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Hans Döllgast, post-war reconstruction and modern architecture

The works of post-war reconstruction in Munich by the German architect Hans Döllgast (1891–1974) have become a reference point for interpretative modern architectural responses to damaged heritage. In the context of Berlin’s museum restorations of the past fifteen years, leading designers from David Chipperfield to Roger Diener have paid tribute to Döllgast’s inspirational restitution of the Alte Pinakothek art museum in Munich in the 1950s. This article revisits Döllgast’s contribution to reconstruction by drawing on a wider corpus of his writings. Döllgast’s critical attitude to Modernism is examined not as a quirk, but rather as a key to his distinct achievements in reconstruction. Unlike existing accounts that assess his work by case studies, the article focuses on cross-cutting themes in Döllgast’s approach. It challenges the tendency to over-privilege the iconography of ruination in Döllgast and draws attention to his underlying interest in continuity in modern architecture.

Maximilian Sternberg 

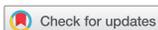
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Introduction

With the increasingly urban nature of global conflict, the preservation and renewal of damaged built heritage as part of post-war urban reconstruction has re-emerged as a central challenge in architectural discourse and practice.¹ Discussions about architectural responses to ‘martyred’ heritage in wider efforts of rebuilding cities after war inevitably turn to possible lessons to be drawn from historical precedents.² The reconstruction of European cities after the Second World War continues to act as a significant reference point in this debate.³ The sheer scale of devastation in German cities, in particular, has turned the array of architectural responses to heritage reconstruction into incontrovertible historical points of comparison. In Germany, the discourse, planning, and practice of the reconstruction of historic monuments started already during the Second World War and carried on well into the 1970s.⁴ This debate was then reignited in the aftermath of German Reunification in 1990, epitomised in the contested reconstruction of Berlin’s Stadtschloss.⁵

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The German architect Hans Döllgast has come to be recognised as a significant reference point for interpretative approaches to reconstruction. From the late 1940s to the 1970s, Hans Döllgast was involved as an architect and planner in major urban rebuilding projects across Bavaria, and most extensively in Munich, where he also held a professorship at the Technische Hochschule (today named Technische Universität). Starting with the reconstruction of the abbey church of St Bonifaz in 1948, followed by the restoration of three of Munich's most significant historic cemeteries in the 1950s, Döllgast's work culminated in his internationally acclaimed restitution of the city's leading art museum, the Alte Pinakothek, between 1952 and 1957.⁶ The temporary salvaging of the ruined chapel of Munich's royal residence, the Allerheiligen Hofkirche, in 1971 concluded his extensive engagement with reconstruction, broadly coinciding with the near completion of such post-war rebuilding in West Germany (Fig. 1).

Whereas most accounts of Döllgast's post-war reconstruction have been organised by individual case studies, this article focuses on cross-cutting themes in his approach. The emphasis here is on the process as much as the outcome of the projects. More extensive use of a wider range of texts is made than in preceding literature. Döllgast's practice of reconstruction is shown to be less deliberately modern and, to some extent, less exclusively dedicated to the themes of ruination and memory than generally assumed in the literature. Döllgast's originality is related to his conditional engagement with particular tenets of Modernism and his persistent scepticism toward teleological narrative orthodoxies of the Modern Movement, and his continuing commitment to a dialogue with preceding and alternatives currents of modern architecture as well as traditions. In so doing this article seeks to define more closely Winfried Nerdinger's apt characterisation of Döllgast as an untimely outsider of modern architecture.⁷

Looking for a place in modern architecture

Even though the Alte Pinakothek has to some extent found its way into the canon of modern architecture, Döllgast remains a peripheral and elusive figure in modern architectural history.⁸ Facing opposition from art critics, conservationists, and architects during much of his career, Döllgast never elicited the kind of regard shown to self-avowed avant-garde contemporaries such as Hans Scharoun. Nevertheless, Döllgast developed a loyal local following in Munich, primarily among his colleagues and students.⁹ Late in life, Döllgast also gained international admirers, among them Steen Eiler Rasmussen.¹⁰ Two major posthumous exhibitions in the 1980s provided further national and some international recognition.¹¹ Particularly architects of the British post-war avant-garde, notably James Stirling and the Smithsons, are known to have had an interest in Döllgast, again focusing on the Alte Pinakothek.¹² More recently, leading contemporary architects such as David Chipperfield and Roger Diener have paid tribute to Döllgast as inspirational for their own acclaimed designs in Berlin.¹³ Yet, despite this wide-ranging reception, Döllgast still makes no appearance in the latest editions of standard anglophone refer-



ence works on modern architecture such as those by William J. R. Curtis, Kenneth Frampton, Alan Colquhoun, or Peter Blundell Jones.¹⁴

Döllgast's ambivalent place in the history of the Modern Movement is arguably responsible for this hampered reception. Scholars have addressed this challenge in different ways. To German architectural historians writing in the 1980s, Döllgast's significance was based on his ability to conceive of recon-

Figure 1.
Allerheiligen Hofkirche, Munich,
timber truss over damaged remains
installed by Hans Döllgast, 1971,
photographed in 1987, courtesy of
Michael GaenBler

struction as a creative task within and as modern architecture.¹⁵ In this reading Döllgast was original precisely because he finally became modern; he could be considered avant-garde because he 'liberated' reconstruction from the shackles of 'naïve' restitution and the production of inauthentic replicas.¹⁶ Significantly, the first major exhibition to include Döllgast's work was entitled 'New Building in Old Environs' ['Neues Bauen in alter Umgebung'] which also included the work of late Modernist masters such as Carlo Scarpa.¹⁷ These first accounts written by local admirers somewhat apologetically emphasised Döllgast's modernity precisely because advocates of the *Neues Bauen* in Germany had previously accused Döllgast's reconstruction as a romanticist abdication of modernist principles.¹⁸

Reflecting the concerns of postmodernist discourse of the time, anglophone literature on Döllgast in the 1990s, in turn, emphasised the capacity of these works to embody memory.¹⁹ Here the modernity of Döllgast lay in his capacity to pioneer an approach manifesting the wounds of the past and thereby countering the amnesiac tendencies of much post-war architecture. To some extent, both readings of the ostensible modernity of his reconstruction projects had to bracket Döllgast's other wide-ranging works including his writings. Moreover, Döllgast's critique of the Modern Movement that in fact formed a thread in his writings from the 1930s to the 1970s had to be side-lined in order to protect Döllgast's 'progressive' attitude to reconstruction in the post-war period, during which 'creative' and 'modern' were still largely assumed to be synonymous and mutually dependent.

Döllgast's attitude to the Modern Movement must today be revisited. Without rejecting the insights of earlier readings, we need to further contextualise Döllgast in light of wider revisionist trends in the literature on modern architecture in Central Europe. Recent scholarship has highlighted the multiplicity, complexity, and dissonance at the heart of modern architecture in Germany from the 1920s to the 1960s, expanding our gaze beyond the narrow and dated definitions of the orthodox modernist canon.²⁰ This study examines more closely what insights we can glean of Döllgast's attitudes to the main architectural currents of his time from his account of his apprenticeships with avant-garde masters in the 1920s, his writings on the vernacular in the 1930s, and his post-war writings of the 1950s.

Untimely pluralism

While scholars have sought to identify the inspirations Döllgast derived from his pre-war experiences to interpret his achievements of the 1950s, most appear to agree with Winfried Nerdinger's verdict that Döllgast's pre-war oeuvre would have ensured him some regional notoriety, but no place in architectural history. Nerdinger equally judges Döllgast's own account of his formative years and relation to Modernism in his memoirs as obfuscating, again implying a rupture between the pre- and post-war work.²¹ By reviewing three distinct historical periods of Döllgast's development, the Weimar period, the Nazi era, and the post-war years, we can now argue for greater continuity in his

designs and thoughts, without making value-judgements about his credentials as a modern architect or lack thereof.

Weimar period

Toward the end of his career Döllgast defined his position in the late 1920s as 'undeniably avant-garde and tame rear-guard'.²² This self-aware characterisation captures his role as inside-outsider. Rather than representing an alternative position 'from within' engaged in a battle over the soul of Modernism, as Colin St John Wilson interpreted the role of protagonists of 'another modern' such as Hugo Häring or Alvar Aalto,²³ Döllgast engaged with Modernism in conversation with other currents of architecture, deliberately occupying a viewpoint from the margins, seeking a middle ground where most saw irreconcilable opposition.

Unlike many modern architects of his generation, Döllgast never developed dogmatic discursive positions, neither perceiving nor advocating ruptures in the development of modern architecture. He did not, for instance, polemicise against eclectic Historicism. On the contrary, he repeatedly expressed admiration for one of his former teachers in Munich, Friedrich von Thiersch, a grandee of late Historicism in Munich.²⁴ Sceptical of the growing contemporary consensus about the obsolescence of this generation, Döllgast underlined their creativity and even modernity: 'They did not experience boundaries as shackles, gave new form to that which has been done a thousand times and a new meaning out of its present.'²⁵ His belief in the exemplary relevance of regional vernacular architecture and building practices in part overlapped with aspects of modernising reform discourse of the *Heimatstil* movement at the turn of the century,²⁶ yet Döllgast was far removed from both the formal style it advocated and the increasingly racist nationalism advocated by its leader Paul Schultze-Naumburg that underpinned it.²⁷

Döllgast completed his architectural training at the Technische Hochschule (TH) in Munich shortly before being conscripted at the outbreak of the First World War. Exposed to the teaching of the widely influential Theodor Fischer — figures as different as Bruno Taut, Erich Mendelshon, and Paul Bonatz had worked for or were taught by Fischer in Stuttgart and later in Munich — Döllgast shared a certain affinity with other south German architects under Fischer's influence, in particular leaders of the 'Stuttgart school' such as Paul Schmitthenner.²⁸ To some extent, Döllgast tacitly endorsed the Stuttgart school's commitment to a 'moderate' modern architecture, one that essentially acknowledged the need to move on from Historicism but incorporated abstracted references to historical styles, and paid tribute to regional building traditions and landscape contexts.²⁹ Yet Döllgast did not join his Munich patron, German Bestelmeyer,³⁰ in the short-lived, generally conservative, but ideologically and architecturally heterogeneous 'Block' formation (Schmitthenner and Bonatz were founding members) that opposed the equally diverse but avowedly avant-garde and progressive 'Ring' (led by Hugo Häring and Ludwig Mies

van der Rohe). Döllgast would resist aligning with mainstream currents of architectural discourse of all stripes throughout his career.

Döllgast's account of his years working for leaders of the pre-war German avant-garde, Richard Riemerschmid and Peter Behrens, articulated his qualified attitude to Modernism.³¹ Döllgast rejected teleological narratives that portrayed *Jugendstil* (Art Nouveau) as a transient phase on the heroic path of the Modern Movement. He was acutely aware of the contradictions within the formation of any canon:

[Riemerschmid's] chairs in Brussels of 1910, eventually odious to himself, became current once more fifty years later because they were now labelled 'early Jugendstil'. Herr van der Rohe never retracted his brick house at Krefeld. And Peter Behrens maintained the validity of his own house at Darmstadt because it unexpectedly found its place in art history. Who ultimately decides?³²

He quotes with approval graphic artist Fritz Helmut Ehmcke's 'angry' assertion: 'Jugendstil is always!'³³

After a chance encounter with Behrens in Munich in 1922, Döllgast, now in his early thirties, received the opportunity to work with more autonomy under the leading German modern architect of his generation. Behrens' work of the late 1920s is the least studied in his vast oeuvre and was long regarded as an expression of his inability to keep up with the next generation of the avant-garde. Döllgast could thus be seen to have missed the boat, underlining the common trope that he was removed from the Modern Movement. This is misleading on two accounts. Firstly, Behrens' late works have been subjected to significant reappraisal,³⁴ and designs such as his Hoechst headquarters in Frankfurt, completed in 1924, to which Döllgast contributed, are now recognised in their originality, along with other Expressionist more widely (Fig. 2).³⁵ Secondly, Döllgast's scepticism toward the *Neue Sachlichkeit* [New Objectivity] was therefore deliberate and assumed from a position of intimate familiarity.³⁶ Döllgast's account of the Weissenhof Estate portrayed the 'blatant rise of a new generation' as a closure rather than the breakthrough of the various currents of modern architecture since the 1890s.³⁷

Döllgast remained unmoved by the new revolutionary modernist space conception most eloquently defined by Giedion. He stated: 'Horace, when praising his small estate, exposes as plain untrue the notion that the "space-experience" is an achievement of the current time.'³⁸ Döllgast clearly respected Le Corbusier as a modern master, but called him, without hostility, a 'painter-poet' who created 'everything except for spaces'.³⁹ Mies van der Rohe's Barcelona Pavilion of 1929 is described in one sentence as: 'open above, without beginning, without end, everything entrance, everything exit, concocted for drifting, representing, speaking — hopeless'.⁴⁰ Significantly, Döllgast's judgments of the Modern Movement were made in the post-war period when Döllgast was meant to have finally found his way to the avant-garde; for this reason, the sacrilegious statements about celebrated works of Modernism, such as the Barcelona Pavilion, needed to be disregarded by Döllgast's admirers of the 1980s.



Döllgast's scepticism of the Modern Movement was not seemingly motivated by political convictions. One of his first projects after his departure from Behrens was as lead urban designer for a large-scale progressive modern housing development in Munich (1929–1930), some blocks of which explicitly added the forms of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* (Fig. 3). Yet from around the

Figure 2.
Colour study by Hans Döllgast for
the foyer at Hoechst AH
headquarters by Peter Behrens,
completed in 1924, courtesy of
Michael Gaenßler

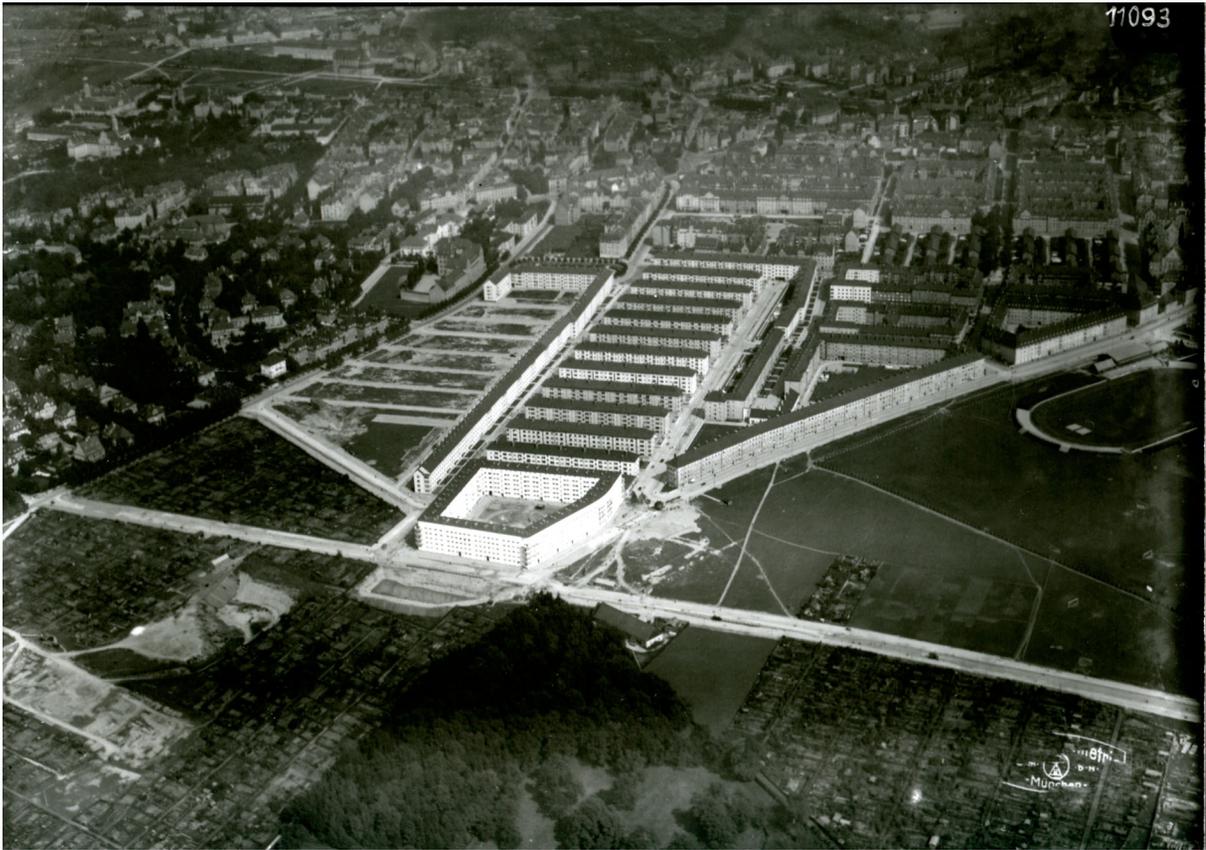
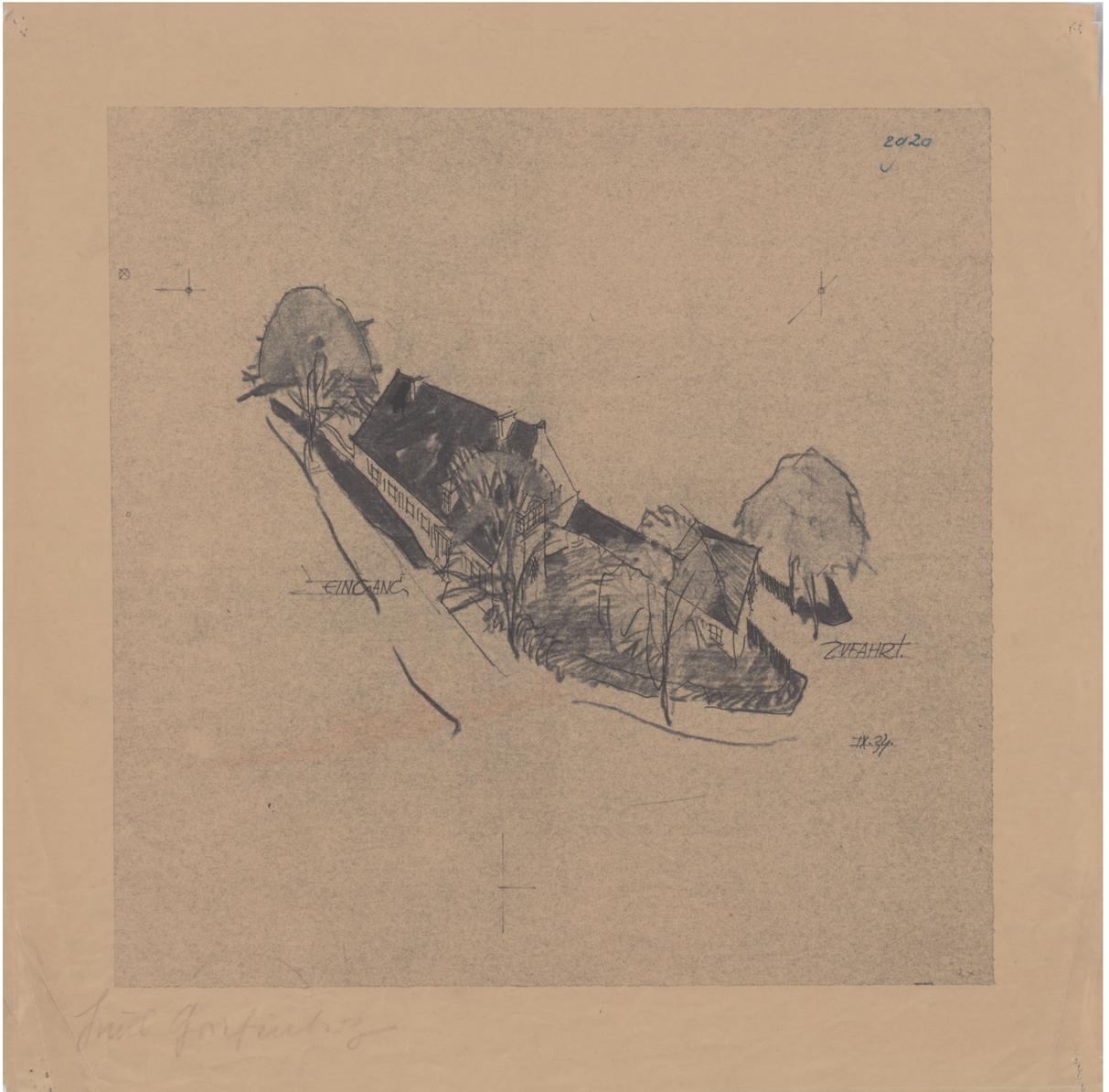


Figure 3.
Neuhausen housing development,
Munich, 1929–1930, by Hans
Döllgast acting as lead planner and
artistic coordinator, courtesy of
Architekturmuseum der TUM

1930s, Döllgast turned to more regionally inflected designs, working on churches and single-family dwelling, an approach he continued right through-out the post-war period (Fig. 4). What was so unusual for the 1920s is that Döllgast, though a gifted designer, resisted being swept along by the narrative that the rise of the Neues Bauen was inevitable and that it superseded what had gone before. Döllgast states in characteristically honest and humble terms that his memoirs ‘never intended to lend undue weight to my career as an architect, and even less to bestow upon it an influence in tempestuous developments that I never sought’.⁴¹

Nazi era

After the Nazi takeover of power in 1933 and until the war, Döllgast continued to occupy a relatively marginal role. There is no evidence he joined either the NSDAP or associations with an explicit Nazi outlook. Nazi authorities seemingly had no particular regard for him or his work. At the same time, like most German architects who were neither persecuted for their Jewish origins nor for any alleged or real sympathy for Communism, Döllgast clearly accommo-



dated himself with the regime, retreating into an apolitical professional self-image after the war. He continued teaching as adjunct faculty in the TH and mainly designed modest single-family houses for private clients. His trajectory in this regard is not unlike that of self-avowed members of the avant-garde such as Rudolf Schwarz, Hugo Häring, or Hans Scharoun, all of whom, though marginalised, continued to teach and practice throughout the period

Figure 4.
Private residence and GP practice,
Massing, Bavaria, 1951, by Hans
Döllgast, courtesy of
Architekturmuseum der TUM

of National Socialism.⁴² Like Schwarz in occupied France, Döllgast engaged in extensive planning work in territories annexed from Poland by the Third Reich, almost nothing of which was realised.⁴³ In 1943 Döllgast received a chair at the TH only to have it withdrawn in 1944. His course of 1943, entitled 'Cheerful Architecture', was judged politically unacceptable, although he later stated that his wartime lectures had no subversive intent.⁴⁴

The regionalist streak which informed his scepticism toward Modernism in the 1920s did not however lead him to adopt the strident anti-modernist hostility of a 'traditionalist', such as Paul Schmitthenner. In 1932, Schmitthenner spoke of absolute, 'unbridgeable' differences between, on the one hand, German expressions of rooted culture in harmony with 'nature' embodied in the motifs such as Goethe's garden house in Weimar, and, on the other, the anonymity of an inhumane, techno-centric metropolitan civilisation embodied by the Weissenhof Estate of 1927.⁴⁵ In 1934 Schmitthenner attempted to position himself as the architectural figurehead of National Socialism.⁴⁶ Döllgast seemed immune to such ideological temptations. In the 1930s Döllgast essentially held on to a reformist modernising regionalism of the turn of the century, unimpressed by the changing attitudes that dominated architectural discourse of his time, just like when he held on to Jugendstil despite being deemed passé in the 1920s.

Döllgast's domestic designs during the Nazi period and after the war followed a strand of modern architecture led by Heinrich Tessenow, an architect he clearly respected deeply.⁴⁷ Steen Eiler Rasmussen, who met Döllgast in the 1960s, rightly saw him as one of Tessenow's rare heirs.⁴⁸ Both Tessenow and Döllgast engaged in a search for a modern vernacular simplicity, which interested neither the marginalised or exiled avant-garde, nor the nationalists Nazi establishment in the late 1930s. Against the grain, Döllgast attempted to occupy a precarious middle ground out of sync with many of the core beliefs of contemporary critics prone to painting the picture in black and white.

Post-war years

After the war Döllgast was regarded as 'uncompromised' by Nazism and installed as the first dean of the Architecture Faculty by the US occupying authorities. The bar in the denazification process was certainly set very low and there were many continuities in personnel across the professions, with architects presenting no exception.⁴⁹ Not only the fact that Döllgast was not a dissident, but also the question of his personal responsibilities as a planner under Nazism weighed on the evaluation of his career like on most of architects of his generation. Yet to his colleagues, many more tarnished as collaborators of Nazism than Döllgast, it was not his politics but his lack of unequivocal commitment to the Modern Movement that left him relatively isolated in the 1950s.

The general return to the formal elements of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* in Germany in the 1950s, after the movement's ostensible persecution by the Nazis, was fast establishing itself as a central founding myth of post-war German architectural discourse and remains alive in the popular imagination

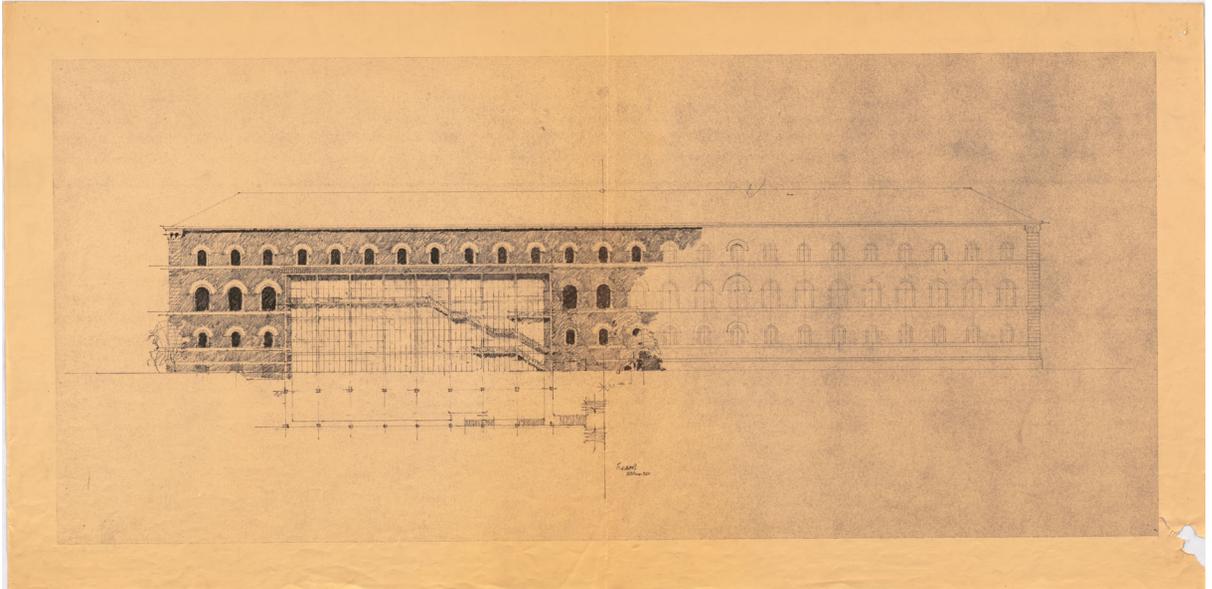


Figure 5.
Study for the back elevation with
modern extension, Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek, Munich, 1958, by
Hans Döllgast, courtesy of
Architekturmuseum der TUM

to this day. This post-war modernist turn chimed with the wider amnesiac tendencies of the period of the West-German 'economic miracle' of the 1950s and 1960s.⁵⁰ Even former Nazi establishment architects suddenly excelled at the International Style. Recognised architects of the pre-war avant-garde who had stayed in Germany during the period of National Socialism period, such as Rudolf Schwarz and Otto Bartning, were best placed to assume positions of authority. Döllgast's fellow Munich based architect Sep Ruf, for instance, achieved international recognition by employing an International Style idiom to express West Germany's newfound commitment to 'democratic transparency' and free-market economics.⁵¹ Ruf and Döllgast nevertheless collaborated on the restoration and extension of architect Friedrich von Gärtner's nineteenth-century Staatsbibliothek in Munich (Bavarian State Library) in 1956–1958, showing Döllgast's versatility and his lack of partisanship for or against the Modern Movement (Fig. 5). Neither brazenly conservative-traditionalist nor modernist-progressive in any straightforward senses of these terms, Döllgast, for a third time, did not align himself with any camp in the heavily dogmatic discursive landscape of the time.

Döllgast's praise for Klenze's generation in the 1950s came as close to articulating his architectural principles and his scepticism toward the clinical streak in Modernism:

Artists edify themselves in Rome and Greece, their work points forwards-backwards like the Janus-head. A pagan trait of relaxed cheerfulness mixes itself into their art. [...] And our century? A gloomy generation takes offence at every prank. They reject cheerful work in exchange for the much interpreted 'cleanness'.⁵²

Döllgast stated he had no interest in ‘reminiscences’, but he did not feel compelled to reject tradition.⁵³ Döllgast’s non-alignment with Modernism’s exclusivity and his continuous orientation to multiple influences from different times precisely account for his ability to tackle reconstruction in creative ways.

Against amnesia

In the heated post-war debates across German cities about how to ‘rebuild’ [*wiederaufbauen*], or as most architects preferred to call it ‘building up’ [*aufbauen*], Döllgast was quick to focus his attention on the salvaging of some of the most significant of Munich’s badly damaged historic monuments.⁵⁴ While forty per cent of Munich’s housing was destroyed, sixty per cent of the city centre was devastated beyond repair; nearly all of its main historic monuments had suffered significant damage during successive aerial bombardments.⁵⁵

Döllgast faced a debate dominated by two diametrically opposed attitudes; most actors in the rebuilding process in Munich tended to adopt views at the extreme ends of this discursive spectrum. On the one side, most politicians and many planners, as well as some conservative architects close to the *Heimatschutz* [homeland conservation] movement, quickly called for the recovery of the pre-war image of the old city, the restoration of ‘dear old Munich’ — advocating ‘faithful’ or ‘identical’ reconstructions wherever possible.⁵⁶ On the other end, adherents of the Modern Movement, mostly architects, opposed any form of reconstruction of historic monuments. Döllgast’s fellow faculty member, Robert Vorhoelzer — one of the more notable proponents of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* in Munich in the interwar years — postulated that if even Troy had lost her ruins to posterity, Munich had no business keeping hers: modern architects should cherish the image of bygone buildings in their hearts, but build modern structures worthy of taking their place.⁵⁷ As Franz Peter and Franz Wimmer have shown, Döllgast’s approach of ‘creative restitution’ [*kreative Wiederherstellung*] differed starkly, avoiding such dualisms.

Even the post-war voices of a more moderate, tradition-oriented Modernism, such as Häring and Bartning, co-signed a manifesto published in 1947 which made the radical claim: ‘the destroyed heritage must not be permitted to be rebuilt historically, [sic] it can only be created in new forms for new purposes’.⁵⁸ Like many of their European counterparts, the majority of German architects at the time conceded that Germany had undergone a tragedy, but in architectural and urban terms, the war devastation was a blessing in disguise, a long-awaited opportunity to address the ills of the traditional city.⁵⁹

Only a small minority of dissenting voices amongst architects in Munich and across Germany made moral calls for the preservation of ruins as memorials; we will return to how Döllgast tackled the motif of the ruin below.⁶⁰ Art historians and conservationists too were initially despondent about the prospects of recovery and viewed many efforts of identical reconstruction with suspicion. Moreover, conservationists were not always opposed to explicitly modern inter-

ventions in historic buildings.⁶¹ However, most of Döllgast's contemporaries involved in reconstruction, and certainly the most influential, either wanted to turn back the clock or gallop into the future.

Both positions, reconstructing faithfully and building from scratch, despite their seeming diametric opposition, essentially shared a common amnesiac tendency, namely, to suppress the trauma of destruction by eradicating its physical manifestations. The actual rebuilding of Munich turned out to be a piecemeal, contradictory process carried out without recourse to a defined legal framework or coherent urban planning vision. It was determined largely by the contingencies of existing ownership patterns, private initiatives, and economic imperatives.⁶² Commercial considerations bent on recovering Munich's pre-war status as Germany's most popular tourist destination had from the beginning favoured selective 'faithful' historic reconstruction. The American occupying authorities pragmatically reinstated Munich's planners and city officials who had served under the Nazi regime. These established local elites mostly maintained modernist planning principles adapted in the 1930s and 1940s.⁶³ Despite the claims of German post-war critics, the heavy neo-classical style favoured by Hitler for Berlin and major regional cities was only one of several strands of Nazi architecture, one that was abandoned already before the end of the war largely due to its vulnerability to air strikes.

Planners in Munich chartered a pragmatic approach to heritage reconstruction after 1945. On the one hand, the city administration sanctioned the demolition of surviving historic fabric for vehicular infrastructural or modern commercial purposes. On the other hand, they supported caring reconstructions of individual monuments, including the vast complex of the royal residence, and above all the city's many churches. Large stretches of the physiognomy, more than the substance, of the historic core were reconstituted, and locked behind an enlarged ring road lined with modern ensembles. The overwhelming majority of rescued historic monuments were reconstructed through an approach termed 'naïve restitution' in the authoritative survey of Hartwig Beseler and Niels Gutschow.⁶⁴ While accurate, 'identical' reconstructions were for the most part impossible to achieve for a whole host of practical, technical, functional, and regulatory reasons, the aim of this approach was to create an effect of resemblance with the pre-war state and, importantly, to *conceal* recent war-damages.

Döllgast's work on the Alte Pinakothek manifested an attitude to reconstruction that shared little with these dominant practices. Erich Altenhöfer's detailed analysis of the protracted development of this project has demonstrated that Döllgast was clearly the decisive individual in rescuing the Alte Pinakothek from demolition.⁶⁵ Most of the art collection had been stored away in safe locations in anticipation of the bombardments, but the building was left badly damaged. Hit right down the middle of its upper story and south façade, the building, including what had survived of its fixed artworks, was not only exposed to the corrosive effects of the elements but also to scavengers hunting for building materials desperately short in supply (Fig. 6). As the rubble



deposited on the square in front of its south side mounted, few thought the hollowed bulk of the Alte Pinakothek would remain standing for much longer.

Aggrieved by this sorry state of affairs, Döllgast and his allies led a public campaign for the museum's rescue starting in 1951. Designed by Leo von Klenze under the patronage of King Ludwig I of Bavaria between 1826 and 1836, the Alte Pinakothek was a celebrated collection of European standing. The argument about the Alte Pinakothek's irreplaceable heritage value emphasised not only the architectural and urban value of Leo Klenze's design as one of the city's leading landmarks, but also its formative role in the development of the modern art historical museum, making the case that the collection was inextricably bound up with its historic, purpose-built architectural frame.⁶⁶

It is worth emphasising just how unusual Döllgast's undisguised admiration for Klenze's neo-Renaissance Alte Pinakothek was for a modern architect of his generation. Many architects at this time held a general disdain for historic city centres.⁶⁷ Some modernist architects conceded that fragments, especially if they predated the nineteenth century, were worth preserving as heritage islands, but they were adamant that urban environments needed complete restructuring.⁶⁸ If nineteenth-century buildings should be preserved at all then only as ruins and in their character as ruin. The retention of ruins usually resulted more from local popular pressures than any enthusiasm by architects. Egon Eiermann's Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche in Berlin (1959–1963) represents the culmination of this approach.⁶⁹ In Munich, most local architects, and not only those committed to a renewal of the Modern Movement, felt the disappearance of the Alte Pinakothek (often referred to as the 'old cupboard' after the war) to be a good riddance.⁷⁰

Virtues of the provisional

Döllgast's use of an architect's practical ingenuity allowed him to exercise considerable agency over the process of reconstruction. This is true as regards the rescue of historic buildings and for setting certain parameters for the specific kind of reconstruction he wished to pursue. For instance, Döllgast largely left the articulation of the Alte Pinakothek's heritage value to the art historians and conservationists; in parallel, he drew on his own track record of salvaging buildings to make a case for reconstruction as a cost-effective solution. In general, Döllgast did not in fact engage in the theoretical debates in Germany around reconstruction, never developing explicitly what he understood by 'creative restitution' at a conceptual level. While Schwarz, in Wolfgang Pehnt's words, was 'preaching' about the dilemmas of reconstructing architectural heritage to a largely baffled public in Cologne, Döllgast focused on the matter at hand and argued it was simply cheaper to keep the existing structure.⁷¹ In a little-known interview of the 1950s, he simply referred to his work on the Alte Pinakothek as 'mending the damage'.⁷² With the abbey church of St Bonifaz and the funerary parlour at the Ostfriedhof (eastern cemetery), Döllgast had already demonstrated his skill in both renewing a building's

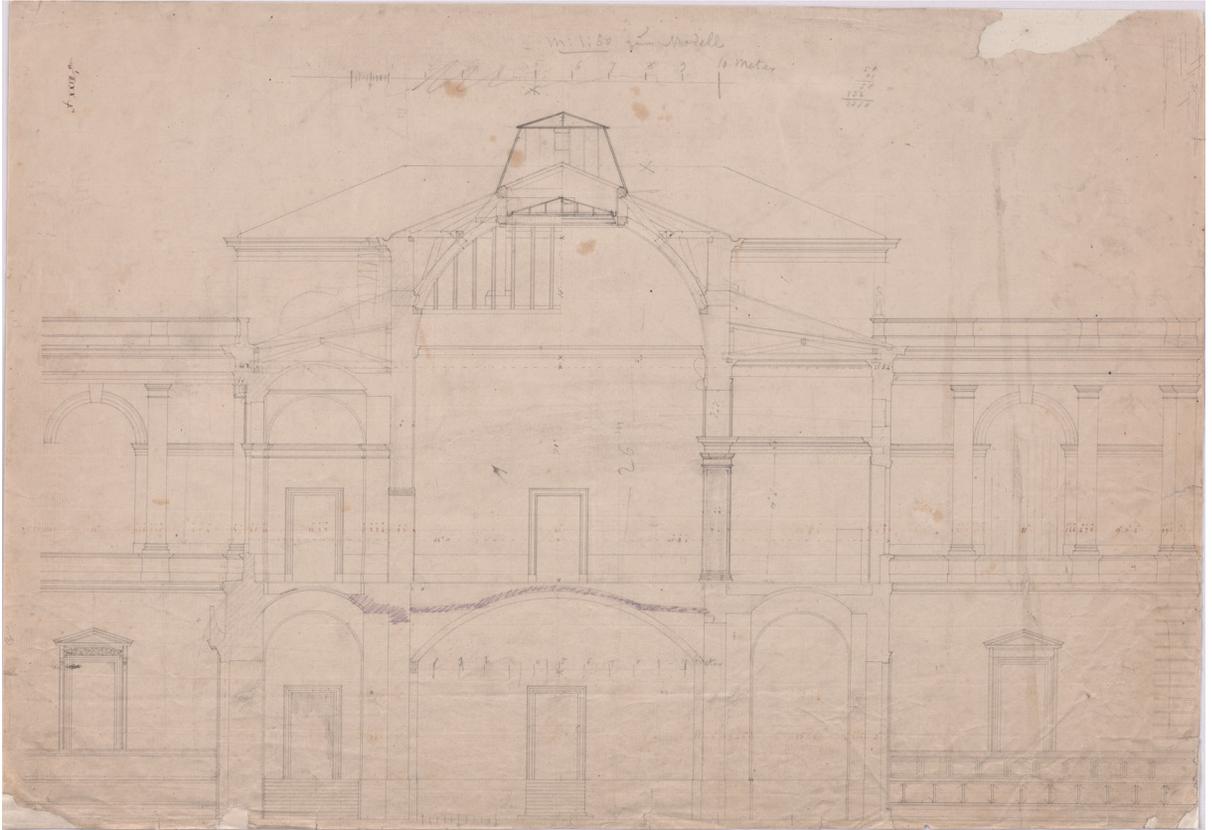
Figure 6.
War damaged Alte Pinakothek,
Munich, late 1940s, courtesy of
Architekturmuseum der TUM



Figure 7.
St Bonifaz, Munich, reconstructed
by Hans Döllgast, 1948–1950,
photographed before 1971,
courtesy of Architekturmuseum der
TUM

function and built fabric with the humblest economic means (Fig. 7). A capable wheeler-dealer, Döllgast had also been able to negotiate the re-opening of the Architecture Faculty with the American occupying authorities in 1946, briefly serving as dean thereafter.⁷³

Döllgast's emphasis on feasibility may well have been the decisive argument that persuaded the authorities to retain the Alte Pinakothek. Döllgast and his allies strategically lobbied the Bavarian Parliament, bypassing the municipal council that had essentially relegated the Alte Pinakothek to oblivion. Döllgast later recalled that members of the parliamentary committee vowed to string him up at the nearest lamppost should he dare to go one penny over budget.⁷⁴



All that Döllgast had been formally charged to do by the Bavarian Parliament at this point was to salvage the structure for a later phase of faithful reconstruction. Yet this is precisely what Döllgast deliberately and unilaterally prevented. Only when Döllgast's works had progressed to an essentially irreversible stage did the authorities finally realise that they had been duped with regard to their expectation of an identical reconstruction.⁷⁵ Döllgast placed a modern roof structure across the entirety of the building that rested on seven slender steel supports over the forty-five metres gap on the south façade, creating a temporary, double storied, open gallery. Döllgast's later claim that the structural use of such steel columns was unprecedented may well be true, a testimony to a modern commitment to using construction as a driving element in design. His roof solution essentially rendered impossible any intentions of reconstructing Klenze's facade faithfully. Döllgast simply decided that the gallery of sculptures crowning Klenze's original loggia could not be reconstructed successfully. Furthermore, Döllgast's new roof enabled alternative lighting of the principal galleries beneath, thereby also excluding the recovery of the lanterns that were such a distinctive feature of Klenze's design (Fig. 8).

Figure 8.
Section of Alte Pinakothek,
Munich, 1826–1836, by Leo von
Klenze, courtesy of
Architekturmuseum der TUM



Figure 9.
Alte Pinakothek viewed from
south, shortly after completion of
reconstruction works in 1950s by
Hans Döllgast, courtesy of
Architekturmuseum der TUM

When Döllgast was tasked with a more straightforward salvage operation on another project, his capacity to make an architectural virtue of the temporary and provisional again stood out. Toward the end of his life, he came to the rescue of another damaged work of Klenze's. Despite a shift in attitudes to heritage by the 1960s, most architects again argued that the damaged shell of the Allerheiligen chapel in the royal residence was not worth preserving. Döllgast's roof that protected the structure until its fate was to be decided was a masterclass in his approach to reconstruction (Fig. 1). Döllgast crowned the damaged brick pillars with simple concrete blocks that carried two lateral timber beams, supporting a lightweight and elegant timber truss. The brickwork was patched and un-finished to reveal it in substance. It is difficult to imagine an approach that could be at once simpler and more evocative. Undoubtedly the dignified effect of the intervention swayed the opinion to keep the church. While the interior has since been remodelled, Döllgast's temporary solution constituted one of his most moving interiors.

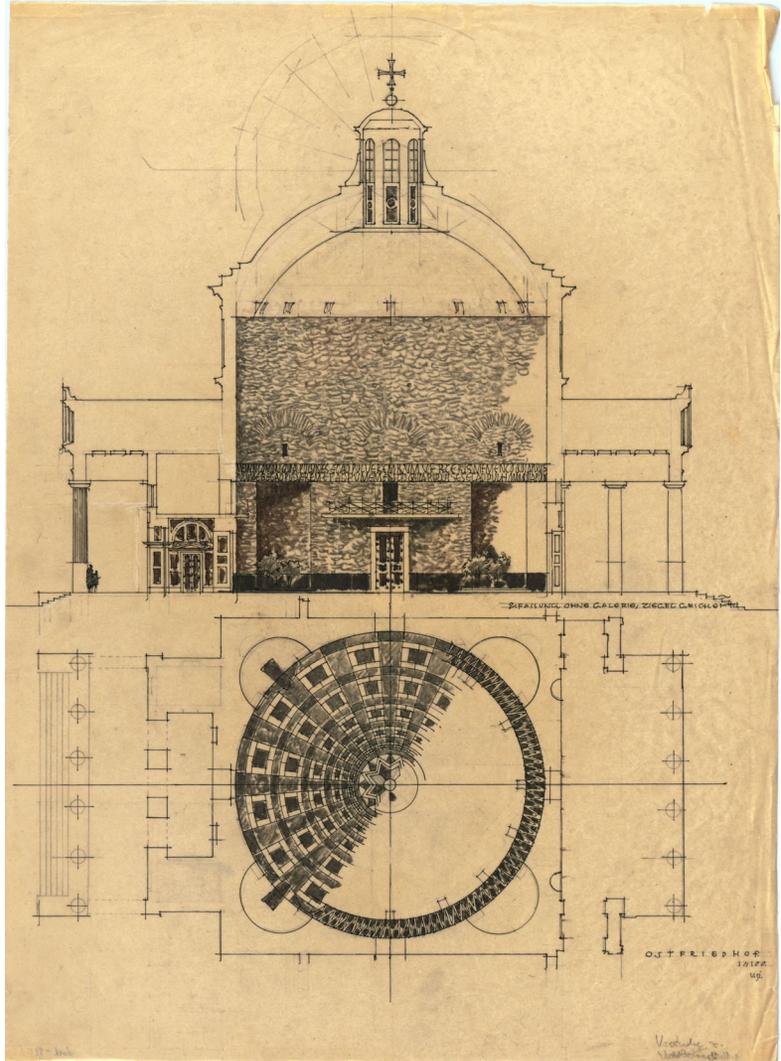
The Alte Pinakothek is the clearest testimony of Döllgast's belief that reconstruction was an opportunity to make improvements and modernising alterations to a venerable historic monument on a more permanent basis. Döllgast was not seemingly concerned with simply salvaging and academically documenting previous layers, an approach defined as 'archaeological' that presented the most common alternative to 'naïve restitution' at the time.⁷⁶ Many conservative critics were quick to bemoan the loss of



Klenze's iconic lanterns and crowning sculptures. Yet over time, Döllgast's rigorously simple and modern temporary solution of a roof with steel supports was to become a decisive, permanent, and celebrated feature of the south elevation (Fig. 9). The placement of filigree steel beams in front of a brick wall recurred as a motif in the salvaged Campo Santo of the Südfried-

Figure 10.
Restored colonnade in the Alter Südfriedhof, Munich, 1953, by Hans Döllgast, photographed in 1980, courtesy of Michael Gaenßler

Figure 11.
Plan and section for reconstruction
of funerary parlour, Ostfriedhof,
Munich, 1951, by Hans Döllgast,
courtesy of Architekturmuseum der
TUM



hof (southern cemetery), again demonstrating Döllgast's modern poetic use of construction (Fig. 10).⁷⁷

Drawing on his practical imagination, Döllgast steered the Alte Pinakothek down a rare path that straddled preservation and opportunities for reinvention. The reconstruction of the interior of the funerary parlour in the Ostfriedhof is another striking example of how profoundly Döllgast was prepared to alter the character of an interior (Fig. 11). Modelled originally on the Pantheon by Hans Grässer, Döllgast created an entirely distinct, rigorous, and austere classicising space that paid tribute to his lifelong passion for Roman architecture. In all of his projects, Döllgast seized the



opportunities brought about by the state of exception and temporariness of the post-war period, yet abstained from adducing the moralising and normative conceptions of reconstruction thrown about in the fraught post-war debates.

Figure 12.
Alte Pinakothek, view of stairs
designed by Hans Döllgast as an
alteration, photographed in 1975,
courtesy of Michael Gaebler

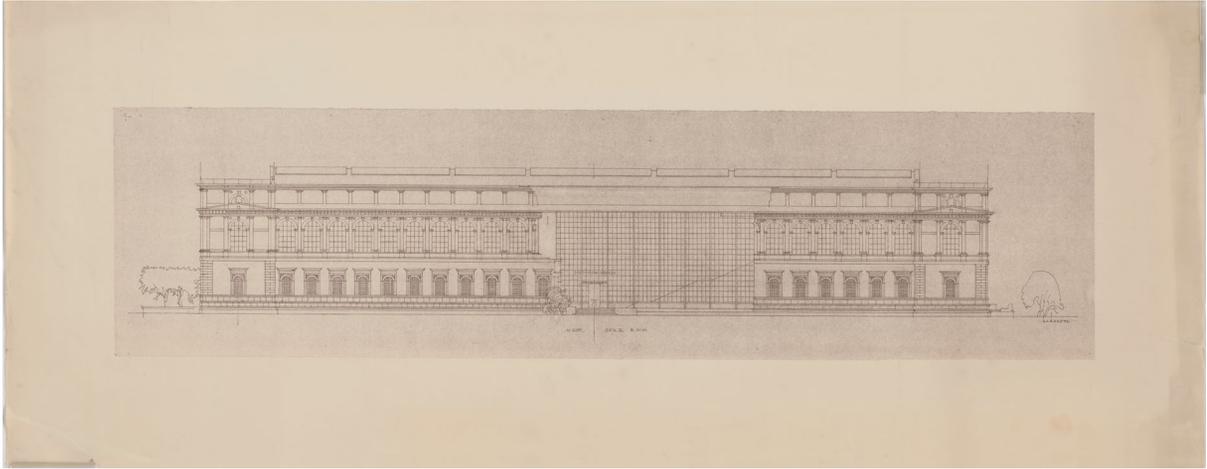


Figure 13.
Reconstruction study of south
elevation at Alte Pinakothek, 1953,
by Hans Döllgast, courtesy of
Architekturmuseum der TUM

Reconfigurations

While Döllgast's reconstruction projects aimed at preserving damaged buildings' original purposes, be it as a church, cemetery, or museum, he also reconfigured them in significant ways. The Alte Pinakothek provides the most radical example of how Döllgast rethought access, circulation, and character through reconstruction. In this regard, he could act as a rigorous functionalist. By inserting two new staircases rising symmetrically through the void in the southern elevation up to the main gallery spaces, Döllgast relocated the main entrance and staircase from the east wing to the south part of the main volume of the building (Fig. 12). Originally, the southern entrance was designed to give access to the museum's primary storage facilities at ground level (as well as to visitors arriving by horse carriage during inclement weather). Döllgast's new stairs prevented not only the reconstruction of the original external elevation but also eliminated the walkway of Klenze's upper story loggia, modelled on the Raphael Loggias in the Apostolic Palace of the Vatican. Klenze had imposed a one-directional circulation, inadequately counter-balanced by the walkway of the loggia, since the latter was largely closed off for internal climatic reasons since the late nineteenth century.⁷⁸ Döllgast afforded visitors more freedom in choosing their path through the galleries than Klenze's arrangement of a single staircase in the east wing. The monumental stairs assumed the entire width of the former loggia in two ascents toward the level of the primary enfilade of galleries. By removing the staircase in the east wing, Döllgast also gained new top-lit gallery spaces in this part of the building, accounting for the blind windows Döllgast introduced on the upper floor of the east façade.

Surveying the interior's extensive new concrete construction and services, Lynette Widder aptly states: 'In actuality, Döllgast constructed an entirely new museum within the ruins of the old.'⁷⁹ Early iterations for the southern

façade had developed bolder solutions for the repaired elevations. The most radical version proposed to entirely glaze the bomb hole (Fig. 13), recalling contemporaneous plans for the Staatsbibliothek (Fig. 5). Like in his collaboration with Ruf on the Staatsbibliothek, Döllgast was open-minded about modern building technologies and used Modernist forms in more explicit ways. Historical fabric was not sacrosanct to Döllgast nor did he necessarily subordinate modern forms to historical ones.

Consistent with his nuanced engagement with Modernism, Döllgast tempered outward expressions of modernity. Widder has shown that Döllgast also deliberately left room for judgments and interpretations of craftsmanship in tying the old fabric into modern construction at the Alte Pinakothek. Döllgast's subtle but decisive alterations extended to his treatment of the character and material qualities of interiors as much as exteriors. This is particularly evident in St Bonifaz where the final outcome corresponded more closely to his intentions than that at the Alte Pinakothek. In the museum, Döllgast was limited in his designs for the main gallery spaces by a commission of art historians, curators, and conservationists. Döllgast's mock-up for pared-down, modern gallery interiors at a temporary exhibition opened to the public in 1954 was dismissed by horrified experts who insisted on recovering the pre-war feel.⁸⁰ The commission was similarly dismayed by Döllgast's bold assertion that he could improve on Klenze's Neo-classicism of the main portal to the Rubens' hall. Döllgast did not limit himself to purification or simplification, but in the right circumstances, he also opted for significant internal and external modifications of historic monuments, in which Modernism sat side by side with other approaches, from the modern vernacular to Neo-classicism.

At St Bonifaz, Döllgast retained and re-roofed the nave and aisles of seven of the original nineteen bays of the basilica, thereby creating a church that was wider than it was long. The abbey church had been designed in an early Christian style by Georg Friedrich Ziebland between 1827 and 1835. Döllgast employed the cheapest available materials, mostly recycled brick and copper from the ruin itself. The brickwork was deliberately left visible through thinly applied lime plaster. For the floor, Döllgast used light and dark terrazzo arranged in a square pattern, while choosing natural wood for the pews. He reinstated an exposed timber truss, but again opted for an innovative filigree structure constructed without a scaffold. The modern cement cover plates were left visible from beneath through the truss. The sole explicit décor was a coloured crucifix at the altar. The material quality of the recovered interior could not have contrasted more sharply with the richly coloured, heavily gilded pre-war edifice. Nevertheless, Döllgast did not adopt the cleansed, expurgated, whitewashed, and de-materialised purity of the interior of the high-profile reconstruction of the Paulskirche in Frankfurt (1947–1948), supervised by Schwarz.

In his work at St Bonifaz, Döllgast arguably created one of the most sober church interiors of the post-war period (Fig. 14). Local critics soon attacked

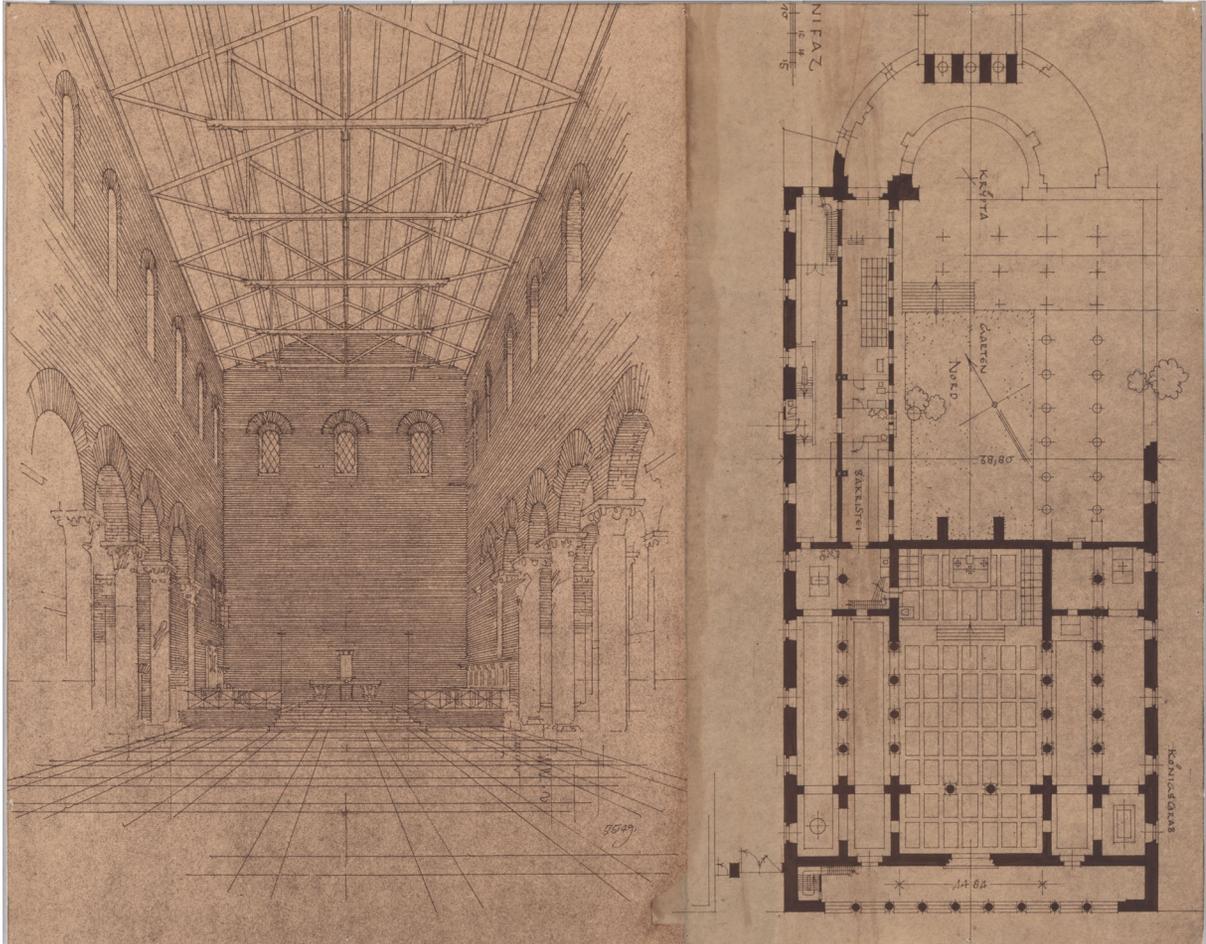


Figure 14.
Perspective view of interior and
plan for the reconstruction of St
Bonifaz, Munich, 1949, by Hans
Döllgast, courtesy of
Architekturmuseum der TUM

the austere architectural character and the church interior was subsequently altered.⁸¹ Yet Döllgast had in fact independently and precociously adopted the idea of spiritual richness in simplified rigour and material honesty, soon to be advocated by the Dominican Father Marie-Alain Couturier in the French journal *Art Sacré* that would influence Le Corbusier for his design at La Tourette.⁸² The editors of *Art Sacré*, who heaped praise on the prolific Schwarz,⁸³ never became aware of Döllgast's project, which in fact offered an original response to many of their underlying concerns. Without going as far as Emil Steffann, a one-time collaborator and fellow church designer of Schwarz, who viewed preserving ruins as a form of spiritual penance and renewal, Döllgast's consequential use of simple, found materials and timber construction had sufficed to recover and renew a ruined church, thereby commemorating the past as much as responding to contemporary aesthetic and spiritual exigencies.⁸⁴

Traces

Döllgast's ability to weave new structures into surviving fabric marked by 'wounds of the past' has provoked the greatest admiration in the reception of his work. Yet Döllgast was not alone in re-using war rubble material in the post-war context. As Kathleen James-Chakraborty has argued, the juxtaposition of old and new had origins in modern German architecture going back as far as the Wilhelmine period.⁸⁵ For practical reasons alone, Munich, like other German city administrations, had in fact ordered the re-use of war rubble where feasible. In his Auferstehungskirche in Pforzheim (1948) Bartning had shown early on that the re-use of salvaged war rubble could assume metaphorical commemorative value, an approach culminating in Schwarz's St Anna in Düren (1954–1956). A tendency to simplify historic forms with modern means through reconstruction was equally emerging as a tendency in German architecture.⁸⁶ Döllgast's approach was nevertheless distinctive, but this was less exclusively dependent on the aesthetics of the ruin than has long been argued.

Döllgast's attitude to the ruinous is perhaps the most misunderstood part of his oeuvre. To a large extent, Döllgast stood out most clearly from his contemporaries for what he did *not* do with ruins. He steered clear of two dominant tendencies in reconstruction: namely an iconological preservation of ruins epitomised by Eiermann's Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche; and the dramatic juxtaposition of old and modernist structures as Schwarz demonstrated at St Alban in Cologne. Both Eiermann and Schwarz to some extent adopted a Ruskinian principle of the untouchability of the ruin, respecting that which cannot be resuscitated and acknowledging the rights of posterity.⁸⁷ Although the influential modernist publicist Hans Eckstein suggested Döllgast too engaged in sentimental 'ruin magic' [*Ruinenmagie*] at the Alte Pinakothek, Döllgast made clear how much he rejected this label.⁸⁸ In his late and most philosophical essay, 'Spaces – Spaces', Döllgast in fact expressed his deep resentment of this label: 'ruin-magic, what a bitter word, invented to deny fate, becoming and decaying'.⁸⁹

Döllgast was in fact critical of the aesthetic pleasure we take in modern ruins, calling it 'pitiless'.⁹⁰ He was drawn to preserve certain historic buildings because of their original quality, not because of their ruins were valuable in and of themselves.⁹¹ At St Bonifaz he emphasised that the quality of the original architecture was palpable *despite* its ruined state. He preferred Pliny's written testimony of villa as a window into Roman architecture than the 'doubly sad ruins' of Pompeii.⁹² Certainly, Döllgast acknowledged the memory value of evidence of destruction, refusing to tidy up every war-induced chip on the façades of the Alte Pinakothek, and exclaimed: 'Why wish to conceal? People should see that the Alte Pinakothek has its history, that she too was not spared by the war.'⁹³ Yet the scars he kept in the masonry were too discrete for the building as a whole to be perceived as a ruin; therefore, the Pinakothek's picturesque ruinous aesthetic appeal was denied (Fig. 15). Döllgast stated, 'one should protect ruins, *but that is*

Figure 15.
East side of Alte Pinakothek,
reconstructed by Hans Döllgast,
photographed in 1975, courtesy of
Michael Gaenßler



all [author's emphasis]', making clear that he did not wish to turn the ruin into a leitmotif of his design.⁹⁴ To some extent, Döllgast was also a child of Viollet-le-Duc's interventionist restoration, with the crucial difference that Döllgast did not strive to return to an abstracted ideal state that never existed.

Döllgast liked to invoke architecture in its capacity to embody and manifest the passing of time and the vagaries of history, of which war destruction forms only one part (Fig. 16).⁹⁵ Döllgast saw signs of ruination like those of weathering, incorporating both into the underlying motif of the trace. He poetically defined the trace as a 'legacy of cartwheels, transmitted as a feature of time



and suffering in a countenance [Antlitz].⁹⁶ He explained his fascination for cemeteries, for instance, by calling them 'history books of the city in stone'.⁹⁷ Döllgast was more concerned with questions of historical continuity than with the commemorative purpose of architecture, as his careful studies of the seam between old and new at the Alte Pinakothek reveal (Fig. 17). He never proposed a formal memorial in the extensive works of reconstruction he oversaw. In all his reconstruction projects he worked on the assumption of practical re-use. He never foregrounded ruination for commemorative functions as the dominant motif. The Old Northern cemetery Döllgast restored was indeed de-commissioned and he did adopt the same strategy of patching old and new together, but the entire project is conceived as a public urban park that occasionally features discrete, seemingly incidental, and largely unsentimental traces of earlier states, and the ruptures of war. Though his design differs greatly from its pre-war state, few visitors would be aware of this.

In this sense, Döllgast shared a characteristically modern attitude to the historical monument as defined in the classic account of Alois Riegl.⁹⁸ Alan Colquhoun argued that both Riegl's conception of 'age-value' and his argument that age-value and newness were in some sense complimentary remain current

Figure 16.
South façade detail of Alte
Pinakothek, reconstructed by Hans
Döllgast, photographed in 1980,
courtesy of Michael Gaenßler

Figure 17.
Study for south façade for the
reconstruction of Alte Pinakothek
by Hans Döllgast, undated,
courtesy of Architekturmuseum der
TUM



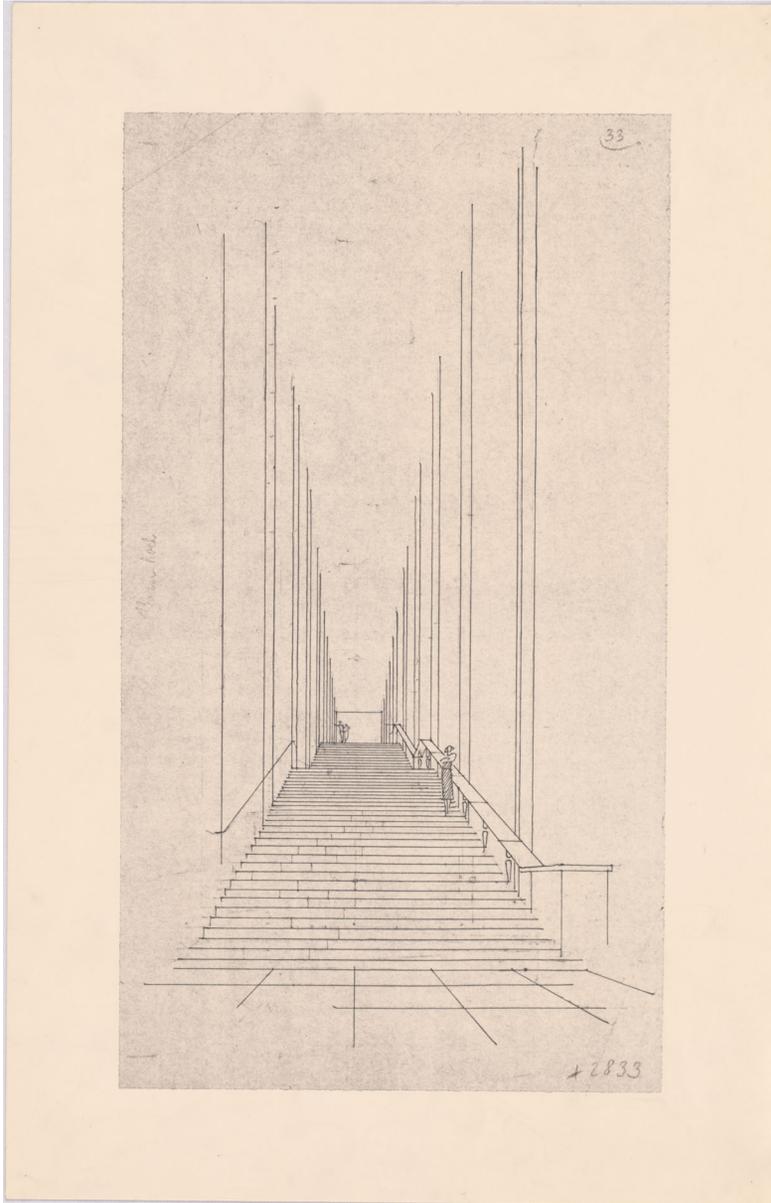


Figure 18.
Perspective of new staircase for the
reconstruction of Alte Pinakothek,
1950s, by Hans Döllgast, courtesy
of Architekturmuseum der TUM

right into the present. Colquhoun's account of Riegl's influence is strikingly apt for Döllgast's ethos of reconstruction:

One characteristic demand of age-value was that monuments should be allowed to grow old gracefully and exhibit the depredations of time, though in cases where the monument still has a practical or symbolic usefulness the idea of its

natural decay could be made to include that equally 'natural' arrest of decay which comes from continued use and repair.⁹⁹

To Döllgast reconstruction was not an autonomous creative practice, but part of this process of repair that was itself a feature of age-value.

The retained marks of the past on the exterior of the Alte Pinakothek were ultimately integrated into but also subordinated to Döllgast's overall design conception. Erich Altenhöfer points out that Döllgast could have maintained signs of ruination on the interior of the staircase and suggested without evidence that it was the museum commission who forced him not to. An unpublished letter by Prof Hans Baessler, one of Döllgast's project architects at the time, flatly rejects this notion, showing that a preservation of Klenze's arches of the former loggia ran against the constructional logic of the new staircase. More importantly, Baessler states that Döllgast 'fully identified' with the new stairs, including their second and final iteration that now removed all evidence of the loggia, which the temporary stairs still maintained.¹⁰⁰

Döllgast's vast new staircase not so much modernised as reinvented Klenze's original architectural prelude to the collection. Döllgast clearly conceived of the staircase as a *mise-en-scène*, its monumental excess a surprising and dramatic experience to many visitors to this day. On the building's exterior the dialogue of old and new provides the dramatic tension, but this is replaced by another, that of light, shade, and horizons in the staircase. Scholars have pointed out that Döllgast's pared down and evocative use of stairs shared a sensibility with Tessenow's. Unusual for Döllgast, his perspectives of the stairs border on the abstract, underlining their dramatic power (Fig. 18).

Conclusions

Like most of his contemporaries, Döllgast never acknowledged either his profession's or his personal moral failings during the Third Reich. He states that his life in the Nazi era could be passed over in silence 'without harm', calling it a period of 'twilight and hibernation'.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, he acquiesced to the regime and did not reject the opportunity to contribute to the Nazis' planning of a new racial order in the annexed territories in the east. The topic of Nazism is essentially absent in his writings, and in the occasional times the war comes up, it is presented as an external catastrophe that befell the German people. This was consistent with the narratives of many Germans of his generation. Gavriel Rosenfeld points out that Döllgast's willingness to preserve traces of war in his reconstruction works was not animated by an intention to acknowledge the victimhood of non-Germans.¹⁰² Yet by preserving and incorporating the past into novel creations, he certainly bestowed Munich one of its most distinct *lieux de mémoire* of the post-war period irrespective of the question of his personal culpability in the Nazi period.

While Döllgast's disinterest in dogmatism and formalism marginalised him within the canon of the Modernism, it predestined him to discover reconstruction as an opportunity rather than limitation. Though he resented the accusation of romanticism, he clearly relished the opportunity to work with existing

buildings. He was free of the anxiety that befell many architects at the time, namely that he might not be sufficiently 'contemporary' and 'modern'. He did not in fact distinguish between the creativity at stake in reconstruction and the design of a modest cottage. His work could be said to have been animated by a certain sober humility which underpinned his outlook on reconstruction. Unlike most of his contemporaries, including Schwarz in Cologne, Döllgast never adopted the authoritative, panoptic position of the 'surgeon' repairing the city.¹⁰³ He abstained from articulating totalising visions of urban renewal for the post-war city. To Döllgast, reconstruction of historic monuments was modern urban design while most of contemporaries felt they had to cordon off heritage so as to be free to design the city as it should be. In an unpublished lecture addressed to students in the architectural school of Brunswick University in 1960, Döllgast reflected on his work of the post-war renewal:

One day you will stumble on such a task. Then you will lay down all vainglory, arm yourself with patience and cheerfulness, and assume the agility of a snake. As the re-newer of a city, you undertake the most beautiful duty incumbent on our profession. All is your business: city planning, craftsmanship, brilliant technology. Fate depends on you; through your hand the past will once more become present and future.¹⁰⁴

Döllgast approached each reconstruction project on its own merits, on a case-by-case basis. Döllgast characterised the imperative of praxis as calling for 'continuous engagement with the things, individual perception, comparison and independence'.¹⁰⁵ Certain motifs in the treatment of materials, construction, and detailing reveal Döllgast's hand, but they also reflect his lifelong reliance on a small group of trusted, highly skilled local craftsmen. His authorship is discernible only to the connoisseur of his work; it has no iconic quality. At the expense of achieving a wider recognition, he remained committed to a non-style. He operated through practical ingenuity and incisive judgment to achieve particular syntheses of preserved and altered features that continue to fascinate contemporary architects faced with the same challenges. Döllgast's buildings, especially his reconstructions, have tended to become *more*, not less, relevant over time, as evidenced in Roger Diener's and David Chipperfield's tributes.

One reason for the long afterlife of his work may be that modern architectural elements and methods were freely employed but never charged with assuming a lead role, remaining simply one of several possible referents, ultimately subordinated to his understanding of urban contexts. Few visitors today are in fact aware how significantly Döllgast altered the buildings he reconstructed. He wore Modernism neither as a badge of honour nor as an article of faith. With respect for the cultural specificity of place — one accessible to him as an architect through analysis as much as a citizen through everyday life, since he was mainly local to where he built — he was attentive to the accidental and contingent as much as to the underlying possibilities of continuity; this is where he is most at odds with the dominant currents of Modernism. Many of his interventions initially appeared provisional, but even when

designed deliberately as temporary, they usually had the capacity to assume remarkable longevity. The motif of the trace as a dramatic effect was more open to adoption for different mnemonic purposes by subsequent generations than the formal and didactic memorials. The ruptures of war that the Alte Pinakothek displays mean something different to locals and outside visitors today than they did in Döllgast's time, and the design does not resist this inevitable transformation and multiplicity.

As Karsten Harries notes, for modern architecture to articulate an ethical orientation, it must be 'responsive to our essential incompleteness. [...] Such an architecture would present inevitably precarious interpretations of our ethos, of our place in a larger whole'.¹⁰⁶ In so far as Döllgast achieved such an architecture, it could be said to have in part rested on a critical restraint, which is neither a formal timidity, nor an unwillingness to engage with Modernism. Crucially, this restraint was complemented by Döllgast's underlying positive understanding of design as a conversation with architecture through the ages.

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Disclosure statement

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 18. Hans Eckstein, 'Ruinenmagie', *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, 9/10 (October 1954).
 19. Stanford Anderson, 'Memory in Architecture', *Daidalos*, 58 (1995), 23–37.
 20. See, for example: Matthew Rampley, 'Modernism and Cultural Politics in Inter-war Austria: The Case of Clemens Holzmeister', *Architectural History*, 64 (2021), 347–78; James-Chakraborty, *Modernism as Memory*; Deborah Ascher Barnstone, *Beyond the Bauhaus: Cultural Modernity in Breslau, 1918–33* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016); Judith Hopfengänger and Ákos Moravánszky, *Re-Humanizing Architecture: New Forms of Community, 1950–1970* (Basel: Birkäuser, 2017).
 21. Nerdinger, 'Hans Döllgast: Außenseiter', p. 21.

22. Hans Döllgast, *Journal Retour*, 3 vols (Salzburg: Anton Pustet, 2003), I, p. 29. *Journal Retour* was originally published in three volumes between 1971–1973; the three volumes were re-published as facsimiles in 2003.
23. Colin St John Wilson, *The Other Tradition of Modern Architecture* (London: Academy, 1995).
24. Döllgast, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 41; Most extensively in a filmed interview, see: *Topographie: Portrait eines Baumeisters — Der Architekt Hans Döllgast*, dir. by Dieter Wieland (Bayerischer Rundfunk, 1984).
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26. *Vernacular Modernism: Heimat, Globalization, and the Built Environment*, ed. by Maiken Umbach and Bernd Hüppauf (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005).
27. Kenny Cuppers, 'Bodenständigkeit: The Environmental Epistemology of Modernism', *The Journal of Architecture*, 21.8 (2016), 1226–52.
28. Nerdinger, *Süddeutsche Bautradition*, pp. 9–10.
29. *Moderne Architektur in Deutschland 1900 bis 1950, Reform und Tradition*, ed. by Vittorio Lampugnani and Romana Schneider (Stuttgart: Hatje, 1992).
30. Bestelmayer gave Döllgast his first teaching opportunities in the TH; see: Döllgast, *Journal*, I, p. 27.
31. Döllgast worked for Riemerschmid from 1920 to 1922, and for Behrens from 1922 to 1927.
32. Döllgast, *Journal*, I, p. 32.
33. Ibid.
34. Ross Anderson, 'The Medieval Masons' Lodge as Paradigm in Peter Behrens's "Dombauhütte" in Munich, 1922', *The Art Bulletin*, 90.3 (2008), 441–65; Tilmann Buddensieg, 'Architektur als freie Kunst', in *Peter Behrens: Umbautes Licht*, ed. by Bernhard Buderath (Munich: Prestel, 1990), pp. 58–73.
35. Hans Döllgast, 'Tagebuch, Briefe (1920–24)', in *30 Jahre später: Zur Faksimileausgabe von Hans Doellgasts Journal Retour*, ed. by Franz Kießling (Munich: Anton Pustet, 2003), p. 12; Buddensieg, 'Architektur als freie Kunst', pp. 69–72.
36. Döllgast worked on the 'New Ways' house in Northampton (1925), the Austrian Pavilion at the Exposition des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes in Paris (1925), and the Weisenhof Estate in Stuttgart (1927).
37. Döllgast, *Journal*, III, p. 29.
38. Hans Döllgast, *Räume – Räume* (Munich: Callwey, 1972), p. 19.
39. Ibid., p. 29.
40. Döllgast, *Räume*, pp. 57–8.
41. Döllgast, *Journal*, III, p. 4.
42. *Bauhaus-Moderne im Nationalsozialismus: Zwischen Anbiederung und Verfolgung*, ed. by Winfried Nerdinger (Munich: Prestler, 1993).
43. Nerdinger, *Süddeutsche Bautradition*, p. 10.
44. Döllgast, *Journal*, I, p. 28.
45. Paul Schmitthenner, *Das Deutsche Wohnhaus* (Stuttgart: Konrad Wittwer, 1932), p. 8.
46. Paul Schmitthenner, *Die Baukunst im Neuen Reich* (Munich: Callwey, 1934).
47. Hans Döllgast, *Gebundenes Zeichnen* (Augsburg: Maro-Verlag, 1986), pp. 42–3, (first publ. in 1953); Döllgast, *Journal Retour*, I, pp. 17, 41.
48. Gaebler, *Döllgast: 1891–1974*, p. 220.
49. Werner Durth, *Deutsche Architekten: Biographische Verflechtungen 1910–1970* (Munich: dtv, 1992); Steven Remy, *The Heidelberg Myth: The Nazification and Denazification of a German University* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).
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51. Deborah Ascher Barnstone, *The Transparent State: Architecture and Politics in Postwar Germany* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 53–5.
52. Hans Döllgast, *Heitere Baukunst* (Munich: Reindl, 1951), p. 68.
53. In film *Topographie* (1984).
54. *Aufbauzeit: Planen und Bauen in München 1945–1950*, ed. by Winfried Nerdinger and others (Munich: Beck, 1984).
55. Döllgast proposed to salvage the Justice Palace of his teacher Thiersch, see Nerdinger, *Aufbauzeit*, p. 16.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
57. *Ibid.*
58. 'Ein Nachkriegsaufwurf, grundsätzliche Forderungen [1947]', in *Programme und Manifeste zur Architektur des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Ulrich Conrads (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2001), p. 141.
59. Durth and Gutschow, *Träume in Trümmern*, pp. 372–88.
60. Nerdinger, *Aufbauzeit*, p. 14.
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63. Barbara Miller Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany 1918–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; 1968).
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65. Erich Altenhöfer, 'Hans Döllgast and the Alte Pinakothek: Designs, Projects and Reconstructions 1946–73', in *On Continuity*, ed. by Rosamund Diamond and Wilfried Wang (Cambridge, MA: Princeton Architectural Press, 1995), pp. 61–105.
66. *Ibid.*, pp. 63–65.
67. Durth and Gutschow, *Träume in Trümmern*, p. 349.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 357–66.
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71. Wolfgang Pehnt and Hilda Strohl, *Rudolf Schwarz 1897–1961: Architekt einer anderen Moderne* (Ostfildern: G. Hatje, 1997), p. 128.
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80. Altenhöfer, 'Hans Döllgast', pp. 67–8.
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