

The German architect Hans Döllgast's little-known study of 'farmhouse parlours', *Alte und Neue Bauernstuben*, was significant to his thinking about the vernacular, modern architecture, and dwelling.

## The vernacular modern in the shadow of totalitarianism: Hans Döllgast's *Alte und neue Bauernstuben*

Maximilian Sternberg

Long neglected in Anglophone architectural historiography, the architect Hans Döllgast (1891–1974) has steadily gained more public recognition as an original figure in modern architecture.<sup>1</sup> German scholars have tended to focus on his postwar reconstructions in Munich, regarded as his only genuinely modern work.<sup>2</sup> The theme of memory in Döllgast's postwar designs has attracted the most interest by Anglophone scholars.<sup>3</sup> Yet Döllgast was also a prolific author, and his varied writings have received insufficient attention by German and Anglophone scholars alike. Döllgast's books and essays present a significant body of sources that shed light on the complexity of architectural discourse in the formative years of modern architecture in Germany.

Döllgast's study of farmhouse 'parlours', entitled *Alte und neue Bauernstuben* ('Old and New Farmhouse Parlours') was first published in 1937 and has since largely been ignored by historians [1]. It was Döllgast's most widely read book, last re-edited in revised form in 1962. Though it may appear antiquarian at first glance, it is in fact both critical and contemporary in spirit. Döllgast's study sheds light upon his mature thinking about the relevance of the vernacular for the modern house. It also serves to question a general assumption in the existing literature that Döllgast only engaged with tenets of modern architecture after the war, having been a regionalist aloof from the discourse of the modern movement prior to the war. As many critics have observed, Döllgast resists historiographic classifications, such as modernist vs regionalist, avant garde vs traditionalist or internationalist vs nationalist.<sup>4</sup> What makes *Alte und neue Bauernstuben* remarkable is precisely how it eschews alignment with the dominant strands of architectural thought by charting an independent-minded path at a time of imposed totalitarian uniformity.

### Heimat and vernacular

The fraught motif of the vernacular featured prominently at various moments in German and more widely in European architectural theories from c. 1900–60.<sup>5</sup> Recent scholarship on the German conceptions of *Heimat* (translatable as both

homeland and vernacular), following Celia Applegate's seminal work,<sup>6</sup> has highlighted that the image of the vernacular was never the sole preserve of anti-modernist conservatives and also played a significant, if ambivalent, role *within* modernist discourse, from the late Wilhelmine period to postwar West Germany.<sup>7</sup> Alan Colquhoun already noted that progressives in German architectural discourse were as likely to lay claims to the concepts of tradition, culture, and even ethnic belonging – all bound up with the notion of the *Heimat*/vernacular –



1 Hans Döllgast, opening page of *Alte und Neue Bauernstuben*, 1938.

as conservatives in the Weimar period.<sup>8</sup> *Alte und neue Bauernstuben* shows that this ambivalence continued even into the Nazi period, when the authorities imposed much greater repressive ideological uniformity.

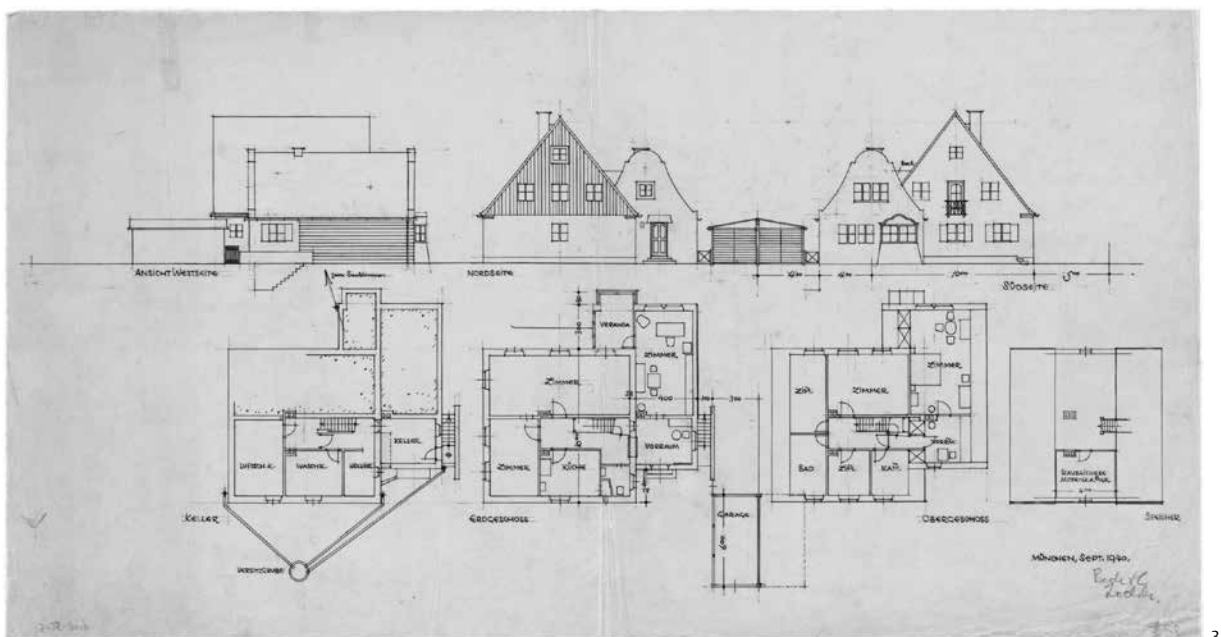
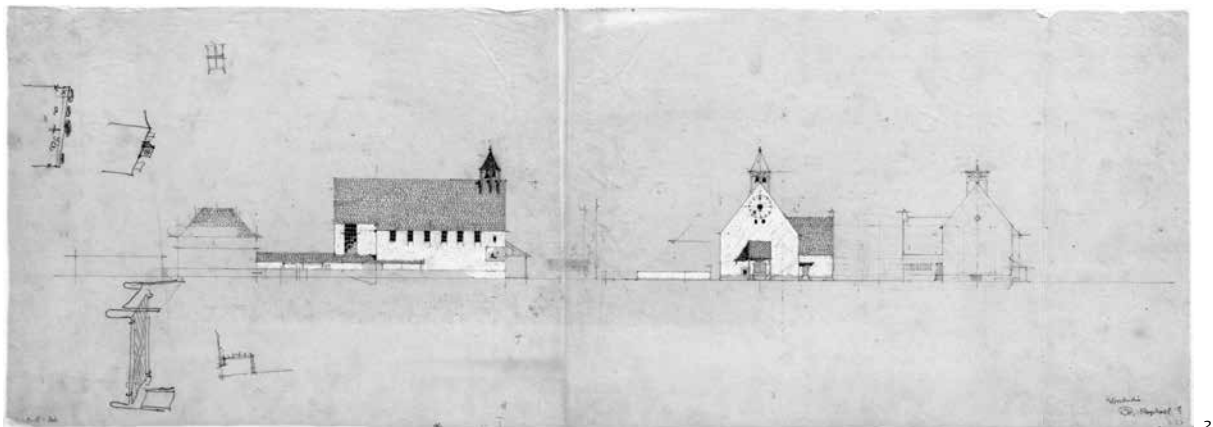
The traditional German farmhouse (*Bauernhof*) and to some degree its parlour (*Stube*) constituted a popular *topos* within modern architectural reform discourse on the ‘dwelling house’ as building type (*Wohnhaus*), ‘dwelling’ as practice (*Wohnen*) and ‘dwelling culture’ (*Wohnkultur*) from the turn of the century.<sup>9</sup> Leading voices in the modern movement in Germany, as different as Hermann Muthesius and Bruno Taut, appropriated the traditional ‘farmhouse parlour’ (*Bauernstube*) in their theoretical writings and invoked the notion of ‘dwelling’ as both practice and space. German architects were not alone in this preoccupation with vernacular domestic architecture. British Arts and Crafts designers had been the first to turn to the lessons of the farmhouse for a self-consciously modern architecture.<sup>10</sup> At the turn of the century, Austria-Hungary in particular was the locus of a rich discourse on the modern relevance of the vernacular farmhouse.<sup>11</sup> Eve Branscombe has recently shown how deeply an

engagement with the vernacular alpine house informed the architecture of Adolf Loos through close analysis of his *Landhaus Kuhner* (completed in 1930).<sup>12</sup> By the late 1920s, Le Corbusier himself spoke of inner affinities between a farmhouse in Brittany and his mentor Auguste Perret’s groundbreaking church at Le Raincy.<sup>13</sup> In inter- and postwar Italian modernist discourse, the motif of the vernacular equally played a central role across the whole political spectrum.<sup>14</sup>

Döllgast’s text thus stands out in modern architectural discourse less for adducing the farmhouse as such, than for developing such a close, multifaceted reading of a particular vernacular interior, while implying more than elaborating its relevance for contemporary architecture. Most architects of his generation tended to appropriate the *image* of the farmhouse to stand in for a generalised concept of ‘modern vernacular’ or ‘vernacular

2 Hans Döllgast, Elevations for Sankt Raphael parish church (Munich), 1932.

3 Hans Döllgast, house for Professor Bechtel (Munich). Döllgast planned the original house in 1934, and proposed an extension in 1940.



modern' in their theories and designs.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, the distinctive combination of text, drawing, historical evidence, and photographs provides insight into Döllgast's mode of thinking through architecture. *Alte und neue Bauernstuben* also shows how Döllgast navigated the ideological context of the deeply racialised, ultranationalist cultural policies of Nazism in the 1930s (referred to as 'völkisch' from here on). The 'German peasant' and 'German peasant culture' were common tropes of this exclusionary 'Blut und Boden' ('blood and soil') propaganda.<sup>16</sup> Yet, as we shall see, nationalism and race theories do not feature in *Alte und neue Bauernstuben*. It is important to note that Döllgast's attitudes towards, and activities during, the Nazi regime are not, *per se*, the focus of this inquiry. Rather it addresses how he responded to the strident instrumentalisation of vernacular architecture in völkisch cultural propaganda by prominent figures such as Paul Schultze-Naumburg and points to how Döllgast incorporated his thinking about the vernacular in his own design approach. This study does not intend to exonerate Döllgast of any personal failings and responsibilities with respect to the Nazi regime, which must be the topic of a separate inquiry. The available evidence of his activities leading up to and during the NS regime is briefly outlined in the following section.

### Döllgast in the 1930s

Having completed his architectural studies at the Technische Hochschule (TH) in Munich in 1914, Döllgast spent most of the 1920s working for leading figures of the prewar avant garde, first for Richard Riemerschmid, then with increasing independence under Peter Behrens. The Weissenhof Estate in Stuttgart in 1927 was to be one of his last projects working as a lead designer in Behrens' office. A year later, Döllgast parted with the modern movement to set up his own practice in Munich, occasionally collaborating with the regionalist Augsburg-based architect, Michael Kurz.

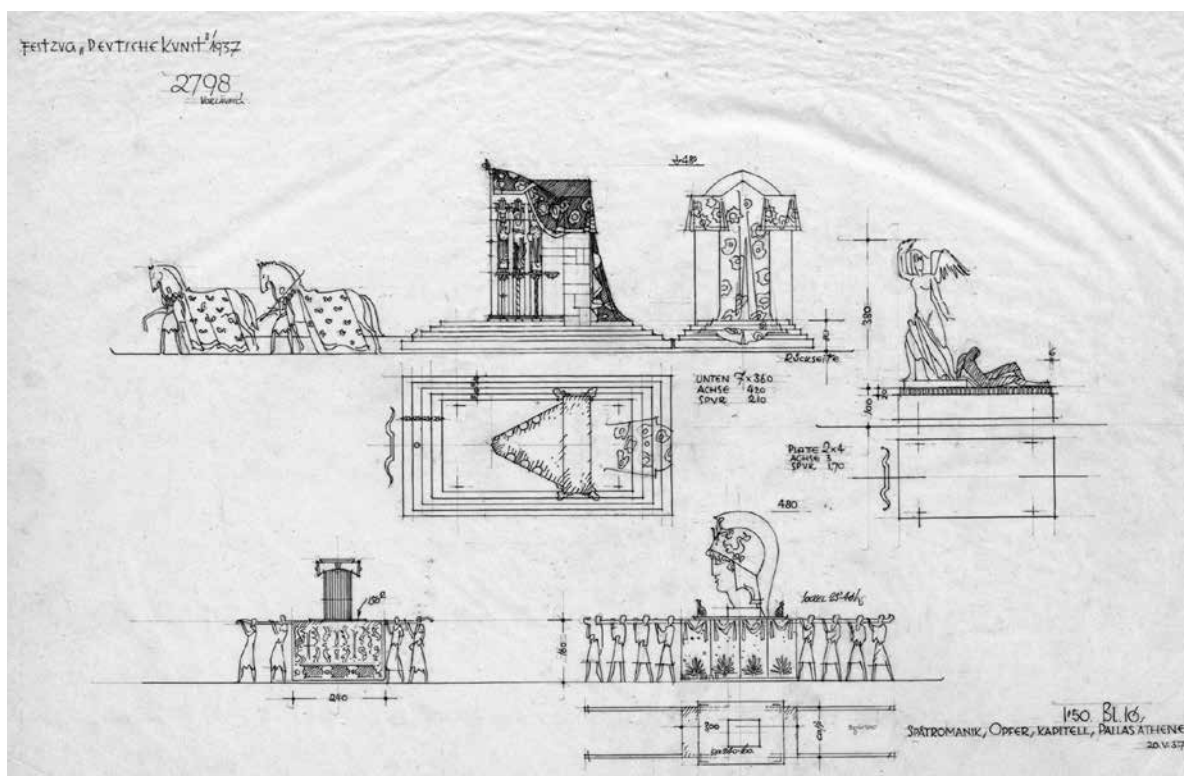
Throughout his career Döllgast cultivated multiple allegiances and maintained his independence with respect to the dominant tenets of modern architecture. His apparent break with the avant garde in 1927 did not mean that he fell into the camp of conservative modern architects led by figures such as Paul Schmitthenner. Schmitthenner later sought to publicly ingratiate himself with the Nazi Party by aducing völkisch ideology as a corrective to the ostensible techno-cult and so-called 'cultural Bolshevism' of the *Neues Bauen* ('New Building').<sup>17</sup> Aloof from the increasingly belligerent polemics of this time, Döllgast achieved his first successes as an independent architect in the early 1930s, designing Catholic parish churches in Munich, although receiving no further ecclesiastical commissions after 1934 [2]. After a brief spell working in urban design around 1930, Döllgast primarily built private single-family homes during the 1930s, developing an idiom of carefully crafted yet unassuming simplicity that clearly shared an affinity with Heinrich Tessenow's *Wohnhaus* designs, a link to which we will return at the end of this article [3].

Döllgast initially found few opportunities in the new works patronised by the Nazi regime. In 1937 he was subcontracted to design large floats for the '2000 years of German Culture' parade that marked the opening of the new 'House of German Art' museum (the site of the infamous 'Degenerate Art Exhibition'). Yet his name does not feature in the credits of the accompanying publications and, in the absence of further documentary evidence, is it hard to establish under what terms Döllgast was recruited [4].<sup>18</sup> The iconographic programme of the floats had been devised in 1933 for the original parade that was staged for the laying of the museum's foundation stone but the artistic direction of the revamped parade of 1937 lay firmly in the hands of others.<sup>19</sup> Arranged at short notice, the organisers estimated that up to 24,000 people contributed to the preparations. Even if these figures were deliberately inflated, Döllgast's participation indicates ideological acquiescence if not necessarily active sympathy for Nazism. Finally, having started in 1929, Döllgast extended his teaching activities as adjunct faculty in the architecture school of the Technische Hochschule in Munich throughout the 1930s, patronised by German Bestelmeyer, an architect favoured by Hitler.

Given that few of Döllgast's personal papers survive, it is hard to assess his political attitudes. There is no evidence that he joined either the Party or associations with an explicit Nazi outlook. At the same time, like most German architects, neither persecuted for their Jewish origins nor for any alleged sympathy to Communism, Döllgast clearly accommodated himself with the regime, which he sought to mask with an apolitical professional self-image after the war. Such an attitude was typical of many German architects, including members of the avant garde such as Rudolf Schwarz, Hugo Häring, or Hans Scharoun, all of whom, though marginalised, continue to work and teach throughout the NS period.<sup>20</sup> The fact that Döllgast was able to develop his teaching portfolio in the 1930s at the TH in Munich, and was appointed as a full professor in 1942 indicates Nazi authorities regarded him as aligned. No appointments under Nazi rule were made without approval by the local party association, and while the documentary evidence does not survive, Döllgast would have had to ingratiate himself actively with the relevant officials in order to keep his university career afloat.<sup>21</sup>

Like most of his professional contemporaries, including Schwarz, Döllgast did planning work for the Nazi regime during the Second World War. He took up a temporary appointment as acting chief planner in the annexed Polish city of Toruń during the war (1940–3). According to Döllgast, the post had been occupied by a former student peer at Munich. Much of the Polish Województwo Pomorskie ('Pomeranian regional district'), of which Toruń served as capital, was directly incorporated into the Third Reich as the Nazis dissolved and dismembered Poland as a nation-state following its invasion. Toruń (Thorn in German) had been variously part of Germany and Poland over the centuries but belonged to the newly founded Polish state from 1919. After





4 Hans Döllgast, designs for floats for the 'German Art Procession', 1937, entitled 'Late Romanesque', 'Sacrifice', 'Capital', 'Pallas Athena'.

1939, Toruń's Polish inhabitants (Catholics and Jews) were subject to atrocities, displacement, and enslavement as part of annexation.<sup>22</sup> Although one cannot establish how much of this Döllgast was party to as a planner, it is difficult to imagine how he could have remained unaware of it. The overarching aim of German planning in annexed and occupied territories was to systematically 'Aryanise' the built environment and wider landscape, and this would have been perfectly plain to Döllgast.<sup>23</sup> Döllgast avowedly carried out his planning work in Toruń with enthusiasm even though few of his proposals were implemented. He never expressed regret for his actions nor is he recorded to have acknowledged the city's Polish history or inhabitants. Instead, he focused exclusively on the (admittedly) rich German heritage of the city, referring to the city and region simply as part of the 'fatherland'.<sup>24</sup> Some of the proposals for Toruń, especially the *Gau-Forum* (Party Headquarters), had distinctly monumental qualities, though they have little in common with the bombastic heaviness and scale of Albert Speer's designs [5]. Döllgast's plans reveal an interest in achieving a balance between intervention and preservation in the renewal of the old city, characteristic of his postwar work in Regensburg, for instance.<sup>25</sup>

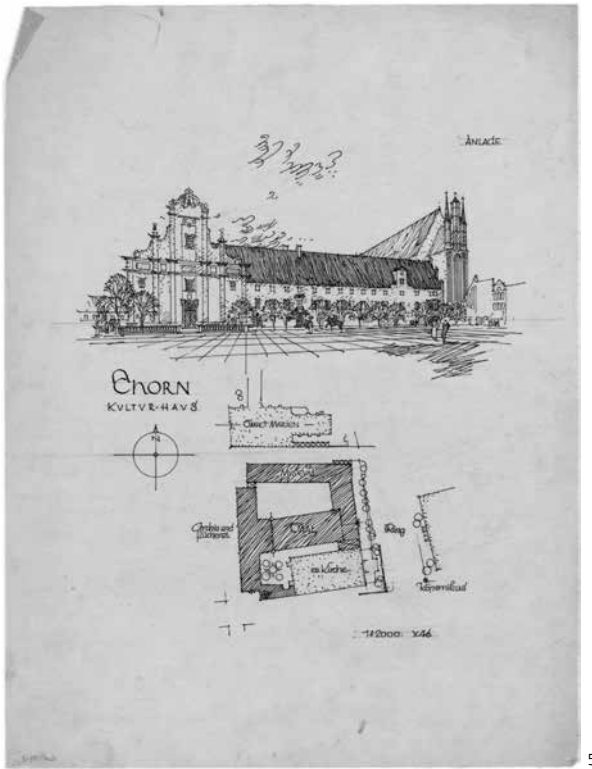
After the war Döllgast was widely regarded as 'uncompromised' by Nazism, and was installed as the first Dean of the Faculty by the US occupying

authorities. The bar in the de-Nazification process was certainly set very low and there were many continuities in personnel across the professions; architects and academics presenting no exception.<sup>26</sup> Döllgast never indicated in later accounts that he acted as a dissident or that he retreated into a so-called 'inner exile'. Like most of his contemporaries, he largely remained silent on this period after the war and, while the evidence for his activities in the period 1933–45 is slim, his attitude seems to have been one of opportunism and ideological acquiescence. The key question of concern for this article is how his architectural thinking of the mid-1930s navigated totalitarian *völkisch* ideology.

#### The source

*Alte und neue Bauernstuben* was published in six editions: in 1937, 1938, 1940, 1941, 1951, and 1962. While Döllgast made moderate revisions to the illustrations of the first five editions, the text remained unaltered except for the addition of a short preface in 1951. The final edition of 1962, when Döllgast was seventy-one years old, was substantially revised and expanded, furnished with a new introduction and an extended conclusion that read as a series of self-contained postscripts.<sup>27</sup> The postwar editions are adduced primarily with respect to clues they contain about Döllgast's account of his own motivations.

The unrevised prewar edition of 1938 is sixty-four pages in length. The essay itself is a combination of text and images that extends from pages five to twenty-two, while the remainder of the book is taken up by plates that mostly present photographs, with the inclusion of the occasional plan or sketch. Along with photos of interiors, the



5

5 Hans Döllgast, Proposal for a 'House of Culture' (Torún), 1942.

majority of which appear to have been taken by Döllgast himself, he included three artists' representations of farmhouse parlours dating from the nineteenth century, and one of his own paintings at the very end. Finally, he incorporated thirty of his own drawings in ink, which present an even mix of thumbnail ground floor plans, construction details, and perspectival views, as well as sketches of various furnishings. Examples are derived primarily, though not exclusively, from southern Germany. He includes a small number of houses that were turned into museums, but mostly he draws on examples of homes that remained in use. Only the final edition of 1962 makes reference to Döllgast's own designs of the 1950s. As the prefix 'old and new' in the title indicates, Döllgast included examples of contemporary interpretations of the parlour and states right at the end that he would have multiplied these if 'many owners were not timid about publicising matters of the heart'.<sup>28</sup>

At the time of publication in 1937, *Alte und neue Bauernstuben* perhaps served the purpose of developing Döllgast's résumé for an academic appointment. Despite the prominence of the motif of the farmhouse in architectural theory, few systematic architectural studies of the topic had been carried out, so the time may have seemed ripe.<sup>29</sup> Growing up in Bergheim near Neuburg on the Danube, Döllgast possessed an intimate familiarity with vernacular architecture. As he states in the final edition, his village [...] had 'forty farms, and each had its respectable *Stube*', and this informed his study to a large extent.<sup>30</sup> As with most

of his books, Döllgast's teaching may also have been a motivating factor. He regularly took his students on site visits to vernacular houses.<sup>31</sup>

In the final edition of 1962, Döllgast refers to his book as a 'simple primer'.<sup>32</sup> Here, he allows himself a more personal tone, stating that with 'a nice book on farmhouse parlours you make no enemies'.<sup>33</sup> This observation is in many ways more apt for the 1930s than the 1960s, since the vernacular was a safe *völkisch* topic to write about under the Nazi regime. Paradoxically, this officially sanctioned subject matter may have allowed him a certain freedom he would not otherwise have enjoyed, as he was to find out with his lectures of 1943.<sup>34</sup> At the same time, the majority of his designs at his time of writing were residential houses in suburban and rural settings. At a pragmatic level, *Alte und neue Bauernstuben* would have increased his standing in the eyes of a prospective clientele wishing to partake of the venerable tradition of the parlour. Such rooms were a fixture of bourgeois imaginings of rooted cosiness, popularised in the Wilhelmine period and increasingly familiar set pieces in both national and local museums.<sup>35</sup> The book is certainly replete with practical guidance for clients and builders, from the choice of materials and finishes, to fittings, heating systems, and furnishings: this practical strand has perhaps also led scholars to overlook the deeper intellectual agenda and themes of the work.

The essay is furnished with subheadings inserted in the margins, opening with two dense passages titled 'Of the Space' and 'Of the Purpose'. These are followed by more descriptive and practical elucidations of the *Stube's* constituent parts: 'Floors', 'Ceilings', 'Walls', 'Windows', 'Bay Windows', 'Lighting', 'Furniture', 'Pictures', 'Flowers'. Döllgast concludes his essay with a series of dense reflections that return to the observations of the opening statements.

### The modern relevance of the vernacular

As Döllgast states in the 1951 edition, consistent with the spirit of the original work, *Alte und neue Bauernstuben* addresses those:

*who wish to know something of the mysteries of peasant order and its beautiful nonchalance, of its peculiar marriage of pomp and poverty, firmly bound rules and comely playfulness. Those who would like to be guided in a matter that appears dead easy, but in which success and derailment are close bedfellows.*<sup>36</sup>

Döllgast makes clear that the character of the peasant parlour is elusive, that it lends itself to misappropriation. Döllgast's text of the 1930s concludes with a fairly explicit criticism of what might be termed literal regionalist design. 'Friends of the true art of the parlour', he wrote, 'care for more than the mere word, which can easily deceive, which can, when falsely interpreted, lead to abuse, to the arid invasion of a problematic alpine-style that has taken hold.'<sup>37</sup> It is evident that Döllgast rejected the strand of vulgarised, kitsch *Heimatstil* (homeland-style) architecture that gained prominence under the Nazis.

Throughout his study, Döllgast resists establishing abstract, formal, or typological principles that determine the configuration of the parlour. Rather, he offers an account of its basic spatial parameters, which is elementary, if not abstract, in its succinctness. While Döllgast notes that painters were the first to study and understand the farmhouse parlour, he leaves his own, almost painterly, descriptions until later in the text with respect to specific features. The very first sentence states that 'farmhouse parlours never measure less than five by five metres and no more than seven by seven metres across a square, less would be a chamber, more a hall.' The height of the room is limited only by the minimum of 1.9 metres; the basic form of a 'hollow cube' with no internal supports, of a median volume of 72 metres cubed is fundamental to the farmhouse parlour. It is an enclosure that 'does not agree with annexes and connections such as sliding or double doors, conservatories and bay windows'.<sup>38</sup> In the final edition he complements this with the additional information that the parlour is always 'situated on the ground floor, by the main entrance off a dark hallway'. It is generally 'square in plan, has two walls that are closed, and two that are broken up'.<sup>39</sup> The primary spatial essence is defined in the original text as 'the vacant and unobstructed centre with its bounding limits' of wall, ceiling, and floor.<sup>40</sup> Döllgast has much to say about the many subsidiary elements of the *Stube* under the subsequent headings, but the opening passage 'Of the Space' does not add further architectural definitions to these economical observations.

In the final edition of his work Döllgast presents his concern for giving 'more space to the phenomenon of *Bauernstuben*-art than its uses'.<sup>41</sup> The use of the term 'phenomenon' is significant. The parlour embodies more than a mere room or type, it captures the essence of the farmhouse as a whole. A tour of the whole farmhouse reveals the parlour's relative 'excess, its pre-eminence and the harmony of its parts'.<sup>42</sup> Though Döllgast includes measured plans at both ground and first levels of a selection of farmhouses, he offers no analysis of these, suggesting, as we will see below, that the *Bauernstube* is not governed by systematic spatial rules that are evidenced in plan. To Döllgast, an investigation of the parlour is an interpretative task, raising questions for an architect, rather than providing readily applicable formal or typological answers. It is potentially a source of creativity in contemporary design depending on the social circumstances. In praise of the preceding generation, including another of his teachers, the historicist Friedrich von Thiersch in Munich, Döllgast writes: '[They] admired peasant art [...], 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 their present [...]. That the farmer who asked for their work did not exist is not their fault.'<sup>43</sup>

Döllgast's basic understanding of the parlour, marked by a sense of its simultaneous relevance and the necessity of its translation for modern architects, is clearly influenced by late Wilhelmine architectural



6 Hans Döllgast, parlour interiors in *Alte und Neue Bauernstuben*, 1938.

theories of the vernacular. The early *Heimatschutz* ('homeland protection') movement had a preservationist and modernising agenda. Inspired among others by the Arts and Crafts movement, it valued how the vernacular was premised on authentic craftsmanship, and how it seemed to grow out of and sustain everyday life. Döllgast's book makes regular, detailed reference to the rhythms and practices of rural life. The only 'connoisseurs of the farmhouse parlour' worth noting for Döllgast are those for whom the 'life-value for the cause of peasant culture lies at the heart'.<sup>44</sup> Throughout the essay he displays a detailed, authoritative understanding of the kinds of craftsmanship that supports the parlour and its furnishings [6]. Like Hermann Muthesius before him,<sup>45</sup> although less concerned with the question of the domestic role of women, Döllgast underlines the *social* purpose of the parlour and that it expresses a desire to separate 'dwelling' from mere 'householding'.<sup>46</sup> While primary activities are meals and festive gatherings, the *Stube* has a 'great capacity to absorb' including all manner of making. Ultimately Döllgast defines the purpose of the parlour as a place harbouring 'togetherness occupations' ('*miteinanderlicher Beschäftigung*').<sup>47</sup>

Throughout the book Döllgast regularly makes clear that the furnishings are also inherently tied to the purpose and meaning of the parlour and that they cannot be rearranged to convey a generalised farmhouse atmosphere in another



type of room. As if speaking directly to a client he states: 'when you attempt to furnish a study, music or breakfast room in the manner of a parlour, the architect can only recall the dignity of the original, but it becomes something else.'<sup>48</sup> This echoes a brief passage in the short film *The New Dwelling* of 1930 by the modernist Hans Richter, who speaks of rooms presented as a 'good *Stube*' as 'pointless, a source of bother and work'.<sup>49</sup> Yet creative adaptation to genuine, changing needs is regularly stated as imperative in the text. Döllgast rejects the inclusion of dated tools as primitivist 'museum props' if they no longer serve a purpose, deemed just as inappropriate as trying to evoke the 'smoke and darkness of desolate taverns in the paintings of Breughel or Brouwer'.<sup>50</sup> Döllgast dismisses the relevance of transplanted farmhouse parlours in museums and their *mise-en-scène* of rural life.<sup>51</sup> Suspicious of 'museumification' like most modern architects of this time,<sup>52</sup> Döllgast presents the parlour as graspable only as a living phenomenon. Loos had already argued in 1914 that 'instead of following deceitful catchphrases such as "Heimatkunst", if one could in the end return to the one truth – which I have always proclaimed as tradition – then one should become accustomed to building like our fathers, and should not be afraid of being un-modern.'<sup>53</sup>

German theorists, above all Muthesius, subsumed the importance of everyday life and the dignity of craftsmanship into the concept of architectural *Sachlichkeit* (variously translatable as 'practicality', 'suitability', 'purposefulness', or 'objectivity', and generally not well captured by the terms 'technique' or 'function').<sup>54</sup> Negatively, *Sachlichkeit* denotes freedom from all superfluous embellishment and formalism. Positively, it meant an architecture that answered directly to its purpose.<sup>55</sup> While the term is slippery, undergoing many permutations and expansions of meaning into the 1920s, there was a widely shared consensus that the vernacular was a historical embodiment of *Sachlichkeit*, which therefore made it relevant for a modern architectural reform agenda. An avant-garde representative of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* such as Bruno Taut continued to refer to the relevance of the vernacular (whether German or 'oriental') into his exile in the 1930s, even though he was concerned with differentiating himself from the proponents of the *Heimatstil*.<sup>56</sup> While Döllgast does not employ the term *Sachlichkeit* (preferring instead the related *Zweckmässigkeit*) his terse assertion at the beginning of *Alte und neue Bauernstuben* seems consistent with Muthesius: 'Neither rules of beauty nor any demands of construction determine the parlour, but only its purpose.'<sup>57</sup>

Not only Muthesius, but also widely read authors such as fellow Werkbund-founder, Paul Schultze-Naumburg, in his serialised books from before the First World War, celebrated the vernacular for being dynamic and for having the capacity to evolve. Farmhouses were *sachlich* precisely because they had continuously adapted themselves to changing needs. In one of his concluding remarks, Döllgast pays

tribute to this conception and adds the quality of creativity and variety in typicality:

*How can we speak of a principle, where rooms are replete with striking oppositions, where force and heaviness sit side by side with still harmony and cheerfulness? [...] I cannot find a common rule, I can only admire, case by case, the consequentiality, I marvel at the audacity of bold combinations and look enviously at the manifestations of artistic power, strong enough to shape the habitual and remotest, allowing it to grow and flourish over a thousand years.'*<sup>58</sup>

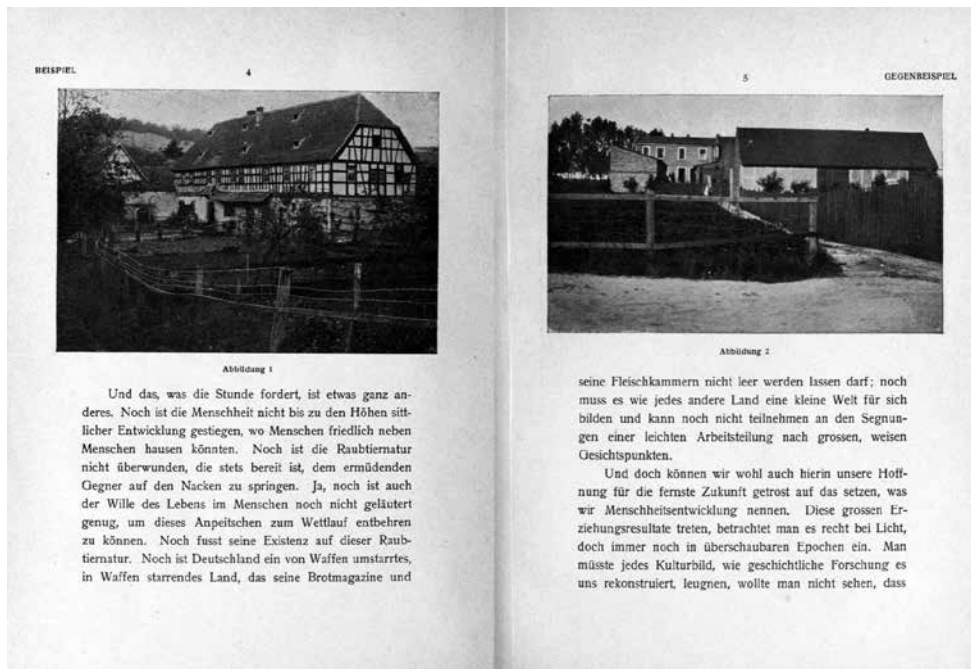
We may detect a possible nationalism here. To many *Heimat*-writers from around 1900, it was the 'sheer unending variety of landscapes and farmhouse types and social customs and dialects that constituted the true strength of Germany'.<sup>59</sup> Yet the passage chimes more with a modernist preference for the concrete over the abstract, as well as for *praxis* over mere form. In *Die neue Wohnung: Die Frau als Schöpferin* ('The New Dwelling: The Woman as Creator'), first published in 1924, Bruno Taut for instance observes: 'In us circulates the blood of our ancestors, in us also lives their spirit [...] This spirit does not want to abstract, to be pulled out of bottles, but wants to live, and continue to live, which means always to transform.'<sup>60</sup> The reciprocity of art and life, seen as one of the primary virtues of the vernacular, had been a steady feature of modern constructions of *Heimat*, evident in prominent avant-garde artists' colonies such as that founded at Worpswede in the early twentieth century.<sup>61</sup>

#### Against the grain: evading *völkisch* and avant-garde discourses

While the focus of *Alte und neue Bauernstuben* appears consistent with a particularly modern interest in the vernacular, it is important to highlight the factors that set the book apart from received architectural theories of its day. At one end of the spectrum, we can contrast *Alte und neue Bauernstuben* with the work of the ever-prolific Schultze-Naumburg, who best represents the permutations of *Heimat*-discourse in architecture in this period, from enlightened conservation and a modernising reform agenda to the aggressive assertion of exclusionary *völkisch* ideology. At the other end of the spectrum, we can look to how Döllgast maintains a distance from the thinking of Bruno Taut, one of the leading modernist voices on the question of dwelling.

Schultze-Naumburg's success as a publicist was in no small part tied to his capacity to visualise his arguments. He pioneered a didactic mode of juxtaposing what he literally presented as 'good' and 'bad' examples of visual and material culture, something many architects subsequently used to great effect, from Paul Schmitthenner to Le Corbusier. In his *Kulturarbeiten* ('cultural works') book series, Schultze-Naumburg explicitly sought to reach the 'little man' and to educate their gaze by conveying his points through simple oppositions of authentic expressions of culture with their ostensible aberrations [7].

Döllgast, a gifted graphic artist and illustrator,<sup>62</sup> was certainly not unaware of the importance of a



7 Paul Schultze Naumburg, good 'example' (left) and poor 'counterexample' (right) of farmhouses from *Kulturarbeiten: Dörfer und Kolonien* ['Cultural Works: Villages and Settlements'], 1908.

8 Hans Döllgast, interiors of a weekend- and hunting-house designed by Richard Riemerschmid from *Alte und Neue Bauernstuben*, 1938.

persuasive *mise-en-page*. In the final edition of *Alte und neue Bauernstuben*, he states on the front flap that the reader may profitably engage with his work as a picturebook. While Döllgast alludes to the abuses of the vernacular in his book, as noted above, he includes no illustrations of failures, and makes no dogmatic expositions of right and wrong. Moreover, Paul Schultze-Naumburg presented vernacular structures primarily through their appearance, usually as an exterior in a landscape photographed from an oblique angle. Döllgast's book does not include a single exterior view, although its readership would probably have expected picturesque views of farmhouses rooted in 'German' landscapes.

Schultze-Naumburg tended to use the photograph of a farmhouse as though it simply spoke for itself as a visual *exemplum*. Döllgast instead focuses firmly on the interior and what we might learn *about* the purpose and use of the parlour *from* its visual appearance. Moreover, the presentation of the book suggests that such an inquiry cannot be conducted merely by surveying multiple examples; it requires a variety of visual sources and investigations, as though the phenomenon only gradually reveals itself to a patient inquiry pursued through observation, interpretation of historic material, analytical drawings, and photographic documentation [8]. His descriptions as much as his perspectival sketches are inclusive and attempt to capture the typical as much as the ephemeral or downright quirky, as part of a dialogue of the tangible and the intangible in the privileged theatricality and representational centrality of the parlour within the farmhouse. The parlour is the site of everyday activities but also where these may be carried out with playful celebration. The photographs show evidence of inhabitation; the orderliness of the rooms stated as consistent with traditional rural practice, and that 'nothing is in fact



tidier than a parlour' [9].<sup>63</sup> Although Schultze-Naumburg claimed to see the farmhouse in its dynamic evolution, the visual architectural character recorded in his books usually comes across in its static, rooted, and age-old qualities. By including historical evidence as much as photographs of contemporary interiors – but not juxtaposed on a single spread – Döllgast, on the contrary, captures change and reinterpretation. Finally, Döllgast always writes from the vantage point of a critical practising

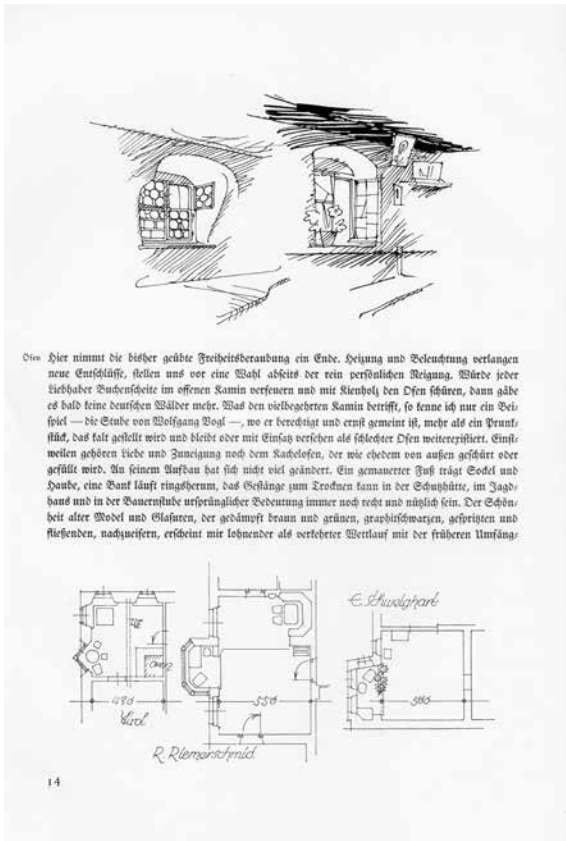


architect and avoids the voice of theorist, antiquarian, or historian.

Dualistic oppositions are notably absent in the text as much as in the figures. The earliest, more 'progressive' writings on *Heimat* of Schultze-Naumburg already relied on coded anti-Semitic language that opposed manifestations of German culture to nefarious foreign influences.<sup>64</sup> In the 1920s Schultze-Naumburg 'weaponised' his theories of

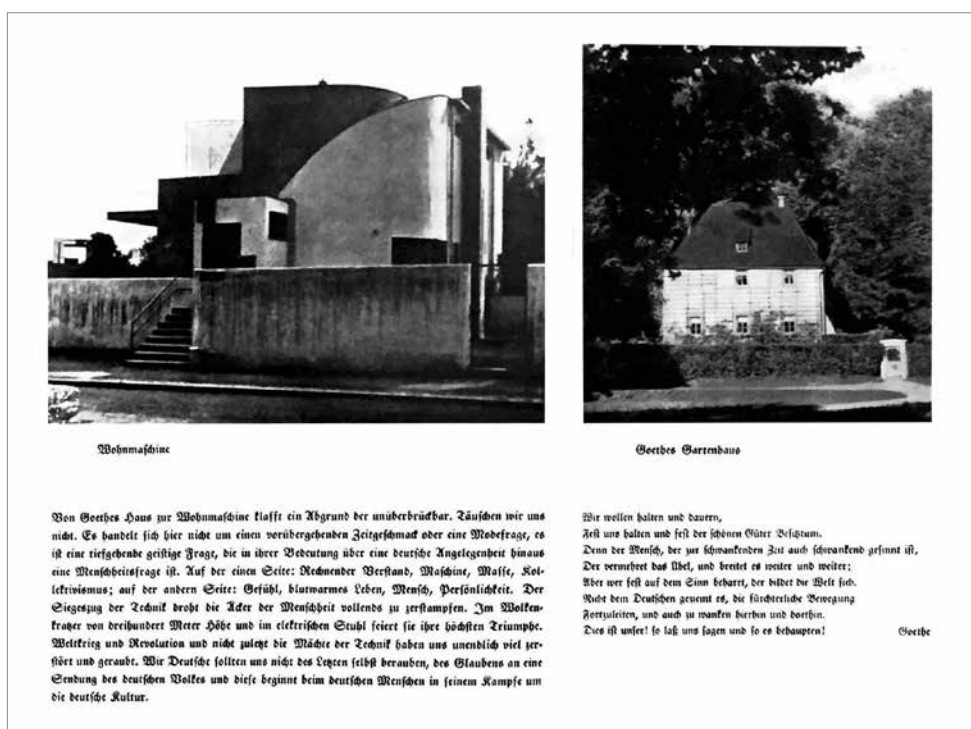
German art with a strident nationalism and explicit anti-Semitism.<sup>65</sup> By the early 1930s, even more ostensibly moderate figures such as Schmitthenner, with explicit references to the cultural pessimism of Oswald Spengler, drew absolute, 'unbridgeable' differences between, on the one hand, German expressions of rooted culture in harmony with 'nature' embodied in the vernacular house, and, on the other, the anonymity of an inhumane, technocentric metropolitan civilisation.<sup>66</sup> Schmitthenner's visual shorthand for this opposition is the juxtaposition of Hans Scharoun's contribution to the Weissenhof Estate, captioned 'house-machine', with the famed memory-site of Goethe's garden cottage in Weimar [10].

Remarkably for a period in which *völkisch* ideology had been systematically instituted and internalised through the official Nazi policy known as *Gleichschaltung* ('ideological coordination'),<sup>67</sup> Döllgast's text contains no such oppositional rhetoric. Not only are the otherwise ubiquitous words *Rasse* (race), *germanisch* (Germanic), *deutsch* (German), *Volk* (nation), *Volkstum* (ethnicity) absent, even the terms *Heimat* (vernacular/homeland) and *Bodenständigkeit* (groundedness) make no appearance. The term 'south-German' is used once as a geographic designation. Döllgast simply speaks concretely about farmhouses and all manner of rural practical knowledge. He does however treat the farmhouse parlour as a German (and Austrian and to a lesser extent Nordic) phenomenon through occasional mentions. Yet he is more concerned with drawing out the living aspect of regional varieties, rather than positing an underlying German, let alone Aryan or Nordic essence. His rendering of the virtues of rural life are idealising but not essentialising in a racial sense, when he states that educated urban dwellers are attracted to the



9 Hans Döllgast, plans of farmhouses and sketches of windows in parlours from *Alte und Neue Bauernstuben*, 1938.

10 Paul Schmitthenner, Hans Scharoun's house in the Weissenhof Siedlung, Stuttgart captioned as 'living-machine' (left) and Goethe's 'garden house' in Weimar from *Das deutsche Wohnhaus*, 1932.



farmhouse parlour because ‘they would like to live like peasants once did: healthy, content and earth-bound.’<sup>68</sup> Importantly, he attributes these living conditions to ‘former inhabitants’ and implies that such a rural context belongs to the past. Döllgast is aware of the romanticism of the modern gaze, implying that he views romanticist perceptions critically without condemning them. Döllgast also recoils from another typical dichotomy of *Heimat*-literature, namely the opposition of rural and urban. Döllgast asks how embarrassing it is to attribute only the rural to the peasantry. He asks: ‘why do we deny the peasant the urban that he claims for himself so naturally?’<sup>69</sup> Much of what we admire in ‘*Volkskunst*’ (‘folk art’) in the parlour is in fact the product of urban craftsmanship, which also shines through in the affinities between the distinct types of the urban and rural parlours. For all his sympathy with the charms of the farmhouse parlour, Döllgast is very aware of misleading idealisations and appropriations, perhaps in part due to the fact that he had an insider’s perspective from his own upbringing.

Whatever the distance that arguably separates Döllgast from Schultze-Naumburg, *Alte und neue Bauernstuben* is hardly a modernist manifesto merely veiled as *Heimat* literature. This becomes evident when we contrast Döllgast’s approach with Bruno Taut’s discussion of the farmhouse parlour in the historical survey of his *Die neue Wohnung* [11]. Taut certainly holds up the vernacular as an embodiment of values in domestic architecture that he takes to have declined with the onset of the Renaissance. He praises the forceful compactness of the wooden architecture of the farmhouse parlour that can

‘reconcile into a unity the individual minutiae of daily uses without smothering man’.<sup>70</sup> Taut’s insistence on the rigour of the underlying spatial conception of the parlour is echoed in Döllgast’s succinct rendering. Yet Taut’s gaze is far more instrumental and reductionist than Döllgast’s. Ultimately, Taut is concerned with the question of ornament and seeks to find historical precedents for its subsidiary role: Taut never loses sight of his underlying concern for mass housing when looking to the vernacular. Comparison with Taut’s later, more in-depth studies of Japanese farmhouses and their ‘cosmopolitan’ qualities would merit further study.<sup>71</sup> Yet it is evident that, unlike Taut, Döllgast is not concerned with extrapolating universalising observations from the farmhouse in order simultaneously to idealise, optimise, and spiritualise modern housing.

Döllgast draws out themes that are largely absent from the purview of modernist discourse. Rather than attributing sobriety to the parlour as Taut does through a selective reading of historical imagery, Döllgast has a more ethnographic gaze that delights in the variety of the lived environments he surveys. He observes how the parlour tends to accumulate a

11 Bruno Taut, examples of late medieval parlours from *Die Neue Wohnung*, 1924 [‘The New Dwelling’].

12 Hans Döllgast, parlour interiors in the Heimatmuseum (‘local history museum’) in Starnberg, near Munich, from *Alte und Neue Bauernstuben*, 1938. Photographs: Hans Döllgast.





13 Hans Döllgast, detail of south elevation of Alte Pinakothek art gallery in Munich, reconstructed by Döllgast in the 1950s.

clutter of imagery and ornaments in a carefree process that cannot be simulated [12]. What appears of interest to Döllgast about the *Stube* is the notable absence of dualistic contradictions. Rather, he is drawn to the reciprocal, dialogical exchange between apparent opposites. One of his final observations reads: 'evident and mysterious goods, time and reality, seriousness and play, concrete things and those we can only intimate, all have their part in the essence of the parlour, which we desire for its sobriety and its richness.'<sup>72</sup> Döllgast also draws attention to the role of transience and weathering, motifs that would play a particular significance in his works of postwar reconstruction [13]. The parlour must manifest signs of wear and tear, accidental accretions, and 'rough care', but he also warns again of primitivist, 'museumified' simulations that would turn the parlour into a 'dusty affair'.<sup>73</sup>

### Discretion and hard won simplicity

Döllgast's search for dignity in the ordinary and humble was consistent with an influential strand of the modern movement stretching from the Arts and Crafts right through to figures from a more recent generation such as Sverre Fehn. As is the case for other architects of Döllgast's period, the political dimension of his fascination for the vernacular, and for historical tradition more widely, was deeply ambivalent. *Alte und neue Bauernstuben* certainly presents no act of political dissidence or civil courage despite the fact that Döllgast's independence from the *völkisch* imaginary is noteworthy. Like many of his colleagues in the humanities, Döllgast did not see the need to make any edits in 1951 to a text he wrote in 1937, which suggests a misleading and disconcerting political naivety. Yet it reveals that a fascination for the vernacular is not fruitfully understood through the dualism of anti-modern reaction versus progressive modernism. It also shows that Döllgast's capacity to discover reconstruction as a creative *modern* design task was grounded in his apprenticeships of the 1920s and his independent thinking of the 1930s in the shadow of totalitarianism, rather than in a late conversion that emerged out of the reckonings of German defeat.

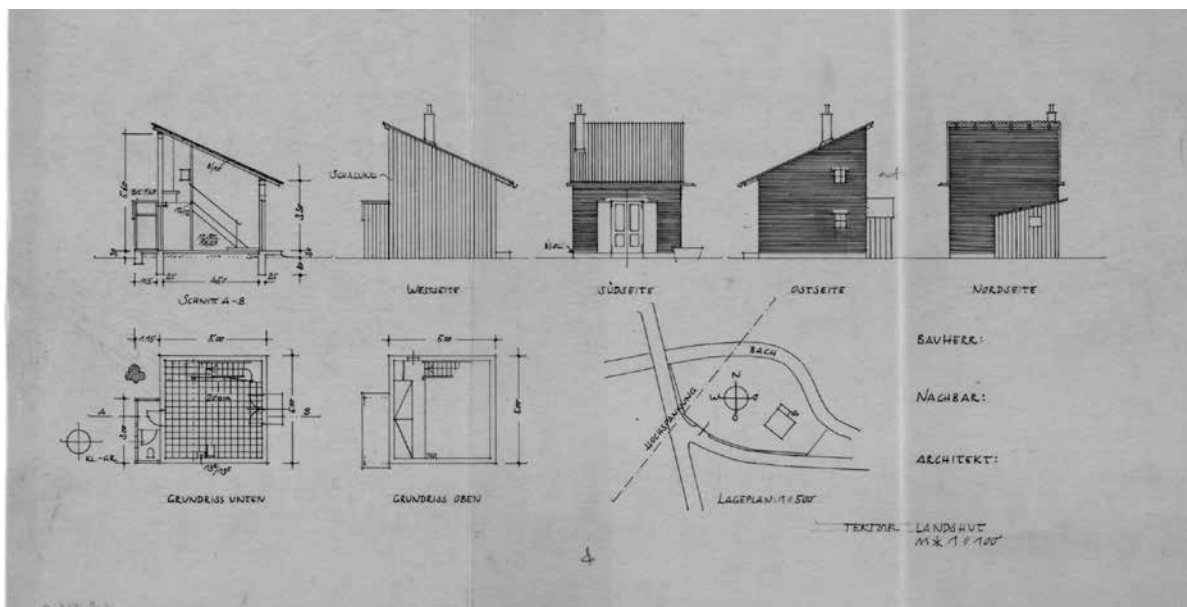
Döllgast's approach to the question of domestic architecture, during the Nazi period and after the war, was probably most closely aligned with the thinking of Heinrich Tessenow in the Weimar period. Tessenow is another figure who stands at the margins of the heroic narratives of the modern movement. Tessenow's reflections on dwelling or 'the habitable' (*Wohnlichkeit*) of the 1920s might have served as an impetus for Döllgast's book:

*The uninhabitable [Unwohnlichkeit] is the best nourishing ground for 'unlimited possibilities', since the habitable [Wohnlichkeit] is in many respects something very bounded. The latter is full of measure, or proportion or laws. Instead of measure [Maß] we might say: the habitual [gewöhnlich]. The habitual leads through the habitat-like [gewohnlich] straight to the habitable dwelling. And as easy or tempting it is to impress with the unusual [Ungewöhnlichem] it is also easy to enter the uninhabitable or the chaotic. And as hard as it is to take the habitual seriously it is equally hard and seemingly thankless to take the habitable seriously and to care for it.*<sup>74</sup>

At various moments in his writings, Döllgast expressed respect for Tessenow and even implied that he identified with him.<sup>75</sup> Early in his career, Döllgast had the opportunity to study Tessenow's designs in Hellerau near Dresden at first hand when he worked on Riemerschmid's contribution to the model garden city.<sup>76</sup> Steen Eiler Rasmussen, who met Döllgast in the 1960s, saw him as one of Tessenow's rare heirs.<sup>77</sup> The two German architects shared a certain stoic humility and seemed to accord greater weight to cultural conditions than to enthusing about new possibilities of modernity. Döllgast's *Alte und neue Bauernstuben* shows that this strand of modern architectural discourse survived first at the margins of Nazi *völkisch* policies and then continued, to some extent equally marginalised, with respect to the postwar consensus around international modernism in Germany. His interpretation of the vernacular attempts to carve out a precarious realm in the sidelines of dominant ideologies of all stripes. It further underlines why Döllgast has so stubbornly resisted pervasive narrative binaries of modern architecture, despite the ever-growing corpus of revisionist histories.

In a certain sense, Döllgast's study could be read as a practical phenomenology of dwelling. Heidegger's famous evocation of a Black Forest farmhouse and its parlours, delivered at the Darmstadt conference on 'Man and Space' in 1951, is surprisingly in tune with the more charged passages in Döllgast (and indeed *Alte und neue Bauernstuben* was published for the first time after the war in that same year). Perhaps it makes Heidegger's description more conventional in light of *Heimat*-discourse and Döllgast's more human, as well as sober, and less essentialist. Neither appears capable of acknowledging the political dimensions of *Heimat*-discourse. References to Black Forest farmhouses have often been taken as evidence of either kitsch or ethnocentrism in Heidegger's text, and few of Döllgast's contemporaries seem to have considered his *Alte und neue Bauernstuben* relevant, since neither chimed easily with conventional





14

orthodoxies of modernism. This critical reception attitude somewhat misses the point of these engagements with the vernacular.<sup>78</sup> In different ways Heidegger and Döllgast are primarily concerned with unearthing the poetic richness inherent in dwelling as exemplified but not limited to surviving examples of vernacular architecture. In the final edition, Döllgast quotes an extensive lyrical description of the farmhouse parlour of a poet-friend working in local dialect, as though acknowledging that the parlour's elusive nature cannot be fully captured by either drawing or academic language.

In the 1930s Döllgast left open whether the farmhouse parlour might develop a new *élan*, but by the 1960s he remarked that the phenomenon had essentially vanished. The farmhouse parlours of his childhood village are all but 'eradicated' and what has come to replace them is 'at home nowhere and anywhere'.<sup>79</sup> Yet the tone of his concluding reflections of the 1960s is anything but one of melancholy despair. He notes that the five-hundred-year evolution that underlies the farmhouse parlour is not bad going, considering that the Rococo flourished for a mere fifty years. He has praise for a younger generation of architects working in an explicit modernist idiom for their private residential projects. Döllgast did not seem to think that the *legacy* of the farmhouse parlour was entirely lost or irrelevant: his self-declared attitude with regard to the possible influence and future value of this venerable architectural phenomenon is 'unmoved and optimistic'.<sup>80</sup> Ultimately Döllgast's position remains oblique and in his writings he often deliberately cultivates ambiguity with regard to his attitude. Döllgast's reflections tend to make clearer what he is sceptical of than what he unequivocally endorses. As an illustration of a living trace of the farmhouse parlour, Döllgast included brief mention of one of his own works, in fact one of his very humblest built designs: the Schloder weekend house near Landshut [14]. This mono-pitched house recalls



15

14 Hans Döllgast, elevations, section, plans, and site plan of Schloder weekend house (by Landshut, Bavaria), 1957.

15 Hans Döllgast, weekend house Schloder (by Landshut, Bavaria), 1957.

Heinrich Tessenow's emergency housing at Rähnitz near Dresden (1917), or the Atelier Nau-Roeser near Magdeburg (1912), again bringing these architects into a certain proximity.<sup>81</sup> The Schloder house was a project that Döllgast regularly returned to in his writings [15]. It embodies the ethos of discretion and hard-won simplicity that pervades his thinking and designs first articulated in *Alte und neue Bauernstuben*. His description of it is as concise as it is characteristically open-ended:

*The whole thing has the dimensions of a farmhouse parlour, the obligatory five by five metres, only stacked. It has an open fireplace and a mezzanine on which stand the beds. No word was lost before about what style it should have. Looking over to the village, everything was in wood and bricks [...]. Does the reader really miss the schematic coherence, the pine, the corner bench around the large table, spinning wheel and tiled stove?<sup>82</sup>*

## Notes

- To list but some of the most significant works in German: *Süddeutsche Bautradition im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Winfried Nerdinger (Munich: Callwey, 1985) and Hans Döllgast 1891–1974, ed. by Michael Gaensler and others (Munich, Callwey, 1987).
- Jean Wolfgang Stock and Klaus Kinold, *Creative Reconstruction* (Munich: Hirmer, 2018); Franz Peter and Franz Wimmer, *Von den Spuren: Interpretierender Wiederaufbau im Werk von Hans Döllgast* (Salzburg: Anton Pustet, 1998).
- See, for instance: Gavriel Rosenfeld, *Munich and Memory Architecture, Monuments, and the Legacy of the Third Reich* (Berkeley, CA: California University Press, 2000); Kathleen James-Chakraborty, *Modernism as Memory: Building Identity in the Federal Republic of Germany* (Minneapolis, MN: Minnesota University Press, 2018), pp. 88–92.
- Winfried Nerdinger, 'Hans Döllgast: Cheerfully Purist Architecture', *OASE*, 49/50 (1998), 108–19.
- Vernacular Modernism: Heimat, Globalization, and the Built Environment*, ed. by Maiken Umbach and Bernd Hüppauf (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005); *Re-Humanizing Architecture: New Forms of Community 1950–1990*, ed. by Judith Hopfengärtner and Ákos Moravánszky (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2016).
- Celia Applegate, *A Nation Provincial: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1990).
- Localism, Landscape, and the Ambiguities of Place: German-Speaking Central Europe, 1860–1930*, ed. by David Blackburn and James Retallack (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2016).
- Alan Colquhoun, 'Criticism and Self-Criticism in German Modernism', *AA Files*, 28 (1994), 26–33 (p. 32).
- Nick Bullock and James Read, *The Movement for Housing Reform in Germany and France 1840–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 137–8; Wolfgang Voigt, 'Vom Ur-Haus zum Typ. Paul Schmitthenner's "deutsches Wohnhaus" und seine Vorbilder', in *Moderne Architektur in Deutschland 1900 bis 1950, Reform und Tradition*, ed. by Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani and Romana Schneider (Stuttgart: Hatje, 1992), pp. 245–65.
- Esmé Whittaker, 'Self-Conscious Regionalism: Dan Gibson and the Arts and Crafts House in the Kae District', in *Built from Below: British Architecture and the Vernacular*, ed. by Peter Guillery (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), pp. 99–122.
- Vernakulare Moderne: Grenzüberschreitungen in der Architektur um 1900: Das Bauernhaus und seine Aneignung*, ed. by Anita Aigner (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2010).
- Eva Branscome, 'Giving Voice to a Building: A Critical Analysis of Adolf Loos's Landhaus Khuner', *ARENA Journal of Architectural Research*, 5 (2020), 1–28.
- C. A. Poole, 'Theoretical and Poetical Ideas in Le Corbusier's Une Maison – Un Palais', *The Journal of Architecture*, 3 (1998), 1–30.
- Michele Tenzone, 'Rural Modernity in Post-War Southern Italy: The La Martella Village in Matera', *The Journal of Architecture*, 23 (2018), 498–522; Michelangelo Sabatino, 'Ghosts and Barbarians: The Vernacular in Italian Modern Architecture and Design', *Journal of Design History*, 21 (2008), 335–58; Daria Ricchi, '"Andare verso il popolo [Moving Towards the People]": Classicism and Rural Architecture at the 1936 VI Italian Triennale', *Architectural Histories* (2021), 9, 1–18.
- Francesco Passanti, 'The Vernacular, Modernism, and Le Corbusier', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 56 (1997), 438–51.
- See, for example: Karl Alexander von Müller, 'The Influence of the Peasantry in the National Community of the Volk' [1938], in *The Third Reich Sourcebook*, ed. by Anson Rabinbach and Sander L. Gilman (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013), pp. 127–8.
- Paul Schmitthenner, *Die Baukunst im neuen Reich* (Munich: Callwey, 1934).
- Zweitausend Jahre deutsche Kultur: Festzug am Tag der deutschen Kunst 1937 zu München* (Munich: Knorr und Hirt, 1937).
- Joshua Hagen, 'Parades, Public Space, and Propaganda: The Nazi Culture Parades in Munich', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 90 (2008), 349–67.
- Bauhaus-Moderne im Nationalsozialismus: Zwischen Anbiederung und Verfolgung*, ed. by Winfried Nerdinger (Munich: Prestler, 1993).
- Die Technische Hochschule München im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. by Wolfgang Hermann, Winfried Nerdinger, Andreas Eichmüller (Munich: TUM Press, 2018).
- Henry J. Gwiazda, 'The Nazi Racial War: The First Stage in Building the New Order in Poland', *The Polish Review*, 59 (2014), 45–72.
- Werner Durth and Niels Gutschow, *Träume in Trümmern, Stadtplanung 1940–1950* (Munich: DTV, 1993), pp. 75–112.
- Hans Döllgast, 'Eine Karriere ohne Beziehungen', lecture manuscript delivered to students of the TH architecture school in Munich (undated). Private collection of Professor Michael Gaensler.
- Hans Döllgast, untitled lecture to students at university of Brunswick (dated to 24 June 1960). Private collection of Prof Michael Gaensler.
- 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).
- Reference is made primarily to the second edition of 1938, as the first is no longer available in public collections.
- Hans Döllgast, *Alte und neue Bauernstuben*, 2nd edn (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1938), p. 22. Unless otherwise stated the translations from German are the author's own.
- Cedric Bolz, 'Constructing "Heimat" in the Ruhr Valley: Krupp Housing and the Search for the Ideal German Home 1914–1931', *German Studies Review*, 34 (2011), 17–43 (p. 33).
- Hans Döllgast, *Alte und neue Bauernstuben*, 6th edn (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1962), p. 73.
- Hans Döllgast and Irmgard Güssow, *Häuser-Malen* (Munich: Heraklith, Weihnachten 1963), p. 12.
- Döllgast, *Alte und neue Bauernstuben*, 6th edn, p. 73.
- Ibid.*, p. 14.
- On *Heimat* as a space of experimentation and the protection of special interests in provincial peripheries during the Nazism, see: *Heimat, Region, and Empire: Spatial Identities under National Socialism*, ed. by Claus-Christian W. Szejnmann and Maiken Umbach (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 7–9.
- Stefan Muthesius, 'The "altdeutsche Zimmer", or Cosiness

- in Plain Pine: An 1870s Munich Contribution to the Definition of Interior Design', *Journal of Design History*, 16 (2003), 269–90; Claudia Selheim, 'Zum musealen Umgang mit "Bauernstuben" Wege der Sachkulturforschung', *Jahrbuch fuer Europäische Ethnologie*, 3 (2008), 7–24.
36. Hans Döllgast, *Alte und neue Bauernstuben*, 5th edn (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1951), p. 4.
  37. Döllgast, *Alte und neue Bauernstuben*, 2nd edn, p. 22.
  38. Ibid., pp. 7–8.
  39. Döllgast, *Alte und neue Bauernstuben*, 6th edn, p. 14.
  40. Döllgast, *Alte und neue Bauernstuben*, 2nd edn, pp. 7–8.
  41. Döllgast, *Alte und neue Bauernstuben*, 6th edn, p. 5.
  42. Ibid., p. 43.
  43. Döllgast, *Alte und neue Bauernstuben*, 2nd edn, p. 7.
  44. Ibid.
  45. Hermann Muthesius, *Kleinhaus und Kleinsiedlung* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1918), p. 75.
  46. Döllgast, *Alte und neue Bauernstuben*, 2nd edn, p. 6.
  47. Ibid.
  48. Ibid.
  49. See Andres Janser, Arthur Rüegg, Steven Lindberg, *Hans Richter: New Living. Architecture, Film, Space* (Baden, Lars Müller, 2001).
  50. Döllgast, *Alte und neue Bauernstuben*, 2nd edn, p. 6.
  51. Ibid., p. 16.
  52. Anthony Vidler, 'The Space of History: Modern Museums from Patrick Geddes to Le Corbusier', *The Scenes of the Street and Other Essays* (New York, NY: Monacelli Press, 2011), pp. 294–316.
  53. Cited in Branscome, 'Giving Voice to a Building', p. 23.
  54. Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), pp. 180–1.
  55. Frederic J. Schwartz, 'Form Follows Fetish: Adolf Behne and the Problem of "Sachlichkeit"', *Oxford Art Journal*, 21 (1998), 47–77 (p. 48).
  56. Esra Akcan, 'Toward a Cosmopolitan Ethics in Architecture: Bruno Taut's Translations out of Germany', *New German Critique*, 99 (2006), 7–39 (p. 14).
  57. Döllgast, *Alte und neue Bauernstuben*, 2nd edn, p. 6.
  58. Ibid., p. 20.
  59. *Localism, Landscape, and the Ambiguities of Place: German-Speaking Central Europe, 1860–1930*, ed. By Blackbourn and Retallack, p. 15.
  60. Bruno Taut, *Die neue Wohnung* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1928), p. 17.
  61. Jennifer Jenkins, 'Heimat Art, Modernism, Modernity', in *Localism, Landscape, and the Ambiguities of Place: German-Speaking Central Europe, 1860–1930*, ed. by Blackbourn and Retallack, pp. 60–75. For the importance of the vernacular in the work of Döllgast's mentor, Richard Riemerschmid, see Freya Hartzell, *Richard Riemerschmid's Extraordinary Living Things* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2022), ch. 2.
  62. Franz Hart, 'Schriften – geschrieben und gezeichnet', in Gaensler, *Hans Döllgast*, pp. 206–17.
  63. Döllgast, *Alte und neue Bauernstuben*, 2nd edn, p. 19.
  64. Rainer Schmitz and Johanna Söhnigen, 'Architekturtheorie vom "germanischen Gesichtspunkte" aus. Paul Schultze-Naumburg und die ästhetische Codierung des volkstumsorientierten Bauens um 1900', in *Kulturreformer, Rassenideologe, Hochschuldirektor: Der lange Schatten des Paul Schultze-Naumburg*, ed. by Hans-Rudolf Meier and Daniela Spiegel (Heidelberg: arthistoricum.net, 2018), pp. 71–81.
  65. Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Kunst und Rasse* (Munich: J. F. Lehmanns, 1928).
  66. Schmitthenner, *Deutsche Wohnhaus*, p. 8.
  67. *Heimat, Region, and Empire*, ed. By Szejnmann and Umbach, p. 11.
  68. Döllgast, *Alte und neue Bauernstuben*, 2nd edn, p. 22.
  69. Ibid., p. 22.
  70. Taut, *Wohnung*, p. 20.
  71. Akcan, 'Cosmopolitan Ethics', pp. 21–32.
  72. Döllgast, *Alte und neue Bauernstuben*, 2nd edn, p. 22.
  73. Ibid., pp. 19–20.
  74. Heinrich Tessenow, 'Wohnung und Wohnungsbau', in *Geschriebens: Gedanken eines Baumeisters*, ed. by Otto Kindt (Braunschweig/Wiesbaden: Bauwelt Fundamente, 1982), pp. 11–27 (p. 16).
  75. See, for example: Hans Döllgast, *Gebundenes Zeichnen* (1953; repr. Augsburg: Maro-Verlag, 1986), pp. 42–3; *Journal Retour*, vol. 1, pp. 17, 41.
  76. Ibid., p. 30.
  77. *Hans Döllgast: 1891–1974*, ed. by Michael Gaensler and others (Munich: Callwey, 1987), p. 220.
  78. For close readings of Heidegger's understanding of the vernacular and its modern architectural implications, see: Adam Sharr, *Heidegger's Hut* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006) and Ross Anderson, 'Down to Earth: Martin Heidegger, Le Corbusier, and the Question of Dwelling, Essentially', *Architectural Histories*, 9 (2021), 1–15.
  79. Döllgast, *Alte und neue Bauernstuben*, 6th edn, p. 72.
  80. Ibid., pp. 5, 6.
  81. Didem Ekici, 'In Praise of Poverty: The Middle-Class Dwelling and Asceticism in Early Twentieth-Century Germany', *The Journal of Architecture*, 23 (2018), 563–79.
  82. Döllgast, *Alte und neue Bauernstuben*, 6th edn, pp. 57, 58.

#### Illustration credits

arq gratefully acknowledges: Hans Döllgast, 1–6, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15 Michael Gaensler, 13 Paul Schmitthenner, 10 Paul Schultze Naumburg, 7 Bruno Taut, 11

#### Acknowledgements

The author is grateful for the many insights received in discussions with Michael Gaensler Winfried Nerdinger, and Alex Dougherty, as well as the generous support of the staff at the Archive of the TUM Architecture Museum.

#### Competing interests

The author declares none.

#### Author's biography

Maximilian Sternberg is associate professor in history and theory of architecture at the Department of Architecture in the University of Cambridge. He is the author of *Cistercian Architecture and Medieval Society* (2013), the co-editor of *Phenomenologies of the City* (2015), and *Modern Architecture and the Sacred* (2020). He is Fellow of Pembroke College – Cambridge.

#### Author's affiliation

Pembroke College, Cambridge University, Cambridge, United Kingdom.

#### Author's address

Maximilian Sternberg  
mjpg75@cam.ac.uk