

THE UNIQUENESS OF THE GERMAN BARRACKS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE STYLE OF MILITARY ARCHITECTURE IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD

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Abstract

Investments in military-related facilities have always had important ideological connotations. When studying the styles of barracks complexes in Eastern Europe, one can notice two main periods of heightened militarism and identify two related style trends. The large-scale barracks built in the 1880s represent a style infused with national romanticism. In Prussia, for example, it is *Rundbogenstil*, which legitimizes monarchical power and is represented by the barracks designs of Karl Friedrich Schinkel. As a result of the defeat in World War I, this style is compromised by its association with the *Dolchstoss* myth. With the beginning of the 1930s, the tendency to build extensive barracks complexes intensifies again. The buildings erected at that time reflect the tendency to modernize architecture. They are characterized by economy, functional and hygienic layout of rooms and a cubic style. This ideal shines through, for example, the search for a new barracks design carried out in the 1920s in the Second Polish Republic, where modernism had grown into a national style. This tendency is also evident in German barracks, such as those in Wrocław, designed by Otto Salvisberg, and Swiss barracks in Lucerne, designed by Armin Meili. However, due to the tightening of the nationalist rhetoric by the ruling NSDAP, as witnessed by the "*Entartete Kunst*" exhibition held in Munich in 1937, the international style is rejected in Germany, which was unprecedented at the time. A new style is sought, and the *Heimatstil* based on vernacular patterns developed in the 1870s fits in with the populist inclinations of the Third Reich. As a result, the design of barracks complexes sees a return to a simplified historicizing style, which then gives way to buildings that represent the biased national style of *Heimatschutz*, expressing the polarization of public discourse along the lines of: cosmopolitan "them" and domestic "us" [1].

Keywords: nationalism, Heimatstil, Heimatschutz, military architecture, 1930s architecture

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1. INTRODUCTION

This article aims to bridge a research gap in terms of the role of the military edifices and their influence on the progress in the field of contemporary architecture. This article presents changes in the stylistics of military architecture in the course of the 19th and 20th centuries. The importance of the military architecture stems from the fact, that it is the so-called “architecture of power”. It is inseparably linked to political powers because it solely depends on the patronage of the state. It is created to provide a model for the system of structural thought used by a society to conceptualize the world. It is therefore the *architecture parlante* – speaking architecture. Such architecture embodies relations of power, demonstrates the power of the individuals and groups responsible for their creation and the nature of that power [2]. Its analysis enables the insight into social and political relationships disavows the relationship between art and politics.

This research gap has been the subject of a scientific grant financed by the National Science Centre. The research under the NSC research grant 2018/31/D/HS2/03383 includes the results presented in this article and focuses on historical barracks complexes in Central and Eastern Europe. In particular, the emphasis is on the Recovered Territories, as this area was called after World War II, in the period from the 1880s to the outbreak of World War II. The main aim of this research project is to examine the dissonant heritage of building complexes of 19th and 20th -century military architecture in the area of northern and western Poland and to create a compendium about their design, typology, and possible means of regeneration. A secondary goal is to present selected examples of renewed post-military installations in order to determine those characteristics that predestine a successful adaptation and regeneration.

The timeframe set for this project is conditioned by two main episodes of increase in militarism in the internal politics of Prussia and the German Reich: the 1880s and the 1930s. The majority of military facilities were built then. Timeframe defined in this way determined the research area: the area up until recently called ‘Recovered Territories’ – former lands of East Prussia, Brandenburg, Saxony and Silesia claimed by Poland under international agreements after the World War II. Thus selected area is attractive for research because the buildings that were acquired with it are stylistically and culturally alien, hence over the years generated extreme emotions: from initial hostility to the recently developing interest, and even worship.

The study presented in this article constitutes a part of this research, concerning the changes in the style of barracks: concentrated on determining the sources for the stylistics represented by the German barracks in Reclaimed Territories and its dissimilarities in relation to Polish barracks of that same period. The comparative analysis of the dissimilarities indicated that German barracks after the 1933 exhibited increasingly more folk motifs, while Polish barracks as well as barracks in a nearby Switzerland exhibited modernist stylistics. By studying period journals the author established the sources of dissimilarities as nationalism and sought to reveal its influence in the form of *Heimatschutzstil*. Using examples, the paper shows a gradual departure in the stylistics of German military architecture from modernism – constituting the current stylistics in the 1930 – to *Heimatstil* (which was a regression to previous epoch). Accordingly, examples of Prussian, German and Polish barracks were analysed. The first group consists of historical Prussian barracks, which were built from the 1870s onward and are juxtaposed with examples of tsarist barracks from the corresponding period to highlight the distinguishing features of this stylistic phase. The second group includes German barracks from the Weimar Republic period, which are juxtaposed with an example of Swiss barracks for comparison. The last group includes barracks from the Third Reich period and examples of barracks built at the same time in the Polish Second Republic.

2. MATERIALS

There have been no previous authors studying the evolution in military barracks stylistics. This state of affairs may be the outcome of a very diverse nature of military architecture confirmed by the authors studying it. In his work *Military Architecture* (1974) Quentin Hughes observed, that even Vauban acknowledged that military architecture and engineering embraced too many things for a man to be able to make himself master of their practice. Likewise, they are difficult to study and write about. A great part of this difficulty arises from the fact that the fortress, as a building, was composed of a great variety of elements. It is necessary to identify at this stage what classifies as a work of military architecture. The term is often used to refer solely to structures endowed with a direct deterrent or defensive function (structures designed to resist attack and which allow for fighting back) [3]. In accordance with Spiteri the author chooses to call these “fortifications”. From around the sixteenth century onwards, as the new technology of gunpowder warfare called for greater specialization, the absorption of the architect into the soldierly profession increased and the architect came to be referred more explicitly as a military engineer [4]. Similar to the arts, military engineering was split up in national schools or styles, so called fortification manners. The works of Cattaneo, De Marchi, Theti, reflect the Italian School, Vauban and Perret the French School, and Duerer and Specklin an adaptation of the Italian school in Germany [5]. In the present study, the term “military architecture” is employed to denote various types of residential and administrative non-fortified buildings, such as military dormitory blocks, military hospitals, military storage facilities etc. Military architecture in this sense has been discussed by A. Król, who – biased by political issues – held historic styles in contempt and glorified the stylistics of the reincarnated Poland. More recently military non-fortified architecture has been the subject of study by M. Urbaniak, M. Rudnicka-Bogusz, D. Gawryluk and M. Pszczołkowski with stylistics mentioned only in passing – not as a chief subject of research. The present study fills this gap.

2.1 Research methodology

Customarily for similar topics, the applied research methodology involves classical approach. The main sources of information, here, as in the study of all historic architecture, are generally the following:

- the physical evidence itself derived from the existing structures
- historical documentation and archival material derived from period source materials: architectural plans, building contracts, testimonials etc.
- contemporary and period treatises, magazines, handbooks and textbooks on military architecture
- the use of notable case studies to indicate how concepts and ideas were translated into architecture at different stages in the development of military architecture. The examination of case studies by tracing the correlation between the technological factors, the
- geographical constraints and political exigencies which drove the implementation of major projects.

2.2 Sources and literature

There are limited sources in the literature on the subject of the style of barracks. Few examples touching upon this subject are not directly related to the question of the stylistic evolution of barracks under the influence of state patronage but rather deal with the relation between barracks and the cultural landscape of garrison cities [6, 7, 8, 9]. Propaganda was crucial in shaping the style of barracks. Investments in military-related facilities have always had important ideological connotations. As architectural facilities for authorities they reflected the official style of the state at a given stage of its development. The research on minority cultures, indicated that the idea of a nation is often the product of a well-adjusted narrative [10] provided by party circulars or socio-national journalism. In architectural terms the equivalent are government, administrative and military buildings. The monumental architecture of any

nation accentuates those features that the ideologues of a given group consider important. This type of architecture often serves as a ground for creating an "invented tradition," as Hobsbawm calls it [11]. To develop this concept it is necessary to create a perception that one group of people is alienated from the surrounding reality, so that they can be later united by means of some common denominator with which they can easily identify [12]. Such a feature is usually searched for in the common past [13]. Traditions must be visually rich and full of folklore in order to create an unreal and idyllic image of the past, which has qualities of an open-air museum and allows people to unite [14]. The basic issue, therefore, was to outline the changes in how the national style is perceived and then to trace how these perceptions influenced the transformations in style of barracks complexes. To this end, the concepts of nation, homeland, nationalism and national style were considered on the basis of literature research. Due to the specificity of the research topic, the literature search was narrowed down to authors and issues related to the area under study, while omitting in-depth analysis of issues related to barracks from this period that were located in other parts of Europe, such as Austrian or Tsarist barracks. The observations were used to conduct case studies for representative examples of barracks complexes. As a result of this research, indications were made regarding the development of the style of barracks complexes during two phases of increased militarism in Prussia and German lands.

The consideration of styles was based on a certain set of initial concepts and notions, such as nation, homeland, and national style, in order to indicate the reasons for the differences between the developing style of German barracks complexes and other barracks that were built at that time in Central and Eastern Europe. The concept of style itself is defined in various ways. In architecture, it usually means a set of features which contribute to the form of a building and whose use, intensity and arrangement is characteristic of a given cultural circle, developing in a specific area and in a certain time frame. According to the merriam-webster dictionary, style is defined as a particular manner or technique by which something is done, created, or performed [15]. An analysis of the history of this term reveals how multidimensional its meanings can be now and in the future [16]. The drive to create national styles is linked to historicism and the cultural theory of the nation. The concept and term "national style" was born at the turn of Enlightenment and Romanticism in Germany. It is associated with people such as Johann Gottfried von Herder, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Herder and Goethe dealt with the idea of *volksgeist* "national spirit", expressed in language and art, and *zeitgeist* [17], which requires each community and its views to be considered in a historical context. Herder also points to the uniqueness of each nation and its language as an expression of a distinctive national spirit [18]. Gajda also emphasizes that Herder listed architecture as an important cultural element that identifies a nation. The concept of national style reinforces, directs and instrumentalizes architecture as an element that defines national identity [14].

National styles have not been the subject of any synthetic publication. A discussion of this issue as part of a monograph on architecture of the 19th century can be found in the publication by Mohamad Scharabi [19]. National styles have been addressed in the literature in all countries where this phenomenon has appeared. However, it is a complex phenomenon that stems directly from the duality of patriotism and nationalism. The need for a "national architecture" that it created was inherent in both large heterogeneous states, such as Russia and Germany, as well as those seeking to emancipate smaller national communities, such as the Finns, Hungarians and Poles. This issue was the focus of a conference of the Polish Academy of Sciences held in Warsaw in 1995, which resulted in the publication entitled "Nationalism in Art and Art History 1789-1950". Evidence of efforts to create a national style can be found in the literature of the period. Examples include Karol Libelt's treatise "On the Love of the Fatherland" [20], Jan Sas Zubrzycki's treatise entitled "Polish Style, National Style" [21], the aforementioned writings of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, or the official collection of designs of orthodox churches in the national style, approved by the tsar [22].

In the early 19th century, the formation of great powers gave rise to a search for cultural factors that could unite them into homogeneous state organisms. [23]. An important role in the formation of Russian culture in the 19th century was played by the quest for Europeanization, which was in opposition to attempts to consolidate traditional Orthodox-Byzantine structures. In 1824, an album of 31 officially approved designs for Orthodox churches in the Classical style was published in Russia [22]. Tsar Nicholas I was particularly interested in erasing the cultural and religious differences between Russia's many nations, fostering the creation of a national style. Already in the 1820s, the ruler decided to develop a new style referring to the Orthodox architecture of Byzantium [24]. The opposition of the tsar, however, was increasingly interested in folk architecture, which led to the formation of a new style, called Pseudo-Russian, whose main representatives were Viktor Gartman and Ivan Ropot. It served as the basis for the Neo-Russian style developed in the 1870s. These were creative attempts to transform Old Russian and Byzantine elements in an eclectic spirit. The culmination of these efforts was the Russian pavilion at the 1902 Glasgow Art Exhibition, which Fyodor Szechtel presented as a reinterpretation of folk themes, reminiscent of Art Nouveau. As Janusz Szewczyk notes: the official national style of the government circles was thus the Byzantinizing eclecticism, which paved the way for the Pseudo-Russian style, while the Neo-Russian style was associated with the leftist avant-garde [25].

The first attempts to create a national style in architecture were made in the early 19th century in Germany. German art always supported the political drive for unity. The development of the German state was considered in terms of the transition from the cosmopolitanism and liberalism of the 18th century, to the idea of a nation-state led by the emperor. These goals were promoted by official art, which demonstrated power, splendor, and was characterized by a high degree of ideological propagandism. Military themes became a frequent motif in painting. The *Kunstlerversammlung* exhibition in Stuttgart proclaimed: "we want national art, and in it national unity" [26]. "Nationalization" initially pertained to historical styles [27]. This consisted in the arbitrary declaration that certain forms and decorations are national and in their repeated use. At the beginning of the 19th century in Germany, Romanism and Gothic were declared the national style, which led to the creation of *Rundbogenstil* and the widespread use of Neo-Gothic in state architecture [28]. Neo-Romanism was associated with the Holy Roman Empire and thus it was adopted as the official style by Wilhelm II [26], bearing fruit in the form of, for example, the Imperial Castle in Poznan. Gothic was primarily a style of state monuments and votive architecture. Examples of this style include Schinkel's neo-Gothic designs, most notably the *Friedrichswerdersche Kirche* in Berlin and the *Alte Nazarethkirche* in Berlin, but also less significant ones, such as the Holy Trinity Church in Torun and the City Hall in Kolobrzeg [29]. A distinctly nationalistic attitude persisted in Germany not only during the Bismarck era, but throughout the 19th century. In the early 19th century, the Gothic style starts to become more universal and cosmopolitan. It becomes a choice for national monuments built by the Austrians (Heinrich Ferstel's *Votivkirche* in Vienna) and the British (Augustus Pugin's Westminster Palace in London). While for Schinkel, Gothic architecture was supposedly an expression of the national spirit, for Claude Bragdon [30] it became a manifestation of a mystical spirit that cannot be evaluated in terms of the state, the epoch or the system [31]. Also, Neo-Renaissance was seen in many countries as a style that could express the bourgeois spirit of the industrialist era through its connotations with the burghers of the late 14th century. This issue has been extensively discussed by Marek Zgórnjak [32]. On the other hand, the issue of "German" neo-Renaissance was addressed by Dieter Dolgner [33]. In the 1870s, Renaissance came to the foreground in the search for a national style. This coincided with a victory in the war with France and the beginning of the ensuing prosperity of the *Gründerzeit* period. An attempt was then made in Germany to revive and develop the indigenous German bourgeois culture. It was to be based on Northern Renaissance and the works of Holbein and Dürer. However, precisely because of these *Gründerzeit*

connotations, Neo-Renaissance forms were considered an unrefined style, suitable for craftsmen, such as shoemakers [34], and lacking the potential to carry the national idea.

The reaction to these chauvinistic cultural inclinations of supreme states was the search for national styles in the nation-states that were part of the great powers. Konrad Gorski points out the opposition between “*Heimat*” and “*Vaterland*” e.g. in Germany. *Heimat*, is connected with the country of origin where we were born and signifies an attachment to a regional homeland. This kind of patriotism, based on an emphasis on nativeness, is important in the absence of one’s own statehood, when the nation becomes the primary object of adoration. “*Vaterland*,” on the other hand, defines the homeland in the political sense. Gorski emphasizes the consequences this dichotomy has for citizens, evoking in them either nationalism or patriotism [35].

Each of the national styles has been studied separately. The search for the origins of a nation was accompanied by the cult of specific regions. As Cezary Wąs writes [36], areas which acquired such mystical status include the Finnish Karelia, the Swedish Dalecarlia (Dalarna), the Polish Tatra Mountains, and the Hungarian Transylvania and Kalotaszeg. According to Ilona Dardzinska this trends also includes the still popular dragon style in Norway (*dragestilen*, the dragon style), inspired by traditional Viking construction, primarily mast churches (*stavekirke*) and the Old Norse style (*dalastilen*) in Sweden [37]. The emergence of the Zakopane style was also based on elements of folk art of the Podhale region, as described by Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, among others [13]. Małgorzata Omilanowska also draws attention to the influence of the English Arts and Crafts trend on European culture, which intensified in the 19th century and fostered the formation of national romanticism in the spirit of vernacular revival, which in turn was a reaction to academic architecture [38]. Most important for the current study, however, is the national theme in German architecture [39]. In the literature we can find studies of varying detail, dealing with a more holistic approach to the issue of national architecture, such as the paper by Janos Gerle [40], or its role in the creation of macro and micro communities [41]. Monographs on individual artists of the period, such as Franz Heinrich Schwechten [42] and Karl Friedrich Schinkel [43], provide insight into the stylistic tendencies of the era.

After World War I, the importance of the national style changes. In most of Europe, such as the Second Republic, there was a cultural shift towards universal and cosmopolitan values, expressed in architecture through the international style [44, 45]. On the other hand, the disillusionment and bitterness among Germans after losing the war in 1918 led to the creation of the Third Reich where a propagandist form of the national style – Heimatschutz - was cultivated. On German soil, Andreas Lehne describes this transformation of *Heimatsstil* to *Heimatschutz* [46] and Friedrich Achleitner the ephemerality of the concept of national architecture [47]. This study illustrates the divergence between the two trends (pan-European and German) through specific examples, which are described on the basis of trade journals of the period, such as “*Architektura i Budownictwo*”, “*Der Baumeister*”, as well as an analysis of the available archival materials.

3. BASIC CONCEPTS

3.1 Nation

By the end of the 19th century, the concept of “homeland” had become a central notion of a cultural movement which stood in conflict with the urban culture of the metropolis and the moral effects of the Industrial Revolution, such as the increasing urbanization of the countryside and the detachment of the proletariat from its roots and traditions. In turn, the bourgeoisie also felt threatened by the internationalism of the proletariat, perceived as a new grassroots force that was also a product of a big city. The longing after the homeland that ensued was elicited by the sense of loss of the bygone world

order, which was, correctly or incorrectly, interpreted as “idyllic” [48]. The homeland was a romantic concept that served as a mental refuge from the dramatic shift towards a simpler traditional life. It was the product of a clash of opposite ideas: national and international, rational and irrational, craft and industry, town and country, nature and decadence, healthy and sick, tradition and progress, social familiarity and anonymous mass society [47]. As a result, the “nation” is a dual construct [49], which can be viewed as “objective” and “subjective”. The challenge is to unite its two aspects in an ideological sense, so as to create a notion, which after Karol Libelt, can be described as a fellowship in the face of overwhelming power.

“Objective” definitions assume that a shared territory, language, culture or economy determines the existence of a nation. On the other hand, “subjectivists” define a nation by referring to the consciousness of its members who declare their belonging to a specific national community [50]. In this dichotomy we can find the origins of the non-classical, constructivist concept of the nation as an “imagined community” [51], that is, one that is believed to be based on “invented tradition” [11], as well as the thesis that “it is nationalism that creates nations” [52]. Both Eric Hobsbawm [53] and John Breuilly [54] see the nation as a product of 19th and 20th century social engineering efforts by the modern state to build nations, resulting from the insurgence of ethnic communities that were part of empires.

If indeed, the nation is an ideology, it must be bestowed upon a community with help of “invented traditions”. These traditions, although fictional, must be based on authentic phenomena and symbols, some common denominator which the society can easily identify and fuse with by a sense of uniqueness of a group or their alienation from the surrounding reality [12].

3.2 The national style

Nationalism influences all aspects of life, resulting in politically engaged, “patriotic” art referring to the notion of nativeness in art [26]. Most often, the term “national style” refers to the use of characteristic, emphatic means of expression from the repertoire of vernacular forms of a given nation. When national style is discussed from a linguistic perspective, as Gajda notes, “the national program, however, can be expressed implicitly and not always consciously. What is thus most important are constitutions, historical syntheses, artistic texts that constitute the canon of national literature, social and national journalism, programs of national political parties...” [14]. Therefore, the idea of a nation is often the product of an appropriate narrative [10] and in the field of architecture, the government, administrative and military buildings are equal to party circulars or socio-national journalism. Such architecture is often the field of creation for the abovementioned “invented tradition” [13]. It must refer to an idyllic archetype, united by the positive aspects of their history and culture [55]. Thus, “national style” was a way of demonstrating belonging to social strata or ethnic groups. Krzysztof Kwiatkowski points out the opposition between the dominant historicism and the national styles of superpowers: “It should be remembered that the 19th century was the century of the development of great (...) empires. National styles emphasized the dominance of these superpowers in the architectural space” [13]. As a reaction to this phenomenon, national styles began to emerge in dependent countries, but also among the social strata, such as the bourgeoisie, that were striving for emancipation. The author also draws attention to the heterogeneity of the regional characteristics to which the national styles referred, which he considers evidence that the whole concept of national style is artificial and that it was “manufactured” by groups with special interests: “An interesting phenomenon was the proliferation of national styles. Within a single country (or within the lands of dependent countries) many national styles were formed. In addition, the spectrum of authentic historical styles used as reference was astonishingly wide. In the case of German national styles, it included such distant styles as Romanesque and Renaissance” [13]. In

monarchies, the common denominator was the monarch who adopted an “ethno-symbolist approach” to legitimize himself through his relation to primordial “ethnies” [56] by utilizing those types of buildings and ornaments which were connected to the traditions of a given nation. This appropriation initially involved certain high styles, i.e. Romanism, Gothic and Renaissance. They were reintroduced and declared as national. Franz Schwechten designed numerous Romanesque Revival state buildings for Emperor Wilhelm II to serve as hallmarks of the creation of the united German empire. This henceforth established national romanticism (*Rundbogenstil*) was inspired by the imperial Romanesque monuments of the 12th century, for instance the Kaiserpfalz at Goslar or the castle Dankwarderode in Braunschweig, which stipulated continuity between the medieval monarchs and the Hohenzollern dynasty [57].

In contrast, the metropolitan society of the industrial era influenced the creation of “*Heimatstil*”. There were no customary forms of the new building types produced in the late 19th century by industrialization: department stores, train stations, hotels, spa houses, etc. Therefore, they had to be invented. These were rigorous types of buildings, whose plan and basic structure stemmed from their purpose. However, their outer shells were composed of rural motifs (or those that were perceived as such) and imitated traditional materials. It was so vital a phenomenon that even Adolf Loos, the greatest critic of historicism at the beginning of the 20th century referred to it. Loos was a strong critic of historicism and “*Heimatstil*”. He believed that while phrases such as “little homeland” and “hometown” are appropriate, the strive towards preservation of the “homely” and the “customary” should not hinder, eradicate nor disguise progress.

After World War I, the meaning of national style changes as a result of the moral bankruptcy of nationalism. During the interwar period, fascination with history was followed by attempts to reduce and even partially suppress historical awareness in culture. Eventually, during this period, the desire to emphasize national identity in architecture waned. After the collapse of the great empires, the need to legitimize the superpowers through the creation of a unified symbolic space disappeared. The states that regained their independence no longer needed to ostentatiously emphasize national identity in art.

In Poland, the search for a national style had to do with both the desire to manifest independence and the creation of a new style in architecture. In the second half of the 19th century, in the polemical discourse between supporters of traditionalism and proponents of innovative solutions, the tendency to return to the architectural styles of the past prevailed. After the war, until 1921, the Second Polish Republic was still struggling with the Bolsheviks and did not make any extensive investments. The dominant style at that time was still historicizing. Slogans for the creation of “domestic” architecture started promoting the concept of the “national style”, based mainly on repetitions of Gothic architectural forms. Jan Sas-Zubrzycki published a study in 1922 under the title “Polish style, national style” [21], in which he advocated art that was understandable to the viewer, emphasized the clear didactic goals of art that would link it with the life of the nation and overstated the role that Polish art had supposedly played in the past. At the same time, a trend was developing which promoted the creation of a new, contemporary style that would correspond to the ideas and tendencies of the era, as evidenced by Tadeusz Peiper's essay “City, Mass, Machine” also published in 1922 [58]. By the end of the 1920s, after ten years of independence, the initial enthusiasm for independence had faded and the need to emphasize national identity with architectural forms derived from the past had waned. Forms based on classical principles of composition, but devoid of unambiguous historical features, appeared in state buildings, giving rise to the so-called “semi-modernism” that dominated architectural activity sponsored by the state in the early 1930s. At the same time, the influence of the modernist avant-garde, shaped by artists associated with the group “Blok” and then “Praesens” [59], influenced by the ideas of the Dutch “De Stijl” and the German “Bauhaus”, became increasingly apparent in Polish architecture after 1925. In most of Europe as well there was a cultural shift towards universal and cosmopolitan values, expressed in architecture through the International Style [44, 45].

The disillusionment and bitterness among Germans after losing the war in 1918 led to the creation of the Third Reich where a propagandist form of the national style was cultivated. In the 1930s, in order to shun the historicizing style of the empire from which the National Socialist Party was setting itself apart with the *Dolchstoßlegende* [60], the decision makers turned instead to styles that were familiar to the working class. The Third Reich abandoned modernism in favour of a revival of *Heimatstil*, historical forms and regionalisms. Used tendentiously on carefully chosen buildings, the consciously utilized vernacular stylistics became “*Heimatschutzstil*”. This custom style was to unite the people as a society and to endear the state to the people [46]. The strongest devotion is said to be local patriotism [61], which only becomes combative when its object is threatened. This might be the decisive factor in the utilization of “*Heimatschutzstil*” for military facilities. In order to create lasting solidarity of the lowest social strata with the “*Vaterland*”, and consequently ensure that patriotism persists, the vernacular style was elevated. *Heimatschutzstil* propagated a vernacular style not because it was perceived as more sophisticated, but because it set German architecture apart from other national communities. The value of nativeness was in its otherness, finding no analogy in the symbolic universe presented by other communities.

4. CASE STUDIES

It is safe to say that all state-funded architecture is classified as *architecture parlante*. It represents those features that the ideologues of the group consider important. Such architecture often serves as a ground for the creation of the abovementioned “invented tradition”. Commissioned and funded by the state, military barracks utilized the officially approved style, which was in line with state cultural policy. Therefore their style represented the national style.

In tsarist Russia, after Peter the Great’s rule and the foundation of Saint Petersburg, Neo-Renaissance and Classicism became the leading styles for official edifices. This was most probably due to the fact that the tsar sent 20 young architectural adepts, including Piotr Yeropkin - the future designer of much of Saint Petersburg - on a Grand Tour to Italy [62] and commissioned Domenico Trezzini with the plan for the newly established capital. As in the case of all barracks complexes, much of the outer shape of the buildings resulted directly from their function. It was customary to place the main entrance on the axis of symmetry and to attach side entrances to corner *avant-corps*. This accentuated the *corps logis* and the side projections, forming a rhythm on the façade. The architectural composition of the façade was often based on classical proportions, including the use of the golden ratio [6]. Gables and cornices with classic profiles emphasized the division of the façade: rusticated plinths, cornices with a symmetrical cross-section, *panneau* under the windows, etc. A fitting example of such treatment are the barracks buildings in Góra Kalwaria, Poland. Built under the Russian partition in 1863 the barracks utilize the Neo-Renaissance vernacular, e.g. a string course at the height of the window sill, arcaded windows, and a cornice return on the corner *avant-corps*, as shown in Figure 1.

Against this background, many similarities can be seen with Prussian barracks complexes from the Imperial period. The earliest purposefully built Prussian barracks applied Historicist stylistics. For example, Karl Friedrich Schinkel designed the *Lehr-Escadron-Kaserne* barracks building and a military detention center in Berlin-Kreuzberg (Figure 2.), built in the years 1817-1818 for the training of the squadron of Prussian cavalry. It was one of the first brick buildings designed by Schinkel [43]. The *Rundbogenstil* was represented by *Kaserne des 1. Hannoverschen Infanterie-Regiments No. 74* in Hanover, built in the years 1858-1860 and designed by Heinrich Jüngst. The buildings in the complex created a densely packed quarter, with inner courtyards and dormitories facing the outer streets for more seclusion as exemplified by the *Artillerie Kasernements* in Neustadt (Prudnik), designed by royal construction officer Ritzel.



Fig. 1. Barracks for the 29th Chernihiv Infantry Regiment named after General Field Marshal Prince Ivan Dybicz Zabalkanski in Góra Kalwaria, author's elaborations on the basis of design documentation courtesy of Grupa Arche S.A.



Fig. 2. Karl Friedrich Schinkel's design for the *Lehr-Escadron-Kaserne* in Berlin-Kreuzberg, source Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett / Jörg P. Anders CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

The avalanche of nationalist sentiments, which resulted in an interest in national styles, was one of the causes of the outbreak of World War I. In view of the immense tragedy it brought, the desire to emphasize national identity in architecture waned. In nation-states, the goal of independence had been achieved and the need for modernization started to gain in importance. After the fall of monarchy, the associated with it national style based on high historical styles was abandoned by superpowers.

In the first period after the partitions until the Riga Treaty in 1921 numerous Polish soldiers were housed in historic barracks left by the occupying forces. The armistice instigated in 1921 allowed the Polish side to demobilize its army and reorganize it for peacetime, which involved provisioning housing for the military cadre, training facilities and assembly installations for units [63]. Acting on first impulse, the authorities utilized national traditionalism as the main style for new investments. The first decade in independent Poland was a search for an official national style and the earliest Polish military buildings referred to neo-Gothic and manor house styles [64]. This period saw the construction of, among others, neo-Renaissance barracks in Poznan-Lawica, designed by Adolf Piller (1923) [65] and a complex of Fleet Command and Naval Barracks (1926-31) (Figure 3.) was built in Gdynia-Okstywie according to the design by Marian Lalewicz in a semi-modernist style, which in this case took the form of cubist neo-Renaissance [66]. Those were two-company dormitory buildings (for ca. 200 soldiers, officers and non-commissioned officers each) with a single-side hallway along the entire building and two stairwells in the side wings. At the same time, the Ministry of Military Affairs attempted to formulate a Polish canon for barracks that would be different from historical types and adequately suited to the current requirements of the army: concentration conditions and military unit structure, as well as new military tactics. Selected architects were commissioned with prestigious designs and open as well as limited competitions were held for the development of standard dormitories and typical apartment buildings for officers and NCOs. Modernist barracks building designs started to gain prominence because the new style suited an advanced and modernizing country. Modernism introduced cross-ventilation, proper insolation and ergonomic metric area for the customary military rigor. In 1928, the MMA developed a new, experimental design of a hygienic and healthy dormitory in the hopes of creating a standardized and repetitive barracks complex. The newly independent state strove to reject all references to historical barracks complexes.



Figure 3. View of the war harbor with admiralty buildings and Navy barracks in Gdynia, 1928 (source: National Digital Archive, sygn. 1-W-1956-1)

These new principles were implemented in the design by Bruno Zborowski for a T-shaped barracks building of the 3rd Rifle Battalion in Rembertów. The design (Figure 4.) had no hallway and its layout consisted of multiple wings with bedroom sections extending from a three-bay main body that housed

an administrative section, washrooms and accommodation for non-commissioned officers. It was abutted on two sides by stairwells. Construction of the complex was completed in 1934.

A similar design was used to construct the New Barracks at Westerplatte with an elevation designed by Jan Zachwatowicz. They were built in 1935-1937 in the form of a three-story T-shaped building with a basement and a flat roof topped by an attic.

The design of the second type of novel barracks had walk-through halls. Its central double-bay block had single-bay wings added on both sides. The wings had long, transverse halls insulated on one side through a semidetached passageway. The building had a U-shaped outline, as shown in Figure 5. This design was implemented in the construction of barracks for the battalion in Rembertów in 1934, designed by Wanda Boerner-Przewłocka.

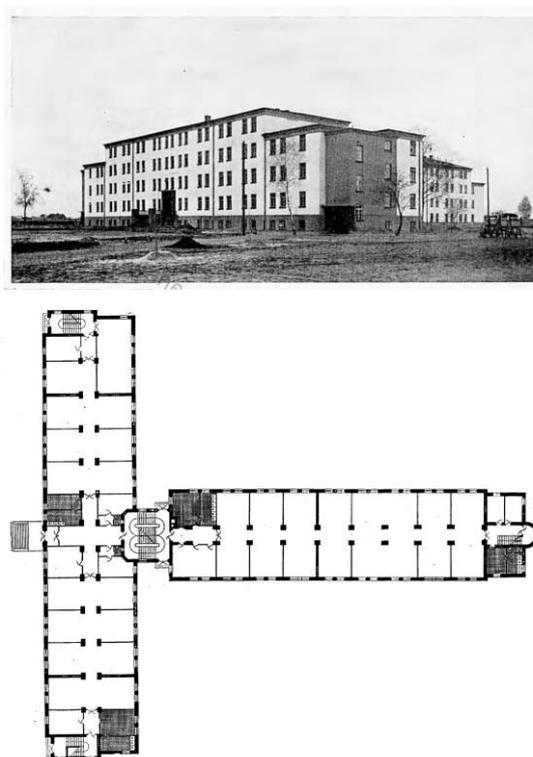


Fig. 4. New type barrack building for the 3rd Rifle Battalion Barracks in Rembertów (author's elaboration on the basis of [67])

Consequently, both in Poland and throughout Europe, the external appearance of barracks began to depend mostly on the functional layout of the rooms. The forms of the buildings were a juxtaposition of simple solids, whose only decoration was their tectonics and the shape of window and door openings with large glazing. Efforts were made to maximize the penetration of sunlight into the interiors and provide an ergonomic and hygienic space for users. The beacon for this forward-mindedness was Switzerland which in this period was unburdened by the nationalist dilemma. The barracks in Lucerne designed by Armin Meili and built in the years 1933-1935 were the first barracks in Switzerland to be made of exposed concrete. The main edifice is efficiently divided into rooms and has a well-measured floor plan and outline as well as a careful, clean and understandable construction [68]. The complex,

comprising of a multi-purpose building, a maintenance area and an outbuilding for combat vehicles, opens to a vast plot. (Figure 6.) The barracks building is like a suprematist sculpture – by the agglutination of cubes. The main building consists of four parts: a porch, core gage, a tower and the staff wings to the north, which are arranged on an E-shaped floor plan. Despite being cast of solid concrete, the walls appear filigree thanks to rows of windows spanning the elevation. The upper floor of the main building is offset, thus creating a step-like progression. There is no superficial decoration, just the tectonics of the volume. Concrete ribs frame the entrance staircase. Both the supporting structure and the facades of the barracks are made of exposed concrete.

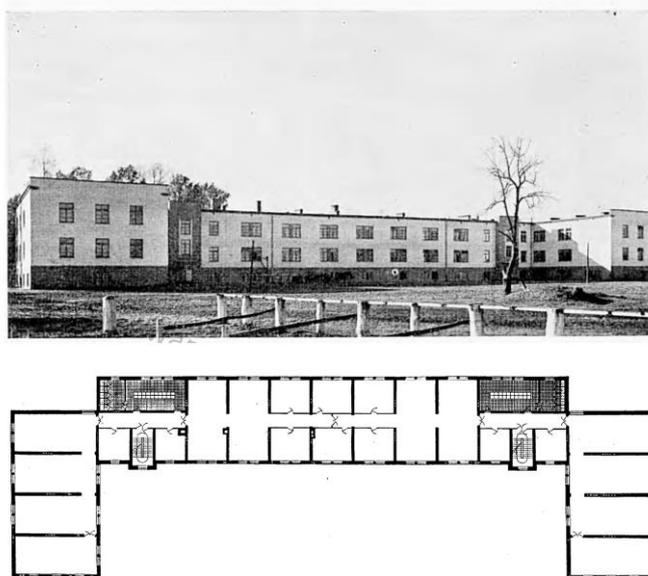


Fig. 5. Squadron barracks building in Rembertów, elevation view and projection. (author's elaboration on the basis of [67])

In the Weimar Republic, architecture developed due to the activities of the *Neues Bauen* movement. Until 1933, Germany was the centre of the most intensive development of modernist architecture. Nevertheless, as a result of economic and moral exhaustion, very few new German barracks were built in the years 1919-1935. The limitations placed upon the German Army by the Treaty of Versailles discouraged investment, even more so by forward-looking representatives of the modernist style. A Swiss architect – Otto Rudolf Salvisberg – designed a rare example of a modernist military building in Germany for the VIII Silesian Army Corps in Wrocław. (Figure 7.) It was built in 1928 in a style crossover between brick expressionism and modernism. It consisted of a *corps logis* and two slightly lower side wings arranged around an inner courtyard. The layout was traditional, but the finish and outer form of the building were modern. The composition of simple cubes had an ascetic brick face and a flat roof. Standardized windows were arranged in evenly spaced rows on both sides of each wing providing bilateral insolation and cross-ventilation. There was no superficial decoration nor ornamentation on the façade. The main entrance was only highlighted by a *porte-cochere*.

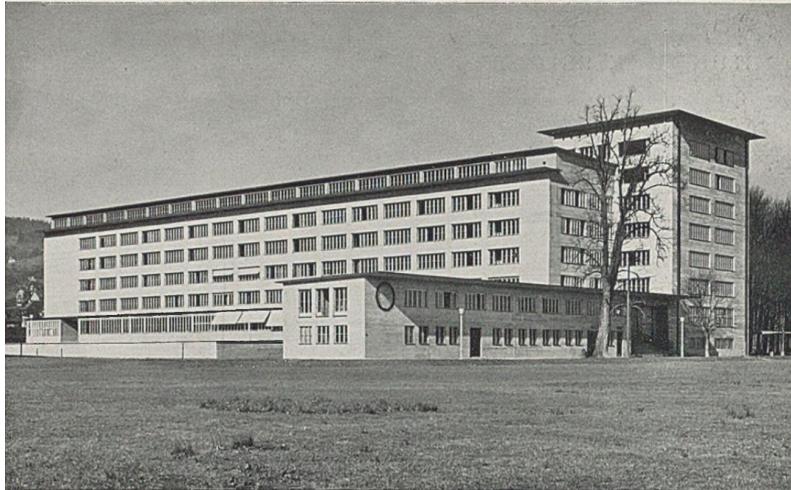


Fig. 6. *Allmend Kaserne* in Lucerne, source [68]



Fig. 7. VIII Silesian Army Corps Headquarters in Wrocław, source author 2023

After the Nazi rose to power there was a collapse in architecture and art brought by the new official aesthetic preferences. The most prominent architects left the country for political or safety reasons. After the abolition of monarchy, the factor that had the potential to unite societies were the little homelands, on which the national-socialist party wanted to capitalize. The *Dolchstoßlegende* [60] stab-in-the-back myth, blamed socialists, democrats and national minorities for losing the war. The empire's historicizing national style also evoked associations with the embarrassing Treaty of Versailles. All these factors contributed to the elevation of vernacular stylistics to the role of a national style. Although *Heimatschutzstil* also alluded to the rhetoric of the Arts and Crafts movement, its final form was unique to the Third Reich. *Heimatschutzstil* art became a label for the return to proven forms of historicism or vernacular traditionalism. Used selectively on carefully chosen buildings, *Heimatschutzstil* was intended

to bear witness to the distinctiveness of the German homeland style, while uniting the German society under the banner of common art beyond class divides.



Fig. 8. Main building of the former Luftwaffe War School, *Steinhoff Kaserne*, 2016, source Wikipedia.org CC BY-SA 4.0

This aberration from the mainstream architectural trend does not occur radically, but rather gradually with consecutive investments. In 1935, Hitler reintroduced conscription, effectively revealing to general public his rearmament program. From then on the size of the army as well as the number of branches of combat units rose steadily. Some of the most prestigious investments were barracks complexes and training bases for the Luftwaffe. After coming to power the National socialist party transformed the army's Department of Military Aviation into the Ministry of Aviation. Hermann Göring was put in charge of constructing the Luftwaffe, which became a prestigious endeavor, therefore an excellent example of architecture of authority. In the jubilee publication, summarizing military investments after 5 years of the functioning of the Third Reich, Guido Habers, the editor in chief of branch journal "Der Baumeister" states: "The spirit of venerable German traditions and myths (...) spiritual values and the ability to resist should be shaped so that the troops can conduct effective operations" [69].

An example of the new style was the joint facilities of Air War Academy and the Air Technical Academy (*Luftkriegsakademie* and *Lufttechnische Akademie für die Luftwaffe*) built in Berlin-Gatow under the supervision of Ernst Sagebiel in the years 1934-1935. The facilities were idyllically situated on the banks of the Havel. Each complex consisted of lecture hall buildings, laboratories, sports facilities, a casino and residential buildings for teachers and course participants integrated into the landscape and located near an airfield. The architecture of the actual airport buildings, which depended less on the architect who designed them and more on technical requirements – was functionalist. On the other hand both *Luftkriegsakademie* and *Lufttechnische Akademie für die Luftwaffe* complexes followed the hieratic historic layout. For example, the *Luftkriegsakademie* could be reached through an elongated, curved gate building, reminiscent of historical gatehouses. Three winged *corps-logis* of the main edifice flanked by outbuildings encompassed a yard. The dormitories and lecture halls exhibited a conventional "barracks architecture" that is characterized by the use of relatively high, hipped roofs with dormers over one- or two-story buildings, as exemplified by Figure 8.

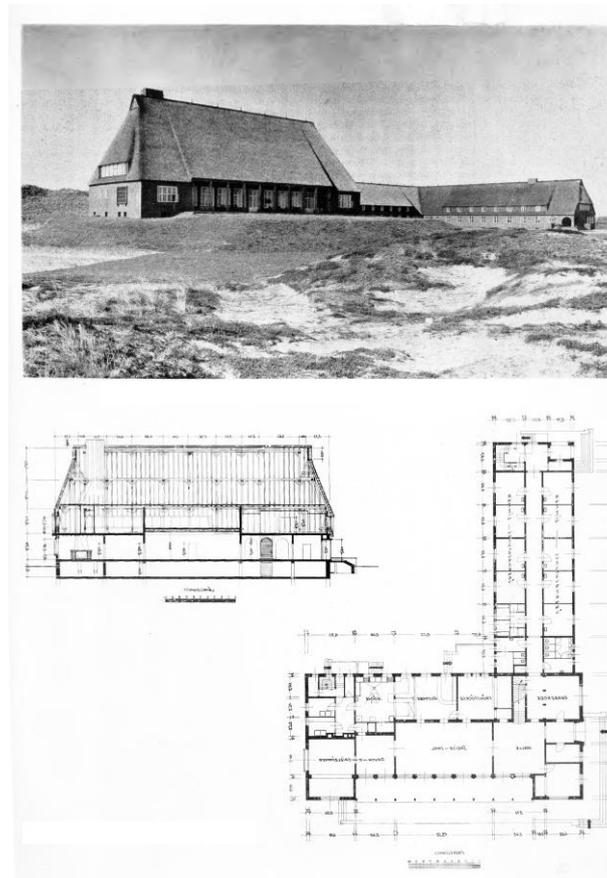


Fig. 9. Officers' quarters. Left: accommodation; right: community house, brick building with thatched roof, source Der Baumeister, Heft 2, Februar 1941 Der Baumeister, Heft 2, Februar 1941, p.35

As the military construction expanded and evolved it became clear that the same generic designs could not be repeated all over the country. To win over the sentiment of the localities it was required to find an individual shape that suits the respective environment and landscape, and blends with the local landscape. The bases were mostly away from big cities in sparsely populated areas. An excellent example is the military complex with an air base on Sylt developed primarily between 1935 and 1939. During this time, two settlements with modest houses were built for soldiers, civilian employees and their families along the air base installations. The settlement comprised various functions: accommodations, administration, command and other, smaller buildings. Externally, they corresponded to the styles of the North Sea coast and the Baltic Sea shores. In the first case the larger buildings used brick or clinker construction and a thatched roof. The residential buildings were plastered and decked with plain tile or an "S" tiled roof. These were the so-called Red Settlement and the White Settlement. Both settlements were designed by Ferdinand Keilmann [70] using Frisian style, which can be seen in Figure 9.

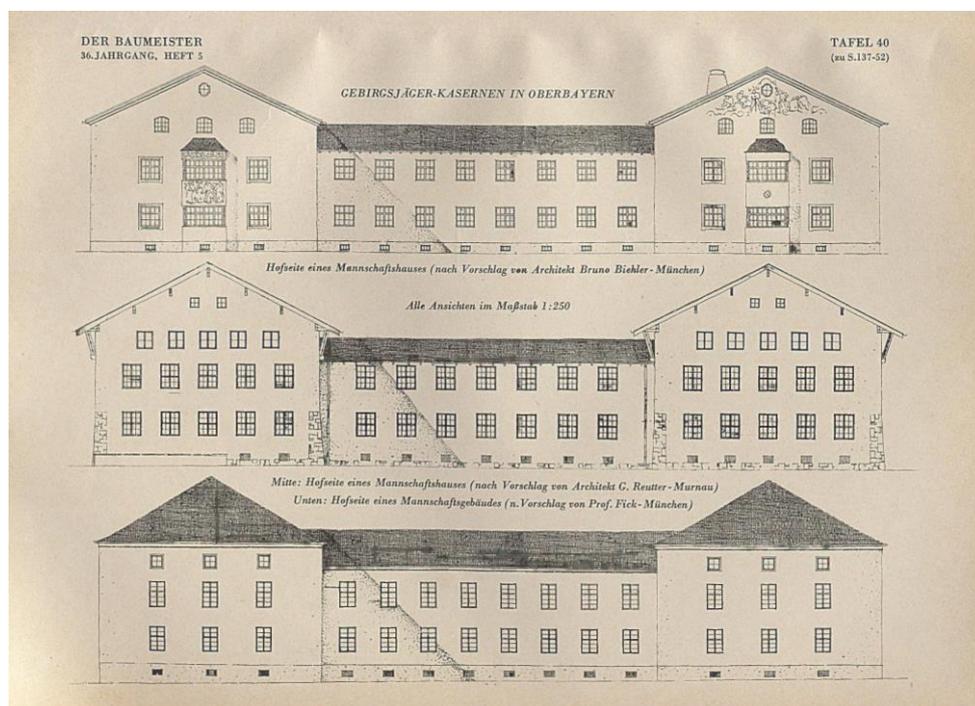


Fig. 10. A typical barracks project in Upper Bavaria.

In the sparsely urbanized mountainous regions of Bavarian Highlands, conditions for the construction of vast, multi-story barracks were not nearly as propitious as in cities. Most of the neighboring towns are rural in character and typical barracks would seem out of place. Therefore, the use of regional styles seems somewhat justified, as is paying special attention to the visual values of the country tradition and the magnificent mountain landscape. The formation of a mountain military detachment in the 1930s led to the construction of new barracks in Upper Bavaria. The new troops were to be deployed along the entire mountain chain so a closed competition was announced for the design of a typical barracks complex. The winner of the competition was a design team consisting of Emil Schardt and Karl Maisch [71] with a design (Figure 10.) reminiscent of a typical Swiss peasant house. There were two parallel three-story dormitories in a three-bay arrangement, with a maximum roof pitch of 30° . Between them there was a two-story, two-bay facility that connected both dormitories and housed the apartments of non-commissioned officers and sergeants. The three connected buildings surrounded a small assembly area. This layout was duplicated within a single complex to provide the required accommodation. This design was used in the Jäger Kaserne complexes in Degerndorf, Krafft-von-Delmensingen Kaserne in Garmisch and Jäger Kaserne in Lenggries, among others. In order to avoid monotony of the construction projects, well-known local architects were appointed as advisors and their sketches and ideas served as the basis for the military construction offices in their future design work. Owing to the approved financing, the buildings were uniquely decorated with traditional frescoes (partly wall *sgraffito*) designed by local artists. In addition, sculpted ornamentation was used, primarily for the heraldic *panneau*. The buildings use the vernacular style of *Laubsägenstil* [46]. The protruding eaves of the dormitories were supported by ornamented purlins braced by struts and the outbuildings had half-timbered gables. Even the airport near the military barracks complex - the *Gebirgs-Artillerie-Kaserne* - in Bad Reichenhall, north of Berchtesgaden, was designed in the international Swiss style.

5. CONCLUSION

As works of architecture, military complexes and buildings are characteristic, often outstanding examples of the changes taking place in architecture and mentality in the first half of the 20th century. The analysis of German military architecture displays that it did not evolve in accordance with Polish Military architecture. While examining the bulk of German military architecture the issue that comes to forefront is the rural stylistics it assumed after 1935. As shown above military architecture in Prussia evolved consistently with the rest of Europe in the first period of increased militarism in the 1870. This state of affairs gradually changes after the end of WWI. In most European countries military architecture moves with the times – from historicism towards hygienically and ergonomically superior modernist barracks. After regaining independence, the most pressing problems in the Second Polish Republic was the consolidation of previously partitioned lands and the improvement of housing conditions for the population, including the military. Immediately after the war, a style based on domestic, provincial, and manorial architecture from before the partitions seemed the most appropriate choice for government investments, including military constructions. The transitional period witnessed the simplification of forms and modernization of classic compositions. Since about 1933, the Ministry of Military Affairs begun adopting innovative, modernist designs based on structural and functional premises, modern materials, construction and composition solutions. The new investments followed the European trend of progressive design in military construction and incorporated improvements introduced by the *Werkbund* and *Neues Bauen* movements that are also visible in German barrack complexes. The most ample example of this pan-European stylish trend in barracks are the Swiss *Allmend Kaserne* in Lucerne, prominently featured in professional journals. However, in the 1930s, the barracks complexes in Germany changed from the modernist style that was used in all surrounding countries, to the vernacular style. This was largely the result of the burgeoning political rhetoric of the ruling National Socialist Party. The *Heimatschutz* style was used in the designs of military facilities. Clad in a conceptualized costume, the barracks resembled local Alpine homesteads or Frisian villages, thus arousing greater sympathy and blending better with the local cultural landscape. The policymakers strove to endear the newly constructed complexes to the localities where they were implemented and to trigger the patriotic reflex towards the state. Cosmopolitanism was rejected, which caused a unique abandonment of modernism in that period. The study of the styles of military complexes in the interwar period reflects the evolution of the mentality and the perception of patriotism/nationalism in different European countries.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

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