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Andrzej Dębski

University of Wrocław

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0725-5765>

Paulina Korneluk

University of Wrocław

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3732-4976>

Lviv's Cinemas During World War II

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Abstract

The article discusses the functioning of cinemas in Lviv during World War II, with a focus on the years 1941–1944. The Nazi authorities introduced a division of Lviv cinemas into those for Germans, Poles, and Ukrainians. These three cinema categories therefore attracted different audiences (in terms of nationality), towards which the occupying authorities pursued separate repertoire policies. The article will analyse the nationality-oriented film policies of the Nazi authorities towards these three groups and their film preferences. The period of Soviet occupation (1939–1941) will also be addressed, albeit not in detail. By taking it into account, it will be possible to highlight some differences in the approach of the Soviet and German occupiers to film policy in Lviv. This research would not have been effective without the use of quantitative methods to compare large sets of repertoire data.

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Introduction

In recent years, we have seen a growing research interest in the expansion of the Third Reich's cinema during World War II,¹ including in areas of Poland under German occupation.² Of the Polish cities, most attention has so far been paid to Kraków; the operation of its cinemas for Poles and Germans³ has been analysed and compared with conditions in other European cities (Brno, Brussels, The Hague).⁴ This article will focus on Lviv, which was under Soviet occupation for the first two years of the war (1939-1941), under German occupation for the next three (1941-1944), then reoccupied by the Soviets before being incorporated into the USSR at the end of the war. (In 1991, following the collapse of that state, it became part of the newly independent Ukraine.)

The main focus of this article will be the period of 1941-1944. The Nazi authorities divided Lviv cinemas into those for Germans, Poles, and Ukrainians. The cinemas of these three categories therefore were aimed at different audiences (in terms of nationality), towards which the occupying authorities pursued separate repertoire policies. Since Lviv had daily newspapers in German, Polish, and Ukrainian in which listings were printed, a comparative analysis of film supply and demand for each of these three population groups will be possible. The aim of the article is to analyse the repertoire policies of the Nazi authorities towards these three groups, the operational dynamics of the cinemas, the criteria for film selection, and the audiences' film preferences under German occupation. Less attention will be paid to the period of Soviet occupation (research on cinema repertoires from 1939-1941 is underway, but not as advanced as on those from 1941-1944), though it will not be omitted. By taking it into account, it will be possible to highlight some tangible differences in the approach of the Soviet and German occupiers to film policy in Lviv.

Cinemas during the Soviet occupation, 1939-1941

With 318,000 inhabitants at the beginning of 1939, Lviv was the third most populous city in Poland (after Warsaw and Łódź).⁵ By the end of August, that number had risen to 333,500, breaking down by ethnicity as follows: 169,900 Poles (51%), 104,700 Jews (31%), 53,100 Ukrainians (16%), 5,800 others (2%).⁶

According to the Lviv Municipal Bureau of Statistics, in May 1939 Lviv had 28 cinemas, which sold 374,648 tickets (12,085 per day).⁷ In terms of attendance, in the warmer months (especially the summer months, but also May) it was poorer than at other times. In January of that year, attendance had reached 449,971 cinema-goers (14,515 per day), and in the entire first quarter – 1,292,664 (14,363 per day).⁸

On 23 August 1939, Joachim von Ribbentrop (German Foreign Minister) and Vyacheslav Molotov (Soviet Foreign Minister) signed a pact in Moscow (also known as the Hitler-Stalin Pact), including a secret protocol according to which the Third Reich and the Soviet Union divided Central and Eastern Europe between themselves. This pact, branded "the devils' alliance" by Roger Moorhouse, was to prelude World War II.⁹

On 1 September, the Nazi army attacked Poland. Lviv was bombarded by the Luftwaffe from the first days of the war, and on 12 September, Wehrmacht troops approached the city. On 17 September, in accordance with the secret protocol of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, Soviet troops entered eastern Poland. They entered Lviv on 22 September, after the city signed the act of surrender. The Germans incorporated the western part of the occupied Polish territories into the Reich, whilst in the central part they established the General Government (*General-gouvernement*), with a capital in Kraków. Poland's eastern territories, including Lviv, were incorporated into the Soviet Union and the process of Sovietisation began. According to Christoph Mick, *Poles in key administrative and managerial positions were fired and replaced by newcomers from eastern Ukraine and other parts of the Soviet Union. The Soviet leadership ordered the state and party in the eastern oblasts (regions) of the Ukrainian republic to identify cadres to be sent to the occupied territories. To avoid the impression that Soviet rule was synonymous with Russian rule, a premium was put on officials with native Ukrainian language skills. ... The Ukrainians were the titular nationality, which meant that they took precedence over Poles and Jews in the administration, culture, and education.*¹⁰

By the end of 1939, Lviv's population had increased to half a million, not only due to the influx of newcomers from the east, but also *Jewish refugees who had fled the German zone of occupation and Poles who had fled the Ukrainian-dominated Galician countryside for a predominantly Polish city.*¹¹ The population then fell to about 430,000 in May 1940 (including between 150,000 and 160,000 Poles and almost 150,000 Jews) and remained at this level until the early summer of 1941.¹²

The final issue of the Polish daily *Gazeta Lwowska*, which appeared on the eve of the outbreak of war on 31 August 1939, listed the films playing in 16 Lviv cinemas.¹³ Published on the previous day, the final issue of *Dilo*, a Ukrainian-language daily newspaper,¹⁴ gave the listings of 25 cinemas.¹⁵ Just a fortnight later, on 12 September, came the final issue of *Chwila*, a Jewish daily newspaper published in Polish, with listings for 26 cinemas.¹⁶ Foreign films in pre-war Lviv were screened with Polish subtitles, so Jews and Ukrainians needed to know some Polish to be able to follow them.¹⁷

It can be assumed that the cinemas were closed on 12 September, when German troops reached the outskirts of Lviv. They were reopened successively from October, when Lviv came under Soviet rule, and on its very first day, 22 September, the occupiers organised the screening of the Soviet film *Lenin in 1918* (*Lenin v 1918 godu*, dir. Mikhail Romm, Yefim Aron, Isidor Simkov, 1939).¹⁸ By mid-October seven cinemas were again operating in the city, by the end of November there were 15, and by 9 December – already 25.¹⁹ The cinemas were nationalized and, in December 1939, they were subordinated to the Board of Cinefication by the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union.²⁰ They were given names after Bolshevik and communist politicians and military officers (Lenin, Kirov, Dzerzhinsky, Kuybyshev, Ordzhonikidze, Frunze, Kotovsky, Chkalov, Chapaev), as well as Russian (Pushkin, Gorky, Ostrovsky), Ukrainian (Shevchenko, Franko), and Polish (Mickiewicz) poets and writers.²¹ However, this was quickly recognized as a propaganda error and in February 1940 the cinemas' pre-war names were restored.²²

During the Soviet occupation, cinema listings were printed in the Polish-language paper *Czerwony Sztandar* (published from 27 September 1939) and the Ukrainian-language *Vil'na Ukrayina* (from 25 September 1939).²³ Their comparison indicates that for any given cinema precisely the same films were advertised in both newspapers.²⁴ Screenings differed from those before the war. According to Grzegorz Hryciuk, *most (if not all) films were presented in Lviv, it seems, in Russian or Ukrainian language versions (i.e., without Polish subtitles)*.²⁵ According to Albin Głowacki, *films were as a rule presented in Russian (sometimes Ukrainian) language versions (sound, subtitles) but some of them were already provided with Polish subtitles*.²⁶ This was later to be emphasized by propaganda during the German occupation, pointing out that Poles had boycotted cinemas during the Soviet era due to, among other reasons, *a lack of knowledge of the Russian language (dialogues were not translated)*.²⁷ For Ukrainian viewers, meanwhile, Russian would have been considerably more comprehensible.

Before the German takeover, Soviet films dominated Lviv cinemas, although Western productions were also shown occasionally. In 1940, the American movie *The Great Waltz* (dir. Julien Duvivier, Victor Fleming, Josef von Sternberg, 1938) was screened, and the following year screenings of *Modern Times* (dir. Charles Chaplin, 1936) and *Give Us This Night* (dir. Alexander Hall, 1936) were organized.²⁸ *The Great Waltz*, present on Lviv cinema screens for half a year, was the most popular film in the city during the Soviet occupation, a fact which was misrepresented by the German *Lemberger Zeitung* in 1941 to testify to the quality of German film: the paper erroneously stated that it was the German *Immortal Waltz* (*Unsterblicher Walzer*, dir. E.W. Emo, 1939).²⁹ *The Great Waltz* enjoyed great success throughout the Soviet Union, where it was played from 1940 with Russian subtitles (twenty years later it was rereleased in a dubbed version).³⁰ Ukrainians and Poles in Lviv presumably watched the film in this Russian-subtitled version. However, it might also be possible that it was distributed with Polish subtitles – after all, this film had been played in Lviv even before the war.³¹

Czerwony Sztandar claimed that from 10 October to 10 November 1939, Lviv cinemas recorded 456,506 film-goers (14,266 per day), which would have been a good attendance if this were true, particularly taking into consideration that many of the cinemas remained closed.³² Other evidence shows that in the first quarter of 1940, the attendance was 1,026,240 (11,403 per day).³³ In order to increase this figure, Western films began to be imported, and in June 1941, ticket prices were even reduced by 40%.³⁴ This indicates that Soviet films, dominating the listings, were likely of not much interest, especially to Polish audiences, who were not attracted to the cinemas due to the lack of Polish subtitles.

Cinemas during the German occupation, 1941–1944

On 22 June 1941, German troops attacked the Soviet Union, the Wehrmacht entering Lviv on 30 June. On 1 August, the city became the capital of the newly created District of Galicia, incorporated into the *Generalgouvernement*. The arrival of the Germans caused much of the population to flee: *Almost all the Russians,*

Jews, and Ukrainians, who had arrived in 1939-1941 from the Soviet Union, left Lviv.³⁵ By November 1941, the city's population had declined to 325,458: 150,058 Poles (46%), 104,126 Jews (32%), 64,315 Ukrainians (20%), 5,923 Germans (2%), 1,036 Russians (0.3%).³⁶

In line with their racial policy, the Germans segregated the city into distinct German, Polish-Ukrainian, and Jewish districts.³⁷ Regarding the policy towards Poles and Ukrainians, Hans Frank, the Governor General in occupied Poland, stated: *The Ukrainians are particularly suited to act as a counterbalance against the Poles*.³⁸ According to Hryciuk, *the occupation policy of the Third Reich in Galicia was based on the classic mechanism of "divide et impera" – the constant antagonization of Poles and Ukrainians*.³⁹ This manifested in various ways, for example, in November 1941, attendance at the Lviv opera was regulated in such a way that performances for Germans were held on Saturdays, Sundays, and Mondays at 7 p.m., for Ukrainians on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays at 6 p.m., as well as on Sundays at 3 p.m., and there were no performances scheduled for Poles.⁴⁰

The Jewish district, established as a ghetto in September 1941, marked the enforced separation of the Jewish population. On 1 July 1942, the city's territory was expanded from 66 km² to 260 km² through the incorporation of 22 surrounding municipalities. This expansion increased the city's population to 420,000 inhabitants, as reported in the *Lemberger Zeitung*.⁴¹ An examination of the statistics for the 'Aryan' population of Lviv before and after this expansion reveals notable changes. The German population rose from 11,700 to 12,000, the Polish population from 150,300 to 171,303 and the Ukrainian population from 65,000 to 82,284.⁴² Consequently, following the enlargement, Lviv's total population had grown from 227,000 to over 265,000. These figures imply that the 'non-Aryan' population, primarily Jews confined to the ghetto, amounted to 155,000 individuals. However, official reports conspicuously omit details regarding the fate of these Jewish residents. Hryciuk notes that in June 1942, there were 82,000 Jews in Lviv, a number which had dwindled to 50,000 by September of the same year, with a mere 1,300 surviving the war.⁴³

By March 1943, the number of Germans in Lviv had increased to 19,013 but from March 1944, with the eastern front approaching, the city was becoming deserted. 27 July 1944 saw Lviv once again fall under the control of the Red Army and in August of that year, a mere 92,500 Poles and 52,100 Ukrainians remained.⁴⁴

From 5 July to 28 August 1941, the Ukrainian-language newspaper *Ukrayins'ki Shchodenni Visti* was published. In its issue of 23 July, it included an article about Lviv's cinemas, reporting the launch of the Ukrainian Film Centre on 2 July. On 13 July, it opened its first cinemas (Kopernik, Casino, Europa, Roxy), with others (Park, Wanda) following a few days later. Commissioners, mostly young Ukrainians, were chosen to administer them. Over nine days (13-21 July), these cinemas sold 31,216 tickets (3,468 per day), and sales revenue amounted to 75,047 roubles (at an average ticket price of 2.40 roubles), of which 22,514 roubles went to the city treasury (the tax therefore being 30%).⁴⁵

An article published on the eve of the opening of the first cinemas in Lviv stated that one of them would be for soldiers.⁴⁶ The advertisement gave listings for three cinemas (Kopernik, Roxy, Casino), which means that the cinema for soldiers

DEUTSCHES LICHTSPIELHAUS

» **CASINO** «

Lemberg, Opernstrasse 5 / Telefon 228 69

Vom 24. bis 30. Oktober 1941

Hauptsache glücklich

mit

Heinz Rühmann Hertha Feiler Ida Wüst Hans Leibelt
--

Die neueste Wochenschau !

Anfangszeiten: 14.30 / 17 / 19.30 / Sonntags
ausserdem um 12 Uhr

Film listings for Germans, Ukrainians, and Poles from 24 to 30 October 1941 published in the newspapers *Lemberger Zeitung*, *L'vivs'ki Visti*, and *Gazeta Lwowska*.

Репертуар львівських кін	
від 24 — 30. X. 1941.	
КІНО	ФІЛЬМ
Касіно Опери 5	ЩАСТЯ ПЕРЕДУСІМ
Ампір Опери 5	МУЖЧИНА НА БЕЗДО РИНОКІ
Роксі Криштопівського 57	МОДЕРНЕ КОХАННЯ
Студіо Петрівника 8	КОНГО-ЕКСПРЕС
Космос Пл. Стрілецька 1	ЧЕРВОНИЙ МЛИН
Світ Городицька 3	ЮНЯЖНА З БАРУ
Ріальто Пл. Академічна 5	ЛЮБОВНІ ЛИСТИ
Метро Львівська 7	ТИ ТАКА МЕНІ ДО ВПОДОБИ
Муза 3-Травня 11	КОМІСАР ФОРСТ
Кіно Парк Бутуєвський горіж	ПАРУБОЦЬКИЙ РАЙ

REPERTUAR KINOTEATRÓW LWOWSKICH	
od 24. — 30. X. 1941.	
KINO	FILM
ROXY Kętrzyńskiego 37	Nowoczesna miłość
STUDIO Kopernika 9	Kongo-Express
KOSMOS Pl. Strzelecki 1	Czerwony Młyn
ŚWIT Grodzka 3	Księżniczka z baru
RIALTO Pl. Akademicki 5	Listy m łosne
METRO Lyczakowska 7	Tak mi się podobasz
MUZA 3-Maja 11	Komisarz Forst
KINO PARK Ogród Jezuicki	Raj kawalerów 6953

Film listings for Germans, Ukrainians, and Poles from 24 to 30 October 1941 published in the newspapers *Lemberger Zeitung*, *L'viv's'ki Visti*, and *Gazeta Lwowska*.

was Europa.⁴⁷ The three cinemas mentioned initially screened newsreels⁴⁸. The first feature films (which were German) appeared the following week (accompanied by newsreels), as did the next two new cinemas, the Park (a seasonal cinema) and the Wanda.⁴⁹ On 27 July, listings for all five of these cinemas were published (announcing a main film, a newsreel and a *Kulturfilm*)⁵⁰ but their advertisements came to a halt in August; the only cinema advertised that month was the Empire. It announced newsreels about Ukraine for the period 8-20 August,⁵¹ while from 15 August onwards a film with Zarah Leander (and a newsreel) with Ukrainian subtitles was to be screened.⁵² The inclusion of this last piece of information suggests that the earlier films (or some of them) did not necessarily have Ukrainian subtitles.

It is difficult to say whether the absence of cinema advertisements in *Ukrayins'ki Shchodenni Visti* in August was due to the editors not receiving the information despite cinemas still operating, or whether perhaps the German creation of the Galicia district on 1 August and its incorporation into the *Generalgouvernement* entailed a reorganisation of the film industry and the temporary closure of at least some cinemas. Either way, the supervision of cinemas and film distribution across the whole *Generalgouvernement* was carried out by the Film- und Propagandamittel-Vertriebsgesellschaft mbH (FIP), based in Kraków, which was first headed by Willi Peter Busch and, from 1942, by Ernst Fliegel.⁵³

In early August 1941, in a letter to Günter Schwarz of the Reich Film Chamber in Berlin, Busch reported that there were nine cinemas in Lviv, of which the first to be opened were two cinemas for soldiers (*Soldaten-Filmtheater*). Busch assumed that German civilians would have two cinemas at their disposal, the Wehrmacht two, and Ukrainians two (German films with Ukrainian subtitles to be played in them), and the remaining cinemas (not enumerated by Busch) would serve Poles (films with Polish subtitles). At the time, cinema tickets were priced at 2, 3, and 4 roubles, which corresponded to 0.20, 0.30 and 0.40 German marks. It was planned to raise the prices to 0.30-1.20 marks in the cinemas for Germans and 0.20-0.80 marks in those for Ukrainians and Poles. The intention was also to renovate the cinemas with funds raised from ticket sales and to make them centres for the promotion of German film.⁵⁴

From 9 August 1941,⁵⁵ the Ukrainian-language *L'vivs'ki Visti* and the Polish-language *Gazeta Lwowska* were published in Lviv (until 18 and 19 July 1944, respectively). The former – like *Ukrayins'ki Shchodenni Visti* – listed the screenings of the film with Zarah Leander in August,⁵⁶ while the newspaper for Poles did not advertise this film. Thereafter, until October neither carried regular cinema listings but cinemas (in unknown numbers) are known to have continued operating. This is evidenced by an article in *L'vivs'ki Visti* from mid-September, which stressed the importance of Ukrainian subtitles to the success of three German films screened during the previous weeks: *What is important in these films for the Ukrainian viewer are the Ukrainian subtitles, which have been created in pure literary language. This can even be seen in the lyrics of the film songs. It is no wonder that Lviv audiences [Ukrainians] fill the cinemas to the brim at all screenings of these three films.*⁵⁷

From 10 October, the Kosmos cinema screened a Polish film, which was announced in the Polish- and Ukrainian-language press.⁵⁸ From the following week, cinema listings were regularly printed in the newspapers for Poles and

Ukrainians and changed every Friday, though the number of cinemas detailed was two greater in the Ukrainian press title: the newspaper for Poles reported on screenings taking place from 17 October in eight cinemas (Roxy, Kopernik, Kosmos, Świt, Rialto, Metro, Muza, Park), while that for Ukrainians reported on ten (the additional ones being the Casino and Empire).⁵⁹ This could mean that in those eight cinemas, films intended for the city's Poles and Ukrainians were shown at the same screenings, yet it is not clear which language the subtitles were in. It seems probable that some films had Polish subtitles while others had Ukrainian ones, as indicated by an article in *L'vivs'ki Visti: Many films are intended for the Ukrainian or Polish population and have Ukrainian or Polish subtitles*.⁶⁰ The opportunity to watch Polish films, or alternatively German films with Polish subtitles, was of importance to Polish viewers, as follows from an article in *Gazeta Lwowska: A separate consideration should be devoted here to the Polish word on screen, spoken and written, which, suppressed by the Bolsheviks, has now returned to Lviv, attracting thousands of viewers with its irresistible power*.⁶¹ The Polish- and German-language press reported that between 17 October and 11 November, Lviv cinemas were visited by nearly half a million viewers.⁶² *L'vivs'ki Visti* was more precise, informing that 455,000 tickets were sold during that period (an average of 17,500 per day).⁶³

From 26 October 1941 (until 13 July 1944), the *Lemberger Zeitung* newspaper was published in Lviv for German readers. It advertised the Casino cinema.⁶⁴ Although *L'vivs'ki Visti* also announced the films played there, it can be assumed that they were screened without Ukrainian subtitles. On 31 October, two cinemas were opened that advertised in the press for Poles and Ukrainians (Bajka, Ton),⁶⁵ another following on 14 November (Mewa).⁶⁶ In November, 13 cinemas were operating in Lviv, including the seasonal Park, which was to close for the winter period from 7 November.

On 28 November, a nationality-based division of cinemas was introduced. Two cinemas were made available to Germans (Casino and Olymp – formerly Empire), four to Ukrainians (Rialto, Metro, Muza, Studio – formerly Kopernik), and six to Poles (Roxy, Kosmos, Świt, Mewa, Ton, Bajka).⁶⁷ The division was maintained until the end of the occupation but underwent changes. The two cinemas for Germans were deemed to have deviated from the standards expected for this privileged nation (the press writing that the minimalism of Soviet requirements was evident), so it was decided that the music-school building would be converted into a prestigious cinema.⁶⁸ It opened in October 1942 under the name *Viktoria*, and *Lemberger Zeitung* described in detail its appearance and technical innovations (including an organ and the possibility of radio transmissions).⁶⁹ Film screenings for Germans were also temporarily held in other cinemas: the Zentral (from March to July 1942, then turned over to the Poles) and the Studio (from January to April 1944). By the end of the occupation, Germans had three cinemas at their disposal (*Viktoria*, Casino, Olymp).

Of the four cinemas that Ukrainians were originally allowed to attend, the Studio and Muza were soon handed over to the Poles (in February and March 1942), and in return Ukrainians were given the Odeon and Luna. An article in *L'vivs'ki Visti* announced the opening of the Odeon as a new prestigious cinema for Ukrainians in Lviv (furnished with busts of two luminaries of Ukrainian cul-

ture, Taras Shevchenko and Mykola Lysenko).⁷⁰ The Metro operated until February 1943, while the Luna operated until the following February. Come the end of the occupation, Ukrainians had two cinemas (Rialto and Odeon) for their use.

The Poles, in addition to the Studio and Muza cinemas, were given the Flora in March 1942, the Saturn in June, the Zentral in July, and the Gloria in October. In September, however, the Ton was closed. The seasonal Park was also a cinema for Poles. One cinema (Flora) was closed in November 1943, four (Świt, Studio, Kosmos, Roxy) in January 1944, and another (Gloria) in March, so by the end of the occupation Poles had six cinemas at their disposal (Saturn, Zentral, Bajka, Muza, Mewa, and the seasonal Park).

Film supply during the German occupation

The calculations presented below are based on an analysis of *Lemberger Zeitung*, *Gazeta Lwowska* and *L'vivs'ki Visti*, in which listings were regularly published. They cover the period from 10 October 1941 to 20 July 1944 (144 weeks).⁷¹ There is no data (due to incomplete issues or missing advertisements) for three weeks in the case of *Lemberger Zeitung* and *Gazeta Lwowska* and four weeks in the case of *L'vivs'ki Visti*. Thus, the collected data covers 98% of cinema listings for Germans and Poles and 97% for Ukrainians.⁷² The cinema offerings for these three audience groups are shown in Table 1.⁷³

Country of production	Number of films	Cinema profile:		
		GER	UA	PL
Germany	310	222	181	217
inclusive of German co-productions:				
GER-ES	3	0	1	3
GER-HU	1	1	0	1
GER-IT	2	2	1	1
GER-JP	1	1	0	0
Italy	8	8	4	4
Japan	1	1	0	0
Poland	28	0	5	28
Spain	1	0	1	1
Ukraine/other	1	0	1	0
Films total	349	231	192	250
% of total	100%	66%	55%	72%
% German films	89%	96%	94%	87%

Tab. 1. Film supply in Lviv cinemas for Germans, Ukrainians, and Poles, 1941-1944. Source: Authors' own calculations.

As can be seen, the film offerings in cinemas for each nationality were dominated by German titles. Poles were allowed to watch Polish films as well (to encourage them to go to cinemas) but only until the end of February 1943, when they were withdrawn from circulation. These were mostly pre-war films. It is interesting to note that from 29 January (just before the defeat of the Germans at Stalingrad) as many as eight out of 11 cinemas were playing Polish films for Poles, and that after a brief period during which the cinemas were closed as a sign of mourning (February 4-6), this trend continued, indicating the desire to attract viewers to the cinemas in order to prevent possible riots caused by euphoria over the defeat of the German army. We were unable to establish the reason for the complete withdrawal of Polish films in early March.

All Polish films advertised in the Ukrainian-language press were screened before 28 November 1941, up to which point *L'vivs'ki Visti* and *Gazeta Lwowska* were publishing the same film listings. After the division of cinemas by nationality, no more Polish films were played in cinemas for Ukrainians. Ukrainians could, however, watch one native film, namely *Oy, ne khody Hrytsyu...* (*Oh, don't go, Hrytsia...*). Identifying this production is not easy, not only because it is not listed in the IMDb database and information about it in the literature is scant,⁷⁴ but also because the announcement published in *L'vivs'ki Visti* did not mention the names of the actors, unlike for other films. Instead, it informed that the film was based on national themes.⁷⁵ Its title referred to a 17th-century Ukrainian folk song, which Volodymyr Aleksandrov turned into an operetta (1873) and Mykhaylo Staryts'kyy into a stage drama (1887). It was frequently staged in Ukrainian theatres, including in Lviv during the German occupation; a new staging by Yosyp Stadnyy premiered on 26 July 1941.⁷⁶ The film may not have been an adaptation of this drama (in which case, the names of the film actors would have been expected in the announcements), but rather a recording of this stage production, which then screened in various cinemas, and not only in Lviv.⁷⁷ Alternatively, the film in question could have been *Marusia* (dir. Leo Bulgakov, 1938), made in the USA and Canada by members of the Ukrainian diaspora (and produced by Ukrafilm Corporation).⁷⁸ This *Musical Screenplay* – as described by the American promotional poster – was based on a Ukrainian Folk Drama “*Oy ne khody Hryciu na Vechernytsi*” by M. Starytsky.⁷⁹ We were unable to determine if this film was available in the *Generalgouvernement* and if it was the one distributed in Lviv as *Oy, ne khody Hrytsyu...* It is, however, evident that for the Ukrainian audiences in Lviv, the film was exceptional since it invoked native heritage and was spoken in Ukrainian by Ukrainian actors.

As for German films, Table 1 shows how many were screened in cinemas for Germans, Ukrainians, and Poles, but it does not detail how many films were intended for only one nationality group, and how many for two or three. This is presented in Table 2.

Country of production	Number of films	Audience profile:						
		GER	GER-UA	GER-PL	GER-UA-PL	UA-PL	UA	PL
Germany	310	79	10	28	105	62	4	22
inclusive of German co-productions:								
GER-ES	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
GER-HU	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
GER-IT	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
GER-JP	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Italy	8	4	0	0	4	0	0	0
Japan	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Poland	28	0	0	0	0	5	0	23
Spain	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Ukraine/other	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Films total	349	84	10	28	109	68	5	45
% of total	100%	24%	3%	8%	31%	19%	1%	13%

Tab. 2. Film supply for different nationality groups in Lviv between 1941 and 1944. Source: Authors' own calculations.

As can be seen, of the 310 German films, 79 (25%) were for Germans only, and 88 (28%) were exclusively for other groups. The situation was similar in Kraków, where 32% of German films were made available only to Germans, and 21% only to Poles (there were no cinemas for Ukrainians).⁸⁰ Integrating the Lviv and Kraków data allows for further comparisons. Among the 79 films watched only by Germans in Lviv, there were 18 that were watched by Poles in Kraków (60 of the remaining films were watched in Kraków only by Germans and one was not played there). In turn, among the 88 films that were not shown to Germans in Lviv, there were 66 that Germans in Kraków could see (the remaining 22 were watched only by Poles).

The above calculations lead to two conclusions: 1) although at the beginning of the war Hans Frank stated that only 'bad films' should be shown to Poles,⁸¹ in fact there were very few films screened in cinemas for Poles or Ukrainians that were not screened in cinemas for Germans; 2) quite substantial a number of German films (60) were reserved in Lviv and Kraków for Germans only, which indicates a deliberate repertoire policy of the occupation authorities.

It is impossible to examine all these films in a short article. To reconstruct the criterion used to decide whether to address specific films to Germans or to non-Germans (Poles and /or Ukrainians), we have looked at the distinction marks (*Prädikate*)⁸² that films screened in Lviv had been allocated. This approach allowed us to objectify the assessment, since films were given *Prädikate* in an institutional

manner – in the Third Reich this was handled by the Censorship Office in Berlin, which between 1933 and 1945 assigned *Prädikate* to 347 feature films, about a third of the German cinema production in total.⁸³

The *Prädikate* had been assigned in Germany since the 1920s and were linked to the tax system. In the Third Reich, the *Prädikat* system was expanded several times (the last being in 1942). Topping the hierarchy was the “Film of the Nation” *Prädikat*, which was given to five titles. A fundamental work providing data on German films and their *Prädikate* is the 15-volume study by Ulrich Klaus.⁸⁴ We used it to see which films screened in Lviv had received such designations. This information is shown in Table 3.

Distinction mark (<i>Prädikat</i>)		Year of mark	Audience profile:			Films total
			only GER	GER + other	non- GER	
1	instructional (<i>Lehrfilm</i>)	1926	1	0	0	1
2	national education (<i>volksbildend</i>)	1926	7	0	1	8
3	culturally valuable (<i>kulturell wertvoll</i>)	1933	5	4	1	10
4	politically valuable (<i>staatspolitisch wertvoll</i>)	1933	14	5	2	21
5	artistically valuable (<i>künstlerisch wertvoll</i>)	1934	21	32	16	69
6	politically and artistically especially valuable (<i>staatspolitisch und künstlerisch besonders wertvoll</i>)	1934	8	1	0	9
7	valuable for the youth (<i>Jugendwert</i>)	1938	14	3	1	18
8	artistically especially valuable (<i>künstlerisch besonders wertvoll</i>)	1939	3	6	0	9
9	politically especially valuable (<i>staatspolitisch besonders wertvoll</i>)	1939	1	0	0	1
10	nationally valuable (<i>volkstümlich wertvoll</i>)	1939	24	26	2	52
11	Film of the Nation (<i>Film der Nation</i>)	1941	2	0	0	2
12	worthy of recognition (<i>anerkanntenswert</i>)	1942	2	4	0	6
Distinction marks total			102	81	23	206
Marked films total			47	59	18	124

Tab. 3. Distinction marks (*Prädikate*) of the films screened in Lviv. Source: Authors' own calculations.

As can be seen, of the 310 German films screened in Lviv, 124 had a *Prädikat*, that is, 40% – a percentage slightly higher than in the Reich (the number of *Prädikate* is greater than the number of films with a *Prädikat*, as many films had

DEUTSCHE LICHTSPIELTHEATER IN LEMBERG

Ab Freitag, den 28. November 1941 zugelassen

NUR FÜR DEUTSCHE

CASINO

OPERNSTRASSE 5

MARIANNE HOPPE
HANS SUHNER

AUF WIEDERSEHEN FRANZISKA

ferner mit:

FRITZ ODEMAR
RUDOLF FERNAU
HERM. SPEELMANS
HERBERT HÜBNER
JOSEPHINE DORA
FRIEDA RICHARD

Spielleit.: **HELM. KAUTNER**

Neue
Spielzeiten: **3⁴⁵, 6⁻, 8¹⁵**

Sonntags ab **1³⁰**

OLYMP

OPERNSTRASSE 5

ILSE WERNER
CARL L. DIEHE
J. GOTTSCHALK

DIE SCHWEDISCHE NACHTIGALL

ferner mit:

ARIBERT WASCHER
HANS LEIBELT
MARIANNE SIMSON
H. H. SCHAUFUSS

Spielleit.: **PETER P. BRAUER**

Musik: **FRANZ GROTHE**

Neue
Spielzeiten: **3³⁰, 5⁴⁵, 8⁻**

Sonntags ab **1³⁰**

IN BEIDEN THEATERN

DIE NEUESTE WOCHENSCHAU

Film listings for Germans from 28 November to 4 December 1941
published in the newspaper *Lemberger Zeitung*.

more than one). Films for the non-German population generally had the *Prädikat* “artistically valuable” (two films marked as “politically valuable” were advertised in the Ukrainian-language press before the division of cinemas by nationality on 28 November 1941).

Among the common films (for Germans and other nations), those with the *Prädikat* “artistically valuable” also predominated, but there was a high proportion of “nationally valuable” ones as well. Of the five films with the *Prädikat* “politically valuable,” two were advertised in the German- and Ukrainian-language press before 28 November 1941, and the other three were also marked as “artistically valuable.” The only film with the *Prädikat* “politically and artistically especially valuable” was *The Life of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* (*Wen die Götter lieben*, dir. Karl Hartl, 1942) – a biography of the famous composer.

Of the 47 films shown only to Germans, 22 had a ‘political’ *Prädikat* (nos. 4, 6, 9, 11 in Table 3). They appeared together with others, including five times with “national education,” 10 times with “artistically valuable,” 13 times with “valuable for the youth,” and nine times with “nationally valuable.” It can therefore be concluded that it was primarily the ‘political’ *Prädikat* that had significance for the distribution of films in cinemas solely to either Germans or non-Germans (who, with few exceptions, were not allowed to see films with this *Prädikat*). An analogous situation occurred in the Reich, where “politically valuable” films were generally (with one exception) not released to Jews, who were allowed to watch films in the *Filmbühne* of the Jüdischer Kulturbund between 1938 and 1941 (after they had been banned from attending cinemas).⁸⁵ ‘Political’ films were primarily intended to serve the purpose of building up the German national community (*Volksgemeinschaft*), and therefore (with exceptions) were not distributed to Jews in the Reich, nor to cinemas for Poles or Ukrainians in Lviv. (Jews were forbidden from going to cinemas in the *Generalgouvernement*, and no cinemas were established in the ghettos to which they were confined.)

In the case of Poles and Ukrainians, it is difficult to speak of separate film policies on the part of the occupation authorities (apart from Polish films being played in cinemas for Poles and one Ukrainian film in cinemas for Ukrainians). Of the 14 German films screened in Lviv in cinemas for Ukrainians but not for Poles, seven were announced in the Ukrainian-language press before the division of cinemas between nationalities on 28 November 1941. Of the remaining seven films, six were shown in cinemas for Poles in Kraków (and the one not played there had no *Prädikat*). The division of cinemas into those for Ukrainians and Poles was not reflected in the range of German films on offer. It seems that the Germans (in addition to antagonizing Poles and Ukrainians) had an interest in ensuring that as many people as possible attended cinemas. Consequently, films were translated into Ukrainian and Polish. In particular, the availability of Polish films (until February 1943) and Polish subtitles constituted a major change for Polish viewers compared to the Soviet period.

Film preferences of different audiences during the German occupation

In his study of film preferences in European audiences, Joseph Garncarz proposed a utilization index (*Ausnutzungssindex*) to measure the use of film offering, representing the ratio of demand to supply of a particular film.⁸⁶ If higher than 1, the films enjoyed relative audience success; if lower than 1, there was no special demand for them; if equal to 1, demand and supply were balanced.⁸⁷ As Garncarz has demonstrated, the cinematography of the Third Reich was to a large extent regulated by the mechanism of supply and demand.⁸⁸ For this reason, he was able to use the utilization index to analyse the popularity of Nazi-related films (*NS-nahe Filme*) in the Reich.⁸⁹ Garncarz distinguished 37 such films, proceeding from a list of titles banned by Allied Military Censorship in post-war Germany (1952) and recognized as propaganda by Gerd Albrecht (1969), to those classified as restricted more recently (2012) by the Wilhelm-Murnau-Stiftung (*Vorbehaltsfilme*).⁹⁰ As he reflects: *Of course, one can argue about whether an individual film should be removed from the list or whether another film should be added to the list. The function of the list can be seen as a magnifying glass that allows the demand for NS-related films to be measured. I have tested various reduced or expanded versions of the list. It fulfils its purpose, as the overall picture ... does not change significantly as a result of the variants.*⁹¹

Inspired by Garncarz's work, we used the utilization index to measure the popularity of films in Lviv. As the offering was definitely dominated by German films, we decided to divide them into several categories depending on their *Prädikat*: 'artistic' (nos. 5, 6, 8 in Table 3), 'political' (nos. 4, 6, 9, 11), 'artistic/political' (if a given film had a *Prädikat* from both these groups, with no. 6 itself combining both groups), 'other' (if a given film had neither an 'artistic' nor 'political' *Prädikat*), and no *Prädikat*. The demand for films was measured by the number of days on which they were screened.⁹² As we were interested in the preferences of Germans, Poles, and Ukrainians, we covered the period from the division of cinemas by nationality on 28 November 1941 until the end of the German occupation. With regard to cinemas for Polish viewers, we have made an additional division into two sub-periods: up to 28 February 1943 (when Polish films were screened) and after that date (when they were withdrawn from distribution). These data are shown in Table 4.

Country of production	Cinema profile:			PL: 28.02.1943	
	GER	UA	PL	until	after
film supply					
Germany	96.0%	96.5%	86.7%	79.9%	97.2%
inclusive of films with <i>Prädikat</i> :					
none	50.7%	63.0%	58.2%	59.1%	65.7%
artistic	20.3%	22.0%	18.5%	13.4%	21.0%

artistic/political	10.1%	2.3%	1.6%	0.0%	2.2%
political	1.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
other	13.2%	9.2%	8.4%	7.4%	8.3%
Italy	3.5%	2.3%	1.6%	1.3%	2.2%
Japan	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Poland	0.0%	0.0%	11.2%	18.8%	0.0%
Spain	0.0%	0.6%	0.4%	0.0%	0.6%
Ukraine/other	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
demand for films					
Germany	96.5%	96.5%	82.2%	67.2%	96.2%
inclusive of films with <i>Prädikat</i> :					
none	45.5%	66.4%	54.9%	49.7%	59.8%
artistic	27.5%	19.9%	19.0%	11.2%	26.2%
artistic/political	9.2%	1.4%	1.5%	0.0%	2.9%
political	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
other	13.5%	8.9%	6.8%	6.2%	7.3%
Italy	3.3%	1.8%	2.2%	1.3%	3.0%
Japan	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Poland	0.0%	0.0%	15.2%	31.6%	0.0%
Spain	0.0%	0.5%	0.4%	0.0%	0.8%
Ukraine	0.0%	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
utilization index					
Germany	1.00	1.00	0.95	0.84	0.99
inclusive of films with <i>Prädikat</i> :					
none	0.90	1.05	0.94	0.84	0.91
artistic	1.36	0.90	1.03	0.84	1.25
artistic/political	0.91	0.59	0.95		1.33
political	0.40				
other	1.02	0.96	0.80	0.84	0.88
Italy	0.93	0.76	1.34	0.95	1.34
Japan	0.59				
Poland			1.35	1.68	
Spain		0.79	1.07		1.49
Ukraine		2.31			

Tab. 4. Film supply, demand, and utilization index in Lviv by nationality. Source: Authors' own calculations.

It is not surprising that the highest utilization index values were obtained by Polish films in cinemas for Poles and by a Ukrainian film (the only one on offer) in cinemas for Ukrainians, since in the Europe of the 1930s, audiences were most likely to watch native films.⁹³ In the case of Poles, it is noteworthy that until February 1943, only Polish films had an index higher than 1. This is even more remarkable due to the fact that of the 28 titles available, 21 were known before the war (seven premiering during the occupation). Once Polish films had been withdrawn from circulation, Poles were most likely to watch the few non-German films, and of the German films, those with the 'artistic' *Prädikat* (the top-ranked being *Make Love to Me / Hab' mich lieb!*, dir. Harald Braun, 1942/ with Marika Rökk, the operetta film *Vienna Blood / Wiener Blut*, dir. Willi Forst, 1942/, and the circus film *Die große Nummer [The Big Number]* /dir. Karl Anton, 1943/). Within the group of 'artistic/political' films, there were four titles available to Poles, of which two biographical films were of interest to the public: *Paracelsus* (dir. Georg Wilhelm Pabst, 1943) and *The Life of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*.

Among Ukrainians, German productions with no *Prädikat* were the most popular, which may be surprising since the percentages of films in the 'artistic,' 'artistic/political,' and 'other' groups were similar in the cinemas for Ukrainians and for Poles. For the moment, we have no explanation for this situation. The most watched films by Ukrainian audiences included the comedies *Stern von Rio [Star of Rio]* (dir. Karl Anton, 1940), *So You Don't Know Korff Yet? (Nanu, Sie kennen Korff noch nicht?)*, dir. Fritz Holl, 1938), *Ihr Privatsekretär [Your Private Secretary]* (dir. Charles Klein, 1940), and *Die lustigen Vagabunden [The Happy Vagabonds]* (dir. Jürgen von Alten, 1940).

In cinemas for Germans, the percentage of films with a *Prädikat* was the highest, by far the most favoured being films in the 'artistic' group, with the revue film *Der weiße Traum [The White Dream]* (dir. Géza von Cziffra, 1943) proving the most popular. This film was screened in cinemas for 41 days, significantly longer than the productions ranking second in this respect (28 days): *Liebesgeschichten [Love Stories]* (dir. Viktor Tourjansky, 1943), *Ich vertraue Dir meine Frau an [I Entrust My Wife to You]* (dir. Kurt Hoffmann, 1943), *Altes Herz wird wieder jung [Old Heart Becomes Young Again]* (dir. Erich Engel, 1943), and *Frauen sind keine Engel [Women Are No Angels]* (dir. Willi Forst, 1943). In the 'artistic/political' group, *Fronttheater* (dir. Arthur Maria, 1942), *Der unendliche Weg [The Endless Path]* (dir. Hans Schweikart, 1943), and *The Great Love (Die große Liebe)*, dir. Rolf Hansen, 1942) enjoyed the longest runs (21 days). These last three films were played only in cinemas for Germans, whilst the previous five also in cinemas for Poles and Ukrainians.

It might seem surprising that in cinemas for Germans the utilization index of films from the 'political' and 'artistic/political' groups was lower than 1, indicating that films considered political by the Third Reich authorities were not popular among German audiences. Garncarz, who analysed the popularity of *NS-nahe Filme* in the Reich, concluded that these films were keenly watched by Germans from 1933 almost until the end of the war. Their utilization index peaked in the 1940/1941 season and only dropped below 1 in the 1943/1944 season, which can be linked to the defeat at Stalingrad and the change in public sentiment.⁹⁴

LWOWSKIE KINOTEATRY
od 28 listopada 1941 dopuszczone dla Polaków
Początek seansów o godz. 3, 5, 7
(w niedziele o godz. 12)

REPERTUAR

KINO	FILM
ROXY Kucharskiego 37	Kłamstwo Krystyny Junosza, Siquoux Maria Cwiklińska
ŚWIT Grodzka 3	Wrzos St. Englówna Junosza, Siquoux
KOSMOS Pl. Strzelecki 1	Listy miłosne Ljla Trenker Corta Rust
BAJKA Zielona 26	Nanette Jenny Jugo Hans Sönnker
GON Kucharska 1	Zapomniana melodia Helen Grussówna Aleks. Zabczyński
MEWA Zł. Kiewska 11	Niebezpieczna gra Jenny Jugo Harry Lindike

ЛЬВІВСЬКІ КІНОТЕАТРИ
Від 28 листопада 1941
ДОПУЩЕНІ ДЛЯ УКРАЇНЦІВ
Початок сеансів год. 3, 5, 7, (неділя год. 12)

РЕПЕРТУАР

КІНО	ФІЛЬМ
Студіо Кеplerова 9	НАРЕЧЕНА ЗА ГРАТАМИ Анна Ондра, Алоольф Вольбрих
Рідальто Пл. Академічна 8	КОЗИР - ДІВКА Анна Ондра, Вольф Альбах Ретті
Муза 3-Травня 11	ПОШЛЮБНА ПОДРОЖ Гансі Кнотек, Віктор Сталь
Метро Личаківська 7	ЧЕРВОНИЙ МЛИН Грета Вайсер, Тео Лінген

Film listings for Ukrainians and Poles from 28 November to 4 December 1941 published in the newspapers, *L'viv'ski Visti* and *Gazeta Lwowska*.

Garncarz's list is not identical to the list of films considered "politically (especially) valuable" by the pre-war Censorship Office (for example, *The Life of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* is not on Garncarz's list); it is worth comparing the utilization index of films with 'political' and 'artistic/political' *Prädikate* and *NS-nahe Filme* (nine titles from 28 November 1941 onwards) that were played in Lviv, also taking into account the division into the periods before and after the defeat at Stalingrad. These data are shown in Table 5.

Films	before Stalingrad			after Stalingrad		
	supply	demand	index	supply	demand	index
artistic/political	13.1%	13.9%	1.06	7.0%	6.3%	0.90
political	2.5%	1.8%	0.72	0.8%	0.1%	0.08
<i>NS-nahe</i>	6.6%	6.8%	1.03	0.8%	0.4%	0.54

Tab. 5. Utilization index: 'artistic/political,' 'political,' and *NS-nahe Filme* in Lviv. Source: Authors' own calculations.

As can be seen, the utilization index, which was higher than 1 in the 'artistic/political' and *NS-nahe Filme* groups before the defeat of the German forces at Stalingrad, fell below 1 thereafter, and this indicates that these films ceased to be popular among Germans in Lviv largely due to that failure. This coincides with Garncarz's conclusions about audience preferences in the Third Reich.

Conclusion

The above discussion indicates that the Soviet and German occupiers in Lviv applied different film policies towards the city's population. During the Soviet occupation, there were no separate cinemas for the different nationalities, but neither were films shown with Polish subtitles (or they were shown infrequently), so Poles in particular had little incentive to attend cinemas. Soviet films tended to be unpopular, so in order to increase attendance American films, watched in Lviv with the greatest interest, were sought.

During the German occupation, cinemas were divided into those for Germans, Poles, and Ukrainians. While the division of cinemas into those for Germans and non-Germans stemmed from racist ideology, there might have also been other reasons for the division between cinemas for Poles and Ukrainians. The Germans applied the principle of *divide et impera*, antagonizing Poles and Ukrainians, but they also had an interest in ensuring that as many people as possible attended cinemas, so films were translated into Polish and Ukrainian. There were no American films on offer; German entertainment films were screened instead.

The occupied population's mass cinema attendance was important to the German authorities for ideological and economic reasons. The screenings consisted of a primary feature film promoting German culture (apart from the few non-German productions) and accompanying screenings (a newsreel and a *Kulturfilm*), which were a tool of political propaganda. Polish films in cinemas for

Poles, in particular, were used to attract viewers, offering the opportunity to see Polish actors on screen and hear spoken Polish language. According to Jerzy Toeplitz, *cinemas fulfilled a kind of double or even opposite function – in accompanying programmes, they loudly proclaimed Nazi slogans, while in feature films, they tried to make the audience believe that there was, in fact, no war.*⁹⁵ Feature films attracted audiences who sought respite from the hardships of war and voluntarily paid for tickets. Representatives of the Polish underground state believed that profits from ticket sales were earmarked for armaments and called for boycotting cinemas,⁹⁶ but their appeals did not discourage viewers.

The repertoire policy of the German authorities indicates that in their view the 'higher' status was held by films with a 'political' *Prädikat*, which (with few exceptions) were intended only for Germans, because they served to build the *Volksgemeinschaft*. However, as the demand analysis shows, Germans did not watch them very eagerly, especially after the defeat at Stalingrad, which can be explained by a change in public sentiment (as can be seen in the analyses for both Lviv and the Reich).

Translated from Polish by Tomasz Bauer, revised by John Jacobs.

¹ I. Schiweck, "[...] weil wir lieber im Kino sitzen als in Sack und Asche." *Der deutsche Spielfilm in den besetzten Niederlanden 1940-1945*, Waxman, Münster 2002; *Cinema and the Swastika: The International Expansion of Third Reich Cinema*, eds. R. Vande Winkel, D. Welch, Palgrave MacMillan, London 2007 (2nd Edition 2011); R. Vande Winkel, "Film Distribution in Occupied Belgium (1940-1944): German Film Politics and Its Implementation by the 'Corporate' Organisations and the Film Guild", *TMG Journal for Media History* 2017, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 46-77; idem, "Die Expansion der Ufa während des Zweiten Weltkriegs. Verleihgesellschaften im Ausland zwischen 1939 und 1945", in: *Linientreu und populär. Das Ufa-Imperium 1933-1945*, eds. R. Rother, V. Thomas, Bertz + Fischer, Berlin 2017, pp. 57-66; idem, "Rekordeinnahmen und Kassengift. Die Ufa-Auslandsabteilung und der deutsche Filmexport im Zweiten Weltkrieg", in: *Ufa international. Ein deutscher Filmkonzern mit globalen Ambitionen*, eds. P. Stiasny, J. Kasten, F. Lang, edition text + kritik, München 2021, pp. 127-143; *Film Professionals in Nazi-Occupied Europe: Mediation Between the National-Socialist Cultural "New Order" and Local Structures*, eds. P. Skopal, R. Vande Winkel, Palgrave MacMillan, Cham 2021; R. Vande Winkel, J. Sedgwick, "Film Exhibition, Distribution, and Popularity in German-Occupied Belgium (1940-1944): Brussels, Antwerp, and Liege",

in: *Towards a Comparative Economic History of Cinema, 1930-1970*, ed. J. Sedgwick, Springer, Cham 2022, pp. 217-247.

² K. Trojanowski, *Świnie w kinie? Film w okupowanej Polsce*, PWN, Warszawa 2018; idem, "Jan Fethke: The Artist's Lot in the Shadow of the Swastika", in: *Film Professionals in Nazi-Occupied Europe*, op. cit., pp. 221-233; B. Januszewski, *Kino pod okupacją. Wojenne losy i postawy polskich filmowców (1939-1945)*, IPN, Gdańsk – Warszawa 2021.

³ J. Semilski, J. Toeplitz, *Owoc zakazany*, DKF Kinematograf, Kraków 1987; A. Dębski, "Raz jeszcze o repertuarach kin w okupowanym Krakowie", *Kwartalnik Filmowy* 2022, no. 117, pp. 161-183; idem, "Kina dla Niemców w okupowanym Krakowie na tle kin dla Polaków: polityka repertuarowa i preferencje filmowe widzów", *Images: The International Journal of European Film, Performing Arts and Audiovisual Communication* 2022, vol. 32, no. 41, pp. 199-219.

⁴ C. Pafort-Overduin, A. Dębski, T. Porubčanová, K. Pryt, P. Skopal, T. van Oort, R. Vande Winkel, "Cinema-Going in German-Occupied Territory in the Second World War: The Impact of Film Market Regulations on Supply and Demand in Brno, Brussels, Krakow, and The Hague", in: *The Palgrave Handbook of Comparative New Cinema Histories*, eds. D. Treveri Gennari, L. Van de Vijver, P. Ercole, Palgrave MacMillan, Cham 2024, pp. 307-331.

- ⁵ *Mały Rocznik Statystyczny 1939*, Główny Urząd Statystyczny, Warszawa 1939, p. 36.
- ⁶ G. Hryciuk, "Zmiany demograficzneludności polskiej we Lwowie w latach 1931-1944", in: *Wschodnie losy Polaków*, ed. S. Ciesielski, Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 1997, p. 29.
- ⁷ "Kultura", *Lwów w cyfrach* 1939, no. 5, p. 17. The May issue was the last before the war. On Lviv cinemas between 1896 and 1939 see: B. Gierszewska, *Kino i film we Lwowie do 1939 roku*, Wydawnictwo Akademii Świętokrzyskiej, Kielce 2006.
- ⁸ "Kultura", *Lwów w cyfrach* 1939, no. 1, p. 17; no. 2, p. 17; no. 3, p. 17.
- ⁹ R. Moorhouse, *The Devils' Alliance: Hitler's Pact with Stalin, 1939-1941*, Basic Books, New York 2014.
- ¹⁰ C. Mick, "Lviv under Soviet Rule, 1939-1941", in: *Stalin and Europe: Imitation and Domination, 1928-1953*, eds. T. Snyder, R. Brandon, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2014, p. 143. It should be noted that the Soviet authorities sought to exterminate the elites, intellectuals, independence activists, priests, teachers, and people suspected of having an attitude hostile to communism. This included Poles as well as Ukrainians and Jews.
- ¹¹ Ibidem, p. 147.
- ¹² G. Hryciuk, op. cit., pp. 36-37 (Lviv's population in May 1940: 423,000); idem, *Polacy we Lwowie 1939-1944. Życie codzienne*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 2000, p. 50 (Lviv's population in May 1940: 433,838); "Ludność Lwowa na przestrzeni wieków", *Gazeta Lwowska* 6.11.1941, p. 5 (Lviv's population in June 1940: 425,000-430,000; in July 1941: 433,868).
- ¹³ "Kinoteatry" [advertisement], *Gazeta Lwowska* 31.08.1939, p. 2.
- ¹⁴ All Ukrainian (and Russian) titles, written in the original Cyrillic characters, are given in English transcription according to the rules of the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names (PCGN) and the US Board on Geographical Names (BGN).
- ¹⁵ "Kina" [advertisement], *Dilo* 30.08.1939, p. 10. For one cinema there is a note: closed.
- ¹⁶ "Kinoteatry" [advertisement], *Chwila* (morning ed.) 12.09.1939, p. 4.
- ¹⁷ A comparison of the listings in the three newspapers shows that they advertized the same films playing in any given cinema (the few inconsistencies being due to a lack of up-to-date data in the editorial office). See: "Kina" [advertisement], *Dilo* 3.01.1939, p. 9; "Kinoteatry" [advertisement], *Chwila* (morning ed.) 3.01.1939, p. 10; "Kinoteatry" [advertisement], *Gazeta Lwowska* 3.01.1939, p. 2.
- ¹⁸ G. Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, op. cit., p. 116. The English versions of film titles are taken from the IMDb database, if applicable.
- ¹⁹ Ibidem, pp. 116-117.
- ²⁰ Ibidem, p. 117.
- ²¹ "Dziś w kinach państwowych" [advertisement], *Czerwony Sztandar* 28.12.1939, p. 4.
- ²² G. Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, op. cit., p. 117.
- ²³ A. Cieślakowa, *Prasa okupowanego Lwowa*, Neriton, Warszawa 1997, pp. 34, 103.
- ²⁴ "Dziś w państwowych kinach" [advertisement], *Czerwony sztandar* 30.03.1940, p. 4; "S'ohodni v kino" [advertisement], *Vil'na Ukrayina* 30.03.1940, p. 6.
- ²⁵ G. Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, op. cit., p. 118.
- ²⁶ A. Głowacki, *Sowieci wobec Polaków na ziemiach wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej 1939-1941*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 1998, p. 586.
- ²⁷ "Srebrny ekran znów wabi...", *Gazeta Lwowska* 2-3.11.1941, p. 5.
- ²⁸ G. Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, op. cit., pp. 117-118. *Modern Times* had already been screened in the USSR before the war (1936), while *The Great Waltz* and *Give Us This Night* were shown during the war (in 1940 and 1941). Between 1940 and 1944, 17 American films were distributed in the USSR for the first time, four of them before 1941, i.e., when Lviv was under Soviet occupation (the two other films were: *Roman Scandals* /dir. Frank Tuttle, 1933/ and *One Hundred Men and a Girl* /dir. Henry Koster, 1937/). See: A. Fedorov, *200 zarubezhnykh liderov sovetskogo kinoprokata: izbrannaya kolleksiya*, OD "Informatsiya dlya vsekh", Moskva 2023, pp. 261-262.
- ²⁹ "Sowjetfilme waren wenig gefragt", *Lemberger Zeitung* 23.11.1941, p. 5.
- ³⁰ *The Great Waltz* was the most popular foreign film in the USSR between 1940 and 1943. See: A. Fedorov, op. cit., p. 221; E. D. Malenova, "Audiovizual'nyy perevod v SSSR i Rossii: kratkaya istoricheskaya retrospektiva", *Vestnik Nizhegorodskogo Gosudarstvennogo Lingvisticheskogo Universiteta im. N.A. Dobrolyubova* 2021, vol. 3, no. 55, pp. 66-67.
- ³¹ "Kinoteatry" [advertisement], *Gazeta Lwowska* 19.03.1939, p. 2; "Kinoteatry" [advertisement], *Chwila* (morning ed.) 19.03.1939, p. 13; "Kina" [advertisement], *Dilo* 19.03.1939, p. 15.
- ³² S. Siewski, "Film radziecki dociera do mas", *Czerwony sztandar* 16.12.1939, p. 3.

- ³³ G. Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, op. cit., p. 117.
- ³⁴ Ibidem, p. 118.
- ³⁵ G. Hryciuk, "Zmiany demograficzne", op. cit., p. 38.
- ³⁶ Ibidem, p. 41.
- ³⁷ "Jakie będą granice dzielnic mieszkaniowych", *Gazeta Lwowska* 25.09.1941, p. 3.
- ³⁸ Cited in: R. Torzecki, *Kwestia ukraińska w polityce III Rzeszy (1933-1945)*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1972, p. 255.
- ³⁹ G. Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, op. cit., p. 226.
- ⁴⁰ "Theater- und Filmbesuch neu geregelt", *Lemberger Zeitung* 28.11.1941, p. 5. Throughout the Nazi occupation of Lviv, there was an extensive repressive apparatus by which the authorities sought to stifle any underground activity. Both Poles and Ukrainians were arrested and murdered, but, as Hryciuk notes: *It can be assumed that the total number of Poles arrested, murdered, and deported to concentration camps between 1941 and 1944 did not exceed the number arrested during the Soviet occupation.* G. Hryciuk, "Zmiany demograficzne", op. cit., p. 69.
- ⁴¹ "Groß-Lemberg, Stadtmittelpunkt europäischen Kerngebietes", *Lemberger Zeitung* 4.07.1942, p. 5.
- ⁴² "Ponad 265 tys. mieszkańców we Lwowie", *Gazeta Lwowska* 15.04.1943, p. 3. More detailed data from 1 July 1942 indicate that 40,489 people lived in the incorporated municipalities: 21,403 Poles, 16,984 Ukrainians, 1,736 Jews, 323 Germans, 43 others; see: G. Hryciuk, "Zmiany demograficzne", op. cit., p. 45.
- ⁴³ G. Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie*, op. cit., p. 50.
- ⁴⁴ Ibidem.
- ⁴⁵ "L'vivs'ki kinoteatry", *Ukrayins'ki Shchodenni Visti* 23.07.1941, p. 3. See also the English translation of this article in: O. Andronatij, "Entertainment Industry as a Means of Propaganda", trans. A. Masliukh, <https://lia.lvivcenter.org/en/themes/reherit/entertainment-propaganda/> [accessed: 3.06.2024].
- ⁴⁶ "Nimets'ka fil'ma ta i kul'turno-politychni zavdannya v Ukraini", *Ukrayins'ki Shchodenni Visti* 12.07.1941, p. 6. See also the English translation of this article in: O. Andronatij, op. cit.
- ⁴⁷ "Kino" [advertisement], *Ukrayins'ki Shchodenni Visti* 12.07.1941, p. 6.
- ⁴⁸ Initially, these were presumably newsreels of the *Deutsche Wochenschau*. Later, after Lviv was incorporated into the *Generalgouvernement*, these were newsreels of the *Tygodnik Dźwiękowy Guberni Generalnej* (published from May 1940). The producer of the latter was the Film- und Propagandamittel-Vertriebsgesellschaft mbH (FIP), which signed a material exchange agreement with the Deutsche Wochenschau GmbH in December 1940. The *Tygodnik Dźwiękowy Guberni Generalnej* can therefore be regarded as a version of the *Auslandstonwoche* distributed in the Generalgouvernement. See: H. Guttenberger, "Filmarbeit im Generalgouvernement", *Das Generalgouvernement 1941*, vol. 6 (March), pp. 28-29; R. Vande Winkel, "Nazi Newsreels in Europe, 1939-1945: The Many Faces of Ufa's Foreign Weekly Newsreel (*Auslandstonwoche*) versus German's Weekly Newsreel (*Deutsche Wochenschau*)", *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 2004, vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 5-34.
- ⁴⁹ "Kino" [advertisement], *Ukrayins'ki Shchodenni Visti* 20.07.1941, p. 8.
- ⁵⁰ "Kinoteatry u L'vovi" [advertisement], *Ukrayins'ki Shchodenni Visti* 27.07.1941, p. 7.
- ⁵¹ "Kino Ampir" [advertisement], *Ukrayins'ki Shchodenni Visti* 9.08.1941, p. 4; 10.08.1941, p. 7.
- ⁵² "Kino Ampir" [advertisement], *Ukrayins'ki Shchodenni Visti* 16.08.1941, p. 4; 17.08.1941, p. 7.
- ⁵³ C. Pafort-Overduin et al., op. cit., pp. 312-313.
- ⁵⁴ Bundesarchiv Berlin, R 109-I/1613, *Abschrift*, a letter from Willi Peter Busch to Günter Schwarz (the foreign department of the Reich Film Chamber), 6.08.1941, pp. 1-2.
- ⁵⁵ Issue zero was published on 1 August 1941.
- ⁵⁶ "Kino Ampir" [advertisement], *L'vivs'ki Visti* 17-18.08.1941, p. 4.
- ⁵⁷ "Nimets'ki fil'my z ukrayins'kym tekstem", *L'vivs'ki Visti* 14-15.09.1941, p. 6.
- ⁵⁸ "Kino Kosmos" [advertisement], *Gazeta Lwowska* 11.10.1941, p. 4; "Kino Kosmos" [advertisement], *L'vivs'ki Visti* 12-13.10.1941, p. 7.
- ⁵⁹ "Repertuar kinoteatrów lwowskich" [advertisement], *Gazeta Lwowska* 19-20.10.1941, p. 6; "Repertuar l'vivs'kykh kin" [advertisement], *L'vivs'ki Visti* 19-20.10.1941, p. 8.
- ⁶⁰ "Kinoteatry u L'vovi", *L'vivs'ki Visti* 24.10.1941, p. 5.
- ⁶¹ "Srebrny ekran znów wabi...", *Gazeta Lwowska* 2-3.11.1941, p. 5.
- ⁶² "Liczyby wiele mówią", *Gazeta Lwowska* 25.11.1941, p. 3; "Sowjetfilme waren wenig gefragt", *Lemberger Zeitung* 23.11.1941, p. 5.
- ⁶³ "Skil'ky prodano biletiv de kino!", *L'vivs'ki Visti* 12.11.1941, p. 3.
- ⁶⁴ The first advertisement: "Casino", *Lemberger Zeitung* 26.10.1941, p. 14.

- ⁶⁵ "Repertuar kinoteatrów lwowskich" [advertisement], *Gazeta Lwowska* 2-3.11.1941, p. 8; "Repertuar l'vivs'kykh kin" [advertisement], *L'vivs'ki Visti* 2-3.11.1941, p. 7.
- ⁶⁶ "Repertuar kinoteatrów lwowskich" [advertisement], *Gazeta Lwowska* 16-17.11.1941, p. 8; "Repertuar l'vivs'kykh kin" [advertisement], *L'vivs'ki Visti* 16-17.11.1941, p. 8.
- ⁶⁷ "Theater- und Filmbesuch neu geregelt", *Lemberger Zeitung* 28.11.1941, p. 5; "Nove zaryadzhennya pro l'vivs'ki kinoteatry", *L'vivs'ki Visti* 28.11.1941, p. 3; "Podział kin według narodowości", *Gazeta Lwowska* 30.11-1.12.1941, p. 5.
- ⁶⁸ "60 Filmtheater spielen bereits in Galizien", *Lemberger Zeitung* 4.02.1942, p. 5.
- ⁶⁹ "Lemberg erhält ein neues Filmtheater", *Lemberger Zeitung* 14.10.1942, p. 5.
- ⁷⁰ "Odeon. Pered vidkryttam novoho reprezentyvnoho ukrayins'koho kinoteatru u L'vovi", *L'vivs'ki Visti* 17.02.1942, p. 3.
- ⁷¹ The last cinema listings in each of the three newspapers cover the period from 14 to 20 July 1944. It is possible that the cinemas operated for a shorter period than until 20 July, since the German administration left the city on 18 July.
- ⁷² Figures include current cinema repertoire. They do not include special screenings taking place on Sunday mornings (usually at 11 a.m.).
- ⁷³ Co-productions with Germany are grouped within the figures for German films. The 'Ukraine/other' designation applies to the film *Oy, ne khody Hrytsyu...* [*Oh, don't go, Hrytsia...*], discussed later in the article.
- ⁷⁴ Skrypnyk's book on Ukrainian film history only states that such a title was screened during the occupation. R. Buchko, A. Doroshenko, "Ukrains'ky zakordonnyy kinematohraf. 1930-1945", in: *Istoriya ukrains'koho kino. Vol. 2: 1930-1945*, ed. H. Skrypnyk, IMFE, Kyiv 2016, p. 284.
- ⁷⁵ "L'vivs'ki kinoteatry" [advertisement], *L'vivs'ki Visti* 14-15.12.1941, p. 4; 28-29.12.1941, p. 8; 4-5.01.1942, p. 8; "Prohrama kinoteatru" [advertisement], *L'vivs'ki Visti* 23-26.05.1942, p. 8; 30-31.08.1942, p. 6.
- ⁷⁶ "Ukrayins'ky Teatr m. L'vova" [advertisement], *Ukrayins'ki Shchodenni Visti* 25.07.1941, p. 4; "Z teatru", *Ukrayins'ki Shchodenni Visti* 27.07.1941, p. 7.
- ⁷⁷ In August 1942, the Lviv press reported that the film was most successful in Zhovkva: "Kino Apollon", *L'vivs'ki Visti* 5.08.1942, p. 4.
- ⁷⁸ A Ukrainian village was built for production purposes near New York City (R. Buchko, A. Doroshenko, op. cit., p. 281). "*Marusia*" had premiered in Winnipeg on 29 October [1938] after a month-long marketing blitz that included radio advertisements, posters, and placards on city buses, and the release of phonograph records featuring songs from the musical score (O. Martynowych, *The Showman and the Ukrainian Cause: Folk Dance, Film, and the Life of Vasile Avramenko*, University of Manitoba Press, Winnipeg 2014, p. 110). In Skrypnyk's book on Ukrainian film history, the films *Marusia* and *Oy, ne khody Hrytsyu...* are referred to as separate works (see: R. Buchko, A. Doroshenko, op. cit.).
- ⁷⁹ See: <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0151500/> [accessed: 27.08.2024].
- ⁸⁰ A. Dębski, "Kina dla Niemców w okupowanym Krakowie", op. cit. p. 110 (Table 1).
- ⁸¹ Rok 1939 w dzienniku *Hansa Franka*, trans. V. Grotowicz, IPN, Warszawa 2019, p. 47; J. Wulf, "Dr Hans Frank Generalgouverneur im besetzten Polen", *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* (Supplement to the weekly newspaper *Das Parlament*) 2.08.1961, p. 457. See also: G. Stahr, *Volksgemeinschaft vor der Leinwand? Der nationalsozialistische Film und sein Publikum*, Hans Theissen, Berlin 2001, pp. 193, 352.
- ⁸² K. Kanzog, „Staatspolitisch besonders wertvoll“. *Ein Handbuch zu 30 deutschen Spielfilmen der Jahre 1934 bis 1945*, diskurs film, München 1994, p. 371; D. Welch, *Propaganda and the German Cinema 1933-1945*, I.B. Tauris, London – New York 2001, pp. 15-16.
- ⁸³ K. Kreimeier, *Die Ufa-Story. Geschichte eines Filmkonzerns*, Carl Hanser, München – Wien 1992, p. 302.
- ⁸⁴ U. Klaus, *Deutsche Tonfilme. Filmlexikon der abendfüllenden deutschen und deutschsprachigen Tonfilme nach ihren deutschen Uraufführungen*, Klaus-Archiv, Berlin 1988-2006 (15 volumes).
- ⁸⁵ E. Offermanns, *Die deutschen Juden und der Spielfilm der NS-Zeit*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main 2008, pp. 67-68. On the *Filmbühne* see also: L. Hansen Rauch, "'Secure in the Two-Dimensional World': The Filmbühne and Jewish Audiences in the Third Reich, 1938-1941", *Dapim: Studies on the Holocaust* 2017, vol. 31, issue 3, pp. 227-242.
- ⁸⁶ J. Garncarz, *Wechselnde Vorlieben. Über die Filmpräferenzen der Europäer 1896-1939*, Stroemfeld, Frankfurt am Main – Basel 2015, pp. 116-117, 120-125.
- ⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 34.
- ⁸⁸ J. Garncarz, *Begeisterte Zuschauer. Die Macht des Publikums in der NS-Diktatur*, Herbert von Helén,

- Köln 2021, pp. 102-143; idem, "Measuring and Interpreting Film Preferences in Autocratic States", in: *The Palgrave Handbook of Comparative New Cinema Histories*, op. cit., pp. 281-306.
- ⁸⁹ J. Garncarz, *Begeisterte Zuschauer*, op. cit., pp. 215-218.
- ⁹⁰ Ibidem, pp. 206-211, 324-325. He assigned these 37 films to the following categories: 1) pro-Nazi, 2) pro military/war, 3) against Jews/communists, 4) against other countries.
- ⁹¹ Ibidem, p. 211.
- ⁹² We do not know the number of seats and ticket prices in all cinemas, so we have used a reduced POPSTAT formula. On POPSTAT see: J. Sedgwick, *Popular Filmgoing in 1930s Britain: A Choice of Pleasures*, University of Exeter Press, Exeter 2000, pp. 70-73; J. Garncarz, *Begeisterte Zuschauer*, op. cit., pp. 69-77.
- ⁹³ J. Garncarz, *Wechselnde Vorlieben*, op. cit., pp. 120-125.
- ⁹⁴ J. Garncarz, *Begeisterte Zuschauer*, op. cit., pp. 215-219.
- ⁹⁵ J. Semilski, J. Toeplitz, op. cit., p. 32.
- ⁹⁶ An underground monthly magazine published in Lviv, aimed at women, wrote: *Such a meagre scrap of pleasure thrown to the "Sklavenvolk" is, among others, the lousy Polish cinema, a penny of which goes to the occupier's targets. The cinema boycott has been in effect for a long time, but is it always enforced?* See: "Kobieta na straży godności narodowej", *Kobieta w walce* 1944, vol. 6, no. 4, p. 2.

Andrzej Dębski

Professor at the Willy Brandt Centre for German and European Studies at the University of Wrocław. Author of the books *Historia kina we Wrocławiu w latach 1896-1918* [*History of Cinema in Wrocław in 1896-1918*] (2009) and *Nówocześnieść, rozrywkę, propaganda. Historia kina we Wrocławiu w latach 1919-1945* [*Modernity, Entertainment, Propaganda: History of Cinema in Wrocław in 1919-1945*] (2019). Co-editor of volumes devoted to the history of cinema in Wrocław and Lower Silesia, Wrocław film directors (Stanisław Lenartowicz, Sylwester Chęciński), and Polish-German film relations, as well as an anthology on early cinema.

Paulina Korneluk

PhD candidate at the Institute of Art History of the University of Wrocław, Slavic scholar (Ukrainian philology) and art historian. She prepared her doctoral dissertation *Odczytać miasto czyli Żamość wyobrażony (1772-1939) – architektura, urbanistyka, historia, pamięć, miejsca* [*Reading the City or Żamość Imagined (1772-1939) – Architecture, Urban Planning, History, Memory, Places*] under the supervision of Professor Agnieszka Zabłocka-Kos. Her research interests focus on the history, architecture, art, political and social conflicts in the 19th and 20th centuries in Polish, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Belarusian, and Russian territories. In 2023-2024, she held a scholarship as part of the OPUS-22 National Science Centre research project "Chodzenie do kina w Polsce pod okupacją niemiecką. Programowanie kin i preferencje filmowe wieloetnicznych publiczności miejskich podczas drugiej wojny światowej na przykładzie Krakowa, Warszawy i Lwowa" ["Going to the Cinema in Po-

land under German Occupation: Cinema Programming and Film Preferences of Multi-Ethnic Urban Audiences During World War II on the Example of Krakow, Warsaw and Lviv”].

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Słowa kluczowe:

niemiecka okupacja;
 sowiecka okupacja;
 kino Trzeciej Rzeszy;
 kino podczas
 II wojny światowej;
 kino w Generalnym
 Gubernatorstwie

Abstrakt

Andrzej Dębski, Paulina Korneluk

Lwowskie kina podczas II wojny światowej

Artykuł ukazuje funkcjonowanie kin we Lwowie podczas II wojny światowej, szczególnie w latach 1941-1944. Władze nazistowskie wprowadziły podział kin lwowskich na te dla Niemców, Polaków i Ukraińców. Kina tych trzech kategorii przyciągały zatem różnych widzów (pod względem narodowościowym), wobec których władze okupacyjne prowadziły odrębną politykę repertuarową. W artykule zostanie przeanalizowana zorientowana narodowościowo polityka filmowa władz wobec tych trzech grup oraz ich preferencje filmowe. Mniej uwagi zostanie poświęcone okresowi okupacji sowieckiej (1939-1941), chociaż nie zostanie on pominięty. Dzięki jego uwzględnieniu będzie możliwe podkreślenie pewnych różnic w podejściu sowieckich i niemieckich okupantów do polityki filmowej we Lwowie. Badania te nie byłyby efektywne bez zastosowania metod ilościowych, umożliwiających porównanie dużych zbiorów danych repertuarowych.