

²⁰ K. Jonca, *Założenia hitlerowskiej polityki kulturalnej (i ich realizacja w stosunku do Polaków)*, [in:] *Inter arma non silent Musae. Wojna i kultura 1939–1945*, pod red. Cz. Madajczyk, Warszawa 1982, pp. 241–242; A. Wolff-Powęska, *Teoria niemieckiej ziemi kulturowej (Kulturboden) i narodowej (Volksboden) w służbie ekspansjonistycznej polityki Niemiec*, Studia Śląskie, t. XXVIII: 1975, pp. 183–199.

lated in a classified memorandum from 25 November 1939 titled *Die Frage der Behandlung der Bevölkerung der ehemaligen polnischen Gebiete nach rassenpolitischen Gesichtspunkten* (The matter of treatment of the population on the former Polish areas from racial and political point of view). This document was prepared by the employees of the Nationality Policy Office of NSDAP Erhard Wetzel and Gerhard Hecht, who included Hitler's guidelines from 23 October 1939 regarding the treatment of Poles in the incorporated lands and in the General Government (Generalgouvernement, GG). On the same day the Secretary of State Wilhelm Stuckart disseminated Hitler's guidelines to the top officials of the Reich at the conference in the Ministry of Interior.²¹

As to the matters of culture, the memorandum authors stated first with full certainty: "As to spirituality, a Pole can be described as entirely uncreative, both in cultural and in national and political aspect. He can mask this lack of a truly creative force with primitively refined intelligence that should not be underestimated. As to psyche, a Pole can be described as a man of a herd, full of deep mistrust towards those who grow over the group average. It is connected with lack of sense of order and lack of understanding of the creators of higher culture, of supporting and nurturing it."²² Wetzel and Hecht thus repeated the old propaganda cliché that Poles were a primitive nation, unable to create culture on their own. In the further part of the memorial, its creators to some extent contradicted their earlier arguments by pointing out specific means and methods that should lead to full eradication of this apparently worthless Polish culture: "maintaining any Polish national and cultural life must be absolutely excluded [...]. So no footholds for their own national and cultural life can exist anymore. In the future there will be no more Polish schools in Polish lands. Generally there will be only German schools, which will obviously stress learning about national socialism. Poles and insufficiently Germanized members of Polish-German intermediate groups will not be able to study at German universities and in vocational schools, nor attend any high or tertiary schools."²³ According to this fragment, Polish culture was intended to be destroyed through extensive limitations of educational chances for children and young people in order to prevent the revival of intelligentsia. In practice it meant elimination of the entire Polish school system and introduction of elementary education only in German language.²⁴ The authors of the memorandum postulated also abolishment of all organizational forms of Polish cultural

²¹ Cz. Madajczyk, op. cit., p. 291.

²² *Program narodowościowy Rassenpolitischen Amtu z 1939 roku na ziemiach polskich*, Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Niemieckich w Polsce (further cit. BGKBZNwP), t. IV, Warszawa 1948, p. 139.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

²⁴ See more about education during the occupation period: J. Molenda, *Szkolnictwo w Rejencji Katowickiej w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej. Przyczynek do polityki narodowościowej okupanta*, Katowice 1976; M. Banasiewicz, *Polityka naukowa i oświatowa hitlerowskich Niemiec na ziemiach polskich "wcielonych" do Trzeciej Rzeszy w okresie okupacji 1939–1945*, Poznań 1980; S. Grochowina, *Szkolnictwo*

life: "In order to destroy the entirety of their own cultural and economic life, there must be no Polish corporations, unions or associations [...]. Polish restaurants and cafes – as centres of Polish national life – ought to be closed. The Poles cannot go to German theatres, cinemas or variétés. Polish theatres, cinemas and other places of cultural entertainment should be closed. There will be no Polish newspapers; no Polish books or magazines will be published either. For the same reasons, Poles are not allowed to have radios and record players."²⁵ Within the annexed Polish lands only Germans were allowed to be involved in any kind of cultural activity, and the existing German cinemas, theatres and "other places of cultural entertainment" were to be inaccessible for Poles.

A sort of a complement of Wetzl and Hecht's memorandum was Himmler's project from 15 May 1940 concerning nationality policy, titled *Einige Gedanken über die Behandlung der Fremdenvölker in Osten* (Several thoughts on the treatment of alien tribes in the East). The Reich Commissioner for Strengthening of German Nationhood (Reichskommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums, RKFDV) supported the idea of annihilation of the Polish nation not only through physical extermination but also by destruction of their centuries-old culture and preventing its possible rebirth by abolishment of Polish schools, important for the existence and development of national culture. "[...] The main issue in solving these [nationality – S.G.] problems is the question of schools, and therefore the question of supervision and screening of young people. The non-German population of the East cannot have access to education higher than four-class community schools. Such community school is to teach solely simple counting up to 500, not more, writing down one's name, and that it is God's commandment to be obedient to Germans, honest, diligent and polite. I do not consider reading a necessary skill. There can be no other schools in the East [...]. This population²⁶ will be at our disposal as leaderless work people who every year will provide Germans with seasonal labourers and workers for special assignments (roads, quarries, construction works); they will have more food and better living conditions than under Polish rule; and without culture, under the strict, consistent and just leadership of German nation they will be called to participate in the creation of immortal masterpieces of culture and construction – or even maybe, through the sheer amount of ordinary labour – they will make such works possible."²⁷

It is also worth paying attention to the directives of the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda concerning the matters of culture in the occupied territories, which were presented by Josef Goebbels or his associates during regular

ctwo niemieckie w Okręgu Rzeszy Gdańsk-Prusy Zachodnie w latach 1939-1945 (obszar II RP), Toruń 2008.

²⁵ *Program narodowościowy Rassenpolitischen-Amtu...*, p. 148.

²⁶ Apart from Poles the document says about Belorussians, Ukrainians, Jews, Highlanders. Lemkos and Kashubians.

²⁷ *Hitlerowski plan walki biologicznej z narodem polskim*, BGKBNwP, t. IV, Warszawa 1948, pp. 123, 125.

press conferences. At the conference on 9 February 1940 it was stated emphatically that "The notion of »Polish culture« must never be revived [...]. Each grassroots penetration of Polishness to German element leads to lowering our level. Each German should adopt as a starting point the fact that there are no decent Poles."²⁸ During the so-called great press conference which took place on 24 October 1940, the following words were spoken: "Poland is a collection of subhumans. Poles, Jews, and Gypsies should be mentioned together [...]. A Pole is something unclean, with which one should not concern oneself [...]. All that is good in Poland grows from a German root, and so does culture."²⁹ Poles were thus put on a par with other persecuted groups and once again considered a nation unable to create culture by themselves.

2. Extermination of Polish culture

From the first days of the occupation German authorities ruthlessly realized the program of the campaign against Polish culture. Destruction of the material forms of Polish nation's cultural achievements was preceded by the action directed against Polish intelligentsia, including the creators of Polish culture.

2.1. Physical elimination of Polish intelligentsia

All the people who, according to the national socialism criteria, could not be included in the action of Germanization for political, nationality, racial or world-view reasons and, furthermore, could pose a significant obstacle to it, were considered the enemies of the Third Reich; their physical elimination started almost immediately after the Polish territories were taken over by German troops. Although this group included people from different social strata who actively worked to preserve Polishness and develop the sense of national identity, the phrase "leadership group" (Führerschicht) was predominantly used to describe Polish intelligentsia. In the eyes of German authorities Polish intelligentsia, as the part of the society that had been most involved in preserving and developing Polish national identity and culture, could seriously hinder the implementation of German nationality policy. It was feared above all that this group would become a centre of resistance and would lead the Polish nation in the fight for liberation. Besides, elimination of the intelligentsia from the society was – according to German powers – a necessary condition of putting a stop to any Polish creativity and cultural activity.

The decision regarding elimination of Polish intelligentsia was undertaken by Adolf Hitler at the end of August 1939. According to general Fedor von Bock, during the briefing of top military staff on 22 August 1939 Hitler announced that after the end of the military campaign in Poland, SS squads would annihilate Polish leadership groups, in particular Polish clergy. Less than three weeks later, on 12

²⁸ E. Fröhlich, *Wytoczne Ministerstwa Oświaty Publicznej i Propagandy Trzeciej Rzeszy dotyczące spraw kultury na terenach okupowanych*, [in:] *Inter arma non silent Musae...*, p. 214.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

September 1939 during a meeting with high-rank militaries and politicians that took place in Jelowa in Opole Silesia, he called the extermination of Polish intelligentsia “political clearing of the foreground” (politische Flurbereinigung).³⁰

In the initial period of the occupation, extermination was carried out by task forces of the Security Police and Security Service (Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes) which entered Poland in the wake of Wehrmacht troops, and had been created before the outbreak of the war as a part of the Operation Tannenberg.

On 7 September 1939 at the briefing of the leaders of operation Tannenberg, the head of the Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei, Sipo) and the Security Service (Sicherheitsdienst, SD) Reinhard Heydrich handed instructions for the task forces on the treatment of Polish intelligentsia, explicitly stating that “the leading groups in Polish society should be disposed of as much as it is possible.”³¹ At the meeting of the heads of the main police institutions and the heads of the task forces on 21 September 1939 in Berlin, he called for intensification of the actions undertaken for this purpose. “The solution of the Polish problem – as it has been stressed many times – should be implemented differently, depending on whether it concerns the leadership group (Polish intelligentsia) or the lower stratum of Polish workers. Out of the political leaders in the occupied territories, no more than 3% remain. Also those 3% must be rendered harmless and placed in concentration camps. The task groups are to make lists that will include eminent leaders, and additionally the lists of the middle class: teachers, clergy, landed gentry, legionnaires, returning officers etc. They also should be arrested.”³² At the next meeting of that kind on 14 October 1939, Heydrich ordered the leaders of the task forces operating in Poland to “finish the elimination of Polish leadership group by 1 November.”³³ On 20 November 1939 he issued a decree on dissolving the Einsatzgruppen and the task of “making the Polish leadership groups harmless” was continued by permanent branches of Gestapo as well as the Security Police and Security Service.³⁴

³⁰ T. Cyprian, J. Sawicki, *Sprawy polskie w procesie norymberskim*, Poznań 1956, p. 53; K. Radziwończyk, op. cit., p. 15; H. Boehm, W. Baumgart, *Zur Aussprache Hitlers vor den Führern der Wehrmacht am 22. August 1939*, Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, XIX, 1971, p. 294–304.

³¹ K. Radziwończyk, “Akcja Tannenberg” grup operacyjnych Sipo i SD w Polsce jesienią 1939 r., *Przegląd Zachodni*, nr 5: 1966, p. 98 [the document in German translated by the author].

³² *Ibid.*, p. 112.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

³⁴ See more about Einsatzgruppen: *Die Berichte der Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei im Polenfeldzug 1939 r.*, hrsg. von H. Krannhals, [b.m.w.] 1965; K. Leszczyński, *Działalność Einsatzgruppen policji bezpieczeństwa na ziemiach polskich w 1939 r. w świetle dokumentów*, Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce (further cit. BGKBZHWP), t. XXII, Warszawa 1971, pp. 7–290; H. Krausnick, *Hitlers Einsatzgruppen. Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges 1938–1942*, Frankfurt am Main 1998; J. Böhrer, K. M. Mallmann, J. Matthäus, *Einsatzgruppen in Polen. Darstellung und Dokumentation*, Darmstadt 2008; Ł. Gładysiak, *Zabijajcie wszystkich. Einsatzgruppen w latach 1938–1941*, Warszawa 2012.

Besides the officers of the Security Police, the main force responsible for implementing the action of extermination in Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich was the paramilitary organization *Selbstschutz* (Self-protection) which constituted a significant cog in the German police machine. Its establishment was preceded by emergence of different police-style organizations whose members were solely the German inhabitants of Polish lands (*Volksdeutsche*). Already in the first days of September 1939 such police formations as *Hilfspolizei*, *Heimwehr* and *Bürgerwehr* established German administration structures in the places overtaken by *Wehrmacht*. Formally, on 20 September 1939 SS-Reichsführer and the head of German police Heinrich Himmler ordered the head of the SS Reinforcements Office Gottlob Berger to organize *Selbstschutz* in the occupied Polish territories, and on 7 October Himmler issued temporary guidelines on establishing *Selbstschutz* in Poland, which only sanctioned the current state of affairs. In occupied Poland three *Selbstschutz* districts were created: the central one under the leadership of SS-Oberführer Hans Kelz with the seat in Poznań, the southern one under the leadership of SS-Oberführer Fritz Katzmann with the seat in Wrocław, and the northern one under the leadership of SS-Oberführer Ludolf von Alvensleben with the seat in Gdańsk. The districts were divided into inspectorates, and each inspectorate covered several counties. The county-level structures consisted of local outposts (*Orte*). The leadership posts were taken by SS officers from the Reich, and the local structures were usually helmed by *Volksdeutsche*. *Selbstschutz* enrolled men aged 17–45. At the end of October 1939 this organization had approximately 70 thousand members; more than half of them belonged to *Selbstschutz* in Pomerania. By the order from 8 November 1939, Heinrich Himmler formally ordered the dissolution of *Selbstschutz* by the end of the month. In the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia *Selbstschutz* was dissolved on 26 November 1939 while in the other areas of Poland incorporated into the third Reich it still operated for several months (until the spring of 1940).³⁵

The governors of individual administrative units within the annexed Polish lands were in agreement as regards consistent and radical elimination of Polish intelligentsia. In a classified instruction for civil administration from September 1939 the Governor of the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia Albert Forster pointed out: “It is very important to capture and isolate leading Polish intellectuals, in which category I include particularly teachers, priests, all people with higher education, and possibly merchants.”³⁶ In one of his speeches, he thus justified the necessity of eliminating Polish intelligentsia: “priests, gentry, teachers and other members of the intelligentsia [...] held sway over the masses and worked on separating the Polish nation from Germanness and win them for Polishness. We have

³⁵ See more: Ch. Jansen, A. Weckbecker, *Der “Volksdeutsche Selbstschutz” in Polen 1939/40*, München 1992.

³⁶ *Jesień 1939. Dokumentacja pierwszych miesięcy okupacji niemieckiej na Pomorzu Gdańskim*, oprac. J. Sziling, Toruń 1989, p. 48.

removed those ringleaders of the policy of Polonization right after taking over this country, and we prevented them from further exerting influence of the Polish spirit on the masses.”³⁷ In the classified guidelines regarding the rebuilding of administrative structures in counties and towns of Poznań province, Arthur Greiser ordered the *Landräte* and mayors to “compile, with utmost secrecy, lists of Polish leaders and Polish intelligentsia – priests, teachers, landowners, merchants and industrialists.”³⁸ The guidelines on carrying out the direct extermination in Upper Silesia pointed out that the main threat were Silesian insurgents, who were considered the to have initiated the organization of the “Polish uprising.” The order of SS Reichsführer and the head of German police from 3 September 1939 commanded “radical destruction of the Polish uprising that ignited in the newly occupied parts of the Upper Silesia with the use of all means at our disposal.”³⁹ The realization of that task was primarily entrusted to two special task forces (*Einsatzgruppe zur besonderen Verwendung*) of SS-Obergruppenführer Udo von Woerysch and SS-Brigadenführer Brunon Streckenbach.⁴⁰

The organized action of annihilating Polish intelligentsia followed a particular model, characteristic especially for Pomerania and Greater Poland. It started with mass arrests of Poles classified as the enemies of the Third Reich. They primarily included the people who during the Partition of Poland actively worked for Polish identity or in the years 1920–1939 were involved in social and political life of the Republic of Poland – which also meant the creators of culture. Their names were entered into the so-called *Sonderfahndungsbuch Polen*, that is, a special book of wanted Poles, which – based on the data supplied by German informers operating in Poland – was compiled at the Central Office II (Polish) in the Main Office of SD for the task forces of the Security Police and Security Service. In September 1939 the German police institutions prepared the so-called proscription lists with the names of Poles considered “dangerous.” Captured Poles were put in prisons or other places of isolation established e.g. in school buildings, factories or military barracks and then (usually after several days) they were shot during mass executions carried out away from inhabited places, e.g. in forest clearings. The “Action Intelligentsia” (*Intelligenzaktion*) was continued in the spring of 1940. Poles who were arrested at that time were placed for a brief time in detention wards, prisons and transit camps, and then deported to concentration camps.

³⁷ W. Dreas, *Powiat bydgoski oskarża*, Bydgoszcz 1946, pp. 231–232.

³⁸ M. Wardzyńska, *Był rok 1939. Operacja niemieckiej policji bezpieczeństwa w Polsce. Intelligenzaktion*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 186–187.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 66. See also M. Kujawska, *Hitlerowska polityka wobec inteligencji narodowości polskiej na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1939–1945*, [in:] *Losy inteligencji śląskiej w latach 1939–1945*, pod red. Z. Kapały, t. 1, Bytom 2001, pp. 23–36.

⁴⁰ K. Radziwończyk, *Zbrodnie generała Streckenbacha*, Warszawa 1966; A. Konieczny, *W sprawie policyjnych grup operacyjnych Streckenbacha i von Woeryscha na Górnym Śląsku we wrześniu i październiku 1939 r.*, *Studia Śląskie*, t. X: 1966, s. 225–270; H. Krausnick, *op. cit.*, p. 42; R. Kaczmarek, *Pod rządami gauleiterów...*, p. 169; *idem*, *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej...*, pp. 75–77.

The extermination of Polish citizens, including Polish intelligentsia, was particularly extensive in Pomerania. In the majority of Pomeranian counties the arrests were most numerous in October 1939. In the territories comprising Bydgoszcz district, the places of mass executions included i.a. the Jewish cemetery in Świecie, Fordon Valley near Bydgoszcz, Górka Klasztorna near Łobżenica, Klamry near Chełmno, Barbarka Forest near Toruń, Rybieniec Forest near the village of Klamry in Chełmno county, Łobżenica, Miedzyn near Fordon, Płutowo near Chełmno, Rudzki Most near Tuchola, Tryszczyn near Bydgoszcz, Paterek gravel pit near Nakło and the gravel pit in Mniszek near Świecie. In Gdańsk district mass executions took place i.a. in Igielska Valley near Chojnice, Kaliski Forest near Kartuzy, Piaśnica Forest near Wejherowo, Szpęgawski Forest near Starogard Gdański, Skarszewski Forest, Lipusz woods near Kościerzyna, and at the shooting range in Pelplin. In the area of Kwidzyn district most Poles were killed in the so-called "Execution House" in Rypin, Karnkowo Forest near Lipno, Bachotek Forest, Birkenek Forest near Brodnica, the sandpit in Łopatki, and Skrwilno near Rypin.⁴¹

The extermination of Polish intelligentsia in Greater Poland and Upper Silesia occurred on a smaller scale. In October 1939 mass arrests of Poles took place mostly in the areas included in Poznań district. The largest mass executions occurred on 20, 21 and 23 October 1939, carried out in as many as 14 towns located in Gostyń, Kościan, Leszno, Środa and Śrem counties. In contrast to other Polish territories, these were mostly public executions, usually carried out in town squares, i.a. in Gostyń, Kostrzyń, Kościan, Kórnik, Krobia near Gostyń, Książ Wielkopolski, Leszno, Mosin, Osieczna, Poniec, Śrem, Śmigiel, Środa Wielkopolska and Włoszakowice. Public executions were intended to intimidate and pacify the Poles. In November and December 1939 in Poznań district the arrests were continued as a part of "Action Intelligentsia," and the majority of caught Poles were murdered in executions which now were carried out in isolated spots, i.a. in Dembiński Forest near Września, Mędziska Forest in Obrzycko gmina, woods near Morzew (Kaczory gmina), Bytyński Forest near Szamotuły, Kobylnicki Forest near Jaryszewo, woods near Kościan and Rydzyna, at the old firing range in Zbrudzewo, and in Fort VII, where on 10 October 1939 a transit camp was established (until mid-November 1939 it was named Sicherheitspolizei Chef der Einsatzgruppe VI.

⁴¹ See more: D. Steyer, *Eksterminacja ludności polskiej na Pomorzu Gdańskim w latach 1939–1945*, Gdynia 1967; T. Jaszowski, Cz. Sobeci, *Niemy świadek. Zbrodnie hitlerowskie w toruńskim Forcie VII i w lesie Barbarka*, Bydgoszcz 1971; B. Bojarska, *Eksterminacja inteligencji polskiej na Pomorzu Gdańskim (wrzesień–grudzień 1939)*, Poznań 1972 and many other publications by this author devoted to the sites of mass executions of the Polish population in Gdańsk Pomerania; W. Jastrzębski, *Terror i zbrodnia. Eksterminacja ludności polskiej i żydowskiej w rejencji bydgoskiej w latach 1939–1945*, Warszawa 1974; M. Wardzyńska, op. cit., pp. 144–185; S. Grochowina, J. Sziling, *Barbarka. Miejsce niemieckich egzekucji Polaków z Torunia i okolic (październik–grudzień 1939)*, Toruń 2009. The wide-scale extermination of the Polish population in Pomerania was driven by revenge for the so called Bydgoszcz Bloody Sunday (Bromberger Blutsonntag) and the so called march to Łowicz. See: W. Jastrzębski, *Mniejszość niemiecka w Polsce we wrześniu 1939 roku*, Toruń 2010.

Konzentrationslager Posen; after its takeover by the Gestapo the camp was known as Geheime Staatspolizei. Staatspolizeileitstelle Posen. Übergangslager Fort VII). In the areas included in Kalisz district (later Łódź district) mass arrests of Poles were carried out mainly in November 1939. Mass executions of Polish population took place i.a. in Jewish cemeteries in Kalisz and Sieradz; woods near the village of Winiary; Okręglik Forest, Lućmierz Forest and Łagiewniki Forest near Zgierz; marketplace in Turek. Polish inhabitants of the territory of Inowrocław District faced mass arrests mainly in the second half of October and in November 1939. Their executions took place i.a. in Gniewkowo Forest near Inowrocław, Rzuchów Forest near the Ner river, woods near Bukowiec (Wągrowiec gmina), Pińczata woods near Włocławek, Balczewo Forest near Inowrocław, Odolion Forest near Aleksandrów Kujawski, woods close to Wola Łącka near Gostynin; forests close to Gąbin, Gniezno, and Zagórow near Grabina; at the Jewish cemetery in Konin, and in Dalki near Gniezno.⁴² Much smaller range of executions in Upper Silesia was among others due to the fact that basically all the migrant intelligentsia left the territory before the Germans came.⁴³ The victims of direct extermination, which lasted from the first days of September 1939, were mostly the participants in the Silesian Uprisings, plebiscite activists and scouts, many of whom joined the defenders of Silesia after the German invasion.⁴⁴ Mass executions took place i.a. in various places in Katowice, Lasowice Forest near Tarnowskie Góry, Panewice Forest near Katowice, Pasternik Forest near Orzesz, Zarzecze Forest near Podlesie, Imielin near Tychy, Łaziska Dolne, Górne and Średnie, Mikołów, Tarnowskie Góry and Tychy.⁴⁵ It is estimated that the number of victims of German executions in Upper Silesia in September 1939 was approximately 1400–1500.⁴⁶ Arrests continued between October and December of 1939; however, the captured Poles were

⁴² E. Serwański, op. cit., pp. 36–38, 70–79; M. Olszewski, *Fort VII w Poznaniu*, Poznań 1974; S. Nawrocki, *Terror policyjny w "Kraju Warty" 1939–1945*, Poznań 1973, *passim*; *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny*, Warszawa 1979, pp. 399–400; Cz. Łuczak, *Dzień po dniu w okupowanej Wielkopolsce i na ziemi łódzkiej (Kraj Warty). Kalendarium wydarzeń 1939–1945*, Poznań 1993, *passim*; A. Łuczak, A. Pietrowicz, *Polityczne oczyszczenie gruntu. Zagłada polskich elit w Wielkopolsce (1939–1941)*, Poznań 2009; M. Wardzyńska, op. cit., pp. 186–220.

⁴³ Por. M. W. Wanatowicz, *Inteligencja na Śląsku w okresie międzywojennym*, Katowice 1986; eadem, *Inteligencja w województwie śląskim 1922–1939*, [in:] *Losy inteligencji śląskiej...*, t. 1, pp. 7–22.

⁴⁴ Szerzej zob. m.in.: *Bohaterowie spod znaku lilijki. Harcerze Śląska i Zagłębia Dąbrowskiego w latach wojny i okupacji hitlerowskiej w świetle zeznań własnych i świadków*, oprac. A. Szefer, Katowice 1984; *Walka i martyrologia powstańców śląskich w latach 1939–1945*, pod red. Z. Kapały, Bytom 1988; T. Fałęcki, *Powstańcy śląscy 1921–1939*, Warszawa 1990; T. Czyłok, *Z ich krwi i męczeństwa nasza wolność. Katowiccy harcerze lat wojny*, Katowice 2001.

⁴⁵ M. Wardzyńska, op. cit., pp. 127–143.

⁴⁶ A. Szefer, *Próba podsumowania wstępnych badań nad stratami ludności cywilnej województwa katowickiego w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej*, *Zaranie Śląskie*, 1969, z. 2, p. 250; Cz. Madajczyk, op. cit., p. 44; L. Krzyżanowski, *Straty osobowe inteligencji śląskiej w okresie II wojny światowej. Próba szacunku liczbowego w świetle stanu badań*, [in:] *Losy inteligencji śląskiej...*, t. 1, pp. 202–223; M. Wardzyńska, op. cit., p. 136.

not exterminated directly but sent to Dachau, Mauthausen and Sachsenhausen concentration camps, where the majority of them died.

In general, during the so-called action of political clearing of the foreground, between September and December of 1939 over 42 thousand people died, including approximately 30 thousand people in the Reich Province of Gdańsk–West Prussia, circa 10 thousand in the Reich District Wartheland, and over 2 thousand in Silesia.⁴⁷

2.2. Destruction and plunder of Polish cultural heritage property

The occupant action of removal of all products of Polish culture involved in the first place destruction of Polish monuments, commemorative plaques and figures that were a clear representation of national, patriotic and religious feelings. In the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia the destroyed objects included i.a.:

- Bydgoszcz: the Monument of Gratitude in Poznański Square, fountain figures “Potop” [The Deluge] in Kazimierz Wielki Park, monuments of Henryk Sienkiewicz in Kochanowski Park, as well as those of Adam Mickiewicz and Józef Piłsudski;
- Chełmno: the figure of the Virgin Mary from Grudziądz Gate chapel;
- Grudziądz: the monument of the Insurgent and a plaque commemorating the sculptor Waław Szymanowski;
- Pelplin: all the religious figures and sculptures near the cathedral and those commemorating historical events;
- Toruń: the monuments of Józef Haller and Józef Piłsudski, Otton Steinborn’s commemorative plaque from the building of Książnica Miejska [Municipal Library]⁴⁸.

In the capital of the Reich District Wartheland the destroyed objects included i.a. the monuments of Gratitude (the Sacred Heart, 18 October 1939), 15th Ulan Regiment, Fryderyk Chopin, Jan Kochanowski, Jacek Malczewski, Karol Marcinkowski, Adam Mickiewicz at St. Martin’s Church (21 April 1940), Stanisław Moniuszko, Franciszek Ratajczak, and Juliusz Słowacki. In Łódź, during the night from 10 to 11 November 1939 Germans destroyed the Monument of the Unknown Soldier in the square in front of St. Stanislaus Kostka’s Cathedral at 263 Piotrkowska St. On 11 November 1939 on the order of the President of Łódź district Friedrich Übelhör the monument Tadeusz Kościuszko in Wolności Square was blown up. Several hours later Übelhör gave a speech in the auditorium of German high school in Kościuszki St., in which he thus justified his order: “A pole is only a farm-hand and his duty is only to serve [...]. No sentiments or considerations for any Poles that

⁴⁷ Cz. Łuczak, *Polityka ludnościowa i ekonomiczna hitlerowskich Niemiec w okupowanej Polsce*, Poznań 1979, p. 74; M. Wardzyńska, op. cit., p. 217.

⁴⁸ *Raporty z ziem wcielonych do III Rzeszy (1942–1944)*, pod red. Z. Mazura, A. Pietrowicz, M. Rutowskiej, Poznań 2004, pp. 233–234, 322; K. Estreicher, *Straty kultury polskiej pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945 wraz z oryginalnymi dokumentami grabieży*, Kraków 2003, pp. 60, 62, 64, 174, 352.

are close to us. An iron injection into the spine and no thoughts that the Poles will return here some time. Symbolically, I ordered just today, on Poland's independence day, to blow up Kościuszko's monument."⁴⁹ Three days later a journalist Adolf Kargel informed in the newspaper that "the torn down monument had no artistic value, and besides it was a work of a sculptor of Jewish origins."⁵⁰ On 4 April 1940 the monument of Stanisław Moniuszko was removed from Łódź Park of Prince Józef Poniatowski (Hitler-Jugend-Park). In June 1940 the report of the City Office of Statistics in Łódź drew attention to the necessity of immediate removal from the "Volks-Park" (until 1939 Marshall Józef Piłsudski's Park) "the commemorative column erected by the Poles in the memory of socialist criminals executed in 1905 by Russian authorities under martial law, as it disturbs the guests in the park and can incite Poles to gatherings." Also a Polish inscription which read "God bless Poland" on one of the buildings near the military barracks near General Litzmannstr. (11 Listopada St.) was to be removed immediately. Other destroyed objects included the monument of Józef Piłsudski (24/25 September 1939) in Budzyń, the monument of Bolesław Chrobry in Gniezno, the monuments of Jan Kasprówic and of the Greater Poland's Insurgents in Inowrocław, the monument of Insurgents in Szamotuły, the monument of Adam Mickiewicz Śmiłów (24 March 1940), the monument of the Greater Poland's Insurgents in Trzemeszno (19 November 1939).⁵¹

In Upper Silesia the occupant eliminated i.a. all the monuments of Silesian Insurgents. In Chorzów, apart from the large monument commemorating the fallen participants of the Silesian Uprisings, the destruction included also such objects as the monument erected in 1922 at the crossing of Dąbrowskiego St. and Omańkowskiej St. to commemorate the unification of Upper Silesia with Poland, a 20-meter monument raised in 1934 in new military barracks in honour of the

⁴⁹ Lodzer Zeitung, nr 308 z 12 XI 1939 r., p. 5; *Germanizacja Łodzi w nazistowskiej prasie z lat 1939-1943 - wybór artykułów*, pod red. K. Radziszewskiej, J. Riecke, Łódź 2004, p. 37.

⁵⁰ Lodzer Zeitung, nr 310 z 14 XI 1939 r., p. 3.

⁵¹ Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi, Akta miasta Łodzi 1794-1945, sygn. 28600, sprawozdanie Urzędu Statystycznego z 1 VI 1940 r.; R. Fuks, *Działalność "Das Ahnenerbe" w zakresie grabieży dzieł polskiej kultury narodowej*, [in:] *Zbrodnie i sprawcy. Ludobójstwo hitlerowskie przed sądem ludzkości i historii*, pod red. Cz. Pilichowskiego, Warszawa 1980, s. 707; J. Sziling, *W latach okupacji hitlerowskiej (1939-1945)*, [in:] *Dzieje Inowrocławia. Tom 2 (od 1919 r. do końca lat siedemdziesiątych)*, pod red. M. Biskupa, Warszawa-Poznań-Toruń 1982, p. 139; *Położenie ludności polskiej w tzw. Kraju Warty w okresie hitlerowskiej okupacji*, wybór źródeł i opracowanie Cz. Łuczak, Documenta Occupationis, t. XIII, Poznań 1990, s. 338; Cz. Łuczak, *Dzień po dniu w okupowanej Wielkopolsce...*, p. 17, 26, 37, 39, 64; T. Bojanowski, *Łódź pod okupacją niemiecką w latach II wojny światowej (1939-1945)*, Łódź 1992, p. 113; M. Kujawska, W. Lipoński, *Niszczenie kultury polskiej. Wysiłki obronne Polaków*, [in:] *Dzieje Poznania 1918-1945*, pod red. J. Topolskiego, L. Trzeciakowskiego, Warszawa-Poznań 1998, p. 1498; K. Estreicher, op. cit., pp. 218, 306, 308, 344; A. Rukowiecki, *Łódź 1939-1945. Kronika okupacji*, Łódź 2012, pp. 31, 32, 53.

fallen soldiers of the 75th Infantry Regiment, and the cenotaph of the Unknown Soldier from the town square in front of the city hall.⁵²

An important step in elimination of Polish cultural life was the decree abolishing all forms of Polish associations, corporations and societies, which was accompanied by seizure of their property, which often included objects of art and book collections. The first to issue such a regulation was Albert Forster on 10 September 1939, then Arthur Greiser on 20 September 1939, followed by the head of the civil administration of Upper Silesia Otto Fitzner on 2 October 1939.

Organization wise, the main agents that from the first days of the occupation carried out seizures of Polish cultural property were two institutions, i.e. the organization *Das Ahnenerbe* (Ancestral Heritage), which supervised the scientific and material aspects of the confiscations, and *Haupttreuhandstelle Ost* (HTO, or Main Trustee Office for the East), which was in charge of the financial aspect of planned plunder. The former was created in 1935 within the personal staff of SS-Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler a cell of which he also was a leader. The official purpose of *Das Ahnenerbe* was to “investigate the area, spiritual activity and heritage of Nordic Indogermans.”⁵³ Even before the outbreak of the war it prepared the plan of seizing Polish cultural property, and on 4 September 1939 the general secretary of *Das Ahnenerbe* SS-Sturmbannführer Wolfram Sievers⁵⁴ sent a memorandum to the head of the organization concerning “securing prehistoric excavation findings and prehistoric objects in Poland” (*Sicherstellung des vorgeschichtlichen Fundmaterials und der vorgeschichtlichen Denkmäler in Polen*), which practically was tantamount to a proposal to search Polish cultural assets. He also stressed that the museums of i.a. Bydgoszcz, Gniezno, Poznań and Toruń contain proofs of “the existence of German culture and history in the East.”⁵⁵ On 10 October 1939 Sievers handed Himmler a project of so-called protective actions towards monuments of culture and history in Poland (*Schutzmassnahmen für kulturgeschichtliche Denkmäler in Polen*). He explained its necessity thus: “The active policy of the German Reich adopted by Otto the Great pulled the whole Eastern world of Slavs into the sphere of influence of German forces [...] German science and culture were opened for the East. A proof of this can be found in many churches, fortified castles and city buildings together with the devices and artistic furnishings that are inside them. The Poles would like to call Copernicus their fellow countryman.

⁵² J. Drabina, *Historia Chorzowa od 1868 do 1945 roku*, Chorzów 1999, pp. 242–243. In the remaining monographs of Upper Silesian towns published so far there is no information about the statues destroyed by the Germans in the autumn of 1939.

⁵³ M. Rutowska, *Straty kulturalne Polski w latach wojny i okupacji hitlerowskiej 1939–1945*, [in:] *Zbrodnie i sprawy. Ludobójstwo...*, p. 733. For more on the genesis of the “Ahnenerbe”, see M. H. Kater, *Das “Ahnenerbe” der SS 1935–1945. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches*, Stuttgart 1974.

⁵⁴ See more about W. Sievers: M. H. Kater, op. cit., pp. 28–36; E. Klee, *Das Personenlexikon zum Dritten Reich. Wer war was vor und nach 1945*, Frankfurt am Main 2007, p. 583.

⁵⁵ R. Fuks, op. cit., p. 693; A. Mężyński, *Kommando Paulsen październik–grudzień 1939 r.*, Warszawa 1994, p. 33 (dokument nr 1).

The 12th century bronze church door in Gniezno can be equalled only by those from Hildesheim and Novogrod. The sculptures of Nurembergians Peter Vischer and Veit Stoss which can be found in Kraków are known in the whole world. Let these examples be a sufficient justification of the need to protect the Germanic and German historical treasures in Poland.” The “protection” of Germanic and German historical treasures in Poland applied in the first place to excavations, fortified castles and keeps, churches, city arrangements, museums, galleries and all the “important documents contradicting the »Pra-Slavs theory« and Polish cultural propaganda in the service of panslavism [...] In particular this refers to protecting the historical buildings, museums and archives in Wilno, Bydgoszcz, Toruń, Poznań, Kraków, Lwów and Warszawa.”⁵⁶ At the same time, Polish cities famous for a large number of monuments of history were assigned so-called guardians, and detailed guidelines concerning the course of the action of “securing” cultural institutions located there were developed. The “guardian” for Kraków and Katowice (Betreuer für Krakau und Kattowitz) was SS-Oberscharführer dr Trathing. The guidelines for Katowice spotlighted the local Silesian Museum of Culture and Art History (containing e.g. works of 15th and 16th century painters). The man appointed as the “guardian” for Poznań and Gniezno (Betreuer für Posen und Gnesen) was SS-Obersturmführer Hermann Löffler. According to the guidelines, he was to secure first the results of the studies carried out at the Western Institute and the Seminar of Early History at the University of Poznań. The “guardian” for Toruń (Betreuer für Thorn) was SS-man Dr. H. Appel, who was instructed to pay particular attention to the furnishings of the town hall and the insides of the churches. All “guardians” were obliged to search for objects valuable from German point of view in shops selling second hand items, looking in particular for tapestries, carpets, antique furniture and objects made from silver and gold. All the “guardians” were to maintain continuous contact with Das Ahnenerbe representatives: Dr. Trathing with Prof. Jahn in Wrocław, and Herman Löffler and Dr. Appel with Prof. Ernst Petersen in Rostock.⁵⁷ Himmler approved Sievers’ project on 21 September 1939, and the groups of appraisers representing Das Ahnenerbe began searching for and confiscating objects of Polish cultural heritage in such places as museums, palaces, manors and private flats.

The second institution involved in seizing Polish cultural property, i.e. the Main Trustee Office for the East was established by Herman Göring’s decree from 19 October 1939 and reported directly to him as the plenipotentiary in charge of the four-year plan. The post of the director of HTO was filled by dr Max Winkler.⁵⁸ In Polish territories annexed to the Third Reich, the trustee agencies (Treuhandstelle) of HTO were created:

⁵⁶ R. Fuks, op. cit., p. 694; A. Mężżyński, op. cit., pp. 34–35 (dokument nr 2).

⁵⁷ R. Fuks, op. cit., pp. 695–696.

⁵⁸ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 679.

- in Gdańsk for the Reich Province of Gdańsk–West Prussia, under Wilhelm Huth (in March 1940 replaced by Richard Hildebrandt). The branches (Aussenstelle) of HTO were initially established in Bydgoszcz, Grudziądz and Toruń, and then in Gdynia, to where on 18 March 1940 the premises of Treuhandstelle were moved;
- in Poznań for the Reich District Wartheland, under Hugo Ratzmann. He also supervised the Łódź branch (Nebenstelle Litzmannstadt), established in 1941 and headed by dr Moser, covering Łask, Sieradz and Łęczyca counties;
- in Katowice for The Reich District of Katowice, under dr Artur Jacob. HTO branches were established in Bielsk, Cieszyn, Lubliniec and Żywiec.⁵⁹

On 10 November 1939 Heinrich Himmler as the Reich Commissioner for Strengthening of German Nationhood signed a permanent cooperation agreement with the head of HTO Max Winkler and delegated to HTO his representative SS-Obersturmbannführer Bruno Galke. In the structure of HTO he was officially the Senior Clerk at the *Reichskommissariat* for Strengthening of German Nationhood at the Main Trustee Office for the East (Generalreferent für die Festigung deutschen Volkstum bei der Haupttreuhandstelle Ost), and in May 1940 he also became a permanent deputy of the HTO's head.⁶⁰ Thus through Galke, Himmler ensured that he had an oversight over the operations of this institution.

In order to take full and official control over the program of the plunder of Polish cultural property within the framework of HTO's activity, on 1 December 1939 Heinrich Himmler signed agreement with Max Winkler concerning the establishment of the office of the general plenipotentiary for securing German cultural property in the Eastern incorporated lands (Generaltreuhänder für die Sicherstellung deutsches Kulturgutes in den eingegliederten Ostgebieten). The post was filled by an ethnographer, a professor of the university of Frankfurt am Main and a collaborator of Das Ahnenerbe Heinrich Harmjanz,⁶¹ to whom the head of HTO also entrusted the function of the administrative receiver of confiscated Polish cultural property. His permanent deputy was Wolfram Sievers.

The agreement from 1 December 1939 was complemented by an urgent circular letter of the Reich Commissioner for the Strengthening of German Nationhood from 16 December 1939 addressed to Security Police and Security Service commissioners on the territories incorporated into the Third Reich and in Kraków, Radom, Warszawa and Lublin. In this document, for the benefit of "strengthening German nationhood and defending the Reich," Himmler ordered confiscation of museum pieces of prehistoric origin, files, books, documents, objects of art (paint-

⁵⁹ Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku (further cit. AP-Gdańsk), Główny Urząd Powierniczy Wschód. Urząd Powierniczy Gdańsk–Prusy Zachodnie 1939–1945, sygn. 6, *passim*; Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach (dalej cyt. AP-Katowice), Główny Urząd Powierniczy Wschód. Urząd Powierniczy w Katowicach 1939–1945, sygn. 22, *passim*; R. Fuks, op. cit., pp. 699, 705.

⁶⁰ AP-Gdańsk, Główny Urząd Powierniczy Wschód. Urząd Powierniczy Gdańsk–Prusy Zachodnie 1939–1945, sygn. 3, zarządzenie H. Himmlera z 10 XI 1939 r.; R. Fuks, op. cit., pp. 700–701.

⁶¹ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 226.

ings, sculptures, furniture, carpets, crystal items, books, valuable objects made of precious metals), collections devoted to sciences, natural sciences and technology, historical weaponry, costumes, stamps etc. The seizure order included not only objects from museums, public collections and archives but also those belonging to individual citizens. Management of the confiscated Polish cultural property was the responsibility of the General Trust for securing German cultural property in the Eastern incorporated lands.⁶²

General plenipotentiary's offices were opened at the HTO branches in Gdańsk, Katowice, Łódź and Poznań. It should be noticed that only in the case of the Reich District Wartheland, the function of the plenipotentiary of the General Trustee was taken up on 1 December 1939 by one of the leading representatives of Das Ahnenerbe, the professor of prehistory SS-Hauptsturmführer Hans Schleif.⁶³ In September 1940 he was replaced by SS-Untersturmführer Prof. Ernst Petersen from Rostock, who despite not being a formal member of Das Ahnenerbe but cooperated closely with that organization. As he spent most of his time away from Poznań, his permanent deputy was SS-Untersturmführer Dr. Günther Thaerigen, also a collaborator of Das Ahnenerbe.⁶⁴ This situation probably stemmed from the fact that it was the Warta Land [Wartheland] where particularly many items of Polish cultural property were located, so in this way Das Ahnenerbe obtained a monopoly on stealing them. However, the activity of the General Trustee in this territory was limited by governor Greiser, who to a significant extent used his own initiative in the implementation of the plan of "securing" Polish national heritage. The report on the situation inside the General Trustee's Office from 8 January 1941 notes that "the governor in the Reich District Wartheland set up his own organization for securing and cataloguing cultural property."⁶⁵

To facilitate the action of "securing" cultural property, the General Trustee established four two-person teams called Erfassungskommando (Reisekommando) to search for and confiscate cultural property, both public and private.⁶⁶ In Gdańsk such group consisted of an SS-Untersturmführer Johann Dettenberg and a lawyer Dr. Josef Schlösser, in Poznań SS-Untersturmführer Dr. Günther Thaerigen and Prof. Dr. Karl Heinz Clasen⁶⁷, in Łódź SS-Untersturmführer J. Löhausen

⁶² R. Fuks, op. cit., pp. 701–704; M. Rutowska, op. cit., p. 734.

⁶³ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 539.

⁶⁴ N. Szuman, *Grabież dóbr kultury polskiej w ramach działalności „Generalnego Powiernika dla zabezpieczenia niemieckich dóbr kultury na wschodnich ziemiach przyłączonych”*, BGKBZNwP, t. IV, Warszawa 1948, s. 191; M. H. Kater, op. cit., s. 152, 459, 460; R. Fuks, op. cit., p. 704.

⁶⁵ N. Szuman, op. cit., p. 216.

⁶⁶ Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu (further cit. AP-Poznań), Urząd Powierniczy w Poznaniu 1939–1945, sygn. 2491, sprawozdanie końcowe z działalności generalnego powiernika do spraw zabezpieczenia niemieckich dóbr kulturalnych na polskich ziemiach wcielonych z listopada 1942 r.; M. H. Kater, op. cit., pp. 152, 153; *Grabież polskiej mienia na ziemiach zachodnich Rzeczypospolitej „wcielonych” do Rzeszy 1939–1945*. Wydawnictwo źródłowe, oprac. Cz. Łuczak, Poznań 1969, p. 183.

⁶⁷ On 28 Feb 1941 the Poznań commando was dissolved as: "Professor Clasen and SS-Untersturmführer Dr. Thaerigen deal only with prehistory owing to their activity at Poznań University or the

and sculptor Max Schmitz, and in Katowice appraisers Wilhelm Löh and Konrad Scheifele.⁶⁸

According to the report of the General Trustee, by the end of March 1941 in the area of the annexed Polish lands, cultural property was confiscated in 96 manors, 74 palaces and a significant number of private flats. Apart from those, the following were also subjected to confiscation and secured: 102 libraries; 15 museums; 3 painting galleries; 8 collections of arms; 10 collections of coins; one Egyptian collection, one of ancient vases and one ethnographic; 21 different private collections; 1100 oil paintings and watercolours; several hundreds of etchings; 25 statues and works of plastic arts; 500 items of furniture; 33 chests with works of art from churches; 25 larger packages containing objects made from precious metals, part of which were classified as cultural property.⁶⁹ If it was feasible for security reasons, the sequestered and appropriately labelled objects were left in the places where they had been confiscated. However, if there was a risk that they would be stolen or destroyed – mostly in the case of private flats – they were transported to the closest museums or to storehouses (Sammellager, Kulturgutlager) in Poznań and Katowice. One of the greatest storehouses of plundered products of Polish culture was created in Poznań cathedral, where the majority of the goods were paintings and religious worship items. Further storehouses were established i.a. in Greater Poland Museum (later the location of Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum) and city museums in Łódź and Katowice.⁷⁰

The General Trustee operated until the end of October 1941. From the works of art that he had secured – their estimated worth was 3 million Reichsmark – a part of particularly valuable exhibits was supposed to be sent to the then established Führer's Museum in Linz. On Hitler's personal order, the selection was made by an art historian and the director of the State Painting Gallery in Dresden Dr. Hans Posse, to whom the General Trustee handed over the lists of the "secured" Polish cultural property after his work was finished. According to the recommendations of the General Trustee, the confiscated products of Polish culture left on the incorporated territories were to enrich the collections of existing museums or contribute to creating new ones. Decisions regarding this issue were the prerogative of the following authorities:

Poznań Home Office for prehistory." See: T. Kułakowski, *Dokumenty dotyczące eksterminacji kultury polskiej*, Najnowsze dzieje Polski. Materiały i studia z okresu II wojny światowej, t. I, Warszawa 1957, p. 221.

⁶⁸ Archiwum Państwowe w Toruniu (further cit. AP-Toruń), Akta miasta Torunia 1939–1945 (further cit. AmT 1939–1945), sygn. 779, zarządzenie namiestnika A. Forstera z 18 II 1941 r.; N. Szuman, op. cit., pp. 179, 211; T. Kułakowski, op. cit., p. 221; R. Fuks, op. cit., p. 704.

⁶⁹ N. Szuman, op. cit., p. 211–212.

⁷⁰ AP-Poznań, Urząd Powierniczy w Poznaniu 1939–1945, sygn. 2491, sprawozdanie końcowe z działalności generalnego powiernika do spraw zabezpieczenia niemieckich dóbr kulturalnych na polskich ziemiach wcielonych z listopada 1942 r.; *Grabież polskiego mienia...*, p. 183; N. Szuman, op. cit., pp. 181, 195, 220–221; M. Rutowska, op. cit., p. 735.

- in the Reich Province of Gdańsk–West Prussia: the state museum curator at the governor’s office Prof. Dr. Willi Drost;⁷¹
- in The Reich District of Katowice: the director of Bytom museum Dr. Franz Pfützenreiter and the state museum curator Dr. Georg Raschke;
- in the Reich District Wartheland: the permanent deputy of the plenipotentiary of the General Trustee in Poznań Dr. Günther Thearigen in his letter from 27 January 1942 handed over the storehouses with confiscated cultural property to governor Greiser, the plenipotentiary of Reich Commissioner for Strengthening of German Nationhood. In turn, Greiser made Gauhauptmann SS-Oberführer Robert Schulz the person responsible for the storehouses. In June 1941 the latter established a special committee which included the museum curator for the Reich District Wartheland (Museumspfleger des Reichsgaues Wartheland) Dr. Carl Ernst Köhne, the director of Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum Dr. Siegfried Rühle, the district conservator (Gaukonservator) Heinz Johannes, the director of the State Prehistory Office (Landesamt für Vorgeschichte) Dr. Karl Kersten, and SS-Obersturmführer Dr. Günther Thearigen; until the end of the occupation this committee supervised the cultural property confiscated in the Reich District Wartheland. In reality the committee commenced its work as late as in June 1942 when Thearigen submitted to them the inventories of the “secured” Polish cultural property.⁷²

Polish cultural property was stolen first of all from museums, libraries, churches, cultural institutions, palaces and manors.⁷³ During his visit to the Łódź branch of HTO on 15–19 October 1940, Wolfram Sievers ascertained that the administrative receiver of the City Museum in Łódź Dr. Walther Frenzel confiscated circa 3500 exhibits, mostly paintings.⁷⁴ Large museum – type collections were owned by the Kurnik Foundation and the Poznań Society of Friends of Learning. Already on 27 September 1939 German authorities confiscated in Kórnik the museum and the library of approximately 80,000 volumes, and on the next day – the Czartoryski Museum in Pleszew, whose value was estimated at a million dollars.⁷⁵ The largest private collections in Greater Poland included the Czartoryski collection in Gołuchów, the Raczyński collection in Rogalin and the Skórzewski collection

⁷¹ See more about him: H. B. Meyer, *In memoriam Professor Dr. Willi Drost*, Westpreussen Jahrbuch, Band 16, Münster 1966, pp. 58–62.

⁷² AP-Poznań, Urząd Powierniczy w Poznaniu 1939–1945, sygn. 2491: pismo Pełnomocnika do spraw Planu Czteroletniego do namiestników Okręgów Rzeszy Gdańsk–Prusy Zachodnie i Kraj Warty oraz do nadprezydentów Prowincji Górny Śląsk i Prusy Wschodnie z 6 I 1942 r., pismo R. Schulza do namiestnika Okręgu Rzeszy Kraj Warty z 21 IX 1942 r., sprawozdanie końcowe z działalności generalnego powiernika do spraw zabezpieczenia niemieckich dóbr kulturalnych na polskich ziemiach wcielonych z listopada 1942 r.; N. Szuman, op. cit., p. 221.

⁷³ The information about the Polish cultural heritage being plundered during WWII included in this book is obviously not comprehensive.

⁷⁴ N. Szuman, op. cit., p. 195; R. Fuks, op. cit., p. 710.

⁷⁵ *Grabież polskiego mienia...*, pp. 10, 11; Cz. Łuczak, *Dzień po dniu w okupowanej Wielkopolsce...*, p. 18.

in Czerniejewo.⁷⁶ At the end of November 1939 the General Director of State Museums in Berlin (Generaldirektor der Staatlichen Museen) pointed out the necessity of securing the museum collection at Gołuchów castle as soon as possible, particularly the valuable ancient art items.⁷⁷ The goods confiscated on 26 February 1940 at the manor in Brodnia in Buczek gmina, Łask county, included 36 chests, 7 trunks and 4 packages with works of art (among them china, ceramics and crystal tableware, silverware, and pictures by such painters as Gerard De Lairese, Jakub Emanuel Gaisser, Philips Wouwermaanna Adriaen van de Velde, Ludolf Backhuysen, Pieter de Hooghe and Johann Elias Ridinger), which belonged to Duke Leon Czarnecki; they were sent to Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum.⁷⁸ Among the items seized in the palace in Września was a collection of military distinctions and coins, in the palace in Miłosław a valuable book collection while in Bieganowo manor collections of coins, arms and a set of clay vases.⁷⁹ In his report from 1 February 1940 a SS-Sturmbannführer from the Gestapo in Poznań informed Prof. Harmjanz that a large number of valuable historical items, including collections of coins and seals, can be found at the property of Prof. Marian Gumowski in Dębowiec near Gniezno. As a result of a search they were secured and subsequently handed over to the plenipotentiary of the General Trustee in Poznań. Professor Gumowski and his family were exiled to the General Government.⁸⁰ Other plundered numismatic collections belonged to Paweł Wańkowicz from Poznań (126 gold coins and 1 from white metal⁸¹) and to the branch of "Macierz Polska" in Wieluń (14 gold coins), which were handed over to Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum.⁸² A collection of valuable paintings belonging to Bolesław Kotkowski, an owner of a printing business, was also seized. In Tubądzin near Sieradz, plundering of the manor of Father Walewski yielded family silverware and a collection of paintings and portraits of the Walewski family, while valuable classic furniture and paintings by a Young Poland artist Józef Mehoffer were seized at the parsonage in Turek.⁸³

According to pre-war plans of Polish authorities, the leading museum in Upper Silesia was to be the Silesian Museum founded in Katowice, whose opening was

⁷⁶ K. Estreicher, op. cit., pp. 168, 170, 326; M. Rutowska, *Straty osobowe i materialne kultury w Wielkopolsce w latach II wojny światowej*, Warszawa–Poznań 1984, s. 65; A. Łuczak, *Utracone decorum. Grabież dóbr kultury z majątków ziemiaństwa polskiego w Wielkopolsce w czasie okupacji niemieckiej w latach 1939–1945*, Warszawa–Poznań 2011, *passim*.

⁷⁷ AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2608, pismo generalnego dyrektora muzeów państwowych w Berlinie do ministra Rzeszy do spraw nauki, wychowania i oświaty z 29 XI 1939 r.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Urząd Powierniczy w Poznaniu 1939–1945, sygn. 2495; N. Szuman, op. cit., pp. 208–209.

⁷⁹ R. Fuks, op. cit., p. 708.

⁸⁰ AP-Poznań, Urząd Powierniczy w Poznaniu 1939–1945, sygn. 2497; R. Fuks, op. cit., p. 707.

⁸¹ AP-Poznań, Urząd Powierniczy w Poznaniu 1939–1945, sygn. 2500.

⁸² *Ibid.*, sygn. 2499.

⁸³ *Raporty z ziem wcielonych...*, p. 308, 311.

planned for September 1939.⁸⁴ Doctor Franz Pfützenreiter, “a specialist who was to decide which objects should be considered cultural property,” in cooperation with Alfred Kraut, the plenipotentiary of the General Trustee for securing German cultural property in the Eastern incorporated lands who was sent from Berlin, issued a decision to liquidate the museum in Katowice and destroy its architecturally impressive building as, in his opinion, “It was a propaganda institution in a truly Polish style. From its collections, numerous very valuable objects were burned during military operations; only a part of the found items are usable.”⁸⁵ This explanation was entirely untrue because the collections from the Silesian Museum had not burned during the war but to a large extent had been stolen. Besides, confiscations included historical furnishings of many castles and palaces, i.e. the Szembek family palace in Poręba, Zawiercie county (baroque Gdańsk wardrobes, Biedermeier furniture, a valuable library and a collection of etchings); Grodziec castle in Będzin county (four 18th-century *Delfter Kamine*, i.e. ceramic stoves made of characteristic blue-coloured Delft tiles, as well as and high-quality china objects); Bobrek palace, Chrzanów county (Biedermeier furniture, collections of paintings); and the castle in Sucha, Żywiec county (a museum and a library).⁸⁶

In 1944 Germans moved the confiscated collection of the Bydgoszcz Museum outside the city, where a part of the exhibits, including 150 works by Leon Wyczółkowski, were destroyed during military operations.⁸⁷ The Municipal Museum in Toruń also suffered painful losses. Part of the collections were removed to Berlin, Gdańsk and Malbork, e.g. the gallery of 19th and 20th century paintings including the works of such artists as Julian Fałat, Juliusz Kossak and Jacek Malczewski. Precious historical objects were stolen, among them a Gothic sculpture of the Virgin Mary of Good Hope (the Expecting Madonna), dated ca. 1390–1400; a portrait of King Władysław IV and the Malbork Homage from mid-17th c.; numerous landscapes of Toruń from the 18th and 19th c.; 11 escutcheons of Toruń patricians from the early 17th c.; 7 guild chests from the 18th c.; two 18th-century ceramic stoves; paintings by Theodor Napoleon Jacobi; a series of 13 watercolours by Karl Alberti; a series of drawings by Johann Michael Wachschrager; and gouache

⁸⁴ Officially, the Silesian Museum was founded in Katowice in 1929 as the monument of ten years' existence of the Polish state and Silesia's return to the motherland. The construction of the building started in 1936. See: A. Ryszkiewicz, *Muzeum Śląskie w Katowicach*, [in:] *Sztuka dwudziestolecia międzywojennego. Materiały sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki*, Warszawa 1982, pp. 327–346; D. Głazek, *Budynek Muzeum Śląskiego w Katowicach w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym*, [in:] *Z dziejów sztuki Górnego Śląska i Zagłębia Dąbrowskiego*, pod red. E. Chojeckiej, Katowice 1982, pp. 27–34; E. Chojecka, *Treści ideowe Muzeum Śląskiego w Katowicach*, Ziemia Śląska, t. 1, pod red. L. Szarańca, Katowice 1988, pp. 33–47.

⁸⁵ Bundesarchiv Berlin (further cit. BA-Berlin), R 153/1359, sprawozdanie z posiedzenia Nord- und Ostdeutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft w dniu 14 XII 1939 r. w Katowicach. See also: *Raporty z ziem wcielonych...*, p. 256; R. Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej...*, p. 357.

⁸⁶ AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4293.

⁸⁷ K. Borucki, *Muzeum im. Leona Wyczółkowskiego w Bydgoszczy*, *Muzealnictwo*, nr 12: 1964, p. 75; W. Jastrzębski, J. Sziling, op. cit., p. 239.

paintings by Theodor Eduard Radtke from the years 1847–1850.⁸⁸ The Municipal Museum in Grudziądz is estimated to have lost about 70% of its pre-war collection.⁸⁹

It is characteristic that as the occupation authorities were carrying out the so-called securing of the objects of art, they attempted to create the appearances of legality, which can be confirmed by detailed receipts, protocols of delivery and acceptance or catalogues. It should also be noticed that “particularly characteristic products of degenerate Jewish and Polish art, examples of paintings that have to be considered kitsch of the worst kind,” were to be preserved in order to be presented at an exhibition of the so-called degenerate art and to be a testimony as to the creative potential of the Polish nation. According to the General Trustee for securing German cultural property in the Eastern incorporated lands, “interesting examples of this kind of art were secured mostly in the City Museum in Łódź.” Paintings from the Silesian workshop of Stanisław Szukalski were also judged to be a pinnacle of degeneration in art (*Gipfel von Entartung*) and “Polish kitsch.”⁹⁰

Although confiscations of Polish works of art were most intense in the first months of World War II, they took place until the end of the occupation. For example, the representatives of Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Poznań on 19 and 20 September 1944 inventoried works of art confiscated from Polish and Jewish population of Kalisz county, and on 26 and 27 September 1944 they stayed in Gniezno and Września counties for the same purpose (e.g. they found then the famous *Gniezno Doors hidden by Poles*).⁹¹

Apart from works of art, also libraries and archive collections were subjected to plundering. Confiscated Polish books which the occupants considered worthless were burned or sent for paper recycling. The largest number of precious book collections could be found in the territory of Greater Poland. As early as November 1939 in Poznań the book collection of the Union of Artistic and Cultural Associations was confiscated. In the autumn of 1939 the army took over the building of the Teachers' Library in Łódź, which was later turned into the premises of the *Litzmannstädter Zeitung* newspaper.⁹²

The action of confiscation of Polish book collections, initially chaotic, was to be made more efficient by the regulation of the governor of the Reich District

⁸⁸ W. Jastrzębski, J. Sziling, op. cit., pp. 239–240; P. Birecki, *Sztuka w Toruniu w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej 1939–1945*, Toruń 2011, pp. 101–103.

⁸⁹ J. Rompski, *Muzea regionalne województwa bydgoskiego*, *Rocznik Muzeum w Toruniu*, t. 2: 1962, z. 2, p. 167; W. Jastrzębski, J. Sziling, op. cit., p. 240.

⁹⁰ AP-Poznań, Urząd Powierniczy w Poznaniu 1939–1945, sygn. 2491, sprawozdanie końcowe z działalności generalnego powiernika do spraw zabezpieczenia niemieckich dóbr kulturalnych na polskich ziemiach wcielonych z listopada 1942 r.; N. Szuman, op. cit., p. 220; R. Kaczmarek, *Srodowisko naukowe i artystyczne...*, p. 27.

⁹¹ Cz. Łuczak, *Dzień po dniu w okupowanej Wielkopolsce...*, pp. 312, 313.

⁹² *Raporty z ziem wcielonych...*, pp. 28, 84, 217, 256, 307, 366, 525; Cz. Łuczak, *Dzień po dniu w okupowanej Wielkopolsce...*, p. 46.

Wartheland from 13 December 1939 on securing Polish book collections,⁹³ which introduced obligatory registration of all libraries and book collections, both public and private. It was to be done by filling a special form from the central book storehouse (Zentralbuchsammlung) established at the University Library. The person responsible for enforcing the regulation was the compulsory administrator of Poznań university Dr. Hans Streit, who on 18 December 1939 appointed Dr. Jürgen von Hehn, a German from Riga, as the manager of the book storehouse in Poznań. On 31 October 1940 Hehn was released from that function, among others as a result of an intervention from the director of the University Library Dr. Alfred Latermann and the head of the State Archives in Poznań Dr. Herman Gollub, who criticised his excessive zeal in destroying the confiscated book collections, part of which could – in their opinion – be added to the libraries of German scholarly institutions. After Hehn was fired, he was replaced by a university assessor Heinz Müller. As Müller was conscripted in May 1942, his post was taken by a librarian Dr. Alfred Bachmann. During the first months after Greiser's decree from 13 December 1939, 1713 forms registering book collections were filled (1136 from Poznań, 53 from Łódź, and 524 from other towns and villages). The governor-ordered registration was a starting point for confiscation of Polish writings, which were transported to Poznań storehouses established e.g. in the church of St. Michael at 7 Stolarska St., the chapel at 5 Kościelna St., the church of St. Margaret in Śródka and the church of St. Stanislaus Kostka in Winiary. Part of the seized books were sent directly for shredding at the paper mill in Czerwonak.⁹⁴

The confiscated Polish public and private libraries included e.g. the collections of the Main Library of the University of Poznań (570,000 volumes), the Library of the Poznań Society of Friends of Learning (ca. 145,000 volumes),⁹⁵ the Archdiocesan Library in Poznań (ca. 150,000 volumes), the library of the theological colleges in Gniezno (ca. 25,000 volumes), Poznań (ca. 25,000 volumes) and Włocławek (ca.

⁹³ *Verordnungsblatt des Reichsstatthalters im Reichsgau Wartheland*, Nr. 2, Posen, den 15. Januar 1940, p. 27, Bekanntmachung betreffend Anmeldepflicht und Sicherstellung von Bibliotheken und Bücherbeständen. Vom 13. Dezember 1939.

⁹⁴ BA-Berlin, R 153/1366, *passim*; *Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, nr 46 z 16 XII 1939 r., p. 15; nr 2 z 2 I 1940 r., p. 4; nr 25 z 25 I 1940 r., pp. 5; nr 70 z 10 III 1940 r., p. 6; nr 72 z 12 III 1940 r., p. 5; J. Baumgart, *Los bibliotek wielkopolskich w latach 1939–1945*, *Przegląd Zachodni*, nr 7–12: 1946, pp. 928, 929, 930, 931, 933; T. Kułakowski, *op. cit.*, p. 228; M. Rutowska, *Straty osobowe i materialne...*, pp. 60–61, 62; Cz. Łuczak, *Dzień po dniu w okupowanej Wielkopolsce...*, p. 45; M. Kujawska, W. Lipoński, *op. cit.*, pp. 1495, 1496; A. Rukowiecki, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁹⁵ On 29 July 1940 the German authorities decided to close the Library of the Poznań Society of Friends of Learning, and the plenipotentiary for securing the German cultural heritage in the Reich District Wartheland. H. Schleif stated that it was rightful to “burn it, destroy it, recycle it or give it to somebody as a gift”; AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2369, *passim*; J. Baumgart, *op. cit.*, pp. 931, 932; Cz. Łuczak, *Dzień po dniu w okupowanej Wielkopolsce...*, p. 85.

120,000 volumes), and the Chapter Library in Gniezno (ca. 25,000 volumes).⁹⁶ The stolen private libraries included Ignacy Roliński's collection of books on mathematics and philosophy; Dr. Ludwik Stolarzewicz's Polish literature collection (ca. 5000 volumes); the book collection of Danielewicz, a former judge of Sieradz town court; the library of the bishop of the Łódź diocese Włodzimierz Jasiński (ca. 4000 volumes), Franciszek Pstrągowski's collection of heraldry books; the canonic and legal library of the Curia chancellor canon Jan Zdżarski; and the library of Łódź cathedral administrator prelate Jan Cesarz. Some of the collections were destroyed even before they reached the storehouses, such as the library of the Merchants' Assembly High School in Łódź (burned) as well as the collections from the library of the Jesuit order, of the Wszechnica university (ca. 10,000 volumes), of the Historical Society, of the Łódź Theological College and of Workers' university.⁹⁷ Out of the approximately 6 thousand volumes from Rydzyń library, Germans sent for shredding ca. 4000 publications.⁹⁸ Over 360 libraries of the People's Libraries Society were burned.⁹⁹ Furthermore, military operations resulted in the destruction of e.g. Myszkowski family library in Zapolice near Zduńska Wola, the library in Wierzchleje manor near Łask or the library of a landowner Szwejczer from Ostrów near Łask.¹⁰⁰ By mid-May 1941 the number of books collected in the Reich District Wartheland reached 1.5 million. Books considered valuable were to replenish first the collection of the university library and then of other libraries in the Reich District Wartheland.¹⁰¹ Part of Polish fiction books were sent in three transports to the General Government (9 September 1942 – 40,000 volumes; the beginning of May 1943 – 52,600 volumes; 3 June 1943 – 8900 volumes).¹⁰² According to Maria Rutowska's calculations, the total 1939–1945 losses of larger libraries of Greater Poland amounted to 2,130,000 volumes, out of approximately three million books they had in September 1939.¹⁰³

⁹⁶ J. Baumgart, op. cit., pp. 932–933; *Położenie ludności polskiej w tzw. Kraju Warty...*, p. 202; T. Kułakowski, op. cit., pp. 223–231; R. Fuks, op. cit., pp. 707–708. In September 1939 the number of books in individual libraries, see: M. Rutowska, *Straty osobowe i materialne...*, p. 63.

⁹⁷ K. Estreicher, op. cit., pp. 208, 210; *Raporty z ziem wcielonych...*, pp. 307–308, 311.

⁹⁸ Cz. Łuczak, „Kraj Warty” 1939–1945..., p. 95.

⁹⁹ J. Baumgart, op. cit., p. 929; M. Rutowska, *Straty osobowe i materialne...*, p. 61.

¹⁰⁰ *Raporty z ziem wcielonych...*, pp. 307–308, 311.

¹⁰¹ AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2600, pismo namiestnika Okręgu Rzeszy Kraj Warty do kuratora Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego z 16 V 1941 r.

¹⁰² J. Baumgart, op. cit., p. 934.

¹⁰³ M. Rutowska, *Straty osobowe i materialne...*, p. 63. Compiling the losses of bigger libraries of Greater Poland, Rutowska took into account the following libraries: The Main Library of Poznań University, the Institutional Library of Poznań University, the Library of the Academy of Commerce, the Library of the Theological Seminary in Poznań, the Library of the Theological Seminary in Gniezno, the Library of the Poznań Society of Lovers of Sciences, the Library of the Kórnik Foundation, the Archdiocese Library in Poznań, the Chapter Library in Gniezno, school libraries, the Central Pedagogical Library in Poznań, the Society of People's Libraries, the Raczyński Library in Poznań, the Military Library in Poznań, the Library of the Provincial Office in Poznań, the Council Library in Poznań, libraries of the county local authorities.

In The Reich District of Katowice the action of confiscating and inventorying of both museum and library collections was supervised by Alfred Kraut. The takeover of the collections of the Parliament Library and the Silesia Institute in Katowice was led directly by Georg Kate,¹⁰⁴ who appointed Victor Kauder as his plenipotentiary. Already at the end of September 1939, with the support of the Reich Minister of Science, Education and Public Instruction,¹⁰⁵ he began actions aiming at securing and seizing the book collections of the Silesia Institute and the Parliament Library in Katowice.¹⁰⁶ According to the reports of the Polish Underground, most of the collection of the Parliament Library was designated for destruction, but as a result of protests from the Wrocław University professors these plans were abandoned.¹⁰⁷ After appropriate selection, part of the books from the Parliament Library was taken by Oberschlesische Landesbibliothek (Upper Silesia State Library) from Katowice. Furthermore, as Alfred Kraut informed, a number of more valuable volumes were appropriated by the high president Fritz Bracht and Georg Kate.¹⁰⁸

The collections from Korfanty Library were secured in the building of Bytom museum. Confiscated books from other Polish libraries and private collections were stored e.g. in the palace in Poręba, in the exhibition hall in the Southern Park in Katowice and in the building of HTO branch in Bielsk.¹⁰⁹ In spring of 1942 a special committee chaired by dr Hans Faust,¹¹⁰ who since 1941 was the head of the presidential department at the office of the high president of Upper Silesia, and including such members as Georg Kate, Victor Kauder, Fritz Arlt¹¹¹ – the director of the Institut für Oberschlesische Landesforschung (the Institute of Upper Silesia Research) – Franz Pfützenreiter and dr Hans Hugo Nehmitz from the State Archives in Katowice, began work aiming at organizing the stored book collection.

¹⁰⁴ See: Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 149 z 4 VI 1942 r., *Landeshauptmann Georg Kate*.

¹⁰⁵ On 16 Oct 1939 the minister B. Rust sent a letter to the high president of the Silesian Province, in which he indicated the achievements of V. Kauder in the “development of the network of German libraries in the eastern part of Upper Silesia”; he suggested that this “loyal and outstanding German fighter be made responsible for the reorganization of libraries.” The opinion of the Reich minister for Science, Education and Public Instruction was supported by the Reich minister of home affairs. See: AP-Katowice, Naczelne Prezydium w Katowicach 1941–1945, sygn. 144.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pisma Victora Kaudera: do prof. Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego Waltera Kuhna z 20 IX 1939 r. oraz do Naczelnego Prezydium we Wrocławiu z 12 X 1939 r.

¹⁰⁷ *Raporty z ziem wcielonych...*, p. 256.

¹⁰⁸ R. Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej...*, p. 348; idem, *Środowisko naukowe i artystyczne...*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁹ AP-Katowice, Naczelne Prezydium w Katowicach 1941–1945, sygn. 147, pismo nadprezydenta Prowincji Górny Śląsk do zarządu prowincjonalnego w Katowicach z 17 XI 1941 r.

¹¹⁰ Szerzej o nim: R. Kaczmarek, *Pod rządami gauleiterów...*, p. 229.

¹¹¹ See more about him: *ibid.*, pp. 131–132; 225; R. Kaczmarek, *Środowisko naukowe i artystyczne...*, pp. 18–21, 38.

Publications considered valuable were to enrich the collections of German scholarly institutions, museums and libraries.¹¹²

In the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia the supervisor of the stolen book collections was the director of the city library in Gdańsk Hermann Hassbargen.¹¹³

Already in September 1939 the occupant's authorities took over two largest libraries in Eastern Pomerania: the City Library in Bydgoszcz and Copernicus Municipal Library in Toruń. From the collection of the Bydgoszcz library, which before the 1 September 1939 contained approximately 168,500 volumes,¹¹⁴ the police authorities sent for shredding ca. 26,000 publications, mostly those concerning the Polishness of Pomerania and Kuyavia, such as the ephemeral prints connected with the school strike in Pomerania from the beginning of the 20th c., a collection of documents offered to the library by Kazimierz Kierski, 185 incunables, 120 manuscripts and 160 valuable maps and plans. Other Bydgoszcz libraries also suffered significant losses, e.g. the People's Library lost ca. 34,000 volumes and the Library of the State Scientific Institute of Agronomy – its whole collection.¹¹⁵ Part of the collection of the Copernicus Municipal Library in Toruń was sent for shredding to the paper mill in Włocławek.¹¹⁶ The losses of other Toruń libraries were as follows: the libraries of the Copernicus 1st State Middle and High School and of the Cadet School in Mokre were entirely destroyed; the State Construction High School lost 2500 books; the State teachers' School – 5500; the Merchant High School – 1300; the libraries of primary schools in Toruń lost approximately 26,000 volumes in total.¹¹⁷

Extermination of Polish culture is not only a phenomenon that was one of the effects of war. It was a precisely thought out, planned and executed process aiming at extermination of the Polish nation. Destruction of Polish intellectual elites and Polish cultural heritage – as the Nazis expected – was to result in breaking down any possible national resistance and the nation's disintegration. The systematic

¹¹² AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4293, pismo pełnomocnika generalnego powiernika do spraw zabezpieczenia niemieckich dóbr kulturalnych na ziemiach wcielonych do nadprezydenta Prowincji Górny Śląsk z 25 IX 1941 r.; *ibid.*, Naczelne Prezydium w Katowicach 1941–1945, sygn. 147, notatka nadprezydenta Prowincji Górny Śląsk z 9 III 1942 r.

¹¹³ AP-Poznań, Urząd Powierniczy w Poznaniu 1939–1945, sygn. 2491, sprawozdanie końcowe z działalności generalnego powiernika do spraw zabezpieczenia niemieckich dóbr kulturalnych na polskich ziemiach wcielonych z listopada 1942 r.

¹¹⁴ *Bydgoszcz. Historia – Kultura – Życie gospodarcze*, Gdynia 1959, p. 275.

¹¹⁵ K. Sarnowska, *Biblioteki Bydgoszczy*, Bibliotekarz, nr 10: 1946, pp. 213–214; J. Podgórczny, *Z dziejów Biblioteki Miejskiej w Bydgoszczy w okresie okupacji*, Bibliotekarz, nr 3: 1958, pp. 79–81; *Bydgoszcz. Historia...*, p. 275; *Z życia i pracy bydgoskiej książki. Księga Pamiątkowa Biblioteki Miejskiej w Bydgoszczy 1903–1963*, Bydgoszcz 1965, pp. 31–32; W. Jastrzębski, J. Sziling, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

¹¹⁶ J. Przybyłowa, *Książnica Miejska im. Kopernika w Toruniu wobec lawiny. Sprawozdanie o stanie księgozbioru po okupacji niemieckiej w lutym 1945 r.*, Toruń 1945, pp. 12–17; *eadem*, *Biblioteki Torunia*, Bibliotekarz, nr 10: 1946, pp. 208–210.

¹¹⁷ W. Jastrzębski, J. Sziling, *op. cit.*, pp. 245–246; Cz. Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce*, t. II, Warszawa 1970, p. 124.

plundering of Polish cultural property that lasted the whole war was also to a significant extent economically motivated. Part of the stolen objects of high artistic value were handed over to museums while others were left at SS Reichsführer's disposal and vanished without a trace...

3. German occupation authorities and their competences with regard to cultural policy

3.1. Administration and party institutions

From the first days of the occupation, the matters of culture were of particular interest to German authorities. In the organizational structure of the governors' offices in the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia and the Reich District Wartheland, cultural issues were the responsibility of Department III: Education, Teaching, Culture and Community Care (*Erziehung, Unterricht, Kultur und Gemeinschaftspflege*). According to the roster from 1 March 1940, within the temporary structure of Department III in the governor's office of the Reich Province of Gdansk–West Prussia, cultural matters were the responsibility of three sections: III/5 – the state curator of museums (*Staatlicher Museumspfleger*), director – Prof. Dr. Willi Drost; III/6 – libraries (*Büchereiwesen*), director – Dr. Hermann Hassbargen; III/7 – films, director – Bruno Maria Schmidt.¹¹⁸ At the head of Department III stood Adalbert Boeck.¹¹⁹ He held the office entrusted to him intermittently because as an Air Force officer he simultaneously served in the military. During his absences his deputy was the senate councillor Franz Schramm.¹²⁰ Department III in the governor's office of the Reich District Wartheland began its operations on 27 October 1939, and cultural matters were the responsibility of five sections: III/9 – public libraries (*Volksbüchereiwesen*); III/10 – historical monument protection (*Denkmalpflege*); and III/11 – archeological monument protection (*Bodendenkmalpflege*); III/15 – museum matters (*Museumsfragen*); III/16 – musical education (*Musikerziehung*).¹²¹ The district presidents who ruled in their districts were the executors of the governor's orders only in some spheres. In cultural matters they were not acting as intermediaries between the governor's office and the culture offices (*Kulturamt*) in towns and counties, so there was no department responsible for culture within the structure of their offices. At the level of county administration, particular matters that were the responsibility of high mayors (in

¹¹⁸ *Erziehung, Unterricht, Kultur und Gemeinschaftspflege. Amtliches Schulblatt für den Reichsgau Danzig Westpreussen*, nr 3 z 1 III 1940 r., pp. 29–30, Vorläufiger Organisationsplan. Por. *ibid.*, nr 6 z 15 VI 1943 r., pp. 60, Veränderungen in der Abt. III des Reichsstathalters (5 VI 1943 r.).

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, nr 10 z 15 VII 1941 r., p. 88, Personalmeldungen.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, nr 17 z 15 XI 1940 r., p. 152, Wiederaufnahme des Dienstes durch Senator Boeck (1 XI 1940 r.); nr 11 z 1 VIII 1941 r., p. 90, Einberufung des Senators Boeck zum Wehrdienst (7 VII 1941 r.).

¹²¹ AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2316, sprawozdanie z działalności wydziału III w urzędzie namiestnika Okręgu Rzeszy Kraj Warty z 6 I 1940 r. i notatka służbowa z 17 I 1942 r.

town counties) or *Landräte*, were assigned to sections (Referate) which consisted of offices formed according to the subject matter criterion. Cultural issues were the responsibility of section IV – education and culture, within which a culture office operated.¹²²

NSDAP had a particular position in the occupied Polish lands, and the party structures started to be established already in the first weeks of German occupation, simultaneously with building the administration system. The party's participation in implementation of the nationality policy was not limited to political tasks connected with gaining the population's support for the national-socialist movement: the organization also controlled various spheres of social life. The personal union between the function of the RKK state plenipotentiary for cultural matters and the district head of the NSDAP Propaganda Office resulted in the fact that in the annexed Polish territories the party officials had relatively extensive possibilities of inspiring and above all supervising cultural work. The law on the Reich Chamber of Culture (*Reichskulturkammergesetz*) came into force in the Polish lands incorporated into the Third Reich on 1 January 1940, based on the regulation of the ministers of propaganda and of the interior from 29 December 1939.¹²³ Following this, RKK established in individual administrative units their representations, i.e. district branches of the so-called state plenipotentiary for cultural matters (*Landeskulturwalter*) and local outposts of the particular RKK sub-chambers. On 9 March 1940 minister Goebbels sent a confidential letter to the presidents of RKK sub-chambers in which he expressly forbade accepting into RKK culture creators of Polish nationality. Any doubts regarding the determination of nationality were to be settled by relevant Reich Propaganda Offices.¹²⁴

In the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia the so-called permanent representative of the state plenipotentiary for cultural matters (*ständige Vertreter des Landeskulturwalters*) Dr. August Goergens commenced his operations already during the first weeks of the occupation. At the beginning of October 1939 he wrote to the local administration asking for a report on the situation in culture. The gathered information was expected to facilitate making detailed plans regarding “restoration of cultural life.” The reports on the state of culture were to include the following topics: theatre (municipal theatres, travelling troupes, amateur theatre groups); music (orchestras, music and choir societies, music schools, church music, concerts, and trade in musical instruments, sheet music and other music-related documents); film (cinemas); fine arts (museums, collections of contemporary art, sculpture and drawings, and trade in works of art and antique objects); writing (municipal libraries, people's libraries, trade in books and newspapers,

¹²² K. M. Pospieszalski, op. cit., pp. 12–20; Z. Janowicz, op. cit., *passim*; W. Jastrzębski, J. Sziling, op. cit., pp. 53–55.

¹²³ RGBl, 1939, I, p. 2507, Verordnung über die Einführung der Reichskulturkammergesetzgebung in den eingegliederten Ostgebieten. Vom 29. Dezember 1939.

¹²⁴ BA-Berlin, R 55/1426.

publishing houses, lending libraries); the press; and radio. Goergens asked also to nominate clerks dealing with culture matters, who would prepare detailed reports on the situation in culture. He stressed that they should be trusted people with appropriate knowledge of these questions, which would make the “restoration of cultural life” possible.¹²⁵ From the end of December 1939 the post of the state plenipotentiary for cultural matters and at the same time the post of the head of the NSDAP Propaganda Office in the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia was held by Wolfgang Diewerge, but already in mid-1940 he was replaced by Wilhelm Löbsack. Then the offices went in chronological order to: from 1942 – Max Stampe, from 1943 Emil Zobus and from the end of September 1943 Wolfgang Diewerge again.¹²⁶ In the Reich Province of Gdańsk–West Prussia, the RKK officially inaugurated its activity on 26 May in Gdańsk, where in Tobis-Palast cinema in Langgasse (Długa St.) a meeting of invited representatives of the world of culture took place, and Wolfgang Diewerge read a paper titled “Nationalsozialistischer Kulturaufbau im Deutschen Osten als Kriegsaufgabe” (“National Socialist Cultural Restoration in the German East as a War Task”).¹²⁷

The lack of clear guidelines as to the powers of the district state administration and party authorities with regard to cultural policy caused a lot of confusion and numerous misunderstandings. Although on 3 March 1942, having consulted minister Goebbels, and “noticing some uncertainties and difficulties recently appearing in Reich districts during the realisation of culture-related tasks,” the Reich Minister of the Interior published a regulation that was supposed to eliminate the disputes on the scope of responsibility of individual institutions, the document was not really precise. It stated that PROMI directives on cultural matters concerning “state tasks” (staatliche Aufgaben) from then on were to be implemented at the district level solely by Reich propaganda offices. Yet there was no explanation how to understand the concept of cultural matters concerning “state tasks.” One can speculate that the phrase meant transmitting cultural content that particularly well served the interest of the state and the so-called national community, acting as propaganda and indoctrination. The above regulation did not concern the Prussian provinces or The Reich District of Katowice.¹²⁸

The organizational system of cultural life in Upper Silesia was much more complex. Cultural matters were the responsibility of numerous organs and institutions both of administration and the party; their responsibilities in this sphere were not clearly delineated, which resulted in chaos in the matters of organization and division of responsibilities. A variety of cultural initiatives were undertaken by

¹²⁵ AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 727, pismo A. Goergensa do komisarza miasta Torunia W. Kiesslinga z 7 X 1939 r.

¹²⁶ Der Danziger Vorposten, nr 17 z 18 I 1942 r., p. 5; nr 260 z 21 IX 1943 r., p. 3; nr 261 z 22 IX 1943 r., p. 3; Thorner Freiheit, nr 16 z 20 I 1942 r., p. 4; W. Jastrzębski, J. Sziling, op. cit., p. 57.

¹²⁷ AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 743, *passim*; Thorner Freiheit, nr 123 z 28 V 1940 r., p. 5.

¹²⁸ AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4277.

e.g. the heads of culture departments in the High mayor's office (Kulturabteilung in Oberpräsidium) and in the provincial government (Kulturabteilung in Provinzialverwaltung), the district director in charge of choirs (Gauverbandsleiter des Reichsverbandes für gemischte Chöre), the district director in charge of folk music (Gauverbandsführer des Reichsverbandes für Volksmusik), the district party director in charge of propaganda (Gaupropagandaleiter),¹²⁹ the district director in charge of training (Gauschulungsleiter), the state RKK plenipotentiary for cultural affairs (Landeskulturwarter, Landesleiter der Reichskulturkammer), the KdF organization and the leaders of regional organizations Kunstverein Oberschlesien, Oberschlesischer Heimatbund and Stiftung Oberschlesien.¹³⁰ After the administrative changes which resulted in the creation of the high president's office and then the provincial committee, the situation within the organizational structure of cultural life in Upper Silesia had been clarified. On 31 October 1942 high president Bracht nominated Walther Boss as his plenipotentiary for cultural affairs (Kulturbeauftragter des Gauleiters),¹³¹ until then he had been the plenipotentiary for cultural matters of the NSDAP district committee (Gaukulturbeauftragte). At the new post Boss supervised cultural initiatives organized by NSDAP and its affiliated organizations as well as the state administration organs. His liaison at the high president's office was the district director Böckmann. Böckmann's responsibilities were described by high president Bracht in the instruction from January 1943 as follows: "The current job of my office in the sphere of culture in its strict meaning consists of controlling – as a supervisory authority – the operation of offices and branches of state and community administration in the province, and at the same time, if need be, supporting them in realization of the entrusted culture-related tasks by providing advice and organizational help. To deal with cultural matters

¹²⁹ On 22 Sept 1939 in *Kattowitzer Zeitung* there appeared the information about the creation of the special staff in the Propaganda Bureau in the headquarters of the NSDAP in Silesia. It was to be an advisory body for cultural matters. It consisted of "experienced experts of national matters" such as the head of the Katowice choir *Meisterscher Gesangverein* (The Singing Society under the name of Meister) Fritz Lubrich, the head of the choir *Chorvereinigung Königshütte* (the Choir Association in Chorzów) Paul Rodewald, the head of *Verein Deutscher Volksbüchereien in Polen* (the Polish Union of German People's Libraries in Poland) Victor Kauder, the head of *Deutsche Turnschaft in Polen* (the German Athletic Union in Poland) Paul Sornik, the representative of the KdF organization, the head of *Oberschlesische Landesmuseum Beuthen* Franz Pfützenreiter. See: *Kattowitzer Zeitung*, nr 255 z 22 IX 1939 r., *Der kulturelle Aufbau wird weiter gefördert*.

¹³⁰ AP-Katowice, *Naczelne Prezydium w Katowicach 1941–1945*, sygn. 412, pismo gauleitera Brachta do kierownika wydziału kultury w Naczelnym Prezydium w Katowicach z 21 XII 1942 r.; R. Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej...*, pp. 352–353; idem, *Środowisko naukowe i artystyczne...*, pp. 30–31.

¹³¹ AP-Katowice, *Naczelne Prezydium w Katowicach 1941–1945*, sygn. 412, *passim*; *Oberschlesische Zeitung*, nr 299 z 1 XI 1942 r., Walther Boss. *Kulturbeauftragter des Gauleiters*. W następujących publikacjach figuruje jako Walther Ross: T. Kruszewski, *Partia Narodowosocjalistyczna na Śląsku w latach 1933–1945. Organizacja i działalność*, Wrocław 1995, p. 152; R. Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej...*, p. 353; idem, *Środowisko naukowe i artystyczne...*, pp. 29–31. The archive material indicates that the correct surname was Boss.

that are a direct responsibility of my office, a section was created, led temporarily by the district director Böckmann.¹³² The scope of Böckmann's activities was therefore limited to supervisory and advisory roles; he acted only on *Gauleiter's* instruction. This solution meant that the state administration basically handed over cultural matters to the party. In December 1942 Boss issued guidelines specifying the scope of powers of administration and party institutions with regard to cultural matters:

- local NSDAP committees, supported by cultural organizations, were responsible for local activities promoting the so-called national culture (Volkskultur), which included e.g. concerts and choir performances;
- county party committees were responsible for cultural events organized by a larger number of institutions and organizations;
- the district party committee (Gauleitung), provincial committee (Provinzialverwaltung) and the leaders of organizations supporting culture were responsible for cultural activities at the level of the province.¹³³

To match the administration changes introduced in Silesia in 1941, at the beginning of August 1942 the president of RKK nominated independent state plenipotentiaries for cultural affairs for the Province of Upper Silesia and the Province of Lower Silesia. In the Upper Silesian province the nominee was Fritz Klar, the head of the propaganda department at the district committee of NSDAP in Upper Silesia. At the same time, following Klar's proposal and with the acceptance of high president Bracht, the president of the Reich Chamber of Culture nominated the following persons as the plenipotentiaries of individual RKK subdivisions in the Upper Silesian province: the plenipotentiary of the Reich Chamber of Music (Landesleiter der Reichsmusikkammer) Erich Peter,¹³⁴ the music director (Musikalischer Oberleiter) of the theatre in Bytom; the plenipotentiary of the Reich Chamber of Theatre (Landesleiter der Reichstheaterkammer) Bruno Wächter, the administrator of the theatre in Bielsko; the plenipotentiary of the Reich Chamber of Fine Arts (Landesleiter der Reichskammer der bildenden Künste) Peter Lipp, a sculptor; the plenipotentiary of the Reich Chamber of Literature (Landesleiter der Reichsschrifttumskammer) Alfons Hayduk,¹³⁵ a writer from Gliwice; the plenipotentiary of the Reich Chamber of Film (Landesleiter der Reichsfilmkammer) Fritz Klar.¹³⁶ The papers described the significance of this event in this way:

¹³² AP-Katowice, Naczelne Prezydium w Katowicach 1941–1945, sygn. 412, pismo nadprezydenta do okręgowych pełnomocników do spraw kultury z 11 I 1943 r.

¹³³ Ibid., wytyczne W. Bossa z grudnia 1942 r.; R. Kaczmarek, *Środowisko naukowe i artystyczne...*, p. 30–31.

¹³⁴ E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich. Wer war was vor und nach 1945*, Frankfurt am Main 2009, p. 410.

¹³⁵ Ibid., pp. 203–204.

¹³⁶ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 194 z 19 VII 1942 r., *Intendant Waechter. Landesleiter der Reichstheaterkammer*; nr 208 z 2 VIII 1942 r., *Der Landeskulturwalter Gau Oberschlesien*; nr 212 z 6 VIII 1942 r., *Betreuer der Kulturschaffenden*; nr 214 z 8 VIII 1942 r., *Betreuer der Kulturschaffenden*.

“Through the nomination of an RKK plenipotentiary for the province of Upper Silesia, conditions have been created which will ensure that also in our province the cultural activities are uniform and result in consistent national socialist cultural policy, which will remain in accordance with the guidelines of the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. Due to the importance of work on restoring culture in our province, it is especially necessary that this work should be directed by a central office, such as – according to the law – is represented by the plenipotentiary of the Reich Chamber of Culture.”¹³⁷

Little is known of the agenda of the party organization NSVK in the annexed Polish territories. On the initiative of the head of the propaganda department at the NSDAP district committee in Upper Silesia Fritz Klar, a meeting with representatives of large cultural associations regarding founding of NSVK was held in Katowice as early as 22 June 1942.¹³⁸ In the Reich Province of Gdańsk–West Prussia, Nationalsozialistisches Volkskulturwerk Danzig–Westpreussen was established in Gdańsk as late as 23 January 1944. As Dr. Goergens stressed, “the national-socialist »Volkskulturwerk« established by the Reich minister Dr. Goebbels is not a new organization, but a new form given to longtime efforts and endeavours to ensure that all the associations working for national culture have a uniform political orientation, that they cooperate closely and are assigned their proper place in the common struggle of all Germans.” The leader (Leiter) of “Volkskulturwerk” became Dr. Goergens, and his deputies were Gündke, responsible for the activity of the organization Nationalsozialistische Gemeinschaft “Kraft durch Freude” in the district, and dr Wiegand. It is difficult to say which factors contributed to the relatively late creation of NSVK in the Reich Province of Gdańsk–West Preussen.¹³⁹

3.2. The role of district organizations for culture

As an attempt to guarantee the cooperation of party structures and the state administration in the matters of cultural policy and thus to eliminate divergent approaches to cultural work, the heads of individual administration units initiated creation of provincial organizations for generally understood culture.

The central cultural organization in the Reich Province of Gdańsk–West Prussia, i.e. Kulturwerk Deutsches Ordensland (Cultural Work of German Land of the Teutonic Order) was established by governor Forster on 13 August 1941 in Gdańsk. Its name referred to the cultural tradition of the Teutonic Order, which was supposed to have planted deeply the permanent roots of Germanness in this territory. Forster justified the name choice in these words: “By demolishing Polish

¹³⁷ Ibid., nr 208 z 2 VIII 1942 r., *Der Landeskulturwalter Gau Oberschlesien*.

¹³⁸ AP-Katowice, Naczelne Prezydium w Katowicach 1941–1945, sygn. 415, pismo F. Klara do referentów kulturalnych przy Naczelnym Prezydium w Katowicach z 16 VI 1942 r. oraz notatka nadprezydenta Prowincji Górny Śląsk z 24 VI 1942 r.

¹³⁹ AP-Gdańsk, Landrat powiatu Wejherowo 1939–1945, sygn. 500, Kulturpolitisches Mitteilungsblatt der Reichspropagandaleitung der NSDAP. Hauptkulturamt, nr 1: 1943, pp. 1–3; Thorner Freiheit, nr 19 z 24 I 1944 r., p. 3.

occupant state and reuniting the old German city of Gdańsk with the Reich, in September 1939 conditions were created to restore the unity of Western Prussia [...]. By the Führer's order the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia was created [...]. This central territory of the Teutonic Order has a really significant cultural past. In his historic speech in the old Artus Mansion in Gdańsk on 19 September 1939 the Führer said that this land had always been a centre of German culture [...]. Therefore it was obvious that during the restoration of this Reich Province, cultural work should be in the first place. Now it has a new starting point in the organization Kulturwerk Deutsches Ordensland. This name is a symbol and an obligation. It always ought to remind us that the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia has a great cultural mission in the East to complete.”¹⁴⁰ The statute of the organization considered its priority objectives as: “unification of cultural forces in the province and filling the province with German culture as well as supporting artists and creating for them such [work – S.G.] conditions that they will be able to join the work on cultural restoration.”¹⁴¹ In turn, in an occasional publication printed to celebrate the founding of Kulturwerk, the provincial director of the propaganda office Wilhelm Löbsack stressed that the newly created institution is the crowning of cultural work in the Reich Province of Gdańsk–West Prussia.¹⁴² In the first place the “unification of cultural forces” was implemented though subordinating to Kulturwerk all the cultural associations for individual arts active in the province, i.e. Landesbühne Reichsgau Danzig–Westpreussen, Konzert-ring Danzig–Westpreussen, Ausstellungsgemeinschaft Danzig–Westpreussen, Ostdeutscher Dichterkreis, Gemeinschaft für alte Musik, and later also the organization Arbeitskreis für zeitgenössische Musik, established in 1943.¹⁴³ On 17 September 1941 the ministry of propaganda sent a letter to the local Reich Propaganda Offices describing Kulturwerk Deutsches Ordensland as a model example of strengthening the influences of party committees [sic!] on cultural work. Similar initiatives were to be undertaken in other territories of the Reich.¹⁴⁴

The celebration inaugurating Kulturwerk operations in the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia was held in Gdańsk Artus Mansion on 17 January 1942. Minister Josef Goebbels was a guest there, as governor Forster asked him to be-

¹⁴⁰ AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 744, druk okolicznościowy z okazji utworzenia organizacji Kulturwerk Deutsches Ordensland. See also: BA-Berlin, R 55/1395, pismo Urzędu Propagandy w Okręgu Rzeszy Gdańsk–Prusy Zachodnie do RMfVuP z 11 IX 1941 r.

¹⁴¹ AP-Gdańsk, Akta miasta Gniewa 1561–1945, sygn. 193, statut Kulturwerk Deutsches Ordensland z 13 VIII 1941 r. oraz pismo kierownika okręgowego Urzędu Propagandy do prezydenta rejencji gdańskiej z 4 IX 1941 r.

¹⁴² AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 744, druk okolicznościowy z okazji utworzenia organizacji Kulturwerk Deutsches Ordensland.

¹⁴³ BA-Berlin, R 55/1395, notatka na temat powołania organizacji Kulturwerk Deutsches Ordensland. See more about the work of those organizations in Chapter IV of this book.

¹⁴⁴ BA-Berlin, R 55/600, informacja o pracy kulturalnej w okręgach z 17 IX 1941 r.

come an honorary patron of the newly established organization.¹⁴⁵ In early February 1942 governor Forster as the chairman (Präsident) of Kulturwerk designated the following members of its leadership:

- deputy chairmen: the head of the provincial Propaganda Office as well as Landeskulturwalter Stampe, Gauhauptmann Dr. Willibald Wiers-Keiser, and the head of *gmina* administrations at the governor's office (Leiter der Reichsgaudienststelle des Deutschen Gemeindetages) Lippke;
- leader (Geschäftsführer) Dr. August Goergens, actually responsible for the growth of the organization and its day-to-day activity;
- treasurer Voss, a permanent representative of the provincial Reich Propaganda Office (ständige Vertreter des Leiters des Reichspropaganda-amtes).

By Forster nominations, the leaders of individual institutions subordinated to Kulturwerk were Dr. Wiers-Keiser (Landesbühne Danzig–Westpreussen); the painter Paul Dannot (Ausstellungsgemeinschaft Danzig–Westpreussen); the poet Gottfried Graf Finckenstein (Ostdeutscher Dichterkreis); Dr. August Goergens (Konzerting Danzig–Westpreussen); and Hugo Socnik (Gemeinschaft für alte Musik).¹⁴⁶

In the Reich District Wartheland the main cultural organization i.e. Kulturring Reichsgau Wartheland (Cultural Society of the Reich District Wartheland) was established on 1 January 1941. It was to guarantee “harmonious cooperation between the party and the state in the sphere of culture because restoration of cultural life requires unified, careful planning.” Its members were the representatives of “all organizations as well as party and state associations which were created for mutual cooperation in cultural restoration of the Reich District Wartheland,” including e.g. a county NSDAP leader (Kreisleiter NSDAP); a clerk responsible for culture and national matters (Volkstumsreferent) in the provincial Propaganda Office; cultural representatives of organizations affiliated with NSDAP (SA, SS, NSKK, NSFK, HJ, Frauenschaft, BDM, DAF, KdF, NSV, and RAD); a clerk responsible for culture in the governor's office; the provincial leaders of the organizations: NSDDB, NSDStB, and NSLB; the director of the provincial NSDAP Training Office; the rector of Poznań University; a Wehrmacht representative; district presidents; the high mayor of Poznań; provincial plenipotentiaries of individual RKK sub-chambers; the administrators of radio stations in Poznań and Łódź; and invited representatives of the world of culture. By governor Greiser's nomination, the function of the leader (Leiter) of the organization went to Wilhelm Maul, the state plenipotentiary for cultural matters and at the same time the head of NSDAP Propaganda Office in the Reich District Wartheland.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ AP-Gdańsk, Landrat powiatu Wejherowo 1939–1945, sygn. 500, Chronik der Hansestadt Danzig (Januar–März 1942); Der Danziger Vorposten, nr 17 z 18 I 1942 r., p. 3; Thorner Freiheit, nr 208 z 4 IX 1941 r., p. 4; nr 10 z 13 I 1942 r., p. 3; nr 14 z 17/18 I 1942 r., p. 3; nr 15 z 19 I 1942 r., pp. 1–2, 3–4.

¹⁴⁶ Thorner Freiheit, nr 34 z 10 II 1942 r., p. 4.

¹⁴⁷ AP-Poznań, Starostwo Powiatowe w Kościanie 1939–1945, sygn. 70; *ibid.*, Akta miasta Poznań 1254–1945, sygn. 16236.

A characteristic feature of The Reich District of Katowice was that, in comparison to the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia and the Reich District Wartheland, there were many more organizations which wanted to exert significant influence on cultural policy. A lot of them had already been established before the war as organizations of the German minority. Besides specialized cultural organizations,¹⁴⁸ the chief institution supporting cultural work in many spheres was Stiftung Oberschlesien (Upper Silesian Foundation) with its premises at 12 Emmastr. (12 Francuska St.) It operated since 13 December 1941 under the patronage of the high president and the Gauleiter of Upper Silesia Fritz Bracht,¹⁴⁹ who formulated its aims as follows:

- „1. Protection of cultural heritage; also the inhabitants of Upper Silesia have to be made aware how great the input of their region into general German cultural heritage is;
2. planning and realization of cultural tasks with regard to music, theatre, fine arts, museums, regional studies, strengthening attachment to homeland, literature, and libraries;
3. community care and strengthening it through culture;
4. gaining support of other Reich territories for Upper Silesian issues through the press, radio, newspapers, films, exhibitions and publications.”¹⁵⁰

In one of his public speeches Bracht stressed, referring to the activity of Stiftung Oberschlesien, that “German culture is what we need to make our province fully German!”¹⁵¹ These words clearly point to the position of culture in the nationality policy implemented by the occupation authorities, not only in The Reich District of Katowice but also in all the Polish lands annexed into the Third Reich. Cultural work was to be combined with Germanization, which determined its forms and possibilities. By the decision of the high president, Georg Kate became the chairman (Präsident) of the foundation, and deputy chairmen were the industrialist Alfred Pott and Kraft Graf Henckel von Donnersmarck.¹⁵²

In December 1941 the foundation chairman presented the initiative to create an index of all Upper Silesian artists, i.e. those who had been born in Silesia or were currently living and creating there. To this aim, he published in the press an

¹⁴⁸ They have been discussed in the subsequent chapters of this book.

¹⁴⁹ AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4344, statut Stiftung Oberschlesien z 9 IX 1941 r.; BA-Berlin, R 153/1357, folder poświęcony organizacji Stiftung Oberschlesien; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 253 z 14 IX 1941 r., *Gestalten noch schöner als erhalten!*. *Die Organisation der Stiftung Oberschlesien* i nr 359 z 31 XII 1941–1 I 1942 r., *Das Jahr des grossen Anstoses*.

¹⁵⁰ AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4344, notatka podpisana przez nadprezydenta Brachta: Die Aufgabe der Stiftung Oberschlesien [b.d.]. See also: BA-Berlin, R 153/1357, the brochure devoted to the organization Stiftung Oberschlesien (the preface by the gauleiter and high president Fritz Bracht).

¹⁵¹ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 253 z 14 IX 1941 r., *Gestalten noch schöner als erhalten!*

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, nr 283 z 14 X 1941 r., *Das Präsidium der Stiftung Oberschlesien*; E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, p. 211.

appeal to those people to register immediately at the Culture Department of the high mayor's office in Katowice (Oberpräsident, Kulturabteilung). The compiled files were to "show the public opinion how many Upper Silesians are creating German culture" and to facilitate more efficient financing of all the creators.¹⁵³

The integration of Upper-Silesian cultural society organized by Stiftung Oberschlesien was to be facilitated by so-called Oberschlesische Künstlertreffen, i.e. Upper-Silesian artistic meetings. The first such meeting took place at the castle in Wisła on 4–8 February 1942 (Erste ober-schlesische Künstlertreffen). The participants invited by the foundation were popular poets, composers and visual artists, together about thirty guests. The meeting agenda included trips to the Beskid mountains, lectures (among the speakers were e.g. professor Cesar Bresgen¹⁵⁴ from the so-called Mozarteum, i.e. Salzburg Musical University; professor Hans Schweizer-Mjölñir from Berlin; and the poet Bruno Brehm¹⁵⁵ from Vienna), discussions on creating music (5 February – "Music day"), literature (6 February – "Literature day") and art (8 February – "Art day") as well as meetings with the representatives of local administration. On the fourth day of the meeting, i.e. 7 February, there was a political education session, during which Dr. Fritz Arlt, the head of the Racial Office at NSDAP provincial committee in Katowice and the head of the Reich Commissioner Office for Strengthening of German Nationhood in Katowice, discussed nationality issues of Upper Silesia.¹⁵⁶ In May 1944 Stiftung Oberschlesien published the first issue of their information bulletin titled *Kulturnachrichten für die Mitglieder der Stiftung Oberschlesien*.¹⁵⁷

To coordinate more closely the dispersed cultural initiatives, on 25 April 1941 high president Bracht created at the level of the Upper Silesian province the so-called Gaukulturring, which gathered the representatives of organizations and offices that had influence on formulation and implementation of cultural policy. It was headed by Fritz Klar. The inauguration of Gaukulturring's activity took place on 3 September 1941 during an event organized in Katowice town hall.¹⁵⁸

It should not be overlooked that an important role in initiating cultural actions aiming at cultivating local traditions was played by regional branches of German cultural and educational organization Deutscher Heimatbund (German Homeland Society) whose protector (Schirmherr) was Alfred Rosenberg. In the Reich District Wartheland the information about the foundation of a regional branch of

¹⁵³ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 351 z 21 XII 1941 r., *Oberschlesische Künstler, meldet Euch!*

¹⁵⁴ E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, p. 71.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹⁵⁶ AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4364, 4365 i 4471; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 16 z 17 I 1942 r., *Oberschlesisches Künstlertreffen auf Schloss Weichsel* i nr 41 z 11 II 1942 r., *Kameradschaft unter Oberschlesiens Künstler*.

¹⁵⁷ Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 135 z 17 V 1944 r., *Kulturnachrichten der Stiftung Oberschlesien*.

¹⁵⁸ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 113 z 26 IV 1941 r., *Gründung eines Gaukulturringes* i nr 243 z 4 IX 1941 r., *Industrie und Kultur eine glückliche Synthese*; R. Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej...*, p. 353.

Deutscher Heimatbund in Poznań, i.e. Heimatbund Wartheland, was announced publicly during a ceremony at the university auditorium on 22 May 1941. Its leader became SS-Oberführer Robert Schulz,¹⁵⁹ the head of the health department at the governor's office (Chef der Gesundheitsabteilung beim Reichsstatthalter). The membership could be gained both by individual persons and by gminas and associations. The first meeting of Heimatbund Wartheland, summing up their work so far, was held on 21 March 1942 at Ostland hotel in Poznań.¹⁶⁰ According to the roster from 1 September 1941, there were 567 members (including 488 individual people) and on 1 March 1942 – 928 (including 838 individual persons). Heimatbund Wartheland paid particular attention to publishing texts on regional themes, including such series as *Deutsche Menschen aus dem Warthegau*, *Der Warthegau* (ed. dr Alfred Lattermann¹⁶¹), *Städte und Dörfer*, *Dome, Burgen und Schlösser im Warthegau*, *Landschaften des Warthegaus*, and *Kunst- und Kunsthandwerk aus alter und neuer Zeit*. There were also plans to publish a collection of German legends and fairy tales from the Reich District Wartheland, the editor of which was to be professor Lutz Mackensen from Poznań university.¹⁶²

The opening meeting of the Upper Silesian Homeland Society (Oberschlesischer Heimatbund, OHB) was held on 9 August 1941 in Gliwice although the regulation establishing OHB was published by high president Bracht in the provincial newspaper Gau Anordnungsblatt not earlier than October 1941. The premises of OHB were located in the building of the provincial committee at Em-mastr. 12. Bracht nominated Georg Kate as the leader of the organization, and the provincial councillor Dr. Wolfram Förster as Kate's deputy (in October 1941 they traded places). The motto for the organization's actions, which were to be undertaken "together with the party [...], especially with the community, training and propaganda offices as well as with NSLB, HJ and KdF" was "Oberschlesien muss wieder schöne deutsche Heimat werden," which in the sphere of culture meant mostly "nurturing local traditions, monuments of architecture and works of art (in particular folk art), which have had German features for a long time." In reality the activity of Oberschlesischer Heimatbund was mostly limited to organizing cultural and ethnographic events and publishing the magazine *Der Oberschlesier*.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ E. Klee, *Das Personenlexikon...*, p. 569.

¹⁶⁰ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 81 z 22 III 1942 r., p. 5.

¹⁶¹ R. Breyer, *Dr. Alfred Lattermann. Ein führender Wissenschaftler unserer Volksgruppe*, Jahrbuch Weichsel-Warthe, Jahrgang 7, 1961, pp. 90–93.

¹⁶² AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4604, the brochure devoted to the organization Heimatbund Wartheland; *ibid.*, sygn. 4699; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 142 z 23 V 1941 r., p. 5. In 1943 the publication of Professor L. Mackensen *Sagen der Deutschen im Wartheland* was published.

¹⁶³ AP-Katowice, Naczelne Prezydium w Katowicach 1941–1945, sygn. 413, the brochure devoted to the organization; *ibid.*, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4582, 4594, 4598, 4599; BA-Berlin, R 153/1357, folder poświęcony organizacji Stiftung Oberschlesien; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 213 z 5 VIII 1941 r., *Wesen und Aufgabe des Oberschlesischen Heimatbundes*; nr 218 z 10 VIII 1941 r., *Kampfland Oberschlesien soll ein deutsches Kernland werden*; nr 227

Organizationally, OHB was divided into specialized sections (Fachstelle), among which the folklore and folk art section (Volkskunde und Volkskunst) led by an ethnographer and folklore scholar professor Alfons Perlick¹⁶⁴ from the Ethnography Department of the Teacher Training Academy was particularly active. This section focused especially on folk costumes, which were not only one of the more eye-catching elements of the regional culture but also a symbol of belonging to a specific social group and territory. The members of a "Committee for Folk Costumes" (Ausschuss für Trachtenfragen; Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Trachtenfragen) established by this section were of the opinion that local authorities were unaware that "the Silesian folk costume constitutes a symbol of Polish character;" that was unacceptable and required introducing appropriate changes which would give it a "German character." During the first committee session on 4 November 1941, Dr. Bretschneider from the folklore department of the Oberschlesische Landesmuseum (Upper Silesian State Museum) in Bytom presented a paper on the traditional female costume in Silesia, in which she pointed out the necessity of modifying the following of its elements: the "baggy" vest, "too big" wrapper (Umschlagtuch), headscarf and apron, for – in her opinion – the "Polish character" was particularly visible in these details. The meeting attendees accepted the idea of the speaker, assuming at the same time that "introducing the planned changes among the local population will be difficult." At the folk costume committee meeting on 10 March 1943 it was stated that so far the actions aiming at "reformation" of the traditional costume "have not been crowned with success."¹⁶⁵ The gathered source material lacks information as to establishing and activities of the German Homeland Society in the Reich Province of Gdańsk–West Prussia.

By gathering the representatives of all the offices and associations active in the sphere of culture, the provincial organizations devoted to generally understood culture were supposed to be centres of concentration and planning cultural activities. They were established by the governors of individual administrative units under their personal patronage, yet in practice the people with the greatest influence on their activity were party officials holding important posts in the structure of those organizations. This fact makes it possible to conclude that the primary factor determining the possibilities and directions of the development of German cultural life was the care to preserve ideological correctness.

As any other sphere of life in Polish lands incorporated into the Third Reich, culture also was subjected to control from numerous institutions, both of state and party provenance. Together they created extensive but coordinated bureaucratic

z 19 VIII 1941 r., *Der Oberschlesier erscheint wieder*; nr 347 z 17 XII 1941 r., *Schöne oberschlesische Heimat*; R. Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej...*, pp. 353–354, 450; idem, *Środowisko naukowe i artystyczne...*, pp. 31–33.

¹⁶⁴ See more about him: R. Kaczmarek, *Środowisko naukowe i artystyczne...*, s. 15–16; E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon...*, p. 410.

¹⁶⁵ AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4600, 4721, 4723; *ibid.*, Naczelne Prezydium w Katowicach 1941–1945, sygn. 413, *passim*.

system which implemented the Nazi model of cultural policy. Certain tensions and conflicts were unavoidable, but their source was mostly the scope of responsibility. The centrally created guidelines remained unquestioned and the only matters that were disputed were tactical issues involving the choice of implementation methods and obtaining the greatest scope of powers in that field.

4. The addressees of German cultural policy.

The German population in Polish lands incorporated into the Third Reich

The taking over of the western, northern and southern areas of Poland by Wehrmacht and their subsequent annexation to the Third Reich brought an essential change to the situation of the German population, which used to be a national minority, and now under the occupation became the “nation of masters” (Herrenvolk). According to German data, at the moment of the outbreak of war the German inhabitants of Polish lands incorporated into the Third Reich consisted of 597,784 people, which amounted to 7% of the general population. The other inhabitants of those areas were Poles – 7,817,377, Jews – 494,913 and the representatives of other nationalities – 171,001.¹⁶⁶

The process of colonizing the “new East” was above all the responsibility of the Reich Commissioner for Strengthening of German Nationhood (Reichskommissar für die Festigung des deutschen Volkstums, RKFDV). This office was created by Hitler’s decree on strengthening German nationhood from 7 October 1939, with SS Reichsführer and the chief of German police Heinrich Himmler at the helm. Supervised by him, this “strengthening of nationhood” was supposed to happen through e.g. bringing Volksdeutsche from the Baltic countries and the USSR to the Reich and the occupied Polish lands, expelling from the Reich territories other nations and therefore creating new German settlement areas. Commissioner’s staff for Strengthening German Nationhood (Stabshauptamt RKFDV) was created at Himmler’s office, and was led by Ulrich Greifelt.¹⁶⁷ In each administrative unit of the Reich, the Reich Commissioner for Strengthening German Nationhood appointed high SS and police officers as his plenipotentiaries (Beauftragter des Reichskommissars für die Festigung des deutschen Volkstums): in the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia it was SS-Gruppenführer Richard Hildebrandt, in the Reich District Wartheland – SS-Obergruppenführer Wilhelm Koppe, and the head of Katowice branch of RKFDV became SS-Obersturmbannführer Brunon Müller (from September 1940 SS-Obersturmbannführer Fritz Arlt, and from 1943 SS-Obersturmbannführer Friedrich Brehm).

¹⁶⁶ K. M. Pospieszalski, *Hitlerowskie „prawo” okupacyjne w Polsce. Wybór dokumentów. Część I. Ziemie „wcielone,”* Documenta Occupationis, t. V, Poznań 1952, p. 8.

¹⁶⁷ Sz. Datner, J. Gumkowski, K. Leszczyński, *Wysiedlanie ludności z ziem polskich wcielonych do Rzeszy*, BGKBZHwP, t. XII, Warszawa 1960, pp. 34–36, 80; W. Jastrzębski, *Hitlerowskie wysiedlenia z ziem polskich wcielonych do Rzeszy 1939–1945*, Poznań 1968, pp. 25, 30–31.

In the Polish lands incorporated into the Third Reich the German population consisted basically of three groups: local Germans (Volksdeutsche), Germans who had come from the Reich (Reichsdeutsche) and the resettled people (Umsiedler). It should be also pointed out that from the first days of September 1939 the numbers of German population grew due to the presence of German army. The number of military units stationed there changed depending on the situation at the war fronts.

The foundation of the occupant's system were Germans from the Free City of Gdańsk and those migrating from the Reich (mostly officials and other white-collar workers, then industrialists, craftsmen and less numerous farmers and workers). The Reichsdeutsche built the structures of power, held leadership posts in the administration, party and police, and dominated politics, economy and culture. About 500,000 people were brought from the Reich to work in the administration, trade and crafts in the annexed Polish lands (ca. 426,000 – the Reich District Wartheland, ca. 59,000 – the Reich Province of Gdańsk–West Prussia, ca. 15,000 – Upper Silesia). Although according to Josef Goebbels' concept they were supposed to be people "with the brightest minds and hottest hearts among those who are at our fatherland's disposal,"¹⁶⁸ in practice many Germans coming from the Reich represented so-called knights of prosperity (Koniunkturritter). This term was used by German authorities to describe social climbers, people of chance not choice, who wanted to make a fortune as quickly and as easily as possible. Germans from the Free City of Gdańsk (ehemalige Danziger Staatsbürger) enjoyed the same position as Reichsdeutsche. Pre-war German political and party elite from that territory took the key positions in the occupation government structures in Gdańsk Pomerania. It is estimated that in September 1939 the Free City of Gdańsk was inhabited by 392,000 people, including 35,000 Poles.¹⁶⁹

Ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) who lived in the Republic of Poland before September 1939 and were Polish citizens played a minor role in the occupant's administration. The German authorities undertook actions aiming at selecting those people and evaluating their loyalty to the German state and involvement in strengthening of Germanism before the war. According to Hitler's decree from 8 October 1939 and the circular letter of the minister of the interior from 25 November 1939,¹⁷⁰ Volksdeutsche had the right to acquire the Reich citizenship (Reichsbürgerschaft). In turn, other inhabitants of Polish territories incorporated into

¹⁶⁸ Cyt. za: Cz. Łuczak, *Polska i Polacy...*, p. 170.

¹⁶⁹ W. Jastrzębski, *Ludność niemiecka i rzekomo niemiecka na ziemiach polskich włączonych do Rzeszy Niemieckiej (1939–1945)*, [in:] *Ludność niemiecka na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945 i jej powojenne losy*, pod red. W. Jastrzębskiego, Bydgoszcz 1995, p. 12. See also: H. Stępnia, *Ludność polska w Wolnym Mieście Gdańsku (1920–1939)*, Gdańsk 1991; A. Romanow, *Obraz demograficzny Gdańska w latach 1920–1939*, [in:] *Historia Gdańska. Tom IV/2: 1920–1945*, pod red. E. Cieślaka, Sopot [1999], pp. 30–31.

¹⁷⁰ K. M. Pospieszalski, *Hitlerowskie „prawo” okupacyjne...*, cz. I, pp. 108–114.

the Reich, who were considered by the authorities to be of German origin, in the future could obtain state affiliation (*Staatsangehörigkeit*).

As the Third Reich did not have a surplus of people who could be used to colonize and Germanize even the annexed Polish lands, it was necessary to reach for ethnic reserves, i.e. German minorities, above all those from Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Bessarabia, Volhynia and Galicia. The orders issued by Heinrich Himmler as the Reich Commissioner for Strengthening of German Nationhood from October and November of 1939 assumed that 25% of the annexed territories would be settled by Germans from Eastern European countries and Baltic states. The process of German settlement was facilitated by agreements concluded by the Third Reich with the USSR, the Baltic states and other countries. The majority of resettled ethnic Germans were sent to the incorporated Polish territories. Their number is estimated as 630,000–720,000; 400,000–500,000 of them were settled in the rural areas of the Reich District Wartheland, a solution promoted by governor Greiser, who subscribed to the principle that the most efficient method of Germanizing the annexed territories was to bring Germans from the outside. The largest number of the resettled came from Volhynia and East Galicia, so they had been Polish citizens. The second most populous groups were the resettled Germans from Bessarabia and Bukovina (*Besarabiendeutsche*), then those from the Baltic states (*Baltendeutsche*). Besides, about 250,000 of Russian Germans (*Russlanddeutsche*) were also settled in the incorporated lands.

The ethnic Germans brought from various countries belonged to different social strata and professional groups. Germans from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia as well as those from Northern and Southern Bukovina mostly had professions unconnected with agriculture. Among other ethnic Germans who in the years 1939–1943 were settled on Polish lands incorporated into the Third Reich, the majority drew their income from farming, forestry or fishing. More than two-thirds of the resettled were of working age, which significantly alleviated the increasing lack of workforce. It must be pointed out that in the eyes of German authorities not all of the resettled meet the racial, political or professional criteria to become the colonizers of the conquered lands.¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ Information about the German population in the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich on the basis of the following publications: J. Sobczak, *Hitlerowskie przesiedlenia ludności niemieckiej w dobie II wojny światowej*, Poznań 1966, *passim*; idem, *Przesiedlenia ludności niemieckiej w czasie II wojny światowej i po jej zakończeniu*, [in:] *Rola mniejszości niemieckiej w rozwoju stosunków politycznych w Europie 1918–1945*, pod red. A. Czubińskiego, Poznań 1984, s. 419–451; Cz. Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy...*, t. I, pp. 348–365; Cz. Łuczak, *Polityka ludnościowa i ekonomiczna...*, *passim*; idem, *Polska i Polacy...*, pp. 165–172; J. Marczewski, *Hitlerowska koncepcja polityki kolonizacyjno-wysiedleńczej i jej realizacja w "Okręgu Warty"*, Poznań 1979, *passim*; *Ludność niemiecka na ziemiach polskich...*, *passim*; D. Matelski, *Niemcy w Polsce w XX wieku*, Warszawa–Poznań 1999, pp. 185–216; *Wysiedlenia, wypędzenia i uciezki 1939–1959. Atlas ziem Polski. Polacy, Żydzi, Niemcy, Ukraińcy*, Warszawa 2008, pp. 159–161.

In order to strengthen the German element in the incorporated Polish lands, German occupation authorities started the action of expulsion of certain groups of Polish population and all of the Jewish population.¹⁷² The organized expulsions were preceded by so-called wild expulsions, not included in the central government plans and arranged by local German authorities. People expelled were those whose property was of interest to German population, e.g. landowners, owners of flats located in town centres, industrialists, merchants and tradesmen. On pain of strict penalties they had to leave their current place of living at a precisely set date, taking only little luggage, mostly food and clothes. In those so-called wild expulsions approximately 35,000 Poles (mostly from Pomerania) were removed.¹⁷³

The formal basis for the organized expulsions was Hitler's decree from 7 October 1939 on strengthening of German nationhood. A confidential memorial by E. Wetzell and G. Hecht from 25 November 1939 pointed out that in order to create "German population that is homogenous racially and therefore also spiritually and psychically as well as nationally and politically," the following groups should be expelled: all the Poles who moved into the new Reich territory after 1 October 1939, Polish intelligentsia, political and social activists, neutral Poles who cannot be Germanized, Jews and the offspring of mixed Polish-Jewish marriages. According to the calculations of the memorial authors, 5,893,000 Poles and Jews should be expelled from the incorporated lands to the so-called remains area, i.e. the General Government. The exiled people would be replaced by Germans brought from the Reich and 120,000–150,000 Germans from abroad.¹⁷⁴

Not counting the wild expulsions, in the years 1939–1944 the German authorities expelled ca. 630,000 Poles from the Reich District Wartheland; 124,000 Poles from Pomerania and 81,000 Poles from Silesia. The above figures make it clear that the expulsions were most widespread in Greater Poland, where Arthur Greiser, following the plan of "Germanization of the land," decided to remove from the Reich District Wartheland all the people considered ethnic or national (racial) aliens. In Upper Silesia expulsions were on the smallest scale. As the occupation authorities were concerned about preserving and developing the industrial potential of this territory, which was supposed to be the new Ruhr Area, it supported their decision to limit the expulsions of Polish population to the necessary minimum in order to keep workers, particularly the highly qualified ones. Also historical concepts regarding the Germanness of Upper Silesia and German origin of its inhabitants significantly contributed to the small scale of expulsions in this area.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² See more about the concept of displacements: W. Jastrzębski, *Hitlerowskie wysiedlenia...*, pp. 12–29; Cz. Łuczak, *Polityka III Rzeszy...*, t. I, pp. 306–323.

¹⁷³ W. Jastrzębski, *Hitlerowskie wysiedlenia...*, *passim*; *Wysiedlenia, wypędzenia...*, p. 64.

¹⁷⁴ *Program narodowościowy Rassenpolitischen-Amtu...*, pp. 149, 154, 159, 165; W. Jastrzębski, *Hitlerowskie wysiedlenia...*, pp. 26–28; Cz. Łuczak, *Polityka III Rzeszy...*, t. I, pp. 291–292.

¹⁷⁵ *Położenie ludności w Rejencji Katowickiej w latach 1939–1945. Wybór źródeł i opracowanie* Wacław Długoborski, Janina Molendowa, Irena Srokowa, Andrzej Szefer, pod red. W. Długoborskiego, *Documenta Occupationis*, t. XI, Poznań 1983 s. 138–229; W. Jastrzębski, *Hitlerowskie wysiedlenia...*

In the context of expulsions, also the forced deportations of Poles to the Reich as workforce should be mentioned. Although this element of nationality policy was mostly economically motivated, it did contribute to the changes in the nationality structure of the incorporated lands.¹⁷⁶ Approximately 670,000 Poles from the lands annexed to the Third Reich were deported to Germany to be used as forced labour.¹⁷⁷

Statistical growth of the German population in the incorporated territories was to be ensured by German People's List (Deutsche Volksliste, DVL). Already on 28 October 1939, Gauleiter and the governor of the Reich District Wartheland Arthur Greiser established the Central Office of German People's List, headed by Dr. K. Albert Coulon, the leader of the Party Nationality Office in the Reich District Wartheland. This office was responsible for the action of selecting from among the inhabitants of the Reich District Wartheland the German population, which was divided into five groups:

- A – active Germans;
- B – passive Germans;
- C – people of German origin who hopefully could become “fully-featured” citizens;
- D – Polonized people of German origin who in the past did not actively oppose Germans and the German state;
- E – Polonized people of German origin who in the past showed hostile attitude towards the German state.¹⁷⁸

According to Greiser's plans, persons classified as group A or B were to become German citizens while people from group C were to receive German state affiliation. The selection was very strict as Greiser required that the candidates for the DVL should have at least 50% of German blood.

The Gauleiter and high president of Upper Silesia Josef Wagner followed a different policy regarding offering German state affiliation. The mentioned economic and historical factors forming the foundation of his nationality policy led to the in-

pp. 133–134 (ogólne wytyczne w sprawie wysiedlania Polaków z Rejencji Katowickiej); Cz. Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy...*, t. I, p. 335; D. Matelski, op. cit., p. 200; M. Rutowska, *Wysiedlenia ludności polskiej z Kraju Warty do Generalnego Gubernatorstwa 1939–1941*, Poznań 2003.

¹⁷⁶ See more: B. Frankiewicz, *Praca przymusowa na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach drugiej wojny światowej*, Poznań 1969; K. Drobisch, D. Eichholz, *Die Zwangsarbeit ausländischer Arbeitskräfte in Deutschland während des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, Moskau 1970; H. Szurgacz, *Przymusowe zatrudnienie Polaków przez hitlerowskiego okupanta w latach 1939–1945. Studium prawnopolityczne*, Wrocław 1971; Cz. Łuczak, *Praca przymusowa Polaków w Trzeciej Rzeszy i na okupowanych przez nią terytoriach innych państw (1939–1945)*, Poznań 2001; *Polscy robotnicy przymusowi w Trzeciej Rzeszy*, pod red. W. Bonusiaka, Rzeszów 2005; Sz. Datner, *Wywóz ludności polskiej na roboty niewolnicze do Niemiec*, BGK BZHW P, t. XVI, Warszawa 1967, pp. 17–64.

¹⁷⁷ D. Matelski, op. cit., p. 199; *Wysiedlenia, wypędzenia...*, p. 65.

¹⁷⁸ K. M. Pospieszalski, *Polska pod niemieckim prawem...*, pp. 48–49; idem, *Niemiecka Lista Narodowa w “Kraju Warty.” Wybór dokumentów*, Documenta Occupationis Teutonicae, t. IV, Poznań 1949; Cz. Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy...*, t. I, s. 442–443; E. Serwański, op. cit., pp. 233–234.

habitants of Upper Silesia being put on German People's List *en masse*. The Polish population of Upper Silesia was recognized as Germans by the occupant's authorities, and this approach was confirmed by the police census (Einwohnererfassung) carried out at the end of 1939 and the beginning of 1940. The inhabitants of Silesia filled a special form, including a fingerprint (thus commonly known as a "finger form") in which they declared their national affiliation. At that time German nationality was declared by 0.69% of the inhabitants of the counties from Kraków and Kielce voivodeships, incorporated into The Reich District of Katowice, and as many as 94.97% of the inhabitants of former Silesian voivodeship.¹⁷⁹

Albert Forster, the Gauleiter and governor of the Reich Province of Gdańsk–West Prussia, undertook actions aiming at mass Germanization of local Polish population through mass conferment of German state affiliation that was similar to Wagner's concept. The censuses carried out by the occupation authorities in Pomerania registered: in December 1939 – 225,745 Germans and 1,267,146 Poles (in the territories that before 1 September 1939 belonged to Poland, with the exclusion of Gdynia); in December 1940 – 238,026 Germans and 1,282,925 Poles as well as 26,824 Germans and 62,100 Poles in Gdynia.¹⁸⁰ The census results disappointed Forster, yet he decided that the majority of the inhabitants of Gdańsk Pomerania, called the "intermediate layer" (Zwischenschicht) are suitable candidates for Germanization.

Due to significant differences that arose during the action of recognizing Polish citizens as Germans, the central authorities began working on the unification of the criteria for determining national affiliation. On 4 March 1941 the Reich minister of the interior, in agreement with Hitler's deputy and the Reich Commissioner for Strengthening of German Nationhood, issued a regulation on German People's List and affiliation to the German state in the Eastern lands incorporated into the Third Reich (Verordnung über die Deutsche Volksliste und die Deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit in den eingegliederten Ostgebieten), which created legal and organizational basis for Germanization of Polish population. On 13 March 1941 the Reich Minister of the Interior announced an executive order determining the detailed criteria for classifying the population into four DVL categories. "Only former citizens of Poland and Gdańsk" were to be accepted into German People's List:

¹⁷⁹ See more: Z. Izdebski, *Niemiecka Lista Narodowa na Górnym Śląsku*, Katowice–Wrocław 1946; S. Adamski, *Pogląd na rozwój sprawy narodowościowej w województwie śląskim w czasie okupacji niemieckiej*, Katowice 1946; W. Oszelda, „Volkslista” na Śląsku, *Przegląd Zachodni*, 1948, I półroczcie, pp. 502–508; E. Serwański, *Hitlerowska polityka narodowościowa na Górnym Śląsku 1939–1945*, Warszawa 1963, p. 274; Z. Boda-Kręžel, *Niemiecka lista narodowościowa na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1941–1945*, *Zaranie Śląskie*, z. 3: 1969, pp. 379–406; W. Jastrzębski, *Luźność niemiecka i rzekomo niemiecka...*, p. 18.

¹⁸⁰ Cz. Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy...*, t. I, pp. 397–398, 401–402; W. Jastrzębski, J. Sziling, op. cit., pp. 161–166.

- group I – people of German origin who before 1939 actively worked for Germanism, which could be confirmed e.g. by a membership in German political, economic, cultural or sport organizations, sending children to German schools and public use of German language;
- group II – people of German origin who during the interwar period did not show any particular activity in strengthening Germanism, but preserved and nurtured their own Germanness;
- group III – people of German origin who succumbed to Polonization but could hopefully be re-Germanized, who married a person of German nationality or who did not have a defined national affiliation but leaned towards being German;
- group IV – people of German origin who succumbed to Polonization and during the interwar period actively worked for Polishness, or who revealed anti-German attitude.

Directly after the introduction of the DVL German state affiliation was conferred only on the people classified as the two first groups.¹⁸¹

Poor effects of registering the inhabitants of the incorporated lands in the DVL – and therefore unsatisfactory effects of Germanization – resulted in the German authorities liberalizing the inclusion criteria for the DVL and widened the circle of persons who could apply to be registered in the Volksliste. On the basis of the novelization of the regulation from 31 January 1942, the administrative procedure of registration in the DVL was simplified, which offered the Poles a chance of quick, mass registration as group III of the German People's List. Classification of the Polish population almost entirely as group III and IV of the DVL meant that in practice they would not receive full rights given to native-born Germans; however, the Poles registered in the German People's List could participate in German culture. In his decree from 10 February 1942, SS Reichsführer and Reich Commissioner for Strengthening of German Nationhood Heinrich Himmler set the deadline for submitting applications for DVL registration as 31 March 1942. He also threatened that anyone who would not comply without a detailed explanation would be treated as “not belonging to the German nation.” On 16 February 1942 Himmler issued the next order instructing that all people of German origin who had not applied for DVL should be reported to the Gestapo. Then the Gestapo was to offer those people eight days to submit the appropriate application, and if they did not comply then, they should be put under preventative arrest (Schutzhaft) and sent to a concentration camp.¹⁸²

Following Himmler's decrees from February 1942, on 22 February governor Forster issued a proclamation (Aufruf) to the inhabitants of the Reich Province of Gdańsk–West Prussia, in which he appealed: “Especially now, when the German nation is fighting for its existence and freedom, we have to know who in the

¹⁸¹ K. M. Pospieszalski, *Hitlerowskie „prawo” okupacyjne...*, cz. I, pp. 119–139.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 145–147.

former borderlands can be considered a German, and who a Pole. Many people who for the last twenty years did not appear in public as Germans can now prove their Germanness by active cooperation. Anyone who will refuse this opportunity must accept that he will not belong to the German nation and will be subjected to the regulations for Poles. It is obvious that he will be treated like the worst enemies of German nation.¹⁸³

The Poles who delayed the submission of application for DVL registration risked being exposed to various forms of harassment from the occupation authorities, including being fired from work, expulsion from their flat, arrest and deportation to a concentration camp or resettlement camp. As a result of the atmosphere of fear and different coercive methods used by the occupant, after Forster proclamation from February 1942 the Poles applied for DVL registration in droves. It should be stressed that it was not an actual declaration of national affiliation. In most cases being entered into the DVL was a form of defence against repressions and not infrequently the only chance of survival. According to German data from January 1944, the nationality structure of Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich looked as follows:

- the Reich Province of Gdańsk–West Prussia, (without the territory of the Free City of Gdańsk): out of the total number of 2,650,000 inhabitants there were 318,000 Germans (19.1%) – including 50,000 of Reichsdeutsche; 58,000 of resettled Germans; people registered in group I and II of the DVL – 115,000 and 95,000 respectively; as well as 605,000 (36.6%) Poles remaining outside the DVL (Schutzangehörige und Sonstige) and 727,000 (44.3%) Poles registered in group III and IV of the DVL;
- the Reich District Wartheland: out of the total number of 4,400,000 inhabitants there were 860,000 (19.6%) Germans – including 195,000 of Reichsdeutsche; 245,000 of resettled Germans; people registered in group I and II of the DVL – 230,000 and 190,000 respectively; as well as 3,450,000 (78.4%) Poles remaining outside the DVL and 90,000 (2%) Poles registered in group III and IV of the DVL;
- Upper Silesia (Polish lands incorporated into the province of Upper Silesia): out of the total number of 2,450,000 inhabitants there were 480,000 Germans (19.5%) – including 100,000 of Reichsdeutsche; 40,000 of resettled Germans; people registered in group I and II of the DVL – 130,000 and 210,000, respectively; as well as 1,040,000 (42.5%) Poles remaining outside the DVL and 930,000 (38%) Poles registered in group III and IV of the DVL.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ Thorner Freiheit, nr 46 z 24 II 1942 r., p. 1.

¹⁸⁴ M. Broszat, op. cit., p. 125. Comp. *Administracja, ludność, gospodarka, kultura i oświata na polskich ziemiach wcielonych do Trzeciej Rzeszy w świetle niemieckich dokumentów z 1944 r.*, oprac. W. Jastrzębski, Documenta Occupationis, t. XIV, Bydgoszcz–Poznań 1999, *passim*.

The factors described above¹⁸⁵ had a decisive influence on the change in the nationality structure of the Polish lands incorporated into the Third Reich. Differing concepts of nationality policy promoted on the one hand by Forster and Bracht and on the other by Greiser created the conditions for demographic changes that took place in individual administrative units within the annexed Polish territories. As Upper Silesia and the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia adopted the principle of Germanizing local Poles, it limited the scale of expulsions and settlements and resulted in mass registration of Polish people in the German People's List.

A resultant of German nationality policy implemented within Polish lands annexed to the Third Reich was its cultural policy. To realize German plans towards the Polish population, which came down to partial elimination and subsequent denationalization and Germanization of the selected Poles, it was necessary to destroy Polish culture in its entirety. In practice this meant physical elimination of Polish intellectual elite and systematic destruction and plunder of Polish cultural property. Such actions were intended to deprive the Polish inhabitants of the areas incorporated into the Third Reich of their own historical memory and national identity. As for the German population, the cultural policy was above all a convenient means of their indoctrination, ensuring free transfer of appropriate political and ideological content.

¹⁸⁵ The extermination of the Polish population also affected demographic changes in occupied Poland, which was briefly discussed in pp. 92–98 of this chapter.

Chapter III

GERMAN CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS IN GDAŃSK POMERANIA, GREATER POLAND AND UPPER SILESIA BETWEEN THE YEARS 1939–1945

The structure of German cultural life consisted of a conglomeration of numerous offices, institutions, and organizations, which, despite frequent confusion of competence, exercised a uniform cultural policy of the state. The first months of the occupation were characterized by considerable activity of the German authorities in the field of culture. The rapid development of German cultural institutions, acting to the widest possible audience, was to strengthen the process of unification of the annexed Polish lands with the state organ of the Third Reich, while at the same time integrating the German community.

1. Libraries

Throughout the Reich, including the annexed areas of Poland, the process of organizing public libraries was carried out on a large scale. It was supervised by the Reich Ministry for Science and Education and the district authorities of this institution appointed the so-called State Library Facilities (Staatliche Volksbüchereistelle, Staatliche Büchereiberatungsstelle). Their directors coordinated activities aimed at launching libraries. Also through them, books for libraries were purchased, and so they watched over the creation of book collections in order to “fill the reader’s leisure time and cooperate in their formation.”¹ In the Reich District Wartheland the head of the State Library was a library curator (Bibliotheksrat) Willy Salewski, PhD. In the District of Katowice the person responsible for library matters was – the aforementioned – HTO representative for the takeover of the Polish book repository Victor Kauder, who became the head of the State Library Branch in Katowice on April 1, 1940. Unfortunately, it was not possible to determine who performed the function in The Reich District of Gdańsk – Western Prussia. Next

¹ Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu (further cit. AP-Poznań), Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2316, sprawozdanie wydziału III w urzędzie namiestnika z 15 VII 1941 r.

to the districts' presidents, branches of the State Library Facility were established, while their directors were appointed by Minister B. Rust.²

German authorities sought to create as many libraries and library points as possible, both in the cities and in villages.³ The first German public libraries were launched on the basis of the confiscated Polish libraries, which had relatively numerous and "relevant" German writings in their collection. Generally, during the entire occupation, the libraries and the publishing market continuously underwent the process of "purification" from "harmful" books. The decisive criterion in selection of literature was political correctness and a degree of saturation with propaganda content. A book was intended primarily to be the bearer of national-socialist ideas and indicate to an individual their place in society, as well as the applicable norms of conduct. The library book repositories were dominated by ideological propaganda publications; there were few belle-lettres or popular science publications.

A significant collection of German literature was in the possession of the Raczyński Library in Poznań, which the Gestapo closed and sealed on 13 September, 1939. Its commissar-manager (kommissarischer Leiter) became Józef Aleksander Raczyński, PhD from Obrzycko. Originally, the deputy supervisor of the Poznań University, Hans Streit, PhD, planned to locate in the Raczyński Library building at Wilhelmstr. 23 (23 Marcinkowskiego Avenue), the seat of the Volkspolitisches Institut der Universität, which was to take over the collection of the library.⁴ However, on July 23, 1940, Governor Greiser officially spoke in favour of maintaining the Raczyński Library in Poznań as a German institution.⁵ Its ceremonial opening took place on November 15, 1940, and since then it functioned as the Städtische Raczyński-Bibliothek (Raczyński Library), and the reading room was launched on 3 February 1941.⁶ On 17 April 1941, after the appointment of J.A. Raczyński to the army, the director post of the Raczyński Library was taken over by Paul Sattler, PhD from Berlin's Staatsbibliothek.⁷ From 17 December 1940, there also existed a Städtische Volksbücherei (Municipal Public Library) located

² Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach (further cit. AP-Katowice), Naczelne Prezydium w Katowicach 1941–1945, sygn. 144, pismo prezydenta Rejencji Katowickiej do ministra B. Rusta z 29 VI 1940 r.; AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2599, pismo dr. W. Salewskiego do dyrektora rejencyjnego (Regierungsdirektor) dr. Sprengera z 4 I 1940 r.; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 10 z 11 I 1940 r., *Pg. Bracht übergab 500 Büchereien*.

³ The available source material is scarce; that is why the data presented in this book concerning German libraries is fragmentary.

⁴ AP-Poznań, Akta miasta Poznania 1254–1945 (further cit.. AmP 1254–1945), sygn. 16229 i sygn. 16239, *passim*; Winieta. Pismo Biblioteki Raczyńskich z 5 V 2009 r., nr 2 (49), p. 3.

⁵ AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2600, notatka z 23 VII 1940 r.; Cz. Łuczak, *Dzień po dniu w okupowanej Wielkopolsce i na ziemi łódzkiej (Kraj Warty). Kalendarium wydarzeń 1939–1945*, Poznań 1993, p. 83.

⁶ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 319 z 16 XI 1940 r., p. 5; nr 327 z 24 XI 1940 r., p. 6; nr 33 z 2 II 1941 r., p. 8; Cz. Łuczak, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁷ AP-Poznań, AmP 1254–1945, sygn. 16229, *passim*.

in the Martinstr. 35 (35 St. Marcin Street). Its director was W. Salewski. The library was accessible from 3 February 1941. On 25 June 1942 its first branch was opened in the Hermannstadt, Lazarus district in Glogauerstr. 55 (55 Głogowska Street), with a collection of about four thousand volumes. Another branch was opened on November 12, 1943, at Helenenstr. 19 (19 Bolesław Prus Street), in the Jersitz district (Jeżyce), and also held a repository of about four thousand publications. The third branch was founded in early February 1944 at the Krzesiny general school. On 14 November 1942 at the Municipal Public Library, a Music Library was established (Musikbücherei).⁸ Between 1 April 1941 and 31 March 1942, the Städtisch-Volksbücherei in Poznań lent ninety-two thousand publications to its readers, and over 1943, the number of borrowed books amounted to 160 155 volumes.⁹

The pre-war library collection of the Deutscher Schul- und Bildungsverein (German Educational Association) in Łódź was used as a starting point for organizing the Public Library. It was opened on 19 November 1940 in a formerly renovated building at Adolf-Hitler-Strasse 86 (86 Piotrkowska Street). At this address, until the beginning of the war, the Central Pedagogical Library and the Deutscher Schul- und Bildungsverein library were located. The director of the Municipal Public Library in Łódź was Sigismund Banek (also spelled Siegismund Bannek), a teacher and poet. At the end of March 1941 its four branches were established at the following locations: Distelgasse 2 (2 Julianowska Street), Pfeiffergasse 15 (15 B. Prus Street), Krefelderstr. 8 (8 Częstochowska Street) and Rossbachstr. 10.¹⁰ They were open three times a week, for six hours a day, and provided access to books for both adults and youths. By 1943, the number of branches at various points in the city had grown to ten, and in November 1944 there were eight of them. Within the structure of the Municipal Public Library in Łódź, three separate sections were arranged, each with their own study zone. They were: the youth department (April 1941), the scientific department (January 1943) and the music department (January 1943). On March 5, 1943, the music department was transformed into an independent Music Library. There was also an interlibrary rental service at the Public Library. The collection of the library systematically grew and while in October 1941 it consisted of about twenty five thousand publications, by the end of 1944, it counted about forty eight thousand. In October 1943, due to the ever-growing collections, the library was given additional premises in the building

⁸ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 346 z 13 XII 1940 r., p. 5; nr 348 z 15 XII 1940 r., p. 21; nr 349 z 16 XII 1940 r., p. 5; nr 351 z 18 XII 1940 r., p. 5; nr 5 z 5 I 1941 r., p. 5–6; nr 74 z 15 III 1941 r., p. 5; nr 173 z 25 VI 1942 r., p. 3; nr 175 z 27 VI 1942 r., p. 4; nr 230 z 21 VIII 1942 r., p. 4; nr 309 z 8 XI 1942 r., p. 5; nr 316 z 15 XI 1942 r., p. 4; nr 353 z 22 XII 1942 r., p. 4; nr 307 z 6 XI 1943 r., p. 4; nr 314 z 13 XI 1943 r., p. 4; nr 41 z 11 II 1944 r., p. 4.

⁹ Ibid., nr 152 z 3 VI 1943 r., p. 3 i nr 54 z 24 II 1944 r., p. 3.

¹⁰ In the years 1940–1945 Rossbachstr had the name of Legionów street in Ruda Pabianicka. The German authorities incorporated this town into the administrative boundaries of Łódź on 1 April 1940.

at Adolf-Hitler-Strasse 98 (98 Piotrkowska Street), and there a part of the collection was placed.¹¹

As of 1 April 1942, there were 1588 libraries with 137,889 volumes, including 129 municipal libraries (Kreisstadt- und Kleinstadtbüchereien), 229 rural libraries, four hospital libraries and 1224 school libraries. There were 501 libraries (103 public and 398 schools) in the Poznań District and 541 libraries (68 public and 473 schools) in the Inowrocław District, as well as 546 libraries in the District of Łódź, comprising of 193 public and 353 school libraries.¹² In addition, since the end of 1941, in the Reich District Land of the Warta River (Gauwanderbücherei für den Reichsgau Wartheland) there functioned a mobile library. It reached places where the permanent library points were not yet established, and it was an original way of promoting reading, especially among the inhabitants of rural areas.¹³

After the selection of prints in the two largest libraries of the Reich District Danzig, i.e. in the City Library in Bydgoszcz and the Copernicus Municipal Library in Toruń, the collection was made available to the German population. The German City Library (Stadtbücherei) in Bydgoszcz in General-von-Kluge-Platz 24 (24 Old Market Square) was launched on 18 December 1939. According to data from March 1941, the library had about 1160 readers, who hired 22,488 books. The publications on sports, religion and pedagogy were the least popular among readers, whereas most keenly borrowed were novels, biographies, historical books and works in the field of politics, geography, and nature. The first branch of the City Library in Bydgoszcz was opened on 19 May 1941 at Adolf-Hitler-Strasse 81 (81 Gdańska Street) and the next was launched in mid-January 1942 at Schleinitzstr. 23 (23 Chrobrego Street).¹⁴

On the basis of the Toruń Municipal Library in 12 Wysoka Street (Hohegasse 12) a German City Library was established. In the autumn of 1939, the confis-

¹¹ Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi (dalej cyt. AP-Łódź), Akta miasta Łodzi 1794–1945 (furt her cit. AmŁ 1794–1945 sygn. 28510, Litzmannstadt im Zahlenspiegel 1940. Die Stadtbücherei Litzmannstadt; ibid., sygn. 28537a, sprawozdanie Urzędu Statystycznego w Łodzi [b.d.]; ibid., sygn. 31460, sprawozdania miejskiego Urzędu Kultury z: 29 I 1941 r., 28 II 1941 r., 27 III 1941 r., 29 IV 1941 r., 5 IX 1941 r.; AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2597, *passim*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 149 z 31 V 1940 r., p. 5; nr 233 z 23 VIII 1940 r., p. 5; nr 332 z 30 XI 1940 r., p. 5; nr 309 z 7 XI 1941 r., p. 4; nr 91 z 1 IV 1942 r., p. 3; nr 65 z 6 III 1943 r., p. 4; nr 71 z 12 III 1943 r., p. 3; nr 298 z 25 X 1943 r., p. 3; T. Bojanowski, *Łódź pod okupacją niemiecką w latach II wojny światowej (1939–1945)*, Łódź 1992, pp. 117–118.

¹² AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2599, pismo dr. W. Salewskiego do redakcji dzienników Ostdeutscher Beobachter i Litzmannstädter Zeitung oraz do władz okręgowych NSDAP z 8 IV 1942 r.

¹³ Ibid., sygn. 2598, pismo wydziału III w urzędzie namiestnika do Placówki Rzeszy do spraw Bibliotek Publicznych w Berlinie z 14 VIII 1941 r. oraz protokół z posiedzenia referatu bibliotek publicznych w wydziale III urzędu namiestnika w dniu 16 IX 1941 r.

¹⁴ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 287 z 16/17 XII 1939 r., p. 3, 12; nr 116 z 19 V 1941 r., p. 5; nr 117 z 20 V 1941 r., p. 5; nr 8 z 10/11 I 1942 r., p. 6; W. Trzeciakowski, *Obraz kultury niemieckiej w Bydgoszczy lat wojny i okupacji (1939–1945) w świetle dziennika "Deutsche Rundschau," Kronika Bydgoska, t. XXII: 2000, pp. 197–198.*

cated library repository was temporarily administered by a teacher, Walter Kerber,¹⁵ whose primary task was to remove “forbidden and unwelcome literature” (verbotene und nichterwünschte Literatur). The ceremonial opening of the City Library in Toruń was held on 15 February 1940, and its directorship was taken on by Otto Freymuth, PhD.¹⁶ The repository which consisted of about 180,000 volumes of publications included collections from the confiscated Toruń libraries; among others, of the Redemptorist monastery. The plans of the city authorities associated with this establishment assumed that it would be transformed into a scientific library, which would mainly include literature on subjects concerning the former Prussian province. Additionally, on 19 April 1941, in the city centre, in the building at Bäckergasse 35/37 (35/37 Piekary Street), at the so-called Caesar’s arch, a public library (Volksbücherei) was opened. Its collection, originally held about 4000 books mainly of a popular character intended for mass audience. At the turn of 1943 and 1944, the library collection amounted to over 10,000 volumes. After the first year of operation, in June 1942, the library had 1434 readers. On 18 November 1941 by the Volksbücherei, the Music Library (Musikbücherei) was established. At the beginning of 1944 its collection held almost 1400 publications, mainly of music scores.¹⁷

In the summer of 1940, the municipal libraries in Starogard and Tczew were opened, and in November that year further libraries were commenced; among others in Chojnice, Czersk, Gniew, Kartuzy, Kościerzyna, Pelplin, Puck and Wejherowo.¹⁸

In Upper Silesia, the central public library with its extensive scientific collection was the Oberschlesische Landesbibliothek (Upper Silesian National Library) in Katowice, near Emmastr. 12 (12 Francuska Street) to which a significant part of the Parliament Library collection was included. Its solemn opening took place on 13 December 1939, and until the introduction of a new administrative division of the Province of Silesia in 1941 it functioned under the name of Schlesische Landesbibliothek (Silesian National Library). Karl Rother, until then head of the Landesbibliothek Beuthen (National Library in Bytom) became its director, whereas the position of his deputy was filled by Victor Kauder. Such a resolution led to objections of the Reich Minister for Science and Education, as well as of the Minister for Internal Affairs of the Reich. They believed that “Kauder’s subordination to Rother

¹⁵ Życiorys W. Kerbera: Thorner Freiheit, nr 63 z 14 III 1940 r., p. 4.

¹⁶ T. Zakrzewski, *Życie i działalność kulturalna Ottona Freymutha w okupowanym Toruniu (1940–1944)*, Zapiski Historyczne, t. LXIV: 1999, z. 2, pp. 93–118.

¹⁷ Archiwum Państwowe w Toruniu (dalej cyt. AP-Toruń), Akta miasta Torunia 1939–1945 (dalej cyt. AmT 1939–1945), sygn. 735, *passim*; *ibid.*, sygn. 779, *passim*; Thorner Freiheit, nr 75 z 29/30 III 1941 r., p. 3; nr 89 z 16 IV 1941 r., p. 3; nr 93 z 21 IV 1941 r., p. 3; nr 147 z 25 VI 1941 r., p. 4; nr 237 z 8 X 1941 r., p. 3; nr 272 z 18 XI 1941 r., p. 3; nr 32 z 7/8 II 1942 r., p. 3; M. Niedzielska, *Organizacja niemieckiego życia kulturalnego w latach 1939–1945*, [in:] *Historia Torunia. Tom III, część II: W czasach Polski Odrodzonej i okupacji niemieckiej (1920–1945)*, pod red. M. Biskupa, Toruń 2006, pp. 671–674.

¹⁸ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 259 z 2/3 XI 1940 r., p. 10.

was unacceptable” because, in their view, Kauder had the higher qualification for the post of director of the Oberschlesische Landesbibliothek. Moreover, the central authorities had envisaged him as head of the State Library in Katowice. The protest brought the desired effect and in December 1939 Kauder became director of the Oberschlesische Landesbibliothek.¹⁹

Originally it was intended that the Oberschlesische Landesbibliothek would be enlarged by the Landesbibliothek Beuthen collection, which counted about 90,000 volumes. However, the headmaster of the Teacher Training College in Bytom was opposed to this. He pointed out that the loss of the library facility would deprive his institution of the necessary scientific background. In addition, the relocation of the book collection would generate significant costs, which were estimated between 80,000–90,000 German marks, (including transport costs and the creation of a warehouse for the Bytom collection). Eventually the plans were abandoned, and the facilities were merged with the personal union and under the directorship of V. Kauder. They functioned as the Oberschlesische Landesbibliothek Kattowitz-Beuthen (The Upper Silesian National Library, Katowice-Bytom).²⁰ According to data from the beginning of September 1943, the collection of Oberschlesische Landesbibliothek was about 183,000 books (90,000 in Bytom, 92,000 in Katowice), and in the following year it further grew by 2138 volumes. In September 1943, the number of readers added up to 8437, while in 1941 it was 6337. Statistics at the beginning of September 1944 showed an increase in the number of readers, which rose to 9978, with an especially important recognition of the inflow of readers from the provinces. For instance, in 1943 this involved 1458 people, and in the following year 2650. In the season of 1942/1943, the amount of borrowed books equalled 16,205 publications, and in the following year their number reached 21,234. The Oberschlesische Landesbibliothek ran an interlibrary loan, i.e. for a small fee, the publications which were not available in the readers’ towns would be borrowed elsewhere and sent to them. During the 1942/1943 season, at readers’ request, 920 publications were borrowed from 78 libraries, whereas from the local book collection, 634 books were made available to a further twenty-two local libraries. In the next season, 1934 orders were submitted to the interlibrary loan, of which 1110 were made available, which involved seventy-one libraries. The Oberschlesische Landesbibliothek lent 1439 books from their collection, which went to 31 libraries.²¹

¹⁹ Bundesarchiv Berlin (dalej cyt. BA-Berlin), R 153/1359; AP-Katowice, Naczelne Prezydium w Katowicach 1941–1945, sygn. 144: notatka z 9 XII 1939 r., pismo ministra B. Rusta do nadprezydenta Prowincji Śląskiej z 19 XII 1939 r. oraz pismo prezydenta Rejencji Katowickiej do nadprezydenta Prowincji Śląskiej z 21 XII 1939 r.; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 336 z 12 XII 1939 r., *Landesbücherei jetzt in Kattowitz* i nr 338 z 14 XII 1939 r., *Ostschlesien muss weiter Mittler bleiben*.

²⁰ AP-Katowice, Naczelne Prezydium w Katowicach 1941–1945, sygn. 144: pismo wiceprezydenta Prowincji Śląskiej do nadprezydenta Prowincji Śląskiej z 8 XII 1939 r. oraz pismo ministra B. Rusta do wiceprezydenta Prowincji Śląskiej z 13 I 1940 r.

²¹ Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 241 z 1 IX 1943 r., *200 000 Bücher und tausend Fragen. Aus der Arbeit der Oberschlesischen Landesbibliothek* i nr 239 z 2 IX 1944 r., *Das Buch – der Freund stiller Stunden*.

In the capital city of the The Reich District of Katowice the Stadtbücherei Kattowitz (City Library in Katowice) was launched on the basis of a Bücherei für Kunst und Wissenschaft, a pre-war central library of the Vereindeutscher Volksbüchereien in Polen.²² On 1 April 1940, a library of about 26,000 volumes became property of the city. The director of Stadtbücherei Kattowitz was the above-mentioned V. Kauder, and its headquarters were in the Holteistr. 17 (17 Wojewódzka Street). In time, three branches of the City Library were established at the following addresses: Kattowitz-West (Katowice-West) at Moltkestr. 49 (49 S. Wojciechowskiego Street) – autumn of 1940; in the district of Bogutschütz (Bogucice) at Kalidestr. 4 (4 Katowicka Street) – 16 June 1941, with a book collection of 1050 volumes; in the district of Idaweiche (Ligota) at Sternstr. 10 (10 Hetmańska Street) – 27 May 1943, with a collection of about 2500 volumes.²³ On 27 April 1941, the first Music Library (Musikbücherei)²⁴ in Upper Silesia was opened in Bytom.

At the end of April 1941, the Staatliche Volksbüchereistelle in Katowice organized a party called “Erste Büchereitag” (First Book Day), which provided the opportunity to summarize the work towards the establishment of library facilities in the The Reich District of Katowice. At the meeting in the Oberschlesische Landesbibliothek, with the participation, among others, of ministerial councillor Heinrich Dähnhardt,²⁵ and the director of the Berlin City Library (Stadtbibliothek Berlin), Wilhelm Schuster,²⁶ PhD. At the meeting, the head of the State Library in Katowice V. Kauder, informed about the number of libraries in the Reich District Katowice, referring to 167 public libraries (Volksbücherei), 200 school libraries (Schülerbücherei) and 440 work place libraries (Werkbücherei), highlighting the significant contribution of the German People’s Libraries Association in Poland²⁷ in establishing German libraries in Poland before 1939. The plans for further development of the library network were to create libraries in all municipalities of more than 400 inhabitants.²⁸

According to the data of 1 April 1942, presented by Fritz Heiligenstaedt at the librarians’ conference in Poznań between 5–6 November 1943, the Reich Office for Public Libraries, which he led, established the following library units: 381

²² See Chapter I, p. 77 of this book.

²³ Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 161 z 14 VI 1941 r., *Eine Nebenstelle der Stadtbücherei*; nr 162 z 15 VI 1941 r., *Auch in Bogutschütz hat das Buch eine Stätte*; nr 144 z 26 V 1943 r., *Zweigstelle Idaweiche der Stadtbücherei eröffnet*; nr 255 z 15 IX 1943 r., *Wiedereröffnung demnächst. Aus der Geschichte der Stadtbücherei Kattowitz*; nr 261 z 21 IX 1943 r., *Quell der Freude und des Wissenp. Stadtbücherei Kattowitz wieder eröffnet – 23 000 Bücher warten auf die Leser*.

²⁴ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 113 z 26 IV 1941 r., *Schlesiens erste Musikbücherei* i nr 115 z 28 IV 1941 r., *Musik und Buch als Kräfte im Kampf*.

²⁵ E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich. Wer war was vor und nach 1945*, Frankfurt am Main 2009, p. 92.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 502.

²⁷ See Chapter I, p. 77 of this book.

²⁸ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 114 z 27 IV 1941 r., *800 neue Büchereien in Ostoberschlesien*.

public libraries in the Reich District Wartheland River, 336 in the Reich District of Gdańsk–Western Prussia and 270 in the Reich District of Katowice. At the same time he drew attention to the fact that the process of creating further libraries had become fastest in the Reich District Wartheland, where from April 1942 their number had risen to 642 (178 urban libraries, 464 rural).²⁹

However, the process of launching new libraries encountered serious difficulties, mainly due to problems with the premises and shortage of staff. The facilities of the majority of libraries were not satisfactory. Many of them were placed in substitute spaces, often narrow and non-functional. In rural areas, libraries were usually located in school buildings. Another major difficulty was the lack of specialist library staff.

In addition to fulfilling the basic task of making the library accessible to the public, they also – especially in the provinces – functioned as cultural centres, where readings, literary evenings and literature exhibitions took place. Moreover, the libraries participated in the preparation of events promoting German literature, most importantly the so-called German Book Week (*Woche des deutschen Buches*), celebrated throughout the Reich every autumn, starting in 1934.³⁰

2. Museums

Within the structure of the German cultural institutions a significant role was played by museums and their basic functions concerning the collection, research development, and protection of historical objects, as well as the provision of cultural goods, and the promotion of knowledge about them, by organizing exhibitions.

On the incorporated lands the museums were supervised by the State Museum Curators (*Staatlicher Museumspfleger*) appointed by the Reich Minister for Science and Education. On 26 March, 1941, Carl Ernst Köhne became the curator of the Reich District Land Museum of the Warta River (*Museumspfleger Reichsgauhe Wartheland*). His responsibilities included technical and organizational matters related to the establishment and extension of local museums. In turn, the museum's lecturer in the Department III of the viceroy office, Siegfried Rühle, PhD, was in charge of the museum's facilities and, among others, selected and bought exhibits. At the beginning of October 1943, Köhne ceased to act as museum curator. Accordingly, at the request of the viceroy of the Reich District Land of the Warta, the Minister B. Rust, by order of 28 January 1944, appointed Rühle, PhD to take over the office.³¹ In the Reich District of Gdańsk–Western Prussia, Professor Willi Drost

²⁹ *Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, nr 308 z 7 XI 1943 r., p. 4.

³⁰ See Chapter 4, p. 215 of this book.

³¹ AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2608: pismo ministra B. Rusta do dr. Köhne z 26 III 1941 r., umowa między kuratorem muzealnym w Okręgu Rzeszy Kraj Warty a dr. P. Rühle z 28 VIII 1942 r. oraz pisma: namiestnika Okręgu Rzeszy Kraj Warty do ministra B. Rusta z 30 XII 1943 r. i ministra B. Rusta do dr. P. Rühle z 28 I 1944 r.

was the State Museum curator. The office of the state curator for regional museums in Lower Silesia and the Reich District of Katowice (Staatlicher Pfleger der Heimatmuseen für Niederschlesien und den Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz) was held by Barthel, PhD. At the end of April 1941, the state museum curator in Upper Silesia (Staatlicher Museumspfleger Oberschlesiens) became Georg Raschke, PhD.³² Their activities were further supported by the Museum Association for the Province of Upper Silesia in Katowice (Museumsverband für die Provinz Oberschlesien zu Kattowitz), established 18 August 1928 in Racibórz. According to the Statute of 1941, it set itself the following objectives: raising funds for museums, coordinating museum co-operation, initiating and supporting the national-political and cultural-political activities of museums, and supporting research, as well as scientific and technical guidance. On 26 June 1942, the Museum Association was dissolved due to the “new organization of cultural affairs in Upper Silesia.” At the same time, the competence of the Association was taken over by the Oberschlesischer Heimatbund, which was a manifestation of the centralization of activities related to the implementation of cultural policy.³³

As in the case of the libraries, the launching of museums was preceded by the action of segregating Polish collections of museums, with a division into those which were to be destroyed due to their “Polish character,” and those which allegedly proved the Germanic character of the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich and could be exhibited.

An important museum facility in the Reich District of Gdańsk – West Prussia was the City Museum (Städtisches Museum) in Toruń. At the beginning of November 1939, Mayor Franz Jakob drew up a programme of urban cultural incitement, which was recognized as the main tool for creating a strong Germanic centre in Toruń. The City Museum was to play a substantial role in the project by focusing its activities on local history and thus fostering community-building between the local German population and the new settlers. The post of the director was taken by Adolf Schwammberger, PhD, who came from Fürth, and who at the same time became the head of the municipal culture office (Kulturamt). The headquarters of the museum were located in the town hall, which was renovated. Some of the pre-war Polish collections were moved to the building at 7, Old Market Square. The reorganization of the collection was completed in February 1940. As a director, Schwammberger considered enhancing the collection relating to the history of Toruń and its region as his primary goal. In 1941, a gallery collection of urban paintings was made available to visitors. By March 1943, there were about 130 paintings, mainly of nineteenth-century German painters. They were, among others: Lovisa Korinth (1858–1925), Adolf Menzel (1815–1905), Moritz von Schwind (1804–1871), Max Slevogt (1868–1932), Hans Thomas (1839–1924),

³² AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4294, zarządzenie RMfWEuV z 24 IV 1941 r.

³³ Ibid., sygn. 4290, 4291, 4601.

Friedrich Wasmann (1805–1886), as well as contemporary painters. In April 1942, the scope of the museum's activities was extended by a landscape section. After a large exhibition of engravings by Daniel Chodowiecki,³⁴ which was displayed in Toruń's town hall from October 17, 1942, the museum purchased numerous works by the artist, and in the late autumn of 1942 was in a possession of about 1000 drawings and engravings of his authorship, and a collection of Chodowiecki's letters to countess Christiane von Solms-Laubach from the years between 1780–1795.³⁵ Finally, Schwammerger sought to expand the collection of Copernicus memorabilia.³⁶

On 1 December 1940, the Municipal Museum in Grudziądz was opened and its first exhibition carried the title: *Das wehrhafte Weichselland (The Defensive Country of the Vistula River)*. Hans Bernhard Meyer, PhD, a philosopher, an art historian and a folklorist, became its director. In his speech at the opening of the Museum, he described the role of his institution as follows: "the Museum in Grudziądz was opened as a modern facility of political training in the fields of art, the history of wars and armaments, as well as of ethnic German folklore."³⁷

The German Municipal Museum in Bydgoszcz governed by Konrad Kothe, Ph D, functioned in the quite peculiar conditions of not having a permanent building facility. The location at the Old Market Square, which from 1923 until the war outbreak was the seat of the Polish museum, was destroyed, and the second museum building at Chodkiewicza Street had been occupied by the authorities for another purpose. Consequently, the exhibitions were mainly organized in the assembly halls of local schools. The confiscated Polish collections were gathered in the pre-war Catholic House near the parish church and in the former "Pawnshop" at Post Office Street (Löwenstr.). The selected objects were divided into the following collections: prehistoric (Vorgeschichtliche Abteilung) – about 3000 archaeological artefacts; historic (Abteilung Geschichte) – about 400 objects, including,

³⁴ Daniel Chodowiecki (1726–1801), a graphic designer and painter from Gdańsk, operating mainly in Berlin.

³⁵ Prior to the war the Municipal Museum had about 127 works by Chodakowski donated by Walery Amrogowicz for the Society of Science in Toruń. See: H. Makowiecka, *Dział grafiki*, Rocznik Muzeum w Toruniu, t. 1: 1962, z. 2, pp. 52–53.

³⁶ AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 735 i 837, *passim*; Thorner Freiheit, nr 32 z 7/8 II 1942 r., p. 3; nr 149 z 27/28 VI 1942 r., p. 3; nr 157 z 7 VII 1942 r., p. 4; nr 208 z 4 IX 1942 r., p. 3; nr 240 z 12 X 1942 r., p. 3; nr 244 z 16 X 1942 r., p. 3; nr 247 z 20 X 1942 r., p. 3; nr 248 z 21 X 1942 r., p. 3; nr 67 z 20/21 III 1943 r., p. 3; M. Niedzielska, op. cit., pp. 667–671; P. Birecki, *Sztuka w Toruniu w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej 1939–1945*, Toruń 2011, pp. 77–85, 87–90.

³⁷ AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 744, przewodnik po wystawie *Das wehrhafte Weichselland*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 285 z 3 XII 1940 r., p. 10; Thorner Freiheit, nr 285 z 3 XII 1940 r., p. 5; H. B. Meyer, *Graudenz und sein Stadtmuseum*, Westpreussen Jahrbuch, Band 19, Münster 1969, p. 123–127; R. Boguwolski, *Das Museum zu Graudenz und ein Beispiel seiner Tätigkeit – ein Streifzug durch die 115-jährige Geschichte des Museums*, Beiträge zur Geschichte Westpreussens, Nr. 16, Münster 1999, pp. 9–38; A. Wajler, *Muzeum Miejskie w latach 1940–1945*, [in:] *120 lat muzeum w Grudziądzu*, pod red. A. Wajler, Grudziądz 2004, pp. 23–24; J. Sziling, *Germanizacja*, [in:] *Historia Grudziądza 1920–1945*, pod red. R. Sudzińskiego, t. II, Grudziądz 2012, p. 247.

among others, weapon collections; the history of the city of Bydgoszcz (Bromberger Stadtgeschichte) with, among other, sets of coins and medals, guild statutes, guild boxes; A gallery of paintings (Gemäldegalerie) – about 3000 works, by artists such as Juliusz Kossak, Walter Leistikow, Maksymilian Piotrowski, Kurt Paesler-Luschkowko, and Leon Wyczółkowski. (In 1943, selected paintings of these artists could be viewed at an exhibition organized in the building at Herder-Allee (Osolskiskis Avenue); in the case of paintings by the Polish artists, their nationality was not mentioned.³⁸

In the Reich District Wartheland, the Nazi-confiscated Museum of Greater Poland, at 9 Wolności Square (Wilhelmsplatz 9), was ranked the central museum facility of the region (Landes-Museum des Reichsgaues Wartheland). The German authorities of the occupied territory restored the nineteenth-century name of the institution, i.e. the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum (Museum of the Emperor Frederick). At the same time they proceeded to conduct a rapid and complete reorganization of the museum, and especially its collection, where, in their opinion the 'Polish-chauvinist point of view was emphatically put forward', whereas the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum was supposed to "testify to the Germanic image of the country and its people."³⁹ The official ceremonial opening of the museum took place on 21 January 1940. From the end of October 1939, Siegfried Rühle, PhD, the aforementioned director, was in charge. According to data from January 1940, the museum was divided into five sections, namely: the Prehistory of the Reich District Wartheland River, natural sciences, folklore, arts and crafts.⁴⁰ In addition, by the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum there functioned a reading room with a library of regional subjects including the prehistory of the Reich District of Wartheland, the regional studies, folklore studies, and publications devoted to arts and crafts.⁴¹ In

³⁸ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 216 z 13/14 IX 1941 r., p. 5–6; nr 28 z 3 II 1943 r., p. 4; nr 37 z 13/14 II 1943 r., p. 5; nr 38 z 15 II 1943 r., p. 6; nr 43 z 20/21 II 1943 r., p. 4; nr 67 z 20/21 III 1943 r., p. 5; W. Trzeciakowski, op. cit., pp. 201–202; Z. Biegański, *Walka z kulturą polską*, [in:] *Historia Bydgoszczy. Tom II. Część druga 1939–1945*, pod red. M. Biskupa, Bydgoszcz 2004, p. 413. About Kurt Paesler of Luschkowko comp. H. Rasmus, *Der Maler und Graphiker von Luschkowko*, Westpreussen Jahrbuch, Band 24, Münster 1974, pp. 143–149. See also: K. H. Fenske, *Walter Leistikow – ein bedeutender Landschaftsmaler*, Jahrbuch Wechsel-Warthe, Jahrgang 11, 1965, pp. 61–64; H. Appel, *Walter Leistikow 1865–1908. Eine unbekannt gebliebene Eifelahrt*, Westpreussen Jahrbuch, Band 15, Münster 1965, pp. 49–53.

³⁹ AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2316, sprawozdanie z działalności wydziału III w urzędzie namiestnika z 6 I 1940 r. In March 1940 the head of the Poznań museum asked the inhabitants of the Reich District Land of the Warta to give to Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum items that would be 'the evidence of the German nature of the District.' See: Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 84 z 24 III 1940 r., p. 6.

⁴⁰ AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2316, sprawozdanie z działalności wydziału III w urzędzie namiestnika z 6 I 1940 r.; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 20 z 20 I 1940 r., p. 6; nr 21 z 21 I 1940 r., p. 5; nr 22 z 22 I 1940 r., p. 3; Cz. Łuczak, op. cit., p. 53.

⁴¹ AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2608, prospekt informacyjny o działalności Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum z lipca 1940 r.; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 320 z 17 XI 1940 r., p. 5.

the first year of operation the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum was visited by over 50,000 people, while during the period between 1 April 1943 and 31 March 1944 over 90,000 visitors entered its doors.⁴² From the autumn of 1943, the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum was supported by the Vereinigung der Freunde des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums (Friends of the Emperor Frederick's Museum Society). The society dealt with acquiring funds for the purchase of new exhibits, arranging exhibitions, and other.⁴³

According to Köhne, PhD, curator of the Museum of the Reich District Land of the Warta, the Polish museum collections in Łódź⁴⁴ until 1939, were not of much value. In March 1940, the Municipal Museums' Management Board was established in Łódź. It functioned at Deutschlandplatz 14 (14 Wolności Square), and was run by a German archaeologist, Walther Frenzel, PhD.⁴⁵ In January 1941, Frenzel became director of the officially established Municipal Museum in Łódź. After Frenzel's death in March of that year, the director's post was assumed by the archaeologist Walter Grünberg, PhD, who arrived from Poznań. He was in charge until his call-up into the Army in 1943. He died on the Eastern front 25 July 1943.⁴⁶ The problems concerning facility buildings delayed the opening of the three branches of the Łódź museum, i.e. the Natural History Museum (Naturkundliches Museum), the Ethnographic Museum (Museum für Völkerkunde), and the Science and Art Museum (Museum für Wissenschaft und Kunst). The Natural History Museum led by E. Köppen from Riga was opened on 18 June 1941 in its pre-war headquarters in Heinrichsbusch Park (until 1939: Henryk Sienkiewicz Park). In the autumn of that year, the museum opened a research station in Barycz over the river Grabia. The work conducted there concentrated, among other things, on completing the museum collections. On the basis of the archaeological exhibits from the pre-war Ethnographic Museum, on 26 September, 1942, the Prehistoric Museum (Vorgeschichtliches Museum) was created. The institution was led by W. Grünberg, who was based in the building at Deutschlandplatz 14 (14 Wolności Square). Also there, The Museum of Science and Art was located. It was based on the collection of the pre-war Bartoszewicz Family City Museum. The museum did not hold a permanent exhibition, but its collections of German art were displayed at various exhibitions in the city. The first of them, entitled *Deutsche Kunst im Osten* (*German art in the East*) could be viewed between 22 December 1940 and 10

⁴² AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty-Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2317, sprawozdanie dyrektora Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum z 2 IX 1941 r.; *ibid.*, sygn. 2608, pismo dyrektora Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum do dyrektora rejencyjnego Sprengera z 1 VIII 1944 r.; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 98 z 8 IV 1944 r., p. 3.

⁴³ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 271 z 1 X 1943 r., p. 3 i nr 276 z 6 X 1943 r., p. 4.

⁴⁴ AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty-Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2316, referat dr. Köhne przedstawiony podczas konferencji wydziału III w urzędzie namiestnika w dniu 28 V 1941 r.

⁴⁵ E. Klee, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

⁴⁶ T. Bojanowski, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

February 1941 in the building at Deutschlandplatz 1 (1 Wolności Square). Every day, about two hundred people visited the venue.⁴⁷

The city authorities in Łódź often changed their decisions concerning the museums' buildings, resulting in frequent relocations. The exhibits were usually packed in a hurry, without required protection, which often led to their damage or even destruction. By the end of May 1941, the collections had been moved eight times.⁴⁸ Between 1940–1944, the Reich Ministry of Science and Education allocated 37,000 German marks towards the establishment of a chain of regional museums (Heimatmuseum)⁴⁹ in the Reich District Land of the Warta River. According to museum curator Köhne, PhD, the basis for starting the regional museums in the Reich District Land of the Warta was insufficient. The chief problems included a lack of suitable exhibits, which were to be “the testimony of German culture from before 1939.” As of 15 February 1943, the regional museums in the Reich District Land of the Warta existed in Łódź, Pabianice (Stadtmuseum; director – Marquardt, a teacher) and Sieradz (Kreisheimatmuseum; director – Weinert, a teacher). On 4 September 1943, the regional museum in Śmigiel was ceremonially opened. Such sites were also planned in: Ciechocinek, Chodzież, Czarnków, Gniezno, Grodzisk, Inowrocław, Jarocin, Kalisz, Kępno, Kole, Kościan, Krotoszyn, Kutno, Leszno, Mogilno, Ostrów Wielkopolski, Rawicz, Szamotuły, Szubin, Turek, Wągrowiec, Wieluń, as well as in Włocławek, and Wolsztyn.⁵⁰

In the Reich District of Katowice, the Landesmuseum Beuthen (National Museum in Bytom) – existing since 1910, became the leading museum facility (führende Museum der gesamten Provinz) of the area. The institution was headed by Franz Pfüzenreiter, and it was located at Moltkeplatz 2 (2 Jan III Sobieski Square). After the creation of the Upper Silesian Province, at the turn of May and June 1941, by the order of High President Fritz Bracht, the name of the museum was changed to the Oberschlesisches Landesmuseum Beuthen (Upper Silesian National Museum in Bytom). The museum collections⁵¹ were divided into the following departments: archeology (Vorgeschichte), ethnography (Volkskunde), natu-

⁴⁷ AP-Łódź, AmŁ 1794–1945, sygn. 28537a, sprawozdanie z konferencji prasowej [b.d.] oraz sprawozdanie Urzędu Kultury z 9 X 1940 r.; *ibid.*, sygn. 31460, sprawozdania Urzędu Kultury z: 2 I 1941 r., 29 I 1941 r., 5 IX 1941 r., 28 II 1941 r.; AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2608, sprawozdanie dr. Köhne za okres 26 III 1941 r.–15 II 1943 r.; *Litzmannstädter Zeitung*, nr 350 z 18 XII 1940 r., p. 6; nr 354 z 22 XII 1940 r., p. 13; nr 6 z 6 I 1941 r., pp. 5, 7; nr 37 z 6 II 1941 r., p. 8; nr 168 z 19 VI 1941 r., p. 5; nr 171 z 22 VI 1941 r., p. 6; nr 180 z 1 VII 1941 r., p. 5; nr 297 z 26 X 1941 r., p. 5; nr 269 z 27 IX 1942 r., p. 5; *Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, nr 266 z 26 IX 1942 r., p. 3 i nr 267 z 27 IX 1942 r., p. 5; T. Bojanowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 114–115; A. Rukowiecki, *Łódź 1939–1945. Kronika okupacji*, Łódź 2012, p. 86.

⁴⁸ AP-Łódź, AmŁ 1794–1945, sygn. 31460, sprawozdanie Urzędu Kultury z 29 V 1941 r.

⁴⁹ AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2610.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, sygn. 2608, sprawozdanie dr. Köhne za okres 26 III 1941 r.–15 II 1943 r.; *Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, nr 245 z 5 IX 1943 r., p. 5.

⁵¹ The numerous collections of the liquidated Silesian Museum in Katowice (Dienststelle Katowitz) were incorporated into the resources of the Bytom museum.

ral history (Naturwissenschaft), and arts (Kunst und Kunstgewerbe). In 1941, the custodian of the art department, Ernst Königer, initiated the creation of a gallery of German paintings, which was to collect works created during the past two centuries. That collection contained about a hundred and twenty exhibits including, among others, works by Eugen Burkert, Friedrich von Amerling, Gustav Klimt, Ludwig Peter Kowalski, Wilhelm Kuhnert, and Adolf von Menzel. On 26 February 1942, the Bytom museum acquired the paintings, furniture, sculptures, and weapons, which constituted the furnishings of the castle in Grodziec near Skoczów.⁵² As a result of an inspection conducted in 1940, the state curator for regional museums in Lower Silesia and the The Reich District of Katowice, Barthel, PhD, stated that “there are only two important regional museums,” i.e. in Bielsko and Cieszyn,⁵³ while “other regional museums in the Reich District Katowice are without merit,” so they should be liquidated. The necessity for the development of museums in Bielsko-Biała and Cieszyn was justified by the fact that they were “very important both for the development of regional research as well as for national-educational work, and in particular for the strengthening of love for homeland.”⁵⁴ The head of the museum in Cieszyn, with its seat in the so-called Larisch Palace (Palais Larisch) became V. Karger. The Bielsko museum was managed by Wentzel. Until 1942, the museum was located – as before the war – in the so-called Old Town Hall building at Ring 9 (9 Market Square). Then the museum in Bielsko was connected with the museum in Biała in the so-called Heimatmuseum situated in Biała, in a renovated former guild house at Albrecht-Dürer-Platz 7 (7 Wolności Square 7).⁵⁵

The museums’ exhibition activity revolved around regional history. The majority of exhibitions presented the alleged German cultural heritage of the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich. In this way, attempts were made to reaffirm the “eternal” rights of the German people to the occupied territories and

⁵² AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4288, propozycja zreorganizowania spraw muzealnych opracowana przez Pfützenreitera z 8 XII 1941 r.; *ibid.*, sygn. 3934, 3935, 4284, 4359, 4360, 4528. See also: J. Matuszczak, *Niemieckie Muzeum Krajowe w Bytomiu 1909–1945*, Muzea na Górnym Śląsku w XIX i XX wieku. Rocznik Muzeum Górnos Śląskiego w Bytomiu. Historia, z. 1, Bytom 1963, p. 134; *Muzeum Górnos Śląskie w latach 1927–1977*, Rocznik Muzeum Górnos Śląskiego w Bytomiu. Historia, z. 3, Bytom 1978, *passim*; *Muzeum Górnos Śląskie w Bytomiu. 100 lat dziejów*, pod red. M. Dobkowskiego, J. Drabiny, Bytom 2011, pp. 41–44.

⁵³ The Bielsko museum was opened for the public on 25 Feb 1906 in the building of the old town hall at 9, Rynek street. The Cieszyn museum was set up in 1802. After WWI the municipal museum collections were combined with the collections of the Polish Society of Folklore, the seat of the museum being the so called Larisch Palace (Larisch-Palais), a big burghers’ house at 6, Demla street.

⁵⁴ AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4288, pismo państwowego kuratora muzeów regionalnych dla Dolnego Śląska i Rejencji Katowickiej do G. Kate z 3 VIII 1940 r.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, sygn.: 4287, 4292, 4601; *Oberschlesische Zeitung*, nr 268 z 1 X 1942 r., *Bielitzer Heimatmuseum im neuen Haus* i nr 311 z 13 XI 1942 r., *Bielitzer Heimatmuseum neu eröffnet*; K. Estreicher, *Straty kultury polskiej pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945 wraz z oryginalnymi dokumentami grabieży*, Kraków 2003, pp. 52, 68.

to strengthen the sense of national community and attachment to the area. Among the numerous exhibitions were the following:

- a) in the Reich District Land of the Warta River
 - an exhibition entitled *Das deutsche Wartheland (German Country of the Warta Region)* opened on 14 April 1940 in Poznań. It consisted of five parts: German art; German crafts; country and people; German literature; and Where are our re-emigrants coming from?
 - an exhibition entitled *Die schöne Stadt (Beautiful City)* opened in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum 5 August 1940;
 - an exhibition entitled *Der Osten des Warthelandes (East of the Warta)* opened 9 March 1941 in Łódź and was active until 31 March 1941;
 - an exhibition entitled *Planung und Aufbau im Osten (Planning and reconstruction in the East)* opened 23 October 1941 in Poznań;
 - an exhibition entitled *Das Dorf im Wartheland (the Villages of the Warta)* opened on 24 June 1942 in Łódź;
 - an exhibition entitled *Kampf und Aufbau im Wartheland (Fighting and Rebuilding in the Warta Region)* opened 30 January 1943 in Poznań and was active until 21 March 1943; viewed by 20,685 visitors.⁵⁶
- b) in the Reich District of Gdańsk – West Prussia:
 - an exhibition entitled *Thorn – eine Stadt deutschen Geistes (Toruń – City of the German Spirit)*, opened on 8 December 1940 in Toruń City Hall. The exhibition presented silhouettes of eminent German inhabitants of the city; among others, Mikołaj Kopernik [sic], Henryk Stroband, Johann Gottfried Rösner, Samuel Thomas Soemmering, and Bogumil Goltz. The exhibition was open until 30 January 1941. In May 1941, the exhibition was presented at the museum in Gdańsk-Oliwa;
 - an exhibition entitled *Deutsche Kunst im Braheland (German art in the region of the River Brda)* was opened on 19 July 1941 in Bydgoszcz, in a casino building, where about two hundred exhibits, mostly watercolours, oil paintings, prints and photographs by German Bydgoszcz artists were presented. Among them were: Hugo Becker, Heidi Dietz, Karl Heinz Fenske, Fritz Koch, Willy Kramer, Karl Schulz, Liselotte Strauss, Otto Schäfer, Edith Wüst. Over a two-week timespan the exhibition was viewed by 4103 people. Once again this type of exhibition, entitled *Bromberger Kunstausstellung (Bydgoszcz art exhibition)* was opened on August 29, 1942 in the hall of trade school complex (Handelslehranstalten) at Weltzienplatz 9 (9 Wolności Square). It was open until Septem-

⁵⁶ BA-Berlin, R 153/1379; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 47 z 16 II 1941 r., p. 4; nr 66 z 7 III 1941 r., p. 5; nr 69 z 10 III 1941 r., p. 3; nr 75 z 16 III 1941 r., p. 6; nr 79 z 20 III 1941 r., p. 6; nr 175 z 25 VI 1942 r., p. 4; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 101 z 11 IV 1940 r., p. 7–8; nr 103 z 13 IV 1940 r., p. 5; nr 104 z 14 IV 1940 r., p. 3; nr 105 z 15 IV 1940 r., p. 3; nr 215 z 4 VIII 1940 r., p. 7–8; nr 217 z 6 VIII 1940 r., p. 5; nr 222 z 11 VIII 1940 r., p. 7; nr 16 z 16 I 1943 r., p. 4; nr 30 z 30 I 1943 r., p. 3; nr 37 z 6 II 1943 r., p. 4; nr 44 z 13 II 1943 r., p. 4; nr 58 z 27 II 1943 r., p. 4; nr 69 z 10 III 1943 r., p. 4; nr 87 z 28 III 1943 r., p. 5; Cz. Łuczak, op. cit., p. 121, 160, 199, 234; A. Rukowiecki, op. cit., p. 121.

ber 20, 1942, and viewed by 8950 people. In 1943 the Bydgoszcz art exhibition was open to visitors from 27 November to 16 January 1944, also in the Hall of Handelslehranstalten;

- an exhibition entitled *Thorner Kunsthandwerk (Toruń artistic crafts)*, active from August to the end of November 1941 in Toruń City Hall. Among the exhibits presented were: guild boxes, inlaid clocks, dishes (including mugs and cups), and gingerbread molds.⁵⁷
- c) in the Reich District of Katowice:
 - from 1 December 1940 to 5 January 1941, an exhibition entitled *Schlesisches Kunsthandwerk der Gegenwart (Silesian contemporary art craft)* at the National Museum in Bytom;
 - between 2 and 30 November 1941 in Bytom, on the occasion of the birthday of painter Ludwig Peter Kowalski, an exhibition of his works was made available to the public;
 - from 18 April to 9 May 1942 in the National Museum in Bytom an exposition entitled: *Oberschlesische Künstler im Kriegseinsatz (Upper Silesian artists in war effort)*.⁵⁸

The authorities also enjoyed military and war themes depicting the successes of German soldiers, and the power of the German army. The greatest number of such exhibitions was to be seen in the capital of the Reich District Wartheland River, and included: *Krieg gegen England (War against England)* opened on April 5, 1941; an exhibition entitled *Deutsche Wehr im Wartheland (German weaponry in the Reich District Wartheland River)* opened on 7 December 1941. It was presented until 1 April 1942 and it was considered extremely important due to its “special significance” – that it should be viewed by as many school youths from the age of twelve as possible; an exhibition entitled *Das Bild des Krieges (Picture of the War)* presented from 6 December to 27 December 1942 (viewed by more than 11,000 people); an exhibition entitled *Unser Heer (Our army)* presented from 22 October to 30 November 1943; an exhibition entitled *Wehr im Wartheland (Weapons in the Reich District Land of the River Warta)* opened on 6 February 1944.⁵⁹ The museums not only dealt with exhibition activities, but were also supposed to be research cen-

⁵⁷ AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 735, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 169 z 21 VII 1941 r., p. 5; nr 170 z 22 VII 1941 r., p. 5; nr 173 z 25 VII 1941 r., p. 5; nr 175 z 28 VII 1941 r., p. 5; nr 182 z 5 VIII 1941 r., p. 5; nr 189 z 12 VIII 1942 r., p. 5; nr 205 z 31 VIII 1942 r., p. 3; nr 206 z 1 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 208 z 3 IX 1942 r., p. 6; nr 215 z 11 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 224 z 22 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 270 z 15 XI 1943 r., p. 5; nr 281 z 27/28 XI 1943 r., p. 5; nr 282 z 29 XI 1943 r., p. 5; nr 296 z 15 XII 1943 r., p. 4; nr 1 z 3 I 1944 r., p. 3; nr 8 z 11 I 1944 r., p. 4; Thorner Freiheit, nr 292 z 11 XII 1940 r., p. 3 i nr 122 z 26 V 1941 r., p. 3; M. Niedzińska, op. cit., p. 669; P. Birecki, op. cit., pp. 93–94.

⁵⁸ See fn. 52.

⁵⁹ AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2608, pismo kierownika wydziału III w urzędzie namiestnika do prezydenta rejencji poznańskiej z 18 XII 1941 r.; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 332 z 30 XI 1941 r., p. 5; nr 339 z 7 XII 1941 r., p. 5; nr 340 z 8 XII 1941 r., p. 5; nr 337 z 6 XII 1942 r., p. 3, 5; nr 358 z 29 XII 1942 r., p. 4; Cz. Łuczak, op. cit., pp. 126, 272, 283.

tres of local history. However, the focus of these studies was predetermined, i.e. to prove the ideological and historical thesis of the Germanic origin of the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich. A special place in the research was provided for archaeology. In the Reich District Land of the Warta, excavation works were conducted on a fairly large scale. On July 5, 1941, Governor Greiser issued an order for the protection of archaeological monuments, considered to be "the most important testimony of the ancient Germanic past of the Warta Region."⁶⁰ Excavations were organized, among other locations, in: Słopanów, Szamotuły county (fifty German graves), Konin (about a hundred and fifty German graves), Lutomiersk, Łask county (Viking graves), Biskupin, Żnin county (Lusatian culture town), Wichrowice.⁶¹ The excavated objects were added to the collections of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum and would be displayed at exhibitions.

Supervision over archaeological excavations and the place of their subsequent exposition was the subject of a dispute between the director of the Municipal Museum in Toruń, A. Schwammerger, and the district authorities. The original accord assumed that objects from future excavations in Toruń and Chelmino Land would be forwarded to the relevant institutions in Gdańsk, and then, by way of loan, kept in Toruń. Also, that the most valuable finds would be exhibited there, whereas, in turn, items from excavations from before 1939, and stored in the Toruń Municipal Museum, were to be leased to the museum in Gdańsk. Ultimately, however, Schwammerger decided that such a solution would undermine the prestige of the Toruń museum, which he intended to make a leading museum establishment in the Reich District of Gdańsk–West Prussia. Thus, Schwammerger advocated the retention of all archaeological collections in Toruń, accepting only the possibility of their short-term loan. Additionally, in order to maintain far-reaching independence in the area of archaeological supervision, as well as the collections, in March 1940, he protested against the creation of a district office of the Landesamt für Vorgeschichte (National Office for Prehistory) (Urząd Krajowy do spraw Prehistorii) in Toruń, which institution would take charge over archaeological excavations. However, the opposition did not produce much effect.⁶²

3. Theatres

"Theatre for the masses" a slogan popular in the Third Reich, was first realized by creating new theatres. Heinz Kindermann,⁶³ a highly esteemed theatre expert of the Third Reich, recognized the wartime expansion of the German theatre:

⁶⁰ AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2608; Cz. Łuczak, op. cit., p. 142.

⁶¹ AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2317, *passim*.

⁶² AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 735, sprawozdanie dyrektora Schwammergera [z kwietnia 1941 r.]; *ibid.*, sygn. 779, pismo nadburmistrza Torunia do prof. W. Drosta z 12 III 1940 r.; *ibid.*, sygn. 837, *passim*.

⁶³ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 277.

“Where German culture has entered, including the former German cultural areas, new German theatres are built next to factories and schools. From the Hague to Cracow, and further to the Ukraine, then again, from Oslo to as far as Athens – a German actor, director, or a scenographer follows. In all these outposts, both civilian and military, a German on stage addresses Germans, as well as friends, among other peoples. German culture, German art, German speech.”⁶⁴

3.1. Theatre network

In the Autumn of 1939, the authorities of the occupied territories closed down all Polish theatres and handed them over to a board of German trustees. Then, after the completion of assembling the German artistic groups, the theatres were gradually opened. On the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich, the supervision of theatrical life was exercised by an official of the Reich Theatre Chamber (Izba Teatralna Rzeszy) Landesleiter Reichstheaterkammer. In the Reich District of Wartheland this was Hans Tügel, appointed in April 1941; Bruno Wächter was the director in the Katowice Reich District, and in the Reich District of Gdańsk–West Prussia, Karl Kliever (between February 1941 and April 1944) and Kurt Prenzloff (from April 1944).⁶⁵

Financial support for the activities of the city theatres as urban cultural institutions came primarily from the city budget, and the income generated by the theatres and their activities, mainly from the sale of admission tickets and state subsidies. The current work of theatres was directly related to the authorizing officers (Intendants), i.e. the directors. The scope of their responsibilities included, in particular: representation of the theatre outside, planning and organization of the work of the theatre, effective management of the property and funds of the theatre and determining the direction of artistic activity (setting the repertoire and selection of its performers, supervision of the artistic level of performances).⁶⁶

Until the launch of permanent German theatres, the stages of the confiscated Polish theatres held guest performances of German theatre groups. The first permanent German theatre scene within the Polish territories annexed by the Third Reich was launched in Bydgoszcz. On September 30, 1939, at the request of Gauleiter Forster, the Bydgoszcz theatre was visited by Generalintendant Staatstheater Danzig (the director of the State Theatre in Gdańsk), Hermann Merz⁶⁷ and architect Otto Frick. The subject matter here was the equipment and technical condition of

⁶⁴ Cited after: B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy. W systemie hitlerowskiej propagandy*, Gdańsk 2011, pp. 39–40.

⁶⁵ BA-Berlin, R 55/1008, *passim*; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 194 z 19 VII 1942 r., *Intendant Waechter Landesleiter der Reichstheaterkammer* i nr 272 z 2 X 1943 r., *25 Jahre Theaterleiter*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 100 z 10 IV 1941 r., p. 8; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 99 z 9 IV 1941 r., p. 5.

⁶⁶ AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 818, instrukcja służbowa dla teatru miejskiego w Toruniu.

⁶⁷ E. Klee, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

the Bydgoszcz theatre.⁶⁸ Before the permanent German theatre scene was set up in Bydgoszcz, on 5 November 1939, the Deutsche Bühne Theatre was established. The inaugural play – a comedy by Paul Schurk – *Strassenmusik (Street Music)* was held under the auspices of Kraft durch Freude in the “Elysium” auditorium. In the local daily *Deutsche Rundschau*, the ads highlighted Deutsche Bühne’s merits for the German language and reported that it was a special show dedicated to “our liberators.” After Kreisleiter’s performance, Werner Kampe met the actors for dinner at the Danziger Hof hotel (Under the Eagle Hotel). Also, there was a radio interview conducted with the theatre director W. Damaschk and well-known artists.⁶⁹ The resumption of operations by Deutsche Bühne Bydgoszcz was noted in a report prepared on 10 November 1939 by the SD Operational Command in Bydgoszcz for the city high-mayor.⁷⁰ At the end of November 1939, the company of the former German theatre in Riga came to Bydgoszcz. Their director, Heinrich Voigt, from Berlin, became the head of the German theatre in Bydgoszcz, and remained in office until the end of the occupation.⁷¹ The position of the chief director (Oberspielleiter) was taken up by Heinz Schade from Vienna, the chief dramatist (Chefdramaturg) by Kurt Dyckerhoff, the first scenographer (I. Bühnenbildner) became Johannes Heinrich Brehm, and Hans Mayer⁷² took over the position of the theatre music director (Kapellmeister). The theatre group from Riga first appeared on stage of the Bydgoszcz theatre on December 14, 1939, displaying the historical tragedy of Heinrich von Kleist’s *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg (Prince Frederick from Homburg)*.⁷³ At the same time, due to the emergence of professional theatre, at the turn of 1939 and 1940, Deutsche Bühne Bydgoszcz ceased to exist.⁷⁴ At the beginning of the 1940/1941 season, after a six-month renovation, on 6 October 1940, the main stage (Grosses Haus) was opened at the Theaterplatz

⁶⁸ *Deutsche Rundschau*, nr 221 z 1 X 1939 r., p. 3.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, nr 251 z 4/5 XI 1939 r., p. 4 i nr 252 z 6 XI 1939 r., p. 3; W. Trzeciakowski, op. cit., pp. 203–204.

⁷⁰ T. Esman, W. Jastrzębski, *Pierwsze miesiące okupacji hitlerowskiej w Bydgoszczy w świetle źródeł niemieckich*, Bydgoszcz 1967, p. 87.

⁷¹ In November 1943 H. Voigt celebrated the 25th anniversary of his artistic work and the performance *Das letzte Abenteuer (The last adventure)* by Alexander Marai was dedicated to him; he played the main role in it (of the prime minister 1 Nov 1943); *Deutsche Rundschau*, nr 255 z 28 X 1943 r., p. 5; nr 257 z 30/31 X 1943 r., p. 6; nr 263 z 6/7 XI 1943 r., p. 6.

⁷² BA-Berlin, R 55/20334; *Der Danziger Vorposten*, nr 304 z 4 XI 1940 r., p. 6; *Deutsche Rundschau*, nr 226 z 25 IX 1940 r., p. 5 i nr 161 z 11 VII 1941 r., p. 5; *Thorner Freiheit*, nr 59 z 27 XI 1939 r., p. 4 i nr 3 z 5 I 1942 r., p. 3. Comp. H. Helfer-Ozminski, *Das Stadttheater Bromberg von 1939 bis 1945 r.*, [in:] *Aus Brombergs Vergangenheit. Ein Heimatbuch für den Stadt- und Landkreis*, hrsg. von G. Meinhardt, Wilhelmshaven 1973, pp. 380–382.

⁷³ *Der Danziger Vorposten*, nr 304 z 15 XII 1939 r., p. 5 i nr 306 z 17 XII 1939 r., p. 22; *Deutsche Rundschau*, nr 280 z 8 XII 1939 r., p. 3; nr 284 z 13 XII 1939 r., p. 3; nr 286 z 15 XII 1939 r., p. 3; nr 287 z 16/17 XII 1939 r., p. 8; W. Stankowski, *Życie codzienne ludności niemieckiej*, [in:] *Historia Bydgoszczy...*, pp. 455–456

⁷⁴ W. Kotowski, *Teatry Deutsche Bühne w Wielkopolsce i na Pomorzu 1919–1939*, Warszawa–Poznań 1985, pp. 160–161.

(Theatre Square), with almost 730 seats. In addition to this, at the beginning of the 1942/1943 season, the theatre in Bydgoszcz had a smaller stage (Kleines Haus) for 450 seats. It was located at the crossing of Felix-Dahn-Strasse (Mickiewicz Avenue) and Adolf-Hitler-Strasse (Gdańska Street) and presented a repertoire for entertainment. Together with the city orchestra, both scenes formed a coherent organizational unit called Städtische Bühnen Bromberg (Urban Stages of Bydgoszcz).⁷⁵

Another permanent German theatre facility in the Reich District of Gdańsk-West Prussia opened in March 1942 in Toruń. Its launch was preceded by the reconstruction and renovation of the theatre building. The decision was made during a visit to the city on 30 November 1939 by the Minister of National Enlightenment and the Propaganda of the Reich Joseph Goebbels. At that time, he visited the theatre building to check the necessity for reconstruction, which related to the trend popular in the Third Reich of connecting the opera and operetta scenes in line with the drama theatre. On 7 February 1940, the city council decided to rebuild the theatre. The Supervision over the construction works was done by Prof. Paul Baumgarten⁷⁶ from Berlin. After the reconstruction, the theatre auditorium had 630 seats.⁷⁷ The City Theatre in Toruń was officially inaugurated on 28 March 1942 with a play by Friedrich Bethge,⁷⁸ *Annke von Skoepen*. As soon as the following day the theatre staged an operetta by Johann Strauss, *Der Zigeunerbaron* (*The Gypsy Baron*), and on 1 April, a comedy show of Josef Mathias Weiss, *Die rote Kommission* (*The Red Committee*),⁷⁹ was presented. Hans Fiala from Gubin (Lower Lusatia, Brandenburg) was, for several months the first authorising officer of the theatre in Toruń. The position of chief dramatist and the second director of dramatic productions (II Spielleiter des Schauspiels) was filled with Wolfgang Blech. In addition to W. Blech, the ensemble of theatre directors included: Otto Ernst Tickardt – princi-

⁷⁵ BA-Berlin, R 55/20334; Der Danziger Vorposten, nr 214 z 4 VIII 1942 r., p. 4; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 235 z 5/6 X 1940 r., p. 13–14; nr 236 z 7 X 1940 r., p. 7; nr 38 z 14/15 II 1942 r., p. 6; nr 180 z 1/2 VIII 1942 r., p. 5; nr 196 z 20 VIII 1942 r., p. 4; nr 215 z 11 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 216 z 12 IX 1942 r., p. 5–6; nr 217 z 14 IX 1942 r., p. 5; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 213 z 4 VIII 1942 r., p. 3 i nr 255 z 15 IX 1942 r., p. 3; Thorner Freiheit, nr 234 z 4 X 1940 r., p. 3 i nr 236 z 7 X 1940 r., p. 3; B. Drewniak, op. cit., p. 41; idem, *Organizacja niemieckiego życia teatralnego na obszarach Polski wcielonych do Rzeszy w latach II wojny światowej*, Przegląd Zachodni, nr 4: 1978, pp. 56–57; W. Stankowski, op. cit., p. 457.

⁷⁶ He was referred to as *Grossdeutschlands Theaterbaumeister*; E. Klee, op. cit., p. 33.

⁷⁷ AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 766, wycinek prasowy: Danziger Neueste Nachrichten-Danzig z 11 II 1941 r.; Thorner Freiheit, nr 62 z 30 XI 1939 r., p. 3; nr 63 z 1 XII 1939 r., p. 3 i nr 33 z 8/9 II 1941 r., p. 3; B. Mansfeld, K. Wajda, *Teatr w Toruniu*, Warszawa-Poznań-Toruń 1978, pp. 43–45.

⁷⁸ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 46.

⁷⁹ Der Danziger Vorposten, nr 54 z 24 II 1942 r., p. 4; nr 64 z 6 III 1942 r., p. 4; nr 88 z 30 III 1942 r., p. 2; Thorner Freiheit, nr 37 z 13 II 1942 r., p. 4; nr 59 z 11 III 1942 r., p. 3; nr 60 z 12 III 1942 r., p. 3; nr 71 z 25 III 1942 r., p. 3; nr 72 z 26 III 1942 r., p. 3; nr 73 z 27 III 1942 r., p. 3; nr 74 z 28/29 III 1942 r., p. 3, 8; nr 75 z 30 III 1942 r., p. 3; nr 76 z 31 III 1942 r., p. 3; nr 77 z 1 IV 1942 r., p. 3; nr 78 z 2 IV 1942 r., p. 3; nr 79 z 3 IV 1942 r., p. 3; B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, p. 41; idem, *Organizacja niemieckiego życia teatralnego...*, pp. 57–58.

pal director of drama productions (Oberspielleiter des Schauspiels); Fritz Keilholtz – chief operetta director (Oberspielleiter der Operette); Edmund Marschall – director of operetta performances (Spielleiter der Operette) and Ernst Heisterkamp – director (Spielleiter). The first set designer was Wolf Hochheim. The head of the city orchestra was Otto Erich Staeger⁸⁰ – the music director for the city (Städtischer Musikdirektor). Other members of the music ensemble were: Otto Färber – II conductor and director of the theatre choir (II Kapellmeister und Chordirektor), Lucian Galon as Ballettrepetitor,⁸¹ Hans Kuhlmann, PhD – first conductor of opera and operetta (I. Kapellmeister für Oper und Operette), and Ernst Thomas – the so-called Solorepetitor.⁸² The technical and organizational side of the performances was attended by four stage managers and a few theatre prompters. On 1 July 1942, the authorising officer H. Fiala, who moved to the Plauen Theater in Saxony, was replaced by Theodor Anton Modes, who had previously held managerial positions in the theatres in St. Gallen (Switzerland), Cheb and Brno (Czechoslovakia). After a year of work, as a result of a conflict⁸³ with the Mayor of the city Franz Jakob, Modes resigned from his job in Toruń on 1 July, 1943, and left for Freiberg in Saxony. He was replaced by Horst Platen,⁸⁴ formerly a director of the Riga Theatre.⁸⁵ At the beginning of October 1943, the theatre received a second, smaller stage, the so-called Burggarten, which was used in the interwar period by Deutsche Bühne Toruń, and from 17 April 1940 there was a variétés theatre. In the summer of 1943, Burggarten was rebuilt and had three hundred seventy five seats. It was intended as an intimate venue with a light and entertaining repertoire, while the main theatre was designated to exhibit opera, operettas and dramatic works with a large cast.⁸⁶

The third German theatre in the Reich district of Gdańsk–Western Prussia was opened on 9 September 1943 in Grudziądz, and its first stage performance was the play of Friedrich Schiller *Kabale und Liebe* (*Intrigue and Love*). The theatre headquarters were located in the so-called House of the German National Community (Haus der Deutschen Volksgemeinschaft) with a capacity of seven hundred seats (renovation and modernization works had been conducted there since autumn

⁸⁰ On 1 July 1942 the municipal musical director became Max Kojetinsky.

⁸¹ He prepared ballet dancers to performances on the stage.

⁸² The musician preparing artist for performances on the stage.

⁸³ According to Modes, the over-mayor Jakob wanted to increase his influence on the work of the theatre at the expense of its prerogatives, e.g. participating in working meetings of the theatrical team; he interfered in artistic matters such as the selection of the repertoire, the casting and employing artists. The over-mayor accused Modes of bad budget administration, ineffective sale of tickets, and the lack of appropriate income of the theatre. See: AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 818, *passim*.

⁸⁴ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 416.

⁸⁵ AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 819; Der Danziger Vorposten, nr 188 z 9 VII 1942 r., p. 3; nr 198 z 19 VII 1942 r., p. 4; nr 232 z 22 VIII 1942 r., p. 3; Thorner Freiheit, nr 240 z 11/12 X 1941 r., p. 3; nr 242 z 14 X 1941 r., p. 3; nr 250 z 23 X 1941 r., p. 3; nr 254 z 28 X 1941 r., p. 3; nr 151 z 30 VI 1942 r., p. 4; nr 163 z 14 VII 1942 r., p. 4; nr 97/Ostern 1943, p. 3; nr 152 z 1 VII 1943 r., p. 3.

⁸⁶ Thorner Freiheit, nr 168 z 20 VII 1943 r., p. 3.

1940). Karl Kliewer, the then principal director of the State Theatre in Gdańsk, was the director of this facility.⁸⁷

In Greater Poland, where theatre traditions were considerable, from the autumn of 1939, theatrical performances for the Germans were given by artistic groups from Berlin, Frankfurt on the Oder, Munich, and Wrocław.⁸⁸ The first permanent German theatre in the Reich District Land of the Warta was launched in Łódź. It was organized at the end of 1939 as Theater der Stadt Lodsch (Theatre of the City of Łódź), in the building of the former Polish theatre at Moltkestr. 27 (27 Cegielniana Street) with an auditorium of about seven hundred seats. The rehearsals were also organised in the theatre rooms at Moltkestr. 15 (15 Cegielniana Street), which were in poor technical condition. Thanks to state subsidies and the theatre's own funds, until the summer of 1943 the municipal authorities conducted renovation works and extended of the facility. The theatre staff under the direction of authorising officer Hans Hesse⁸⁹ counted thirty-five people. They arrived in Łódź at the end of November 1939 from Tallinn, as the German theatre there was liquidated. The principal director was Karl Glänzer, scenographer Wilhelm Terboven, chief dramatist Hanns Merck, theatre orchestra director Arno Knapp, and costume designer Ellen Carstens.⁹⁰ The theatre of Łódź was inaugurated on 13 April 1940⁹¹ with the stage performance of the Gotthold Ephraim Lessing *Minn von Barnhelm*. On 24 January 1942, in the so-called Singer's House (Sängerhaus) the second stage (Kammerspiele) was opened. The Sängerhaus was situated at General-Litzmann-Strasse 21 (21 11th November Street), and initially had 417 and then 536 seats. The shows presented there were mostly comedy and entertainment. The first performance was a comedy by Heinz Coubier's,⁹² *Millionenbluff* (*Million Deception*). The full name of the Łódź theatre was Städtische Bühnen-Litzmannstadt (City Stage – Łódź).⁹³

⁸⁷ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 258 z 1 XII 1940 r., p. 6; Der Danziger Vorposten, nr 230 z 22 VIII 1943 r., p. 3 i nr 250 z 11 IX 1943 r., p. 3; Thorner Freiheit, nr 124 z 29 V 1942 r., p. 2; B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, p. 41; idem, *Organizacja niemieckiego życia teatralnego...*, pp. 58–59.

⁸⁸ Ostdeutscher Beobachter m.in.: nr 5 z 5 XI 1939 r., p. 5; nr 7 z 7 XI 1939 r., p. 4; nr 33 z 3 XII 1939 r., p. 5; nr 18 z 18 I 1940 r., p. 5; nr 19 z 19 I 1940 r., p. 5; nr 21 z 21 I 1940 r., p. 4; nr 35 z 4 II 1940 r., p. 5; nr 40 z 9 II 1940 r., p. 4; nr 61 z 1 III 1940 r., p. 10; nr 62 z 2 III 1940 r., p. 5; nr 66 z 6 III 1940 r., p. 5; nr 67 z 7 III 1940 r., p. 5; nr 74 z 14 III 1940 r., p. 5.

⁸⁹ Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 277 z 6 X 1940 r., p. 5; E. Klee, op. cit., p. 217

⁹⁰ BA-Berlin, R 55/20389; Lodzer Zeitung, nr 333 z 7 XII 1939 r., p. 3 i nr 345 z 19 XII 1939 r., p. 3; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 36 z 6 XII 1939 r., p. 7; nr 52 z 22 XII 1939 r., p. 7; nr 17 z 17 I 1940 r., p. 4; nr 294 z 22 X 1940 r., p. 8.

⁹¹ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 57, *passim*; Lodscher Zeitung (od 12 IV 1940 r. jako Litzmannstädter Zeitung), nr 7 z 7 I 1940 r., p. 7; nr 11 z 11 I 1940 r., p. 8; nr 13 z 13 I 1940 r., p. 4; nr 14 z 14 I 1940 r., p. 4; nr 311 z 9 XI 1940 r., p. 6; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 15 z 15 I 1940 r., p. 3 i nr 17 z 17 I 1940 r., p. 4; B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, p. 43; idem, *Organizacja niemieckiego życia teatralnego...*, p. 62; A. Rukowiecki, op. cit., p. 46

⁹² E. Klee, op. cit., p. 90.

⁹³ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 56 i 57, *passim*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 11 z 11 I 1942 r., p. 5; nr 14 z 14 I 1942 r., p. 5; nr 18 z 18 I 1942 r., p. 5, 10; nr 23 z 23 I 1942 r., p. 3; nr 26

The start of the Poznań theatre stages was preceded by their thorough reconstruction (between May 1940 – February 1941) which was supervised by architects Paul Baumgarten and Hermann Bartels.⁹⁴ However, the works leading up to their opening were commenced in the spring of 1940 when Karl Peter Heyser, of Austrian⁹⁵ origin, previously head of theatre in Baden-Baden, was appointed an authorising officer in Poznań. On February 10, 1941, the sale of theatre subscriptions for the 1941/1942 season began. It entitled the holders to discount tickets and enabled the viewing of several performances at a favourable price.⁹⁶ The Ceremonial opening of the so-called Big House (Grosse Haus, 904 seats) in the building of the former Grand Theater in Poznań (An der Paulikirche 9, 9 Fredry Street) was held on March 18, 1941 and inaugurated with the play of H. von Kleist *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg*, directed by R. Weichert. On the following day in the building of the former Polish Theatre (Berlinerstr. 18, 18 Grudnia Street), the so-called small theatre scene (Kleines Haus, 407 seats) opened with Mozart's opera *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (*The Abduction from the Saraglio*). On the occasion of Poznań theatre's opening, Minister Goebbels arrived in the capital city of the Reich District Land of the Warta and delivered a speech on the German cultural mission in the eastern territories of the Reich. Also, he solemnly raised the status of the Poznań theatre scenes to Reichsgautheater (Reich District Theatre).⁹⁷ There was no other German theatre within the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich to have received such a promotion. The Reichsgautheater was the property of the city, although attempts were made to include the facility in the budget of the ministry of propaganda.⁹⁸ Responsible for the dramatic repertoire were: director Georg Karl Pohl from the Hamburg Opera and Wolfram Krupka as second dramaturge. The plays were directed by Hans Tügel (formerly at the theatre of Königsberg), Heinrich Heilinger (formerly at the German theatre in Prague) and Richard Weimar (formerly of the Kassel theatre). The artistic and architectural setting of theatrical performances belonged to two scenographers, namely Paul Haferung (former at the German Opera in Berlin) and Heinrich Hill (for-

z 26 I 1943 r., p. 4; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 22 z 22 I 1942 r., p. 8; nr 25 z 25 I 1942 r., p. 4; nr 28 z 28 I 1942 r., p. 4.

⁹⁴ BA-Berlin, R 55/20424, R 55/20424 a, R 55/20425 (łącznie koszt przebudowy i modernizacji poznańskich scen teatralnych wyniósł ponad 2500 typ. marek niemieckich); Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 15 z 15 I 1941 r., p. 5. Informacje na temat architektów zob. E. Klee, op. cit., p. 30, 33.

⁹⁵ BA-Berlin, R 55/20110, *passim* i R 55/20148, *passim*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 77 z 17 III 1940 r., p. 2; nr 84 z 24 III 1940 r., p. 3; nr 243 z 1 IX 1940 r., p. 11; E. Klee, op. cit., p. 222.

⁹⁶ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 40 z 9 II 1941 r., p. 18 i nr 42 z 11 II 1941 r., p. 5.

⁹⁷ AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 744, Wartheland. Zeitschrift für Aufbau und Kultur im deutschen Osten, April 1941. Heft 4; BA-Berlin, R 55/20424, *passim*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 74 z 15 III 1941 r., p. 3; nr 75 z 16 III 1941 r., p. 15; nr 76 z 17 III 1941 r., p. 1; nr 78 z 19 III 1941 r., p. 1, 3–4, 5; nr 79 z 20 III 1941 r., p. 1, 3; B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, p. 42; idem, *Organizacja niemieckiego życia teatralnego...*, p. 59–62; Cz. Łuczak, op. cit., p. 122

⁹⁸ BA-Berlin, R 55/20424; B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, p. 42 (przypis 57); idem, *Organizacja niemieckiego życia teatralnego...*, pp. 61–62.

merly working for the German Theatre in Berlin). City music director Hans Roesert (formerly at the theatre in Halle) took over the position of music manager of the Poznań theatre. Concertmaster (Konzertmeister) was Arthur Tusche from the German radio orchestra in Stuttgart. The duties of the opera orchestra director (Kapellmeyer) were performed by the well-known composer Winfried Zillig (previously in Essen). In 1943, Zillig became artistic director at the Deutsche Veranstaltungsdienst Truppenbetreuung in Berlin, and since then he only conducted guest appearances in Poznań. Fritz Zwerenz (formerly at the Raimundtheater in Vienna) became the first operetta choreographer (1. Operettenkapellmeister). The opera was directed by Alfred Schaefer, PhD (from the opera in Gera, Thuringia). The production of operetta shows was managed by Fritz Heyse-Rathey (from the opera house in Graz) and the directors Otto Kuhlmann from Munich and Ludwig Husnik from Nuremberg. Max Schulte of Cologne was the director of the theatre choir, and Gertrude Steinweg from Dortmund directed the ballet company.⁹⁹ The first ballet show (Ballettabend) was presented to the public in the so-called big house scene on 12 April 1941.¹⁰⁰ In September 1942, with the intention to train professional dancers for the theatre, a three-year dance school (Tanzschule), run by Hanna Hass from Kiel,¹⁰¹ was opened.

In the incorporated into the Reich area of Silesia, the German theatre of Bytom (Oberschlesisches Landestheater Beuthen) was particularly active in the initial period of the occupation. The theatre performed in many Silesian cities, including Chorzów, Gliwice, Katowice and Zabrze. The authorizing officer of the troupe was Heinz Huber.¹⁰² In Katowice, due to the lack of a professional German theatrical ensemble, the Bytom theatre team inaugurated the 1939/1940 season, with Carl Maria von Weber's opera *Der Freischütz* 14 October 1939. Until 28 April 1940 the theatre gave forty-four performances.¹⁰³ Similarly, on 15 October 1939, the Ober-

⁹⁹ BA-Berlin, R 55/20425, informator teatralny na sezon 1941/1942; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 77 z 17 III 1940 r., p. 2; nr 84 z 24 III 1940 r., p. 3; nr 129 z 10 V 1940 r., p. 6; nr 138 z 19 V 1940 r., p. 4; nr 203 z 23 VIII 1940 r., p. 6; nr 243 z 1 IX 1940 r., p. 11; nr 247 z 5 IX 1940 r., p. 7–8; nr 249 z 7 IX 1940 r., p. 6; nr 251 z 9 IX 1940 r., p. 5; nr 255 z 13 IX 1940 r., p. 6; nr 256 z 14 IX 1940 r., p. 6; nr 257 z 15 IX 1940 r., p. 7–8; nr 273 z 1 X 1940 r., p. 6; nr 280 z 8 X 1940 r., p. 5; nr 292 z 20 X 1940 r., p. 6; nr 299 z 27 X 1940 r., p. 9; nr 308 z 5 XI 1940 r., p. 6; nr 359 z 28 XII 1940 r., p. 5; nr 17 z 17 I 1941 r., p. 5; nr 28 z 28 I 1941 r., p. 5; nr 47 z 16 II 1941 r., p. 3; nr 53 z 22 II 1941 r., p. 5; nr 229 z 20 VIII 1943 r., p. 4; nr 238 z 29 VIII 1943 r., p. 3; E. Klee, op. cit., p. 310, 448, 618.

¹⁰⁰ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 102 z 12 IV 1941 r., p. 4, 9; nr 104 z 15 IV 1941 r., p. 5; nr 105 z 16 IV 1941 r., p. 5.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., nr 227 z 18 VIII 1942 r., p. 4; nr 232 z 23 VIII 1942 r., p. 6, 10; nr 234 z 25 VIII 1942 r., p. 4.

¹⁰² E. Klee, op. cit., p. 244. W grudniu 1941 r. Huber świętował 35-lecie pracy teatralnej, zob. Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 340 z 10 XII 1941 r., *Intendant Huber begeht 35 jähriges Bühnen Jubiläum* i nr 348 z 18 XII 1941 r., *Ehrungen für Intendant Huber*.

¹⁰³ In the season 1939–1940, which finished in Katowice on 28 April 1940 Oberschlesische Landestheater performed 44 times in this city; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 260 z 27 IX 1939 r., *Spielzeitbeginn in Kattowitz am 14. Oktober*; nr 279 z 16 X 1939 r., *Die "Freischütz" – Aufführung in Kattowitz*; nr

schlesisches Landestheater Beuthen opened the theatre season in Chorzów¹⁰⁴ with the operetta *Monika* by an Austrian composer Nico Dostal. The theatre of Bytom gave regular performances in Katowice until the beginning of the 1941/1942 season when a new theatre, i.e. Städtische Bühnen Kattowitz-Königshütte (Katowice – Chorzów City Stages), which comprised of two stages: an opera and an operetta in Katowice (Opernhaus Kattowitz) of about seven hundred seats and a dramatic one in Chorzów (Schauspielhaus Königshütte), of about one thousand seats. A conductor/composer, Otto Wartisch,¹⁰⁵ born in Magdeburg, became its authorising officer, as well as the organizer and head of the symphony orchestra, founded in Katowice in 1940. He came to Katowice from Prague, where for a short time he was manager of the German Philharmonic. The main artistic directors of the Städtische Bühnen Kattowitz-Königshütte included: the chief opera director Werner Wahle, PhD, (formerly at the theatres in Graz and Gerze), the main operetta director Karl Hans Jaeger¹⁰⁶ (previously in the theatres in Zittau and Altenburg), the director of the dramatic stage (Schauspieldirektor) Arnold Putz (formerly in the theatres in Brno and Bremen), ballet master Wilhelm Kamrath (formerly at Tepliz-Schönau and New York), opera choreographer Hugo Dietz (conductor of the symphony orchestra in Katowice), director of the operetta orchestra, Walter van Endert, PhD, (formerly at the theatre in Dresden), the chief playwright Jürgen Weisker, PhD, (formerly at the Munich Theatre), playwright Felix von Wasielewski (previously in the theatre in Gotha) and stage designer Max Kühn. The three-day-long inauguration of the first season of the Städtische Bühnen Kattowitz-Königshütte Theater began on September 12, 1941 with the performance of Richard Wagner's opera *Lohengrin* in Katowice. A day later the historical drama by Friedrich Schiller *Maria Stuart* was presented in the theatre in Chorzów. And on 14 September, the operetta of Franz Lehár, *Zarewitsch*¹⁰⁷ was staged in Katowice.

187 z 9 VII 1940 r., *Rückblick auf 18 Jahre Theaterspielzeit in Kattowitz*; nr 227 z 18 VIII 1940 r., *Das Spiel beginnt*.

¹⁰⁴ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 268 z 5 X 1939 r., *Eröffnungsaufführung des Deutschen Theaters*; nr 275 z 12 X 1939 r., *Sonntag Eröffnungsvorstellung im Stadttheater*; nr 276 z 13 X 1939 r., *Die neuen Theaterpreise für Königshütte*; nr 277 z 14 X 1939 r., *Morgen Eröffnung des deutschen Theater*, nr 279 z 16 X 1939 r., *Die Spielzeit-Eröffnung in Königshütte*.

¹⁰⁵ Before he arrived in Katowice in 1940, he conducted the orchestra in the German concert hall in Prague; BA-Berlin, R 56 – III/200; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 220 z 11 VIII 1940 r., *Generalmusikdirektor Dr. Otto Wartisch*; E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 582.

¹⁰⁶ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 236 z 28 VIII 1941 r., *Wir stellen vor: Städtische Bühnen Kattowitz-Königshütte*; E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 251–252.

¹⁰⁷ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 169 z 22 VI 1941 r., *Städtische Bühnen Kattowitz-Königshütte*; nr 218 z 10 VIII 1941 r., *Neue Theatergründung im deutschen Osten*; nr 227 z 19 VIII 1941 r., *Unsere Bühnen rüsten zur Eröffnung*; nr 230 z 22 VIII 1941 r., *Das Schauspiel der Städtischen Bühnen in der kommenden Spielzeit*; nr 231 z 23 VIII 1941 r., *Die Oper der Städtischen Bühnen in der kommenden Spielzeit*; nr 249 z 10 IX 1941 r., *Besuch bei "Zarewitsch" und "Lohengrin"*; nr 252 z 13 IX 1941 r., *Festliche Theater – Eröffnung in Kattowitz*; nr 253 z 14 IX 1941 r., *"Lohengrin" in glänzender Ausstattung*; nr 254 z 15 IX 1941 r., *Zwischen Menschlichkeit und Staatsraison*; nr 255 z 16 IX 1941 r., *Ein fröhlicher Abend beim "Zarewitsch"*; nr 236 z 28 VIII 1941 r., p. 3, *Spielzeit "mit allem Komfort"*; nr 248 z 9 IX 1941 r.,

The Oberschlesische Grenzlandtheater Ratibor (the German theatre of the border city Racibórz), headed by the authorising officer Karl Weber, also travelled around Silesia with guest performances. In the theatre season 1939/1940, the troupe gave ninety-three guest performances, among others in Koźle (32), Rybnik (15), Bogumina (Oderberg, today the Czech Republic) (12), Rydułtowy (4), Pszczyna (3), Bielsko (2), and Wodzisław (2).¹⁰⁸ From September 25, 1939, the German theatre of Moravian Ostrava gave guest performances in Cieszyn. As head of the theatre, Kurt Labatt¹⁰⁹ presented as the first show the *Nibelungen*¹¹⁰ (*The Nibelungs*) a play of Friedrich Hebbel. From September 1941, the theatre in Cieszyn (Städtische Bühne Teschen) had its own acting team headed by the author Robert Ludwig.¹¹¹

At the end of January 1940, the Ostdeutsche Marionettenbühne (East German Marionette Theatre)¹¹² toured with children's shows in many Upper Silesian towns.

Another German theatre with Bruno Wächter as head was launched on 24 September 1940 in Bielsko. The opening performance was the play *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg*¹¹³ by H. von Kleist.

On 4 March 1944, after a long renovation and reconstruction of the theatre building at Wilhelmstr. (now Zwycięstwa Steet) took place the solemn opening of the theatre in Gliwice (Oberschlesisches Schauspieltheater der Stadt Gleiwitz). According to plans of the high-president Bracht, the theatre in Gliwice was to be the representative stage of Upper Silesia. The opening was inaugurated with the play *Maria Stuart* by F. Schiller. Curth Hurrel became authorising officer, while Otton Lang and Adolf Gastl were directors responsible for production; Herrmann Höwing and Hans Kämmerling were in charge of set design; Erna Konetzny, Erich Stepanek and Ursula Zimmermann¹¹⁴ were responsible for the costumes.

Bald teilt sich der Vorhang; nr 250 z 11 IX 1941 r., *Wir stellen vor: Städtische Bühnen Kattowitz-Königshütte*; B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeczy...*, p. 44; idem, *Organizacja niemieckiego życia teatralnego...*, pp. 63–64.

¹⁰⁸ BA-Berlin, R 55/20427; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 271 z 8 X 1939 r., *Das Oberschlesische Grenzlandtheater in Rybnik*; nr 277 z 14 X 1939 r., *„Bunter Abend“ des O.-P. Grenzlandtheaters in Rybnik*; nr 280 z 17 X 1939 r., *Das Grenzlandtheater Ratibor gastiert in Rybnik*; nr 339 z 15 XII 1939 r., *Weiterer Erfolg des Ratiborer Theaters*; nr 161 z 13 VI 1940 r., *Erfolgreiche Spielzeit des Grenzlandtheaters Ratibor*; nr 80 z 22 III 1942 r., *Zielbewusster Spielplan in Ratibor*.

¹⁰⁹ E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 314–315.

¹¹⁰ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 251 z 18 IX 1939 r., *Deutsche Kulturarbeit nunmehr unbehindert*; nr 264 z 1 X 1939 r., *Das deutsche Theater in Teschen eröffnet*; nr 282 z 19 X 1939 r., *Gastspiel des „Deutschen Theaters“ Mähr. Ostraum*.

¹¹¹ Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 57 z 27 II 1944 r., *Widerspiel geistiger Leidenschaften*.

¹¹² Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 22 z 23 I 1940 r., *Künstlerisches Marionettentheater*.

¹¹³ Ibid., nr 220 z 11 VIII 1940 r., *Eigenes Schauspiel=Ensemble in Bielitz*; nr 264 z 24 IX 1940 r., *50 Jahre deutsches Theater in Bielitz*; nr 266 z 26 IX 1940 r., *Spielzeiteröffnung in Bielitz*.

¹¹⁴ BA-Berlin, R 56 – II/35; Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 208 z 30 VII 1943 r., *Eine repräsentative oberschlesische Schauspielbühne*; nr 64 z 5 III 1944 r., *Das Oberschlesische Schauspiel eröffnet*; nr 65 z 6 III 1944 r., *Quellen deutscher Kunst*; nr 204 z 26 VII 1944 r., *Lebendiges Theater*; B. Drewniak, *Teatr*

In addition to “traditional” theatre scenes in the annexed areas of Poland, there were also variety theatres. Their repertoire was exclusively entertaining and consisted primarily of vaudeville, cabaret shows, dance and music performances, circus acts (acrobats, jugglers, clowns, magicians), and light music concerts. On 19 January 1940 in Poznań, at Bäckerstr. 16/17 (16/17 Piekary Street), the Apollo-Theater (also known as Apollo-Variété, Metropolis-Variété, Metropol-Variété, Gross Variété, and Variété-Bühne) had its inauguration. Fred Kronström was the emcee at the event and the musical part of the cabaret was directed by Helmut Opel, the orchestra director. In mid-April 1940, the theatre passed to the KdF's board of trustees and under the auspices of the organization functioned as the KdF-Grossvarietés Metropol (commonly used the name Metropol-Variété). It began its operations on 2 May 1940 and was the third Grossvarieté in the Reich owned by the KdF – the others were “Apollo” in Cologne and “Plaza” in Berlin. Soon the building at Bäckerstr. 16/17 was thoroughly modernized and after several months of interruptions, it was reopened on 16 August 1940. Then, Siegfried Muchow became the orchestra manager of varieties and Rebuschka the theatre director. In 1942, Rebuschka was replaced by Werner H. Heyde. According to data from September 1940, forty-six artists¹¹⁵ were employed in the variétés. Among the guest appearances, the Spanish clown Charlie Rivel, appearing in Poznań in July 1942,¹¹⁶ was particularly intensively advertised in the daily “Ostdeutscher Beobachter.”

In the second half of 1940, the organisation NS Gemeinschaft “Kraft durch Freude” launched the initiative to open a variety entertainment theatre in Łódź. Hans Hesse, the theatre director, opposed the idea. He claimed that, although such an “entertainment facility” in the city was not competition for the theatre, it was nevertheless contradictory to the cultural policy, and especially to the mission that the German theatre ought to fulfil. He was of the opinion that the city authorities should put more urgent tasks on the cultural agenda, than to ensure that the inhabitants of the city have access to “shallow entertainment” which may have “harmful consequences.”¹¹⁷ Eventually, the demand for lighter repertoire was met, and from January 1942 there functioned – the already mentioned – so-called Kammerspiele

i film Trzeciej Rzeszy..., p. 44; idem, *Organizacja niemieckiego życia teatralnego...*, p. 63–64; E. Klee, op. cit., p. 247.

¹¹⁵ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 16 z 16 I 1940 r., p. 5; nr 20 z 20 I 1940 r., p. 6; nr 21 z 21 I 1940 r., p. 6; nr 34 z 3 II 1940 r., p. 6; nr 106 z 16 IV 1940 r., p. 5; nr 115 z 25 IV 1940 r., p. 5; nr 122 z 3 V 1940 r., p. 4; nr 225 z 14 VIII 1940 r., p. 5; nr 228 z 17 VIII 1940 r., p. 5; nr 252 z 10 IX 1940 r., p. 5; nr 306 z 5 XI 1942 r., p. 3.

¹¹⁶ Charlie Rivel belonged to the few foreign artists who were respected by the German authorities. He frequently performed in the theatres of the Third Reich; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 183 z 5 VII 1942 r., p. 5; nr 190 z 12 VII 1942 r., p. 5; nr 193 z 15 VII 1942 r., p. 4; E. Klee, op. cit., p. 445.

¹¹⁷ AP-Łódź, AmŁ 1794–1945, sygn. 28546, pisma: intendenta H. Hesse do Urzędu Propagandy z 14 X 1940 r. oraz burmistrza Łodzi do Urzędu Propagandy z 18 X 1940 r.

As it has been mentioned earlier, from 17 April 1940 the variety stage was functioning in Toruń, in the pre-war building of the “German House.” It was called “Burggarten” and managed by Szyminski. The shows in Burggarten-Varieté enjoyed enormous public interest, and the number of its audience steadily grew. To illustrate: In April 1940, the number of guests amounted to 2418, in May 1940 – 6248, in August 1940 – 7850, in October 1940 – 9452, in December 1940 – 9608, in February 1941 – 10,658 and in March 1941 – 10,748. During one year, twenty-three programmes were shown there.¹¹⁸ In the summer of 1943 the stage was rebuilt and later transferred to the management of the Toruń city theatre. Although it was not an independent theatre any more, it was still called a variety stage. The theatre group did not only present entertainment repertoire, but the stage also hosted many cabarets, circus and dance musicians and their guest performances.

In Bydgoszcz, on 16 January 1944, a theatre of small stage forms (Kleinkunstbühne) opened. For a few months, variety entertainment shows were performed there, mainly for the army.¹¹⁹ At the beginning of April 1944, such performances were also organised in Katowice.¹²⁰

As German theatrical life on the Polish territories was incorporated into the Third Reich, puppet theatre (Kasperletheater) was also present. In Toruń it was launched on 11 December 1943 in the large hall of the “Tivoli” garden at Hermann-Göring-Strasse (Bydgoska Street). Its organizers were the Kunstverein Thorn (Artistic Association of Toruń), formed in January 1941, and headed by high-mayor of the city, Franz Jakob. The artistic director of the puppet theatre became the local theatre director Ado Riegler. Until 1 January 1944, the puppet theatre prepared nine performances, which were viewed by 2410 spectators.¹²¹

On 21 May 1944, the Bydgoszcz puppet theatre was opened in Hermann-Göring-Strasse 79 (79 Jagiellońska Street). Its ensemble included artists from the Bydgoszcz theatre and managed by theatre director Ludwig Schwartz. In the first month of operation (until June 25th) the number of spectators at the puppet theatre was 4698.¹²²

In the capital city of the Reich District Land of the Warta, the puppet theatre was first presented to the audience on 26 May 1940 in the city park, where it gave performances until mid-September. In the winter, the performances took place

¹¹⁸ Thorner Freiheit, nr 89 z 16 IV 1941 r., p. 3; M. Niedzielska, op. cit., p. 675.

¹¹⁹ Deutsche Rundschau, 1944 r., *passim*; B. Drewniak, *Organizacja niemieckiego życia teatralnego...*, p. 57.

¹²⁰ Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 91 z 1 IV 1944 r., *Varieté*.

¹²¹ AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 777, notatka na temat działalności teatru lalkowego w Toruniu z 31 XII 1943 r.; BA-Berlin, R 56 – III/477, *passim*; Thorner Freiheit, nr 275 z 22 XI 1943 r., p. 3; nr 292 z 11/12 XII 1943 r., p. 3; nr 2 z 4 I 1944 r., p. 3.

¹²² BA-Berlin, R 56 – III/477, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 84 z 8/9 IV 1944 r., p. 5; nr 119 z 22 V 1944 r., p. 3; nr 150 z 28 VI 1944 r., p. 5; W. Trzeciakowski, op. cit., p. 209; W. Stankowski, op. cit., pp. 457–458.

every Sunday at the Berlinerstr. 20 (20 27th December Street).¹²³ In the The Reich District of Katowice on the initiative of the OHB, a puppet theatre (Oberschlesische Handpuppenbühne des Heimatbundes) was formed in February 1942.¹²⁴

In addition to permanent theatre scenes, the travelling German theatres were operating in the annexed Polish areas. In the end of August 1940, a representative of the national cultural deputy, August Goergens, PhD showed initiative to establish the travelling theatre scene, i.e. the Landesbühne Reich District of Gdańsk–Western Prussia in that region. He supported the necessity of his initiative by arguing that the theatres in Bydgoszcz, Elbląg and Gdańsk did not sufficiently perform their cultural tasks. The project was approved by the central and regional authorities, which provided subsidies of eighty five thousand German marks (seventy five thousand German marks from Minister Goebbels and ten thousand from the governing authority). Formally, the National Scene of the Reich District of Gdańsk–West Prussia was established on September 5, 1940, i.e. when the statute was announced, and its activity was coordinated by an association of the same name, whose seat was in Gdańsk. Local administrative authorities wishing to cooperate with the touring theatre would file a membership to the Landesbühne Reichsgau Danzig–Westpreussen e.V. in Danzig and were required to pay a fee. Its value depended on the number of inhabitants, i.e. in rural areas the annual fee for each resident was 0.05 German marks, and in urban districts 0.20 German marks. Initially, the members of the association were representatives of the local government, of 25 rural districts and three cities: Gdynia, Grudziądz and Toruń, i.e. those larger cities which did not have permanent theatrical facilities. The Landesbühne Reichsgau Danzig–Westpreussen was first located in Grudziądz, where the city high-mayor Brunon Keller provided a local theatrical stage for performing rehearsals. When the decision was made to open a permanent theatre in Grudziądz, on 1 April 1943, the seat of the theatre was moved to Malbork. Landesbühne Reichsgau Danzig–Westpreussen, which originally involved sixteen actors and twelve technical staff, inaugurated its activity 8 October 1940 in Tiegenhof (Nowy Dwór Gdański) with a play by Jochen Huth *Die Vier Gesellen (Four Companions)*. The manager of was the touring theatre was Max Tobien. In the summer of 1942, Tobien was replaced by the principal director of the Elbląg municipal theatre Wolfgang Kaehler. The dismissal of Tobien from the position was decided on grounds, among others, that the board of the Landesbühne Reichsgau Danzig–Westpreussen e.V. in Danzig received numerous complaints about poor artistic level of performances by the touring theatre.¹²⁵

¹²³ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 144 z 25 V 1940 r., p. 8; nr 165 z 15 VI 1940 r., p. 5; nr 234 z 23 VIII 1940 r., p. 6; nr 263 z 21 IX 1940 r., p. 6.

¹²⁴ AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4708.

¹²⁵ Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku (further cit. AP-Gdańsk), Akta miasta Starogardu Gdańskiego 1634–1945, sygn. 140, pismo dr. Goergensa do lokalnych władz administracyjnych Okręgu Rzeszy Gdańsk–Prusy Zachodnie z 27 VIII 1940 r., statut Landesbühne Reichsgau Danzig–Westpreussen z 5 IX 1940 r. oraz pismo przewodniczącego Landesbühne Danzig–Westpreussen do landrata Starogardu Gdańskiego z 5 VI 1942 r.; BA-Berlin, R 55/20249a; Der Danziger Vorposten, nr

In the Reich District Land of the Warta River the German touring theatre Landesbühne Gau Wartheland (National Stage of the Warta Region), with headquarters in Poznań, was commissioned in May 1940. The theatre troupe was based on the team of the pre-war Poznań Deutsche Bühne. Its organiser was the manager of the Deutsche Bühne Poznań Günther Reissert. He also became the manager of the Landesbühne Gau Wartheland. After his tragic death, in a car accident at night from 4 to 5 December 1941, the position of director of the touring scene in the Reich District Wartheland was taken over by the administrative director at the time Hans Rainer (Verwaltungsdirektor). Edgar Zapp was responsible for set design and technical direction. The theatre team originally consisted of fourteen actors. The theatre, partly funded by PROMI, toured with performances throughout the Reich District Land of the Warta River, and in the summer months performed in spa resorts, mainly in Inowrocław and Ciechocinek. The first performance inaugurating the Landesbühne Gau Wartheland took place on 23 June 1940 in Inowrocław, in a renovated and reconstructed theatre building at Klosterplatz (Monastery Square). The opening play was a comedy by Fritz Peter Buch *Ein ganzer Kerl* (*The Real Guy*). Although the theatre scene in Inowrocław was inactive, the director of the City Theatre (Direktor des Stadttheaters) was appointed. His responsibilities entailed management of the theatre building and the organization of guest performances. The position was taken by the SA-Sturmbannführer and the director of the sanatorium Reiner Wildt. At the beginning of April 1941, Wildt was replaced by City Inspector Billig. The grand opening of the Landesbühne Gau Wartheland took place on July 6, 1940 in Inowrocław¹²⁶ and was attended by a great number of guests. In Silesia, the Volkstheater Schlesien touring theatre was established in January 1940 under the patronage of the KdF organization.¹²⁷

3.2. Theatre artists

The theatre team from Riga originally came to Bydgoszcz with twenty five people (ten women and fifteen men).¹²⁸ At the beginning of the 1940/1941 season the

265 z 26 IX 1940 r., p. 6; nr 266 z 27 IX 1940 r., p. 6; nr 279 z 10 X 1940 r., p. 9; nr 77 z 19 III 1943 r., p. 4; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 214 z 11 IX 1940 r., p. 6; nr 226 z 25 IX 1940 r., p. 5; nr 241 z 12/13 X 1940 r., p. 14; Thorner Freiheit, nr 220 z 18 IX 1940 r., p. 4; nr 228 z 27 IX 1940 r., p. 4; nr 238 z 9 X 1940 r., p. 3; nr 135 z 11 VI 1942 r., p. 3; nr 18 z 22 I 1943 r., p. 4; W. Diewerge, *Der neue Reichsgau Danzig–Westpreussen*, Berlin 1940, p. 87; M. Tobien, *Die Landesbühne Danzig–Westpreussen*, Westpreussen Jahrbuch, Band 5, Münster 1955, p. 107–110; B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, p. 41; idem, *Organizacja niemieckiego życia teatralnego...*, p. 59.

¹²⁶ BA-Berlin, R 55/20150, *passim*; *ibid.*, R 55/20426, *passim*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 176 z 27 VI 1940 r., p. 6; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 161 z 11 VI 1940 r., p. 8; nr 171 z 21 VI 1940 r., p. 6; nr 186 z 6 VII 1940 r., p. 3–4; nr 187 z 7 VII 1940 r., p. 6; nr 189 z 9 VII 1940 r., p. 4, 6; nr 211 z 31 VII 1940 r., p. 6; nr 93 z 3 IV 1941 r., p. 6; nr 338 z 6 XII 1941 r., p. 5; nr 95/Ostern 1942, p. 4; nr 237 z 28 VII 1942 r., p. 4; nr 241 z 1 IX 1942 r.

¹²⁷ AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4305 oraz 4306, *passim*.

¹²⁸ W. Stankowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 458–459.

troupe was joined by fourteen opera and operetta singers, of whom eight were men: Hans Böck, Willi Deeg, Otto Fassler, Hermann Groote, Walter Kassek, Hans Obermanns, Fritz Schmidt, Georg Weiland. And six were women: Wally Antelmann, Lotte Henne, Sieglinde Hopf, Ursula Kerp, Ena Lenser, Annemarie Reinecke. They arrived in Bydgoszcz mainly from Berlin, Göttingen and Plauen. The principal conductor of the opera orchestra was Walther Schumacher, previously employed at the State Theatre in Gdansk. Hans Mayer became the principal orchestra and operetta conductor. Directing opera and operetta performances belonged to Friedrich Ammermann. In addition to the first set designer J. H. Brehm, others responsible for stage design were: Heinz Hollenhorst (decoration) and Ingeborg Graff (costumes). At the beginning of the 1940/1941 season started a theatre choir of twenty four participants, as well as a dance group (Tanzgruppe) of thirteen, who worked under the tutelage of a ballet mistress Araci Makarova. The drama team at that time, comprised of twenty one people. The newly recruited actors included: Fritz Albrecht, Karin Hagemann, Heinz Hagen, Kurt Laueremann, Ursula Liederwald, Hertha Schon, Friedrich Schütze, Magda Wengiel. The theatre orchestra under the baton of Bruno Gläser (the theatre choir director at the same time) from Berlin was composed of 39 musicians.¹²⁹ At the end of the 1940/1941 season Wally Antelmann left the operetta team, whereas the drama team lost the following artists: Verena von Jerin (from Riga), Fritz Albrecht and Friedrich Schütze. At the same time for the season 1941/1942 the Bydgoszcz Theater engaged artists from various parts of the Reich:

- seven opera singers: Herbert Hirche, Hermann Holtappel, Alfred Jahn, Irmgard Köhler, Eva Neudahm, Helene Sachers, Alfred Stein;
- five operetta singers: Werner von Albrich, Heidi von Niessen, Liesl Riemer, Adolf Veuhoff, Elfride Wildermuth;
- eleven actors: Irene Andor, Christina Borck, Karl Heinz Geil, Karl Glänzer, Ludwig Hayn, Karl Heinz Lehmann, Hans Medo, Wilhelm Nork, Maria Koch-Putz, Karl Weber, Elfi Wildermuth.

Also, a director of operatic productions Hans Felder, and a set designer Ludwig Zuckerman were employed. The start of the second stage of the Bydgoszcz Theater in the season 1942/43 was accompanied by the need to involve new forces. The drama cast were joined by the following artists: Heinz Jamin, Georg Lehn, Eveline Meisel, Eduard Neuhaus, Brigitte Oehler, Henna Ohlrau, Käthe Schmidt, Wilhelm Huber-Waldherr. The opera group expanded with the following: Marie Sophie Auerbach, Walter Kern, Ursula Reimann and Ruth Sommer. From the 1943/1944 season new singers on stage of the Bydgoszcz Theater were: Barbara Boettcher, Beatrice Fischer, Gerda Frobart, Heinz Herbert, Vasili Kosmas, Irene Fais-Landmann, Bodil Rieck, Ilse Römer, Hilde Schönberger, Kurt Winkel. And

¹²⁹ BA-Berlin, R 55/20334; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 287 z 16/17 XII 1939 r., p. 8; nr 199 z 24/25 VIII 1940 r., p. 5; nr 220 z 18 IX 1940 r., p. 5; nr 223 z 21/22 IX 1940 r., p. 5; nr 226 z 25 IX 1940 r., p. 5. Comp. W. Stankowski, op. cit., pp. 458–460.

the new actors were: Lieselotte Bottsieper-Kunze and Christiane Johannsen. At the beginning of the 1943/1944 season, was the principal director of dramatic productions became Ludwig Schwartz from the theatre at Gera. Also, a newly employed stage designer was Boris Pusatko. The ballet company was directed by a ballet mistress Frida Holst.¹³⁰

The artists for the Toruń theatre were gradually employed since the autumn 1941. However, no actors of pre-war Deutsche Bühne were among the newly engaged. The last time they appeared before the Toruń audience April 13, 1940, with the performance of the Otto Lindau *Als die Preussen kamen* (*When Prussians arrived*). The theme of the play was the Prussian entry to Toruń in 1793.¹³¹ The official activity of the Toruń acting and music ensemble began 1 October 1941, during the renovation of the main theatrical building. Therefore, they were temporarily rehearsing and performing in the building of the "German House." The Toruń Theatre, apart from an ensemble of thirty two actors, also had a choir of twenty four, and a female ballet of fourteen. The ballet company was headed by a ballet mistress Dita Pawlowski and her substitute Karin Redicker. Among the originally employed artists were: Ewald Allner, Ludwig Busch, Erika Feichtinger, Verena Grigoleit, Inge Grünwald, Thilde Hegenauer, Jo Hager, Christian Huth, Edmund Marschall, Franz Ringler, Heinz Rohn, Heinz Peter Scholz, Martha Suffek, Claire Wiedmann, Heinz Wolfgang Wolff, Mimi Gyenes-Wolff. Theodor Anton Modes, who 1 July 1942 became the authorizing officer of the Toruń theatre, found the theatrical ensemble much incomplete. Before the start of the new season, however, he managed to recruit the missing artists, among them were the following opera and operetta singers: Eleonore Dittrich, Elly Fritz, Ortwin Graber, Rudi Kluge, Peter Krain, Maria Gerda Liesfeld, Karl Georg Lipmann, Frieda Müller, Trude Sannwald, Liselotte Schmitt and an actress Maria Leitner. Fritz Schultze-Markert from Lille became the operetta conductor. At the end of the 1942/1943 season, the artistic team consisted of seven opera singers (Eleonore Dittrich, Elly Fitz, Ortwin Graber, Wilhelm Krings, Erick Kuhn, Frieda Müller, Trude Sannwald) and four operetta singers (Ludwig Busch, Thilde Hegenauer, Edmund Marschall, Franz Ringler), as well as eight dramatic actors (Ewald Allner, Raute Armbrüster, Hans Goguel, Inge Grünwald, Ernst Heisterkamp, Christian Huth, Maria Leitner, Erich Schubert). In the summer of 1943, before launching an additional stage

¹³⁰ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 98 z 26/27 IV 1941 r., p. 5; nr 103 z 3/4 V 1941 r., p. 6; nr 210 z 6/7 IX 1941 r., p. 5; nr 216 z 13/14 IX 1941 r., p. 5; nr 217 z 15 IX 1941 r., p. 5; nr 219 z 17 IX 1941 r., p. 5; nr 225 z 24 IX 1941 r., p. 5; nr 209 z 4 IX 1942 r., p. 3; nr 212 z 8 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 214 z 10 IX 1942 r., p. 5, 6; nr 239 z 9 X 1942 r., p. 4; nr 151 z 29 VI 1943 r., p. 4; nr 203 z 28/29 VIII 1943 r., p. 4; nr 209 z 4/5 IX 1943 r., p. 5; nr 212 z 8 IX 1943 r., p. 4; nr 214 z 10 IX 1943 r., p. 4; nr 224 z 22 IX 1943 r., p. 3; nr 227 z 25/26 IX 1943 r., p. 5; nr 231 z 30 IX 1943 r., p. 3; nr 256 z 29 X 1943 r., p. 3; W. Trzeciakowski, op. cit., pp. 210–212.

¹³¹ Thorner Freiheit, nr 88 z 15 IV 1940 r., p. 3; nr 89 z 16 IV 1940 r., p. 3; nr 91 z 18 IV 1940 r., p. 3. It should be mentioned that the German theatre in Toruń inaugurated its activity with the same play in 1904.

– the Burggarten – the theatre team, was joined by seven opera singers (Vinzenz Bresler, Fritz Bürgmann, Joseph Heckhausen, Lilly Krämer, Hans Peter Mainzberg, Stefan Marton, August Wagner), thirteen operetta singers (Elsa Schubert-Bruck, Paul Eduard Bruls, Gertrude Rosen, Ruth Spier, Johanna Thiede, Julia Ulbricht, Desa Vljakovic), and twelve actors (Kurt Brandt, Lilly Bresler, Martin Eginhardt, Liselotte Hoffmann, Erika Kuntze, Eve Parey, Alfred Pussert, Peter Reichelt, Kurt M. Rocktäschel, Traute Wiere, Ruth Wünsche, Richard Zinnburg). The ensemble of artistic directors was joined by Richard Eggarter, chief drama theatre director and choir director and conductor Richard Heimann, and chief opera director and operetta director Heinz Denies.¹³²

According to figures published in the “Litzmannstädter Zeitung” at the beginning of September 1940, the German theatre in Łódź employed thirty three artists, including its authorising officer Hans Hesse. From the 1941/1942 season, the drama team consisted of twenty nine actors (sixteen previously employed and thirteen new; eleven women, eighteen men). The operetta team consisted of ten singers (three previously employed and seven new performers; four women and men). There was also a theatre choir of sixteen members (eight women, eight men) and a dance group (fourteen women, two men) headed by Toni Vollmuth. Heinz Hoffmann,¹³³ who replaced Johannes Sohs at the start of the 1941/1942 season, took over the role of chief orchestra director. The principal director Karl Glänzer was replaced by Siegfried Nürnberger¹³⁴ from Dortmund. In the group of directors remained Gustav Mahncke,¹³⁵ Hanns Merck,¹³⁶ and Alfred Schnös, whereas Heinz Hammans and Ino Wimmer were newly employed. At the beginning of the 1943/1944 season, Bozo Miler became the principal opera director, and Ernst Glück¹³⁷ became musical director (Musikalische Oberleiter).

The Poznań Theater, despite its high rank of Reichsgautheatre did not avoid serious personal perturbations. In the first season of 1941/1942, the drama troupe consisted of thirty people, sixteen worked in opera, thirteen in operetta, and ballet company consisted of twenty three dancers. The choir was composed of thirty six musicians (eighteen men and as many women). Shortly after the start of the work, it turned out that quite a number of artists are seriously conflicted, and the cause

¹³² Thorner Freiheit, nr 234 z 4/5 X 1941 r., p. 5; nr 236 z 7 X 1941 r., p. 3; nr 237 z 8 X 1941 r., p. 3; nr 238 z 9 X 1941 r., p. 3; nr 241 z 13 X 1941 r., p. 3; nr 243 z 15 X 1941 r., p. 3; nr 244 z 16 X 1941 r., p. 3; nr 245 z 17 X 1941 r., p. 3; nr 246 z 18/19 X 1941 r., p. 3; nr 247 z 20 X 1941 r., p. 3; nr 248 z 21 X 1941 r., p. 3; nr 255 z 29 X 1941 r., p. 3; nr 256 z 30 X 1941 r., p. 3; nr 257 z 31 X 1941 r., p. 3; nr 261 z 5 XI 1941 r., p. 3; nr 266 z 11 XI 1941 r., p. 3; nr 267 z 12 XI 1941 r., p. 3; nr 287 z 5 XII 1941 r., p. 3; nr 32 z 7/8 II 1942 r., p. 3; nr 197 z 22/23 VIII 1942 r., p. 8; nr 168 z 20 VII 1943 r., p. 3; nr 202 z 28/29 VIII 1943 r., p. 8; nr 205 z 1 IX 1943 r., p. 3.

¹³³ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 234.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 396.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 349.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 366.

¹³⁷ Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 247 z 6 IX 1940 r., p. 3; nr 155 z 6 VI 1941 r., p. 5; nr 156 z 7 VI 1941 r., p. 5; nr 233 z 23 VIII 1941 r., p. 4; nr 246 z 3 IX 1943 r., p. 3; nr 248 z 5 IX 1943 r., p. 5.

is that of the authorizing officer. Granting Peter Heyser such a significant role as the director of the Theatre in Poznań met with astonishment on the side of a considerable part of the theatre environment. After all Heyser had left his previous job in Baden-Baden in the atmosphere of a sexual scandal. In addition, as an authorizing officer, he was accused of grave financial mismanagement, poor artistic achievements, employing people with inferior capacities, which subsequently led the Baden-Baden theatre to bankruptcy. Doubts also existed regarding his political attitudes. Some actors from the Poznań Theatre believed that he did not have proper professional qualifications and could not maintain the discipline of the theatre team. As a consequence some artists would inexcusably leave the performances, or even appear on the stage under the influence of alcohol. Heyser was also held responsible for the unfriendly atmosphere at work, because “some [S.G.] members of the troupe formed a fully devoted group of supporters, whom he endowed with special interests.” One month before the start of the first season, and despite difficulties with completing the cast, Heyser discharged some of the actors who “did not belong to his friends.” Heyser’s opponents also pointed out to him the loss of the theatre budget, as well as his failure as authorizing officer to perform his duties, moreover, some resented his immoral conduct. Examples of the latter entailed, among other: all-night-long drinking parties in Poznań restaurants which negatively impacted the image of the local theatrical environment. His work in Poznań was also scorned by representatives of the local cultural world, who accused him of low artistic level of the repertoire. At the end of the first season, a large group of artists left work in the Poznań theatre because “in the atmosphere of poisoned trust, one could not think of creative cooperation.” At the beginning of the 1942/1943 season, the artistic team, which Heyser was forced to create from scratch, was joined by thirty new people:

- eleven opera singers: Inge Fischer, Elsa Giersch, Trudhilt Karen, August Kohra, Fritz Lukaseder, Raymond Lutz, Karl May, Karl Rinner, Kurt Schüffler, Dagmar Schröder, Charlotte Thomsin;
- six operatic singers: Ilse Blume, Dora Edler, Martin Hümisch, Bruno Kiebler, Fritz Neumann, Hanah Wilfrid;
- seven actors: Walter Gerwin, Ludwig Hayn, Sonja Karzau, Walter Klock, Ralph Rainau, Herbert Steinmetz, Gerda Thunecke;
- six ballet dancers: Will Beck, Hanna Berger, Wanda Grossen, Tirza Krüger, Eugen Poranski and Heidi Porsch.

Georg Menzel from Strassburg became the director of the opera. Heyser also hired two new set designers, Erik Peters and Walter Schmidt. In the daily newspaper “Ostdeutscher Beobachter” these serious personal changes were commented positively – probably to avoid further confusion. “It seems, as the principal director of operettas Heyse-Rathey maintains, thanks to newly recruited artists, the operettas will have a sophisticated character. For when we look at the number of artists who have left us and compare them with the new ones, we notice a number

of differences, not only in the interpretation of roles, but also in their external appearance." In 1942, the Gestapo instituted an investigation against Heyser as a result of political allegations (he was accused of "political instability") and, at the end of the 1942/1943 season, he was dismissed from the position of the authorizing officer of the Poznań theatre. At the same time, a large group of his followers left the Poznań Theater.¹³⁸ At the beginning of the 1943/1944 season, Günther Stark, PhD from Hamburg took over. Willy Schneider took over as principal playwright and Karl Köhler from Dortmund was appointed music director. At the beginning of the 1943/1944 season, new actors also joined the Poznań Theater, they were: Paul Esser, Annemarie Jung, Ellen Krug, Martin Lübbert, Eleonore von Radecki, and opera and operetta singers: Else Balster, Renate Gebel, Mara Genetti, Louis Klos, Erna Köhler, Fred Raul, Dorle Westhoff.¹³⁹

At the beginning of the 1941/1942 season, the theatre company Städtische Bühnen Kattowitz-Königshütte employed 64 artists (opera ensemble – twenty nine people, operetta ensemble – nine, dramatic ensemble – twenty and a dance ensemble – fourteen). Among them were:

- actors: Heinz Brenner, Hildegard Friese, Willi Gade, Hildegard Jacob, Otto Hermann Kempert, Manfred Meurer;
- Opera and operettas singers and: Walter Beck, Jean Bergmann, Heinz Carls, Ery Clevesahl, Gerty von Elmpt, Elisabeth Egry, Willi Friedrich, Sven Gaarden, Anna König, Ulla Lehmann, Robert Lohfing, Vilma Peer, Willy Popp, Sigrid Rothermel, Walther Schulze, Martin Schürmann.

The theatre also had its own choir (Theater-Singchor) consisting of thirty six singers and the so-called auxiliary choir (Hilfschor) of thirty vocalists. Compared to other theatres in the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich, the Städtische Bühnen Kattowitz-Königshütte artistic team showed greater stabil-

¹³⁸ BA-Berlin, R 55/20110, *passim*; *ibid.*, R 55/20148, *passim*; *ibid.*, R 55/20425, *passim*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 266 z 24 IX 1940 r., p. 6; nr 267 z 25 IX 1940 r., p. 6; nr 268 z 26 IX 1940 r., p. 7; nr 269 z 27 IX 1940 r., p. 6; nr 272 z 30 IX 1940 r., p. 4; nr 275 z 3 X 1940 r., p. 5; nr 276 z 4 X 1940 r., p. 6; nr 277 z 5 X 1940 r., p. 6; nr 278 z 6 X 1940 r., p. 6; nr 282 z 10 X 1940 r., p. 5–6; nr 283 z 11 X 1940 r., p. 5; nr 284 z 12 X 1940 r., p. 6; nr 290 z 18 X 1940 r., p. 6; nr 295 z 23 X 1940 r., p. 6; nr 296 z 24 X 1940 r., p. 6; nr 297 z 25 X 1940 r., p. 7; nr 298 z 26 X 1940 r., p. 11; nr 301 z 29 X 1940 r., p. 6; nr 309 z 6 XI 1940 r., p. 6; nr 310 z 7 XI 1940 r., p. 6; nr 310 z 7 XI 1940 r., p. 6; nr 311 z 8 XI 1940 r., p. 6; nr 312 z 9 XI 1940 r., p. 8; nr 320 z 17 XI 1940 r., p. 7; nr 7 z 7 I 1941 r., p. 6; nr 8 z 8 I 1941 r., p. 5; nr 14 z 14 I 1941 r., p. 5; nr 15 z 15 I 1941 r., p. 6; nr 16 z 16 I 1941 r., p. 5; nr 17 z 17 I 1941 r., p. 5; nr 19 z 19 I 1941 r., p. 7; nr 21 z 21 I 1941 r., p. 6; nr 25 z 25 I 1941 r., p. 6; nr 26 z 26 I 1941 r., p. 6; nr 31 z 31 I 1941 r., p. 7; nr 35 z 4 II 1941 r., p. 7; nr 39 z 8 II 1941 r., p. 6; nr 40 z 9 II 1941 r., p. 7; nr 42 z 11 II 1941 r., p. 5; nr 44 z 13 II 1941 r., p. 6; nr 46 z 15 II 1941 r., p. 6; nr 49 z 18 II 1941 r., p. 5; nr 51 z 20 II 1941 r., p. 6; nr 254 z 14 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 255 z 15 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 257 z 17 IX 1942 r., p. 3; nr 183 z 5 VII 1943 r., p. 3; nr 191 z 13 VII 1943 r., p. 4; nr 236 z 27 VIII 1943 r., p. 4; nr 238 z 29 VIII 1943 r., p. 3; nr 264 z 24 IX 1942 r., p. 3; nr 266 z 26 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 270 z 30 IX 1942 r., p. 3; nr 229 z 20 VIII 1943 r., p. 4; nr 230 z 21 VIII 1943 r., p. 5; nr 308 z 7 XI 1943 r., p. 4.

¹³⁹ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 229 z 20 VIII 1943 r., p. 4; nr 230 z 21 VIII 1943 r., p. 5; nr 236 z 27 VIII 1943 r., p. 4; nr 238 z 29 VIII 1943 r., p. 3; nr 308 z 7 XI 1943 r., p. 4; G. Stark, *Das Posener Theater im Kriege*, Jahrbuch Weichsel-Warthe, Jahrgang 18, 1972, p. 60–61; E. Klee, *op. cit.*, p. 526.

ity. At the beginning of the new season of 1942/1943, personal changes were not prevented, but they were not as extensive as in other theatres. There were seven new members of the dramatic ensemble: Maria Koch, Edith Meynen, Else Petry, Gertrud Seitz, Klaus Detlef Sierck, Karl Weber and Guido Wilhelm. Additionally three new singers were hired: Gerda Krüger, Grita Möth and Rudolf Streletz, as well as the opera orchestra director Fritz Dahm. The function of ballet master was taken by Jörg Watzka, and the dance company was joined by Eva Hornik, Rita Kallina, Hedi Klein, Thea Seifert, Leni Werell. In the season of 1943/1944 the new actors were Arnold Bernauer, Heinz Evelt, Renate Mannhardt, Maud Merschat, Carl Mayr-Myra, Felizitas Neumann, Roland Richter, Hannelore Roeck, Maria Sag, Jakob Sinn, Eugen Staub, Anton Stein, Hansi Thoms and an opera singer Olga Witt. Heinz Haufe from Stuttgart as director of the dramatic scene, director Fritz Rohland from Bremen and stage designer Meinrad Mix¹⁴⁰ joined the group of artistic directors.

Due to the lack of source materials, the analysis of theatrical groups operating within Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich is rather fragmentary. However, it indicates that they were characterized by high cast rotation and instability. Such conditions were not conducive to creative work and often hindered the implementation of repertoire plans. The artists were predominantly young people just starting their careers. It is impossible to make a fair and straightforward assessment of their skills or the value of their work. Certainly they were not outstanding individuals, for those were employed by the leading theatres of the Third Reich. However, theatre directors from the annexed areas of Poland maintained lively relations with theatres operating in Altreich. Often, in order to enhance attractiveness of their offer to the public and raise the level of the shows, they invited highly esteemed artists with guest performances. Each time it was a big cultural event. Theatres established within the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich most frequently hosted performances of opera and operetta singers, including, among others: Peter Anders, Irma Beilke, Rudolf Bockelmann, Michael Bohnen, Frieda Leider, Jaro Prohaska, Wilhelm Rode, Helge Roswaenge, Margarete Teschemacher, Rudolf Watzke.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 169 z 22 VI 1941 r., *Bühnenarbeit mit den modernsten Mitteln*; nr 235 z 27 VIII 1941 r., *Wir stellen vor: Städtische Bühnen Kattowitz-Königshütte*; nr 236 z 28 VIII 1941 r., *Wir stellen vor: Städtische Bühnen Kattowitz-Königshütte*; nr 237 z 29 VIII 1941 r., *Wir stellen vor: Städtische Bühnen Kattowitz-Königshütte*; nr 241 z 2 IX 1941 r., *Wir stellen vor: Städtische Bühnen Kattowitz-Königshütte*; nr 250 z 11 IX 1941 r., *Wir stellen vor: Städtische Bühnen Kattowitz-Königshütte*; nr 356 z 28 XII 1941 r., *Erfolgreicher Theateraufbau im Osten*; nr 228 z 22 VIII 1942 r., *Kattowitz/Königshütte in der neuen Spielzeit*; nr 30 z 30 I 1943 r., *Neuer Schauspielersdirektor der Städtischen Bühnen*; nr 252 z 12 IX 1943 r., *Gespräche zwischen Tür und Angel*.

¹⁴¹ On the basis of the information published in the analyzed press; E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 20, 37, 56–57, 60–61, 326, 424, 446, 453–454, 548, 583.

3.3. Repertoire policy

Among the dramatic repertoire put on the planks of the theatrical stages on Polish lands incorporated into the Third Reich, were the works of German classics and romantics such as:

- Heinrich von Kleist: *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* (*Prince Fredrick of Homburg*), a historical drama in five acts glorifying Prussian militarism – 14 December 1939 premiere in Bydgoszcz, 24 September 1940 in Bielsko, 22 February 1941 in Łódź, 18 March 1941 in Poznań; *Das Käthchen von Heilbronn* (*Katie of Heilbronn*), a folk tale – for the opening of the 1941/1942 season at the theatre in Bielsko, on 7 May 1943 was the premiere in Bydgoszcz; the comedy *Der zerbrochene Krug* (*The Broken Jug*) – 30 May 1942 premiere in Łódź, 6 June 1942 in Chorzów, 2 October 1943 in Toruń, 24 October 1943 in Bydgoszcz; *Amphitryon* – 10 January 1942, premiere in Bydgoszcz, 9 October 1943 in Poznań¹⁴²;
- Johann Wolfgang Goethe: *Faust*¹⁴³ – 22 March 1940 premiere in Łódź, 22nd January 1943 in Toruń; *Iphigenie auf Tauris* (*Iphigenia in Tauris*) – 17 January 1941 premiere in Bydgoszcz, 17 October 1941 in Poznań, 9 September 1942 in Bytom, 8 November 1943 in Toruń; *Clavigo* – 23 March 1941, premiere in Poznań, 11 March 1944 in Łódź, 16 March 1944 in Bydgoszcz; *Egmont* – 20 January 1943 premiere in Bydgoszcz, 3 September 1943 in Bielsko, 30 January 1944 in Poznań; *Torquato Tasso* – 14 November 1941 premiere in Bydgoszcz;¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Deutsche Rundschau, nr 8 z 10/11 I 1942 r., p. 6; nr 9 z 12 I 1942 r., p. 6; nr 102 z 1/2 V 1943 r., p. 4; nr 106 z 6 V 1943 r., p. 3; nr 109 z 10 V 1943 r., p. 6; nr 251 z 23/24 X 1943 r., p. 3; nr 258 z 1 XI 1943 r., p. 5; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 220 z 11 VIII 1940 r., *Eigenes Schauspiel-Ensemble in Bielitz*; nr 264 z 24 IX 1940 r., *50 Jahre deutsches Theater in Bielitz*; nr 266 z 26 IX 1940 r., *Spielzeiteröffnung in Bielitz*; nr 256 z 17 IX 1941 r., *Festliche Eröffnung in Bielitz*, nr 152 z 7 VI 1942 r., *Ein Abend deutscher Komik*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 47 z 16 II 1941 r., p. 7, 12; nr 53 z 22 II 1941 r., p. 8; nr 57 z 26 II 1941 r., p. 7; nr 30 z 30 I 1942 r., p. 5, 8; nr 33 z 2 II 1942 r., p. 3; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 29 z 29 I 1942 r., p. 8; nr 35 z 4 II 1942 r., p. 4; nr 279 z 9 X 1943 r., p. 6; nr 281 z 11 X 1943 r., p. 3; Thorner Freiheit, nr 232 z 2/3 X 1943 r., p. 3, 5; nr 233 z 4 X 1943 r., p. 4.

¹⁴³ It refers to the original version of the drama known as *Prafaust* (*Urfaust*), which was written in the years 1773–1774.

¹⁴⁴ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 56, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 9 z 11/12 I 1941 r., p. 4; nr 14 z 17 I 1941 r., p. 4, 5; nr 264 z 8/9 XI 1941 r., p. 4; nr 271 z 17 XI 1941 r., p. 5; nr 13 z 16/17 I 1943 r., p. 4; nr 17 z 21 I 1943 r., p. 5; nr 18 z 22 I 1943 r., p. 4; nr 30 z 5/6 II 1944 r., p. 6; nr 34 z 10 II 1944 r., p. 3; nr 60 z 11/12 III 1944 r., p. 3; nr 66 z 18/19 III 1944 r., p. 6; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 229 z 23 VIII 1942 r., *Zwei Oper ober-schlesischer Komponisten*; nr 248 z 11 IX 1942 r., *Drama in Adel und Schönheit*; nr 225 z 16 VIII 1943 r., *Fünf Klassiker in Bielitz*; nr 245 z 5 IX 1943 r., *Zeitnaher "Egmont" in Bielitz*, Lodscher Zeitung (od 12 IV 1940 r. jako Litzmannstädter Zeitung), nr 77 z 17 III 1940 r., p. 3; nr 79z 19 III 1940 r., p. 8; nr 82 z 22 III 1940 r., p. 8; nr 83/84 z 24/25 III 1940 r., p. 6; nr 71 z 11 III 1944 r., p. 3, 4; nr 73 z 13 III 1944 r., p. 3; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 81 z 22 III 1941 r., p. 11; nr 83 z 24 III 1941 r., p. 5; nr 84 z 25 III 1941 r., p. 4; nr 273 z 2 X 1941 r., p. 5; nr 282 z 11 X 1941 r., p. 7; nr 289 z 18 X 1941 r., p. 5; nr 290 z 19 X 1941 r., p. 4, 5; nr 28 z 29 I 1944 r., p. 4; nr 29 z 30 I 1944 r., p. 8; nr 31 z 1 II 1944 r., p. 4; Thorner Freiheit, nr 13 z 16/17 I 1943 r., p. 5; nr 16 z 20 I 1943 r., p. 3; nr 19 z 23/24 I 1943 r., p. 3; nr 262 z 6/7 XI 1943 r., p. 5.

- Friedrich Schiller: the author's debut and one of his most famous works *Die Räuber* (*The Robbers*) – in autumn 1941, premiere in Bielsko, 4 June 1942 in Toruń, 25 September 1942 in Łódź; the historical tragedy *Die Braut von Messina* (*The Bride of Messina*) – 5 September, 1942, premiere in Chorzów; another historical tragedy *Maria Stuart* – 30 October 1940, premiere in Bydgoszcz, 13 September 1941 in Chorzów, 4 March 1944 in Gliwice; the drama *Die Verschwörung des Fiesco von Genoa* (*Fiesco*) – April 4, 1942), premiere in Poznań; the tragedy in five acts *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* (*The Maid of Orleans*), skillfully used for anti-British propaganda – 25 May 1944 premiere in Toruń; the tragedy *Kabale und Liebe* (*Intrigue and Love*) – the first classical play in the Landestheater Beuthen in September 1941, 5 September 1942 premiere in Łódź, 20 April 1943 in Toruń, 9 September 1943 in Grudziądz; *Wallensteins Lager* (*Wallenstein's Camp*) – 30 January 1942 premiere in Łódź, 28 September 1943 in Chorzów; *Die Piccolomini* (*The Piccolomini*) – 28 September 1943 in Chorzów; the drama *Don Carlos* – 9 November 1940 premiere in Łódź, 22 April 1942 in Bydgoszcz;¹⁴⁵
- Joseph von Eichendorff: *Der letzte Held von Marienburg* (*The Last Hero of Malbork*), a play about the Teutonic Knights' Heinrich von Plauen defending Malbork against the troops of Jagiełło, which had a clear anti-Polish tone. In a slightly altered version, edited by the Silesian writer Alfons Hayduk, it entered the repertoire of Katowice in 1942 – premiere 29 November 1942; *Die Freier* (*The Suitors*) – 24 May 1941 premiere in Łódź, autumn 1941 in the Landestheater Beuthen, 1 September 1942 in Bielsko.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 57, *passim*; Der Danziger Vorposten, nr 304 z 4 XI 1940 r., p. 6; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 253 z 26/27 X 1940 r., p. 4; nr 255 z 29 X 1940 r., p. 4, 10; nr 257 z 31 X 1940 r., p. 5; nr 258 z 1 XI 1940 r., p. 8; nr 85 z 11/12 IV 1942 r., p. 5; nr 88 z 15 IV 1942 r., p. 5; nr 96 z 24 IV 1942 r., p. 2; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 257 z 18 IX 1941 r., *Ich liebe ein bürgerliches Mädchen...*; nr 144 z 30 V 1942 r., *Erfolgreiche Spielzeit in Bielitz*, nr 165 z 20 VI 1942 r., *Erfolgreiches Jubiläumjahr*; nr 228 z 22 VIII 1942 r., *Kattowitz/Königshütte in der neuen Spielzeit*; nr 245 z 8 IX 1942 r., *Die Braut von Messina*; nr 268 z 28 IX 1943 r., *Schauspielhaus Königshütte*; nr 270 z 30 IX 1943 r., *Zeitgemäßer Wallenstein*; nr 64 z 5 III 1944 r., *Das Oberschlesische Schauspiel eröffnet*; nr 65 z 6 III 1944 r., *Quellen deutscher Kunst*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 311 z 9 XI 1940 r., p. 12; nr 312 z 10 XI 1940 r., p. 7; nr 313 z 11 XI 1940 r., p. 3; nr 30 z 30 I 1942 r., p. 5, 8; nr 33 z 2 II 1942 r., p. 3; nr 220 z 9 VIII 1942 r., p. 5; nr 247 z 5 IX 1942 r., p. 4, 6; nr 248 z 6 IX 1942 r., p. 5; nr 249 z 7 IX 1942 r., p. 3; nr 255 z 13 IX 1942 r., p. 5; nr 267 z 25 IX 1942 r., p. 3; nr 268 z 26 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 272 z 30 IX 1942 r., p. 3; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 4 z 4 I 1941 r., p. 4; nr 78 z 19 III 1942 r., p. 5; nr 83 z 24 III 1942 r., p. 5; nr 91 z 1 IV 1942 r., p. 4; nr 94 z 4 IV 1942 r., p. 8; nr 96 z 7 IV 1942 r., p. 4; nr 245 z 5 IX 1942 r., p. 6; nr 248 z 8 IX 1942 r., p. 3; nr 265 z 25 IX 1942 r., p. 6; Thorner Freiheit, nr 129 z 4 VI 1942 r., p. 3; nr 130 z 5 VI 1942 r., p. 2; nr 131 z 6/7 VI 1942 r., p. 3; nr 91 z 17/18 IV 1943 r., p. 5; nr 94 z 21 IV 1943 r., p. 3; nr 122 z 25 V 1944 r., p. 4; nr 123 z 26 V 1944 r., p. 3.

¹⁴⁶ Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 143 z 24 V 1941 r., p. 5, 10; Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 239 z 2 IX 1942 r., *Verheissungsvoller Auftakt in Bielitz*; nr 304 z 6 XI 1942 r., *Die Städtischen Bühnen im November*; nr 323 z 25 XI 1942 r., *Eichendorffs "Letzter Held von Marienburg"*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 148 z 29 V 1941 r., p. 4.

The theatre stage often hosted the works of the Enlightenment innovator, and propagator of idea of so-called National Theatre: Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, who wrote the comedy *Minna von Barnhelm* – 13 January 1940 premiere in Łódź, 15 September 1941 in Poznań, December 1941 in Bytom, 3 March 1942 in Katowice, 2 September 1942 Toruń; the tragedy *Emilia Galotti* – 14 May 1941 premiere in Bydgoszcz, 26 September, 1941 in Łódź, 24 September, 1942 in Poznań, 19 May 1943 in Chorzów, 3 June 1944 in Gliwice.¹⁴⁷

From the rich work of the most prominent living German playwright Gerhart Hauptmann,¹⁴⁸ theatres in the Polish lands incorporated into the Third Reich offered: *Der Biberpelz* (*The Beaver Fur*) – 12 September 1941, premiere in Łódź, 21 January 1942 in Katowice, January 1944 in Landestheater Beuthen; *Die versunkene Glocke* (*The Sunken Bell*) – In the season 1941/1942, the piece was played by the Landestheater Beuthen and 21 November 1942 it premiered in Bydgoszcz; *Vor Sonnenuntergang* (*Before sunset*) – 15 November 1942, premiere in Poznań, 9 September 1944 in Łódź; *Iphigenie in Delphi* – 14 November 1942 it opened in Katowice; Michael Kramer – in November 1942, premiere in Bytom.¹⁴⁹

Theatre directors were also keen on the repertoire of such contemporary playwrights as:

- Josef Maria Frank:¹⁵⁰ *Dschungel* (*Jungle*) – 7 December 1940 premiere in Łódź, 5 May 1942 in Chorzów; the comedy *Kolibri* – 15 December 15 1943, premiere in Łódź;¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 101 z 30 IV 1941 r., p. 5; nr 111 z 13 V 1941 r., p. 5; nr 112 z 14 V 1941 r., p. 4, 5; nr 114 z 16 V 1941 r., p. 5; nr 116 z 19 V 1941 r., p. 5; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 336 z 6 XII 1941 r., *So macht man Klassiker lebendig*; nr 59 z 1 III 1942 r., *Die Städtischen Bühnen im Monat März*; nr 63 z 5 III 1942 r., *Zwischen Liebe und Soldatenehre*; nr 165 z 20 VI 1942 r., *Erfolgreiches Jubiläumsjahr*; nr 137 z 19 V 1943 r., *Schauspielhaus Königshütte*; nr 139 z 21 V 1943 r., *Muster dichterischer Wahrhaftigkeit*; nr 145 z 27 V 1944 r., *Theater*; nr 153 z 5 VI 1944 r., *„Emilia Galotti“ in Gleiwitz*; Lodscher Zeitung (od 12 IV 1940 r. jako Litzmannstädter Zeitung), nr 7 z 7 I 1940 r., p. 7; nr 11 z 11 I 1940 r., p. 8; nr 13 z 13 I 1940 r., p. 4; nr 14 z 14 I 1940 r., p. 4; nr 15 z 15 I 1940 r., p. 3; nr 267 z 26 IX 1941 r., p. 5, 8; nr 268 z 27 IX 1941 r., p. 5; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 262 z 21 IX 1941 r., p. 15; nr 243 z 3 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 252 z 12 IX 1942 r., p. 6; nr 262 z 22 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 265 z 25 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 266 z 26 IX 1942 r., p. 3; Thorner Freiheit, nr 203 z 29/30 VIII 1942 r., p. 3; nr 206 z 2 IX 1942 r., p. 3; nr 207 z 3 IX 1942 r., p. 3.

¹⁴⁸ E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 201–202.

¹⁴⁹ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 270 z 14/15 XI 1942 r., p. 4; nr 275 z 20 XI 1942 r., p. 4; nr 276 z 21/22 XI 1942 r., p. 4; nr 277 z 23 XI 1942 r., p. 2; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 3 z 4 I 1942 r., *Volkstümlichkeit und Heiterkeit*; nr 21 z 22 I 1942 r., *Meisterkomödie des Naturalismus*; nr 165 z 20 VI 1942 r., *Erfolgreiches Jubiläumsjahr*; nr 294 z 27 X 1942 r., *Ein Klassiker unserer Zeit*; nr 313 z 15 XI 1942 r., *„Michael Kramer“ in Beuthen*; nr 20 z 21 I 1944 r., *„Der Biberpelz“ in Beuthen*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 250 z 9 IX 1941 r., p. 5; nr 253 z 12 IX 1941 r., p. 10; nr 255 z 14 IX 1941 r., p. 2; nr 161 z 9 VI 1944 r., p. 4; nr 163 z 11 VI 1944 r., p. 4; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 248 z 7 IX 1941 r., p. 15; nr 253 z 12 IX 1941 r., p. 9; nr 257 z 16 IX 1941 r., p. 4; nr 284 z 14 X 1942 r., p. 4; nr 315 z 14 XI 1942 r., p. 6; nr 318 z 17 XI 1942 r., p. 3.

¹⁵⁰ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 145.

¹⁵¹ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 56, *passim*; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 123 z 7 V 1942 r., *Tropenstück: „Dschungel“*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 290 z 19 X 1940 r., p. 7; nr 339 z 7 XII

- Siegmund Graff:¹⁵² *Die Primanerin* (*The High School Student*) – 12 April 1942 premiere in Chorzów, in the season 1941/1942 also in the in Bielsko theatre;¹⁵³
- Max Halbe:¹⁵⁴ *Jugend* (*Youth*) – 17 February 1940 premiere in Łódź, 5 February 1941 in Bydgoszcz; *Der Strom* (*The Stream*) – 17 February 1940 premiere in Bydgoszcz, 5 October 1940 in Łódź, in the season 1941/1942, it also played at the Landestheater Beuthen;¹⁵⁵
- Paul Helwig: *Flitterwochen* (*Honeymoon*) – 18 January 1940, premiere in Łódź, 11 January 1941 in Bydgoszcz, 15 May 1941 in Poznań, 11 February 1943 in Toruń; *Götter auf Urlaub* (*Gods on Leave*) – 16 September 1943 premiere in Łódź;¹⁵⁶
- Edgar Kahn:¹⁵⁷ the play *Oberst Vittorio Rossi* (*Colonel Vittorio Rossi*), dedicated to the Italian ally of the Third Reich – premiere at the Städtische Bühnen Kattowitz-Königshütte in the beginning of October 1941, also played at the Landestheater Beuthen in 1941/1942;¹⁵⁸
- Leo Lenz¹⁵⁹ (Leo Lenz-Schwanzara): *Heimliche Brautfahrt* (*Secret Bridal Journey*) – 3 February 1940 premiere in Bydgoszcz, 25 December 1940 in Łódź; *Hochzeitsreise ohne Mann* (*Honeymoon without a husband*) – 30 March 1940 premiere in Bydgoszcz, 29 May 1942 in Łódź; *Die Unnahbare Frau* (*The Unapproachable Woman*) – 3 October 1943 premiere in Toruń; *Duett zu Dritt* (*Duet for Three*) – 15 November 1942 premiere in Bydgoszcz; *Der Mann mit den grauen Schläfen* (*The Man with the Gray Temples*) – opened 13 February 1943 in Bydgoszcz;¹⁶⁰

1940 r., p. 12; nr 342 z 10 XII 1940 r., p. 6; nr 349 z 15 XII 1943 r., p. 3, 4; nr 351 z 17 XII 1943 r., p. 3; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 4 z 4 I 1941 r., p. 4 i nr 342 z 11 XII 1943 r., p. 6.

¹⁵² E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 177–178.

¹⁵³ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 93 z 4, 5, 6 IV 1942 r., „Tannhäuser” als Osterpremiere; nr 101 z 14 IV 1942 r., „Die Primanerin” in Königshütte; nr 144 z 30 V 1942 r., Erfolgreiche Spielzeit in Bielitz.

¹⁵⁴ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 192.

¹⁵⁵ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 57, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 41 z 17/18 II 1940 r., p. 4; nr 42 z 19 II 1940 r., p. 6; nr 30 z 5 II 1941 r., p. 4; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 165 z 20 VI 1942 r., *Erfolgreiches Jubiläumsjahr*; Lodscher Zeitung (od 12 IV 1940 r. jako Litzmannstädter Zeitung), nr 45 z 14 II 1940 r., p. 8; nr 48 z 17 II 1940 r., p. 6, 8; nr 50 z 19 II 1940 r., p. 5; nr 274 z 3 X 1940 r., p. 6, 10; nr 276 z 5 X 1940 r., p. 5, 10; nr 277 z 6 X 1940 r., p. 5; nr 278 z 7 X 1940 r., p. 6.

¹⁵⁶ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 56 i 57, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 3 z 4/5 I 1941 r., p. 4; nr 8 z 10 I 1941 r., p. 5; nr 9 z 11/12 I 1941 r., p. 4; Lodscher Zeitung (od 12 IV 1940 r. jako Litzmannstädter Zeitung), nr 17 z 17 I 1940 r., p. 9; nr 18 z 18 I 1940 r., p. 4, 9; nr 20 z 20 I 1940 r., p. 5; nr 258 z 15 IX 1943 r., p. 3; nr 259 z 16 IX 1943 r., p. 5; nr 261 z 18 IX 1943 r., p. 4; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 130 z 11 V 1941 r., p. 13 i nr 136 z 17 V 1941 r., p. 4; Thorner Freiheit, nr 32 z 8 II 1943 r., p. 4 i nr 36 z 12 II 1943 r., p. 3.

¹⁵⁷ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 264

¹⁵⁸ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 273 z 4 X 1941 r., *Oberst Vittorio Rossi* i nr 165 z 20 VI 1942 r., *Erfolgreiches Jubiläumsjahr*.

¹⁵⁹ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 328

¹⁶⁰ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 57, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 28 z 3/4 II 1940 r., p. 3, 12; nr 31 z 6 II 1940 r., p. 3; nr 75 z 30/31 III 1940 r., p. 4; nr 76 z 1 IV 1940 r., p. 5; nr 264 z 7/8 XI 1942 r., p. 4; nr 272 z 17 XI 1942 r., p. 4; nr 36 z 12 II 1943 r., p. 3; nr 37 z 13/14 II 1943 r., p. 4;

- Walter Erich Schäfer:¹⁶¹ *Der 18. October* – 24 March 1940, premiered in Bydgoszcz, in 1941/1942 the play was put on at the Bielsko Theatre, 25 October 1942 premiere in Poznań;¹⁶²
- Hans Schweikart:¹⁶³ the comedy *Lauter Lügen (Nothing But Lies)* – 20 January 1940 premiere in Bydgoszcz, 9 April 1941 in Poznań, early September 1942 in Chorzów, 27 May 1943 in Łódź, March 1944 in Gliwice; the comedy *Ich brauche dich (I Need You)* – 6 October 1942 premiere in Toruń, 5 February 1944 in Poznań;¹⁶⁴
- Heinz Steguweit,¹⁶⁵ whose oeuvre was eminently nationalistic: *Junger Wein in alten Schläuchen (New wine in Old Vessels)* – 5 March 1942 premiere in Łódź, 1941/1942, played also in Bytom, 23 May 1944 it premiered in Chorzów.¹⁶⁶ In Poznań, two of three stage works by Herybert Menzel,¹⁶⁷ called *Homer der SA (The Homer of the SA)*, i.e. the comedy *Noch einmal Napoleon? (Again Napoleon?)* – 4 April 1943, and the drama *Brief (The Letter)* – 23 April 1944.¹⁶⁸
Favoured authors of popular comedies included:
- Maximilian Böttcher:¹⁶⁹ *Krach im Hinterhaus (Noise in the rear building)* – February 10, 1940, premiere in Łódź, September 20, 1941 in Katowice, in the sea-

nr 39 z 16 II 1943 r., p. 4; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 353 z 21 XII 1940 r., p. 11; nr 356/357 z 24/25 XII 1940 r., p. 5, 15; nr 358 z 27 XII 1940 r., p. 4; nr 148 z 29 V 1942 r., p. 6; nr 150 z 31 V 1942 r., p. 5; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 4 z 4 I 1941 r., p. 4; nr 146 z 29 V 1942 r., p. 4; nr 154 z 6 VI 1942 r., p. 4; Thorner Freiheit, nr 232 z 2/3 X 1943 r., p. 3, 5 i nr 233 z 4 X 1943 r., p. 4.

¹⁶¹ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 465.

¹⁶² Deutsche Rundschau, nr 70 z 22/23 III 1940 r., p. 4, 5 i nr 72 z 27 III 1940 r., p. 5; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 144 z 30 V 1942 r., *Erfolgreiche Spielzeit in Bielitz*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 284 z 14 X 1942 r., p. 4; nr 292 z 22 X 1942 r., p. 3; nr 295 z 25 X 1942 r., p. 10; nr 297 z 27 X 1942 r., p. 4

¹⁶³ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 503–504.

¹⁶⁴ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 12 z 15 I 1940 r., p. 8; nr 14 z 17 I 1940 r., p. 3; nr 18 z 22 I 1940 r., p. 3; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 147 z 27 V 1943 r., p. 5 i nr 149 z 29 V 1943 r., p. 4; Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 247 z 10 IX 1942 r., *Schweikarts "Lauter Lügen"* i nr 76 z 17 III 1944 r., *Lauter Lügen*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 95 z 5 IV 1941 r., p. 13; nr 102 z 12 IV 1941 r., p. 5; nr 35 z 5 II 1944 r., p. 4; nr 37 z 7 II 1944 r., p. 3; Thorner Freiheit, nr 232 z 2 X 1942 r., p. 3; nr 233z 3/4 X 1942 r., p. 7; nr 236 z 7 X 1942 r., p. 4.

¹⁶⁵ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 528.

¹⁶⁶ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 57, *passim*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 64 z 5 III 1942 r., p. 8 i nr 66 z 7 III 1942 r., p. 5; Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 139 z 21 V 1944 r., *Theater* i nr 143 z 25 V 1944 r., *"Junger Wein in alten Schläuchen" in Königshütte*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 62 z 3 III 1942 r., p. 8 i nr 69 z 10 III 1942 r., p. 4.

¹⁶⁷ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 366.

¹⁶⁸ Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 114 z 25 IV 1944 r., *Um die Kameradschaft zweier Völker*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 52 z 21 II 1943 r., p. 4; nr 86 z 27 III 1943 r., p. 6; nr 93 z 3 IV 1943 r., p. 6; nr 94 z 4 IV 1943 r., p. 8; nr 96 z 6 IV 1943 r., p. 3; nr 67 z 8 III 1944 r., p. 5; nr 111 z 22 IV 1944 r., p. 4; nr 114 z 25 IV 1944 r., p. 4.

¹⁶⁹ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 59.

- son 1941/1942 played by Landestheater Beuthen, June 3, 1942 premiere in Bydgoszcz, October 19, 1942 in Toruń;¹⁷⁰
- Curt Goetz:¹⁷¹ *Ingeborg* – 9 March 1940, premiere in Łódź, 30 May 1941, in Poznań, 29 May 1942, in Bydgoszcz; *Hokuspokus* – 9 March 1940, premiere in Bydgoszcz, 1 November 1941 in Poznań; *Dr. Hiob Prätorius* – 18 December 1940, premiere in Bydgoszcz;¹⁷²
 - August Hinrichs:¹⁷³ Comedy *Wenn der Hahn kräht* (*When the rooster crows*) – November 23, 1940 premiere in Łódź, December 10, 1942 in Chorzów, September 17, 1942 in Bydgoszcz, November 15, 1944 in Toruń; *Für die Katz* (*It is not worth anything*) – 16 January 1940 the premiere in Łódź;¹⁷⁴
 - Ludwig Thoma: comedy *Moral* (*Morality*) – 27 September 1941 premiere in Bydgoszcz, 15 November 1942 in Chorzów;¹⁷⁵
 - Heinrich Zerkaulen:¹⁷⁶ *Reiter* (*The Rider*) – April 12, 1941, premiere in Łódź September 4, 1943 in Toruń, March 1944 in Gliwice;¹⁷⁷
 - Adalbert Alexander Zinn: comedy *Die gute Sieben* (*The lucky seven*) – September 9, 1942 premiere in Łódź, 9 January 1943 in Chorzów, 6 November 1943 in Poznań. In March 1944 the play was also staged in the theatre in Gliwice.¹⁷⁸ Par-

¹⁷⁰ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 57, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 131 z 5 VI 1942 r., p. 2; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 258 z 19 IX 1941 r., *Heute "Lohengrin" mit zwei Gästen* i nr 261 z 22 IX 1941 r., "*Krach im Hinterhaus.*" *Ein Lustspielerfolg im Opernhaus Kattowitz*; Lodscher Zeitung, nr 38 z 7 II 1940 r., p. 8; nr 41 z 10 II 1940 r., p. 6; nr 44 z 13 II 1940 r., p. 6; Thorner Freiheit, nr 251 z 24/25 X 1942 r., p. 7 i nr 256 z 30 X 1942 r., p. 3.

¹⁷¹ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 171.

¹⁷² AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 57, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 58 z 8 III 1940 r., p. 5; nr 59 z 9/10 III 1940 r., p. 8; nr 60 z 11 III 1940 r., p. 6; nr 292 z 11 XII 1940 r., p. 9; nr 295 z 14/15 XII 1940 r., p. 4; nr 298 z 18 XII 1940 r., p. 5; nr 121 z 23/24 V 1942 r., p. 4; nr 127 z 1 VI 1942 r., p. 2; Lodscher Zeitung, nr 66 z 6 III 1940 r., p. 8; nr 68 z 8 III 1940 r., p. 6; nr 69 z 9 III 1940 r., p. 8; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 144 z 25 V 1941 r., p. 19; nr 147 z 28 V 1941 r., p. 5; nr 151 z 1/2 VI 1941 r., p. 8; nr 296 z 25 X 1941 r., p. 7; nr 305 z 3 XI 1941 r., p. 5.

¹⁷³ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 226.

¹⁷⁴ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 57, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 222 z 19/20 IX 1942 r., p. 2; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 330 z 30 XI 1941 r., *Der Spielplan wird wesentlich bereichert* i nr 342 z 12 XII 1941 r., *Wenn der Hahn kräht*; Lodscher Zeitung (od 12 IV 1940 r. jako Litzmannstädter Zeitung), nr 15 z 15 I 1940 r., p. 6; nr 16 z 16 I 1940 r., p. 4, 12; nr 322 z 20 XI 1940 r., p. 5; nr 325 z 23 XI 1940 r., p. 5, 12; nr 327 z 25 XI 1940 r., p. 3; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 4 z 4 I 1941 r., p. 4; Thorner Freiheit, nr 6 z 8/9 I 1944 r., p. 4 i nr 13 z 17 I 1944 r., p. 3.

¹⁷⁵ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 57, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 227 z 26 IX 1941 r., p. 3 i nr 229 z 29 IX 1941 r., p. 5; Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 304 z 6 XI 1942 r., *Die Städtischen Bühnen im November* i nr 315 z 17 XI 1942 r., *Was ist Moral?*

¹⁷⁶ E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 614–615.

¹⁷⁷ Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 100 z 10 IV 1941 r., p. 7, 16; nr 102 z 12 IV 1941 r., p. 4, 14; nr 104 z 15 IV 1941 r., p. 4; Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 85 z 26 III 1944 r., *Von deutscher Sendung*; Thorner Freiheit, nr 202 z 28/29 VIII 1943 r., p. 4; nr 207 z 3 IX 1943 r., p. 3; nr 209 z 6 IX 1943 r., p. 3.

¹⁷⁸ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 57, *passim*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 251 z 9 IX 1942 r., p. 4 i nr 253 z 11 IX 1942 r., p. 3; Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 7 z 7 I 1943 r., *Die Städt. Bühnen im Januar*; nr 12 z 12 I 1943 r., *Die Gute Sieben*; nr 70 z 11 III 1944 r., *Die gute Sieben in Gliwice*;

ticularly popular was Wolfgang Eberhardt Möller¹⁷⁹ comedy, with a remarkably anti-Semitic tone: *Rothschild siegt bei Waterloo* (*Rothschild wins at Waterloo*): September 18, 1941, premiere in Poznań, 5 March 1943 in Chorzów. His drama *Das Opfer* (*Victim*) was also played on 31 September 1942 in Łódź, 9 September 1942 in Bydgoszcz, and in October 1942 in Landestheater Beuthen, also the play *Der Sturz des Ministers* (*The fall of the minister*) was presented – 4 September 1943, the premiere in Łódź¹⁸⁰. The authors of trendy and frequently staged comedies were also popular actors, among them, Jupp Hussels.¹⁸¹ His play *Ich heirate meine Tante* (*I'm marrying my aunt*) had its premiere on April 15, 1942 in Poznań, where his author was then serving military service (this was the first premiere on the stage of the Poznań Theater during the occupation. It was also presented by Bytom Theater¹⁸² in January 1943. Theatrical comedies and crime story plays by actor and director of the theatre in Wiesbaden Axel Ivers were readily presented. Especially the play *Parkstrasse 13* (*13 Parkowa Street*): 6 April 1940 premiere in Łódź, 15 November 1940 in Bydgoszcz, 16 June 1941 in Poznań, 1 May 1942 in Toruń.¹⁸³ On March 13, 1943, the premiere of his play *Der Fälscher* (*Counterfeiter*) took place. A week later (20 March) another of his plays *Bob macht sich gesund* (*Bob is getting well*)¹⁸⁴ had its premiere performance on the Bydgoszcz theatrical stage. In addition, comedies such as *Das Mädchen Till* (*The girl Till*) by Wolfgang Gondolatsch and Alexander Deissner – 7 June 1941 premiere in Łódź, 20 May 1943 in Toruń;¹⁸⁵ *Liebesbriefe* (*Love Let-*

Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 249 z 9 IX 1942 r., p. 6; nr 307 z 6 XI 1943 r., p. 6; nr 308 z 7 XI 1943 r., p. 5; nr 309 z 8 XI 1943 r., p. 3.

¹⁷⁹ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 373.

¹⁸⁰ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 57, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 196 z 20 VIII 1942 r., p. 4; nr 209 z 4 IX 1942 r., p. 3; nr 215 z 11 IX 1942 r., p. 4; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 150 z 31 V 1942 r., p. 12; nr 152 z 2 VI 1942 r., p. 4; nr 244 z 1 IX 1943 r., p. 3; nr 246 z 3 IX 1943 r., p. 3; nr 249 z 6 IX 1943 r., p. 3; Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 272 z 5 X 1942 r., *Dramatik aus neuem Geist*; nr 58 z 27 II 1943 r., *Die Städtischen Bühnen im Monat März*; nr 62 z 3 III 1943 r., *Schauspielhaus Königshütte*; nr 66 z 7 III 1943 r., *Satire und politisches Gleichnis*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 259 z 18 IX 1941 r., p. 7; nr 260 z 19 IX 1941 r., p. 4; nr 261 z 20 IX 1941 r., p. 5; nr 148 z 31 V 1942 r., p. 12.

¹⁸¹ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 248

¹⁸² Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 19 z 19 I 1943 r., *Ich heirate meine Tante*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 57 z 26 II 1942 r., p. 4; nr 73 z 14 III 1942 r., p. 5; nr 95/Ostern 1942, p. 5; nr 97 z 8 IV 1942 r., p. 5; nr 100 z 11 IV 1942 r., p. 5; nr 104 z 15 IV 1942 r., p. 5, 8; nr 105 z 16 IV 1942 r., p. 5; nr 106 z 17 IV 1942 r., p. 4.

¹⁸³ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 57, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 269 z 14 XI 1940 r., p. 4 i nr 271 z 16/17 XI 1940 r., p. 16; Lodscher Zeitung, nr 89 z 30 III 1940 r., p. 4; nr 96 z 6 IV 1940 r., p. 5, 10; nr 99 z 9 IV 1940 r., p. 5; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 155 z 6 VI 1941 r., p. 5 i nr 166 z 17 VI 1941 r., p. 4; Thorner Freiheit, nr 102 z 1 V 1942 r., p. 5 i nr 103 z 4 V 1942 r., p. 3.

¹⁸⁴ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 61 z 13/14 III 1943 r., p. 4; nr 67 z 20/21 III 1943 r., p. 4; nr 69 z 23 III 1943 r., p. 4; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 65 z 6 III 1943 r., p. 6; nr 72 z 13 III 1943 r., p. 6; nr 74 z 15 III 1943 r., p. 3.

¹⁸⁵ Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 156 z 7 VI 1941 r., p. 5 i nr 158 z 9 VI 1941 r., p. 5; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 162 z 13 VI 1941 r., p. 4; Thorner Freiheit, nr 113 z 15/16 V 1943 r., p. 5; nr 115 z 18 V 1943 r., p. 3; nr 118 z 21 V 1943 r., p. 3.

ters) by Felix Lützkendorf¹⁸⁶ – 28 March 1942 premiere in Łódź, in the season 1941/1942 the play was presented in Bytom theatre, 1 January 1944 it had its premiere in Chorzów;¹⁸⁷ *Die blaue Strohhut (The Blue Straw Hat)* by Friedrich Michael – 29 April 1943 premiere in Bydgoszcz, 8 September 1943 in Łódź, 14 September 1943 in Chorzów, 14 June 1944 in Bytom;¹⁸⁸ *Die blaue Heinrich (The blue Henry)* by Otto Schwartz and Georg Lengbach: premiere in Poznań, 1 January 1944, in Toruń,¹⁸⁹ Poland.

The directors of the theatres showed a great deal of restraint in exposing the works of foreign authors. The possibility of their presentation was determined by political premises. Among the classics of Austrian drama, the works of Franz Grillparzer were the most popular: *Der Traum ein Leben (Living a dream)* – in April 1942 the premiere in Landestheater Beuthen; *Medea* – April 25, 1941, premiere in Bydgoszcz, May 10, 1941 in Bytom, January 13, 1943 in Poznań.¹⁹⁰ Other authors from Austria eagerly presented on stage were Hermann Bahr: *Das Konzert (The Concert)*, a comedy – April 13, 1940, premiered in Bydgoszcz, March 2, 1941, in Łódź, 6 January 1942 in Katowice, 30 October 1942 in Poznań,¹⁹¹ and Herman Heintz Ortner¹⁹² *Isabella von Spanien (Isabella Spanish)* – April 4, 1941, premiere in Poznań, September 17, 1941 in Bydgoszcz, April 4, 1944 in Chorzów.¹⁹³ In the theatre repertoire the “German-Italian community” was reflected. Among others, the plays of Giovacchino Forzano were readily staged: a comedy *Blast of wind* – in the season of 1941/1942 was put on by the theatre in Bielsko, 9 May 1942 premiere

¹⁸⁶ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 345.

¹⁸⁷ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 57, *passim*; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 165 z 20 VI 1942 r., *Erfolgreiches Jubiläumsjahr* i nr 31z 1 II 1944 r., *Schauspielhaus*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 87 z 28 III 1942 r., p. 8 i nr 90 z 31 III 1942 r., p. 4; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 87 z 28 III 1942 r., p. 8 i nr 90 z 31 III 1942 r., p. 4.

¹⁸⁸ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 56, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 19 z 23/24 I 1943 r., p. 4; nr 26 z 1 II 1943 r., p. 8; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 250 z 7 IX 1943 r., p. 4; nr 251 z 8 IX 1943 r., p. 4; nr 253 z 10 IX 1943 r., p. 3; Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 162 z 14 VI 1944 r., *Theater*; nr 164 z 16 VI 1944 r., “*Der blaue Strohhut*” in Beuthen; nr 254 z 14 IX 1943 r., *Schauspielhaus Königshütte*; nr 256 z 16 IX 1943 r., *Um Herzen und Hütte*.

¹⁸⁹ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 78 z 19 III 1942 r., p. 5 i nr 85 z 26 III 1942 r., p. 4; Thorner Freiheit, nr 303/Weihnachten 1943, p. 9.

¹⁹⁰ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 92 z 19/20 IV 1941 r., p. 4; nr 97 z 25 IV 1941 r., p. 4, 5; nr 99 z 28 IV 1941 r., p. 5–6; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 97 z 10 IV 1942 r., “*Der Traum ein Leben*” i nr 165 z 20 VI 1942 r., *Erfolgreiches Jubiläumsjahr*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 13 z 13 I 1943 r., p. 3, 4, 6 i nr 15 z 15 I 1943 r., p. 3. See also p. 210 of this book – *Theatertage des Gaues Oberschlesien 7–15 V 1941 r.*

¹⁹¹ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 87 z 13/14 IV 1940 r., p. 4; nr 88 z 15 IV 1940 r., p. 5; nr 89z 16 IV 1940 r., p. 5; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 3 z 4 I 1942 r., *Volkstümlichkeit und Heiterkeit* i nr 7 z 8 I 1942 r., *Eheglück geteilt durch vier*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 61 z 2 III 1941 r., p. 12 i nr 63 z 4 III 1941 r., p. 5; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 284 z 14 X 1942 r., p. 4; nr 297 z 27 X 1942 r., p. 4; nr 300 z 30 X 1942 r., p. 6; nr 302 z 1 XI 1942 r., p. 4.

¹⁹² E. Klee, op. cit., p. 401.

¹⁹³ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 219 z 17 IX 1941 r., p. 5; Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 92 z 2 IV 1944 r., *Theater* nr 96 z 6 IV 1944 r., *Königin und Liebende*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 88 z 29 III 1941 r., p. 11; nr 94 z 4 IV 1941 r., p. 5, 13; nr 95 z 5 IV 1941 r., p. 5; nr 96 z 6 IV 1941 r., p. 17.

in Bydgoszcz;¹⁹⁴ Carlo Gozzi: *Princess Turandot* – 30 November 1941 premiere in Łódź;¹⁹⁵ Dario Niccodemi: comedy *Pelt* – 8 February 1941 premiere in Łódź, 2 March 1942 in Poznań, 4 October 1942 in Bydgoszcz, 27 November 1942 in Toruń.¹⁹⁶ Also presented were the works by Spanish authors, among others: Lope Felix de Vega: *Gardener's Dog* – 21 October 1942 premiere at Landestheater Beuthen; comedy *La dama boba* – December 29, 1941 premiere in Poznań; comedy *And how did he get here?* – June 23, 1943, premiere in Poznań.¹⁹⁷ Due to the supposed “blood community” connecting Scandinavians with the German people, the plays of the Scandinavian countries were accepted. They were mainly represented in theatre by the Norwegian writer Henrik Ibsen: *Nora* – in the season 1941/1942, played at the Bielitzer Stadttheater, September 11, 1943, in Łódź, December 17, 1943 in Toruń.¹⁹⁸ Among contemporary Danish writers were: Axel Breidahl *Revolt in the old ladies' home*: 4 December 1943 premiered in Toruń, 13 V 1944 in Gliwice.¹⁹⁹ In spite of the anti-British propaganda organized by the German authorities, it was still possible to put on plays of William Shakespeare's, such as the comedy *As you like it* – 28 October 1941, premiered in Katowice, 18 December 1942 premiere in Łódź, 26 April 1944 r in Toruń; Comedy *The Tempest* – September 19, 1942 premiere in Poznań; *Measure for Measure* – April 4, 1942, premiere in Łódź; *Hamlet* – 2 October 1943 premiere in Bielsko, 29 October 1943 in Łódź; comedy *Much Ado About Nothing* – 7 February 1942 premiere in Bydgoszcz.²⁰⁰ The

¹⁹⁴ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 103 z 2/3 V 1942 r., p. 5; nr 109 z 9/10 V 1942 r., p. 5 i nr 110z 11 V 1942 r., p. 2; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 144 z 30 V 1942 r., *Erfolgreiche Spielzeit in Bielitz*.

¹⁹⁵ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 57, *passim*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 332 z 30 XI 1941 r., p. 12 i nr 334 z 2 XII 1941 r., p. 3, 5; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 330 z 28 XI 1941 r., p. 8 i nr 335 z 3 XII 1941 r., p. 4.

¹⁹⁶ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 56, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 231 z 30 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 234 z 3/4 X 1942 r., p. 4; nr 237 z 7 X 1942 r., p. 4; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 37 z 6 II 1941 r., p. 6; nr 38 z 7 II 1941 r., p. 7; nr 39 z 8 II 1941 r., p. 6, 12; nr 42 z 11 II 1941 r., p. 5; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 52 z 21 II 1942 r., p. 5; nr 61 z 2 III 1942 r., p. 4; nr 63 z 4 III 1942 r., p. 4; Thorner Freiheit, nr 275 z 21/22 XI 1942 r., p. 5.

¹⁹⁷ Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 290 z 23 X 1942 r., *Lope de Vega in Beuthen*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 355 z 23 XII 1941 r., p. 5; nr 360 z 29 XII 1941 r., p. 6; nr 2 z 2 I 1942 r., p. 4; nr 171 z 23 VI 1943 r., p. 6; nr 173 z 25 VI 1943 r., p. 3

¹⁹⁸ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 56, *passim*; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 144 z 30 V 1942 r., *Erfolgreiche Spielzeit in Bielitz*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 254 z 11 IX 1943 r., p. 5 i nr 256 z 13 IX 1943 r., p. 4; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 254 z 14 IX 1943 r., p. 3; Thorner Freiheit, nr 292 z 11/12 XII 1943 r., p. 7 i nr 298 z 18/19 XII 1943 r., p. 3.

¹⁹⁹ Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 127 z 9 V 1944 r., *Theater i nr 134 z 16 V 1944 r., „Aufruhr im Damenstift” in Gleiwitz*; Thorner Freiheit, nr 280 z 27/28 XI 1943 r., p. 5 i nr 287 z 6 XII 1943 r., p. 3.

²⁰⁰ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 56 i 57, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 30 z 5 II 1942 r., p. 5 i nr 33 z 9 II 1942 r., p. 5; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 297 z 28 X 1941 r., *Städtische Bühnen Kattowitz–Königshütte*; nr 299 z 30 X 1941 r., *„Was ihr wollt” – so wie wir's wollten*; nr 275 z 5 X 1943 r., *„Hamlet” als Jubiläumsaufführung*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 94 z 4 IV 1942 r., p. 8; nr 96 z 7 IV 1942 r., p. 4; nr 351 z 18 XII 1942 r., p. 4; nr 353 z 20 XII 1942 r., p. 5; nr 302 z 29 X 1943 r., p. 4; nr 304 z 31 X 1943 r., p. 5; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 94 z 4 IV 1942 r., p. 8; nr 96 z 7 IV 1942 r., p. 4; nr 243 z 3 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 252 z 12 IX 1942 r., p. 6; nr 258

works of Bernard Shaw were also played, however, considering hostile relations with England, the author's Irish origin was emphasized: *Pigmalion* – 12 May 1940 premiere in Łódź, April 4, 1942 in Katowice; *Candide* drama – in June 1942 the premiere in Poznań, 3 V 1944 in Bydgoszcz.²⁰¹ Theatrical repertoire also included fairytales for children, among them were: the Grimm brothers':

- *Schneeweischen und Rosenrot* (*Snow-white and Rose-red*) 4 December 1940 premiere in Bydgoszcz, 30 November 1941 in Łódź, 16 December 1943 in Toruń;²⁰²
- *Dornröschen* (*Sleeping Beauty*) in the adaptation of Robert Bürkner²⁰³ – 28 January 1940 in Łódź, 21 November 1942 in Toruń, 12 December 1942 in Bydgoszcz, 9th of 1943 in Katowice;²⁰⁴
- *Schneewittchen und die Sieben Zwerge* (*Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*) – December 5, 1942, premiere in Łódź, December 4, 1943 in Katowice;²⁰⁵
- *Die Prinzessin auf der Erbse* (*Princess on the Pea*) by Hans Christian Andersen – 10 May 1944 premiere at the theatre in Bielsko;²⁰⁶
- the fairy tale of Heinrich Römer *Das tapfere Schneiderlein* (*Brave Little Tailor*) – 2 December 1942 premiered in Poznań, April 8, 1944 in Toruń;²⁰⁷
- *Der gestiefelte Kater* (*Cat in Boots*) by Alexander Schettler: 13 October 1943 premiered in Toruń, 5 December 1943 in Łódź;²⁰⁸ Gerdt von Bassewitz: 14 De-

z 18 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 259 z 19 IX 1942 r., p. 4, 6; nr 260 z 20 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 261 z 21 IX 1942 r., p. 3; nr 344 z 13 XII 1942 r., p. 8; Thorner Freiheit, nr 95 z 22/23 IV 1944 r., pp. 3, 4.

²⁰¹ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 57, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 101 z 29/30 IV 1944 r., p. 3 i nr 105 z 5 V 1944 r., p. 4; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 91 z 2 IV 1942 r., *Ostspielplan der Städtischen Bühnen* i nr 92 z 3 IV 1942 r., *Pygmalion*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 129 z 10 V 1940 r., p. 12; nr 130 z 11 V 1940 r., p. 7; nr 131 z 12 V 1940 r., p. 20; nr 132 z 14 V 1940 r., p. 6; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 114 z 25 IV 1942 r., p. 4

²⁰² AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 57, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 283 z 30 XI/1 XII 1940 r., p. 4; nr 286 z 4 XII 1940 r., p. 5; nr 288 z 6 XII 1940 r., p. 6; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 332 z 30 XI 1941 r., p. 12 i nr 334 z 2 XII 1941 r., p. 3; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 330 z 28 XI 1941 r., p. 8 i nr 335 z 4 XII 1941 r., p. 4; Thorner Freiheit, nr 292 z 11/12 XII 1943 r., p. 7.

²⁰³ E. Klee, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

²⁰⁴ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 57, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 288 z 5/6 XII 1942 r., p. 4; nr 293 z 11 XII 1942 r., p. 4; nr 296 z 15 XII 1942 r., p. 4; Lodscher Zeitung, nr 27 z 27 I 1940 r., p. 10; nr 28 z 28 I 1940 r., p. 10; nr 29 z 29 I 1940 r., p. 4; Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 7 z 7 I 1943 r., *Die Städt. Bühnen im Januar*; Thorner Freiheit, nr 269 z 14/15 XI 1942 r., p. 7; nr 275 z 21/22 XI 1942 r., p. 5; nr 276 z 23 XI 1942 r., p. 3; nr 280 z 27 XI 1942 r., p. 3

²⁰⁵ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 57, *passim*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 338 z 5 XII 1942 r., p. 4 i nr 340 z 7 XII 1942 r., p. 4; Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 335 z 4 XII 1943 r., *Schauspielhaus Königshütte*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 330 z 29 XI 1942 r., p. 8.

²⁰⁶ Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 128 z 10 V 1944 r., *Theater*.

²⁰⁷ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 333 z 2 XII 1942 r., p. 6; nr 335 z 4 XII 1942 r., p. 3; nr 344 z 13 XII 1942 r., p. 4; Thorner Freiheit, nr 84/Ostern 1944, p. 4.

²⁰⁸ Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 339 z 5 XII 1943 r., p. 4 i nr 343 z 9 XII 1943 r., p. 4; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 335 z 4 XII 1943 r., p. 6; Thorner Freiheit, nr 241 z 13 X 1943 r., p. 5 i nr 242 z 14 X 1943 r., p. 3.

- cember 1940, premiere in Łódź, 10 December 1941 in Bydgoszcz, 5 December 1943 in Poznań;²⁰⁹
- *Der Froschkönig (The Frog Prince)*: 27 February 1943 premiere in Toruń, 11 December 1943 in Bydgoszcz.²¹⁰ Theatre audiences especially appreciated the music repertoire. In the opera repertoire, the most important works of the Viennese classics were by Ludwik van Beethoven: *Fidelio* – December 16, 1941, premiere at Landestheater Beuthen, September 4, 1942 in Katowice, September 8, 1942 in Bydgoszcz, September 20, 1942 in Poznań;²¹¹ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: *Die Entführung aus dem Serail (The abduction from the Seraglio)* 19 March 1941, the premiere in Poznań, 9 May 1940 in Bydgoszcz, at the end of March 1942 in Landestheater Beuthen, 29 September 1942 in Toruń; *Zauberflöte (The Magic Flute)* – in November 1941 the premiere in Katowice, on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the death of the “divine genius”; *Die Hochzeit des Figaro (The Marriage of Figaro)* November 28 1941 premiere in Bydgoszcz, also in November 1941 premiere in Landestheater Beuthen, on stage in Toruń for the first time 11 June 1943, 25 November 1942 premiere in Poznań; *Don Giovanni* – August 28, 1943, premiere in Poznań, March 16, 1943 in Katowice; *Così fan tutte (Women are like that or the school for lovers)* – November 9, 1941, premiere in Poznań, September 1943 in Landestheater Beuthen, September 30, 1943 in Bydgoszcz.²¹² Frequently staged were the operatic works of Oliver von Weber, especially *Der Freischütz (The Marksman)*,

²⁰⁹ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 288 z 6/7 XII 1941 r., p. 4 i nr 292 z 11 XII 1941 r., p. 5; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 346 z 14 XII 1940 r., p. 12 i nr 349 z 17 XII 1940 r., p. 5; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 336 z 5 XII 1943 r., p. 8 i nr 338 z 7 XII 1943 r., p. 4.

²¹⁰ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 293 z 11/12 1943 r., p. 3 i nr 295 z 14 XII 1943 r., p. 4; Thorner Freiheit, nr 43 z 20/21 II 1943 r., p. 3

²¹¹ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 196 z 20 VIII 1942 r., p. 4; nr 212 z 8 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 214 z 10 IX 1942 r., p. 5; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 340 z 10 XII 1941 r., *Intendant Huber begeht 35-jähriges Bühnen Jubiläum*; nr 348 z 18 XII 1941 r., *Ehrungen für Intendant Huber*; nr 350 z 20 XII 1941 r., *Beethoven als Dramatiker*; nr 240 z 3 IX 1942 r., *Das Spiel kann beginnen!*; nr 241 z 4 IX 1942 r., *Opernhaus Kattowitz*; nr 243 z 6 IX 1942 r., *“Fidelio.” Opernauftakt in Kattowitz*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 243 z 3 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 252 z 12 IX 1942 r., p. 6; nr 258 z 18 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 259 z 19 IX 1942 r., p. 4, 6; nr 262 z 22 IX 1942 r., p. 3.

²¹² Deutsche Rundschau, nr 101 z 30 IV 1941 r., p. 5; nr 108 z 9 V 1941 r., p. 4; nr 110 z 12 V 1941 r., p. 2; nr 276 z 22/23 XI 1941 r., p. 4; nr 280 z 27 XI 1941 r., p. 3; nr 227 z 25/26 IX 1943 r., p. 4; nr 230 z 29 IX 1943 r., p. 3; nr 233 z 2/3 X 1943 r., p. 6; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 292 z 23 X 1941 r., *Dem Andenken eines göttlichen Genius*; nr 325 z 25 XI 1941 r., *Will der Herr Grafein Tänzchen wagen...*; nr 330 z 30 XI 1941 r., *Der Spielplan wird wesentlich bereichert*; nr 85 z 27 III 1942 r., *Mozarts “Entführung” – ein Publikumserfolg!*; nr 58 z 27 II 1943 r., *Die Städtischen Bühnen im Monat März*; nr 73 z 14 III 1943 r., *Erstaufführung im Opernhaus*; nr 77 z 18 III 1943 r., *Tragikomödie des Eros*; nr 268 z 28 IX 1943 r., *Galante Geschichten*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 274 z 3 X 1941 r., p. 4; nr 308 z 6 XI 1941 r., p. 8; nr 312 z 10 XI 1941 r., p. 5; nr 313 z 11 XI 1941 r., p. 4; nr 284 z 14 X 1942 r., p. 4; nr 326 z 25 XI 1942 r., p. 6; nr 328 z 27 XI 1942 r., p. 3; nr 227 z 18 VIII 1943 r., p. 3; nr 237 z 28 VIII 1943 r., p. 6; nr 239 z 30 VIII 1943 r., p. 3; Thorner Freiheit, nr 227 z 26/27 IX 1942 r., p. 3, 7; nr 229 z 29 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 230 z 30 IX 1942 r., p. 3; nr 131 z 5/6 VI 1943 r., p. 7; nr 133 z 8 VI 1943 r., p. 3; nr 134 z 9 VI 1943 r., p. 6; nr 137/Pfingsten 1943, p. 3. The

were often presented: 6 October 1940 in Bydgoszcz, 14 September 1941 in Poznań, 4 September 1943 in Landestheater Beuthen, 10 September 1943 Toruń,²¹³ 7 December 1943 in Katowice.²¹⁴ Also popular was the work of Albert Lortzing: *Zar und Zimmermann (Tsar and Carpenter)* – November 17, 1940, premiere in Bydgoszcz, 13 January 1942 in Katowice; *Undine* – February 1942 premiere at Landestheater Beuthen, 15 June 1942 in Katowice, 1 October 1942 in Bydgoszcz; *Wildschütz (The Poacher)* 14 October 1941 in Poznań, October 1942 in Katowice, 9 December 1943 in Bydgoszcz; *Waffenschmied (The Armourer)* – September 26, 1941, premiere in Bydgoszcz, October 22, 1942 in Toruń; *Hans Sachs* – in February 1943 premiere in Landestheater Beuthen.²¹⁵ Among the other often performed German composers were Eugen d'Albert with the often-played opera *Tiefland (Lowlands)* 12 February 1942, premiere in Poznań, 5 April 1942 in Bydgoszcz, 8 May 1942 in Katowice, 2 February 1944 in Łódź, 13 February 1944 in Toruń;²¹⁶ Friedrich von Flotow and the opera *Martha*: 24 October 1943 premiere in Bydgoszcz, 6 April 1944 in Toruń;²¹⁷ Engelbert Humperdinck and his most popular opera *Hänsel und Gretel (Hansel and Gretel)* – November 5, 1942, premiere in Łódź, December 18, 1943 in Toruń; Otto Nicolai – author of *Die Lustigen Weiber von Windsor (The Merry*

commissary of the Toruń theatre – Modes – even intended to convert the Toruń stage into the opera house in Mozartbühne des deutschen Osten.

²¹³ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 235 z 5/6 X 1940 r., p. 14 i nr 236 z 7 X 1940 r., p. 7; Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 234 z 25 VIII 1943 r., *Die kommende Spielzeit in Beuthen*; nr 246 z 6 IX 1943 r., *Zauber der Romantik*; nr 338 z 7 XII 1943 r., *Opernhaus Kattowitz*; nr 340 z 9 XII 1943 r., *Zauber der Romantik*; Thorner Freiheit, nr 202 z 28/29 VIII 1943 r., p. 4.

²¹⁴ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 271 z 16/17 XI 1940 r., p. 4; nr 273 z 19 XI 1940 r., p. 10; nr 225 z 24 IX 1941 r., p. 5; nr 229 z 29 IX 1941 r., p. 5; nr 231 z 30 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 234 z 3/4 X 1942 r., p. 2; nr 287 z 4/5 XII 1943 r., p. 3; nr 293 z 11/12 XII 1943 r., p. 6; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 3 z 4 I 1942 r., *Volkstümlichkeit und Heiterkeit*; nr 17 z 18 I 1942 r., *Einst spielt ich mit Zepter, Krone und Stern...*; nr 38 z 8 II 1942 r., *Verzaubernde Undine*; nr 149 z 4 VI 1942 r., *„Undine“ in zauberhafter Stimmung*; nr 282 z 15 X 1942 r., *Hundertjähriger „Wildschütz“*; nr 52 z 21 II 1943 r., *„Hans Sachs“*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 155 z 6 VI 1941 r., p. 5; nr 176 z 27 VI 1941 r., p. 6; nr 180 z 1 VII 1941 r., p. 4; Thorner Freiheit, nr 245 z 17/18 X 1942 r., p. 4; nr 248 z 21 X 1942 r., p. 3; nr 250 z 23 X 1942 r., p. 4.

²¹⁵ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 80 z 4/5 IV 1942 r., p. 4, 5 i nr 82 z 8 IV 1942 r., p. 2; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 122 z 6 V 1942 r., *Zwei Neuheiten zum Abschluss* i nr 126 z 10 V 1942 r., *Ins Tiefland gehst du...*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 33 z 2 II 1944 r., p. 4 i nr 36 z 5 II 1944 r., p. 3; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 39 z 8 II 1942 r., p. 5; nr 41 z 10 II 1942 r., p. 5, 8; nr 45 z 14 II 1942 r., p. 4; nr 32 z 2 II 1944 r., p. 6; Thorner Freiheit, nr 30 z 5/6 II 1944 r., p. 4 i nr 37 z 14 II 1944 r., p. 3.

²¹⁶ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 248 z 20 X 1943 r., p. 3; nr 251 z 23/24 X 1943 r., p. 3; nr 253 z 26 X 1943 r., p. 4; Thorner Freiheit, nr 78 z 1/2 IV 1944 r., p. 4 i nr 83 z 7 IV 1944 r., p. 3.

²¹⁷ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 56; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 306 z 3 XI 1942 r., p. 4; nr 308 z 5 XI 1942 r., p. 6; nr 310 z 7 XI 1942 r., p. 4; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 302 z 1 XI 1942 r., p. 8 i nr 309 z 8 XI 1942 r., p. 4; Thorner Freiheit, nr 292 z 11/12 XII 1943 r., p. 7; nr 299 z 20 XII 1943 r., p. 3; nr 300 z 21 XII 1943 r., p. 3.

Wives of Windsor) – 5 September 1943 premiere in Łódź, 23 May 1943 in Bydgoszcz, 26 October 1943 in Katowice.²¹⁸

Wherever conditions permitted, the monumental operas and musical dramas of Richard Wagner, which Hitler considered to be “one of the greatest sons of the German nation,” were displayed: *Fliegender Holländer* (*The flying Dutchman*) 14 September 1941, premiere in Bydgoszcz, April 20, 1942 in Poznań, 10 September 1943 in Katowice; *Tannhäuser* (*der Tannhäuser und der Sängerkrieg auf Wartburg*, *Tannhäuser and the Wartburg Singer's Tournament*) – 5 April 1942 premiered in Katowice, 5 September 1943 in Bydgoszcz, 30 October 1943 in Poznań; *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* (*Master singers of Nuremberg*) – in the season of 1941/1942 opera performed in Bytom; *Lohengrin* – November 11, 1941 premiere in Poznań, 12 September 1941 in Katowice; *Tristan und Isolde* (*Tristan and Isolde*) – 18 March 1943 premiere in Poznań, 25 May 1943 in Katowice.²¹⁹ A great theatre event was the presentation of the whole of the Wagner *Ring des Nibelungen* (*The ring of the Nibelung*) which consisted of a series of four operas: *Siegfried* (*Zygfried*), *Das Rheingold* (*The Rhinegold*), *Walküre* (*Valkyrie*) and *Götterdämmerung* (*Twilight of the gods*). Earlier, in May 1942, the opera *Valkyrie* was performed in Bytom. Gertrude Rünge²²⁰ a soloist of the Vienna opera, and a well-known interpreter of works by R. Strauss and R. Wagner performed the role of Brunhilde.²²¹

²¹⁸ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 120 z 22/23 V 1943 r., p. 4 i nr 123 z 26 V 1943 r., p. 4; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 244 z 1 IX 1943 r., p. 3; nr 248 z 5 IX 1943 r., p. 8; nr 250 z 7 IX 1943 r., p. 4; Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 296 z 26 X 1943 r., *Opernhaus Kattowitz* i nr 298 z 28 X 1943 r., *Sieg der Frauenlist*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 249 z 9 IX 1943 r., p. 4.

²¹⁹ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 173 z 25 VII 1941 r., p. 3; nr 198 z 23/24 VIII 1941 r., p. 6; nr 216 z 13/14 IX 1941 r., p. 5, 12; nr 217 z 15 IX 1941 r., p. 5; nr 218 z 16 IX 1941 r., p. 5; nr 203 z 28/29 VIII 1943 r., p. 4; nr 204 z 30 VIII 1943 r., p. 5; nr 209 z 4/5 IX 1943 r., p. 4, 5; nr 211 z 7 IX 1943 r., p. 4; nr 224 z 22 IX 1943 r., p. 4; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 251 z 12 IX 1941 r., *Heute "Lohengrin" mit zwei Gästen*; nr 249 z 10 IX 1941 r., *Besuch bei "Zarewitsch" und "Lohengrin"*; nr 253 z 14 IX 1941 r., *"Lohengrin" in glänzender Ausstattung*; nr 91 z 2 IV 1942 r., *Osterspielplan der Städtischen Bühnen*; nr 93 z 4, 5, 6 IV 1942 r., *"Tannhäuser" als Osterpremiere*; nr 165 z 20 VI 1942 r., *Erfolgreiches Jubiläumsjahr*; nr 137 z 19 V 1943 r., *Zeitgemäse Spielplangestaltung*; nr 143 z 25 V 1943 r., *Opernhaus Kattowitz*; nr 145 z 27 V 1943 r., *Hohes Lied der Liebe*; nr 242 z 2 IX 1943 r., *Opernbeginn am 10. September*; nr 252 z 12 IX 1943 r., *Mythos der Sehnsucht*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 123 z 4 V 1941 r., p. 13; nr 130 z 11 V 1941 r., p. 5, 13; nr 131 z 12 V 1941 r., p. 4; nr 132 z 13 V 1941 r., p. 4, 5; nr 247 z 6 IX 1941 r., p. 7; nr 95/Ostern 1942, p. 5; nr 100 z 11 IV 1942 r., p. 5; nr 111 z 22 IV 1942 r., p. 4; nr 65 z 6 III 1943 r., p. 4; nr 77 z 18 III 1943 r., p. 3, 6; nr 79 z 20 III 1943 r., p. 3; nr 300 z 30 X 1943 r., p. 6; nr 302 z 1 XI 1943 r., p. 3.

²²⁰ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 457.

²²¹ BA-Berlin, R 56 – III/200; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 145 z 31 V 1942 r., *Gertrud Rünge als Brünnhilde*; nr 114 z 25 IV 1944 r., *Der Ring des Nibelungen*; nr 119 z 30 IV/1 V 1944 r., *Opernhaupt. Das Epos der Deutschen*; nr 122 z 4 V 1944 r., *Der Vorabend: Rheingold*; nr 132 z 14 V 1944 r., *Theater*; nr 136 z 18 V 1944 r., *Die Zwietracht der Götter*; nr 146 z 28/29 V 1944 r., *Opernhaus*; nr 149 z 1 VI 1944 r., *"Siegfried" vollendet schön*; nr 159 z 11 VI 1944 r., *Theater*; nr 163 z 15 VI 1944 r., *Der Ausklang des "Ringes."*

In Bydgoszcz on 3 March 1943, a premiere performance of the opera Siegfried²²² took place.

Among the living composers the works of Richard Strauss were utmost popular. The most frequently performed Strauss operas were: *Rosenkavallier* (*The Knight of the Rose*) April 18, 1942, premiere in Poznań, 24 April 1943 in Katowice; *Ariadne auf Naxos* (*Ariadne on Naxos*) – 13 May 1941 premiere in Katowice, 29 May 1943 in Poznań; *Arabella* – 5 September 1942, premiere at Landestheater Beuthen, September 16, 1943 in Poznań.²²³ The young opera composer Ottmar Gerster of Hessen²²⁴ was the author of the extremely popular opera entitled *Enoch Arden*. It had its premiere in March 1942 at the Landestheater Beuthen, 12 March, 1944, in Bydgoszcz.²²⁵

Foreign opera artists were mostly represented by Italian masters:

- Giuseppe Verdi: *Troubadurm* – 29 March 1941, premiere in Poznań, 10 February 1942 in Katowice, 11 December 1942 in Toruń, 25 December 1943 in Bydgoszcz; *Aida* – at the end of November 1942 the premiere in Katowice; *Rigoletto* – December 25, 1940, premiere in Bydgoszcz, November 1942 at the theatre in Bytom, 13 November 1943 in Toruń, 18 April 1944 in Katowice; *Otello* – 16 December 1941, premiere in Poznań, 25 December 1941 in Bydgoszcz, 2 February 1943 in Katowice, March 1943 in Bytom; 25 June 1942, premiere in Bydgoszcz, 8 October 1943 in Łódź, 1 March 1944 in Katowice; *La traviata* – 15 May 1942 premiere in Bydgoszcz;²²⁶

²²² Deutsche Rundschau, nr 49 z 27/28 II 1943 r., p. 4; nr 50 z 1 III 1943 r., p. 5; nr 54 z 5 III 1943 r., p. 4.

²²³ Der Danziger Vorposten, nr 110 z 22 IV 1942 r., p. 4; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 165 z 20 VI 1942 r., *Erfolgreiches Jubiläumsjahr*; nr 229 z 23 VIII 1942 r., *Zwei Oper ober Schlesischer Komponisten*; nr 240 z 3 IX 1942 r., *Das Spiel kann beginnen!*; nr 244 z 7 IX 1942 r., *Beuthen begann mit "Arabella"*; nr 113 z 23 IV 1943 r., *In den Proben zum "Rosenkavalier"*; nr 114 z 24 IV 1943 r., *Opernhaus Kattowitz*; nr 116 z 27 IV 1943 r., *Unsterblicher Strauss*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 351 z 20 XII 1942 r., p. 8; nr 353 z 22 XII 1942 r., p. 3; nr 147 z 29 V 1943 r., p. 6; nr 149 z 31 V 1943 r., p. 3; nr 255 z 15 IX 1943 r., p. 6; nr 258 z 18 IX 1943 r., p. 3. Theatertage des Gaues Oberschlesien, See also p. 201 of this book.

²²⁴ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 164.

²²⁵ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 60 z 11/12 III 1944 r., p. 3, 6 i nr 62 z 14 III 1944 r., p. 4; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 64 z 6 III 1942 r., *Heimkehrschicksal als Oper*.

²²⁶ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 301 z 21/22 XII 1940 r., p. 4; nr 303 z 24/25 XII 1940 r., p. 4; nr 304 z 27 XII 1940 r., p. 5; nr 300 z 20/21 XII 1941 r., p. 4; nr 303 z 24/25 XII 1941 r., p. 13; nr 305 z 29 XII 1941 r., p. 5; nr 116 z 18 V 1942 r., p. 2; nr 300 z 19/20 XII 1942 r., p. 4; nr 301 z 21 XII 1942 r., p. 5; nr 304/Weihnachten 1942, p. 4; nr 305 z 28 XII 1942 r., p. 2; nr 304/Weihnachten 1943, p. 10; nr 1 z 3 I 1944 r., p. 4; nr 3 z 5 I 1944 r., p. 5; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 33 z 3 II 1942 r., *Unter anderem "Der Troubadour"*; nr 42 z 12 II 1942 r., *Romantik in südlicher Glut*; nr 304 z 6 XI 1942 r., *Die Städtischen Bühnen im November*; nr 322 z 24 XI 1942 r., *Ergreifender "Rigoletto"*; nr 324 z 26 XI 1942 r., *Oper der Schönheit und Leidenschaft*; nr 28 z 28 I 1943 r.; nr 31 z 31 I 1943 r.; nr 33 z 2II 1943 r., *Opernhaus Kattowitz*; nr 36 z 5 II 1943 r., *Dämonische Tragödie der Eifersucht*; nr 89 z 30 III 1943 r., *"Othello" auch in Beuthen*; nr 15 z 16 I 1944 r., *Erstaufführung im Opernhaus*; nr 19 z 20 I 1944 r., *Das Drama der Vergeltung*; nr 59 z 29 II 1944 r., *Erstaufführung von Verdis "Maskenball"*; nr 60 z 1 III 1944 r., *Opernhaus Kattowitz*; nr 62 z 3 III 1944 r., *Glänzender Verdi in Originalfassung*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 281 z 8 X 1943 r., p. 4 i nr 283 z 10 X 1943 r., p. 5;

- Giacomo Puccini: *La bohème* – June 20, 1942 premiere in Poznań, 11 April 1944 in Katowice; *Madame Butterfly* – 25 January 1941 premiere in Bydgoszcz, 16 December 1941 in Katowice, 21 July in Toruń, 9 February in Poznań, 9 January 1944 in the Landestheater Beuthen. *Gianni Schicchi* – 10 March 1942, premiere in Katowice, *Tosca* – premiere in December 1942 in Katowice, 1 February 1943 in Łódź;²²⁷
- Gioacchino Rossini: *Barber of Seville* – 21 March, 1942 premiere in Poznań, in the season of 1941/1942 the opera was also played in Bytom.²²⁸

Decidedly less often performed were the works of French composers, among others Georges Bizet: *Carmen*– 18 November 1941 premiere in Katowice, 22 January 1942 in Bydgoszcz, and in September 1942 in Landestheater Beuthen.²²⁹

The classical operetta works were performed with great success. The core of operetta repertoire were, first of all, the works of the Viennese master Johann Strauss (the Younger): *Fledermaus (The Revenge of the bat)* – 31 December 1940, premiere in Bydgoszcz, 31 December 1941 in Katowice, 31 December 1942 in Poznań, 5 November 1943 in Toruń; *Der Zigeunerbaron (The Gypsy Baron)* – 29 March 1942 premiere in Toruń, 17 April 1942 in Chorzów, 18 November 1943 in Łódź; *Wiener Blut (Viennese Blood)* – 2 March 1941, premiere in Poznań, 6 September 1942 in Łódź, 25 April 1943 in Bydgoszcz; *Das Spitzentuch der Königin (Queen's lace handkerchief)* – in December 1941 premiere in Bytom; *Eine Nacht in Venedig (A Night in Venice)* – 11 October 1941 premiere in Bydgoszcz.²³⁰

Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 88 z 29 III 1941 r., p. 11; nr 89 z 30 III 1941 r., p. 5; nr 90 z 31 III 1941 r., p. 4; nr 346 z 14 XII 1941 r., p. 12; nr 348 z 16 XII 1941 r., p. 8; nr 350 z 18 XII 1941 r., p. 4; Thorner Freiheit, nr 287 z 5/6 XII 1942 r., p. 5; nr 291 z 10 XII 1942 r., p. 3; nr 293 z 12/13 XII 1942 r., p. 3; nr 262 z 6/7 XI 1943 r., p. 5; nr 269 z 15 XI 1943 r., p. 3; nr 272 z 2 X 1943 r., p. 6.

²²⁷ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 56, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 21 z 25/26 I 1941 r., p. 4, 6 i nr 23 z 28 I 1941 r., p. 5; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 330 z 30 XI 1941 r., *Der Spielplan wird wesentlich bereichert*; nr 348 z 18 XII 1941 r., *Dankbare Aufnahme der "Butterfly"*; nr 59 z 1 III 1942 r., *Die Städtischen Bühnen im Monat März*; nr 78 z 20 III 1942 r., *Parodie in Oper und Ballett*; nr 165 z 20 VI 1942 r., *Erfolgreiches Jubiläumsjahr*; nr 333 z 5 XII 1942 r., *Die Städtischen Bühnen im Dezember*; nr 356 z 31 XII 1942 r., *Tosca*; nr 10 z 11 I 1944 r., *Japanische Liebestragödie*; nr 99 z 9 IV 1944 r., *Opernhaus Kattowitz*; nr 103 z 14 IV 1944 r., *Glück und Leid des Künstlerlebens*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 32 z 1 II 1943 r., p. 4 i nr 34 z 3 II 1943 r., p. 3; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 114 z 25 IV 1942 r., p. 4; nr 150 z 2 VI 1942 r., p. 4; nr 161 z 13 VI 1942 r., p. 4; nr 168 z 20 VI 1942 r., p. 6; nr 171 z 23 VI 1942 r., p. 4; nr 40 z 9 II 1943 r., p. 6; nr 42 z 11 II 1943 r., p. 4; Thorner Freiheit, nr 165 z 16 VII 1942 r., p. 3; nr 167 z 18/19 VII 1942 r., p. 5; nr 170 z 22 VII 1942 r., p. 3; A. Rukowiecki, op. cit., p. 141.

²²⁸ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 72 z 13 III 1942 r., p. 5; nr 73 z 14 III 1942 r., p. 5; nr 80 z 21 III 1942 r., p. 8; nr 83 z 24 III 1942 r., p. 4; nr 88 z 29 III 1942 r., p. 4; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 165 z 20 VI 1942 r., *Erfolgreiches Jubiläumsjahr*.

²²⁹ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 14 z 17/18 I 1942 r., p. 6; nr 17 z 21 I 1942 r., p. 5; nr 20 z 24/25 I 1942 r., p. 6; Kattowitzer Zeitung (From 1 Sept 1942 as Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 315 z 15 XI 1941 r., *Dienstag: Oper "Carmen"*; nr 320 z 20 XI 1941 r., *Oper der grossen Leidenschaften*; nr 330 z 30 XI 1941 r., *Der Spielplan wird wesentlich bereichert*; nr 255 z 18 IX 1942 r., *Farbenglühende "Carmen."*

²³⁰ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 57, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 307 z 31 XII 1940 r., p. 4, 9; nr 1 z 2 I 1941 r., p. 3; nr 234 z 4/5 X 1941 r., p. 3; nr 235 z 6 X 1941 r., p. 6; nr 238 z 9

Among the leading operetta composers in the Third Reich, the following works were shown in the annexed Polish areas:

- Walter Kollo (Walter Kollodziejski)²³¹ – *Die Frau ohne Kus* (*The woman without a kiss*) – 6 June 1940, premiere in Łódź, 2 February 1941 in Bydgoszcz, 10 March 1943 in Toruń, 8 April 1943 in Poznań, 5 October 1943 in Katowice; *Wie einst im Mai* (*Like once in May*) – 31 December 1941 premiere in Bydgoszcz; *Drei alte Schachteln* (*Three old maids*) – in November 1941 the premiere in Landestheater Beuthen;²³²
- Eduard Künneke,²³³ called the “master of the German operetta.” *Der Vetter aus Dingsda* (*The cousin from nowhere*) – 28 January 1942 premiere in Bydgoszcz, 24 February 1942 in Katowice, 4 April 1942 in Toruń, 23 October 1943 in Łódź, 28 November 1943 in Poznań, in January 1944 in Landestheater Beuthen; *Glückliche Reise* (*The lucky journey*) – 20 March 1942 in Łódź, May 1942 in Landestheater Beuthen, 19 January 1943 in Katowice, 30 May 1943 in Poznań, 13 June 1943 in Bydgoszcz;²³⁴

X 1941 r., p. 5; nr 240 z 11/12 X 1941 r., p. 6; nr 241 z 13 X 1941 r., p. 5; nr 95 z 22 IV 1943 r., p. 5; nr 97 z 24/25 IV 1943 r., p. 4; nr 99 z 28 IV 1943 r., p. 4; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 330 z 30 XI 1941 r., *Der Spielplan wird wesentlich bereichert*; nr 356 z 28 XII 1941 r., *Walzerseliger Strauss*; nr 2 z 3 I 1942 r., *Jubel und Trubel um die “Fledermaus”*; nr 93 z 4, 5, 6 IV 1942 r., *“Tannhäuser” als Osterpremiere*; nr 106 z 19 IV 1942 r., *“Wer uns getraut”*; nr 165 z 20 VI 1942 r., *Erfolgreiches Jubiläumsjahr*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 248 z 6 IX 1942 r., p. 5, 8; nr 250z 8 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 322 z 18 XI 1943 r., p. 5; nr 324 z 20 XI 1943 r., p. 4; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 81 z 22 III 1941 r., p. 11; nr 82 z 23 III 1941 r., p. 7; nr 84 z 25 III 1941 r., p. 4, 5; nr 246 z 6 IX 1942 r., p. 8; nr 360 z 31 XII 1942 r., p. 4; nr 2 z 2 I 1943 r., p. 3; nr 48 z 18 II 1944 r., p. 6; Thorner Freiheit, nr 75 z 30 III 1942 r., p. 3; nr 76 z 31 III 1942 r., p. 3; nr 202 z 28/29 VIII 1943 r., p. 4; nr 209 z 6 IX 1943 r., p. 3.

²³¹ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 296.

²³² AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 57, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 27 z 1/2 II 1941 r., p. 4; nr 304 z 27/28 XII 1941 r., p. 4; nr 305 z 29 XII 1941 r., p. 5; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 307 z 7 XI 1941 r., *Drei alte Schachteln*; nr 165 z 20 VI 1942 r., *Erfolgreiches Jubiläumsjahr*; nr 270 z 30 IX 1943 r., *Die Städtischen Bühnen*; nr 273 z 3 X 1943 r., *Opernhaus Kattowitz*; nr 277 z 7 X 1943 r., *“Frau ohne Kus” im Opernhaus Kattowitz*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 155 z 6 VI 1940 r., p. 10 i nr 157 z 8 VI 1940 r., p. 7; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 93 z 3 IV 1943 r., p. 6; Thorner Freiheit, nr 55 z 6/7 III 1943 r., p. 4 i nr 59 z 11 III 1943 r., p. 3.

²³³ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 311.

²³⁴ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 56, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 23z 28 I 1942 r., p. 5; nr 26 z 31 I/1 II 1942 r., p. 8; nr 138 z 12/13 VI 1943 r., p. 4, 5; nr 140z 16 VI 1943 r., p. 4; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 33 z 3 II 1942 r., *Unter anderem “Der Troubadour”*; nr 56 z 26 II 1942 r., *Der Vetter aus Dingsda*; nr 143 z 29 V 1942 r., *Glückliche Reise*; nr 165 z 20 VI 1942 r., *Erfolgreiches Jubiläumsjahr*; nr 7z 7 I 1943 r., *Die Städt. Bühnen im Januar*; nr 21 z 21 I 1943 r., *Glückliche Reise*; nr 29 z 30 I 1944 r., *“Der Vetter aus Dingsda” in Beuthen*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 79 z 20 III 1942 r., p. 6; nr 81 z 22 III 1942 r., p. 5; nr 83 z 24 III 1942 r., p. 5; nr 296 z 23 X 1943 r., p. 5; nr 300 z 27 X 1943 r., p. 3; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 77 z 18 III 1942 r., p. 8; nr 79 z 20 III 1942 r., p. 8; nr 84z 25 III 1942 r., p. 4; nr 147 z 29 V 1943 r., p. 6; nr 150 z 1 VI 1943 r., p. 3; nr 283 z 13 X 1943 r., p. 6; nr 328 z 27 XI 1943 r., p. 3; nr 329 z 28 XI 1943 r., p. 8; nr 331 z 30 XI 1943 r., p. 3; Thorner Freiheit, nr 65 z 18 III 1942 r., p. 3 i nr 80/Ostern 1942, p. 4.

- Fred Raymond (Raymond Friedrich von Vaseley),²³⁵ whose works were copied by classic vaudeville operetta theatres. The opera *Maske in Blau* (*The Blue Mask*) was most often played: 13 April 1941, premiere in Bydgoszcz, 7 October 1941 in Katowice, 31 December 1941 in Poznań, 17 October 1942 in Łódź, 5 December 1943 in Landestheater Beuthen; *Saison in Salzburg* – 31 May 1941 premiere in Poznań, 27 January 1942 in Katowice, 5 March 1943 in Łódź, 22 October 1943 in Toruń; *Marietta* – 15 November 1941 premiere in Łódź, 14 June 1942 in Bydgoszcz; *Die Perle von Tokay* (*The Tokay pearls*) – 13 November 1943 premier in Bydgoszcz.²³⁶

Also popular was the work of Austrian-born Nico Dostal:²³⁷ *Clivia* – 22 November 1941, premiere in Bydgoszcz, 2 December 1941 in Katowice, 22 May 1943 in Łódź, 5 September 1943 in Landestheater Beuthen, 11 September 1943 in Poznań; *Manina* – September 12, 1943 premiered in Katowice; *Monika* – in the season 1941/1942 this play was staged by Landestheater Beuthen, 26 June 1942 premiere in Toruń, 24 October 1942 in Bydgoszcz; *Die ungarische Hochzeit* (*The Hungarian Wedding*) – 21 February 1941 the premiere in Bydgoszcz.²³⁸ The works of Austrian composer Ralph Benatzky were also performed:²³⁹ *Meine Schwester und ich* (*My sister and I*) – 29 March 1941 premiere in Łódź, 24 April 1941 in Poznań, October 1941 in Landestheater Beuthen, 19 September 1942 in Bydgoszcz, 30 March 1943 in Katowice; *Bezauberndes Fräulein* (*A Delightful Girl*) – 11 October 1941, pre-

²³⁵ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 431.

²³⁶ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 56 i 57, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 81 z 5/6 IV 1941 r., p. 4; nr 84 z 9 IV 1941 r., p. 5; nr 85 z 10 IV 1941 r., p. 5; nr 87 z 12/13 IV 1941 r., p. 4, nr 88 z 15 IV 1941 r., p. 5; nr 138 z 13/14 VI 1942 r., p. 4, 5; nr 140 z 16 VI 1942 r., p. 4; nr 268 z 12 XI 1943 r., p. 3; nr 269 z 13/14 XI 1943 r., p. 3; nr 272 z 17 XI 1943 r., p. 4; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 274 z 5 X 1941 r., *Städtische Bühnen Kattowitz/Königshütte*; nr 278 z 9 X 1941 r., *Beschwingte Kunst für Auge und Ohr*; nr 3 z 4 I 1942 r., *Volkstümlichkeit und Heiterkeit*; nr 357 z 28 XII 1943 r., *„Maske in Blau“ als Beuthener Weihnachtspremiere*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 316 z 14 XI 1941 r., p. 4; nr 317 z 15 XI 1941 r., p. 6; nr 319 z 17 XI 1941 r., p. 3; nr 289 z 17 X 1942 r., p. 6; nr 291 z 19 X 1942 r., p. 3; nr 64 z 5 III 1943 r., p. 4; nr 66 z 7 III 1943 r., p. 5; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 144 z 25 V 1941 r., p. 19; nr 147 z 28 V 1941 r., p. 5; nr 152 z 3 VI 1941 r., p. 4; nr 153 z 4 VI 1941 r., p. 4; nr 317 z 15 XI 1941 r., p. 8; nr 321 z 19 XI 1941 r., p. 4; nr 355 z 23 XII 1941 r., p. 5; nr 361 z 30 XII 1941 r., p. 6; nr 3 z 3 I 1942 r., p. 4; nr 281 z 11 X 1942 r., p. 8; Thorner Freiheit, nr 244 z 16/17 X 1943 r., p. 5 i nr 250 z 23/24 X 1943 r., p. 3.

²³⁷ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 107.

²³⁸ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 39 z 15/16 II 1941 r., p. 14; nr 270 z 15/16 XI 1941 r., p. 4; nr 277 z 24 XI 1941 r., p. 5; nr 246 z 17/18 X 1942 r., p. 4; nr 252 z 24/25 X 1942 r., p. 5; nr 253 z 26 X 1942 r., p. 5; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 330 z 30 XI 1941 r., *Der Spielplan wird wesentlich bereichert*; nr 334 z 4 XII 1941 r., *Clivia kommt vor Kriegsgericht*; nr 165 z 20 VI 1942 r., *Erfolgreiches Jubiläumsjahr*; nr 234 z 25 VIII 1943 r., *Die kommende Spielzeit in Beuthen*; nr 247 z 7 IX 1943 r., *Glanz und Rhythmus um Clivia*; nr 252 z 12 IX 1943 r., *Opernhaus Kattowitz*; nr 254 z 14 IX 1943 r., *Dichter und Königin*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 141 z 21 V 1943 r., p. 3, 4; nr 142 z 22 V 1943 r., p. 5; nr 144 z 24 V 1943 r., p. 3; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 244 z 4 IX 1943 r., p. 6; nr 251 z 11 IX 1943 r., p. 6; nr 253 z 13 IX 1943 r., p. 3; Thorner Freiheit, nr 145 z 23 VI 1942 r., p. 4; nr 148 z 26 VI 1942 r., p. 4; nr 149 z 27/28 VI 1942 r., p. 2.

²³⁹ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 38.

miere in Poznań, 28 October 1943 in Toruń, 8 January 1944 in Łódź, 15 June 1944 in Gliwice.²⁴⁰ On stage of theatres the operettas by the Hungarian composer Ferenc Lehár were often presented: *The Land of Smiles* – 6 September 1941, premiere in Bydgoszcz, 7 September 1941 in Łódź, 16 May 1942 in Poznań, 16 November 1943 in Katowice; *Paganini* – in September 1941, premiere at Landestheater Beuthen, 23 May 1942 in Toruń, 18 September 1943 in Łódź; *Friederike* – 6 September 1942 premiere at Landestheater Beuthen; *Merry Widow* – September 18, 1941, premiere in Poznań, 25 December 1942 in Łódź, 23 February 1943 in Katowice; *The Count of Luxembourg* – December 23, 1941, premiere in Łódź, 6 September 1942 in Katowice, 26 September 1942 in Poznań, 30 December 1942 in Toruń, 10 October 10, 1943 in Bydgoszcz; *Where the lark sings* – 21 March 1944 the premiere in Katowice; *Frasquita* – 13 October 1940 premiere in Bydgoszcz; *Tsarewitch* – 21 May 1941, premiere in Bydgoszcz, 14 September 1941 in Katowice; *Gypsy love* – 24 May 1942 premiere in Bydgoszcz, 11 May 1944 in Toruń.²⁴¹

In light of the above facts, it can be stated that the repertoire policy pursued by directors of German theatres operating in the annexed territories of Poland did not differ from what was played on theatre stages of the Third Reich. This is not surprising, given the direct influence of the German central authorities on reper-

²⁴⁰ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 56, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 216 z 12/13 IX 1942 r., p. 4 i nr 223 z 21 IX 1942 r., p. 2; Kattowizer Zeitung, nr 286 z 17 X 1941 r., *Meine Schwester und ich* i nr 165 z 20 VI 1942 r., *Erfolgreiches Jubiläumsjahr*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 82 z 23 III 1941 r., p. 12; nr 87 z 28 III 1941 r., p. 6; nr 88 z 29 III 1941 r., p. 6, 12; nr 91 z 1 IV 1941 r., p. 5; Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 87 z 28 III 1943 r., *Opernhaus Kattowitz*; nr 91 z 1 IV 1943 r., *Meine Schwester und ich*; nr 152 z 4 VI 1944 r., *„Bezauberndes Fräulein“ in Gleiwitz*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 107 z 18 IV 1941 r., p. 4; nr 109 z 20 IV 1941 r., p. 13; nr 115 z 26 IV 1941 r., p. 4; nr 273 z 2 X 1941 r., p. 5; nr 275 z 4 X 1941 r., p. 7; nr 284 z 13 X 1941 r., p. 4; Thorner Freiheit, nr 254 z 28 X 1943 r., p. 4.

²⁴¹ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 56 i 57, *passim*; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 241 z 12/13 X 1940 r., p. 4, 7; nr 242 z 14 X 1940 r., p. 5; nr 243 z 15 X 1940 r., p. 6; nr 247 z 19/20 X 1940 r., p. 9; nr 101 z 30 IV 1941 r., p. 5; nr 118 z 21 V 1941 r., p. 4; nr 120 z 23 V 1941 r., p. 2; nr 198 z 23/24 VIII 1941 r., p. 6; nr 210 z 6/7 IX 1941 r., p. 5, 14; nr 211 z 8 IX 1941 r., p. 3; nr 121 z 23/24 V 1942 r., p. 4; nr 2 z 4 I 1943 r., p. 5; nr 7 z 9/10 I 1943 r., p. 4; nr 9 z 12 I 1943 r., p. 4; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 248 z 9 IX 1941 r., *Lehars „Paganini“*; nr 165 z 20 VI 1942 r., *Erfolgreiches Jubiläumsjahr*; nr 228 z 22 VIII 1942 r., *Kattowitz/Königshütte in den neuen Spielzeit*; nr 229 z 23 VIII 1942 r., *Zwei Opern oberschlesischer Komponisten*; nr 34 z 3 II 1943 r., *Städtische Bühnen im Februar*; nr 52 z 21 II 1943 r., *Schauspielhaus Königshütte*; nr 56 z 25 II 1943 r., *Die Lustige Witwe*; nr 313 z 12 XI 1943 r., *Land des Lächelns*; nr 317 z 16 XI 1943 r., *Das Land des Lächelns*; nr 319 z 18 XI 1943 r., *Im „Land des Lächelns“*; nr 80 z 21 III 1944 r., *Opernhaus*; nr 82 z 23 III 1944 r., *Wo die Lerche singt*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 227 z 17 VIII 1941 r., p. 5; nr 248 z 7 IX 1941 r., p. 16; nr 250 z 9 IX 1941 r., p. 8; nr 355 z 23 XII 1941 r., p. 6; nr 356 z 24 XII 1941 r., p. 4; nr 358/359/360 z 25/26/27 XII 1942 r., p. 10; nr 361 z 28 XII 1942 r., p. 4; nr 261 z 18 IX 1943 r., p. 4, 5; nr 263 z 20 IX 1943 r., p. 3; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 247 z 6 IX 1941 r., p. 7; nr 261 z 20 IX 1941 r., p. 7; nr 271 z 30 IX 1941 r., p. 4; nr 276 z 5 X 1941 r., p. 7; nr 355 z 23 XII 1941 r., p. 8; nr 353 z 27 XII 1941 r., p. 4; nr 114 z 25 IV 1942 r., p. 4; nr 127 z 9 V 1942 r., p. 5, 8; nr 134 z 16 V 1942 r., p. 8; nr 137 z 19 V 1942 r., p. 4; nr 243 z 3 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 252 z 12 IX 1942 r., p. 6; nr 263 z 23 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 266 z 26 IX 1942 r., p. 6; nr 267 z 27 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 268 z 28 IX 1942 r., p. 3; Thorner Freiheit, nr 303/Weihnachten 1942, p. 7; nr 306 z 30 XII 1942 r., p. 3; nr 1 z 2/3 I 1943 r., p. 4; nr 114 z 16/17 V 1942 r., p. 4; nr 121 z 26 V 1942 r., p. 3; nr 106 z 6/7 V 1944 r., p. 4; nr 111 z 12 V 1944 r., p. 3.

toire policy. Theatre directors were obliged to adhere to precise recommendations on the selection of the repertoire, especially since all the repertoire plans had to be approved by the German dramatist Rainer Schlösser. According to the general tendency for dramatic theatres as well as opera and operettas, it was important to return to classical patterns and to eliminate foreign creativity. Theatrical repertoire was primarily characterized by its task in the field of general political and ideological education, and the delivery of entertainment against this backdrop. The ratio changed at the beginning of the 1943/1944 season. In order to divert attention from the growing number of war crimes of the Third Reich, the ideology in the theatre began to decline and got replaced by entertainment.

3.4. Summary of the work of theatres

The first theatre to function in the annexed area of Poland, the German theatre in Bydgoszcz, was lively, as evidenced by the number of shows and their attendance. In the season 1939/1940 (from 14 December 1939 to 15 April 1940), 64 performances (including 14 premieres) took place, watched by 34,828 spectators. On 6 October 1940 in the season 1940/1941, the opera and operetta repertoire was started in the Bydgoszcz theatre. In this period, there were 261 performances (including: 108 dramatic performances, 54 opera performances, 90 operettas, and 9 dance nights) for about 156,000 viewers. The greatest interest was reserved for the operetta performances (53,938 people), while the smallest number of spectators went to the operas (30,482 people). In the season 1941/1942, 323 performances (including 3 December 1941, the premiere of comedies started with Ilse Lotz and Gerte Illing *Das Haus an der Sonne* (*House by the Sun*) viewed by over 199,000. In the next season, with the opening of the second stage (Kleines Haus), the number of shows increased slightly. On both stages, 331 performances were performed: 62 dramatic performances for 41,185 spectators on the larger stage (up to 49 comedy show performances that 31,881 people watched); 62 opera performances, with an attendance of 40,256; 101 operettas for 71,324 spectators. The new, smaller stage hosted 106 comedy shows for about 41,125 people.²⁴²

On 4–10 April 1943, the Bromberg Theater Woche (Bydgoszcz Theatre Week) was held under the auspices of the President of the Bydgoszcz Region Walter Kühn. This event first of all raised the importance of theatre in social life and attracted theatrical audiences. The programme of the event consisted of twelve performances, including Adolf Veuhoff's anti-British propaganda premiere, *Sturm über*

²⁴² BA-Berlin, R 55/20334; AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 745, wycinek prasowy: Berliner Borsenzeitung, 29 IV 1943 r.; *ibid.*, sygn. 762, Der Gauring. Mitteilungsblatt des Gauringes Danzig–Westpreussen der NSDAP, Nummer 4–5/1942, p. 13; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 96 z 24 IV 1940 r., p. 7; nr 220 z 18 IX 1940 r., p. 5; nr 223 z 21/22 IX 1940 r., p. 5; nr 137 z 13 VI 1941 r., p. 2; nr 160 z 10 VII 1941 r., p. 7; nr 244 z 16 X 1941 r., p. 5; nr 282 z 29/30 XI 1941 r., p. 4; nr 285 z 3 XII 1941 r., p. 5; nr 286 z 4 XII 1941 r., p. 6; nr 287 z 5 XII 1941 r., p. 5; nr 156 z 4/5 VII 1942 r., p. 7; nr 151 z 29 VI 1943 r., p. 4; nr 162 z 12 VII 1943 r., p. 5; B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeczy...*, p. 41; *idem, Organizacja niemieckiego życia teatralnego...*, pp. 56–57.

Irland (Storm over Ireland), which featured the fight of the Irish nation under the oppression of Britain, the premiere of Hans Müller-Nürnberg's play *Frischer Wind aus Sumatra (The Refreshing Wind of Sumatra)*, the premiere of Hermann Reutter's opera,²⁴³ and Johannes Faust who brought the play by J. Goethe, *Egmont* with the guest appearance of the president of the Reich Theater Chamber, Paul Hartmann as the title character.²⁴⁴ The performance of the first, yet incomplete theatre season in Toruń, which lasted 16 weeks, i.e. from 28 March to 26 July 1942, was as follows: seven dramatic plays, two operas, five operettas, one guest dance evening performed by the sisters Lisl and Sibylle Spalinger from the German Opera in Berlin. The theatre team gave 140 performances, including 37 "closed," i.e. for the army (22), the organization "Strength through Joy" (8) and the Nazi youth organization Hitler-Jugend (7). The audience was 65 850 people. Although the repertoire was markedly diverse, the operettas were the most popular, playing 75 times, which represented more than half of the total number of shows and was watched by 39,207 people. The most frequently played operettas were Johann Strauss' *Der Zigeunerbaron* (26 performances, 13,955 spectators) and *Der Vetter aus Dingsda* (22 performances, 11,107 spectators). The dramatic arts, which dominated the works of contemporary German authors, were presented 59 times, in front of an audience of 23,315 people. The success of *Der Bräutigam meiner Frau* (Otto Lengbach and Georg Schwartz's *My Wife's Fiancé*) was played 14 times, with an attendance of 5633 spectators (premiere on 8 April 1942). Only five operas were performed, watched by 2917 people.²⁴⁵ The 1942/1943 season opened on 2 September 1942 with the exhibition of G. E. Lessing's *Minna Von Barnhelm*, and ended on 18 July 1943. There were altogether 405 performances: 143 dramatic, 129 operettas, 93 operas, 7 ballets, and 33 fairy tales. Turnout amounted to 217,267 spectators. As in the first season of the audience, the operettas most watched the 73,888 spectators. Among them, most often, 35 times, the operetta of F. Lehár, *Count of Luxembourg*, was played, and 20,891 people came to see it. The opera audience enjoyed a lesser audience, which saw 50,990 spectators. The most popular was G. Puccini's opera *Mad-*

²⁴³ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 438

²⁴⁴ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 70 z 24 III 1943 r., p. 4; nr 73 z 27/28 III 1943 r., p. 4; nr 76 z 31 III 1943 r., p. 4; nr 77 z 1 IV 1943 r., p. 5; nr 78 z 2 IV 1943 r., p. 4; nr 79 z 3/4 IV 1943 r., p. 5, 8; nr 80 z 5 IV 1943 r., p. 5; nr 81 z 6 IV 1943 r., p. 4; nr 82 z 7 IV 1943 r., p. 4; nr 83 z 8 IV 1943 r., p. 3; nr 84 z 9 IV 1943 r., p. 4; nr 86 z 12 IV 1943 r., p. 6; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 90 z 31 III 1943 r., p. 3; nr 97 z 7 IV 1943 r., p. 3; nr 99 z 9 IV 1943 r., p. 3; nr 100 z 10 IV 1943 r., p. 3; nr 101 z 11 IV 1943 r., p. 4; nr 103 z 13 IV 1943 r., p. 3; Thorner Freiheit, nr 80 z 5 IV 1943 r., p. 4 i nr 86 z 12 IV 1943 r., p. 3; W. Trzeciakowski, op. cit., p. 207; W. Stankowski, op. cit., p. 464.

²⁴⁵ AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 762, Der Gauring, Mitteilungsblatt des Gauringes Danzig–Westpreussen der NSDAP. 1. Jahrgange 1942, Nummer 4/5, p. 13; *ibid.*, sygn. 777, *passim*; Thorner Freiheit, nr 65 z 18 III 1942 r., p. 3; nr 74 z 28/29 III 1942 r., p. 4; nr 80/Ostern 1942, p. 4; nr 91 z 18/19 IV 1942 r., p. 5; nr 97 z 25/26 IV 1942 r., p. 4; nr 102 z 1 V 1942 r., p. 5; nr 104 z 5 V 1942 r., p. 3; nr 108 z 9/10 V 1942 r., p. 7; nr 114 z 16/17 V 1942 r., p. 4; nr 125 z 30/31 V 1942 r., p. 5; nr 143 z 20/21 VI 1942 r., p. 3, 5; nr 149 z 27/28 VI 1942 r., p. 3, 7; nr 167 z 18/19 VII 1942 r., p. 5; nr 173 z 25/26 VII 1942 r., p. 3; M. Niedzielska, op. cit., p. 677.

ame *Butterfly* opera, opening the previous season and this time it was performed 21 times, and the attendance was 11,373 people. Among the premiere titles were the *Waffenschmied* by A. Lortzinga. It was played 20 times, with 11,041 spectators. As far as dramatic performances are concerned, the total attendance was 70,264. Of the 12 titles, the most popular was the play by P. Helwig, *Flitterwochen*, directed by E. Heisterkamp. It was shown 23 times and it was watched by 12,889 people. A programme prepared by the Toruń ballet group was watched by 4100 people and the fairy-tales by 18,235 spectators.²⁴⁶ The 1943/1944 season began on 4 September 1943 with the performance of H. Zerkaulen *Reiter*. In the second Burggarten scene, the first two plays were shown on 2 October 1943. These were the comedies *Der Zerbrochenen Krug* by H. von Kleist and *Der Teufel nahm ein altes Weib* (*The Devil Took an Old Woman*) from a Nuremberg playwright, one of the most prominent representatives of the so-called bourgeois literature of the renaissance, Hans Sachs. The next day was the premiere of L. Lenz *Die unnahbare frau*.²⁴⁷ In the season of 1943/1944, the biggest event was the Thorner Uraufführungswoche (Toruń world premiere week) from 11–17 June 1944, extensively commented not only in the regional press but also in the whole of Germany. Five premiere productions were presented, exclusively by contemporary authors. On 11 June, the grand opening of the week began, and the day after, the art programme was launched by the Austrian writer Hans Leux-Menzel *Pauline – Die Fee*. On 13 June in the hall of the great Arthur's Court there was a concert performed by the city music director Max Kojetinsky,²⁴⁸ who together with the local orchestra played the song of his former teacher, the Austrian composer Josef Marx's²⁴⁹ *Sinfonietta in modoklassico* and *Klavierkonzert in F moll* (*Piano Concerto in F minor*) himself. The next day, a fairy tale written by Adolf Schwammberger, *Katharinschen* (*Katarzynki*) was played with a musical setting prepared by the author H. Platen. On the fifth day of the Toruń week, the premiere show featured a dance performance to Ukrainian musician Ilija Slatina, *A Rose Petal*. On 16 June, an operetta by the Vienna composer Erich Jaksch, *Veronik*, was staged, to the text of Thilde Binder. At the end of the week, the premiere of a comic opera by Professor Victor Junk from Vienna, *Trug einer Nacht*, was played which refers to 18th-century Spanish literature.²⁵⁰ On the large stage of the theatre the 1943/1944 season ended on 9 July 1944, in the Burggarten on 30 June 1944. The audience's greatest sympathy was always the "lighter" repertoire,

²⁴⁶ AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 777, *passim*; Thorner Freiheit, nr 207 z 3 IX 1942 r., p. 3 i nr 166 z 17/18 VII 1943 r., p. 3; M. Niedzielska, op. cit., pp. 677–678.

²⁴⁷ Thorner Freiheit, nr 168 z 20 VII 1943 r., p. 3; nr 202 z 28/29 VIII 1943 r., p. 4; nr 207 z 3 IX 1943 r., p. 3; nr 209 z 6 IX 1943 r., p. 3; nr 232 z 2/3 X 1943 r., p. 3, 5; nr 233 z 4 X 1943 r., p. 4.

²⁴⁸ E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 294–295.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 358.

²⁵⁰ AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 820; BA-Berlin, R 56 – III/253; Thorner Freiheit, nr 120 z 23 V 1944 r., p. 3; nr 135 z 10/11 VI 1944 r., p. 6; nr 136 z 12 VI 1944 r., p. 3; nr 137 z 13 VI 1944 r., p. 3; nr 138 z 14 VI 1944 r., p. 3; nr 139 z 15 VI 1944 r., p. 3; nr 140 z 16 VI 1944 r., p. 3; nr 141 z 17/18 VI 1944 r., p. 3; nr 142 z 19 VI 1944 r., p. 3.

i.e. operettas, comedies, farce and dance performances. In the autumn of 1944, the new theatrical season was no longer inaugurated; it had been planned to begin on 2 September (big stage) and 7 September (Burggarten). It is worth mentioning that in 1944, Toruń's high-mayor undertook efforts to create a theatre school in the city. Despite the approval of this idea by the central government, it was not implemented.²⁵¹

The Stadttheater in Grudziądz was active only for one theatre season, until summer 1944, and on its stage only theatrical drama repertoire was shown. In total there were 200 performances there, which 120,000 people watched.²⁵² The theatre in Łódź had a varied artistic programme, consisting of dramatic works and operettas (from the 1941/1942 season), operas (from the 1942/1943 season), comedies, vaudeville, and fairy-tales. Each season, about 30 premieres were prepared. During the first eight months of the Łódź Theater (January-August 1940) the attendance was low. In 1940, 157 shows (14 premieres) were viewed by 83,597 people.²⁵³ The city authorities therefore undertook actions aimed at popularizing the theatre among the German population. Theatre subscriptions were introduced with discounts of 30 to 50%, as well as agreements with the Nationalsozialistische Gemeinschaft "Kraft durch Freude" and NSDAP (HJ, NSF, NSKK) on the distribution of theatre tickets and the organization of closed shows for their members.²⁵⁴ The first full theatre season of 1940/1941 began on 8 September 1940 with a play by Gerhard Menzel,²⁵⁵ *Scharnhorst*,²⁵⁶ and lasted until 15 June 1941. There were 329 performances (28 premieres), which drew 189,561 spectators. The 1941/1942 season was inaugurated on 6 September 1941 by Felix Dhünen (real name Franz Sondinger), *Uta von Naumburg*, and the following day, a premiere performance of F. Lehár's *Land of Laughter* operetta was performed. The repertoire included 13 dramas, 12 comedies, 8 operettas, 2 ballets, and 1 fairy-tale during Christmas. In 1941–1942 the theatre hosted 425 performances (31 premieres), which 242,145 people saw. Season 1942/1943 (5 September 1942 – 30 June 1943) ended with 546 performances (28 premieres) with 301,837 spectators. The next season (4 September 1943 – 25 June 1944) brought 572 performances for over 300,000 (including the premiere on 3 October 1943 *Dissonanzen* by Emmerich Nuss, 28 November 1943, *Bildnis einer Dame (Portrait of a Lady)* by Friedrich Forster and 30 Novem-

²⁵¹ BA-Berlin, R 56 – III/430; Thorner Freiheit, nr 150 z 28 VI 1944 r., p. 3; nr 151 z 29 VI 1944 r., p. 3; nr 152 z 30 VI 1944 r., p. 3.

²⁵² Deutsche Rundschau, nr 258 z 1 XII 1940 r., p. 6; Der Danziger Vorposten, nr 230 z 22 VIII 1943 r., p. 3 i nr 250 z 11 IX 1943 r., p. 3; Thorner Freiheit, nr 124 z 29 V 1942 r., p. 2; B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, p. 41; *Organizacja niemieckiego życia teatralnego...*, p. 58–59.

²⁵³ AP-Łódź, AmŁ 1794–1945, sygn. 28598, sprawozdanie nadburmistrza Łodzi z sierpnia 1940 r.; *ibid.*, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 56 i 57, *passim*; T. Bojanowski, *op. cit.*, p. 119–120.

²⁵⁴ AP-Łódź, AmŁ 1794–1945, sygn. 28598, sprawozdanie nadburmistrza Łodzi z 9 X 1940 r.

²⁵⁵ E. Klee, *op. cit.*, pp. 365–366.

²⁵⁶ It refers to the Prussian general and the reformer of the army Gerhard J. D. von Scharnhorst (1755–1813).

ber 1943, a comedy *Die Liebe eines grossen Mannes* (*The Love of a Great man*) by Friedrich Kalbfus. A large part in the increase in attendance played the launch of the Kammerspiele, whose lighter repertoire was very popular with the audiences.²⁵⁷ In May 1942, the 75th anniversary of the German theatre in Łódź²⁵⁸ was celebrated. On this occasion, on 19 May, in the theatre building at Moltkestr., the central point was the speech of the National Commissioner for Culture Mr. Maul, in which he appealed to “first be National Socialists because only then can we create a fully worthy culture and fulfil a great mission.”²⁵⁹

In Poznań, the first full theatre season of 1941/1942 began on the large stage on 14 September 1941, and the opera of M. von Weber, *Der Freischütz* was shown. The next day, on the small theatre stage, the art of G. E. Lessing, *Minn von Barnhelm* was exhibited. The performances of 1941/1942 (as of 3 July 1942) were as follows: 134 operas, 193 operettas, 288 dramas, 19 fairy-tales, 17 dance nights, 12 guest appearances, morning parties (*Morgenveranstaltungen*). The number of spectators was 394,853 (268,792 in the large theatre, 126,061 in the small theatre).²⁶⁰ At the inauguration of the next season, the following works were prepared:

- on the large theatre scene: the opera by L. van Beethoven, *Fidelio* from 20 September 1942, an operetta by F. Lehár, *Count of Luxembourg* from 26 September 1942, a comedy by Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, from 19 September 1942.
- On the small stage came a play by G. E. Lessing, *Emilia Galotti* from 24 September 1942.

In the season 1942/1943 both scenes gave a total of 661 performances, among others: 283 dramas, 147 operas, and 166 operettas for over 416,000. Nearly half a million people watched 784 shows, including 396 dramas (including the opening of Just Scheu and Ernst Nebhut's *Ein guter Jahrgang*,²⁶¹ from 21 February 1943). In 1944, *Pieter Breughel* by Felix Timmermans opened on 10 March 1944, while 21

²⁵⁷ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 56; *ibid.*, AmŁ 1794–1945, sygn. 28531, repertuar teatralny na sezon 1941/1942; BA-Berlin, R 55/20389; *Litzmannstädter Zeitung*, nr 249 z 8 IX 1940 r., p. 7, 41; nr 251 z 10 IX 1940 r., p. 7, 8; nr 210 z 31 VII 1941 r., p. 5; nr 230 z 20 VIII 1941 r., p. 3; nr 247 z 6 IX 1941 r., p. 10; nr 248 z 7 IX 1941 r., p. 5; nr 249 z 8 IX 1941 r., p. 2; nr 181 z 1 VIII 1942 r., p. 4; nr 269 z 26 IX 1943 r., p. 5; nr 276 z 3 X 1943 r., p. 8; nr 278 z 5 X 1943 r., p. 4; nr 330 z 26 XI 1943 r., p. 3; nr 331 z 27 XI 1943 r., p. 4; nr 332 z 28 XI 1943 r., p. 8; nr 334 z 30 XI 1943 r., p. 4, 5; nr 336 z 2 XII 1943 r., p. 4; nr 289 z 26 X 1944 r., p. 3; nr 290 z 27 X 1944 r., p. 3; *Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, nr 238 z 28 VIII 1941 r., p. 4; nr 247 z 6 IX 1941 r., p. 7; nr 250 z 9 IX 1941 r., p. 4; nr 251 z 10 IX 1941 r., p. 4; nr 272 z 2 X 1943 r., p. 6; nr 276 z 6 X 1943 r., p. 3; nr 324 z 23 XI 1943 r., p. 3; nr 328 z 27 XI 1943 r., p. 6; nr 334 z 3 XII 1943 r., p. 3; nr 335 z 4 XII 1943 r., p. 3; T. Bojanowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 120–121

²⁵⁸ The on-site German theatrical troupe in Łódź inaugurated its activity in May 1867.

²⁵⁹ *Litzmannstädter Zeitung*, nr 138 z 19 V 1942 r., p. 3; nr 139 z 20 V 1942 r., p. 5; nr 140 z 21 V 1942 r., p. 4; *Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, nr 137 z 19 V 1942 r., p. 3; nr 138 z 20 V 1942 r., p. 4; nr 139 z 21 V 1942 r., p. 4.

²⁶⁰ BA-Berlin, R 55/20425, *passim*; *Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, nr 230 z 20 VIII 1941 r., p. 4; nr 247 z 6 IX 1941 r., p. 7; nr 250 z 9 IX 1941 r., p. 5; nr 252 z 11 IX 1941 r., p. 4; nr 257 z 16 IX 1941 r., p. 4; nr 258 z 17 IX 1941 r., p. 6; nr 239 z 30 VIII 1942 r., p. 4.

²⁶¹ *Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, nr 52 z 21 II 1943 r., p. 8 i nr 54 z 23 II 1943 r., p. 3.

April 1944, *Till Eulenspiegel (Owlglass)* by Fritz Hedler was performed alongside 155 operas and 189 operettas.²⁶²

Since the opening of the Poznań theatre, it enjoyed a large turnout, although – as in all theatres – the privilege of admission to the performances was exclusive to the Germans. In the meantime, in December 1941, the authorizing officer, K. P. Heyser was informed by Wilhelm Vermöhlen, the district counsellor of cultural affairs (Gaukulturreferent) that the police authorities were anxious and indignant about the presence of Poles in theatrical performances. As a result, box office workers were strongly advised to pay more attention to whom they sold the tickets and, in all doubtful cases, demand proof of identity. Failure to do so resulted in immediate dismissal.²⁶³ In January 1942, two Polish women were reported to have been sentenced to a four-month prison camp (Straflager)²⁶⁴ for the “unlawful” viewing of the drama *Iphigenie auf Tauris* by J. Goethe.

In April 1942, the Poznań Theater expanded its offer, and in cooperation with the Volksbildungsstätte der Gauhauptstadt Posen,²⁶⁵ on the small stage, began to organize so-called morning performance. These were cultural events, mainly musical concerts, poetry recitals, dance performances, lectures on culture and art, which took place every two weeks on Sunday mornings. The first of them was devoted to Mozart's work on 12 April 1942. Visitors to the Morgenveranstaltungen were often known representatives of the cultural environment of the Third Reich. Particularly widely commented on in the local press was the attendance of the chief Third Reich dramatist and director of the Department of theatre in PROMI, Dr. R. Schlösser, who gave a lecture on the art of J. von Eichendorff on 26 April 1942. In the season 1942/1943, “morning events” were prepared, among others. Under the slogans: Autumn, Beethoven, The German soldier in letters and diaries, Gerhart Hauptmann, Humour in German poetry, The Miracle of the Silver Cavalier, German fairy-tales, Friedrich Hölderlin.²⁶⁶

In August 1943, during an occasional rally (Kulturappell) at the Poznań theatre with the participation of Greiser and the head of propaganda, Maul, the German

²⁶² BA-Berlin, R 55/20425, *passim*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 176 z 28 VI 1942 r., p. 3; nr 243 z 3 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 252 z 12 IX 1942 r., p. 6; nr 258 z 18 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 259 z 19 IX 1942 r., p. 4, 6; nr 262 z 22 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 263 z 23 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 264 z 24 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 265 z 25 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 266 z 26 IX 1942 r., p. 6; nr 308 z 7 XI 1943 r., p. 4; nr 63 z 4 III 1944 r., p. 5; nr 67 z 8 III 1944 r., p. 5; nr 69 z 10 III 1944 r., p. 3; nr 104 z 15 IV 1944 r., p. 4; nr 112 z 23 IV 1944 r., p. 4; B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, p. 42–43; idem, *Organizacja niemieckiego życia teatralnego...*, p. 61

²⁶³ AP-Poznań, AmP 1254–1945, sygn. 16125, pismo okręgowego referenta kulturalnego W. Vermöhlerna do intendenta K. P. Heysera [z grudnia 1941 r.] oraz pismo miejskiego Urzędu Personalnego do kasjerek teatralnych z 20 XII 1941 r.

²⁶⁴ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 14 z 14 I 1942 r., p. 5; B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, p. 43; H. Ch. Harten, *De-Kulturation und Germanisierung. Die nationalsozialistische Rassen- und Erziehungspolitik in Polen 1939–1945*, Frankfurt am Main–New York 1996, p. 171.

²⁶⁵ It refers to the Poznań branch of the organization Das Deutsche Volksbildungswerk, which was responsible for giving lectures and was the branch of the organization Kraft durch Freude.

²⁶⁶ On the basis of the information published in the daily *Ostdeutscher Beobachter*.

cultural work in the Reich District Land of the Warta was summarized. A new era in the history of the theatre was announced, and Poznań was hailed as “the central point of cultural work in the East” (Mittelpunkt der Kulturarbeit des Ostens). Theatrical stages were also planned to be launched in Kalisz and Inowrocław, but these plans were not realized.²⁶⁷

For the Oberschlesisches Landestheater Beuthen, the theatrical score of 1939/1940 was as follows: the theatre team performed 435 times, including 164 dramas, 111 operas, 140 operas and 140 operas (the most popular being *Der Zigeunerbaron* by J. Strauss, presented 23 times), the theatre orchestra gave 20 concerts. The first full-length opera in the Oberschlesisches Landestheater Beuthen began on 6 September 1940 with the performance of R. Strauss's *Der Rosenkavalier*. The 1940/1941 season was as impressive as its predecessor: 249 dramas, including the premiere of *Romantische Hochzeit (Romantic Wedding)* by Gert Wolfram and Heinz Sievers in a production by Hermann Krüger; 147 operettas; 140 operas, including Franz Wöld's opera premiere of *Komödie der Irrungen (Comedy of Errors)* in the production of Heinz Huber; 18 fairy-tales; 5 ballet shows, and the theatre orchestra played 21 concerts. For the season 1941/1942 the breakdown of the theatre work in Bytom was as follows: the theatre team performed 562 times, including 249 times in Bytom and 208 times in Gliwice. It also gave performances in Sosnowiec and Zabrze. The repertoire consisted of 16 dramas, 11 operas, 8 operettas, 2 dancing nights (Tanzabende), 1 fairy-tale and 25 concerts. Among the dramas most often played were: Böttcher's comedy *Krach im Hinterhaus* – 31 times, F. Schiller's drama *Kabale und Liebe* – 22 times, GE Lessing's play *Minn von Barnhelm* – 19 times, H. Steguweit's play *Junger Wein in alten Schläuchen* – 19 times, Gerhard's art Metzner *Eva springt durchs Fenster (Eve Jumps Through the Window)* – 19 times. As for the opera repertoire, the most often performed were: *La Bohème* by Puccini – 23 times, *Undine* by A. Lortzinga – 19 times, *The Barber of Seville* 16 times, two Mozart operas; *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* and *Die Hochzeit des Figaro* – played 13 times each. Among the operettas, the most popular were: *Veilchen aus Wien (Violet of Vienna)* by Rudy Klandorfai, *Drei alte Schachteln* by W. Kollo – 25 times, and *Paganini* by F. Lehár (23 performances).²⁶⁸ It is worth mentioning that in the autumn of 1941, the theatre in Bytom celebrated the 40th anniversary of the theatre and on this occasion performed were Wagner's opera *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, J. von Eichendorff's *Die Freier*, and a ballet evening called *Deutsche Tänze (German dances)* to the music of L. van Beethoven, a ballet of the Austrian composer Josef Bayer, *Puppenfee (Doll Fairy)*, a dance drama (Tanzdrama) by Ellen

²⁶⁷ AP-Łódź, AmŁ 1794–1945, sygn. 28556, notatka [z grudnia 1940 r.]; BA-Berlin, R 56 – III/235; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 166 z 14 VI 1944 r., p. 4 i nr 175 z 23 VI 1944 r., p. 4; B. Drewniak, *Organizacja niemieckiego życia teatralnego...*, p. 63.

²⁶⁸ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 122 z 5 V 1940 r., *Das Oberschlesische Landestheater erfolgreicher als je zuvor*; nr 153 z 6 VI 1941 r., *Ein Jahr künstlerischen Erfolges*; nr 165 z 20 VI 1942 r., *Erfolgreiches Jubiläumsjahr*; nr 359 z 31 XII 1941/1 I 1942 r., *Das Jahr des grossen Anstoses*.

Petz, *Fest im Süden (Festival in the South)*.²⁶⁹ In the season 1942/1943, the theatre programme in Bytom consisted of 11 operas, 7 operettas, 13 dramas, and 2 dancing evenings.²⁷⁰

By the end of September 1941, and in less than three weeks, the Städtische Bühnen Kattowitz-Königshütte had produced 25 performances which had seen by about 17,000 viewers. The first season (12 September 1941 – 14 June 1942) was as follows: 1 premiere and 45 premieres (12 operas, 22 plays, 9 operettas, 1 fairy tale, 1 dance evening). There are 110 performances in Katowice and 238 performances in Chorzów. Cabaret evenings (Brettlabend), combining operatic, operetta and dance elements. Among the most popular and most frequently performed works were: J. Strauss's operetta *Der Zigeunerbaron* (25 performances), comedian A. Hinrichs *Wenn der Hahn Kräht* (19 performances), G.E. Lessing's *Minn von Barnhelm* (16 performances), A. Lortzing's opera *Zar und Zimmermann* (16 performances), and E. Kahn's *Oberst Vittorio Rossi* for 12 performances. The total number of viewers was 350,000. During the last wartime season there were 593 performances of 31 stage works, including 15 premieres with 163 operettas.²⁷¹

In the first season of 1940–1941, the theatre team in Bielsko gave 175 performances, of which 110 in Bielsko, 60 in Cieszyn, and 5 in Pszczyna. Another season was 1941/1942, where the troupe played 195 times. Compared to the previous season, the number of outings had fallen sharply, which was largely due to the launch of a permanent theatre stage in Cieszyn. Outside of Bielsko, the theatre only performed 10 times. In the season 1942/1943 the theatre played 279 performances, and in the next, gave a record number of 300 performances, including 18 outings to places such as Andrychów, Czechowice-Dziedzice, Oświęcim, Wadowice and Żywiec, which about 134,000 watched.²⁷²

²⁶⁹ Ibid., nr 265 z z 26 IX 1941 r., *Vor festlichen Tagen*; nr 268 z 29 IX 1941 r., *Ehrt Eure deutschen Meister...*; nr 272 z 3 X 1941 r., *Heiteres Spiel romantischer Phantasie*; nr 276 z 7 X 1941 r., *Tänzerisch beschwingter Ausklang*.

²⁷⁰ Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 183 z 5 VII 1943 r., *Spielzeit 1942/43 in Beuthen*.

²⁷¹ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 169 z 22 VI 1941 r., *Städtische Bühnen Kattowitz-Königshütte*; nr 218 z 10 VIII 1941 r., *Neue Theatergründung im deutschen Osten*; nr 227 z 19 VIII 1941 r., *Unsere Bühnen rüsten zur Eröffnung*; nr 230 z 22 VIII 1941 r., *Das Schauspiel der Städtischen Bühnen in der kommenden Spielzeit*; nr 231 z 23 VIII 1941 r., *Die Oper der Städtischen Bühnen in der kommenden Spielzeit*; nr 249 z 10 IX 1941 r., *Besuch bei "Zarewitsch" und "Lohengrin"*; nr 253 z 14 IX 1941 r., *"Lohengrin" in glänzender Ausstattung*; nr 254 z 15 IX 1941 r., *Zwischen Menschlichkeit und Staatsraison*; nr 255 z 16 IX 1941 r., *Ein fröhlicher Abend beim "Zarewitsch"*; nr 318 z 18 XI 1941 r., *17 000 Besucher in 3 Wochen*; nr 356 z 28 XII 1941 r., *Erfolgreicher Theateraufbau im Osten*; nr 156 z 11 VI 1942 r., *Spielzeitbilanz der Städtischen Bühnen*; nr 162 z 17 VI 1942 r., *Die Städtischen Bühnen am Ende der ersten Spielzeit*; B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeczy...*, p. 44; idem, *Organizacja niemieckiego życia teatralnego...*, p. 64; R. Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej. Między utopią niemieckiej wspólnoty narodowej a rzeczywistością okupacji na terenach wcielonych do Trzeciej Rzeczy*, Katowice 2006, pp. 359–360.

²⁷² Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 140 z 23 V 1941 r., *Erfolgreiche Spielzeit in Bielitz*; nr 144 z 30 V 1942 r., *Erfolgreiche Spielzeit in Bielitz*; nr 152 z 3 VI 1943 r., *Ein erfolgreiches Theaterjahr*; nr 169 z 21 VI 1944 r., *Theaterfreudiges Bielitz*.

A great festival of theatre in Upper Silesia was the *Theatertage des Gaues Oberschlesien* (Upper Silesian Theatre Days) held 7–15 May 1941, organized on the initiative and with the support of the Ministry of National Enlightenment and Propaganda of the Reich. Germany's chief dramatist Rainer Schlösser called the event "a testament to the cultural strength of the German people." Major events took place in the cities with theatre traditions (*Theaterstädte*): Bielsko, Bytom, Chorzów, Katowice and Sosnowiec. The programme of the Upper Silesian Theater Days consisted of a gala opening the event, and a concert of the Katowice symphony orchestra with guest participation of Georg Kulenkampf²⁷³ from Berlin (7 May in Katowice), a ballet evening performed by the Wrocław Opera (8 May in Chorzów), a tragedy of the Austrian playwright Franz Grillparzer, *Medea*, performed by the Volksbühne from Berlin, with Liselotte Schreiner²⁷⁴ in the title role and Emil Hese²⁷⁵ as Kreon (9 May in Katowice, 10 May in Bytom), the operetta by Franz Lehár, *Land of Laughter*, performed by the Bytom theatre (12 May in Sosnowiec), the Opera *Ariadne auf Naxos* by Richard Strauss in the performance of the Wrocław opera and with the participation of singers from operas in Berlin and Vienna (13 May in Katowice), *Tosca*, Giacomo Puccini's opera, performed by the Bytom theatre with the participation of the Berlin opera singer Michael Bohnen²⁷⁶ (15 May in Bielsko).²⁷⁷

The repertoire of theatrical tours was mainly comedy and farce, which were popular with the average viewer, and thus ensured the income of the shows. Relatively rare were the classics.²⁷⁸ It should be noted that in the case of the touring troupes, the technical conditions played a significant role in the selection of the repertoire; for example, a large cast would often not fit in a small room. There were also limited possibilities of preparation and the installation of scenography. Impressive – at least on the quantitative side – was the output by the Landesbühne Reichsgau Danzig–Westpreussen touring theatre. In the first half of the year, from October 1940 to March 1941, it was a regular guest in the 64 towns of the Reich District of Gdańsk–West Prussia, and there were 218 shows watched by 55,622 people. According to data from August 1942, the touring theatre performed 683 times in 68 locations in front of a crowd of 166,258 people.²⁷⁹ Until 8 September 1940, the

²⁷³ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 312.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 493.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 216–217.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 60–61.

²⁷⁷ *Kattowitzer Zeitung*, nr 114 z 27 IV 1941 r., *Theatertage des Gaues Oberschlesien*; nr 117 z 30 IV 1941 r., *Theatertage des Gaues Oberschlesien*; nr 118 z 1 V 1941 r., *Theatertage des Gaues Oberschlesien*; nr 122 z 5 V 1941 r., *Theatertage des Gaues Oberschlesien*; nr 124 z 7 V 1941 – nr 134 z 17 V 1941 r., *Theatertage des Gaues Oberschlesien*.

²⁷⁸ BA-Berlin: R 55/20165; *ibid.*, R 55/20426. Also on the basis of the information of the analyzed press.

²⁷⁹ AP-Gdańsk, Akta miasta Gniewa 1561–1945, sygn. 193, pismo okręgowego Urzędu Propagandy do prezydenta rejencji gdańskiej z 4 IX 1941 r.; BA-Berlin, R 55/1395, pismo Urzędu Propagandy w Okręgu Rzeszy Gdańsk–Prusy Zachodnie do RMfVuP z 11 IX 1941 r.; *Der Danziger Vorposten*,

touring theatre in the Reich District Wartheland, Landesbühne Gau Wartheland, gave 49 performances (30 in Inowrocław, 9 in Ciechocinek, and 10 in Gniewkow, Mogilno, Strzelnie and Włocławek) for 15,000 viewers. The first full season of theatre was inaugurated on 2 October 1940 in Gniezno with of G. E. Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm* and until 15 May 1941, the touring theatre performed 165 times in 50 places, with the performances viewed by about 76,000 people. The Season 1941/1942 began for the touring troupe on 16 August 1941 in Inowrocław with Gerhard Brückner's *Das Himmelbett von Hilgenhöh* (*The Four-Post Bed by Hilgenhöh*). The number of places that the Landesbühne visited increased to 60, and there were 286 performances for more than 100,000 viewers. The 1942/1943 season was inaugurated on 7 August 1942 in Gniezno with the comedy of G. Hauptmann *Der Biberpelz*. In this season, 385 shows were watched by over 158,000 viewers. In turn, in the season 1943/1944, the theatre gave 600 performances in 77 places for an audience of about 200,000 people. The three troupes of this theatre were active until summer 1944.²⁸⁰

Created in the Third Reich, German cultural institutions, as powerful tools of cultural policy, were subjected to strict control by the state and party administration. They were not places for the realization of creative freedom, because the role of propaganda and indoctrination, ascribed to them by the Nazis, required them to promote strictly defined content and values, as determined by the nationalist socialist ideology. Consequently, this would lead to the desired attitudes and behaviours.

nr 180 z 2 VII 1942 r., p. 3; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 160 z 10 VII 1941 r., p. 7; nr 220 z 18 IX 1941 r., p. 7; nr 21 z 26 I 1943 r., p. 3; Thorner Freiheit, nr 183 z 6 VIII 1942 r., p. 3.

²⁸⁰ BA-Berlin, R 55/20426; AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 745, press extract: Film-Kurier-Berlin, nr 119 z 23 V 1942 r.; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 125 z 6 V 1940 r., p. 5; nr 161 z 11 VI 1940 r., p. 8; nr 274 z 2 X 1940 r., p. 3–4; nr 276 z 4 X 1940 r., p. 6; nr 160 z 11 VI 1941 r., p. 4; nr 229 z 19 VIII 1941 r., p. 4; nr 138 z 20 V 1942 r., p. 4; nr 213 z 4 VIII 1942 r., p. 3; nr 216 z 7 VIII 1942 r., p. 6; nr 218 z 9 VIII 1942 r., p. 4; nr 189 z 11 VII 1943 r., p. 5; Thorner Freiheit, nr 136 z 12 VI 1940 r., p. 7 i nr 160 z 10 VII 1940 r., p. 7; B. Drewniak, *Teatr i film Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, p. 43.

Chapter IV

THE GERMAN ARTISTIC ENVIRONMENT IN THE POLISH TERRITORIES ANNEXED BY THE THIRD REICH IN THE YEARS 1939–1945

In the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich, the implementation of German cultural policy required the inflow and involvement of selected professionals who fully supported the National Socialist cultural model. The artists were to become societal leaders, leading the way to the 'Great Germans' and to participate in the creation of the 'new man' as blindly obedient to party and state. The personnel policy pursued by the Nazis in artistic circles was aimed at completely excluding from cultural life all those who could not prove their Aryan descent and corresponding political attitude. These prerequisites alone still did not guarantee the possibility of employment in the performing arts and culture. Not infrequently, artists who were of mediocre talents but boundlessly devoted to the system, promoting themes and artistic forms containing the desired propaganda, quickly built their careers and were presented as leading representatives of the world of culture. The Nazis only sporadically tolerated those who did not meet all the criteria of an 'exemplary' artist of the Third Reich, but whose achievements were considered particularly valuable and useful for the pursued cultural policy.

1. The Artistic environment

On 1 April 1941, in the Reich District of Gdańsk–West Prussia, the architect Otto Frick became the plenipotentiary of the Reich Chamber of Fine Arts (Landesleiter der Reichskammer der bildenden Künste). In the Reich District Wartheland this office was held by the architect Rudolf Voltenauer, and in Upper Silesia by the painter and sculptor Peter Lipp from Gliwice.¹

¹ Bundesarchiv Berlin (dalej cyt. BA-Berlin), R 55/1008, *passim*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 105 z 16 IV 1941 r., p. 4, 7; R. Kaczmarek, *W granicach Trzeciej Rzeszy*, [in:] *Katowice. Środowisko, dzieje, kultura, język i społeczeństwo*, pod red. A. Barciaka, E. Chojeckiej i P. Fertacza, t. I, Katowice 2012, p. 382.

Particularly active was the German artistic community which operated until 1939 in Upper Silesia. After the outbreak of World War II and the occupation of this area by the German army, the name of the Deutsche Künstlergruppe in Polen,² with headquarters in Katowice, was changed to Künstlergruppe Ost (Artistic Group East), but the original name of Kattowitzer Künstlergruppe was still commonly used. The formal name change may suggest that the association was intended to represent the entire German artistic community from the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich. Officially, it was headed by graphic artist Willi Heier (co-founder of the Kattowitzer Künstlergruppe), but the informal leader was landscape painter Rudolf Kober from Chorzów.³ Already at the beginning of October 1939, Kober took steps to initiate the association's activities, as he claimed: 'the cultural reconstruction of our liberated homeland cannot be lacking artists [...] Artists-Volksdeutsche no longer have to fight against the reluctance of a hostile environment, but can finally develop their work freely and joyfully for the good of our nation [...]. We will engage completely in the cultural reconstruction of Germanness.'⁴ The Kober Initiative was positively evaluated by the German authorities on the occupied territories, but as part of the 'unification' process, the Künstlergruppe Ost became part of the Vereinigung der volksdeutschen bildenden Künstler Oberschlesiens (Society of German Upper Silesian Fine Artists). In turn, in November 1940, these two organisations were incorporated into the Künstlerbund Oberschlesien (League of Upper Silesian Artists), headed by P. Lipp. The aforementioned R. Kober became the second chairman of the Künstlerbund, while W. Heier entered the artistic council.⁵ In October 1941, the Künstlerbund Oberschlesien joined the Kunstverein Oberschlesien (Art Society of Upper Silesia) on the acts of the association. This solution served to centralize the activities undertaken by the Upper Silesian artistic community. Whereas the members of the Künstlerbund were primarily artists, the Kunstverein focused on all lovers and patrons of art.⁶ The Kunstverein Oberschlesien functioned as the executive body (Vollzugsorgan) of the Künstlerbund Oberschlesien, popularising the visual arts mainly through exhibition activities and the organisation of lectures on art.⁷

A significant share in the promotion of Silesian artists was the Stiftung Oberschlesien, which among others undertook activities aimed at creating the Upper

² See chapter I, p. 81 of this book.

³ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 2 z 3 I 1940 r., *Künstlergruppe Ost*.

⁴ Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach (dalej cyt. AP-Katowice), Urząd Propagandy Rzeszy Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1941–1944, sygn. 27, pismo R. Kobera do Scherera z 12 X 1939 r.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *passim*; R. Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej. Między utopią niemieckiej wspólnoty narodowej a rzeczywistością okupacji na terenach wcielonych do Trzeciej Rzeszy*, Katowice 2006, p. 355; idem, *Środowisko naukowe i artystyczne w prowincji górnośląskiej (1941–1945)*, [in:] *Losy inteligencji śląskiej w latach 1939–1945*, pod red. Z. Kapały, t. 2, Bytom 2005, p. 37–38; idem, *W granicach Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, p. 381.

⁶ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 152 z 4 VI 1940 r., *Hauptversammlung des Künstlerbundes Oberschlesien*.

⁷ AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4303.

Silesian painting gallery (Oberschlesische Gemäldegalerie)⁸ in 1942. In addition, the foundation often participated in the organisation of exhibitions and funded prizes for artists. Already on 3 December 1939 at the Oberschlesische Landesmuseum in Bytom, an annual exhibition of works by artists gathered in the Künstlerbund Oberschlesien opened, including Walter Gebauer, Johann Geretta, Erwin Homy, Vincenz Oczka, Viktor Strauss. It went on until 3 January 1940. On 5 May 1940, the Oberschlesische Landesbibliothek in Katowice presented an exhibition entitled *Deutsche Kunst im Ostraum (German art in the East)* organised by the Kattowitzer Künstlergruppe. Among the Silesian artists who presented their works were Johann Geretta from Pawłowice, Willi Heier and Theodor Ratka from Katowice, Rudolf Kober from Chorzów, Hans Konheisner from Skoczów, Franz Sikora from Piotrowice, Ruth von Schwarz from Tarnowskie Góry. Also shown were the works of Anna Schultze-Köppler from Toruń, Rudolf Domiczka, Eugen Köppler, Friedrich Kunitzer and Kamil Preis from Łódź, and Robert Jaretzki from Poznań. The exhibition was open to visitors until 19 May, and then it was presented in selected cities in the occupied Polish territories: in Bielsko, Kraków, Łódź, and in the area of the so-called Old Reich: in Berlin, Karlsruhe, Magdeburg, Stuttgart and Wałbrzych.⁹

The Kunstverein Oberschlesien's first exhibition, under the name *Junge Kunst in Oberschlesien (Young Art in Upper Silesia)* was presented to the Katowice public in the hall of the so-called southern park (Südparkhalle, before the war: Tadeusz Kościuszko Park) from 12 to 31 August 1941. At the same time and place an exhibition titled *Schlesische Handwerkskunst (Silesian Arts and Crafts)* was held, which the Oberschlesischer Heimatbund had prepared in cooperation with local craftsmen. By the end of August 1941, both exhibitions had been visited by around five thousand people.¹⁰ The following year, a major undertaking and artistic event was the organisation of a touring exhibition by the Kunstverein Oberschlesien under the name *Grosse Oberschlesische Kunstausstellung (Great Upper Silesian Art Exhibition)*. In total, 183 works (mainly watercolours and prints) by 84 artists, the selection of which was decided by a special commission under the supervision of Professor Hans Schweitzer-Mjöllnira from Berlin, Reich's plenipotentiary for shaping artistic form from the Ministry of propaganda. The artistic director of the exhibition was P. Lipp, while the technical management was in the hands of W. Heier,

⁸ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 52 z 22 II 1942 r., *Eine Oberschlesische Gemäldegalerie*.

⁹ Ibid., nr 328 z 4 XII 1939 r., *Unsere bildenden Künstler stellen aus*; nr 122 z 5 V 1940 r., *Eröffnung der Kattowitzer Kunstausstellung*; nr 123 z 6 V 1940 r., *Maler zeigen uns die Heimat*; nr 124 z 7 V 1940 r., *„Deutsche Kunst im Ostraum.“ Schaffensernte der „Kattowitzer Künstlergruppe“*; nr 150 z 2 VI 1940 r., *Deutschlandfahrt der Kattowitzer Kunstausstellung*; nr 189 z 11 VII 1940 r., *Erfolg unserer Künstler in Stuttgart*.

¹⁰ Ibid., nr 214 z 6 VIII 1941 r., *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk*; nr 220 z 12 VIII 1941 r., *Zwei Ausstellungen in der Gauhauptstadt*; nr 221 z 13 VIII 1941 r., *Oberschlesien ist kein „Goldgräberland“*; nr 225 z 17 VIII 1941 r., *Junge Kunst in Oberschlesien*; nr 239 z 31 VIII 1941 r., *Glänzender Erfolg der Kattowitzer Ausstellung*.

collaborating with painter Willim Daeneke. On 6 June 1942, the Grosse Oberschlesische Kunstausstellung was opened by Oberpraesident and gauleiter Fritz Bracht in the museum in Bytom. Opened on 12 July 1942, the exhibition was watched by almost 14,000 people. It was also possible to purchase the presented works. From 8 August to 6 September 1942, the Grosse Oberschlesische Kunstausstellung was presented at the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Poznań. After returning to Silesia, the exhibition was divided into two collections; the first one was shown in Gliwice (until 4 October 1942), Katowice (18–31 October 1942), Bielsko (15–29 November 1942), Cieszyn (13–27 December 1942), and Zabrze (8–21 January 1943). The second one could be seen in Opole (until 4 October 1942), Nysa (18–31 October 1942), Raciborz (15–29 November 1942), Chorzów (13–27 December 1942) and Tarnów (8–21 January 1943).¹¹ The following year the Oberschlesische Kunstausstellung was organised for the second time, and its grand opening took place on 5 September 1943 in the Bytom museum. This time, 164 works (mainly paintings and sculptures) by 71 artists were presented. The exhibition was open until 10 October 1943. After its closing, the Kunstverein Oberschlesien prepared a traveling exhibition of paintings entitled *Werke ober Schlesischer Künstler (Works of Upper Silesian artists)*. It was divided into two parts, presented from 31 October 1943 in the places from which the authors of the works came. The first one was shown in Chrzanów, Gliwice, Nysa, Opole, Raciborz and Tarnów, the second one in Będzin, Bielsko, Chorzów, Cieszyn, Sosnowiec and Zabrze. Then both collections were combined and the entire exhibition could be seen in the Katowice Südparkhalle.¹²

On 2 February 1941, the plenipotentiary of the Chamber of Fine Arts of the Reich for the Province of Silesia opened a grand review exhibition in the Upper Silesian National Library in Katowice, titled *Ausstellung Schlesischer Künstler (Exhibition of Silesian artists)*. Paintings, graphic and sculptural works were presented by 51 artists from all over Silesia (including 19 Upper Silesian artists). The exhibition enjoyed great success and by 16 February it had been watched by 2,435

¹¹ AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4466–4470, 4486, 4488, 4490; Kattowitzter Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 139 z 23 V 1942 r., *Oberschlesische Künstler sehen sich selbst*; nr 150 z 5 VI 1942 r., *Die Kunst des Ausstellens*; nr 151 z 6 VI 1942 r., *Wenige Stunden vor Öffnung der Tore...*; nr 152 z 7 VI 1942 r., *Die Oberschlesische Kunstausstellung 1942 eröffnet*; nr 166 z 21 VI 1942 r., *Kunst und Wirklichkeit in Oberschlesien*; nr 215 z 9 VIII 1942 r., *Oberschlesische Kunstausstellung in Posen*; nr 220 z 14 VIII 1942 r., *Kulturelle Zusammenarbeit Warthegau–OS*; nr 275 z 8 X 1942 r., *OS Kunstausstellung wandert durch den Gau*; nr 285 z 18 X 1942 r., *Oberschlesische Künstler stellen aus*; nr 286 z 19 X 1942 r., *Kunst reist durch den Gau*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 214 z 5 VIII 1942 r., p. 4; nr 217 z 8 VIII 1942 r., p. 3; nr 218 z 9 VIII 1942 r., p. 6.

¹² AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4465; Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 245 z 5 IX 1943 r., *Mensch und Landschaft der Heimat*; nr 265 z 25 IX 1943 r., *Beuthener Kunstausstellung starkbesucht* (do dnia 21 IX 1943 r. wystawę obejrzało ok. 5,5 tys.); nr 291 z 21 X 1943 r., *Kunst wandert durch den Gau*; nr 302 z 1 XI 1943 r., *Ausstellung ober Schlesischer Künstler in Hindenburg*.

people. From 26 February to 9 March 1941, it was presented in Chorzów and then in Bielsko.¹³

The works of Silesian artists were also shown outside the area of incarnation, in the so-called Old Reich, among others in April 1941, where, thanks to the Kunstverein Oberschlesien, in the Museum of Fine Arts (Museum der Bildenden Künste) in Leipzig, an exhibition ran entitled *Schlesische Kunst (Silesian Art)*.¹⁴

The Ausstellungsgemeinschaft Danzig–Westpreussen (Gdańsk–West Prussia Exhibition Association), which was founded in February 1941 and headed by painter Paul Dannot,¹⁵ made a significant contribution to the promotion of local artists in the Gdańsk–West Prussia District. It organised exhibitions, and provided professional advice to other exhibition organizers.¹⁶ One of its most important undertakings was an exhibition titled *Gauausstellung westpreussischer Maler (District exhibition of West Prussian painters)* which opened on 15 January 1944 at the Municipal Museum in Gdańsk. In the local press, it was emphasized that ‘this is a special reflection of the German imprint on the old Teutonic country’. At that time, over 300 oil paintings and watercolours were painted by ‘the best, native, West–Prussian artists’, including Stanislaus Chlebowski, Paul Dannot, Carl Dittmann, Otto Erdemerkens, Felix Mehseck, and Georg Stapel. The paintings on display, mainly landscapes and genre scenes, depicted ‘the beauty of the Reich District Gdańsk–West Prussia’.¹⁷

In the Reich District Land of the Warta River, a similar role to the Ausstellungsgemeinschaft Danzig–Westpreussen was played by the Gemeinschaft zur Förderung der Deutschen Kunst im Reichsgau Wartheland (Association for the Promotion of German Art in the Reich District Land of the Warta River) with its headquarters in Poznań, established in October 1941 under the honorary protectorate of the governor Arthur Greiser. His chairman (Präsident) was Landeskulturwalter Wilhelm Maul, and vice-chairman of the district cultural secretary (Gau-

¹³ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 30 z 31 I 1941 r., *Ausstellung Schlesischer Künstler*; nr 32 z 2 II 1941 r., *Schlesische Kunst im Querschnitt*; nr 33 z 3 II 1941 r., *Deutsche Kunst hilft aufbauen*; nr 39 z 9 II 1941 r., *Schlesische Kunst der Gegenwart*; nr 51 z 21 II 1941 r., *Grosser Erfolg der Ausstellung schlesischer Künstler*; nr 52 z 22 II 1941 r., *Wanderausstellung Schlesischer Künstler*; nr 57 z 27 II 1941 r., *Königshütte. Ausstellung schlesischer Künstler*; nr 58 z 28 II 1941 r., *Reges Interesse für die Kunstausstellung*; nr 59 z 1 III 1941 r., *Von den Beskiden bis zur Iser*; nr 82 z 24 III 1941 r., *Ausstellung schlesischer Künstler eröffnet*.

¹⁴ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 100 z 11 IV 1941 r., “*Schlesische Kunst*” in Leipzig.

¹⁵ See: H. Neumeyer, *Der Danziger Maler Paul Dannot Dannowsky*, Westpreussen Jahrbuch, Band 2–3, Münster 1951–1952, p. 79–80

¹⁶ Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku (further cit. AP-Gdańsk), Akta miasta Gniewa 1561–1945, sygn. 193, statut organizacji Ausstellungsgemeinschaft Danzig–Westpreussen; *ibid.*, Akta miasta Starogardu Gdańskiego 1634–1945, sygn. 139, pismo krajowego pełnomocnika do spraw kultury do burmistrza Starogardu Gdańskiego z 10 XII 1941 r.; BA-Berlin, R 55/1395, notatka na temat powołania organizacji Kulturwerk Deutsches Ordensland; Thorner Freiheit, nr 41 z 18 II 1941 r., p. 4; W. Diewerge, *Der neue Reichsgau Danzig–Westpreussen*, Berlin 1940, pp. 88–89.

¹⁷ Thorner Freiheit, nr 11 z 14 I 1944 r., p. 3 and nr 13 z 17 I 1944 r., pp. 3–4.

kulturreferent) Wilhelm Vermöhlen. The main objective of the Association's programme was to support the development of German art in the Reich District Land of the Warta River, including by coordinating cooperation between German artists and patrons of art, cultural exchange with individual districts of the Third Reich, facilitating exhibitions at home and abroad, activating German artists by organizing contests and awarding prizes, and purchasing art and objects of artistic value. In addition, the Association intended to support the education of young creators by providing financial support in the form of scholarships. Ordinary membership could be purchased by any German artist or patron, after submitting a written application to the chairman of the organisation, which was considered positively. Extraordinary membership was reserved for associations and cultural institutions. Each of the members was obliged to pay an annual contribution of at least 24 German marks for ordinary members and 100 German marks for extraordinary members. The chairman's competence included granting honorary memberships to people who made a particular contribution to the development of cultural.¹⁸ The first important project of the Association was to prepare a graphic exhibition. It was opened on 30 January 1942 in the building belonging to the Association at Leo-Schlageter-Strasse 12 (12 Gwarna St.). Visitors could see about 110 works of artists from northern and eastern Germany, including: Paul Barz, Joachim Dae-r-rer, Norbert Dolezich, Heinz Dommusch, Hermann Drost, Norbert Eder, Ilse Genssen, Karl Hennemann, Otto Herdemertens, Rudolf Krampe, Ingwer Paulsen, Hans Salzmann, Engelbert Schoner, Herbert Tucholski, Rupprecht von Vegesack. The exhibition ran until 5 March.¹⁹

Both the central and local authorities supported the active artists' milieu financially, and tried to stimulate their creative inspiration through various kinds of prizes and competitions. In 1940–1943, the Reich Ministry for Science and Education annually transferred to the governor of the Reich District Land of the Warta River a subsidy of 5,000 German marks to 'support the arts and art education'. The funds were to be used to purchase works by local artists who were in a difficult financial situation. According to the suggestions of Minister B. Rust, the purchases were to consist primarily of paintings thematically related to the Reich District Land of the Warta River, which were then presented as gifts and prizes to schools. Each time, the proposals for utilizing the subsidy were prepared by the Poznań branch of the National Socialist Teachers' Union (Nationalsozialistischer Lehrerbund, NSLB) in cooperation with the Reich Regional Propaganda Office.²⁰

¹⁸ Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu (dalej cyt. AP-Poznań), Niemieckie organizacje 1939–1945, sygn. 528; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 316 z 14 XI 1941 r., p. 5 i nr 60 z 1 III 1942 r., p. 8.

¹⁹ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 29 z 29 I 1942 r., p. 4; nr 31 z 31 I 1942 r., p. 7; nr 32 z 1 II 1942 r., p. 4; nr 59 z 28 II 1942 r., p. 5.

²⁰ AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2602, *passim*.

In August 1941, Governor Greiser launched a competition for sculptors, not only from the Reich District of the State of Warta River, for the design of a marble frieze to decorate the so-called round hall (Runde Saal) of the Poznań castle. The jury, consisting of Governor Greiser as chairman, sculptor Professor Arno Breker from Berlin, Gaupropagandaleiter und Landeskulturwalter Wilhelm Maul, architect Franz Böhmer, and senior government's building councillor (Regierungsoberbaurat) Glienke, convened on 29 April 1942. Submitted to the competition had been 131 projects, which, after the verdict was announced, were exhibited at an exhibition in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, open from 3 May 1942 to 23 May 1942. In total, four works were awarded and the total prize pool was 20,000 German marks. The project was won by sculptors Sutora from Karlsruhe and Garbe from Frankfurt am Main and titled *Der deutsche Mensch* (*The German Man*). The relief presented by them was divided into seven thematic groups: family, youth, fatherland calls, struggle, victory, return home, peace. The jury noticed and appreciated in this work the symbolic message that 'the German race is the foundation of the great deeds of the German nation that fulfills the timeless, eternal striving for strength and power.' The projects of Fritz Berger from Königsberg, Hans Goebel from Munich and Anton Stöckl from Berchtesgaden were also awarded.²¹

A special distinction for distinguished artists was the Upper Silesian art prize (Oberschlesischer Preis für Bildende Kunst, Oberschlesischer Kunstpreis), awarded once a year following a competition. The sponsor of the 10,000 German mark prize was the Stiftung Oberschlesien. Every German artist could enter the competition, but special attention was given to artists born in Silesia or who lived in Silesia, or whose oeuvre were thematically related to Silesia. The jury deciding on the prize participated with representatives of all the institutions responsible in Upper Silesia for cultural matters, and its decision had to be confirmed by the president as the honorary protector of the Stiftung Oberschlesien. The Upper Silesian artistic prize was awarded for the first time on 6 June 1942 on the occasion of the opening of the Grosse Oberschlesische Kunstausstellung, to the painter Ludwig Peter Kowalski from Wrocław. Cash prizes were also awarded to Willy Daeneke, Günther Domnich, Hans Konheisner, Arthur Kowol, and Gerhard Neumann. The following year, the Oberschlesischer Kunstpreis went to the painter Georg Nehrlich (also spelled Nerlich) from Wrocław.²²

²¹ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 119 z 30 IV 1942 r., p. 3; nr 120 z 1 V 1942 r., p. 5; nr 140 z 22 V 1942 r., p. 5.

²² AP-Katowice, Urząd Propagandy Rzeszy Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1941–1944, sygn. 37, przepisy dotyczące przyznawania górnośląskiej nagrody w zakresie sztuk plastycznych; *ibid.*, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4465, 4466, 4488, *passim*; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 144 z 30 V 1942 r., *Der Gauleiter verleiht den Kunstpreis*; nr 152 z 7 VI 1942 r., *Ludwig Peter Kowalski erhielt den Oberschlesischen Kunstpreis* oraz: *Die Oberschlesische Kunstausstellung 1942 eröffnet*; nr 246 z 6 IX 1943 r., *Oberschlesischer Kunstpreis 1943 für Georg Nerlich*.

In 1941, a prize for artists was also funded by the landrat of the Bielsko-Biała district, Siegfried Schmidt, wishing to 'give an incentive to create good oil paintings, watercolours, engravings and prints that depict the landscape and the German population in the Bielsko district'. There were four prizes of 300–600 German marks and one special prize worth 200 German marks, which was sponsored by the President of the Reich District of Katowice, Walter Springorum.²³

The district authorities tried to maintain contacts with artists from various parts of the Reich, including inviting them to artistic plein-air. It was a good opportunity not only to exchange experiences and develop cooperation, but above all to promote the 'German cultural wealth' of the Polish territories incorporated into the Reich. The leitmotif of such outdoor locations was the regional landscape. The invited artists travelled around the area with the intention of transferring to the canvas the most charming natural spots and architectural objects. Painting was interspersed with tourism and cultural events, including trips to local monuments, music concerts, and lectures to familiarize the participants of plein-air with the cultural traditions of the region. In the summer of 1941, at the invitation of the governor, A. Forster, in the Reich District Gdańsk–West Prussia, fourteen painters visited from, among others, Stuttgart, Karlsruhe, Munich, and Vienna. These artists were popular in the Third Reich: Fritz Bayerlein, Claus Bergen, Josef Burger, Walter Einbeck, Oskar Graf, Hermann Mayrhofer-Passau, Erich Mercker, Oscar Oestreicher, Carl Theodor Protzen, Walter Rose, Rudolf Scheller, Georg Siebert, Karl Walther, and Xaver Wolf. Over 140 resulting paintings (oil paintings, watercolours, drawings, and lithographs) were presented during the exhibition, entitled *Süddeutsche Maler sehen das Ordensland* (*South-East painters observe the Teutonic Knights's Land*) organised by Kulturwerk Deutsches Ordensland. It opened on 28 May 1942 at the Municipal Museum in Gdańsk, and later it was shown, among others, in Berlin and Munich.²⁴ Governor Greiser invited artists of the so-called Old Reich to his Reich District Land of the Warta River three times. The resulting works could be seen as part of large exhibitions entitled *Maler im Wartheland* (*Artists in the Land of the Warta*), held in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum from 24 October till 26 November 1941 (about 250 works by 40 artists), from 24 October until 29 November 1942 (about 410 works by 76 artists), and from 23 October

²³ Kattowitzter Zeitung, nr 97 z 8 IV 1941 r., *Ehrenpreise für Maler ausgeschrieben*.

²⁴ AP-Gdańsk, Akta miasta Starogardu Gdańskiego 1634–1945, sygn. 140, pismo kierownika Urzędu Propagandy w Okręgu Rzeszy Gdańsk–Prusy Zachodnie do nadburmistrzów i landratów z 10 V 1941 r.; Archiwum Państwowe w Toruniu (dalej cyt. AP-Toruń), Akta miasta Torunia 1939–1945 (dalej cyt. AmT 1939–1945), sygn. 762, Der Gauring. Mitteilungsblatt des Gauringes Danzig–Westpreussen der NSDAP, Nummer 4–5/1942, pp. 6–8; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 111 z 13 V 1941 r., p. 5; nr 119 z 21 V 1942 r., p. 6; nr 127 z 1 VI 1942 r., p. 2; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 145 z 28 V 1942 r., p. 4; nr 147 z 30 V 1942 r., p. 4; nr 264 z 24 IX 1942 r., p. 4; Thorner Freiheit, nr 3 z 5 I 1942 r., p. 3; nr 125 z 30/31 V 1942 r., p. 4; nr 126 z 1 VI 1942 r., p. 2. Informacje biograficzne o artystach uczestniczących w plenerach w Okręgu Rzeszy Gdańsk–Prusy Zachodnie: E. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich. Wer war was vor und nach 1945*, Frankfurt am Main 2009, pp. 34, 42, 117–118, 177, 366.

to 21 November 1943 (362 works by 59 artists). Popular artists from the Third Reich participated in these plein-air, such as Eduard Bischoff, Otto Engelhardt-Kyffhäuser, Willy Hell and Bert Heller.²⁵ As part of the cultural exchange between the artistic environment of the Reich District Land of the Warta River and the Moselland Region, on 21 March 1942, an exhibition of paintings and graphic art from the Moselland Region was opened at the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum thanks to the Gemeinschaft zur Förderung der deutschen Kunst im Reichsgau Wartheland, showing mainly artists from Trier and Koblenz, which was open until 23 April. On this occasion, Landeskulturwalter W. Maul proposed to the head of the NSDAP propaganda department in the Moselland region, Alfred Urmes, a proposal for a several-week artistic plein-air for six painters. At the end of January 1944, artists from the Reich District Land of the Warta River, including Rudolf Hahlbohm, Fritz Heidingsfeld, Bert Heller, Werner Linde, Hans Schiel, and Roman Waher, presented their work during an exhibition organised in Luxembourg.²⁶ On 10–15 June 1942, at the invitation of the Stiftung Oberschlesien, among others, three Viennese painters visited Silesia: Prinz, Windhager, and Franz Xaver Weidinger, as well as sculptor Rudolf Schmidt.²⁷

2. Literary life

The offices of the plenipotentiary of the Chamber of the Reich's Literature (Landesleiter der Reichsschrifttumskammer) was held in the Reich District of Gdańsk–West Prussia by Detlef Krannhals (from February 1941), in Upper Silesia by Alfons Hayduk from Gliwice (from April 1942), and in the Reich District Land of the Warta River by Wolfram Krupka (from April 1940) and Paul Grabau (from August 1943, because Krupka became the chief playwright at the opera in Kiev).²⁸

The small and insignificant group of German writers living in Poland incorporated into the Third Reich could not carry out the task of the 'reconstruction of

²⁵ AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2602, *passim*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 290 z 19 X 1941 r., p. 5; nr 295 z 24 X 1941 r., p. 3; nr 318 z 16 XI 1941 r., p. 5; nr 327 z 25 XI 1941 r., p. 5; nr 176 z 28 VI 1942 r., p. 4; nr 292 z 22 X 1942 r., p. 3; nr 294 z 24 X 1943 r., p. 3; nr 295 z 25 X 1942 r., p. 8; nr 309 z 8 XI 1942 r., p. 5; nr 316 z 15 XI 1942 r., p. 4; nr 323 z 22 XI 1942 r., p. 5; nr 330 z 29 XI 1942 r., p. 7; nr 294 z 24 X 1943 r., p. 3; nr 322 z 21 XI 1943 r., p. 5; *Kunstaussstellung "Maler im Wartheland 1942,"* Posen 1942 [katalog z wystawy]. Informacje biograficzne o artystach uczestniczących w plenerach w Okręgu Rzeszy Kraj Warty: E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 105, 122, 209–210, 210.

²⁶ AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2602, pismo okręgowego kierownika Urzędu Propagandy do wydziału III w urzędzie namiestnika z 26 XI 1943 r.; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 76 z 17 III 1942 r., p. 4; nr 80 z 21 III 1942 r., p. 3; nr 81 z 22 III 1942 r., p. 5; nr 84 z 25 III 1942 r., p. 5; nr 101 z 12 IV 1942 r., p. 3; nr 108 z 19 IV 1942 r., p. 5; nr 32 z 2 II 1944 r., p. 3; nr 41 z 11 II 1944, p. 5.

²⁷ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 161 z 16 VI 1942 r., *Mit Wiener Dichtern und Malern durch OS* oraz: *Der Gauleiter begrüsst seine Gäste.*

²⁸ BA-Berlin, R 55/1008, *passim*; *ibid.*, R 56–V/1290, *passim*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 299 z 28 X 1941 r., p. 4; E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 203–204, 310.

German literary life', in the opinion of the authorities, so it was entrusted to writers who held an important position in the literary life of the Third Reich. The sightseeing tours organised for them in the annexed areas of Poland were to inspire literary work that praised the beauty and supposedly German roots of the visited areas. Already in the second half of October 1939, at the initiative of PROMI, a group of German writers travelled from Gdańsk (arrival from Berlin on 22 October) through Gdynia, Tczew, Grudziądz, Toruń, and Bydgoszcz to Poznań. The group consisted of Friedrich Bodenreuth (real name: Friedrich Jaksch), Robert Hohlbaum, Hanns Johst, Jacob Schaffner, Franz Schauwecker, Hermann Stahl, Franz Tumler, Magnus Wehner, Erhard Wittek and Heinrich Zillich.²⁹ The writers were accompanied by representatives of the Ministry of Propaganda (Heinz Schlecht) and the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces (Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Hesse).³⁰ As a result of this 'literary inspection' – as Hubert Orłowski described it – the writers were to create a literary image of the war campaign against Poland in line with the expectations of the propaganda apparatus. It was not a long wait until the first results: already in 1939, a publication entitled *Dichter auf den Schlachtfeldern in Polen*³¹ appeared, affirming the German aggression on Poland. At the end of October 1939, the writers who took part in the journey to the annexed Polish areas were invited by Minister Goebbels, who in his journal commented on the meeting as follows: 'We discussed until midnight, which was very interesting and inspiring. However, these poets are usually nothing more than good writers at best. However, you can still learn a lot from them. They saw Poland with their own eyes. The picture [of Poland – note S.G.], which they draw, corresponds with my ideas.'³² In the autumn of 1940, a group of German writers was hosted by the city authorities of Toruń. The result of this visit was an anthology titled *Deutsche Dichter grüssen Thorn*³³ (*German writers greet Toruń*), containing texts by 80 writers who sympathized with the fact that the Third Reich had annexed a large part of Polish territory. From 10–15 June 1942, at the invitation of the Stiftung Oberschlesien Upper Silesia, the Viennese poets (Wiener Dichterfahrt) Bruno Brehm, Franz Karl Ginskey, Karl Kremser, Karl Hans Strobl, Hermann Stuppäck (pseudonym Heinrich Sicking), and Jo-

²⁹ E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 57, 238, 258, 466–467, 469, 524, 560–561, 585–586, 605–606, 618.

³⁰ Der Danziger Vorposten, nr 251 z 23 X 1939 r., p. 5; nr 252 z 24 X 1939 r., p. 5; nr 253 z 25 X 1939 r.; nr 279 z 20 XI 1939 r., p. 6; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 242 z 26 X 1939 r., p. 3; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 34 z 3 II 1940 r., p. 5; Thorner Freiheit, nr 29 z 23 X 1939 r., p. 4; H. Orłowski, *Literatura w III Rzeszy*, Poznań 1979, pp. 109–110; W. Trzeciakowski, *Obraz kultury niemieckiej w Bydgoszczy lat wojny i okupacji (1939–1945) w świetle dziennika „Deutsche Rundschau,” Kronika Bydgoska*, t. XXII: 2000, p. 194.

³¹ *Dichter auf den Schlachtfeldern in Polen*, hrsg. von H. Schlecht und H. Riecke, Leipzig–Berlin 1939.

³² *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels. Sämtliche Fragmente. Teil I: Aufzeichnungen 1924–1941. Band 3 (1.1.1937–31.12.1939)*, hrsg. von E. Fröhlich, München 1987, p. 623 (zapis z 27 X 1939 r.).

³³ *Deutsche Dichter grüssen Thorn. Briefe, Grüße und Widmungen deutscher Dichter an die Stadt Thorn im Auftrage des Oberbürgermeisters des Stadt Thorn*, Thorn 1941; H. Orłowski, op. cit., pp. 110–111.

sef Weinheber³⁴ visited Silesia. They were to 'get to know the region and people and their cultural and national-political problems and, at the same time, confirm the natural bonds between Silesia and the Danube capital'.³⁵

In the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich, various initiatives related to the dissemination and nurturing of German literature, and especially the promotion of local authors, were led by such organisations as: Stiftung Oberschlesien in the Reich District of Katowice, Ostdeutscher Dichterkreis (East German Circle of Poets) in the Reich District of Gdańsk–West Prussia, and the Wartheländische Dichterkreis (Poetic Circle of the land of the Warta) led by Franz Lüdtkke.³⁶ Their activities included arranging face-to-face meetings with authors, readings and lectures dedicated to literature and book exhibitions 'worthy of attention'.³⁷ The writers who were most often invited were: Konrad Beste, Friedrich Bethge, Friedrich Blunck, Hermann Eris Busse, Anton Dörfler, Gottfried Graf Finckenstein, Max Halbe, Robert Hohlbaum, Wilhelm Kohlhaas, Franz Lüdtkke, Agnes Miegel, Wilhelm Pleyer, Karl Heinrich Waggener, Erhard Wittek, Heinrich Zillich.³⁸ Apart from these author's meetings, another form of popularizing literary creativity were events devoted to reading the works of a given author, but without his participation.

In promoting German literature, the German Book Week (Woche des deutschen Buches) played an important role, celebrated in the Third Reich each autumn, beginning in 1934.³⁹ Apart from numerous meetings with authors and lectures on German literature, this event was accompanied by exhibitions of major publications. In 1940, the largest of these, *Ostschrifttum (Eastern Literature)* was opened on 31 October at the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum and it presented book publications of the first year of the war. The exhibition was prepared in coopera-

³⁴ E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 69, 167, 540, 543, 588.

³⁵ AP-Katowice, Rejencja Katowicka 1939–1945, sygn. 111, pismo Stiftung Oberschlesien do prezydenta Rejencji Katowickiej z 9 VI 1942 r.; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 143 z 29 V 1942 r., *Dichterschaft durch Oberschlesien*; nr 155 z 10 VI 1942 r., *Brehm und Weinheber lesen in Kattowitz*; nr 158 z 13 VI 1942 r., *Wiener Dichter in der Gauhauptstadt*; nr 161 z 16 VI 1942 r., *Mit Wiener Dichtern und Malern durch OP*.

³⁶ F. K. Kriebel, *Franz Lüdtkke. Ein Dichter der deutschen Ostmark*, Jahrbuch Weichsel–Warthe, Jahrgang 4, 1958, pp. 61–63; E. Dombrowski, *Franz Lüdtkke aus Bromberg*, Westpreussen Jahrbuch, Band 32, Münster 1982, pp. 115–118; R. Gerlach-Damaschke, *Franz Lüdtkke vor 100 Jahren geboren*, Jahrbuch Weichsel–Warthe, Jahrgang 28, 1982, pp. 103–106; E. Klee, op. cit., p. 345.

³⁷ AP-Gdańsk, Akta miasta Gniewa 1561–1945, sygn. 193, statut organizacji Ostdeutscher Dichterkreis [b.d.] i pismo Urzędu Propagandy w Okręgu Rzeszy Gdańsk–Prusy Zachodnie do prezydenta rejencji gdańskiej z 4 IX 1941 r.; BA-Berlin, R 55/1395, a note about the establishment of the organization Kulturwerk Deutsches Ordensland; on the basis of the information included in the analyzed press.

³⁸ On the basis of the collected source material. See: E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 45, 46, 55–56, 81, 104, 192, 345, 369–370, 417, 573–574. Por. F. Weigelt, *Vom Kulturschaffen unserer Landsleute*, Jahrbuch Weichsel–Warthe, Jahrgang 1, 1955, p. 64–67.

³⁹ See more: J. P. Barbian, *Literaturpolitik im "Dritten Reich." Institutionen, Kompetenzen, Betätigungsfeldern*, München 1995, p. 626 i n.

tion with the Ministry of Propaganda and the office of Alfred Rosenberg.⁴⁰ In the Reich District of Katowice, the German Book Week in 1940 was graced by the launch of 35 public libraries (Volksbüchereien) and 15 work place libraries (Werkbüchereien).⁴¹ In 1941, in the Reich District Land of the Warta River, on the occasion of the German Book Week (23 October till 1 November), the Posener Dichterwoche (Poznań's Week of Poets) was organised, during which over 20 German authors from the so-called eastern districts of the Reich (Reich District of Gdańsk–West Prussia, East Prussia, the Reich District Land of the Warta River, Upper Silesia, Lower Silesia, and Brandenburg) met with readers and presented their works to them.⁴²

German literary exhibitions were also organised independently of the German Book Week. On 17 August 1940, an exhibition titled *Das deutsche Buch im deutschen Thorn* (*The German book in German Toruń*) opened in the town hall which lasted until 15 September, and in December 1940 it was also presented in Gdańsk. In both cities, the exhibition drew over five thousand people. The visitors had the opportunity to see about 650 old prints from Toruń's buildings. In the autumn of 1940, in connection with the aforementioned visit of German writers, an exhibition was organised in Toruń. *Deutsche Dichter grüssen den deutschen Osten* (*German writers greet the German East*), which included their literary output. To German poets from the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich and from East Prussia, an exhibition was devoted entitled *Dichtung des Ostens* (*Poetry of the East*), which opened in the Toruń town hall on 28 August 1942. The works of Agnes Miegel from East Prussia were presented along side those of Wolfram Krupki, Valentina Polcucha, Hermann Sudermann, Ernst Wiechert, Erhard Wittek, and Julian Willa – from the Reich District Land of the Warta River; Gottfried Graf Finckenstein, Max Halbe, Franz Lüdtke, Brunhilda Lüttmann, and Werner Schienemann – from the Reich District of Gdańsk–West Prussia; Alfons Hayduk, Hans Christoph Kaergel, and Joseph Wiessalla from Silesia.⁴³

⁴⁰ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 300 z 28 X 1940 r., p. 5; nr 303 z 31 X 1940 r., p. 5; nr 304 z 1 XI 1940 r., p. 5; nr 307 z 4 XI 1940 r., p. 3. Exhibitions of this kind were also organized in Frankfurt am Main, Cracow, Prague and Vienna.

⁴¹ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 297 z 27 X 1940 r., *Zur Woche des deutschen Buches*; nr 300 z 30 X 1940 r., *Zur Woche des deutschen Buches*; nr 301 z 31 X 1940 r., *Festigung des Volkstums durch das Buch*; nr 302 z 1 XI 1940 r., *Karl Heinrich Waggenerl. Dichterstunde in Kattowitz oraz: Aufbau des deutschen Büchereiwesen*.

⁴² Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 227 z 17 VIII 1941 r., p. 5; nr 278 z 7 X 1941 r., p. 5; nr 293 z 22 X 1941 r., p. 4, 7; nr 295 z 24 X 1941 r., p. 5; nr 299 z 28 X 1941 r., p. 4, 5; nr 300 z 29 X 1941 r., p. 5, 7; nr 301 z 30 X 1941 r., p. 4, 5, 7; nr 302 z 31 X 1941 r., p. 5, 7; nr 303 z 1 XI 1941 r., p. 4, 5; nr 304 z 2 XI 1941 r., p. 5; Cz. Łuczak, *Dzień po dniu w okupowanej Wielkopolsce i na ziemi łódzkiej (Kraj Warty)*. *Kalendarium wydarzeń 1939–1945*, Poznań 1993, p. 161.

⁴³ AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 777, *passim*; Der Danziger Vorposten, nr 228 z 20 VIII 1940 r., p. 6; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 204 z 30 VIII 1940 r., p. 7; Thorner Freiheit, nr 192 z 16 VIII 1940 r., p. 3; nr 193 z 17/18 VIII 1940 r., p. 3; nr 194 z 19 VIII 1940 r., p. 3; nr 217 z 14/15 IX 1940 r., p. 3; nr 219 z 17 IX 1940 r., p. 3; nr 200 z 26 VIII 1942 r., p. 3; nr 203 z 29/30 VIII 1942 r., p. 3; M. Nie-

In Upper Silesia, an important event that served partly to popularize the work of local writers, was the *Woche Oberschlesischer Autoren* (Week of Upper Silesian Authors).⁴⁴ In the period from 11–15 May 1942, the Katowice Stiftung Oberschlesien organised it in cooperation with the mayor Hans Tiessler and under the patronage of the president Fritz Bracht. The authors promoted at the time were: Gerhard Baron, Rudolf Fitzek, Georg Hauptstock, Alfons Hayduk, Karl Hoinkes, Willibald Köhler, Hans Jürgen Niekrawietz, Egon H. Rakette, Walter Stanietz, and Josef Wiessall. In addition to many face-to-face meetings with the authors, the premiere of W. Stanietz's *Der Weg der Maria Tschentschern* (*The Road of Maria Tschentschern*) took place in Katowice's theatre on 12 May. On 14 May, the world premiere of J. Wiessall's *Spiel im Moor* (*Game in the Swamp*) took place. The centrepiece of the Upper Silesian Authors' Days was the presentation of the Upper Silesian Literary Award (Oberschlesische Schrifttumspreis) on 10 May 1942 to the amount of 10,000 German marks, to Walter Stanietz of Katowice for his dramatically politicised plays.⁴⁵ In May 1944, the prize for 1943 was posthumously awarded to two writers who fell on the Eastern Front: Kurt Eggers and Bernhard Schwarz.⁴⁶

A very important literary event in Silesia constituted the Eichendorff-Tage (also known as Eichendorff-Woche) devoted to the memory of Joseph von Eichendorff.⁴⁷ This German poet of the Romantic era was touted by the Stiftung Oberschlesien as the patron of the Silesian literary milieu. He was hailed as the 'expressor of the indigenous German character' and through him a 'strong point of support for the

dzielska, *Organizacja niemieckiego życia kulturalnego w latach 1939–1945*, [in:] *Historia Torunia*. Tom III, część II: *W czasach Polski Odrodzonej i okupacji niemieckiej (1920–1945)*, pod red. M. Biskupa, Toruń 2006, p. 669; P. Birecki, *Sztuka w Toruniu w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej 1939–1945*, Toruń 2011, pp. 92–93; E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 262, 597. Comp. H. Rasmus, *Von westpreussischen Dichtern und Erzählern nach 1945. Ein literaturgeschichtlicher Streifzug*, Westpreussen Jahrbuch, Band 47, Münster 1997, p. 135–157; idem, *Westpreussen im Schatten des Hakenkreuzes. Gleichschaltung und Unrecht forcierten Gegnerschaft*, Westpreussen Jahrbuch, Band 48, Münster 1998, pp. 148–151.

⁴⁴ Apart from literary men, local musicians were promoted.

⁴⁵ AP-Katowice, Urząd Propagandy Rzeszy Górnośląska w Katowicach 1941–1944, sygn. 37, notatka z 11 VI 1942 r.; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 113 z 26 IV 1942 r., *Woche Oberschlesischer Autoren*; nr 122 z 6 V 1942 r., *Zwei Neuheiten zum Abschluss*; nr 123 z 7 V 1942 r., *Die Woche Oberschlesischer Autoren*; nr 124 z 8 V 1942 r., *Die Woche Oberschlesischer Autoren*; nr 126 z 10 V 1942 r., *Oberschlesien und die gesamtschlesische Kultur*; nr 128 z 12 V 1942 r., *Was bringt die "Woche Oberschlesischer Autoren"*; nr 129 z 13 V 1942 r., *Oberschlesiens Tondichter gaben den Auftakt*; nr 130 z 14 V 1942 r., *Oberschlesischer Schrifttumspreis 1942* oraz: *Der Weg der Maria Tschentscher*; nr 131 z 15 V 1942 r., *Oberschlesiens erster Schrifttumspreisträger*; nr 131 z 15 V 1942 r., *Kleine Musik für Instrumente und Stimmen*; nr 132 z 16 V 1942 r., *Es lasen aus ihren Werken...*; nr 133 z 17 V 1942 r., *Heiter-ernstes "Spiel im Moor"*; R. Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej...*, pp. 358–359.

⁴⁶ Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 114 z 25 IV 1944 r., *Verleihung des OS-Schrifttumspreises 1944* i nr 126 z 8 V 1944 r., *Das Wort in Waffen, Dichter und Soldaten*; E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 114–115.

⁴⁷ See more: H. Bernsmeier, *Joseph von Eichendorff*, Stuttgart 2000; G. Schiwy, *Eichendorff. Der Dichter in seiner Zeit. Eine Biographie*, München 2000; V. Stein, *Joseph von Eichendorff. Obraz życia*, Würzburg 2001

German spirit in Upper Silesia⁴⁸ was to be created. Starting from 1941, the Eichendorff-Tage were organised by the Stiftung Oberschlesien in cooperation with the Eichendorff Foundation in Nysa (Deutsche Eichendorff-Stiftung) and under the honorary protectorate of president F. Bracht. The event took place in November, because the 26th of this month was the anniversary of the poet's death. Central events organised in the major cities of Silesia, including Bielsko, Bytom, Chorzów, Cieszyn, Gliwice, Katowice, Nysa, and Racibórz, were scientific conferences, exhibitions devoted to the poet's creativity, commemorations combined with the recitation of his poems, and concerts. Apart from this, flowers were placed on the grave of Eichendorff in Nysa, and his plays were staged.⁴⁹ A special setting was given to the celebrations in honour of Eichendorff in 1943. They were organised twice: on 10 March at the castle in Łubowice (Lubowitz) near Racibórz, where Eichendorff was born, the 155th anniversary of his birth was celebrated, and between 25–29 November, the traditional Eichendorff-Tage were staged.⁵⁰ Every year, guests from the Reich participated in the celebrations dedicated to the memory of Eichendorff, including actor and theatre director Heinrich George (real name Georg Heinrich Schulz), writer Robert Hohlbaum, general manager of the Berlin Volksbühne Eugen Klöpfer, Gauleiter of Vienna Baldur von Schirach, head playwright of the Reich and chairman of the Deutsche Eichendorff-Stiftung (German Eichendorff Foundation) Dr. Rainer Schlösser, and writer Felix Lützkendorf.⁵¹

Relatively rarely was the work of German writers from the annexed Polish lands presented in the Reich area, but among others, German poets from the 'East Germans' featured as honorary guests of the 11th Berlin Poetry Week (11. Berliner

⁴⁸ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 300 z 31 X 1941 r., *Oberschlesiens Beitrag zur deutschen Dichtung*.

⁴⁹ AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4810–4813; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 319 z 19 XI 1941 r., *Berliner Schillertheater in Kattowitz*; nr 322 z 22 XI 1941 r., *Der Eichendorff-Tag in Oberschlesiens Städten*; nr 324 z 24 XI 1941 r., *Eichendorff in unserer Zeit*; nr 325 z 25 XI 1941 r., *Eichendorff-Ausstellung in Beuthen*; nr 326 z 26 XI 1941 r., *Er lebt im Herzen allen Deutschen!*; nr 328 z 28 XI 1941 r., *Höhepunkt und Abschluss des Eichendorff-Tages*; nr 312 z 14 XI 1942 r., *Oberschlesien huldigt seinem grossen Dichter*; nr 319 z 21 XI 1942 r., *Deutschland ehrt Eichendorff*; nr 320 z 22 XI 1942 r., *Eichendorffspricht zur Gegenwart*; nr 323 z 25 XI 1942 r., *Eichendorff-Feiern in Oberschlesien*; nr 323 z 25 XI 1942 r. – nr 330 z 2 XII 1942 r., *Deutsche Eichendorff-Woche 1942*; nr 325 z 27 XI 1942 r., *So lange Deutschland ist, wird er leben*.

⁵⁰ AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4344, pismo przewodniczącego Stiftung Oberschlesien do członków tej fundacji z 1 XI 1943 r.; *ibid.*, sygn. 4362; *Oberschlesische Zeitung*, nr 71 z 12 III 1943 r., *Eichendorffzum Gedenken*; nr 294 z 24 X 1943 r., *Eichendorff-Tage der Stiftung Oberschlesien*; nr 315 z 14 XI 1943 r., *Die Deutsche Eichendorff-Woche 1943*; nr 322 z 21 XI 1943 r., *Opern – Uraufführung in der Deutschen Eichendorff-Woche*; nr 326 z 25 XI 1943 r., *Uraufführung in der Deutschen Eichendorff-Woche, Oberschlesien ehrt Eichendorff*; nr 327 z 26 XI 1943 r., *Eichendorff-Woche 1943 eröffnet*; nr 328 z 27 XI 1943 r., *Stählerne Romantik Eichendorffs, Der grossdeutsche Dichter*; nr 329 z 28 XI 1943 r., *Der Dienst an Eichendorffs Werk, Musik in der Eichendorff-Woche*; nr 331 z 30 XI 1943 r., *Eichendorff-Woche 1943 r., Hans Gester sang Eichendorff-Lieder, Dichterlesungen in der Eichendorff-Woche*.

⁵¹ E. Klee, *op. cit.*, pp. 160–161, 238, 284, 345.

Dichterwoche) from 15–20 April 1940. About twenty poets from the ‘recovered East’ took part, including Siegismund Banks, Heinrich Bosse, Herbert von Hoerner, Karl Hoinkes, Herybert Menzel, Hans Niekrawietz, Lex Schloss, Joseph Wiessalla, Julian Will, and Erhard Wittek.⁵²

3. Music culture

Among the various areas of cultural life developed by the German occupation authorities in the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich, music, including musical education, played an important role.

In the District of Gdańsk–West Prussia, Hugo Socnik, the director of the Landesmusikschule (National Music School) in Gdańsk, was the state’s music adviser (Staatlicher Musikberater für Danzig–Westpreussen)⁵³ on behalf of the Reich Ministry for Science and Education. Probably, he also became the plenipotentiary of the Reich Musical Chamber (Landesleiter der Reichsmusikkammer). In the Reich District Land of the Warta River, in the period from 9 June to 30 September 1940, the representative of Minister B. Rust for music (Beauftragte des Reichserziehungsministeriums für die Neuordnung der Musikpflege im Reichsgau Wartheland) was Dr. Hans Albrecht from the State Institute for Research of German Music (Staatliches Institut für Deutsche Musikforschung) in Berlin,⁵⁴ and from the autumn of 1940 Georg Blumensaat, formerly a teacher at the State School of Orchestras (Staatliche Orchesterschule) in Berlin, was the head of the office for state musical advice. In the second half of August 1940, the conductor Wolfgang Helmut Koch from Essen⁵⁵ was appointed by the Reich Musical Chamber as its commissar in the Reich District Land of the Warta River (kommisarisches Landesleiter der Reichsmusikkammer für den Reichsgau Wartheland).⁵⁶ At the end of August 1942, the Reich Ministry for Science and Education positively responded to the proposal of the governor who, referring to the order of the ministers of internal affairs and propaganda of 3 March 1942 ‘On the development of cultural affairs’, proposed

⁵² Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 106 z 16 IV 1940 r., p. 2; nr 107 z 17 IV 1940 r., p. 4; nr 108 z 18 IV 1940 r., p. 4; nr 111 z 21 IV 1940 r., p. 4; nr 141 z 22 V 1940 r., p. 8.

⁵³ AP-Gdańsk, Akta miasta Starogardu Gdańskiego 1634–1945, sygn. 140, pismo namiestnika Okręgu Rzeszy Gdańsk–Prusy Zachodnie do prezydentów rejencji, nadburmistrzów, burmistrzów i komisarzy urzędowych z 15 I 1941 r.

⁵⁴ AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2603, pisma ministra B. Rusta do dr. Albrechta oraz do namiestnika Okręgu Rzeszy Kraj Warty z 6 VI 1940 r. oraz pismo dr. Albrechta do ministra B. Rusta z 26 VII 1940 r.; E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 16–17, 55.

⁵⁵ Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 232 z 22 VIII 1940 r., p. 5; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 229 z 18 VIII 1940 r., p. 6; E. Klee, op. cit., p. 290.

⁵⁶ AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2603: notatka służbowa dla krajowego pełnomocnika do spraw kultury z 7 IV 1942 r., pismo namiestnika Okręgu Rzeszy Kraj Warty do ministra B. Rusta z 15 IV 1942 r., pismo okręgowego Urzędu Propagandy Rzeszy do wydziału III w urzędzie namiestnika z 22 VI 1942 r., pismo wydziału III w urzędzie namiestnika do ministra B. Rusta z 21 VII 1942 r., pismo ministra B. Rusta do namiestnika Okręgu Rzeszy Kraj Warty z 31 VIII 1942 r.

that 'in the interests of the unification of the leadership of the affairs of music,' the office of the regional representative of the Reich Musical Chamber, who was also a music referent in the Reich Propaganda District Office (Musikreferent im Reichspropagandaamt), be unified with the function of state music adviser. In connection with the above, Blumensaat was dismissed from his function, which was taken over by W. H. Koch, who thus concentrated in his hands the three above-mentioned functions: staatlicher Musikberater, Landesleiter der Reichsmusikkammer and Musikreferent im Reichspropagandaamt Wartheland. In the The Reich District of Katowice, Gerhard Strecke, who until then had been in office only in the area of the Opole Region, became a state advisor for musical matters from September 1941. The function of his deputy was taken over by the director of the Katowice conservatoire; the composer, conductor and organist Fritz Lubrich. In October 1943, Strecke and Lubrich exchanged positions.⁵⁷ The representative of the Musical Chamber of the Reich in Upper Silesia was Erich Peter.⁵⁸

3.1. Orchestras

The particularly rich German musical traditions in Upper Silesia were also cultivated after the outbreak of the war. Among these orchestras, popular recognition befell mainly the Bytom Theatre Orchestra (Orchester des Oberschlesischen Landestheaters Beuthen) led in turn by Erich Peter and Franz Wödel. In the period from 1 May 1939 to 30 April 1940, the orchestra counted 62 musicians who played 20 symphonic concerts, including in Bytom, Gliwice, Katowice, and Zabrze.

The repertoire included mainly works of German contemporary composers.⁵⁹ On 30 September 1940, during a public concert, the city symphony orchestra (Städtisches Sinfonieorchester) in Katowice was presented for the first time to music lovers. Its organiser and conductor was Otto Wartisch. Formally, the orchestra was established on 2 September 1940 during a meeting of musicians with the mayor of the city, Hans Tiessler, which took place in Katowice City Hall. The orchestra initially had 55 members. In the newspaper 'Kattowitzer Zeitung' it was reported that it was made up of valuable musicians who came to Katowice from various parts of the Reich.

Among them were: first concertmaster Siegfried Schneider⁶⁰ from Ludwigschafen, second concertmaster Hermann Dreyer from Hamburg, violist Walter Schulze from Solingen, double bass player Karl Kalina from Berlin, cellist Hans Hagen from Chemnitz, trombonist Franz Janek from Göttingen, and double bass-

⁵⁷ AP-Katowice, Naczelne Prezydium w Katowicach 1941–1945, sygn. 420, *passim*.

⁵⁸ BA-Berlin, R 56–I/248, *passim*; E. Klee, op. cit., p. 410.

⁵⁹ AP-Katowice, Naczelne Prezydium w Katowicach 1941–1945, sygn. 421, sprawozdanie G. Strecke z 19 I 1941 r.; *ibid.*, Narodowosocjalistyczna Niemiecka Partia Robotnicza Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1932–1945, sygn. 434, sprawozdanie z działalności bytomskiej orkiestry teatralnej z 27 VII 1940 r.

⁶⁰ At the beginning of March 1942 he was replaced by Ernst Zeidler-Hiltbold from Oberhausen. Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 61 z 3 III 1942 r., *Nach Kattowitz verpflichtet*.

ist Robert Müller from Coburg.⁶¹ On the initiative of H. Hagen, musicians from the Katowice Symphony Orchestra formed a string quartet (Streichquartett, from March 1943 called Kattowitzer Streichquartett) composed of S. Schneider (first violin), H. Dreyer (second violin), H. Hagen (cello and also the quartet's leader), and W. Schulze (viola). The quartet performed for the first time on 7 November 1940.⁶² In 1942, Fritz Lubrich approached the President of the Reich Musical Chamber with the project of organizing a 25–30-person Upper Silesian chamber orchestra (Oberschlesische Kammerorchester) based in Gliwice, to give regular concerts in places deprived of their own orchestras.

In support of the motion, Lubrich stated that the orchestras in Bytom and Katowice, due to the numerous responsibilities resulting from cooperation with local theatrical stages, were unable to travel. Due to difficulties with finding personnel and funding, however, the Upper Silesian chamber orchestra was not created.⁶³

On the basis of an agreement concluded between the mayor of Będzin, Johannes Kowohl, and the Oberschlesischer Heimatbund, on 1 October 1943, the OHB (Orchester des Oberschlesischen Heimatbundes) was formed. It consisted of 27 musicians and was conducted by Joseph Gaida. According to the will of the founders, the OHB orchestra performed concerts mainly in small towns, and its repertoire included mainly national tunes, marching music, folk dance music and, occasionally, opera music. Its first public performance on 19 November 1943 in Katowice, at the headquarters of the Landesmusikschule, included works by Carl Maria von Weber, Franz Schubert, and Johann Strauss (the Younger).⁶⁴

Frequent concerts followed, often performed in the Reich District of Katowice and especially in its capital, by the chamber orchestra of the Silesian Philharmonic (Schlesische Philharmonie) from Wrocław under the direction of Philipp Wüst.⁶⁵

⁶¹ AP-Katowice, Rejencja Katowicka 1939–1945, sygn. 107, pismo nadburmistrza Katowic do prezydenta Rejencji Katowickiej z 28 X 1940 r.; BA-Berlin, R 56 – II/46, *passim*; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 243 z 3 IX 1940 r., *Städt. Sinfonieorchester Kattowitz beginnt sein Werk*; nr 251 z 11 IX 1940 r., *Zum Arbeitsbeginn beim Städt. Sinfonieorchester Kattowitz*; nr 259 z 19 IX 1940 r., *Zum Arbeitsbeginn beim Städt. Sinfonieorchester Kattowitz*; nr 261 z 21 IX 1940 r., *Zum Arbeitsbeginn beim Städt. Sinfonieorchester Kattowitz*; nr 265 z 25 IX 1940 r., *Erstmalig ein Konzert-ring in Kattowitz*; nr 266 z 26 IX 1940 r., *Siegfried Schneider spielt Mozarts-Violinkonzerts in A-Dur*; nr 272 z 2 X 1940 r., *Das erste Konzert des Städtischen Sinfonieorchesters Kattowitz*; nr 274 z 4 X 1940 r., *Die Mitglieder des Städtischen Sinfonieorchesters Kattowitz*.

⁶² Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 311 z 10 XI 1940 r., *Kammermusik in Kattowitz*; nr 6 z 7 I 1941 r., *Lubrich-Lieder beim 2. Kammermusikabend*; nr 10 z 11 I 1941 r., *Kammerkonzert mit Lubrich-Liedern*; nr 62 z 3 III 1943 r., *Städtisches Streichquartett Kattowitz!*

⁶³ BA-Berlin, R 56–II/35.

⁶⁴ AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4740–4744; Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 265 z 25 IX 1943 r., *Bendsburg erhält ein Städtisches Orchester* i nr 322 z 21 XI 1943 r., *Im Dienste der Kulturpflege. Das Orchester des OHB*.

⁶⁵ On the basis of the information published in *Kattowitzer Zeitung*. Biographical data about P. Wüsta: E. Klee, op. cit., p. 611.

In 1944, along with the launch of the theatre stage in Gliwice, the deputy commander Curth Hurrle proceeded to organise a theatre orchestra. In the end, it was not created due to the lack of consent from the central authorities, stemming from financial and personal problems. The musicians already recruited by Hurrle were employed in theatres in Bielsko (five) and Nysa (one).⁶⁶

In the Reich District Land of the Warta River, the largest contribution to the development of musical life was made by the city symphony orchestras from Łódź and Poznań. The founder of the first of them was the conductor Adolf Bautze, who had arrived in Łódź in 1925, and in August 1940, the mayor of the city appointed him as the municipal plenipotentiary for music (Städtische Musikbeauftragte). At the same time, he was the head of the Łódź branch of the Reich Propaganda Office (Leiter des Reichspropagandaamtes. Zweigstelle Litzmannstadt).⁶⁷ The orchestra, originally consisting of 28 musicians, performed for the first time on 5 May 1940 in the sports hall at Hitler-Jugend-Park (before the war: the park of Father Józef Poniatowski). The musicians performed the oratorio of Joseph Haydn *Jahreszeiten* (*Seasons*) with the participation of singers from Berlin and the Johann Sebastian Bach Choir of Łódź. The seat of the orchestra was the palace of Karol Poznański at Danzigerstr. 32 (32 Gdańska street), because the Łódź Philharmonic building was closed and intended for warehouse use. Regular orchestra concerts began on 17 October, and they usually took place in a sports hall or in the so-called House of the Singers (Sängerhaus) at General-Litzmann-Strasse 21 (21 11 November street).⁶⁸ At the end of October 1940, the orchestra had 43 musicians, which could be maximised to 55 people, made up solely of Germans.⁶⁹

The Poznań symphony orchestra was led by Professor Johannes Paulsen. Originally it had 35 musicians, and in the years 1941–1942 about 60 (in 1943, 10 of them were appointed for military service). The orchestra inaugurated its activities with a solemn concert on 7 November 1940 in the auditorium of Poznań University, with music from Beethoven, Pfitzner, and von Weber. In the 1940/1941 season, it performed six symphonic concerts with guest appearances of such famous soloists as violinist Siegfried Borries, pianists Eduard Erdmann and Walter Giesecking,

⁶⁶ BA-Berlin, R 56 – II/35.

⁶⁷ Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi (further cit. AP-Łódź), Akta miasta Łodzi 1794–1945 (further cit. AmŁ 1794–1945), sygn. 31554, pismo nadburmistrza Łodzi do A. Bautze z 12 VIII 1940 r.; AP-Poznań, Izba Muzyczna “Kraju Warty” w Poznaniu 1939–1944, sygn. 18; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 3 z 3 I 1942 r., p. 5; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 13 z 13 I 1942 r., p. 4; L. T. Błaszczyk, *Dyrygenci polscy i obcy w Polsce działający w XIX i XX w.*, Kraków 1964, p. 21–22; T. Bojanowski, *Łódź pod okupacją niemiecką w latach II wojny światowej (1939–1945)*, Łódź 1992, p. 122.

⁶⁸ AP-Łódź, AmŁ 1794–1945, sygn. 28537a, sprawozdanie z konferencji prasowej [b.d.]; *ibid.*, sygn. 28556, notatka: Der kulturelle Aufbau in Litzmannstadt [b.d.]; *ibid.*, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 55, *passim*; Lodscher Zeitung (od 12 IV 1940 r. jako Litzmannstädter Zeitung), nr 65 z 5 III 1940 r., p. 4; nr 123 z 4 V 1940 r., p. 5, 10; nr 228 z 18 VIII 1940 r., p. 5; nr 288 z 17 X 1940 r., p. 9; nr 290 z 19 X 1940 r., p. 6; nr 305 z 3 XI 1940 r., p. 6; T. Bojanowski, *op. cit.*, p. 122–123; A. Rukowiecki, *Łódź 1939–1945. Kronika okupacji*, Łódź 2012, p. 58.

⁶⁹ AP-Łódź, AmŁ 1794–1945, sygn. 28556, pismo burmistrza Łodzi do A. Bautze z 28 X 1940 r.

singer Käthe Heidersbach – to an audience of 5044; three evenings of chamber music (Kammermusikabend) – 1319 listeners; two ‘concerts of masters’ (Meisterabend) – 1808 listeners; and a concert with the participation of young musicians for 936 students. All concerts took place in the university hall. In the following season, the Poznań symphony orchestra gave twelve concerts, and the invited artists included: Gaspar Cassado, Siegfried Grundeis, vocalists Margarethe Klose and Frieda Leider, Lea Piltti, Gertrude Pitzinger, and Walther Schaufuss-Bonini.⁷⁰

In Poznań’s musical life, an important place was also held by the string quartet (Streichquartett der Gauhauptstadt Posen) composed of: Hans Rokohl (first violin), Hans Rudolf Koch – in 1941 he was replaced by Wilhelm Langen – (second violin), Alexander Bremer (cello), and Otto Feldmann (viola). The quartet had its first public performance during the opening of the Raczyński Library. On 9 December 1940, in the university hall, the quartet opened in Poznań the first winter-spring music season of 1940/1941, performing works by Beethoven, Haydn, and Mozart.⁷¹

In the District of Gdańsk–West Prussia, from April 1940, a municipal symphony orchestra in Toruń (Städtisches Orchester Thorn) was under the direction of Otto Erich Staeger, who previously worked as a conductor of theatre orchestras, including in Berlin, Hamburg, and Munich. After Staeger’s departure to The Hague on 1 July 1942 he was replaced by Max Kojetinsky from the Vienna Opera. At various times, the orchestra of Toruń counted 32–45 musicians. Its first concert took place on 5 April 1940 in the theatre building, performing the eighth symphony in B minor, *The Unfinished* by F. Schubert, the *Second Hungarian Rhapsody* by F. Liszt, and works of J. Strauss. The regular concert season began on 8 October 1940 with a chamber concert, and the first symphonic concert was played on 19 October, performing the concert overture of *Leonore* by L. van Beethoven. In 1940, the orchestra gave nine concerts, in 1941, fourteen, and in 1942, twenty.⁷²

The work of the municipal symphony orchestra in Toruń was supported by the Philharmonischer Verein (Philharmonic Association) founded on 10 September 1941. According to the statutes, it was to care for the development of musical culture of the city, mainly through the organisation of symphonic concerts and chamber

⁷⁰ BA-Berlin, R 55/244, sprawozdanie Izby Obrachunkowej Rzeszy Niemieckiej (Rechnungshof des Deutschen Reichs) z 14 IV 1943 r.; *ibid.*, R 55/20424a, pismo kierownika muzycznego teatru poznańskiego do RMfVuP z 27 VI 1942 r.; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 240 z 29 VIII 1940 r., p. 5–6; nr 312 z 9 XI 1940 r., p. 6; nr 1/Neujahr 1941, p. 9; nr 6 z 6 I 1941 r., p. 5; nr 8 z 8 I 1941 r., p. 6; nr z 28 I 1941 r., p. 6. Informacje biograficzne o zaproszonych solistach: E. Klee, *op. cit.*, p. 63, 125, 165–166, 207, 285, 326.

⁷¹ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 287 z 15 X 1940 r., p. 6; nr 319 z 16 XI 1940 r., p. 5; nr 334 z 1 XII 1940 r., p. 6; nr 344 z 11 XII 1940 r., p. 10.

⁷² AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 735, *passim*; *ibid.*, sygn. 830 i 831, *passim*; BA-Berlin, R 55/844, pismo Izby Obrachunkowej Rzeszy Niemieckiej do ministra propagandy z 27 IX 1943 r.; *ibid.*, R 56 – II/91, *passim*; Thorner Freiheit, nr 51 z 29 II 1940 r., p. 4; nr 71 z 26 III 1940 r., p. 4; nr 81 z 6/7 IV 1940 r., p. 3; nr 246 z 18 X 1940 r., p. 3; nr 147 z 25 VI 1942 r., p. 4; nr 155 z 4/5 VII 1942 r., p. 3.

music. At its head stood the mayor of the city Franz Jakob. In 1942, the association had about 250 members. In the music season of 1941/1942, it prepared six symphonic concerts and four chamber concerts. Starting from autumn 1942, thanks to the Philharmonischer Verein, monthly symphony concerts with the repertoire of Bach, Beethoven, Haydn, and Mozart took place. In the 1942/1943 season, the Philharmonic Association organised two serenade evenings in the courtyard of the Toruń town hall, and ten concerts (mainly works by L. van Beethoven) were performed by the municipal symphony orchestra, with singers from the Toruń theatre and invited soloists from Berlin, Leipzig, and Vienna. About 4,860 people⁷³ benefited from this music offer prepared by the Philharmonic Society.

In November 1941, Kapellmeister Rudolf Bub created the Toruń string quartet (Thorner Streichquartett), which – as reported in the press – was the first of its kind in the Gdańsk–West Prussia Reich District. In addition to the founder (first violin), the quartet included Hans Döscher (cello), Karl Rieke (viola), and Johannes Rösner (second violin).⁷⁴

On 4 November 1940, the city's first concert season began in Bydgoszcz under the direction of Walter Schumacher, who presented Beethoven⁷⁵ to music lovers. On 27 February 1942, the Bydgoszcz String Quartet (Bromberger Streichquartett) premiered with the following members: Helmut Fienbork (first violin), Franz Hinzmann (second violin), Rudolf Wagenknecht (viola) and August Kraffert (cello).⁷⁶

Soon after the theatre stage in Grudziądz was opened, an orchestra under the baton of the city music director Otto Färber was organised. It counted about thirty musicians and also played concerts for the residents of the city.⁷⁷ A symphony orchestra was also active in Gdynia, and its director Max Lille⁷⁸ came from Hamburg.

3.2 Choirs and music bands

A significant as well as very characteristic element of the German music culture in the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich – especially in Upper Silesia and Greater Poland – were the many choirs, most of them male choirs. Centrally, the activities of the choirs in the Third Reich were overseen and supported by the Reichsverband der Gemischten Chöre Deutschlands (Association of German Mixed Choirs), which gathered mixed, female, and youth choirs, and

⁷³ AP-Toruń, Towarzystwo Miłośników Filharmonii w Toruniu 1941–1944, sygn. 1–2; *ibid.*, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 735, program kulturalny miasta Torunia 1941/1942 i zestawienie imprez muzycznych Związku Filharmonicznego w sezonie 1942/1943; Thorner Freiheit, nr 216 z 13/14 IX 1941 r., p. 3; nr 233 z 3 X 1941 r., p. 3; nr 169 z 21 VII 1943 r., p. 3.

⁷⁴ Thorner Freiheit, nr 27 z 2 II 1942 r., p. 3; nr 56 z 7/8 III 1942 r., p. 3; nr 68 z 21/22 III 1942 r., p. 3.

⁷⁵ Der Danziger Vorposten, nr 35 z 5 II 1940 r., p. 5 i nr 307 z 7 XI 1940 r., p. 5; Deutsche Rundschau, nr 253 z 26/27 X 1940 r., p. 5; nr 259 z 2/3 XI 1940 r., p. 6; nr 262 z 6 XI 1940 r., p. 10; W. Trzeciakowski, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

⁷⁶ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 49 z 27 II 1942 r., p. 5 and nr 51 z 2 III 1942 r.

⁷⁷ BA-Berlin, R 56 – II/38; Der Danziger Vorposten, nr 319 z 19 XI 1943 r., p. 6.

⁷⁸ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 136 z 12 VI 1940 r., p. 6.

the Deutscher Sängerbund (German Singers' Union), which gathered male choirs. Membership to these was obligatory for choirs. After the occupation of Silesia by the German army, the Deutscher Sängerbund for Polnisch-Schlesien (The German Singers' Association for Polish Silesia) changed its name to Deutscher Sängerbund für Ostoberschlesien (The German Singers' Association for Eastern Upper Silesia). During a ceremony in the Katowice theatre 7 January 1940, the new unit was included in the national German association Deutscher Sängerbund.⁷⁹

Most choirs existed in the The Reich District of Katowice. Compared to the pre-war period, their number has not only stayed the same, but increased greatly. According to data from the beginning of March 1941, there were about seventy choirs, whereas before 1 September 1939 there were thirty⁸⁰ of them. Under the direction of Fritz Lubrich, the Meisterscher Gesangverein (Meister's Singing Society) still functioned. The choir distinguished itself by its high artistic level and frequent performances of works by J. S. Bach, L. van Beethoven, J. Brahms, and R. Schumann. Its repertoire also included works of local musicians. In July 1940, the high-mayor of Katowice, in recognition of their merits, gave the choir the official name of Städtischer Chor Kattowitz (City Choir of Katowice), but in practice the original name was still used. A music event in the The Reich District of Katowice widely commented on in the press was the performance by the Meisterscher Gesangverein together with the municipal symphony orchestra, of Beethoven's Symphony No. 9, known as the *Ode to Joy*, which the author dedicated to the Prussian King Frederick William III. The premiere took place on 29 March 1941 in Bielsko, and then it was also presented in Katowice, Kraków, and Warsaw. The sixtieth anniversary of the choir in 1943 was honoured, among others, with a premiere performance of Werner Hübschmann's cantata *O Mensch gib acht!* (*Watch out, Man!*), which took place on 10 May. In the autumn of the same year, the Meisterscher Gesangverein began preparations for a special performance to mark the 25th anniversary of F. Lubrich's artistic work. The event was celebrated between 30 March and 3 April 1944. On 1 April 1944, in the Katowice theatre, the choir performed a cantata by Hans Pfitzner *Von deutscher Seele* (*Of the German soul*), and the following day the ensemble performed Beethoven's Symphony No. 9 (on 3 April also in the theatre in Gliwice). The Meisterscher Gesangverein often played concerts on the radio in Wrocław and gave guest performances in major cities of the General Government.⁸¹ Other popular Silesian choirs were:

⁷⁹ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 7 z 8 I 1940 r., *Geeignet im deutschen Lied. Deutscher Sängerbund für Oberschlesien in den Gau IV des D.G.B. übergeleitet*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 12 z 12 I 1940 r., p. 4.

⁸⁰ AP-Katowice, Naczelne Prezydium w Katowicach 1941–1945, sygn. 421, pismo prezydenta Rejencji Katowickiej do nadprezydenta Prowincji Śląskiej z 6 III 1941 r.; R. Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej...*, p. 357.

⁸¹ AP-Katowice, Urząd Propagandy Rzeszy Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1941–1944, sygn. 61; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 244 z 11 IX 1939 r., *Das erster Meister – Konzert im befreiten Kattowitz*; nr 255 z 22 IX 1939 r., *Chorkonzerte des Meisterschen Gesangvereins*; nr 261 z 28 IX 1939 r., *Die Chorproben zur Aufführung der Pfitznerkantate "Von deut-*

- The Chorvereinigung Königshütte (Chorzów Choir Association): at the turn of August and September 1942, this 29-member group led by Paul Rodewald held a three-week tour of the General Government, presenting primarily works by Upper Silesian musicians, including Günther Bialas, Hermann Buchal, Fritz Lubrich, Gerhard Strecke;
- The Männergesangverein Kattowitz (Male Singers' Society in Katowice): continued its activity under the direction of Andreas Dudek, who at the beginning of March 1941 was replaced by Gattner;
- The Männergesangverein Myslowitz (Male Singers' Society in Mysłowice), founded in 1841;
- The Gesang- und Musikverein Ruda (Association of Singers and Music in Ruda): male choir appointed on 14 June 1940 as a continuation of the Rudaer Liedertafel (The Singer's Circle of Ruda) created in 1862. It gave its first public performance on 17 November 1940 led by Paul Schuster;
- The Männergesangverein Biala (Male Singers' Company in Biała) and Männergesangverein Bielitz (Male Singers' Company in Bielsko): the beginnings of these choirs hared back to 1843, when on the initiative of the evangelical cantor Karl Wilhelm Süßmann the Bielitz-Bialaer Männergesangverein (Bielsko-Biała Male Singing Society) was founded. During the occupation, on 19 January 1941, the Männergesangverein Biala choir inaugurated its activity under the guidance of pedagogue and composer Viktor Claris Czajanka;
- The Mechtaler Singekreis (The Singer's Circle of Miechów): a mixed choir in existence since 1930, founded by Georg Magiera. From January 1942, the group operated under the patronage of OHB as the Oberschlesischer Heimatchor, also under G. Magiera.⁸²

scher Seele"; nr 349 z 27 XII 1939 r., *Meisterscher Gesangverein*; nr 180 z 2 VII 1940 r., *Ehrung des Meisterschen Gesangvereins*; nr 231 z 22 VIII 1940 r., *Die Konzerte des Meisterschen Gesangvereins*; nr 4 z 5 I 1941 r., *4. Sinfoniekonzert mit dem Städt. Chor*; nr 9 z 10 I 1941 r., *Meisterscher Gesangverein konzertiert im Generalgouvernement*; nr 32 z 2 II 1941 r., *Kattowitz. Der Städtische Chor ruft*; nr 69 z 11 III 1941 r., *Vom Städtischen Chor (Meisterscher Gesangverein)*; nr 91 z 2 IV 1941 r., *Freude, schöner Götterfunken...*; nr 108 z 21 IV 1941 r., *Die "Neunte" in Kattowitz*; nr 63 z 4 III 1943 r., *60 Jahre Meisterscher Gesangverein*; nr 125 z 7 V 1943 r., *60 Jahre Meisterscher Gesangverein*; nr 127 z 9 V 1943 r., *60 Jahre Meisterscher Gesangverein* oraz: *Werner Hübschmann über sein Werk*; nr 128 z 10 V 1943 r., *60 Jahre Dienst an Volk und Reich*; nr 130 z 12 V 1943 r., *Verdienter Erfolg für Werner Hübschmann*; nr 236 z 27 VIII 1943 r., *Konzertplan 1943/44 des Meisterschen Gesangvereins*; nr 313 z 12 XI 1943 r., *Der Meistersche Gesangverein gastiert in Krakau*; nr 86 z 27 III 1944 r., *25-jähriges Dirigentenjubiläum von Professor Fritz Lubrich*; nr 88 z 29 III 1944 r., *Chorfeierstunde des Meisterschen Gesangvereins*; nr 90 z 31 III 1944 r., *Dank für ein stolzes Werk*; nr 93 z 3 IV 1944 r., *Die Tage Fritz Lubrichs*.

⁸² AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4740, *passim*; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 287 z 24 X 1939 r., *Pflege des deutschen Liedes im Männer – Gesangverein Kattowitz*; nr 321 z 20 XI 1940 r., *Erster öffentlicher Gesang- und Musikabend*; nr 19 z 20 I 1941 r., *Männergesang in künstlerischer Vollend*; nr 66 z 8 III 1941 r., *Hauptversammlung des Männergesangvereins*; nr 124 z 7 V 1941 r., *Erster Liederabend eines Hundertjähriger*; nr 306 z 6 XI 1941 r., *Erfolg des Mechtaler Singerkreises in Krakau*; nr 69 z 10 III 1943 r., *Oberschlesische Chor-Kompositionen*; nr 238 z 29 VIII 1943 r., *Ein Stück kultureller Arbeit*;

In the The Reich District of Katowice there were also: the Städtischer Chor Gleiwitz (The City Choir in Gliwice); a mixed choir in Chrzanów, founded at the end of February 1941 under the direction of Süssenbach; from January 1943, a mixed choir in Mysłowice, conducted by Max Reining; the Deutsche Gesangverein Antonienhütte (German Singers' Society in Nowa Wieś⁸³); the Liedertafel Laurahütte (The Singer's Circle in Siemianowice Śląskie); the Max Neumann-Quintett, or Max Neumann's vocal quintet in Bytom, led by Erich Lokay, performing mainly German national songs. From 1944, the group operated under the patronage of OHB as the Quintett des Oberschlesischen Heimatbundes.⁸⁴ Due to the lack of regular rehearsals, as well as shortages of staff, which resulted, among others, from army enlistments, the artistic level of most small local choirs was rather average.

The choirs cooperated with each other, carrying out joint music projects. For example on 2 December 1939 the Männergesangverein Kattowitz, Deutsche Gesangverein Antonienhütte, the Liedertafel Laurahütte and a choir from the school named after Eichendorff in Chorzów presented *Das Oratorium der Arbeit* (*Work Oratorium*) by Georg Böttcherin. The performance took place in the Graf Reden Hotel in Chorzów. On 15 January 1940, also at the Graf Reden Hotel in Chorzów, the Meisterscher Gesangverein and Chorvereinigung Königshütte, together with the Oberschlesische Landestheater Beuthen, performed van Beethoven's Symphony No. 9.⁸⁵ On 8 September 1940, a local choir gathering (Kreissängerfest) took place in Katowice. The event gathered over 2000 choristers from Bytom, Gliwice, Katowice, Racibórz, and Zabrze. The meeting took place in the so-called southern park and resulted in a concert of patriotic songs.⁸⁶ In April 1942 in Gliwice, and then in Katowice, the Städtischer Chor Gleiwitz and the Meisterscher Gesangverein performed the choral composition *New Life* by the Italian musician Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari. This performance was considered an important music event.⁸⁷

nr 243 z 6 IX 1942 r., *Klingende Grüße aus der Heimat*; A. Sulik, *Historia Mysłowic 1922–1945. Tom II: Miasto w Polsce Odrodzonej 1922–1939 i Trzeciej Rzeszy Niemieckiej 1939–1945*, Mysłowice 2011, p. 424.

⁸³ Nowa Wieś near Chorzów, now Wirek, part of the town of Chorzowa, Ruda Śląska.

⁸⁴ AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4745; Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 62 z 4 III 1941 r., *Gründung eines gemischten Chors* i nr 326 z 25 XI 1943 r., *Sang und Klang in Mysłowitz*.

⁸⁵ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 313 z 19 XI 1939 r., *Aufführung des Oratoriums der Arbeit von Böttcher*; nr 317 z 23 XI 1939 r., *Aufführung von Beethovens 9. Sinfonie*; nr 322 z 28 XI 1939 r., *Beethovens "Neunte Sinfonie" wird in Königshütte aufgeführt*; nr 327 z 3 XII 1939 r., *Beethoven-Festkonzert in Königshütte*; nr 329 z 5 XII 1939 r., *Böttchers "Oratorium der Arbeit"*; nr 10 z 11 I 1940 r., *Am 15. Januar Aufführung der "Neunten"*; nr 13 z 14 I 1940 r., *Morgen Beethoven-Konzert*; nr 16 z 17 I 1940 r., *Beethovens "Neunte" in Königshütte*.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, nr 152 z 4 VI 1940 r., *Vor einer Sängerkundgebung in Kattowitz*; nr 246 z 6 IX 1940 r., *Frohe Lieder werden erklingen*; nr 248 z 8 IX 1940 r., *Kattowitz grüsst die deutschen Sänger*; nr 249 z 9 IX 1940 r., *Es klingen die Lieder durch unsere Heimat*.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, nr 103 z 16 IV 1942 r., *"La vita nuova" in Gleiwitz*; nr 112 z 25 IV 1942 r., *Am Montag "La vita nuova"*; nr 116 z 29 IV 1942 r., *Neues Leben in der Liebe*.

In the Reich District Land of the Warta River, the leading choir was the Posener Bach-Chor, a continuation of the pre-war Posener Bachverein (Poznań Bach Society). The ensemble had its own chamber orchestra and Reinhard Ritz was its conductor. They began performing at the end of March 1940. Despite the amateur character, the choir distinguished themselves by its high artistic level, performing above all great oratorio and cantata works, which included Bach, van Beethoven, Brahms, Bruckner, Handel, and Mozart. Most of the concerts were organised in the church of the Holy Cross, famous for its excellent acoustics. Apart from the Posener Bach-Chor in Poznań, there also were:

- created in 1892, the Verein deutscher Sanger (Association of German Singers), which during the general meeting of 21 August 1940 changed its name to Mannergesangverein Posen 1892 (Male Singers Society of Poznań 1892);
- The Singgemeinschaft in Posen (Singers Association in Poznań), from the end of May 1940;
- The Gemischte Chor der Gauhauptstadt Posen (Mixed Choir of the City of Poznań). Recruitment for this representative choir began at the end of August 1940. Originally it had about eighty members, and in the 1941/1942 season this number rose to 120. Schulte became the director of the choir. Its great success was considered to be, first and foremost, the performance of the oratorios of Joseph Haydn *Jahreszeiten* (*The Seasons*) and *Schopfung* (*Creation of the World*).⁸⁸

In September 1940, on the occasion of the Posener Musikwoche (Poznań Music Week), the national representative for culture Wilhelm Maul established the so-called Collegium musicum, which ‘was to cultivate the musical traditions of the Reich District Land of the Warta River’. It was an association of choral and orchestral music with its own orchestra under the baton of Gerhard Staar, and composed not of professional musicians but only of amateurs. The first rehearsal of Collegium musicum took place on 2 October 1940 at 19:30 in the meeting room of the Reich District Office of Propaganda. The first public concert took place on 15 December 1940 in the university hall.⁸⁹

The mixed Litzmannstadter Bachchor (Bach Choir of Łódź), founded in 1934 by A. Bautze, also played an important role in the music life of the Reich District Land of the Warta River. At the end of October 1939, as a result of the merger of five small choirs, the large male choir, the Lodzer Mannerchor⁹⁰ was created in

⁸⁸ BA-Berlin, R 55/20424a, pismo kierownika muzycznego teatru poznańskiego do RMfVuP z 27 VI 1942 r. oraz informacje zamieszczone na łamach dziennika Ostdeutscher Beobachter 1939–1944.

⁸⁹ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 256 z 14 IX 1940 r., p. 5, 9; nr 271 z 29 IX 1940 r., p. 6; nr 344 z 11 XII 1940 r., p. 10; nr 348 z 15 XII 1940 r., p. 6; nr 350 z 17 XII 1940 r., p. 6; nr 324 z 22 XI 1941 r., p. 5.

⁹⁰ Lodzer Zeitung, nr 309 z 13 XI 1939 r., p. 3; T. Bojanowski, op. cit., p. 122.

Łódź. On 26 November 1940, a male choir in Pabianice was established and led by conductor Bruno Arndt.⁹¹

In the Reich District of Gdańsk–West Prussia, amateur choirs existed, among others, in the following cities:

- Bydgoszcz: under the guidance of Walter Zacharias, the Männergesangverein Liedertafel male choir continued, and in 1942 celebrated its centennial anniversary. It was reportedly the Reich District's oldest choir. At the beginning of November 1940, the Bromberger Chorgemeinschaft (Bydgoszcz Choir Society) was formed under the direction of Arthur Sonnenberg. The director of the local music school, Georg Jaedeke, led the Bromberger Bachverein choir (The Bydgoszcz Bach Association), which had existed since 1931 as a branch of the Posener Bachverein.
- Gdynia: in June 1940 a choir was formed led by Max Lille, also the director of the municipal symphony orchestra.
- Grudziądz: in January 1940, on the initiative of the high-mayor Bruno Keller, the Graudenzer Chorgemeinschaft (Grudziądz Choir Association) was established under Meissner. The group was a continuation of the 19th-century Grudziądz Liedertafel.
- Nowe: from mid-October 1940, a choir was active here, led by Melchior.
- Toruń: at the beginning of October 1940, as a result of the merger of the Liederfreunde and the Liedertafel, i.e. the two German singing groups existing in the city before 1 September 1939, the Chorgemeinschaft Thorn (Choral Association in Toruń) was founded and led by Albert Schulz.
- Wejherowo: in November 1942, the Männerchor Neustadt (Male Choir in Wejherowo) was founded.⁹²

3.3. Concert life

A series of musical events in the Reich District Land of the Warta River began with the Posener Konzertabende (Poznań Concert Evenings), organised from the initiative of the Reich Regional Propaganda Office from 2 June to 8 August 1940. During eight instrumental and vocal concerts, the local and Reich artists presented primarily the works of Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Handel, Schubert, and Wagner. Most of the concerts were performed in the university auditorium, and the last of them, an evening of serenades combined with the performance of ballet mistress Erika Lindner from the Berlin opera ballet company, took place in the city

⁹¹ Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 73 z 15 III 1941 r., p. 9 i nr 77 z 18 III 1941 r., p. 11.

⁹² Deutsche Rundschau, nr 71 z 26 III 1940 r., p. 5; nr 136 z 12 VI 1940 r., p. 6; nr 175 z 27/28 VII 1940 r., p. 9–10; nr 240 z 11 X 1940 r., p. 6; nr 241 z 12/13 X 1940 r., p. 7–8; nr 243 z 15 X 1940 r., p. 7; nr 259 z 2/3 XI 1940 r., p. 6; nr 274 z 20 XI 1941 r., p. 5; nr 278 z 25 XI 1941 r., p. 5; nr 225 z 23 IX 1942 r., p. 2; nr 238 z 8 X 1942 r., p. 5; nr 283 z 30 XI 1942 r., p. 5; nr 65 z 18 III 1943 r., p. 3; Der Danziger Vorposten, nr 17 z 18 I 1942 r., p. 5 i nr 310 z 8 IX 1942 r., p. 4; Thorner Freiheit, nr 229 z 28/29 IX 1940 r., p. 3; nr 233 z 3 X 1940 r., p. 3; nr 125 z 30/31 V 1942 r., p. 3; nr 185 z 8/9 VIII 1942 r., p. 3; W. Trzeciakowski, op. cit., pp. 214, 215.

park.⁹³ Another important musical event in the Reich District Land of the Warta River was the Posener Musikwoche (Poznań Music Week) between 1–7 September 1940, also initiated by the Reich Regional Propaganda Office. The rich and varied programme of this event included concerts of military and organ bands, brass bands, symphony orchestras with the participation of soloists, as well as piano recitals. The Posener Bach-Chor with his own chamber orchestra under the baton of R. Ritz presented the programme *Gesellige Musik* (Convivial Music), which consisted of German composer Georg Philipp Telemann, and Armin Knab, composer and from 1934 composition teacher at the State Higher School of Musical Education and Church Music in Berlin; also, the works of composer and organist of the German early Baroque period, Samuel Scheidt, composer, and Johann Georg Ahle, organist. Guest performances were given by two music bands from Berlin: Heitere Musik-Bühne with Mozart's comic opera *Bastien und Bastienne* and The Vereinigung 'Alte Musik' (Association of Early Music) with a repertoire of Baroque music. Music events were held, among others in the city hall, the university auditorium, the church of the Holy Cross, and the city park. In the following years, the Posener Musikwoche was organised twice more: 30 August–7 September 1941 and 3–7 September 1942. On the occasion of the first Posener Musikwoche, the Head of the Nazi Propaganda Office in the Reich District Land of the Warta River, Wilhelm Maul, and high-mayor of Poznań Gerhard Scheffler established the Musikpreis des Reichsgaues Wartheland (Music Award of the Reich District Land of the Warta River). It was awarded for the first time during the Second Poznań Music Week on 31 August 1941, and the winners were: Kapellmeister Winfried Zillig, composer Alexander Maria Schnabel, conductor Johannes Paulsen and two choirs, the Litzmannstädter Bachchor and the Posener Bach-chor, which – as was pointed out – had facilitated the consolidation of the Germanness inside the Polish state before 1939 (each laureate received 5000 German marks). In 1942, the prize of 20,000 German marks was awarded to the composer and conductor Hans Pfitzner 'for the special artistic achievements as well as the political and cultural participation in the development of the Reich District Land of the Warta River.'⁹⁴

⁹³ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 141 z 22 V 1940 r., p. 3; nr 145 z 26 V 1940 r., p. 4; nr 152 z 2 VI 1940 r., p. 18; nr 154 z 4 VI 1940 r., p. 4; nr 164 z 14 VI 1940 r., p. 4; nr 171 z 21 VI 1940 r., p. 9; nr 173 z 23 VI 1940 r., p. 6; nr 176 z 26 VI 1940 r., p. 5; nr 186 z 6 VII 1940 r., p. 5; nr 197 z 17 VII 1940 r., p. 6; nr 199 z 19 VII 1940 r., p. 8; nr 203 z 23 VII 1940 r., p. 6; nr 208 z 28 VII 1940 r., p. 5; nr 210 z 30 VII 1940 r., p. 9; nr 219 z 8 VIII 1940 r., p. 5; nr 221 z 10 VIII 1940 r., p. 4.

⁹⁴ AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty-Poznań 1939–1944, sprawozdanie roczne państwowego doradcy muzycznego w Okręgu Rzeszy Kraj Warty z 19 V 1944 r.; BA-Berlin, R 55/20424a, pismo kierownika muzycznego teatru poznańskiego do RMfVuP z 27 VI 1942 r.; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 242 z 1 IX 1941 r., p. 3 i nr 243 z 2 IX 1941 r., p. 5; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 220 z 9 VIII 1940 r., p. 5; nr 236 z 25 VIII 1940 r., p. 5; nr 240 z 29 VIII 1940 r., p. 5–6; nr 242 z 31 VIII 1940 r., p. 5; nr 243 z 1 IX 1940 r., p. 1, 17–18; nr 244 z 2 IX 1940 r., p. 3, 7, 8; nr 245 z 3 IX 1940 r., p. 5, 6; nr 246 z 4 IX 1940 r., p. 5, 6; nr 247 z 5 IX 1940 r., p. 8; nr 248 z 6 IX 1940 r., p. 5; nr 249 z 7 IX 1940 r., p. 6; nr 250 z 8 IX 1940 r., p. 6; nr 252 z 10 IX 1940 r., p. 4; nr 234 z 24 VIII 1941 r., p. 6, 15; nr 237 z 27 VIII 1941 r., p. 4, 7; nr 239 z 29 VIII 1941 r., p. 5, 9; nr 240 z 30 VIII 1941 r., p. 3,

In the capital of the Reich District of Katowice, the opening of the concert season of 1939/1940 took place on 9 October 1939 in the building of the city theatre. The Meisterscher Gesangverein, Chorvereinigung Königshütte and the orchestra Oberschlesische Landestheater Beuthen presented the cantata of H. Pfitzner to the words of J. von Eichendorff *Von deutscher Seele* (*Of the German soul*), which was created after the First World War 'in a sense of national sadness and humiliation'.⁹⁵

The Oberschlesische Musiktage (Upper Silesian Music Days) was a great music celebration in Upper Silesia. Thanks to the Stiftung Oberschlesien, they were organised for the first time on 30 October – 5 November 1942 (the leitmotif was the music of Ludwig van Beethoven), and in the following year on October 23–25 (the leitmotif was the music of Franz Schubert). The larger cities of Upper Silesia, among others, Bytom, Chorzów, Gliwice, Katowice and Zabrze, hosted numerous symphonic, chamber and organ concerts, opera evenings (Opernabende), and choir performances. The Upper Silesian Days of Music promoted mainly local artists such as Günther Bialas, Hermann Buchal, Victor Claris Czajaneck, Alexander Eklebe, Fritz Lubrich, Josef Musiol, Karl Sczuk, Fritz Slawik, Gerhard Strecke, and Franz Wödl. The rank of the event was raised by the participation of musicians from the Reich, for example, in 1942: pianist Wilhelm Kempff, singer Emma Leisner, singer Rudolf Watzke, and violinist Helmuth Zernick. In 1943, pianists Gerhard Puchelt and Friedrich Wührer participated in the Oberschlesische Musikwoche, as well as singer Camilla Kallab.⁹⁶ The highlight of the Upper Silesian Music Days was the awarding of the Oberschlesische Musikpreis (Upper Silesian Music Award). In 1942, it was given to Fritz Lubrich from Katowice and Erich Peter from Bytom, and the following year to Gerhard Strecke.⁹⁷

4, 7; nr 241 z 31 VIII 1941 r., p. 4, 5, 15; nr 242 z 1 IX 1941 r., p. 4, 7; nr 243 z 2 IX 1941 r., p. 5, 9; nr 244 z 3 IX 1941 r., p. 4, 7; nr 245 z 4 IX 1941 r., p. 4, 7; nr 246 z 5 IX 1941 r., p. 5, 7; nr 247 z 6 IX 1941 r., p. 4, 7; nr 248 z 7 IX 1941 r., p. 5, 15; nr 250 z 9 IX 1941 r., p. 5; nr 332 z 30 XI 1941 r., p. 5; nr 228 z 19 VIII 1942 r., p. 4; nr 239 z 30 VIII 1942 r., p. 4; nr 242z 2 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 243 z 3 IX 1942 r., p. 4; nr 244 z 4 IX 1942 r., p. 3, 4; nr 245 z 5 IX 1942 r., p. 3, 4, 6; nr 246 z 6 IX 1942 r., p. 3, 5, 8; nr 247 z 7 IX 1942 r., p. 3, 4; nr 248 z 8 IX 1942 r., p. 3, 4; nr 249 z 9 IX 1942 r., p. 3; Cz. Łuczak, op. cit., p. 151; H. Zimniak, *Niemieckie życie muzyczne w tzw. Kraju Warty*, [in:] *Rola mniejszości niemieckiej w rozwoju stosunków politycznych w Europie 1918–1945*, pod red. A. Czubińskiego, Poznań 1984, p. 455–456; H. Ch. Harten, *De- Kulturation und Germanisierung. Die nationalsozialistische Rassen- und Erziehungspolitik in Polen 1939–1945*, Frankfurt am Main–New York 1996, p. 172.

⁹⁵ AP-Katowice, Urząd Propagandy Rzeszy Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1941–1944, sygn. 61, notatka z 9 X 1939 r.; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 262 z 29 IX 1939 r., *Festliche Eröffnung der Konzertspielzeit*; nr 264 z 1 X 1939 r., *Festkonzert mit Hans Pfitzners Kantate "Von deutscher Seele"*; nr 267 z 4 X 1939 r., *Die Festaufführung der Pfitzner Kantate*; nr 269 z 6 X 1939 r., *Hans Pfitzners geistige Persönlichkeit*; nr 274 z 11 X 1939 r., *"Von deutscher Seele." Die Festaufführung im Kattowitzer Stadttheater*.

⁹⁶ E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 272–273, 327, 425, 583, 610, 615.

⁹⁷ AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4344, pismo Stiftung Oberschlesien do członków tej fundacji z 23 IX 1943 r.; Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 267 z 30 IX 1942 r., *Oberschlesische Musikwoche 1942*; nr 287 z 20 X 1942 r., *Die Oberschlesische Musikwoche 1942*; nr 296 z 29 X 1942 r., *Oberschlesische Musikwoche 1942. Von den musischen Kräften*

Among the most important music events in Silesia, the Ostland-Musikfest (also known as Grenzlandmusikfest) should also be mentioned. It was the continuation of an event organised for the first time in Zabrze in 1937. During the 4th Ostland-Musikfest between 3–5 March 1940, the works of the following composers were presented: Fritz Lubrich, Karl Michael Komma, Hans Simon, and Hans Pfitzer. The following year, the event took place between 9–12 March, and the main theme was the work of Heinrich Schulz, a composer born in Bytom. The 6th Ostland-Musikfest was organised between 2–6 May 1942. That time, the original idea of the event to present exclusively the work of composers born in Silesia was abandoned. The scope of interest was extended to compositions of the German classical (L. van Beethoven) and romanticist (F. Schubert, CM Weber) style. Among the Silesian composers presented to the audience were mainly Gotthold Ludwik Richter, the Wrocław composer and organ musician; Fritz Lubrich, Gerhard Strecke and Richard Wetz.⁹⁸ Another significant music event was the Schlesische Musikfest (Silesian Music Festival). Although it did not take place in the Upper Silesia area, its co-organizers were the municipal authorities of Bytom, Gliwice, and Zabrze, with Upper Silesian musicians participating. The event had a nineteenth-century pedigree – it was organised for the first time in 1876 in Jelenia Góra on the initiative of count Bolko von Hochberg. Then, in a two-year cycle, it was held in Wrocław and Gorlice. During the occupation, the Schlesische Musikfest was, for the first time, organised between 31 May–4 June 1940 in Gorlice, and it had already been the 25th such event. During numerous concerts, the works of Silesian composers were presented, among others: Günther Bialas, Hermann Buchal, Karl Sczuki, Gerhard Strecke, and Richard Tetz. The Meisterscher Gesangverein also performed. The next and at the same time the last Schlesische Musikfest was organised in Gorlice on 1–5 June 1942. This time, the music of the region's musicians dominated contemporary music, including Günther Bialas, Edmund von Borck (composition

Oberschlesiens; nr 297 z 30 X 1942 r., *Oberschlesische Musikwoche 1942. Kulturorchester und Orchesterkultur*; nr 298 z 31 X 1942 r., *Oberschlesische Musikwoche 1942. Auf Beethovens Spuren in Oberschlesien*; nr 299 z 1 XI 1942 r., *Oberschlesische Musikwoche. Die feierliche Eröffnung*; nr 300 z 2 XI 1942 r., *Unser Fritz Lubrich* oraz: *Oberschlesische Musikwoche*; nr 303 z 5 XI 1942 r., *Oberschlesische Musikwoche 1942. Beethoven-Konzert in Beuthen*; nr 304 z 6 XI 1942 r., *Oberschlesische Musikwoche 1942. Tag der Oberschlesier*; nr 291 z 21 X 1943 r., *Oberschlesische Tondichter. Was bringen die OS-Musiktage 1943 in Kattowitz?*, *Das Programm der OS-Musiktage 1943*; nr 292 z 22 X 1943 r., *Solisten der Oberschlesischen Musiktage*; nr 294 z 24 X 1943 r., *Festlicher Auftakt der Oberschlesischen Musiktage*; nr 295 z 25 X 1943 r., *Oberschlesische Musiktage 1943*; nr 296 z 26 X 1943 r., *Oberschlesische Musiktage 1943*; nr 297 z 27 X 1943 r., *Oberschlesische Musiktage 1943*.

⁹⁸ *Kattowitzer Zeitung*, nr 308 z 14 XI 1939 r., *Fritz Lubrich beim 4. Grenzlandmusikfest der Stadt Hindenburg*; nr 64 z 5 III 1940 r., *4. Ostlandmusikfest in Hindenburg*; nr 65 z 6 III 1940 r., *Sinfoniekonzert in Hindenburg. Der zweite Tag des Ostland-Musikfestes*; nr 57 z 27 II 1941 r., *5. Ostlandmusikfest 9.–12. März*; nr 68 z 10 III 1941 r., *Festlicher Auftakt in Hindenburg*; nr 71 z 13 III 1941 r., *Und nun: die Kattowitzer*; nr 103 z 16 IV 1942 r., *Auch 1942 Ostlandmusikfest; Konzert der Uraufführungen*; nr 121 z 5 V 1942 r., *Beglänzte Stunden voll Musik*; nr 123 z 7 V 1942 r., *Ostland-Musikfest in Hindenburg*; nr 124 z 8 V 1942 r., *Wetz-Sinfonie als Höhepunkt*.

teacher in Berlin, born in 1906 in Wrocław), Hans Georg Burghardt (in 1938 he received the Schlesische Musikpreis for the piece *Sinfonietta*), Hans Joachim Sobanski (residing in Vienna, spent his childhood in Silesia), and Gerhard Strecke. The event was accompanied by the opening of an exhibition entitled *Musik und Musikanten in Görlitz (Music and Musicians in Gorlice)*. The paintings of Ludwig Piotr Kowalski as well as Primm and Walter Rhauser⁹⁹ were also shown.

In the Gdańsk–West Prussia region, these music associations played an important role in consolidating the musical milieu and inspiring the development of concert life: the Konzertring Danzig–Westpreussen (Gdańsk–West Prussia Concerts Circle), the Gemeinschaft für alte Musik (Early Music Association) and the Arbeitskreis für zeitgenössische Musik (Study Group of Contemporary Music). The first of them invited selected artists to cooperate, and organised concerts on a wide scale: classical music, performances by soloists and choirs, and music evenings. In the winter of 1940/1941, 98 concerts were held through the Konzertring, and the most popular were works by Bach, van Beethoven, Brahms, Bruckner, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Schumann, R. Strauss, and Wagner.¹⁰⁰ The Gemeinschaft für alte Musik supported and cultivated early music. The implementation of this task, however, encountered some obstacles. In July 1943 a letter addressed to the Mayor of Starogard, Artur Martes, Landeskulturwarter August Goergens stated: ‘The difficulty lies in reproducing artistic and stylish early music, which is possible only if the performers are able to meet the high requirements. That group of artists is relatively small.’ Significant complications also arose from the fact that concerts of early music were to be organised in historical places, with the use of period instruments, in small, intimate, specially prepared rooms, which cost more than other musical events.¹⁰¹ The Arbeitskreis für zeitgenössische Musik Association was to ‘support and nurture contemporary music, especially through artistic

⁹⁹ Ibid. (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 149 z 1 VI 1940 r., *Das Schlesische Musikfest eröffnet*; nr 150 z 2 VI 1940 r., *Schlesische Komponisten aufgeführt*; nr 151 z 3 VI 1940 r., *Zwei grosse Erfolge des Meisterschen Gesangvereins in Görlitz*; nr 153 z 5 VI 1940 r., *Ausklang in Görlitz*; nr 147 z 2 VI 1942 r., *Junge Schlesier hatten das Wort*; nr 151 z 6 VI 1942 r., *Oberschlesien klingt in Görlitz*; nr 154 z 9 VI 1942 r., *Eine Uraufführung von Gerhard Strecke*; nr 15 z 15 I 1943 r., *Gründer der Schlesischen Musikfeste*.

¹⁰⁰ AP-Gdańsk, Akta miasta Gniewa 1561–1945, sygn. 193, pismo Urzędu Propagandy w Okręgu Rzeszy Gdańsk–Prusy Zachodnie do prezydenta rejencji gdańskiej z 4 IX 1941 r. oraz pismo A. Goergensa do organizacji Konzertring Danzig–Westpreussen z 15 II 1943 r.; ibid., Akta miasta Starogardu Gdańskiego 1634–1945, sygn. 140, statut organizacji Konzertring Danzig–Westpreussen; AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 762, Der Gauring. Mitteilungsblatt des Gauringes Danzig–Westpreussen der NSDAP, Nummer 4–5/1942, p. 3; BA-Berlin, R 55/1395, pismo Urzędu Propagandy w Okręgu Rzeszy Gdańsk–Prusy Zachodnie do RmFVuP z 11 IX 1941 r.; Der Danziger Vorposten, nr 236 z 8 X 1939 r., p. 6; nr 307 z 7 XI 1940 r., p. 5; nr 321 z 21 XI 1940 r., p. 7; nr 180 z 2 VII 1942 r., p. 3; Thorner Freiheit, nr 15 z 18 I 1940 r., p. 3; nr 71 z 26 III 1940 r., p. 4; nr 81 z 6/7 IV 1940 r., p. 3; nr 83 z 9 IV 1940 r., p. 3; W. Diewerge, op. cit., p. 88.

¹⁰¹ AP-Gdańsk, Akta miasta Starogardu Gdańskiego 1634–1945, sygn. 140, statut organizacji Gemeinschaft für alte Musik z 27 V 1943 r. i pismo dr. Goergensa do burmistrza Starogardu z 12 VII 1943 r.; ibid., Akta miasta Gniewa 1561–1945, sygn. 193, pismo Urzędu Propagandy w Okręgu Rze-

exchange between the Reich District of Gdańsk–West Prussia and the rest of the Reich.¹⁰² Available source material, however, does not contain information on the implementation of this intention.

An important music event in the Reich District of Gdańsk–West Prussia were the Bromberger Musiktage (Bydgoszcz Music Days). From 8 to 12 February 1943, numerous lectures, chamber and symphonic concerts took place. Special guest was Professor Friedrich Wührer,¹⁰³ counted among the most significant pianists in the Third Reich.¹⁰⁴

The German music holiday, which was celebrated throughout the Reich in the middle of November, including the annexed Polish areas, was the Tag der deutschen Hausmusik (German Domestic Music Day). In 1940, the work of F. Schubert served as its theme. In 1941, according to the guidelines of head of the music department at the Ministry of Propaganda Heinz Drewes, the works of W. A. Mozart prevailed in the programme of the Tag der deutschen Hausmusik celebrations. In this way, the 150th anniversary of the composer's death, 5 December, was celebrated. The following year, the Tag der deutschen Hausmusik was dedicated to J. S. Bach. In 1943, the theme of this holiday was *Max Reger und Schaffende der Gegenwart* (*Max Reger and Contemporary Composers*). The celebration of the German Music Day consisted mainly of concerts and lectures dedicated to music.¹⁰⁵

The analysis of numerous information about concert life published in the local press allows us to conclude that in the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich, there were regular and diverse concerts on offer, from symphonies, chamber music and recitals (solo performances), to choirs and specially dedicated performances. The most popular music came from the leading German Baroque composers (Bach and Handel), as well as the classical composers van Beethoven, Haydn and Mozart. Mozart was especially popularised in 1941 at the 150th anniversary of his death, which was celebrated all over Germany. In the Polish lands incorporated into the Reich, the celebrations in honour of Mozart were prepared with the greatest impetus in the Reich District of Katowice. On 5 October, the students of the Landeskonservatorium in Katowice presented selected fragments of Mozart's operas. The Meisterscher Gesangverein with the participation of the municipal choir in Gliwice, and the soloists and orchestra of the Oberslesische Landestheater Beuthen performed the *Requiem* in Gliwice (30 November 1941),

szy Gdańsk–Prusy Zachodnie do prezydenta rejencji gdańskiej z 4 IX 1941 r.; BA-Berlin, R 55/1395, a note about the creation of the organization Kulturwerk Deutsches Ordensland.

¹⁰² AP-Gdańsk, Akta miasta Starogardu Gdańskiego 1634–1945, sygn. 140, statut organizacji Arbeitskreis für zeitgenössische Musik z 27 V 1943 r.

¹⁰³ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 610.

¹⁰⁴ Deutsche Rundschau, nr 28 z 3 II 1943 r., p. 4; nr 31 z 6/7 II 1943 r., p. 5; nr 33 z 9 II 1943 r., p. 3; nr 34 z 10 II 1943 r., p. 4; nr 35 z 11 II 1943 r., p. 3; nr 36 z 12 II 1943 r., p. 3; nr 37 z 13/14 II 1943 r., p. 5; nr 38 z 15 II 1943 r., p. 6; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 263 z 23 IX 1942 r., p. 3 i nr 48 z 17 II 1943 r., p. 3; Thorner Freiheit, nr 43 z 20/21 II 1943 r., p. 3.

¹⁰⁵ On the basis of the examined press.

Katowice (1 December 1941) and Kraków (13 December 1941, with the participation of soloists and the Philharmonic orchestra of the General Government). On 24 November in Katowice and a day later in Chorzów, the Katowice symphonic orchestra presented a programme devoted to the memory of Mozart which included the overture to the opera *Don Giovanni* and two of his three great symphonies, the *Symphony in E flat major* and the *Jupiter* symphony in C major.¹⁰⁶ In the concert halls, Beethoven also featured frequently, as did Johannes Brahms – especially his funeral cantata *Ein deutsches Requiem* (*A German Requiem*), performed 24 November 1940 by the Posener Bach-Chor, and on 5 May 1942 by the Chorvereinigung Königshütte.¹⁰⁷ For the Reich District of Katowice it was characteristic that due to the rich traditions of German musical life in Upper Silesia, the concerts there comprised especially the works of local composers.

Concerts of guest musicians from the Reich enjoyed immense popularity. Music lovers could admire composers and pianists particularly appreciated by the then authorities such as Ottmar Gerster, Eduard Künneke, Gottfried Müller, Max Trapp, Hermann Unger, Erik Then-Berg, and Walter Giesekeing.¹⁰⁸ Less frequently, there were Non-German performers. Major musical events were the guest appearances by the Japanese conductor Hidemaro Konoye, who was fascinated by German culture, and was called the ‘German Furtwängler’. On 27 April 1942, in the auditorium of Poznań University, he conducted the municipal symphony orchestra playing van Beethoven, Wagner, R. Strauss, Italian composer Ottorino Respighi, and works of the conductor himself. As a soloist, the Italian pianist Walter Schaufuss-Bonini performed. Three days later, Konoye and Bonini were in Łódź, and on 1 June 1942 in Toruń. The press emphasised the symbolic character of these German-Italian-Japanese concerts, referring to cooperation between these three countries within the so-called Axis of Berlin-Rome-Tokyo. At the beginning of March 1943, Konoye performed in Silesia. On 9 March, 1943, he again conducted the city symphony orchestra in Łódź, and later that month he once again visited Poznań and Toruń.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 269 z 30 IX 1941 r., *Morgenkonzerte des Landeskonservatoriums*; nr 276 z 7 X 1941 r., *Morgenkonzert mit Mozart*; nr 291 z 22 X 1941 r., *Der Kattowitzer Konzertwinter 1941/1942*; nr 295 z 26 X 1941 r., *Die Konzerte des Meisterschen Gesangsvereins*; nr 318 z 18 XI 1941 r., *Mozarts “Requiem” im Opernhaus Kattowitz*; nr 320 z 20 XI 1941 r., *Das Städtische Sinfonie-Orchester Kattowitz*; nr 326 z 26 XI 1941 r., *Mozart als Sinfoniker*; nr 328 z 28 XI 1941 r., *Mozarts “Requiem” im Opernhaus Kattowitz*; nr 333 z 3 XII 1941 r., *Jetzt beende ich meinen Grabgesang...*

¹⁰⁷ Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 122 z 6 V 1942 r., *“Ein deutsches Requiem” in Königshütte*; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 329 z 26 XI 1940 r., p. 5.

¹⁰⁸ E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 165–166, 311, 379, 549, 555–556, 563–564.

¹⁰⁹ AP-Łódź, Zbiór teatraliów 1875–1989, sygn. 21/55, *passim*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 118 z 29 IV 1942 r., p. 4; nr 119 z 30 IV 1942 r., p. 5; nr 120 z 1 V 1942 r., p. 5; nr 121/122 z 2/3 V 1942 r., p. 5; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 111 z 22 IV 1942 r., p. 5; nr 114 z 25 IV 1942 r., p. 5; nr 115 z 26 IV 1942 r., p. 4; nr 117 z 28 IV 1942 r., p. 4; nr 118 z 29 IV 1942 r., p. 4; nr 119 z 30 IV 1942 r., p. 8; nr 121 z 2 V 1942 r., p. 4; nr 62 z 3 III 1943 r., p. 6; nr 68 z 9 III 1943 r., p. 3; Thorner Freiheit, nr 124 z 29 V 1942 r., p. 4; nr 126 z 1 VI 1942 r., p. 3; nr 37 z 13/14 II 1943 r., p. 3; nr 62 z 15 III 1943 r., p. 3; Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 62 z 3 III 1943 r., *Graf Konoye in Beuthen*.

3.4. Music schools

The level of the society's musical culture depended heavily on music education. Music schools, offering education at various levels, influenced the level of musical skills of the inhabitants of particular areas, and trained qualified musicians including composers, conductors, music theoreticians, and animators of musical life, instrumentalists, singers, and teachers. It should be noted that music schools were the only type of artistic institutions that the occupation authorities launched in the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich, and only the German population could attend them.

The largest number of music schools existed in the Reich District Land of the Warta River. From the autumn of 1940, the state adviser for music in the District, Georg Blumensaatt, talked with the mayors of the cities about their founding. Although his plans met with the general acceptance of local authorities, in practice it was difficult to implement them, mainly due to the lack of teachers and housing problems. Until September 1941, music schools were opened in the following cities:

Poznań: On 15 November 1940, 107 students began their studies at the Gaumusikschule (Regional Music School). It was the only music school (Musikfachschule) in the Reich District Land of the Warta River, located in the former convent of the Carmelite Sisters at Graf-Spee-Strasse 23 (23 Niegolewskich St.). As the building did not meet its needs, it was almost immediately rebuilt. The educational organisation was hampered by the fact that about 25% of the rooms were used by the army. The institution's maintenance costs rested on the governor. At the beginning of September 1941, 160 pupils were taught at the school, and fifteen teachers were employed: six full-time (*hauptamtliche Lehrkräfte*), and nine part-time (*nebenamtliche Lehrkräfte*). The director of the Gaumusikschule was held by G. Blumensaatt. The institution offered education in the following departments: instrumental and singing classes, composition, orchestral music, seminars for music teachers, and rhythmic. In 1943, the orchestral school (*Orchesterschule*) was opened at the Gaumusikschule, preparing musicians for civilian and military orchestras. The necessary musical materials used at the school to teach music, including music scores and musical instruments, mostly came from the equipment of the pre-war Polish conservatoire. For the most talented students, Gaumusikschule Governor Greiser funded a financial award named after Pfitzner (*Pfitzner-Preis*), which was first presented on 4 September 1943, awarded to thirteen people. From spring 1942, the *Städtische Musikschule* (Municipal Music School) was also active in Poznań. Its headquarters were in the building at Ritterstr. 36 (36 Ratajczaka St.). According to data from mid-June 1942, about 350 people received their music education there.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ AP-Poznań, *Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty-Poznań 1939-1944*, sygn. 2316, sprawozdanie G. Blumensaatta z 3 VIII 1941 r. i sprawozdanie wydziału III za okres 1 VII-30 IX 1941 r.; *ibid.*, sygn. 2317, sprawozdanie G. Blumensaatta z 3 IX 1941 r.; *ibid.*, sygn. 2603-2605; AP-Katowice,

Łódź: the grand opening of the Municipal Music School took place on 19 November 1940. The classes began on 2 December 1940, and the school took in 260 students. The headquarters of the school were located in the palace of the Poznańskis at Danzigerstr. 32 (32 Gdańska street). The costs of its maintenance were borne by the municipal authorities. At the beginning of September 1941, 520 pupils were taught at the Municipal Music School, and twenty-six teachers were employed, including eight full-time. The teaching staff were mainly composed of members of the municipal symphony orchestra. The most popular subjects studied were the piano, violin, and flute. There was also the possibility of learning to play such instruments as the bassoon, double bass, oboe, French horn, and cello. The school's director was Gerd Benoit, a composer and pianist from Berlin. In 1943, he was appointed to the army and replaced by Ewald Weiss. From 1 September 1944, the school was closed.¹¹¹

Pabianice: on 1 April 1941, 57 students began their studies at the Municipal Music School. It did not have its own building at that time and was active in one of the local schools. Its operating costs were covered by the municipal authorities. At the beginning of September 1941, there were 73 students in the school, taught by five teachers, none of them full-time (all as *nebenamtliche Lehrkräfte*). The head of the school was the city's music representative Richard Benke.¹¹²

In order to further the creation of music schools to educate mainly amateur musicians, on 6 September 1942 during the III. Posener Musikwoche, Governor Greiser with the consent of Minister B. Rust, appointed the institution of the Wartheländische Musikerziehungswerk under his personal supervision. It was to coordinate all matters related to music education in the Reich District Land of the Warta River under its chairman, Wolfgang Helmut Koch. The primary goal of the established institution was to create music schools in each district town.¹¹³

As of 1 April 1944, in the Reich District Land of the Warta River, in addition to the Gaumusikschule in Poznań, there were eighteen municipal music schools.

Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4318, foldery poznańskiej szkoły muzycznej; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 160 z 12 VI 1942 r., p. 4; nr 169 z 21 VI 1942 r., p. 5; nr 246 z 6 IX 1943 r., p. 3.

¹¹¹ AP-Łódź, AmŁ 1794–1945, sygn. 28602, *passim*; *ibid.*, sygn. 31554; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 319 z 17 XI 1940 r., p. 5; nr 323 z 21 XI 1940 r., p. 6; nr 14 z 14 I 1941 r., p. 5; nr 31 z 31 I 1941 r., p. 9; nr 40 z 9 II 1940 r., p. 13; nr 321 z 17 XI 1943 r., p. 3; T. Bojanowski, *op. cit.*, p. 123; A. Rukowiecki, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

¹¹² AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2317, sprawozdanie G. Blumensaata z 3 IX 1941 r.; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 95 z 5 IV 1941 r., p. 7 i nr 99 z 9 IV 1941 r., p. 6.

¹¹³ AP-Poznań, Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty–Poznań 1939–1944, sygn. 2603 i sygn. 2606; AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 745, wycinki prasowe: Schlesische Zeitung 10 IX 1942 r. i Magdeburgische Zeitung z 10 IX 1942 r.; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 247 z 7 IX 1942 r., p. 3 i nr 248 z 8 IX 1942 r., p. 3. Por. H. Zimniak, *op. cit.*, p. 457.

Table: Municipal Music Schools in the Reich District Land of the Warta River as of 1 April 1944

School	Teachers	Students
City Music School in Poznań	28	455
City Music School in Międzychód	2	87
City Music School in Gnieźno	4	104
City Music School in Inowrocław	9	158
City Music School in Jarocin	5	176
City Music School in Kalisz	9	220
City Music School in Kościan	4	55
City Music School in Włocławek	6	88
City Music School in Leszno	4	193
City Music School in Łódź	32	491
City Music School in Ostrowie	5	135
City Music School in Oborniki	1	50
City Music School in Pabianice	9	197
City Music School in Rawicz	3	71
City Music School in Szamotuły	3	120
City Music School in Sieradz	2	64
City Music School in Koło	2	50
City Music School in Wolsztyn	4	250
Total:	132	2964

Source: AP-Poznań, Reich Governor in the Reich District Land of the Warta River, 1939–1944, reference number 2603, annual report of the state adviser for music in the Reich District Land of the Warta River from 19 May 1944.

In the The Reich District of Katowice, the main institution conducting music education was the conservatoire in Katowice (Konservatorium Kattowitz). Already in November 1939, Fritz Lubrich, one of the leading animators of musical life in Upper Silesia, turned to the Reich Ministry for Science and Education with a request to create, on the foundations of the Polish conservatoire,¹¹⁴ a German state conservatoire in Katowice. The original plans were to launch this school still in 1939. However, it opened on 26 April 1940 in the building at Holteistr. 33 (33 Wojewódzka St.), and Lubrich took on its directorship. Its wide educational offer was geared towards children, adolescents, and adults. The conservatoire educated professional musicians, and developed musical abilities at various levels. As part of the school, the following artistic and didactic units functioned:

- Ausbildungsklassen (training classes): they prepared a team of qualified musicians and provided practical musical education (piano, violin, organ, harpsichord, cello), singing, and also composition, conducting, and music theory;

¹¹⁴ The State Conservatoire in Katowice was set up by Wotld Friemann; its activity was inaugurated with a concert on 28 Sept 1929.

- Orchesterschule (orchestral school): it educated orchestral musicians;
- Seminar für Privatmusiklehrer (seminars for private music teachers): these prepared private music teachers to prepare for a state examination, which took place twice a year;
- Musikschule für Jugend (music school for youths): for German boys and girls from the age of 8 who wanted to develop their musical talents, with the main emphasis on introducing students to folk music (Volksmusik).¹¹⁵

The Katowice Conservatoire enjoyed an excellent reputation and great popularity, as evidenced by the constantly growing number of students. While at the time of the school's opening, about 200 people enrolled, by the end of 1941 this number had increased four times.¹¹⁶ The group of educators was mainly composed of local musicians. On 10 February 1942, at the initiative of Lubrich and with the consent of Minister B. Rust, the Katowice Conservatoire was transformed into the Landesmusikschule Oberschlesien (National Musical School of Upper Silesia). The event was graced by the first so-called academic musical week of Upper Silesia (Erste akademische Musikwoche Oberschlesiens), which meant that from 11 to 16 February 1942, numerous concerts and lectures on music with the participation of local musicians and invited guests were held, including Professor Hans Joachim Moser¹¹⁷ from Berlin, who gave a lecture called *Schlesiens Musikschaffen im Kampf um den deutschen Ostraum* on 12 February, and on 14 February Professor Felix Oberborbeck,¹¹⁸ director of the Hochschule für Musikerziehung in Graz, who gave his lecture on *Die Volksmusikalische Aufgabe der Gegenwart*.¹¹⁹ At the end of 1942, director F. Lubrich commissioned to Georg Buttler, director and deputy head of the KdF organisation (Vertreter des Gauwärts KdF), the founding and management of the operatic school (Opernschule), which was part of the Landesmusikschule. Soon, a two-year study was undertaken by 36 students (30 girls and 6 boys).¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ AP-Katowice, Urząd Propagandy Rzeszy Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1941–1944, sygn. 60; *ibid.*, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4323; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 284 z 21 X 1939 r., *Baldige Eröffnung des Konservatoriums der Musik in Kattowitz*; nr 85 z 28 III 1940 r., *16. April Eröffnung des Kattowitzer Konservatoriums*; nr 106 z 18 IV 1940 r., *Eröffnung des Konservatoriums erst am 26. April*; nr 113 z 25 IV 1940 r., *Kattowitz-Heimstätte deutscher Musik*; nr 115 z 27 IV 1940 r., *Kattowitz wieder ein Mittelpunkt der Musikkultur. Feierliche Eröffnung des Konservatoriums*.

¹¹⁶ AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4317, notatka z 5 II 1942 r.: *Vom Konservatorium zur Landesmusikschule Oberschlesien*.

¹¹⁷ E. Klee, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 397.

¹¹⁹ AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4316, 4317, 4319; Kattowitzer Zeitung, nr 33 z 3 II 1942 r., *Akademische Musikwoche in Oberschlesien*; nr 40 z 10 II 1942 r., *Vom Konservatorium zur Landesmusikschule*; nr 41 z 11 II 1942 r., *Landesmusikschule Oberschlesien gegründet*; nr 43 z 13 II 1942 r., *Festlicher Auftakt der Musikwoche*; nr 44 z 14 II 1942 r., *1. Akademische Musikwoche in OP*; nr 45 z 15 II 1942 r., *1. Akademische Musikwoche in OP*; nr 47 z 17 II 1942 r., *1. Akademische Musikwoche in OP*; nr 48 z 18 II 1942 r., *1. Akademische Musikwoche in OP*; R. Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej...*, pp. 357–358.

¹²⁰ BA-Berlin, R 56 – III/421.

In the Reich District of Katowice, municipal music schools also existed in Chorzów (opening on 2 February 1941 under its director, the municipal plenipotentiary for musical affairs Paul Rodewald) and Mysłowice (launched in autumn 1943 under the direction of Anton Schunk from Berlin; originally with the following classes: piano, violin, mandolin, flute, and from 1 December 1943 harmonium and voice training were added. According to data from November 1943, over 150 people were taught there).¹²¹

In the Reich District of Gdańsk–West Prussia, the most significant music schools operated in Bydgoszcz and Toruń. The Städtische Musikschule in Bydgoszcz opened on 1 October 1940 in the building at Adolf-Hitler-Strasse 71 (71 Gdańska St.), which was renovated in the summer of 1941. Georg Jaedeke was appointed its director, and most of the teaching staff were recruited from among local musicians. Initially, over a hundred people took up music at the Bydgoszcz music school.¹²²

In June 1940, the Städtische Musikschule in Toruń was announced in the newspaper 'Thorner Freiheit'. The original plans encompassed an average music school, the so-called Landesmusikschule, and in the future even a conservatoire. The Municipal Music School in Toruń was opened on 15 October 1940 in the building at Brückengasse 9 (9 Mostowa Street), and its main organizer and director was the municipal music director Otto Erich Staeger. From the autumn of 1942, Max Kojetinsky¹²³ was the director. Deputy Director Dr. Meyer (also spelled Meier) was responsible for didactic matters. The school featured singing classes and lessons on the accordion, flute, piano, lute, and orchestral instruments. After the end of the first year of study, in July 1941, the Städtische Musikschule had 208 students; by January 1944, almost 400 people were studying there. Only two teachers were employed on a full-time basis, while 10–13 were employed part-time.¹²⁴

In November 1940, a music school (Musikschule für Jugend)¹²⁵ was officially inaugurated in the Goethe-Oberschule hall in Grudziądz.

Music schools were not only didactic facilities, but also actively participated in organizing and promoting musical culture, with public concerts by students and

¹²¹ Kattowitzer Zeitung (od 1 IX 1942 r. jako Oberschlesische Zeitung), nr 3 z 4 I 1941 r., *Königshütte. Eröffnung der Städtischen Musikschule*; nr 32 z 2 II 1941 r., *Königshütte. Städtische Musikschule eröffnet*; nr 33 z 3 II 1941 r., *Ostoberschlesiens Musikschaffen in neuen Bahnen*; nr 38 z 8 II 1941 r., *Schon über 200 Schüler in der Musikschule*; nr 326 z 25 XI 1943 r., *Sang und Klang in Myslowitz. Aufgabe und Ziel der neuen Städtischen Musikschule*.

¹²² Deutsche Rundschau, nr 223 z 21/22 IX 1940 r., p. 6; nr 227 z 26 IX 1940 r., p. 5–6; nr 230 z 30 IX 1940 r., p. 8; nr 256 z 30 X 1940 r., p. 5; nr 211 z 8 IX 1941 r., p. 3.

¹²³ Thorner Freiheit, nr 138 z 14 VI 1940 r., p. 3; nr 244 z 16 X 1940 r., p. 3; nr 26 z 31 I/1 II 1942 r., p. 7.

¹²⁴ AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 735; Thorner Freiheit, nr 138 z 14 VI 1940 r., p. 3; nr 221 z 19 IX 1940 r., p. 3; nr 244 z 16 X 1940 r., p. 3; nr 210 z 6/7 IX 1941 r., p. 3; M. Niedzielska, op. cit., pp. 690–691.

¹²⁵ Der Danziger Vorposten, nr 311 z 11 XI 1940 r., p. 6 i nr 308 z 6 XI 1941 r., p. 4.

pedagogical staff proving quite popular with the public. In addition, young musicians adorned local holidays and other celebrations with their performances.

4. Major cultural events

An important form of raising the importance of culture in social life was the organisation of cultural events, which included numerous artistic events from the various fields of art, including music, theatre, and literature. The publicity that accompanied these attempted to attract the attention of broad social strata. The Ostdeutsche Kulturtage 1941 (East German Culture Days 1941) was celebrated as a major cultural event in the Reich District Land of the Warta River between 16–23 March 1941. Central events were organised in Poznań, called the ‘bastion of German culture in the east’. The official inauguration of the Ostdeutsche Kulturtage was accompanied by the opening of an exhibition dedicated to the ‘master of the German East’ Veit Stoss (Veit-Stoss-Ausstellung) at the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, a concert in the university hall of young Poznań musicians who performed works by Bach, Handel, and Locatelli, a lecture by Prof. Georg’s Minde-Pouet¹²⁶ titled *Kleist als Dichter des deutschen Ostens* (*Kleist as a Poet of the German East*) and a poetry evening with Herybert Menzl.¹²⁷ A day later, in the DAF office in Poznań, an exhibition was opened under the name *Der grosse Treck* (The Great March), which presented Otto Engelhardt-Kyffhäuser’s¹²⁸ paintings, illustrating the German war campaign against Poland. In the afternoon and evening hours, the so-called *Bunter Nachmittag*, i.e. prominent representatives of the theatre, film and music world of the Third Reich, invited by Governor Greiser, met with the audience that had gathered in the market hall at Glogauerstr. (Głogowska Street). Among the celebrities visiting Poznań were: violinist Siegfried Borries, actress Else Elster, singer Käthe Heidersbach, director Georg Jacoby, singer Emma Leisner, actress Irene Meyendorff, composer Günter Neumann, pianist Michael Raucheisen, actor Paul Richter, singer Karl Schmitt-Walter, actress Grethe Weiser, and actress Dorothea Wieck.¹²⁹

The biggest event of the Ostdeutsche Kulturtage in 1941 was the opening by Minister Goebbels of the so-called large theatre stage in Poznań on 18 March. The premiere screening of *Über alles in der Welt* (*Over Everything in the World*) was very popular with the audience. The East German Culture Days of 1941 ended after a week on 23 March with a concert of the National Socialist Orchestra of the Third Reich (NS-Reichs-Sinfonie-Orchester), conducted in the university hall by Franz Adam. Numerous cultural events were also held outside the capital of the District.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 371.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 366.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 122. In January 1940 his works were shown at a big exhibition in Berlin titled *Polenfeldzug in Bildern und Bildnissen* (*War campaign in Poland in pictures and portraits*).

¹²⁹ Ibid., pp. 63, 120, 207, 251, 327, 368, 389–390, 430, 440, 481–482, 589, 597.

¹³⁰ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 70 z 11 III 1941 r., p. 5; nr 71 z 12 III 1941 r., p. 5; nr 72 z 13 III 1941 r., p. 5; nr 73 z 14 III 1941 r., p. 5, 6; nr 74 z 15 III 1941 r., p. 5; nr 75 z 16 III 1941 r., p. 5, 6, 8; nr 76 z 17 III 1941 r., p. 4, 5, 6; nr 77 z 18 III 1941 r., p. 3–4, 5, 6; nr 78 z 19 III 1941 r., p. 1, 3–4, 5; nr

A significant cultural event in the Warta District were the Litzmannstädter Kulturtage (Łódź Days of Culture), celebrated twice. All cultural institutions in the city participated in their preparation, in particular the theatre, the museum, the orchestra, and music school. The Litzmannstädter Kulturtage were first organised on 21–28 September 1941 under the slogan *Die Ostfanfaren rufen*. For eight days there were numerous concerts, author's evenings, theatre premieres, and screenings of films with many distinguished artists.

The next and last Days of Culture in Łódź were organised from September 18 till 1 October 1942. The varied programme of this event included, among others: a concert by the city orchestra under the direction of Prof. Peter Raabe; a chamber music concert by students of the municipal music school; the opening of the exhibition of paintings by Otto Poppel¹³¹ and Marta Kronig, artists from Munich, but born in Łódź. There was an evening of songs and arias by Rudolf Bockelmann;¹³² the Łódź premieres of three new German films; the premiere of F. Schiller's *The Robbers* in the city theatre; a meeting with author Friedrich Griese;¹³³ and the opening of the Museum of Prehistory at Deutschlandplatz 14 (14 Wolności square).¹³⁴

On 4–11 April 1943, the Oberschlesische Kulturtage (Upper Silesian Days of Culture) were to take place for the first time. The honorary patron of the project was Minister Goebbels. From the autumn of 1942, intensive organisational work had been underway, in which all Upper Silesian cultural institutions were involved. Despite the advanced preparations, at the beginning of February 1943, Minister Goebbels cancelled the Oberschlesische Kulturtage without giving a reason. This decision was probably dictated by the unfavourable development of the war situation for the Third Reich, and Goebbels' proclamation of the so-called total war (Totalkrieg).¹³⁵

A special opportunity to demonstrate the power of the German nation, including at the cultural level, was the organisation of the jubilee celebrations in 1943

79 z 20 III 1941 r., p. 1, 3, 6; nr 80 z 21 III 1941 r., p. 5, 7; nr 81 z 22 III 1941 r., p. 1–2, 5; nr 82 z 23 III 1941 r., p. 3, 5; nr 83 z 24 III 1941 r., p. 6; nr 84 z 25 III 1941 r., p. 6; nr 88 z 29 III 1941 r., p. 8; Cz. Łuczak, op. cit., p. 122.

¹³¹ A. Kargel, *Otto Poppel – ein berühmter Kunstmaler*, Jahrbuch Weichsel–Warthe, Jahrgang 7/1961, p. 80–81; idem, *Otto Poppel. Der bedeutendste deutsche Maler aus Lodz*, Jahrbuch Weichsel–Warthe, Jahrgang 24, 1978, p. 79–81.

¹³² E. Klee, op. cit., pp. 56–57.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 178–179.

¹³⁴ AP-Łódź, AmŁ 1794–1945, sygn. 28677, *passim*; Litzmannstädter Zeitung, nr 255 z 14 IX 1941 r., p. 5; nr 259 z 18 IX 1941 r.; nr 262 z 21 IX 1941 r.; nr 268 z 27 IX 1941 r.; nr 273 z 2 X 1941 r., p. 5; nr 260 z 18 IX 1942 r.; nr 274 z 2 X 1942 r.; nr 276 z 4 X 1942 r., p. 5; Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 258 z 18 IX 1942 r., p. 3 i nr 261 z 21 IX 1942 r., p. 3; T. Bojanowski, op. cit., p. 128; A. Rukowiecki, op. cit., p. 127.

¹³⁵ AP-Katowice, Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4845; *ibid.*, Narodowosocjalistyczna Niemiecka Partia Robotnicza Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1932–1945, sygn. 380; Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 27 z 27 I 1943 r., *Dr. Goebbels Schirmherr der Gaukulturwoche*. Comp. R. Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej...*, pp. 355–356; idem, *W granicach Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, p. 382.

on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the death of Nicolaus Copernicus, and the 470th anniversary of his birth. The occupation authorities of Toruń, where the astronomer was born, began work on formulating the Copernicus jubilee concept already in the middle of 1942, and the original plans assumed a nationwide importance with events throughout the Reich and central ceremonies in Toruń. In late autumn 1942, however, it turned out that due to the difficult military situation, the central authorities in Berlin gave up on this jubilee's national scale. The jubilee celebrations lasted in Toruń from 22 to 24 May 1943. At that time, numerous guests came to the city, including representatives of the highest bodies of the occupational administration, the army, and scientific communities. On the first day of the jubilee in Toruń's Artus Court, a concert of the municipal symphony orchestra took place, which performed, among others, *Unfinished Symphony No. 8* by F. Schubert. The next day at ten o'clock, the main ceremonies in the city theatre began, where professor of philosophy at the University of Wrocław August Faust gave a lecture titled *Die Weltanschauliche Bedeutung des Nikolaus Kopernikus* (*The Worldview of Nicolaus Copernicus*). Then the invited guests took part in the opening of an exhibition dedicated to Copernicus in the city hall. An interesting part of the exhibition was *Polnische Ansprüche* (*Polish claims*) of Polish literature dedicated to Copernicus from the collections of the city library. The attendance at the exhibition, open until 11 July 1943, amounted to 2127 people. The culminating point of the three-day celebrations was the laying of the cornerstone for the new monument of Nicolaus Copernicus at Horst-Wessel-Platz (now Rapacki Square), symbolically executed on 23 May by governor A. Forster. Work on the monument was entrusted to the Austrian sculptor Joseph Thorak,¹³⁶ one of the most recognized artists in the Third Reich. The monument designed by Thorak was to be 4.5 m high on a pedestal of 1.3 m. Both the laying of the cornerstone by the governor of the Gdańsk–West Prussia District, as well as the choice of Hitler's 'state' sculptor proved how it was deemed important to commemorate Copernicus.¹³⁷

In Silesia, ceremonies connected with the Copernicus jubilee were prepared by the Stiftung Oberschlesien in consultation with the local administrative and party authorities. On 23 May, in the village of Köppernig (Koperniki, Nysa District) from which the ancestors of Copernicus originated, president F. Bracht unveiled a commemorative plaque on the local school's facade by Silesian painter and sculptor P. Lipp. Local youths prepared a performance, and a film dedicated to the astronomer was shown.¹³⁸ The Copernican celebrations in the Reich District

¹³⁶ E. Klee, op. cit., p. 552. Thorak made a statue of Copernicus, but he did not manage to install it in Toruń. In 1950 during the presentation of his works in his hometown Salzburg, the statue was exhibited in a park and has been standing there ever since.

¹³⁷ AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 847; Thorner Freiheit, nr 42 z 19 II 1943 r., p. 6; nr 108 z 10 V 1943 r., p. 3; nr 120 z 24 V 1943 r., p. 3; nr 121 z 25 V 1943 r., p. 3; M. Niedzielska, op. cit., p. 685–690; P. Birecki, op. cit., pp. 94–96.

¹³⁸ AP-Katowice, Zarząd Powinowojalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942–1945, sygn. 4363; Oberschlesische Zeitung, nr 141 z 23 V 1943 r., *Oberschlesien ehrt Nikolaus Kopernikus, Ein ostdeut-*

Wartheland River were much more modest: an event commemorating the 400th anniversary of the death of Copernicus was organised in the university hall on 24 May 1943. It consisted mainly of lectures devoted to the life and work of the astronomer. In the pages of the 'Ostdeutscher Beobachter', an extensive article was published, titled *Nikolaus Kopernikus, deutscher Denker und Forscher (Nicolaus Copernicus, German Thinker and Researcher)*.¹³⁹

In the context of the preparation of cultural events, it should be mentioned that much of it happened in cooperation with, or under the patronage of, the National Socialist 'Kraft durch Freude'¹⁴⁰ organisation, which was particularly active in the field of popularizing theatre shows and music events. In consultation with the workplace and in cooperation with local cultural organisations, it dealt among others with the distribution of concessionary tickets for the theatre and for concerts.

For example, in the period from 1 January 1940 to 31 May 1942, the balance of cultural events organised under the patronage of the KdF in the Reich District Gdańsk–West Prussia looked as follows: the number of theatrical performances – 946, number of participants – 354,965; 'variété' performances – 1655, number of participants – 650,000; concerts – 327, number of participants – 144,220 (not counting events organised for the army).¹⁴¹

The rather dynamic German cultural life in the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich cannot obscure the fact that everyone involved was engaged in the service of the totalitarian ideology. German artists were brought to the role of officials as 'propaganda soldiers' obliged to care for the interests of the state in its implementation of the Nazi cultural policy. Putting such an important task upon the artists made them the centre of attention of the Nazi decision-makers who strictly controlled their work. The effect of government interference in cultural creativity was to subvert its ideological influence, and to integrate it with the propaganda apparatus. For artists, it meant the loss of the basic attribute of their profession: creative freedom. The far-reaching control over artistic creativity caused that the products of culture were devoid of innovation and diversity. It is impossible to determine unequivocally which artists active for the Third Reich had an exclusively opportunistic attitude, and who supported the Nazi regime out of conviction.

sches Schicksal, Ein Deutscher aus ober-schlesischem Stamm i nr 142 z 24 V 1943 r., *Vorbild des kämpferischen deutschen Menschen, Oberschlesien feiert Kopernikus*.

¹³⁹ Ostdeutscher Beobachter, nr 141 z 23 V 1943 r., p. 3, 4; nr 143 z 25 1943 r., p. 4; nr 144 z 26 V 1943 r., p. 4.

¹⁴⁰ See more: W. Buchholz, *Die nationalsozialistische Gemeinschaft "Kraft durch Freude." Freizeitgestaltung und Arbeiterschaft im Dritten Reich*, München 1976.

¹⁴¹ AP-Toruń, AmT 1939–1945, sygn. 762, Der Gauring. Mitteilungsblatt des Gauringes Danzig–Westpreussen der NSDAP, Nummer 4–5/1942, pp. 15–16.

CONCLUSION

The main goals which stemmed from the Nazi cultural policies resulted directly from the ideological basis of the totalitarian system. The functioning of culture and its inclusion in the service of a totalitarian ideology is not an isolated case, but a phenomenon characteristic of all totalitarian states, even of those of a different colour than the National Socialists. From the incorporation of western, northern and southern areas of Poland into the Third Reich, the German occupation authorities consistently pursued previously developed cultural policy postulations, which constituted an important pillar of national policy in these areas.

As one of the conditions necessary for the realization of national policy, the German occupiers intended the total and absolute destruction of all existing forms of Polish culture, in the personal, the organisational as well as material field. The struggle against Polish culture was carried out in Greater Poland, in Pomerania, and in Upper Silesia with an iron consistency. The essence of this action can be summed up with the words on the blackboard at the German Culture Centre in Munich: 'Kein Volk lebt länger als die Dokumente seiner Kultur'¹ (No nation lives longer than the documents of its culture). At the same time, the process of organizing German cultural life was rapidly undertaken in the Polish territories annexed by the Third Reich.

Both the creators of and participants in culture were exclusively German. In the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich, this was not a homogeneous national group; it was diversified in terms of origin and mentality, and therefore the recipients of culture were also different. A privileged position in the occupation system was occupied by Germans from the Reich and the Free City of Gdańsk, who enjoyed the full civil rights of all German residents of the 'old Reich'. The occupation authorities had doubts about the political attitude and loyalty of the Volksdeutsche and German settlers from Eastern European countries, so they did not entrust them with lucrative positions in the power structure. This situation led to the rise of animosity within the German community and was not conducive to building the so-called national community (Volksgemeinschaft).

¹ J. Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation*, Frankfurt am Main-Berlin 1989, fot. 1.

The group of culture recipients expanded with the introduction of new provisions on the list of German nationals. According to German civil law, from March 1941, Poles admitted on this DVL formally had the rights and duties of the German population. In reality, on some levels these rights were somewhat limited, but that did not apply to cultural access. Poles were not excluded from participating in German cultural life. However, it is impossible to state unambiguously whether indeed and to what extent they did participate in German culture. Despite being entered on the list, the facts are that the vast majority of Poles on the DVL did not renounce Polish nationality, and did not identify with Germany. It is difficult to assume that they willingly used the cultural offer addressed to Germans. Post-war relations and memories of Poles living in the Polish lands incorporated into the Third Reich indicate that the Polish population, for patriotic reasons, did not resort to taking part in the various forms of German cultural life. What is more, the complete elimination of Polish culture led Poles to undertake conspiratorial attempts to create a substitute, including through the secret distribution of Polish literature. In addition, the majority of the Polish population lived in rural areas, where access to the German cultural events, mainly organised in cities, was limited. At this point it is worth noting that an important remaining research task is the attempt to present the cultural situation in the countryside. Polish children obliged to study at German public schools participated in cultural events organised by the Hitler-Jugend schools and organisations, but this was a duty and not an initiative of their parents.

The unequal treatment of individual groups of the German population by the occupation authorities did not have a clear impact on the cultural policies implemented within the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich. Furthermore, the differences in culture and mentality within the German community were not stressed in the culture sector. The recipients of culture constituted a spatially scattered community, but the cultural message focused on them was uniform. Although local initiatives in shaping German cultural life in Pomerania, Upper Silesia, and Greater Poland took into account cultural patterns based on a sense of attachment to a given region, they did not diverge from the basic canons of cultural policy of the authorities of the Third Reich. The forms of implementing cultural policy in individual administrative units in the annexed Polish areas did not create sets of separate ideas. The high degree of standardization of culture in terms of content and form led inexorably to the creation of a society with one monolithic culture. On top of that, one may be tempted to say that the Nazi cultural policy propagated in a sense a model of mass culture, because the cultural message was addressed to a mass audience. Forced cultural uniformity served to consolidate the nation and also fostered the illusion of a powerful and strong National Socialist state, an integral part of which were the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich. Mass participation in various cultural undertakings created the impression of social acceptance for the policy implemented by the authorities.

The culture management system in the Third Reich was strictly centralized and institutionalized. However, it was not altogether uniform, because of the significant number of both state and party offices and institutions which were involved in the implementation of cultural policy. They co-existed not without friction against a background of competence and ambition, causing a certain confusion in their ongoing cultural activities. At the level of district authorities, cultural policy was the responsibility of heads of individual administrative units, i.e. governors (superiors). However, I believe that the most important – if not decisive – influence on the shaping and implementation of cultural policy was exerted by the party organs. Party officials were part of all local institutions active in cultural life. Every major cultural event took place with their participation and often they themselves initiated them.

Cultural institutions that contributed to the creation of social bonds based on shared aesthetic experiences were recognized by Nazi decision-makers as 'spiritual powers' and at the same time as effective means of influencing a relatively large group of people. Such important cultural policy tools had to be wielded by people who could be completely trusted. The most solid personnel and organisational base for the implementation of German cultural policies existed in Silesia. Before 1939, the most numerous and the most active German cultural environment in pre-war Poland operated there, and could continue to operate after the war's outbreak. In the Reich Districts Land of the Warta River and Gdańsk–West Prussia, the chief positions in cultural institutions were mainly taken up by Germans imported from the Third Reich, and less frequently by the Volksdeutsche.

The basis of the creative environment in the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich were primarily German artists living in pre-war Poland. Soon, their ranks were increased with Volksdeutsche artists from other occupied countries of Europe, and Germans from within the Reich. The last of these groups was the least numerous, because few decided to leave their previous places of residence and settle in the annexed Polish lands. With the influx of new creators, the problem of their integration emerged; to ensure their successful implementation of team projects. This goal was to be achieved primarily through new cultural organisations within the creative environments and professions. Workers in the culture sector in the Third Reich, including the annexed Polish areas, were under pressure from the state apparatus through its wide range of tools inducing them to work creatively for National Socialism. The Nazi policy towards artists was based on the 'carrot and stick' principle. On the one hand, the state patronage offered the possibility of a brilliant and fast-developing career with an extensive system of rewards, while on the other, the authorities applied various pressure instruments to the artists. The guest performances of established artists from Altreich, alone or as part of a larger event, served to make the cultural life more attractive in the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich.

Although it is certain that the creators of culture, as intermediaries between the authorities and society, participated in the propagation of Nazi ideas, the question of their attitudes and personal views remains a complex problem. What motivated the 'treason of the intelligentsia, in other words – referring to the title of Julien Benda's famous manifesto from 1927 – their joining and serving the ideology? It would be unfair to say that all artists propagated Nazism with genuine conviction and commitment and believed in its rightness. To be sure, subservient attitudes prevailed; the willingness to stay active in their profession at the price of following the National Socialist order, but it is difficult to define the individual motives prompting them to follow the direction designated by the authorities. Did the artists align themselves to Nazi cultural policy as a result of powerlessness, and the purely opportunist attitude of the opportunity to work with material rewards? Or did they perhaps work with calculation in the desire for a fast career trajectory? Due to the specificity of existence in totalitarian conditions, human motives and attitudes remain extremely complex and this requires more detailed analyses. Further research is also required concerning the post-war fate of German artists from the territories annexed by the Third Reich.

Society was primarily targeted with contemporary cultural products that met the expectations of the National Socialist authorities and their strictly selected values of German cultural heritage, which – in my opinion – somewhat masked the miserable level of 'achievements' of Nazi artists. The guiding principle of all culture-forming activity was to translate the basic assumptions of Nazi ideology into the 'language' of culture. Cultural products were not evaluated by authorities in aesthetic terms, but following the utilitarian parameter, as important components of the propaganda and indoctrination system. Nazi art was typical *Herrschaftskunst*: art in the service of power. No cultural sphere was free from the interference of state and party bodies which influenced all stages and mechanisms of creativity. Although there were no clear guidelines as to what the National Socialist cultural creation should look like, the most important slogans included the mysticism of 'blood and soil' (*Blut und Boden*), justifying the theory about the *deutscher Kulturboden*: the alleged Germanic origin of the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich. Then there was the cult of the charismatic leader, the glorification of the Germanic race, its heroic character, its racism and militarism. In addition, cultural products had to be communicated on a mass scale. The authorities supported chiefly those areas of cultural creativity which most effectively reached the senses of the recipients, which aroused emotions and influenced moods, allowing for specific reactions and social behaviour. It was characteristic for cultural initiatives that they were presented as a continuation of earlier, usually 19th-century German projects. Pointing to real or presumed traces of old German culture served to strengthen the thesis about the *deutscher Kulturboden*, which in turn, at the political level, translated into the justification of German territorial claims and aggression against Poland. At the same time, at every opportunity the Nazi propa-

ganda apparatus depreciated Poles as creators of culture, propagated the cultural dependence of the Polish nation, a dependence on German culture.

Attempting to rank the cultural institutions from the point of view of the extent and effectiveness of propagandist and indoctrinative impact will at its top find the theatre that, according to Goebbels' postulate, was to 'take care of both world view and entertainment,'² with emphasis on the first. It was the authorities' task to demolish the image of the theatre as an elitist institution intended for a selective, intellectually educated audience. Instead, the spectators were taken from various social and professional circles; hence, for example, a system of closed performances for groups of workers, for political organisations or for the army was introduced. Giving the theatre the status of a publicly accessible institution, opening it to a diverse audience required a repertoire that would be attractive not only to the more 'enlightened' part of society. Theatres basically offered the same theatrical repertoire, in which – following the tastes of the audience – gradually more and more space was given to light entertainment. The classics of German dramaturgy and the works of contemporary German authors with a clear propagandistic colour did not inspire much enthusiasm among the viewers. Attention should also be drawn to the influence of the zealotry of the occupiers on music culture, with the popularisation of a repertoire that strongly influenced the emotional sphere of the human psyche, triggering specific moods and emotions, stimulating specific reactions and behaviours. A wide range of music was on offer to the public. A fitting musical repertoire accompanied various ceremonies and public events, and concerts for a wide audience were an excellent opportunity to sustain and strengthen the 'national community'.

The promotion of German culture and the cultural activation of the inhabitants of the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich brought about cultural events on a mass scale, i.e. intended for the widest possible public. All of them, however, had a political subtext, for example the Days of Theatre, Days of Music, Days of Literature.

The German occupation policy, and with it the cultural policy, were subject to certain transformations that resulted from the developments in the war. In the first period of occupation, the German authorities showed special creativity in the area of building organisational structures for the promotion of German culture. They were eager to create the impression that on the Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich there existed an intense German cultural life, one that fully corresponded to the Nazi cultural policies. The Third Reich's defeat at Stalingrad did not greatly affect the development of German cultural life within the annexed Polish territories. It even seems that the numerous cultural activities in the final phase of the war were supposed to create the appearance of stabilisation, and divert public attention from the impending total defeat of the Third Reich. In

² *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik. Band 1: Die nationalsozialistische Revolution 1933*, Berlin 1939, p. 325.

connection with this, one can see a certain liberalisation of cultural policy as far as indoctrination and propaganda are concerned. Political and ideological content took a back seat, and the culture on offer was dominated by comedy and light entertainment. The comparison of the assumptions of the Nazi cultural policy with their implementation leads to the conclusion that the occupiers' actions were thoughtful and coherent.

There were no major differences between the cultural policy implemented by the authorities of the Reich District Land of the Warta River, the Reich District Gdańsk–West Prussia, and the Reich District of Katowice. The governments of these administrative units consistently followed the guidelines of the central authorities in the organisation of cultural life, which supported the process of integration of the nation on the basis of Nazi ideology. It is necessary to try to determine the effectiveness of German cultural policy implemented within the areas of Poland annexed by the Third Reich. A superficial observation of German cultural life may give the false picture that the process of incorporating the Polish territories into the Third Reich was achieved not only by shifting borders, but also by shifting people's inner life. Everywhere, the symbols of Polishness were removed; only German cultural institutions functioned, and a uniform canon of artistic creation was in force. However, it is difficult to determine what the degree of vulnerability of the inhabitants of Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich was to the National Socialist slogans 'sneaked' into cultural products; how much they were manipulated by cultural policy, and whether the social reception of cultural content met the expectations of the occupation authorities. An attempt to answer these questions requires acknowledging the diversity of the cultural consumers, depending on, among others, age, level of education, and affiliation to a specific social or professional environment. We must also remember to take into account the nationality factor, because – as has already been pointed out – the Poles admitted to the German National list could (and should, according to the authorities) participate in German cultural life. However, considering the intensity behind the cultural policies, it is certain that it played an important role in everyday life, and in the process of creating a new reality in areas that were 'restored to Germany'. Indoctrination through culture was insistent and systematic; it encompassed a wide range of society; thus, in such conditions it was difficult to remain immune to Nazi demagogy. In addition, there was no possibility of openly manifesting any opposition to the cultural policy pursued, because the authorities actively suppressed independent thinking and any manifestations of criticism. The content of culture harnessed in the propaganda service must have enacted a significant change in the consciousness of German society, as the ideological persuasion exercised through culture sanctioned the views and priorities of the authorities. Considering the Polish population, it must be stressed that despite the extermination of Polish intellectual elites, and the plunder and destruction of the cultural heritage of the Pol-

ish nation, Poles did not become fascinated with German culture and were never reduced to uncritical victims of the occupier's propaganda.

In 1945, the twelve-year process of building the 'Great German Reich' lay in ruins. The fiasco also ended the six-year German (military and) cultural expansion on the Polish territories annexed by the Third Reich. For the Polish inhabitants of these territories, it had been extremely destructive in nature, because it entailed the absolute elimination of all forms of Polish culture, and the inhibition of all forms of Polish cultural life, which in a sense resulted in an interruption of national culture. Some of the Polish cultural commodities were irrevocably destroyed by the occupier and others were plundered, and despite the revindication campaign carried out after the war, many of them could not be found and recovered. The propaganda and indoctrination activities that were at the heart of the Nazi cultural policy were intense but short-lived. Post-war denazification – although it had its weaknesses – nevertheless largely eradicated the effects of Nazi propaganda and indoctrination from German public life.

Looking at the 'achievements' of Nazi cultural policy, one must also take into account the aesthetic point of view. I will not attempt to value or validate the products of Nazi culture as far as artistry and aesthetics are concerned, but the opinions of experts have indicated that it was 'artistic trash'. In addition, Nazi cultural creativity was ephemeral, because it could not boast of any significant or timeless achievements. Although German museums have Nazi art in their collections, the question arises whether they should even be displayed. Personally, I share the position of those who claim that the artistic legacy of the Third Reich can be shown in public as a form of confrontation with the period of Nazism, but only if the exhibits are accompanied by an explicit historical commentary.

The question may be asked whether the Nazi cultural policy focusing on the implementation of the National Socialist view and of Germanisation efforts deserves scientific attention at all. In my opinion, the answer to this question must be affirmative, because with the German national policy forced on the areas of Poland annexed by the Third Reich, all of its dimensions must be measured, including the cultural dimension. I am aware of the imperfections of this publication, but I believe that it can well serve as the basis for further detailed studies, including the research postulates formulated in this summary.

APPENDIX

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GERMAN CULTURAL IN THE YEARS 1939–1945

- Albrecht** Hans (1902–1961): from June 1940 to September 1940 the plenipotentiary of the Minister of Education for the Music in the Reich District Wartheland (Beauftragte des Reichserziehungsministeriums für die Neuordnung der Musikpflege im Reichsgau Wartheland).
- Bautze** Adolf (born in 1897): a German conductor, from August 1940 the municipal plenipotentiary for musical affairs in Łódź and the head of the Łódź branch of the Reich Propaganda Office (Leiter des Reichspropagandaamtes, Zweigstelle Litzmannstadt), the creator of the German municipal symphonic orchestra in Łódź.
- Blumensaat** Georg (1901–1945): from the autumn of 1940 to August 1942 the state counsellor for musical affairs (Staatlicher Musikberater) in the Reich District Wartheland, in the years 1940–45 the head of Gaumusikschule (The District Music School in Poznań).
- Boeck** Adalbert (born 1889): the head of Department III of Education, Culture and Care for the Community (Erziehung, Unterricht, Kultur und Gemeinschaftspflege) in the office of commissioner of the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia.
- Boss** Walther (born in 1911): the plenipotentiary for cultural matters of the board of the NSDAP district (Gaukulturbeauftragte) in Silesia, from 31 October 1942 the plenipotentiary of the high president Fritz Bracht for cultural affairs (Kulturbeauftragter des Gauleiters).
- Dannot** Paul (1890–1943): a German painter, from February 1941 the president of the Exhibition Society Gdańsk–West Prussia (Ausstellungsgemeinschaft Danzig–Westpreussen).
- Diewerge** Wolfgang (1906–1977): from the end of December 1939 to mid-1940 and from the end of September 1943 to the end of the occupation the home plenipotentiary for cultural affairs (Landeskulturwarter) of the Reich Chamber of Culture and the district head of the Reich Propaganda Office of the NSDAP of the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia.

- Drost** Willi (1892–1964): German historian of art, in the years 1938–1945 the head of Stadtmuseum (the City Museum) in Gdańsk, in the years 1939–1945 the state museum curator in Gdańsk (Staatlicher Museumspfleger) in the office of commissioner of the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia. At the end of WWII he contributed to the process of securing museum collections against the upcoming front. Until the autumn of 1946 he remained in Gdańsk and helped Polish scholars to find deposited museum collections
- Fiala** Hans (1884–1945): a German actor, opera and operetta singer, from March 1942 to 30 June 1942 he was the commissary of the German theatre in Toruń, next employed in the Plauen theatre (Saxony).
- Förster** Wolfram: from August 1941 to October 1941 the vice-president of the organization Oberschlesischer Heimatbund (the Upper Silesian Union of Homeland Territories), next its president.
- Frenzel** Walther (1892–1941): a German archaeologist, from March 1940 he headed the board of municipal museums in Łódź, from January 1941 to March 1941 the head of Stadtmuseum (the City Museum) in Łódź.
- Freytmuth** Otto (1892–1957): a German librarian, historian of architecture and ethnographer, in the years 1940–1944 he was the head of Stadtbücherei (the City Library) in Toruń. He saved the precious Polish publications from destruction. In mid-1944 upon the evacuation orders he sent to the State Archive in Marburg 35 cases including the most valuable prints; leaving Toruń at the end of 1944 he deliberately left in his desk the exact lists of the content of the cases along with the destination addresses where they had been sent.
- Frick** Otto: a German architect, from April 1941 the plenipotentiary of the Reich Chamber of Visual Arts (Landesleiter der Reichskammer der bildenden Künste) in the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia
- Goergens** August: in the autumn of 1939 the so called permanent representative of the home plenipotentiary for cultural affairs (ständige Vertreter des Landeskulturwalters), the head of the music society Konzertring Danzig–Westpreussen (Touring Concerts Gdańsk–West Prussia), and from February 1942 he ran the organization Kulturwerk Deutsches Ordensland (The Cultural Masterpiece of the German Teutonic State) in the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia, from January 1944 the head of Nationalsozialistisches Volkskulturwerk Danzig–Westpreussen.
- Grabau** Paul: from August 1943 the plenipotentiary of the Reich Chamber of Writing (Landesleiter der Reichsschrifttumskammer) in the Reich District Wartheland.
- Grünberg** Walter (died in 1943): a German archeologist, from March 1941 to 1943 the commissary head of Stadtmuseum (The City Museum) in Łódź, from September 1942 the head of Vorgeschichtliches Museum (The Prehistoric Museum) in Łódź.

- Hayduk** Alfons (1900–1972): a German writer, from April 1942 the plenipotentiary of the Reich Chamber of Writing (Landesleiter der Reichsschrifttumskammer) in Upper Silesia.
- Heier** Willy (1902–1970): a German graphic designer and drawer, the co-creator of Kattowitzer Künstlergruppe (the Katowice Artistic Group), the organizer of numerous painting exhibitions under the auspices of the NSDAP District in Katowice.
- Hesse** Hans (1893–1954): a German actor and theatre director from Estonia, in the years 1940–1944 the head of the German theatre in Łódź.
- Heyser** Karl Peter (1903–1978): a German actor and director, from August 1940 to July 1943 the head of Reichsgautheater Posen (The Reich District Theatre in Poznań).
- Huber** Heinz (1874–1957): in the years 1939–1944 the commissary of the German theatre in Bytom.
- Hurrle** Curth (1907–1974): a German conductor, from March the commissary of the German theatre in Gliwice.
- Kaehler** Wolfgang: in the summer of 1942 he replaced M. Tobien in the position of the commissary head of the touring theatre in the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia.
- Kate** Georg (ur. 1905): from August 1941 to October the head of the organization Oberschlesischer Heimatbund (The Upper-Silesian Union of Homeland Territories), next its vice-president, from September 1941 the president of the foundation Stiftung Oberschlesien (The Foundation of Upper Silesia).
- Kauder** Victor (1899–1985): a German engineer, librarian, plenipotentiary of the HTO responsible for taking over the Polish book collections in The Reich District of Katowice, from December 1939 the head of Oberschlesische Landesbibliothek (The Upper Silesian National Library) in Katowice, from 1 April 1940 the head of the State Library Post (Staatliche Volksbüchereistelle, Staatliche Bücherei-beratungsstelle) in Katowice and the head of Stadtbücherei (The City Library) in Katowice.
- Klar** Fritz (ur. 1894): from 1941 the head of the Department of Propaganda (Gaugropagandaleiter) in the District Board of the NSDAP in Upper Silesia, in April 1941 he became the head of the so called Gaukulturring set up by the high-president Fritz Bracht, from August 1942 the national plenipotentiary for cultural matters (Landeskulturwalter) for Upper Silesia.
- Kliewer** Karl: a German director, from January 1941 to March 1944 the plenipotentiary of the Reich Theatre Chamber (Landesleiter der Reichstheaterkammer) the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia, from September 1943 the head of the German theatre in Grudziądz.
- Koch** Wolfgang Helmut (1904–1987): a German conductor, from August 1940 the plenipotentiary of the Reich Music Chamber (Landesleiter der Reichsmusikkammer) the Reich District Wartheland, from August 1942 the state

- counsellor for musical affairs (Staatlicher Musikberater) in the Reich District Wartheland, from September 1942 the head of the institution Wartheländische Musikerziehungswerk.
- Kojetinsky** Max (1906–1986): a German conductor and pianist, from July 1942 the municipal music director (Städtischer Musikdirektor) in Torun, the director of the municipal symphonic orchestra, from the autumn of 1942 the headmaster of the Torun music school.
- Kothe** Konrad (1882–1954): a German ethnographer, doctor of Philosophy, in the years 1940–1945 the head of Stadtmuseum (The City Museum) in Bydgoszcz. He saved paintings by Polish painters collected in the museum.
- Köhler** Karl (ur. 1899): a German conductor, in the years 1943–1944 the municipal music director (Städtischer Musikdirektor) in Poznań and the director of the opera house in Reichsgautheater Posen (The Reich District Theatre in Poznań).
- Köhne** Carl Ernst: from March 1941 to October 1943 the museum curator in the Reich District Wartheland (Museumspfleger des Reichsgaues Wartheland).
- Krannhals** Detlef (1911–1970): a German writer and historian, doctor of Philosophy, from February 1941 the plenipotentiary of the Reich Chamber of Writing (Landesleiter der Reichsschrifttumskammer) in the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia.
- Krupka** Wolfram (ur. 1903): a German writer, from April 1940 to June 1943 the plenipotentiary of the Reich Chamber of Writing (Landesleiter der Reichsschrifttumskammer) in the Reich District Wartheland, next from July 1943 the leading playwright of the Kiev opera.
- Lipp** Peter (1902–1975): a German sculptor, painter, from February 1942 the plenipotentiary of the Reich Chamber of Visual Arts (Landesleiter der Reichskammer der bildenden Künste) in Upper Silesia, the president of Künstlerbund Oberschlesien (The Union of Artists of Upper Silesia).
- Löbsack** Wilhelm (1908–1959): from mid-1940 to 1942 the head of the Propaganda Office of the NSDAP in the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia and the national plenipotentiary for cultural affairs (Landeskulturwalter) in the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia; called ‘Goebbels von Danzig’ (Goebbels from Gdańsk).
- Lubrich** Fritz (1888–1971): a German composer, conductor, organist, the head of the Meisterscher Gesangverein choir (The Singing Society under the name of Meister) in Katowice, from September 1941 the deputy of the national counsellor for musical affairs (Staatlicher Musikberater) in The Reich District of Katowice, from October 1943 the national counsellor for musical affairs in The Reich District of Katowice, in the years 1940–1945 the head of the German theater in the conservatoire in Katowice, in 1942 the winner of Oberschlesische Musikpreis (The Upper Silesian Music Award).

- Lüdtke** Franz (1882–1945): a German writer, the president of Wartheländische Dichterkreis (The Poetic Circle of Wartheland).
- Maul** Wilhelm (ur. 1903): in the years 1939–1945 the head of the Propaganda Office of the NSDAP in the Reich District Wartheland and the national plenipotentiary for cultural affairs (Landeskulturwalter) in the Reich District Wartheland, from January 1941 the head of the organization Kulturring Reichsgau Wartheland (The Cultural Association of the Reich District Wartheland), from October 1941 the head of Gemeinschaft zur Förderung der Deutschen Kunst im Reichsgau Wartheland (The Association for Supporting German Art in the Reich District Wartheland).
- Meyer** Hans Bernhard (1898–1982): a German historian of art and folklorist, from December 1940 the head of Stadtmuseum (The City Museum) in Grudziądz.
- Modes** Theodor Anton (1888–1962): a German actor and director, from July 1942 to June 1943 the commissary head of the German theatre in Toruń.
- Peter** Erich (1901–1987): a German conductor, the plenipotentiary of the Reich Music Chamber (Landesleiter der Reichsmusikkammer) in Upper Silesia, the music director (Musikalischer Oberleiter) in the theatre in Bytom, the head of the Bytom chamber theatrical orchestra (Orchester des Oberschlesischen Landes-theaters Beuthen), in 1941 the winner of Oberschlesische Musikpreis (The Upper Silesian Music Award).
- Pfützenreiter** Franz (1888–1968): a German archeologist, in the years 1934–1945 the director of Landesmuseum Beuthen (The National Museum in Bytom).
- Platen** Horst (1884–1964): a German conductor, composer, director, from July 1943 to the end of the occupation the commissary head of the German theatre in Toruń.
- Prenzloff** Kurt: from April 1944 the plenipotentiary of the Reich Theatre Chamber (Landesleiter der Reichstheaterkammer) in the Reich District Gdańsk–West Prussia.
- Rainer** Hans (born in 1890): from December 1941 the commissary head of the touring theatre in the Reich District Wartheland.
- Raschke** Georg (1903–1973): a German archeologist, from April 1941 the state museum curator in Upper Silesia (Staatlicher Museumspfleger Oberschlesiens).
- Reissert** Günther (1907–1941): a German actor, from May 1940 to December 1941 the commissary head of the touring theatre in the Reich District Wartheland.
- Rühle** Siegfried (1887–1964): a German museologist, a notice for museum affairs in Department III in the office of the commissioner of the Reich District Wartheland, from October 1939 the director of Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum (The Museum of Emperor Frederick) in Poznań, from January 1944 the museum curator in the Reich District Wartheland (Museumspfleger des Reichsgaues Wartheland).
- Salewski** Willy: the head of the State Library Post (Staatliche Volksbüchereistelle, Staatliche Büchereiberatungsstelle) in the Reich District Wartheland, from De-

- ember 1940 the director of Städtische Volksbücherei (The Municipal Public Library) in Poznań.
- Schwamberger** Adolf (1905–1975): a German historian, archivist, in the years 1939–1944 the head of the municipal office of culture (Kulturamt) in Toruń and the director of Städtisches Museum (The City Museum) in Toruń.
- Socnik** Hugo: a state counsellor for music affairs (Staatlicher Musikberater) in the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia, probably also the plenipotentiary of the Reich Music Chamber (Landesleiter der Reichsmusikkammer) in the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia, the president of Gemeinschaft für alte Musik (Association of Old Music) in the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia.
- Staeger** Otto Erich: from February 1940 to July 1942 the municipal music director (Städtischer Musikdirektor) in Toruń, the organizer and the director of the German municipal symphonic orchestra in Toruń, the organizer and director of Städtische Musikschule (The City Music School) in Toruń.
- Strecke** Gerhard (1890–1968): a German composer, music teacher, from September 1941 the state counsellor for music affairs (Staatlicher Musikberater) in the Reich District of Katowice, from October 1943 the deputy of the state counsellor for music affairs in The Reich District of Katowice, in 1943 the winner of Oberschlesische Musikpreis (The Upper Silesian Music Award).
- Tobien** Max: from the autumn of 1940 to the summer of 1942 the commissary head of the touring theatre in the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia.
- Tügel** Hans (1894–1984): a German actor and director, from September 1940 the main director in Reichsgautheater Posen (The Reich District Theatre in Poznań), from April 1941 the plenipotentiary of the Reich Theatre Chamber in the Reich District Wartheland.
- Voigt** Heinrich: a German actor and director, in the years 1940–1944 the head of the German theatre in Bydgoszcz.
- Voltenauer** Rudolf: a German architect, the plenipotentiary of the Reich Chamber of Visual Arts (Landesleiter der Reichskammer der bildenden Künste) in the Reich District Wartheland.
- Wartisch** Otto (1893–1969): a German conductor and composer, in the years 1940–1944 he was the head of the symphonic orchestra in Katowice and held the office of the commissary head of Städtische Bühnen Kattowitz–Königshütte (City Stages Katowice–Chorzów).
- Wächter** Bruno: from September 1940 the commissary head of the German theatre in Bielsko, from June 1942 the plenipotentiary of the Reich Theatre Chamber (Landesleiter der Reichstheaterkammer) in Upper Silesia.

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STRESZCZENIE

Polityka kulturalna niemieckich władz okupacyjnych w Okręgu Rzeszy Gdańsk–Prusy Zachodnie, w Okręgu Rzeszy Kraj Warty i w Rejencji Katowickiej w latach 1939–1945

Słowa kluczowe: okupacja niemiecka 1939–1945, polskie ziemie wcielone do Trzeciej Rzeszy, nazizm, nazistowska polityka kulturalna, Ministerstwo Oświecenia Narodowego i Propagandy Rzeszy (Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda), Ministerstwo Rzeszy do Spraw Nauki, Wychowania i Oświaty (Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung), Izba Kultury Rzeszy (Reichskulturkammer), Joseph Goebbels, Alfred Rosenberg, Albert Forster, Artur Greiser, eksterminacja 1939–1945, grabież polskiej kultury 1939–1945, niemieckie biblioteki 1939–1945, niemieckie muzea 1939–1945, niemieckie teatry 1939–1945, niemieckie środowisko plastyczne 1939–1945, niemieckie życie literackie 1939–1945, niemiecka kultura muzyczna 1939–1945.

Dnia 1 września 1939 r. nastąpiła agresja Trzeciej Rzeszy na Polskę. Po kilkutygodniowych walkach wojska niemieckie zajęły znaczną część ziem polskich. Na mocy dekretu Adolfa Hitlera o „strukturze i administracji terenów wschodnich” z 8 października 1939 r. zachodnie, północne i południowe obszary państwa polskiego zostały wcielone do Trzeciej Rzeszy. Ich pełną integrację z państwem niemieckim zamierzano przeprowadzić za pomocą różnorodnych metod i środków. Siła tkwiąca w możliwościach, jakie daje sterowanie świadomością społeczeństwa za pomocą kultury, sprawiła, że znalazła się wśród nich polityka kulturalna. Ten także ważny element niemieckiej polityki narodowościowej, realizowanej przez okupanta niemieckiego na zaanektowanych polskich obszarach, nie był dotychczas przedmiotem szczegółowych badań ani historyków polskich ani niemieckich. W większości opracowań dotyczących II wojny światowej problemy życia kulturalnego ustępują miejsca innym ważnym wydarzeniom, związanym przede wszystkim z historią polityczną.

Niniejsza publikacja podejmuje próbę określenia celów, założeń oraz sposobów realizacji polityki kulturalnej (Kulturpolitik), którą okupant niemiecki prowadził w Okręgu Rzeszy Gdańsk–Prusy Zachodnie (Reichsgau Danzig–Westpreussen),

w Okręgu Rzeszy Kraj Warty (Reichsgau Wartheland) i w Rejencji Katowickiej (Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz). Wstępem do gruntownej charakterystyki niemieckiego życia kulturalnego na wcielonych do Trzeciej Rzeszy ziemiach polskich stała się analiza założeń nazistowskiej polityki kulturalnej, przedstawionych m.in. w politycznej autobiografii A. Hitlera pt. *Mein Kampf*. Pokróćce omówiono także proces wdrażania ich w życie, czyli przebieg tzw. rewolucji kulturalnej w Trzeciej Rzeszy w latach 1933–1939.

Obraz niemieckiego życia kulturalnego na zaanektowanych przez Trzecią Rzeszę ziemiach polskich autorka nakreśliła z uwzględnieniem dwóch zasadniczych aspektów, tj. kultura jako element składowy niemieckiej polityki narodowościowej oraz integralna część społecznej rzeczywistości. Takie potraktowanie problemu sprawiło, że w pierwszej kolejności konieczne było omówienie stosunku okupanta niemieckiego do kultury polskiej. Likwidacja wszystkich przejawów polskiej kultury, poprzez fizyczne wyeliminowanie jej twórców oraz na skutek zniszczenia i grabieży polskiego mienia kulturalnego, stanowiła pierwszy krok na drodze do urzeczywistnienia niemieckiej polityki kulturalnej w obrębie inkorporowanych przez Trzecią Rzeszę ziem polskich. Przedstawiając formy oraz organizację niemieckiego życia kulturalnego, autorka uwzględniła: lokalne władze administracyjne i partyjne odpowiedzialne za realizację polityki kulturalnej, okręgowe organizacje ogólnokulturalne, takie jak: Kulturwerk Deutsches Ordensland w Okręgu Rzeszy Gdańsk–Prusy Zachodnie, Kulturring Reichsgau Wartheland w Okręgu Rzeszy Kraj Warty i Stiftung Oberschlesien w Rejencji Katowickiej, niemieckie instytucje kulturalne, wśród których na czoło wysuwają się placówki biblioteczne, muzealne i teatralne, oraz niemiecką działalność artystyczną, z uwzględnieniem środowiska plastycznego, życia literackiego i kultury muzycznej.

Przygotowana publikacja dopełnia funkcjonujący w historiografii obraz niemieckiej polityki narodowościowej realizowanej na zaanektowanych przez Trzecią Rzeszę obszarach Polski i jest dobrym punktem wyjścia do pogłębionej refleksji interdyscyplinarnej nad problematyką niemieckiej kultury podczas II wojny światowej. Obszerny materiał faktograficzny stanowi również źródło wiedzy dla syntetycznych opracowań dziejów ziem polskich pod okupacją niemiecką.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Kulturpolitik der deutschen Besatzungsmacht im Reichsgau Danzig–Westpreussen, im Reichsgau Wartheland und im Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz in den Jahren 1939–1945

Schlüsselbegriffe: deutsche Besetzung 1939–1945, polnische, ins Deutsche Reich eingegliederte Gebiete, Nazismus, nationalsozialistische Kulturpolitik 1939–1945, Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, Reichskulturkammer, Joseph Goebbels, Alfred Rosenberg, Albert Forster, Artur Greiser, Vernichtung, Raub des kulturellen Besitztums Polens, deutsche Bibliotheken 1939–1945, deutsche Museen 1939–1945, deutsche Theater 1939–1945, deutsches künstlerisches Milieu 1939–1945, deutsches literarisches Leben 1939–1945, deutsche Musikultur 1939–1945.

Am 1. September 1939 fand der Angriff des Dritten Reiches auf Polen statt. Nach wenige Woche dauernden Kämpfen besetzten die Wehrmacht-Truppen einen grossen Teil Polens. Auf Grund des Erlasses des Führers und Reichskanzlers Adolf Hitler über Gliederung und Verwaltung der Ostgebiete vom 8. Oktober 1939 wurden westliche, nördliche und südliche Gebiete des polnischen Staates ins Deutsche Reich eingegliedert. Man hatte vor, die volle Integrierung dieser Gebiete mit Deutschland mit Hilfe von verschiedenen Methoden und Mitteln durchzuführen. Die Kraft, die in den Möglichkeiten steckt, das Bewusstsein der Gesellschaft mittels Kultur zu beeinflussen, verursachte, dass die Kulturpolitik als eine von diesen Möglichkeiten genutzt wurde. Dieser so wichtige Bestandteil der Volkstumspolitik Deutschlands, die von dem deutschen Besatzer auf den eingegliederten Gebieten Polens realisiert wurde, war bisher kein Gegenstand von genaueren Studien sowohl für polnische, als auch für deutsche Historiker. In den meisten Monographien über den 2. Weltkrieg werden Probleme des kulturellen Lebens durch andere wichtige, vor allem mit der politischen Geschichte verbundene Ereignisse in den Schatten gestellt.

Die vorliegende Veröffentlichung versucht Ziele, Voraussetzungen sowie Methoden der Realisierung der Kulturpolitik zu benennen, die der deutsche Besatzer

im Reichsgau Danzig–Westpreussen, Reichsgau Wartheland und in dem Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz realisierte. Die Einleitung in eine grundlegende Charakteristik des deutschen kulturellen Lebens auf den ins Dritte Reich eingegliederten Gebieten Polens war die Analyse der Grundlagen der national-sozialistischen Kulturpolitik, die u.a. in der politischen Autobiographie Adolf Hitlers unter dem Titel *Mein Kampf* dargestellt wurden. Es wurde auch kurz der Prozess der Verwirklichung besprochen, also die sog. Kulturrevolution in dem Dritten Reich in den Jahren 1933–1939.

Das Bild des deutschen Kulturlebens auf den ins Dritte Reich eingegliederten polnischen Gebieten stellte die Autorin unter Berücksichtigung von zwei Hauptaspekten dar, d.h. Kultur als ein Bestandteil der deutschen Volkstumspolitik sowie Kultur als ein integraler Teil der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit. Solche Behandlung dieses Themas forderte, in erster Linie das Verhältnis des deutschen Besetzers zur polnischen Kultur zu besprechen. Die Beseitigung von allen Aspekten der polnischen Kultur durch die physische Vernichtung derer Schöpfer sowie durch Zerstörung und Raub des kulturellen Besitztums Polens waren der erste Schritt zur Verwirklichung der Grundlagen der deutschen Kulturpolitik auf den durch das Dritte Reich einverleibten Gebieten Polens. Bei der Darstellung von Formen und Organisation des deutschen kulturellen Lebens berücksichtigte die Autorin folgendes: lokale, für Realisierung der Kulturpolitik zuständige Verwaltungs- und Parteibehörde, regionale Kulturorganisationen, solche wie: Kulturwerk Deutsches Ordensland im Reichsgau Danzig–Westpreussen, Kulturring Reichsgau Wartheland im Reichsgau Wartheland und Stiftung Oberschlesien in dem Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, deutsche Kulturinstitutionen, unter denen Bibliotheken, Museen und Theater im Vordergrund stehen, unter Berücksichtigung des künstlerischen Milieus, des literarischen Lebens sowie der Musikkultur.

Diese erstellte Publikation ergänzt das in der Historiographie vorhandene Bild der deutschen Nationalitätspolitik, die auf den ins Dritte Reich eingegliederten Gebieten Polens realisiert wurde und bildet einen guten Ausgangspunkt zu tieferen interdisziplinären Überlegungen zur Problematik der deutschen Kultur während des 2. Weltkrieges. Das umfangreiche Tatsachenmaterial bildet auch eine Wissensquelle für synthetische Studien über die Geschichte der polnischen Gebiete unter der deutschen Besatzungsherrschaft.

SUMMARY

Cultural Policy of the Nazi occupying forces in the Reich District Gdansk–West Prussia, the Reich District Wartheland, and the Reich District of Katowice in the years 1939–1945

Keywords: German occupation 1939–1945, Polish lands incorporated into the Third Reich, nazism, Nazi cultural policy, the Ministry of National Enlightenment and Propaganda of the Reich (Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda), The Reich Ministry of Science and Education (Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung), The Reich Chamber of Culture (Reichskulturkammer), Joseph Goebbels, Alfred Rosenberg, Albert Forster, Artur Greiser, the extermination of 1939–1945, plunder of Polish cultural property in 1939–1945, German libraries 1939–1945, German museums 1939–1945, German theatres 1939–1945, German entourage of visual arts 1939–1945, German literary life 1939–1945, German musical culture 1939–1945.

On 1 September 1939, the Third Reich attacked Poland. After a few weeks of fighting, the German army occupied a significant area of the Polish lands. On the strength of Adolf Hitler's decree about „the structure and administration of eastern lands” of 8 October 1939, western, northern and southern areas of the Polish state were incorporated into the Third Reich. Various methods and means were to be employed to guarantee their full integration into the German state, one of them being the cultural policy which facilitated the exertion of influence on social consciousness. This important element of the German national policy carried out by the occupying forces in the annexed lands has not undergone a detailed examination by either Polish or German historians. Most studies concerning WWII address mainly the more important events connected with political history while omitting to discuss cultural issues.

This publication attempts to define the aims, premises and manners used to realise the cultural policy (Kulturpolitik) which the German occupying forces introduced in the Reich District Gdańsk–West Prussia (Reichsgau Danzig–Westpreussen), in the Reich District of the Reichsgau Wartheland and the region of Katowice

(Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz). The introduction to the thorough description of the German cultural life in the lands annexed by Hitler's Germany is made based on an analysis of the assumptions of the Nazi cultural policy presented, for instance, in the political autobiography of Adolf Hitler *Mein Kampf*. The author also briefly discusses the process of the so called cultural revolution in the Third Reich in the years 1933–1939.

The depiction of German cultural life in the Polish lands annexed by the Third Reich is outlined with special emphasis given to two essential aspects: culture as an element of the German nationalistic policy and an integral part of social reality. Thus, in the first place the author discusses the attitude of the German occupying forces towards Polish culture. The first step in implementing German cultural policy in the incorporated areas was the elimination of all signs of Polish culture by exterminating Polish culture makers and plundering Polish intellectual property. Presenting the forms and organisation of German cultural life, the author takes into account the local administrative authorities and political parties responsible for the implementation of the cultural policy; district cultural organisations such as Kulturwerk Deutsches Ordensland in the Reich District of Gdańsk–West Prussia (Reichsgau Danzig–Westpreussen), Kulturring Reichsgau Wartheland in the Reich District of the Reichsgau Wartheland and Stiftung Oberschlesien in the region of Katowice (Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz); German cultural institutions including libraries, museums, theatres; the German artistic activity including visual arts, literary life and musical culture.

The publication is a contribution to the portrayal of the German nationalistic policy in the Polish areas annexed by the Third Reich. It constitutes a starting point for an interdisciplinary reflection over the problem of German culture during World War II. The abundance of factual information provides a source of knowledge for synthetic studies concerning the history of Polish lands in the times of the German occupation.

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Sylwia Grochowina

In 2001 she graduated from history studies at Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. Four years later she obtained a PhD degree in history in the Faculty of Historical Sciences of this university. Since 2006, she has been working as an adjunct at the Institute of History and Archival Studies of Nicolaus Copernicus University. In 2014 she obtained a postdoctoral degree. Her research interests focus on the universal history and

Polish history of the 20th century, with emphasis on the period of German occupation in the Polish territories, in particular: the extermination of the Polish and Jewish population, the history of the Catholic Church and other denominations, German educational and cultural policy, everyday life. Since 1999, she has been cooperating free of charge with the Foundation „Pomeranian Archives of the Home Army and Military Service of Polish Women” in Toruń (currently the General Elżbieta Zawacka Foundation). The most important monographic and source publications of the author include: *Nauczanie dzieci polskich w jawnym niemieckim i tajnym polskim systemie szkolnym w Toruniu w latach 1939–1945* (Toruń 2007); *Szkolnictwo niemieckie w Okręgu Rzeszy Gdańsk – Prusy Zachodnie w latach 1939–1945 (obszar II RP)* (Toruń 2008), *Barbarka. Miejsce niemieckich egzekucji Polaków z Torunia i okolic (październik–grudzień 1939)* (co-author Jan Szilling, Toruń 2009); *Ludwik Kolankowski 1882–1956. Zapiski pamiętnikarskie* [= *Homines et Historia X*], (Toruń 2012); *Polityka kulturalna niemieckich władz okupacyjnych w Okręgu zeszy Gdańsk–Prusy Zachodnie, w Okręgu Rzeszy Kraj Warty i w Rejencji Katowickiej w latach 1939–1945* (Toruń 2013); *Wspomnienia rolników z ziemi chełmińskiej (1851–2012). Rodziny Łęgowskich i Semrau. Do druku przygotowała, wstępem i przypisami opatrzyła Sylwia Grochowina* (Toruń 2014); „*Toruński Holokaust*”. *Losy Żydówek z podobozy KL Stutthof o nazwie Baukommando Weichsel (OT Thorn) w świetle relacji i wspomnień ocalałych ofiar i świadków* (Toruń 2016); ks. Józef Umiński, *Episkopat polski z pierwszej połowy XX wieku. Do druku przygotowali, wstępem i przypisami opatrzyli Sylwia Grochowina i Jan Sziling* (Toruń 2016).

On the first page of the book cover there is a photo from the collection of the District Museum in Toruń, which shows the door leading to the Meeting Room of the City Board in the Town Hall. The door was designed by Will Lütcke and made by Albert Müller, Toruń January 1942, photo: Kurt Grimm (inv.no. Fot. A 1935)

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