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Restoring the Gothic: The Fate of Medieval Cathedrals in a Divided Germany, 1945 - Present

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Restoring the Gothic:
The Fate of Medieval Cathedrals in a Divided Germany, 1945-Present

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of
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by

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endeavors at the University of Arkansas. Between keeping me focused, offering

words of reassurance when times were tough and celebrating the small victories

along the way, I would not have been able to complete this research, or my time

in design school as a whole, without their overwhelming optimism.

Abstract

At the end of World War II, Germany faced some of the greatest levels of destruction of any country in Europe, leaving their historic cities and iconic architecture in ruin. Across the country, some monuments were restored with the upmost attention to detail, while others were maintained in a state of rubble for decades. Following the 1949 division of the state into West Germany (a democratic republic) and East Germany (a socialist autocracy), most of the rebuilding took place against the backdrop of strong ideological differences. But the two new nations shared a centuries-long history, and, after rehabilitating basic infrastructure and housing, both were facing the questions of what they wanted their new cultural identity to be, and how existing buildings from a formerly united German architectural heritage fit into that vision.

High esteem for the Gothic style should have been part of their shared artistic patrimony. By the end of the thirteenth century, when the Gothic had migrated from France, the style was ubiquitous throughout Germany, reaching from Lübeck in the north to Freiburg in the south, and Cologne in the west to Magdeburg in the east. But, churches, particularly those designed in the Gothic style, became a source of great debate among post-war preservation officials, as their religious symbolism was viewed differently on either side of the inner German border. After the formal separation of West and East Germany, attitudes towards Gothic cathedrals diverged even more dramatically to the point that some were abandoned as empty shells or even dynamited into near oblivion. So why was it that some churches got repaired while others were left in ruin? Were

they not, despite different theological foundations (i.e., Roman Catholic and Reformed churches), on the same level of cultural or at least spiritual significance as one another?

This thesis explores the motivation behind the varying levels of restoration, or lack there of, of Gothic churches in the post-war Germanys. The study begins with a theoretical, historical and ethnographic analysis of the state of preservation theory and aesthetic attitudes toward the Gothic in both the pre-war united Germany and the post-war divided Germanys. While comprehensive analysis of all Gothic restorations in Germany is beyond the scope of this research, a close and careful analysis of a select group of churches can yield fruitful and even surprising insights. This essay places special emphasis on two great churches, one in West Germany and the other in East Germany, namely, Cologne Cathedral and the Dresden Sophienkirche, as representative of underlying German attitudes towards restoration practices as a whole. Because their respective post-war fates are so strikingly opposite – full restoration for the Cologne Cathedral (a typical outcome in West Germany) and complete demolition for the Sophienkirche (sadly, not uncommon in East Germany) – the two buildings serve as symbols of clear distinction between the two new political ideologies that emerged in the mid-twentieth century. By balancing the focus of this study between East and West Germany, governmental action—or the lack thereof—highlights the role of political difference in post-war restoration decisions, especially considering the two nations came from the same pre-war theoretical and architectural background.

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Introduction

The Gothic style has been a prevalent approach to ecclesiastical design throughout Europe since its conception in France the twelfth century. Its light skeletal structure, ornate stained glass and extreme verticality has been thought to form "an outward and visible expression of the religious aspirations of the time and directed the thoughts of man heavenwards" by many, including historian Banister Fletcher (1866-1953) who authored the oldest architectural history text still in print.[1] This new, captivating style was an extreme break from the rigidly ordered Greek and Roman styles of the past, and its influence disseminated across northern Europe effortlessly, as cities large and small were eager to crown themselves with a monumental Gothic church.

The spread of the Gothic across the Rhine to Germany in the thirteenth century gave the style new opportunities for expansion. Unlike its fate in its country of origin, the Gothic church architecture experienced the Protestant Reformation in sixteenth century Germany, before which the Catholic Church had, of course, used it exclusively.[2] As the style pushed northward, a variety of parishes implemented it into both renovations and new constructions, and the style became ubiquitous across all regions of Germany even after the height of its popularity had passed elsewhere in Europe.

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[1] Sir Banister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture: On the Comparative Method.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896), 368.
[2] Thirteenth century Germany was within the territory of the Holy Roman Empire, where Catholicism was the dominant religion.

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Gothic became a dominant building style of many of Germany's greatest religious monuments. Based on a sampling of twenty-nine cities across the united, modern day Germany, there are fifty Gothic churches in comparison to twenty two in the Romanesque style and nineteen in the Baroque (Appendices A and B). Looking at cathedrals alone, the Gothic is more prevalent in the northern regions of Germany, rather than the southern regions directly adjacent to France, ironically, the country that is credited with its creation. Southern Germany was likely more diversified in architectural style because, remaining predominantly Catholic after the Reformation, it wholeheartedly embraced the Baroque and Classical styles coming from Austria-Hungary and Italy after the wars of religion were over. As the Gothic style pressed northward through Germany unchallenged, it had time to develop and change physically to better "fit" German culture, thus becoming a more predominant building trend in the North.

The Gothic churches of Germany and Northern Europe were the victims of twentieth-century world wars, as were many buildings that either stood in the path of advancing and defending troops or became symbols to destroy in the eyes of one side or another. The degree of the damage and loss can be overlooked by historians, but not necessarily out of indifference. The massive restoration efforts were often so successful that the outward appearance of buildings no longer reflects their once tragic fates. Textbooks of art and architectural history reproduce images of majestic medieval buildings but often fail to mention that physically they are products of post-war reconstructions. Not

all buildings, of course, were fortunate enough to have immaculate "rebirths." For some, scars are displayed in the form of soot-stained stone and cracked glass, despite years of restoration efforts. Others have been wiped off the earth entirely without leaving a trace.

World War II (1939-1945), in particular, wreaked mass destruction on cities across many European countries. When finally defeated in 1945, Germany naturally faced one of the highest levels of devastation, leaving a wasteland in which even the most culturally significant ecclesiastical buildings were gone or in need of serious repair (Figure 1). Across Germany, enormous monuments were restored with the utmost attention to detail, while others were maintained in a state of rubble for decades. In the midst of post-war final reparations that Germany had to make to England, France and the USSR, it is not unreasonable to assume that there were more buildings on the ground than there were reaching their original heights and glory. But there was, nonetheless, a restoration surge that serviced buildings as grand, ornate and detailed as Gothic churches. The decision of when, and to what extent to repair Germany's great churches (i.e., a cathedral or significant monastic or collegiate church) is the subject of this thesis, a topic complicated by the division of the country into two new states: West Germany and East Germany.

The Gothic style was very popular across both West and East Germany before the war. It was a shared architectural passion from the late Middle Ages into the early modern period. A statistical analysis shows that in West Germany, the style predominated more in the northern provinces than in the southern ones

(Figure 2). Based on a random sampling of eighteen cities in the West (two cities from each region, except for the regions that only have one large city), fifty-three percent of pre-war ecclesiastical architecture was designed in the Gothic style (Appendix A). Of the forty-three buildings sampled, ninety percent can be called true Gothic, while the other ten percent employ Gothic elements in combination with other styles (for example: the Munich Peterskirche, a building with a Gothic shell and a Baroque interior, would fit into this category). Patrons in the old provinces of Mecklenburg, Saxony, Anhalt and Thuringia, which constituted East Germany, also utilized the Gothic style very frequently in their ecclesiastical architecture (Figure 3). Based on a sample of eleven East German cities, fifty-eight percent of pre-war, ecclesiastical architecture was Gothic (Appendix B). While this inclusive number is higher than that of West Germany, only forty-four percent of the East's Gothic churches were pure (compared to ninety percent in the West). East Germany offers countless examples of buildings that are designed with a merging of multiple styles, the most common among which are Gothic, Romanesque, Classical and Baroque. This syncretism of architectural styles in the east notwithstanding, Gothic was clearly the predominant style in the northern regions of German lands before the creation of two distinct Germanys in 1949.

After the creation of East and West Germany, however, signs of different attitudes toward Gothic cathedrals seem to emerge, for instance, in the way in which Cologne rushed to rebuild its cathedral, whereas Dresden left the war-ravaged vestiges of its only remaining Gothic church standing exposed to the

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elements for almost two decades before condemning it to death by dynamite. Could the division of Germany into two states with radically different political systems and ideologies – something that had not happened earlier in the history of the German lands despite how politically fragmented the territory had long been – have had a major impact on the restoration of Gothic churches? Or could latent sectarian positions between protestant and Catholic denominations have affected the post-war fate of Gothic churches? This thesis investigates these and other issues in an attempt to answer the question of why some churches got repaired while others were left in ruin. Were these medieval edifices not on the same level of cultural or at least spiritual significance as one another? This study situates the problem of the varying levels of restoration, or utter lack thereof, of Gothic churches in Germany in the context of the post-war stresses and struggles of both a practical and cultural nature. Several European countries, not just Germany, were searching for a renewed sense of identity after the war, and the mass reconstruction of much of their architectural heritage provided them with an opportunity to reclaim their national character, or, in the case of some, to erase the past and begin anew. A fundamental question for post-war Germany is the degree to which politics mattered in questions of restoration. Would it triumph over a centuries-long history of shared culture?

Literature Review

The most significant research done on the subject of post-war architectural restoration tends not to focus on the lot of a particular style, be it

Gothic, Baroque, or anything else. Instead, many studies analyze the cultural attitudes toward historic restoration in general after World War II. Articles on architectural and restoration theory in Germany offer insight into the cultural and political agendas behind rebuilding the country's monuments. In his book, *In the Wake of War: The Reconstruction of German Cities after World War II* (1993)*,* German historian Jeffry Diefendorf provides the most inclusive account of post-war reconstruction theories from cities across West Germany where restoration policies were not centralized in a state ministry. Diefendorf uses political and economic factors to highlight the differences in approaches, which more often than not resulted in the successful rebuilding of Gothic churches. While such a comprehensive study does not exist for East Germany, chapters in publications such as Brian Campbell's *Resurrected From the Ruins, Turning to the Past: Historic Preservation in the SBZ/GDR 1945-1990* (2005) provide enough information about a culture of restoration that led to less than happy outcomes for Gothic edifices there. Lastly, political speeches and laws related to the act of building supply evidence as events were taking place, while editorials in German newspapers address the cultural attitude of Gothic churches and restoration policies as a whole.

In addition to the actual, government-established restoration policies of the post-war period, the attitude in the German intelligentsia toward specific art and architectural styles before World War II laid the groundwork for future preservation decisions. The work of twentieth-century art historians, such as Heinrich Wölfflin (1864-1945) and Wilhelm Worringer (1881-1965), provide the

psychological context behind reconstruction decisions, particularly in respect to the Gothic style. In *The Sense of Form in Art* (1931), for instance, Wölfflin explains the need for German culture find an appropriate style to express its national "individuality" (he favored Gothic) after World War I, an idea which filtered into the development of two new nations with post-World War II identity crises. Worringer had provided a foundation for Wölfflin in his 1911 book, *Formprobleme der Gotik* (Form in Gothic*)*, in which he explained that the details of the style embraced this individuality and produced a mystical effect that was essential to the case for rebuilding Gothic churches. These principles built on those of nineteenth-century theorists such as John Ruskin (1819-1900) and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), who saw the Gothic style as a refreshingly exuberant aesthetic, one that united Germans under a common heritage and ushered in Germany's rise as a modern nation-state.

In addition to the reception of Gothic in the history of aesthetics in Germany, an interest in the rebuilding of history with modern materials and methods emerges from wartime destruction with a serious appreciation for the Gothic style. Using the power of present technology to honor the past and its beautiful forms was important to prominent theorists such as Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) and Aloïs Riegl (1858-1905). While Viollet-le-Duc set the stage for a materialist appreciation of the Gothic cathedral as a typology in his *Entretiens sur l'architecture* (1863-72), most of his analysis developed around French examples, which were enveloped in an entirely different set of cultural attitudes and political policies from German buildings. While helpful, the

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argument presented by Viollet-le-Duc is biased toward the French, whose invention of the Gothic style in the twelfth century gave them a stronger driving motivation to restore what was inherently "theirs." In Germany, however, adaptations of the Gothic abounded in the Middle Ages with variations in materials, style, and connotations, making Viollet-le-Duc's theory valid only on a fundamental level. Austrian born Riegl claimed that the materialism of a building was relevant only when in direct consideration with its context. Historical and cultural frameworks have an "integrating effect" on art and architecture, making them critical to study before undertaking restoration in a different context.[3] In the case of the newly established Germanys, studying the differences in Eastern and Western cultures that developed in the post-war decades is essential in understanding how to proceed with restoration efforts. Here, it is imperative to turn to authors such as Rudy Koshar, whose book *Germany's Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century* (1998) focuses directly on Germany's post-war architectural development, and the effects it imposed on a society attempting to rebuild both physically and politically after the fall of the Nazi Party. But even Koshar's book, while there are several religious buildings cited as examples of sheer destruction, places little explicit emphasis on churches as a dominant reconstruction priority amidst other buildings like housing, government buildings and large-scale urban planning. For

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[3] For more on Riegl's Artistic Volition theory, see Paul Frankl, *The Gothic: Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), 635.

these reasons linking the existing research of postwar restoration theory to German socio-political conditions will be a driving line of inquiry in this analysis.

Crucial to my research on restoration in post-war Germany are the political and economic factors facing the German governments during reconstruction. The postwar dream of building or rebuilding better societies could not be realized without addressing the great costs involved in physically rebuilding the new nations of East and West Germany. Where did the money to reconstruct buildings come from, and how was it rationed out to monuments? The United States Marshall Plan, the international Catholic Church, and local citizen donations all played their part, but the question of rationing funds for the restoration of churches specifically has yet to be dealt with systematically by academia at large. While some scholars (e.g. Diefendorf) begin to assess the question of reconstruction economics, this thesis relies on monographic studies of individual buildings (e.g. *Cologne Cathedral in World War II* by Niklas Möring) in order to trace the sources of financial support for the rebuilding of churches and to assess how dependent they were on their larger church organizations and local citizens.

The research in this thesis builds upon the foundations established by previous publications in political, economic and architectural theory in the post-war period. Overall, there is a relative lack of scholarship on the subject of ecclesiastical rebuilding in post-war Germany, even in German, which I do not read. Consequently, this research relies on a variety of Internet sources including blog entries, historical websites and Wikipedia pages that are

accessible only through translation software on browsers such as Google Chrome. Information on West German churches is easier to find than it is for those in the East, most likely as a result of the latter's position behind the Iron Curtain, which prevented scholarship from emerging at the same rate as it did in the West. While reconstruction chronologies are documented by a variety of scholars and in a variety of formats, such as Michael J. Lewis' *The Gothic Revival* (2002), the question of why only some churches were rebuilt remains surprisingly understudied, and, hence, opened the door for my own research.

Organization of the Thesis

While comprehensive analysis of all Gothic restorations in Germany is beyond the scope of this thesis, a close and careful analysis of a select group of churches can yield fruitful and even surprising insights. This essay places special emphasis on two great churches, one in West Germany and the other in East Germany, namely, Cologne Cathedral and the Dresden Sophienkirche, as representative of underlying German attitudes towards restoration practices as a whole. These two churches have the advantage of representing both major theological entities present in Germany in the twentieth century: Protestantism in the north and Catholicism in the south.

This study approaches the multivalent issues surrounding the restoration of Gothic in Germany in three chapters. The first is a theoretical, historical and ethnographic examination of German attitudes toward the Gothic before the war and an analysis of attitudes toward preservation in post-war East and West

Germany. It identifies two schools of post-war restoration philosophies, the traditionalists and the modernists, two sides constantly in opposition regarding the fate of damaged buildings. Comparisons of cultural attitudes both before and after the World Wars are equally necessary, as they indicate a change in beliefs regarding architectural restoration due to post-war societal and political shifts as seen in practical post-war applications.

The second chapter focuses on Gothic restorations in West Germany with a detailed study of the exemplary case of Cologne Cathedral. The events at Cologne Cathedral, a church adored by the German and worldwide communities alike, reveal West German preservation practices to be passionately productive, the result of a democratic government that listened to its people who were enthusiastic about saving their pre-war architectural heritage because it was part of their pre-Nazi national identity.

Chapter three deals with the very different situation of Communist East Germany and highlights the long, drawn-out survival, but ultimate destruction, of Dresden's Sophienkirche, the only Gothic church still extant in the city at the outbreak of the war. This East German Protestant cathedral suffered a devastating, and quite unnecessary, demolition a full seventeen years after the war ended. The destruction of the Sophienkirche, as well as other churches in the region, reveals the politically-driven motivations of the central and powerful East German government which was determined to use the war as an excuse to modernize the country, not letting any Gothic cathedrals stand in their way of the ideal socialist city.

While the sectarian distinctions between Catholicism and Reformed churches like Lutheranism—differences which had caused prolonged wars of religion in the past—might seem to be likely sources of conflict in preservation agendas, my research questions the preference for the restoration of Gothic in one denomination over the other. Rather than emphasize ecclesiastical backgrounds, this thesis explores how aesthetic preferences could have been equally important, or more so, in setting the stage for faithful reconstructions of Gothic buildings. In other words, I consider whether larger issues were being fought out at the political and cultural levels rather than in the religious realm. Because cathedrals in the Gothic style predominated in Germany before WWII, one would expect that the buildings would have been restored with equal vigor and in equal numbers, finances permitting, after the war was over. But the evidence indicates that one of the most powerful elements in post-war decision-making was in fact the political climate of the two respective German states. By balancing the focus of this study between East and West Germany, governmental action—or the lack thereof—highlights the role of political difference in post-war restoration decisions, especially considering the two nations came from the same pre-war theoretical and architectural background.

Chapter 1: Post-War Germany: Restoration Theory & Politics

Following the mass urban destruction of World War II, both West Germany (henceforth referred to as the Federal Republic of Germany or FRG) and the East Germany (henceforth referred to as the German Democratic Republic or GDR)[4] faced the question of how to rebuild their important Altstädte, or historic city centers. Iconographic city images, such as the skyline of Cologne, played such a major role in the identity and pride of many German citizens that the issue of preservation was often at the forefront of government discussions, even amidst other important issues such as adjusting to newfound statehood, altering their political organizations, and attempting an economic revival. The road to recovery was dramatically different for the two countries on account of their paths to nationhood after the Nazis surrendered unconditionally on May 8, 1945. At the conclusion of the Potsdam Conference on August 2, 1945, the eastern part of Germany fell into the newly created Soviet-occupation zone, while the western part was divided into three occupation zones controlled by the United States, France and Great Britain. In 1949, the nations of East and West Germany were formed, when the western Allies merged their zones to form the Federal Republic of Germany, or FRG, on the 23rd of May. Then, on October 7, 1949, the Soviet-occupation zone became the nominally independent German Democratic Republic, or GDR, with East Berlin as its

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[4] Often referred to as the Deutsche Demokratische Republik or DDR

capital. The ideologies of the democratically governed FRG and the single-party, socialist GDR could not have been more different.

Because both states were adapting to new forms of political authority, neither had a statewide preservation policy in 1945 and each moved in a different direction. Preservation theorists in West Germany debated the use of a historic versus a modern approach to preservation, in that they tried to reach an agreement on whether historic monuments would be restored or rebuilt to their pre-war state using original materials and construction methods, or whether their destruction would be exploited for the purpose of beginning anew and constructing a city more closely aligned with contemporary aesthetics and new building technologies such as steel. This debate was driven by the desire for architecture to embody cultural understanding, be it historical or contemporary, ideally, somehow both. Input from the Church and general population helped both traditionalist and modernists shape their opinions. By contrast, their peers in East Germany saw rebuilding as a potential avenue for political unity, and searched for a statewide approach that removed architecture from the cultural authorities, like the Church and Kulturbund,[5] altogether. To the FRG, the question was what preservation meant to their German culture. To the GDR, on the other hand, the question was what preservation meant for politics and the power of government.

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[5] The Kulturbund was a Cultural Association that worked to promote German culture through intellectual work such as writing, art and architecture, so as to "restore the confidence and respect of the world" for Germany after the World Wars. "Kulturbund der DDR," Wikipedia. Accessed 19 November 2016. https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kulturbund_der_DDR.

West Germany

To architects and urban planners in the FRG, the mission was clear: preserving each city's inherent character, or *Heimatgefühl* ("the feeling of being at home").[6] Both traditionalists and modernists saw this preservation of culture as a top priority, though they approached it in different ways. Traditionalists concentrated on the preservation of the culture of old Germany for the sake of "historical continuity." For instance, the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church in West Berlin continued to stand in ruin after the war as a memorial (Figure 4). Not only does the "preservation" of this particular ruin symbolize the heavy Christian influence on Germany's culture, but also serves as a symbol of the dark period of German militarism, an era which would be easy to want to forget. Modernists, by contrast, were fixated on the progression of the future German culture through the use of new technologies and infrastructure.[7] Adherents to modernist values believed in bestowing amenities such as ample traffic lanes and using materials like steel to build efficient, comfortable structures in the new, developing city. Modernists would have made the argument to tear down the ruin of Kaiser Wilhelm, for example, because of its inability to serve its original function and its obstruction of potential new traffic circulation. Of course, the situation in practice often gave opportunities for a middle ground approach.

All sides of the preservation debate in Western Germany had rationales in conservation or architectural theory to support their positions. Traditional

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[6] Jeffry M. Diefendorf, *In the Wake of War: The Reconstruction of German Cities after World War II*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 70.

[7] Diefendorf, *In the Wake of War,* 67-73.

architectural theory in West Germany can be traced back to Paul Clemen (1866-1947), who is considered one of the founders of the preservation movement in Germany. According to Clemen, historic preservation was "not only a precondition for rebuilding the nation, but also an obligation to make it again possible for future generations to experience historical continuity."[8] At the dawn of the twentieth century, when modernity still caused some cultural anxiety in Europe, preservation groups began to emerge in Germany, the most powerful of which was the Bund Heimatschutz founded in 1904. Being part of the Heimatschutz (translating literally to "homeland protection") movement was dedicated to preserving German culture in the form of architectural monuments, natural landscapes and traditional events such as festivals. Because Hitler and the Nationalists adopted the organization in the 1930s, the group was associated with the negative connotations of Nazism after the war, causing the postwar revival of this movement operate under different titles in order to avoid banning by the Allies, who often did such with organizations associated with the Third Reich. So, after the war, groups of citizens congregated into self-driven organizations such as the "Friends of the Rebuilding of the Old City."[9] Its members advocated for the preservation, based on the teachings of Clemen, of not only significant historic monuments, but also the overall historic urban fabric of their destroyed cities.

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[8] As cited by Diefendorf, *In the Wake of War*, 67.
[9] Diefendorf, *In the Wake of War*, 68.

Preservation groups like the Friends often met in conferences to discuss and debate methods for restoring their cities. In 1947, several preservation conferences were organized in attempt to influence the desired statewide legislation for restoration practices.[10] It was here that traditionalists from across West Germany agreed with Herman Deckert (1899-1955), a preservationist from Lower Saxony, to focus on the heimatgefühl. They argued that preserving the "individuality" of each city was a top priority.[11] Elements such as rooflines, facades and basic structure were, in their view, essential aspects of German architectural heritage that could not be compromised. Traditionalists saw the technological and international nature of Modernism as "impersonal," and therefore threatening to these unique cultural and architectural elements.[12]

Historicists faced a certain level of opposition in that many Germans associated traditionalism and the desire to save the "soul of the city" with a pro-Nazi mentality. In the decades leading up to the war, The National Romantic style left architects in Northern Europe "turning to the precedents of early medieval [styles]," as architectural historian Barbara Miller Lane explains, because Germans saw the "Middle Ages as a time when their national identity was formed."[13] This trend of looking to the past continued with the rise of National Socialism, when a variety of historic styles came to be associated with

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[10] Diefendorf, *In the Wake of War*, 68.

[11] Diefendorf, *In the Wake of War*, 71.

[12] Modernism was called the "International Style" beginning in 1932 with the work of Phillip Johnson and Henry-Russell Hitchcock.

[13] Barbara Miller Lane. *National Romanticism and Modern Architecture in Germany and the Scandinavian Countries.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). 1,9.

Nazism for different reasons. These ranged from the German vernacular to classicism, and, at times, the Gothic. Perhaps these wide-ranging associations came from both the stripped down classicism of Hitler's state architecture (e.g., the Volkshalle by Albert Speer) and his appreciation of inherently "German" architectural characteristics like half-timbered exteriors. The use of the classical idiom in Nazi government buildings was so widespread and saturated that after the war, as journalist Romain Leick quipped, even "putting two columns next to each other was considered Fascist."[14] In addition, under the Nazi regime, Lane observed that the "indiscriminate application of [vernacular] half-timbering and thatch to buildings of all types," promoted a nationalism that "dealt a dramatic blow to regionalism and a sense of history."[15] Even Hitler's personal residence embodied Teutonic design principles with traditional wood elements and pitched roofs (Figure 5). Furthermore, Hitler was opposed to the legacies of two early schools of Modernism, the Deutscher Werkbund and the Bauhaus, which promoted an egalitarianism that contradicted Nazi ideals. After Hitler's death, Modernism, with its appeal to material simplicity and design efficiency, was valued and utilized more frequently as it aligned more closely with new democratic values.[16]

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[14] Romain Leick, "Out of the Ashes: A New Look at Germany's Postwar Reconstruction," Der Spiegel Online. Accessed 16 September 2016, http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/out-of-the-ashes-a-new-look-at-germany-s-postwar-reconstruction-a-702856-5.html.

[15] Until this vernacular revival by the Nazis, Germany had celebrated its vernacular regionalism that developed "from a variety of folk art traditions." Lane, *National Romanticism,* 5-8.

[16] Modernism became associated with Fascism through the architecture of both Hitler's Nazi Germany and Mussolini's Fascist Italy. The rational approach to function and building material aligned with the 'efficiency' of fascist governments, and architects like Albert Speer (Germany)

Modernists of the FRG were not entirely unsympathetic to the past, but instead were more focused on the progression of German culture into the twentieth century. To this group, the form of historic Altstädte was secondary to the contemporary needs of growing urban centers. Richard Döcker (1894-1968), a Stuttgart modernist, summarized the position of postwar modernists by stating that it was the duty of architects and planners to "use the opportunity and think ahead and plan for the next 50 to 100 years." He looked to the future of Germany, asserting that "[their] descendants expect that of [them]."[17] Another Modernist architect, Robert Volhoelzer (1884-1954) argued that a focus on preserving the past would "inhibit the growth of new architectural ideas," and that the only way for German society to move forward was to focus on the needs of modern Germans by implementing new technologies and infrastructures. Hence, for modernists in the rebuilding efforts, traffic flow needed to be a major concern for city planners, and modern advances in lighting, plumbing and ventilation were deemed necessary additions to even the oldest monuments.[18]

Competition among large cities to become the national capital of West Germany helped promote modernist goals in preservation. Western cities including Hamburg, Frankfurt, Bonn and Stuttgart modernized at a rapid pace,

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and Giuseppe Terragni and Marcello Piacentini (Italy) utilized these ideologies in the design of new government facilities.

[17] Diefendorf, *In the Wake of War*, 83.

[18] Diefendorf, *In the Wake of War*, 74-82.

seemingly in competition for a chance to become the next capital of the FRG.[19]

Their citizens and political leaders were eager to prove that their urban

infrastructure and economies could support their weight of the progressing

nation. Ironically, different conditions in Berlin, the former capital of the united

Germany, resulted in similarly modernist preservation philosophies. Because of

the hazardous physical and economic state of the city after the war, many

companies and banks found themselves relocating to other cities.[20] As a

collapse of Berlin's economy seemed eminent, the western half of the city

attempted to preserve what they could of their culture with monuments such as

the aforementioned Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church. They hoped that this

appeal to culture would remind Germans of the greatness of pre-Nazi Berlin.

Meanwhile, East Berlin saw political support align quickly behind modernist

preservation perspectives in the creation of a new capital of East Germany.

Not surprisingly in a country only unified politically as a nation-state in

1871, each region had specific ideas of how to preserve or advance their cities,

and each region felt entitled to this theoretical identity, resisting efforts of a

higher authority to diminish their distinctiveness. In the 1930s, Swiss-born art

historian Heinrich Wölfflin could still describe Germans as possessing a "need

for pronounced individuality."[21] While this desire to distinguish each German

region or town has obviously been a driving force behind the preservation of the

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[19] Diefendorf, *In the Wake of War*, 77.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Heinrich Wölfflin, *The Sense of Form in Art: A Comparative Psychological Study*, trans. Alice Müsam and Norma A. Shatan, (1931; N.p.: Chelsea Publishing, 1958), 182.

unique iconography of each Altstädte, it is also, ironically, the reason that West Germany never reached a national preservation policy.

Because of the fervent support for nearly polar opposite views on architectural preservation in West Germany, consensus was never reached and statewide preservation legislation never passed. Instead, local governments made preservation decisions, and paid for the reconstruction of the buildings they owned. This individualistic approach provided the opportunity for varying regional preferences, histories and influences, including religious entities such as the Catholic and Protestant churches, to influence the hierarchical decision-making process concerning what was restored and how.

The Christian churches played a relatively large role in West German reconstruction. Not only did they see reconstruction as a symbol of rebuilding a pure Christianity after the admitted corruption of the Nazi regime, but they also saw church buildings as fitting symbols for the salvation and "redemption of Germans" as a whole.[22] In the pre-war years, both the Catholic and Protestant churches maintained good relationships with the government. Local government officials collected taxes, which they distributed to the churches, in addition to providing subsidies so that the church could offer social programs that eased the state's financial responsibility.[23] Outside of the taxation policy, however, the

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[22] Rudy Koshar. *Germany's Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998) 194-195, 204.
[23] The church could offer programs such as Kindergarten at a lower cost than state sponsored schools could, for example.

church and state were generally separate entities that, in historian Ernst Christian Helmreich's words, "administer[ed] their own affairs."[24]

After the war, both churches faced the task of reorganization and repentance. The Catholics, under the centralizing, international leadership of Pope Pius XII (1876-1958), encountered little trouble in their reorganization, as only a few dioceses along the new East and West German border, a majority Protestant region, needed to be reorganized. Because an ample number of church officials were available, this rearrangement was fast and simple. In addition, Catholics were adamant in proving their innocence during the Nazi regime. Through a variety of publications and documentaries, post-war Catholics succeeded in making it clear that they were untouched by the corrupt hands of the Nazis.[25] The Protestants, in contrast, faced a much larger problem. Perhaps because Germany was the country of Martin Luther's birth, the Protestant Church (compromising the Calvanist, Lutheran and United churches) was seen as the country's national church. Hitler attempted to divide the Protestant Church, establishing the German Evangelical Church in 1933 (essentially a Nazified version of the Protestant Church), and leaving the non-affiliated churches to organize into the Confessing Church with fewer officials and growing tensions regarding organizational strategy.[26] After the war, the united church, that is, the existing organized Protestant church, was split evenly

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[24] Ernst Christian Helmreich, *The German Churches Under Hitler* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979), 427.

[25] Helmreich, *The German Churches Under Hitler,* 445.

[26] Helmreich, *The German Churches Under Hitler,* 413.

between East and West Germany, and the size of many congregations was shrinking. Unlike the Catholic Church, the Protestants could not publicize a pure status after the reign of Hitler. They, instead, had to invest more energy in trying to reestablish order.[27]

Despite their struggles, both the Catholic and Protestant churches in West Germany maintained relatively autonomous power. And, because these institutions owned their buildings, the preservation of religious monuments remained under their control and out of the hands of government authorities. Indeed, their efforts benefitted from the fact that the government continued to collect taxes and provide subsidies on their behalf as it had before the war. The churches saw postwar reconstruction as an opportunity to make many long-awaited improvements to their buildings, and were not inclined to wait on building permits from the state. The massive international financial background of both entities provided each with substantial funding to begin projects without needing to await government subsidies. Instead, churches often began construction "without getting necessary permits" from building officials.[28]

Aside from their large financial network, the Catholic and Protestant churches also harnessed a considerable amount of political clout within local preservation communities. Religious figures and representatives from church organizations frequently attended meetings with city officials and planners to promote the preservation of church buildings for the benefit of their parishes

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[27] Helmreich, *The German Churches Under Hitler,* 413-462.
[28] Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts,* 68

and the community at large. The best example is the Society for Christian Culture (SCC), an organization in Cologne that worked closely with government officials to promote the preservation of significant Christian buildings. The SCC organized a postwar conference that brought together members of the clergy, city officials, architects, planners and academics to discuss the fate of damaged churches.[29] Because the conference lectures were held at the University of Cologne, the public was invited to attend and witness this collaboration of church and state, where their input was also welcomed. The churches' ability to bring together members of religious, bureaucratic and public communities is arguably the single most important force driving the rapid and passionate reconstruction of the Cologne Cathedral, among a variety of other churches.

Though several regional influences denied West Germany a nationally coherent and comprehensive post-war preservation policy, the result, much to the delight of many German people, was nonetheless a significant amount of architectural preservation and restoration. The general public of West Germany loved their history and largely wanted it preserved. Because of this attitude, and because local governments were willing to listen to its people and their organizations, many of the cherished monuments of West Germany were reconstituted as strong presences in the iconographic Altstädte of their respective cities.

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[29] Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts,* 218.

East Germany

Socialist and nationalist agendas in East Germany dominated the discourse and action on architectural preservation in this communist state, though not without resistance from East German preservationists. The socialist government was heavily invested in reconstruction efforts for the sake of building a new, forward-thinking nation, and had little patience for traditionalists' pleas for historic preservation. The ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED) in the GDR had a similar agenda to West German modernists, in that they looked towards the future (in aims to build a new nation), but did so with a high level of antipathy for historic monuments, compared to the western modernists relative indifference. GDR officials saw the monuments of the past as directly linked to the "decay of capitalism" that socialist East Germans so desperately tried to escape.[30] Even Albert Speer Jr. (1934-present), the son of Hitler's architect, claimed that "modern architecture was associated with the utopian vision of 'creating better people through better construction.'"[31] The communist SED believed that "socialism was the only path for the nation into the future," and any architecture that promoted other ideals such as those of Prussian past (perceived to be associated with the bourgeoisie) or Nazism, were problematic.[32]

Though individual cities generally had their own approaches and accompanying legislation to guide historic preservation, the SED sought to

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[30] Brian William Campbell. "Resurrected From the Ruins, Turning to the Past: Historic Preservation in the SBZ/GDR 1945-1990" PhD. diss., University of Rochester, Rochester, NY, 2005, Proquest Dissertations Publishing (3204545) 3-4.
[31] Speer, Albert Jr., as quoted in: Leick, "Out of the Ashes."
[32] Campbell, "Ressurrected From the Ruins," 27.

override local initiatives and impose a statewide preservation policy that focused on promoting the status of the political administration through modern design, in particular buildings that demonstrated the GDR's ability to compete, architecturally and economically, on an international level. Unlike West Germany, the East established a preservation department in the national government but its success was uneven for a variety of reasons. They confronted the basic problem that a uniform preservation and conservation program was hard to maintain in the midst of governing a new nation. But hidden agendas of the SED, which frequently went against the will of the governed, also played a major role in the policies enacted by their "conservation" department, many of which left the theories of traditionalist advisors among the rubble of destroyed monuments.

As was the case with many policy issues in East Germany, it was the Soviets who controlled East Germany's preservation efforts at least for the first four years after the war. Following the teachings of Russian ruler and political theorist Lenin (1870-1924), the Soviets advocated for strict historic preservation policies in the hopes that East and West Germany could reunify under Soviet control and under a single cultural understanding.[33] The following quote, spoken in 1917 by Lenin during the Russian Revolution, frames the ideology behind Soviet preservation theory:

> Citizens, the old rulers have gone and have left a tremendous
> heritage behind. Now it belongs to the people. Citizens, protect

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[33] Campbell, "Resurrected From the Ruins," 42.

this heritage, protect the pictures, sculptures, buildings - it is the
material impression of your rising power and that of your
predecessors. Beautiful art was created by talented people under
the pressure of despotism, and testify to the beauty and power of
the human soul.

Citizens, do not touch a single stone, maintain the monuments,
buildings and ancient things, documents – that is your history, your
pride. Also think that this is the foundation upon which your new
culture grows.[34]

Lenin clearly had an appreciation for the art and architecture of old Russia, even
if they represented both the czars and bourgeoisie. This influence, though
prominent in the immediate post-war years, would come to dissolve among the
progressive attitudes of the SED once it gained greater autonomy.

Though the Soviets gave up direct control over the GDR in 1949, many of
their preservation ideals remained prevalent in the convictions of East German
traditionalists. The leader of East German preservation theory was arguably
Gerhard Strauss. An art historian and devoted communist, Strauss served as
one of the advisors to the SED's preservation department. Though he agreed
with the SED's desire for a centralized, government-run preservation committee,
Brian William Campbell concluded that he did so with the idea that the group
would commit itself to the "securing of cultural-historically valuable

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[34] As cited by Campbell, "Resurrected From the Ruins," 43.

substance."[35] However, Strauss was not without his socialist antipathy for Germany's capitalist past. He discouraged any notion of nostalgia within postwar reconstruction, as it distracted from the "forward looking socialist democracy" that the SED was trying to establish.[36] The theories of the influential Austrian art historian Aloïs Riegl had a major impact on Strauss and the development of his East German preservation theory. Riegl's unfavorable opinions of "age value" (i.e., assigning value to an object simply because it is old) shaped Strauss' sympathetic yet critical eye for what buildings qualified for preservation.[37] To Strauss, disengaging preservation practices from the influence of outside cultural authorities, such as the Church, and returning it to a centralized political organization was essential in the progression of East German society.

Regardless of Strauss' moderating influence and the value he attached to certain "worthy" buildings of Germany's past, SED officials had strong opinions of their own. After nationhood came for East Germany in 1949, the modernist agenda of the SED progressed with minimal constraint, guided aesthetically by the Socialist Classicism of Joseph Stalin (r. 1924-53) and pared down rationalism of Nikita Khrushchev (r. 1953-64) rather than the eclectic, historicizing tastes of Lenin.[38] The first assertion of the SED's increasingly

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[35] Campbell, "Resurrected From the Ruins," 44.

[36] Campbell, "Resurrected From the Ruins," 46.

[37] Campbell, "Resurrected from the Ruins," 45-46

[38] Encyclopedia Britannica, "Leaders of Muscovy, Russia, the Russian Empire, and the Soviet Union." Accessed 19 November 2016. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Leaders-of-Muscovy-Russia-the-Russian-Empire-and-the-Soviet-Union-1832695.

destructive approach to the architectural heritage of the country came in 1950 with the decision to demolish the ruins of the Berlin Stadtschloss, a royal Prussian palace that had been severely damaged in the war (Figure 6). Despite substantial opposition from many quarters ranging from architects, academics and citizens, SED Chairman Walter Ulbricht (1893-1973) single-handedly ordered the destruction of the Stadtschloss, in attempt to decisively quell the longstanding debate of the palace's fate.[39] Hence, his signature wiped out the symbol of Prussian royal power and the memory of nineteenth-century German political prowess with the aim of asserting the unassailable authority of the SED in matters of preservation. Unbeknownst to East Germans at the time, this trend of Ulbricht's totalitarianism would continue, and escalate, for decades after the war.

The SED's authoritarian approach to preservation under Ulbricht expanded in 1952 with the dissolution of the five East German states into which the country had long been divided (the historical Länder), and their replacement by fourteen new districts (Bezirke) centered on major cities. As a result, five strong, independently minded state preservation offices were replaced by a national organization. The Ministry of Culture created the Institut für Denkmalpflege (IfD or Institute for Historic Preservation) as a subcommittee, intending it to act as the national governing organization overseeing preservation and rebuilding efforts in the GDR's fourteen new districts. According to Campbell, the IfD essentially served as a "research institution,"

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[39] Campbell, "Resurrected From the Ruins," 65-66

and was responsible for "watch[ing] over the cultural monuments of the GDR," as well as recording them in a registry "for the patriotic education of the German people."[40] However, the IfD did not have any authority to physically enforce or prevent preservation of buildings, ironically leaving a sufficient amount of power to regional preservationists and architects and, ultimately, to the iron-willed Walter Ulbricht. With the traditional customs and historical memory of the old Länder broken, East German architects and city planners seem to tacitly agree to remain loyal to the threatening SED, perhaps out of fear. As a result, the architecture and urban form of eastern Altstädte, unlike those in the West, changed dramatically for many cities in the GDR, and some of the most iconic churches ceased to penetrate the skyline with their towers.

The Churches of East Germany had significantly less influence in the new post-war government than their peers in the West. Though the Soviets, and eventually the SED, refused to collect taxes for the church, they did continue providing subsidies for church reconstruction and programs. Here, again, the Protestants faced greater challenges than the Catholics, as they struggled to define their East German organization and funding structures. Increased travel restrictions imposed by the SED on church authorities in the early 1950s caused the East German Protestant Church to withdraw from the united church that had earlier stretched across East and West Germany, as church officials could no longer travel to the West to convene with their peers.[41] On account of the

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[40] Campbell, "Resurrected From the Ruins," 87

[41] Helmreich, *The German Churches Under Hitler,* 413-462.

strained relationships between church and state, Christians living in East Germany tended to have little voice in the preservation conversation of the SED.

Gothic Germany

While political ideology divided East and West Germany, the two countries had a common cultural heritage, which included a long history or building in the Gothic style and, centuries later, a renewed interest in Gothic aesthetics in the decades directly preceding World War II. This shared legacy, which dated back to the thirteenth century, and had recently become a factor in early twentieth-century debates on national "character" in Germany, would predict similar positions when it came to restoring Gothic buildings. Following World War II, reconstruction efforts in Germany preserved or rebuilt edifices in all of Europe's canonical architectural styles from classical to Romanesque and Gothic up to and including modern design. Over the centuries, the meanings and connotations of each of these styles had naturally varied with the historical moment in which they invented, revived or restored. In the post-war period, styles that had embodied and represented the aspirations of Hitler and the Third Reich, such as classicism, would clearly have been besmirched and tainted through their association with Germany's ignominious defeat. For instance, Albert Speer's ambitious plan to redesign Berlin (Welthauptstadt Germania, 1937-1943), included designs representative of several key epochs in the history

of classical architecture.[42] The reception of Gothic by the leadership of the Nazi Party is somewhat ambiguous, but in the first three decades of the twentieth century, the style enjoyed a certain favor among many German citizens.

The preservation of buildings in the Gothic style, in particular, represents a significant portion of postwar restoration for several reasons; foremost among them is the fact that the Gothic style was already widespread and prevalent throughout Germany, a situation to which both East and West German cities can testify (as noted in the introduction). Almost every major German city is crowned with a large Gothic or Romanesque great church, and each building usually served as the social center of the community. While both medieval styles, Romanesque and Gothic, provided Germany with the lion's share of its architectural patrimony, the Gothic enjoyed special favor among art and architectural historians, artists and intellectuals, including Wilhelm Worringer and Heinrich Wölfflin, in the decades leading up to the breakout of war in 1939. Though most of the churches that would require reconstruction or preservation after the war had been constructed nearly 800 years earlier, the German population at the time naturally viewed the style through twentieth-century eyes. They admired what they perceived as innate Gothic ideals of mysticism and particularity. In addition, informed viewers saw the Gothic as viewed as a mode of design that heralded emancipation from the past and its constraints (e.g., the rules of classical architecture), and they knew that the construction of immense

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[42] Alex Scobie, *Hitler's State Architecture* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990) 56-114.

edifices in this style required and reinforced bonds of social collectivity.[43] Most of these qualities had roots that could be traced back to the Middle Ages, but the issue at hand is to describe the perception of the Gothic preceding and during the time of post-war reconstruction.

Almost any discussion of the Gothic in twentieth-century Europe has to begin in the previous century, in that era of massive social change, rising nationalism, and historicizing revivalism in the arts. Of all of Europe's major styles enjoying a revival in the 1800s, none was more polemic than the Gothic. Germany has a long history with the Gothic style, particularly their role in its establishment and development. Though it formally originated in France with the construction of the choir of the Basilica of St. Denis in Paris (begun in 1140) (Figure 7), and a handful of closely related churches in the French capital, many Germans in the nineteenth century were constantly fighting for national ownership of the style.[44] In fact, all Europeans were staking a claim to Gothic; it was not until about 1830 that the French were able to prove that they had originated the style at St. Denis. The German's main argument centered on the belief that the style was both more common and more perfect in Germany than

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[43] On Gothic as modern, see Marvin Trachtenberg, "Suger's Miracles, Branner's Bourges: Reflections on 'Gothic Architecture' as Medieval Modernism," *Gesta* 39, no. 2 (2000): 183--205. On the collective enterprise of erecting medieval cathedrals, see the written notices in Teresa Grace Frisch, ed., *Gothic Art 1140-c. 1450: Sources and Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 23-30. For doubts about the harmony of these efforts: Jane Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine & Money: The Windows of the Trades at Chartres Cathedral* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

[44] On these other Parisian churches in ca. 1130, see Christopher Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church, 1130-1530* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990) 24-31.

it was in France.[45] The great ownership debate came to light amidst the Europe-wide Gothic Revival in the nineteenth century, when the Gothic was imitated and adored (in both new construction and restoration projects) especially among Romanticists for its mysticism and adaptability to diverse European climates and national "characters."[46] Though the Gothic so clearly belonged to the French (even one of its medieval names – opus francigenum – openly avowed its origin in France), the German position on this debate explains why the Germans were so fervent in producing Gothic architecture during both the Gothic Revival and post-war restoration periods: they were adamant about securing their status as originator (or at least… perfector) of the style.

Not surprisingly, the Germans faced challenges from other European countries, especially France, in arguing for the ownership of "their" style during the nineteenth century. Historian of the nineteenth-century Gothic Michael J. Lewis argued that a major reason the Germans encountered problems was because they were simply *continuing* to develop an imported style. The Germans were not actually undergoing a Gothic "revival" like the rest of Europe. Unlike France and England, Germany had not experienced a powerful Renaissance and Industrial Revolution, and thus they were much closer, from the point-of-view of political development and architectural history, to the Middle Ages. The Neoclassical buildings of Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841)

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[45] Some contemporary historians agree with the perfection of the Gothic style on the Rhine, in Cologne Cathedral (begun 1248), under the direction of a French architect: Wilson, *Gothic Cathedral,* 124,150-4.

[46] John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, ed. J. G. Links (1851; New York: 1960), 157-90.

in Prussia and Leo von Klenze (1784-1864) in Munich not withstanding, Germany could not participate in a Gothic Revival because it had essentially sustained a Gothic "survival."[47] Thus, when it came to post-war reconstruction after 1945, "reverting back" to a continuously used medieval style – rather than continue classical architecture's most recent flirtation with National Socialism – seemed natural to the Germans, as this had already been common practice for centuries, at least since the original importing and perfecting of the already-established French Gothic. This nationalist claim on the Gothic also explains why, in West Germany, Modernism and the development of an industrialized style posed the only major stylistic competition to Gothic for post-war restoration projects. It was, in a sense, the first serious challenge that the Gothic had experienced since its arrival in Germany.

Social aspects of the Gothic style also enjoyed a particular favor in the nineteenth century debates over the style, some of which would have appealed to post-war desires to reconstruct the national identity and heal communities. Many of the era's critics and historians thought that, since its twelfth-century conception, Gothic enterprises had been a source of collectivizing power in the building of a strong, progressive culture. For instance, English architectural historian and theorist Willaim Lethaby (1857-1931) argued that the Gothic style was supreme in its origins in a collective culture. Lethaby claimed that other architectural styles, such as the Renaissance, "lose [their] life" in the fact that

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[47] Michael J. Lewis, *The Gothic Revival* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2002) 59.

they stem from a single mind, not the collective belief of a culture.[48] Lethaby is here drawing on English art critic John Ruskin, who saw Gothic architecture as a uniting force, as men "sacrifice[ed] themselves for an inspired common goal."[49] German writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe went further to declare the Gothic style one that embodies the "collective spirit of the German nation," specifically.[50] Because West Germany was so intent on returning to a pre-Nazi German culture, the restoration of the Gothic was a justifiable step in the right direction. For East Germany had two opposed paths open to it. One the one hand, if one looked at the Gothic as a style whose designers and workers defied convention, then it would be appropriate for modernist-oriented East Germany to preserve its Gothic. On the other hand, if the Gothic was looked upon as a touchstone of traditional German values, the country could consign the buildings to the dustbin of history in its attempt to establish a new, progressive culture.

Mysticism and transcendence were possible paths to spiritual reformation in modern German both before and after World War II, and both have been closely associated with Gothic art and architecture since Abbot Suger (1081-1151) proclaimed the following about his famous commission the Basilica of St.

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[48] David Watkin, *Morality and Architecture: The Development of a Theme in Architectural History and Theory from the Gothic Revival to the Modern Movement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 36.

[49] Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice,* 169-73; also Kristine Ottesen Garrigan, *Ruskin on Architecture: His Thought and Inlfuence* (Madison, University of Wisconsin, 1973), 175.

[50] Lewis, *The Gothic Revival,* 62.

Denis outside of Paris (begun 1140), a building that, as previously mentioned, often enjoys the status of being the first Gothic structure ever created:

> Bright is the noble work; but, being nobly bright, the work
>
> Should brighten the minds, so that they may travel, through the true lights
>
> To the True Light …
>
> The dull mind rises to truth through that which is material
>
> And, in seeing this light, is resurrected from its formal submersion.[51]

In the early twentieth century, mysticism had gained a particularly Nordic flavor. As defined by German art historian Wilhelm Worringer in his acclaimed book Form in Gothic, published in 1911, mysticism is the idea that "personal spiritual experience becomes the vehicle of divine knowledge."[52] To many beholders who have had the opportunity to experience a Gothic church, this mysticism and sense of awe derives in good part from the use of stained glass and extreme verticality in Gothic spaces, as seen in the Cologne Cathedral (Figure 8). But to attempt to analyze the factors which create these effects may be somewhat anachronistic or at least beside the point. Lewis rightly characterizes Goethe's description of Gothic in his Romantic essay "Von deutscher Baukunst" (On German Architecture) published in 1771 as a phenomenon as one of

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[51] Abbot Suger, *De Administratione.* Trans. Erwin Panofsky, 1979. Accessed 13 September 2016, https://www.oneonta.edu/faculty/farberas/arth/arth212/Liturgical_Objects/Suger_excerpts.html.
[52] Wilhelm Worringer, *Form in Gothic,* trans. Hebert Read (1911; London, A. Tiranti, 1957), 175.

"unconscious spiritual energy."[53] Worringer specified that these elements were meant to create an "emotional rapture" within the souls of Christian mystics, who considered "sensuousness" to be a more important phenomenon than intellectual knowledge.[54]

Twentieth century theorists like Worringer continued to argue that the importance of 'sensuality' was still relevant to the attitude of post-war Germans. As discussed previously, the general public constantly sided with the traditionalists in post-war rebuilding campaigns, desiring to preserve the image of their Altstädte, which usually meant rebuilding significant icons such as Gothic cathedrals in their original medieval form. It is possible that they did so, because, in the rather grim post-war years, the defeated Germans were looking for the same sense of awe and reverence that they believed the mystic Gothic style was originally designed to inspire. An emotional response to their city's ecclesiastical architecture was therefore likely one factor that influenced their stance on preservation. The physical light beaming through the stained glass clerestories of cathedrals served as the mystic light at the end of the wartime tunnel. Because the Gothic style stood as a symbol of emotional experience untainted by earthly concerns or misery, it is only fitting that the Germans in both East and West wanted to preserve buildings that embodied this character in their original form.

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[53] Lewis, *The Gothic Revival,* 62.

[54] Worringer, *Form in Gothic*, 171. Also, W. D. Robson-Scott, *The Younger Goethe and the Visual Arts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 35-44.

In addition to this sense of mysticism, the detail and particularism of the Gothic style may well have appealed to other turn-of-the-century psychological needs identified by contemporary theorists, such as an inherent German "need for pronounced individuality," as noted above.[55] In the mid-nineteenth century, Ruskin had praised the individuality of the Gothic style, in that he admired the "wildness" and "exuberance" that each artisan was able to bring to Gothic structures.[56] Here, each artisan, though working under the collective umbrella of the Gothic style, was free to detail architectural elements individually. This was a rather liberating form of building and ornament, especially in opposition to the strict "classical restraint" of the Greek and Roman Order.[57] Hence, in modern eyes, the Gothic was an aesthetic vehicle for the particular and the individual – important qualities in efforts to define national character.

In the twentieth century, Wölfflin shifted the focus from the producer of Gothic to the beholder. He described the idea of German beauty as an "as I think of it" quality, that is, one that resided in each individual, and, as mentioned above, he also considered Germany to be "aesthetically divided," and therefore in need of individualization.[58] Although Wölfflin did not make the observation specifically, the individuality of the German spirit can be said to have found it ideal match in the Gothic style with its love for extreme ornamental detail in elements such as west portal sculptures, flying buttresses, column capitals and

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[55] Wölfflin, *The Sense of Form in Art*, 182.

[56] John Ruskin, "Review of Lord Lindsay's *Sketches of the History of Christian Art,"* (1847), as referenced in: Garrigan, *Ruskin on Architecture,* 38.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Wölfflin, *The Sense of Form,* 188.

stained glass scenes that vary between churches (Figures 9 and 10). This love of

individualizing detail stood in clear contrast to classical design, in which the

ornament is generally pre-determined by the Order. Worringer's argument in

Form in Gothic juxtaposed Gothic distinctiveness with a southern conformity, as

it "contrasted and celebrated the 'Gothic impulse to create stylized art … [with]

a Mediterranean infatuation with verisimilitude."[59] These "thousand harmonizing

details," as they are described by Goethe, appeal to what Wölfflin termed the

German appreciation of "intimate surroundings."[60] But neither Goethe nor

Wölfflin went far enough in their analyses. It becomes clear that, when set in the

context of an immense church, the small Gothic particulars lend themselves to a

part-to-whole relationship that balances human-scale reality with the universe-

scale mysticism, which is enhanced by elements like extreme verticality and the

play of light. But the individuality of details provides an alternate experience of

mysticism at a much smaller scale, one in which grandeur comes from a

combination of unique small parts, linking together to create a larger mysticism

that man, or even a plurality of citizens, can more easily comprehend. Hence, in

this fundamental character of Gothic – as linked to its mysticism – the potential

for community cohesion in post-war Germany might be tapped.

The part-to-whole appreciation of Gothic design can be extended to the

relationship between a cathedral and its city. Gothic cathedrals were highly

individualized buildings, even when constructed in the same time period by the

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[59] "Worringer, Wilhelm," Dictionary of Art Historians, accessed September 13, 2016, http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html.

[60] Wölfflin, *The Sense of Form,* 176. For Goethe, see Lewis, *The Gothic Revival*, 61.

same workshop. The cathedrals offered a particular uniqueness that enhanced the identity of every city, not only by standing apart from the rest of the low-lying urban fabric, but also differing in style, massing, profile and detail from city to city. They were easily the most distinctive civic monuments in medieval cities. Thus, the Germans in the post-war period could not afford to lose that which gave them an exclusive sense of identity, that is, their Gothic cathedral, and their opinions on ecclesiastical preservation certainly showed their preference for the style.

Perhaps what post-war Germany needed the most from its rebuilding efforts was a sense that the country was distancing itself from the Nazi past. Right from its inception, Gothic design departed radically from the long European fascination with the classical tradition. Architectural historian Marvin Trachtenberg has argued that the Gothic style, when developed by France in the twelfth century, embodied a strict, deliberate and conspicuous break from previous architectural styles.[61] He pointed out that Gothic architects replaced load-bearing walls with a skeletal structural system that included radical flying buttresses. Traditional Roman masonry vaults (the specialty of Roman architects) were replaced an armature of rib vaults. The strict, long-emphasized horizontality of early Christian naves were replaced by a profound adoption of verticality. Round Roman arches were "broken" when replaced by pointed Gothic arches, and the classical column was "imprisoned" by the colonnettes of

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[61] Marvin Trachtenberg, "Gothic/Italian 'Gothic': Toward a Redefinition," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (1991), 22-37.

Gothic clustered piers. The Gothic attempt to break from the weight of Greek and Roman architectural history seems clear, and it was even explicitly expressed in the other contemporary name for Gothic architecture *opus modernum* ("modern work"), coined by none other than Abbot Suger. Hence, countries like the two Germanys, wishing to make a clean break from the trail of atrocities and savagery they wrought in their wars might favor a historic style that stood for a new beginning.

The twentieth century brought another example of Gothic style being used to symbolize a break with the past, and in Germany nonetheless, with the Cologne Cathedral. Though construction on the church began in the thirteenth century, progress was halted in 1473 due to lack of funds. However, with the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1814, the Germans, in particular those in the Prussian kingdom where Cologne was located, saw the completion of the cathedral as a "symbol of the new empire," that which they hoped would soon to be a modern German nation state, free from the legacy of the decaying Holy Roman Empire.[62] While many buildings could symbolize empire, the Cologne Cathedral, with its sheer size and awe-inducing design, seems to have had the capacity to go further, to represent deep-seated religious and ethnic feeling that, it was hoped, would bridge the many political and social divides in the German lands. British scholar Astrid Swenson argues that

> "Germanness" appealed broadly, but for conservatives and
> federalists it also stood for a feudal society, while for liberal

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[62] Lewis, *The Gothic Revival,* 68.

nationalists it symbolized the burgeoning age of bourgeois power

and national unity. To Catholics it was a reminder of the

importance of the Church in German history; for Protestants the

Gothic anticipated the beginning of the Reformation's search for

freedom, and to Jews it offered the opportunity to participate in a

national project.[63]

As the Germans struggled toward nationhood in the nineteenth century, the

Gothic style of the Cathedral might share some of the credit for the esteem in

which the Germans held the great but unfinished medieval edifice. As German

philosopher and historian Joseph Görres (1776-1848) proclaimed, the Gothic

style in and of itself stood as an important symbol of "the era of Germany's

greatest political freedom [in] the high Middle Ages," and thus it was appropriate

to serve as the architecture of free, "Republican peoples."[64] A century later, this

democratic feeling would certainly have had greater appeal in rebuilding efforts

in West Germany than its eastern counterpart.

The spirit of nationalism in the German people, along with a continent-

wide Gothic Revival movement encouraged the long overdue completion of

Cologne Cathedral. Though the idea was first introduced in 1814, construction

on the continuation of the cathedral only began in 1840 – as it was originally

designed according to the surviving drawings of ca. 1300 – and it was finally

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[63] Astrid Swenson, "Cologne Cathedral as an International Monument," in *Rewriting German History: New Perspectives on Modern Germany*, ed. Jan Rüger et al. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), 30.
[64] Joseph Görres, as referenced in: Lewis, *The Gothic Revival*, 72.

finished in 1880. Germany had won its independence 9 years prior to completion in 1871, sending waves of increased nationalism and pride throughout the country during construction. As a result of the timing of political events and transformations, the Gothic gained credibility in its status as an icon of "political liberalism."[65] Young scholars and architects "gravitated toward the Gothic," as it became the "vision of German identity," breaking from the imperial Holy Roman past.[66] Furthermore, the completion of Cologne Cathedral inspired the completion of other never-finished Gothic churches, such as St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague as a symbol of Czech nationalism.[67] Thus, the Gothic style had become a pan-European symbol of nationalism and politically enlightened statehood in the nineteenth century.

In ways analogous to Gothic's perceived rejection of the past and its status as a "fresh start" style, I would argue that the style helped, or should have helped, post-war Germany make a clear break from the ideology of its dark Nazi past. Because Hitler's ideal architecture reveled in the aesthetics of Greek and Roman tradition, post-war restorations of buildings in their original Gothic style was a fitting response to the infamy of the National Socialist past as it mirrored similar breaks with the Roman past that the architects of the original Gothic edifices had made in the Middle Ages. The writings of theorists such as Worringer and Wölfflin prove a pre-war mind-set already saw contrasts between

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[65] Lewis, *The Gothic Revival*, 72.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Prague was, at this point, a part of the Austro-Hunagrian Empire, which was facing extreme tension among its various nationalist groups in support of independence, which wasn't achieved until the fall of the Empire in 1918.

the spirit of the Germanic North and classical Mediterranean as manifest in their respective art and architecture. Nazi plans for an extension of Cologne to the east bank of the Rhine clearly demonstrates the radical difference between the country's medieval past and Nazi urban planning, in that the Gothic cathedral and its surroundings sit on the west bank, dwarfed by the classical design of the government center on the east (Figure 11). It is evident that German intellectuals and artists, if not perhaps the entirety of the general population, appreciated the defiant attitude of Gothic structures. To the West, especially, the "thorny independence" that the Gothic style symbolized was the perfect indication of the deliberate break from Hitler's classicism, thus the style was preserved.[68],[69] While East Germany too sought a clear disengagement from Hitler, the lingering attitudes of totalitariansim promoted by the Nazi party provided enough consistency into the post-war era politics that the independent qualities of the Gothic style would not be appreciated by autocratic government leaders (though they may have been by the people).

The shared heritage of the Gothic past in Germany promised that post-war restoration of the style could be rationalized by a variety of original twelfth-century Gothic ideals, filtered through nineteenth- and twentieth-century discourses, but none so vehement as what Lewis termed "defiant nationalism."[70]

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[68] Quote from Frankl, The Gothic, 580. For examples of Hitler's classicism, reference the designs of Albert Speer's Volkshalle and Reich Chancellery.
[69] Frankl, *The Gothic,* 580.
[70] Lewis, *The Gothic Revival,* 73.

Architectural historian Wolfgang Pehnt (b. 1931) once said that "if the rate of change [of a culture] is too great, the urge for the comforts of the past is all the greater."[71] Because the rise of Nazi classicism was incredibly rapid, it is understandable that a desire to return to German Gothic would develop in the hearts of the population, much as historical revivalism – thinking with history – helped nineteenth-century Europeans cope with the transformations wrought by the Industrial Revolution. By combining the German need for mysticism, individuality and independence, the Gothic style was appropriate, and justifiably celebrated by the German people, most especially in the years following World War II. It remained to be seen whether preservation and restoration initiatives in East and West Germany would be governed more by the common heritage of their recent and distant past or by contemporary political ideologies.

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[71] As quoted in Leick, "Out of the Ashes."

Chapter 2: West Germany and the Cologne Cathedral

West German Gothic cathedrals benefitted from a variety of factors that led to their reconstruction. Surprisingly, restoration was driven by qualitative elements, such as the church's historical status or the willingness of local citizens to assist in the rebuilding, rather than quantitative elements such as congregation size or government funding. Not only were local governments typically adamant about reestablishing intangible assets such as the soul of pre-Nazi Germany, but also the German people were fervently passionate about their historical architecture and city image in the post-war period. The number of Gothic edifices restored to their medieval state proves that the citizens successfully promoted their restoration even when modernist-leaning government officials disagreed. Indeed, most Gothic cathedrals across the FRG were restored relatively quickly and with great care.

Perhaps the best example of ardent reconstruction efforts is Cologne Cathedral. As mentioned in Chapter 1, this Cathedral had become a symbol not just of Cologne but of German culture and nationalism since its completion in the late nineteenth century. Though it faced a few decades of international contempt between the World Wars, its status returned to one of both German and Catholic pride in the years following World War II. Because the church was so intensely adored by the German population, its restoration was both fast and meticulous, making it a prime example of the West German post-war approach to ecclesiastical restoration. Whereas many authors have emphasized the role of

abundant financial assistance for this hugely successful effort, I would identify three important cultural forces at work: the goal of re-establishing international unity, the native psychological attachment to the city and its architecture, and the desire to re-Christianize the monuments of Western Germany "beyond confessional of political divides."[72]

Pre-War Icon

It certainly helped the post-war fate of Cologne Cathedral that, before World War I, it was already an international icon of a global art culture across Europe and the Americas. Not only was the late completion of the Cathedral a chance to perfect centuries of Gothic design and craft, but it was also an opportunity to bring artists from across Europe together for the process. Both England and France were supportive of the completion of the cathedral in the nineteenth century, in both financial and literary venues. Not only did they send artisans to assist in its construction, but they also produced publications reminding their respective citizens "that artists form a grand nation within humanity," and calling for everyone to "prove [their] sympathy for this beautiful enterprise."[73] In total, thirteen countries contributed, either with direct funding[74] or labor, to the completion of the Cathedral, adding to the monetary donations of German citizen groups such as the Central Cathedral Building Society

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[72] Swenson, "Cologne Cathedral as an International Monument," 43.

[73] Swenson, "Cologne Cathedral as an International Monument," 33.

[74] Formal aid societies existed in Paris, Rome, Luxemurg, Mexico City, Liège, Antwerp and Bordeaux. They raised funds for the Cathedral's construction primarily from Germans living in their respective cities.

(Zentraler Dombau Verein or ZDV). For decades after its completion, images of the Cathedral appeared on opera stage scenes, postage stamps and literary references around the world.[75] The Cathedral had become an international monument to supreme art and the "common heritage of humanity."[76] Interestingly, this multi-cultural effort mirrored the ideals of the forthcoming international style of Modernism.

It was not until the Germans began bombing other countries' cathedrals in World War I that international enthusiasm for Cologne began to dwindle. For instance, the German army all but destroyed the classic French Gothic Rheims Cathedral in 1914 (Figure 12). In response, not only was German culture attacked, but the Cologne Cathedral specifically became a symbol of the fundamental ethical and political differences between Germany and the Allied Powers. Thus, the Cathedral might even have become a target of the Allies in retaliation for attacks on their architectural monuments. Several British newspapers expressed a growing indifference to the very survival of Cologne Cathedral, arguing that they "cannot avoid destroying or mutilating it when it had become involved in … legitimate targets in enemy territory," but also expressing grievances about the necessity of hitting it.[77] With the internationally uniting force of Cathedral dissolved, the British felt no need to avoid bombing the former symbol of the common heritage of humanity.

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[75] Swenson, "Cologne Cathedral as an International Monument," 30.
[76] Swenson, "Cologne Cathedral as an International Monument," 43.
[77] Swenson, "Cologne Cathedral as an International Monument," 41.

In the 1930s, Cologne Cathedral continued its trajectory of becoming an increasingly German symbol as opposed to one of international art. The Nazis adopted it as an important nationalist icon by staging Hitler's speeches and demonstrations in front of the church or using it as the culmination of citywide processions through Cologne (Figures 13 and 14).[78] As nationalism and Nazi adoration of the church increased, swastikas were engraved on unobtrusive stones of the church as if they were modern medieval mason's marks, claiming the Cathedral as an official symbol of Hitler's idea of German greatness (Figure 15).[79] These attempts to co-opt the Cologne Cathedral for the purposes of Nazi propaganda would heighten the Allies disdain for the church but also stimulate the desire after the war to purge the church of these polluting signs and restore its medieval integrity.

In the years leading up to World War II, many precautions were taken to ensure the safety of the architectural icon and its treasures. Cathedral architect Hans Güldenpfennig began preparing the Cathedral and its staff for almost certain bombardment in 1936. Treasury items were measured so that shipping crates could be assembled and all immovable art was shielded with sandbags and wooden panels (Figures 16 and 17). All wooden scaffolding was sprayed with fire retardant coating and church staff members were trained to put out fires. In 1940, Reich Minister for Church Affairs Hanns Kerrl ordered all the stained glass windows to be removed and placed in remote storage. Preparing

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[78] Niklas Möring, *The Cologne Cathedral in World War II,* trans. Aingel Flanagan (Cologne: Verlag Kölner Dom, 2011), 23.

[79] Möring, *Cologne Cathedral in World War II,* 14.

the Cathedral against imminent harm would have implicitly raised its value in the eyes of the citizens. Far from isolating the Cathedral from the threatened city in which it stood, all of these precautions reinforced its historical status as a symbol of Cologne, a city in which air raid sirens were contemporaneously being installed, and citizens frequently participated in drills.[80] Though the Germans could not imagine what fate had in store for their city, as was to come, they felt properly prepared for any Allied raid.

World War II Air Raids

      Though the city of Cologne faced many air raids over the course of the war, the most dramatic of these bombings occurred in 1942-43. The Allies struck the first major blow against Cologne in the bombing raids on May 30, 1942. Deemed by the British as the "largest air attack in history," historians calculate that the British air force dropped over 1,500 tons of explosives in an hour and a half (Figure 18).[81] Despite the fact that the church had been hit in previous years' raids, the Allies were now deploying a new technology of "blockbuster bombs" which caused greater levels of destruction, as they could now penetrate buildings in a single hit.[82] What separates the air raid on Cologne from other British attacks, besides the implementation of new wartime technologies, was its rather inhumane goal. According to Nazi propaganda

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[80] Möring, *Cologne Cathedral in World War II,* 20.

[81] Randall Bytwerk, ed., "The Attack on Cologne," *German Propaganda Archive,* 2004, accessed 22 September 2016. http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/cologne.htm.

[82] Möring, *Cologne Cathedral in World War II,* 51.

pamphlet "Der Großangriff auf Köln" (1942) by Anton "Toni" Winkelnkemper (1905-1945), because the German army had proved to have a "tough defense" throughout the war, the British shifted its aim from military targets and German troops to a pure focus on "target[ing] the morale of the German population."[83] Under the command of Prime Minister Winston Churchill (1874-1965), Winkelnkemper continues, the British military "aimed only and exclusively at the civilian population," destroying buildings like schools, hospitals and churches and deliberately breaking international law that specifically ruled against the intentional bombing of women and children.[84] Though these accusations were spread in the form of German propaganda, they were not wrong, or even slightly exaggerated. In 1943, British Air Marshal and Commander in Chief of the British Royal Air Force Arthur Harris (1892-1984) admitted:

> The destruction of German cities, the killing of German workers,
> and the disruption of civilized community life throughout Germany
> [is the goal]. ... It should be emphasized that the destruction of
> houses, public utilities, transport and lives; the creation of a
> refugee problem on an unprecedented scale; and the breakdown
> of morale both at home and at the battle fronts by fear of extended
> and intensified bombing are accepted and intended aims of our

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[83] Winkelnkemper, "Der Großangriff auf Köln. Ein Beispiel." *German Propaganda Archive,* 2004. Accessed 22 September 2016. http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/cologne.htm.

[84] Bytwerk points out that the Germans also broke this law on several occasions, including attacks on Rotterdam and various British cities. Winkelnkemper, "Der Großangriff auf Köln. Ein Beispiel."

bombing policy. They are not by-products of attempts to hit factories.[85]

Nazi propaganda harshly criticized this notion of "moral bombing," but contemporary historians agree that the "aim was to undermine the fighting spirit and the morale of the German people in the hope that they would respond by rejecting the Nazi regime, thereby bringing a swift end to the war."[86]

In a plot twist unforeseen to Churchill, the bombardment would have the long-term effect of augmenting Cologne Cathedral's symbolic capital, which, in the end, would be a boon to restore restoration efforts. The citizens of Cologne burst into action amidst the air raid with a boost of morale. The German people knew that this "air war against civilians," as Winkelnkemper dubbed it, was personal, and were immediately prepared to resist the attacks by the British. In the years leading up to the 1942 air raid, Cathedral staff took turns serving as night-duty watchmen stationed on the Cathedral's roof, ready to put out fires at as soon as they occurred.[87] Winkelnkemper describes a variety of scenarios in which the citizens of Cologne "fought like a disciplined army" during the raid.[88] He estimates that forty percent of German fatalities occurred during active rescue work during the raids, as opposed to in homes or raid shelters. Even if the Nazi propagandist exaggerated the number of citizens involved, it seems likely that responsive German citizens were actively trying to put out fires as

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[85] Tami Biddle, *Rhetoric and Reality in Air Warfare: the Evolution of British and American Ideas About Strategic Bombing, 1914-1945,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 220.
[86] Möring, *Cologne Cathedral in World War II*, 51.
[87] Möring, *Cologne Cathedral in World War II,* 36.
[88] Winkelnkemper, "Der Großangriff auf Köln. Ein Beispiel."

they were ignited, carry the wounded from burning buildings and deliver courier messages across a city whose communication lines had been compromised. The Cathedral itself, once a central example of wartime preparation and activity, was now simply of one countless buildings in Cologne where citizens offered their help in resistance.

In the days following the first major attack on Cologne, the ministry faced the challenge of continuing to protect what remained of the church. Seeing the damage that had already been inflicted on the Cathedral may have redoubled the citizens' desire to come together in wartime efforts to save it; hence the church's role as a collective symbol grew stronger as bombs maimed the noble edifice. More precious art within the Cathedral was crated and shipped to off-site bunkers for protection. Parish members used their individual rations to donate more supplies such as wood to board up the Cathedral and its art.[89] Photographic evidence proves that Catholics even continued to hold mass in the rubble-filled Cathedral before the war had ended (Figure 19). Though residents of Cologne were encouraged to evacuate, authorities were often met with the response, "I'm staying in Cologne." The famous song of German composer Willi Ostermann (1876-1936) became the rally cry among citizens that believed it was their duty to assist in the rebuilding of Cologne:

When I think of my home

And imagine its Cathedral before me

I want to go home immediately

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[89] Möring, *Cologne Cathedral in World War II,* 95-98.

I want to walk back to Cologne.[90]

The refusal of the general public to evacuate was the first, and perhaps most significant, step in the rapid restoration process of the city and, of course, its famous cathedral.

The preparation of the Germans paid off, as the Cathedral was hit with another series of air raids in 1943. The most severe of the Cologne bombings occurred on June 29, 1943. Over 43,000 civilians were killed, and fire consumed the entire city. In this devastating attack, the rib vaults of the Cathedral collapsed onto the organ, and the transept was almost entirely destroyed (Figure 20). Just months later, on November 3, 1943, the Cathedral faced another series of bombs. This time, the British were aiming for the adjacent central train station, but missed, and ended up damaging the Cathedral further. Ironically, the one bomb that did hit the train station sent debris flying through one of the Cathedral's windows, thus shattering it.[91] By this point in the war, according to historian Niklas Möring, "it was not the Allies' presumed strategy of 'intentional destruction of German cultural assets' that proved fateful, but the Cathedral's proximity" to the central station.[92] After the series of air raids in 1943, forty percent of the urban fabric had been completely destroyed (Figure 21).[93] In total,

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[90] Winkelnkemper, "Der Großangriff auf Köln. Ein Beispiel."
[91] Möring, *Cologne Cathedral in World War II,* 71.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Möring, *Cologne Cathedral in World War II,* 93.

the Cologne Cathedral was directly hit with fourteen air bombs, leaving the city's most proud icon in ruin.[94]

Post-War Reconstruction

When the war finally ended in 1945, it was the bells of Cologne Cathedral that notified the citizens. Though the cathedral was severely damaged, it had to have been "a very emotional moment for the citizens of the city," as the still standing towers and their chiming bells provided a renewed yet somber sense of heimatgefühl.[95]

But, as West Germany faced the challenge of rebuilding, harsh realities set in. The distribution of federal funds was a sensitive key issue, one which had real implications for what buildings would be restored and when. The earliest reliable figures available to me are from 1953. In that, the federal government provided DM 300 million to cities across West Germany for rebuilding, and divided the money proportionally to each region according to population size, the degree of destruction in that area and quality of industrialization. Because of the severe devastation of the city of Cologne and the dramatic increase in population with the relocation of banks and business, as described in chapter 1, the North Rhine-Westphalia region received the largest percentage of the funds at 28.2% (DM 84.6 million) (see table in Figure 22). This region also contained Essen, Germany's largest city at the time, so the size of Cologne and its rising

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[94] Arnold Wolff. *The Cologne Cathedral.* Trans. Margaret Maranuk-Rohmeder. Cologne: Vista Point Verlag, 1990. 27.
[95] Möring, *Cologne Cathedral in World War II,* 95.

profile as a financial center may not alone suffice to explain why it receive a greater portion of the funds than important cities like West Berlin and Hamburg. Cologne Cathedral's exceptional status as a national icon may have contributed to the accumulation of more funding. In 1950 alone, DM 284,000 was spent on reconstruction efforts in Cologne, ninety-two percent of which went to work on churches.[96] These figures came in addition to the contributions made by the Catholic Church.

The initial rebuilding of Cologne Cathedral was fast for the first three years after the war, but has since been completed in phases that continue into the twenty first century. The primary goal of Cologne citizens after the war became the restoration of the chevet (the eastern apse and its chapels) in time for the 1948 Domfest, the festival celebrating the seven hundred year anniversary of the Cathedral's original groundbreaking in the thirteenth century.[97] The chevet of a Gothic cathedral is the most significant location in Catholic ritual, as holds some of the most sacred items within the church. Not only is the high altar, where services on high feast days take place, found in the chevet, but also the accessible area behind the altar typically contains a shrine where clergymen and laypersons alike go to worship relics, if the church has them.[98] For the parish members of Cologne Cathedral, rebuilding the chevet was a crucial first step in the rebuilding process, as it would return both mass and

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[96] Diefendorf, *In the Wake of War*, 135.

[97] Möring, *Cologne Cathedral in World War II,* 97.

[98] Wilson, Christopher. *The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church 1130-1530* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1990), 9.

the church's holy relics to their proper place. With the help of massive numbers of citizens, Cologne diocese architect Willy Weyres (1903-1989) led the restoration, starting with the cathedral's chevet. Participation in the rebuilding efforts increased from about one hundred citizens a day in May 1947 to over two hundred and seventy in May 1948.[99] Cologne residents began by clearing the rubble inside the church (Figure 23). Even local school children participated in reconstructing the city's Christian landmark.[100] Weyres led a team of engineers to reinforce the buttresses and reconstruct the roof with lead and zinc panels, perhaps subconsciously embracing the progressive material policies of Viollet-le-Duc and West German modernists for the sake of speed and structural strength (Figure 24). One of the last steps was bringing the original windows out of storage and placing them back in their original location, between reconstructed traceries. Finally, the high altar's great reliquary, the Shrine of the Three Magis (ca. 1190-1220), was restored to its proper place (Figure 25).[101] With the collective will of the citizens to see the setting of the chancel restored to its original glory, Weyres completed the chevet in time for the Domfest and remained the chief architect of the Cathedral's reconstruction until his retirement in 1972.[102]

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[99] Möring, *Cologne Cathedral in World War II,* 96.

[100] Ibid.

[101] During the war, the Shrine and altarpiece had been moved several times, both to escape wartime damage and to prevent Nazi theft. The ultimate hiding spot was Castle Weißenstein in Pommersfeld, where the crates were protected from Nazi confiscation with false mailing labels. Möring, Cologne Cathedral in World War II, 71.

[102] Wolff, *The Cologne Cathedral,* 27.

After the rush to complete the chevet by 1948, restoration of the church continued at a much slower pace through the rest of the twentieth century. As work moved westward, priority was given to the nave, so that mass could be completed with its original processional elements. Arnold Wolff, cathedral architect from 1972 to 1999, noted that Weyres "personally created a number of stained glass windows" for the nave's clerestory, serving as infill for the windows that did not survive the war.[103] By 1954, the cathedral was sufficiently restored for full-fledged Catholic ceremonies, in that the nave and chevet were both structurally sound and aesthetically restored, though stone cleaning persisted through several decades later. In the 1960s, work began on the north transept façade until it was finished in 1982 under the direction of Wolff.[104]

The Cathedral's iconic towers, emotional symbols of power for the citizens of Cologne, are arguably the most important aspect of the church to restore. They had remained standing but were not structurally stable (Figure 21). The Cathedral Workshop has been restoring and preserving the towers since 1948, and the work has continued well into the twenty first century. They work to refurbish stone fragments from the towers, or in some cases, replicate the ones that have been damaged (Figure 26). Much like the original tower construction had been extremely deferred by nearly six full centuries, the post-war tower completion is a long, painstaking process. While it is not being put off as it was in the thirteenth century, the level of concern for a perfectly completed

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[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid.

Gothic spire is strikingly similar. Even today, it is impossible to make a trip to Cologne without seeing scaffolding inching its way down the blackened Gothic spires (Figure 27). The immense care and concern that the Germans have for their Cathedral is highlighted by the fact that this construction endures. Of course, all of Europe's great medieval edifices require constant maintenance, but the impetus to care for Cologne's cathedral is especially poignant considering the ruin it had been at mid-twentieth century. Today, the Cathedral Workshop employs a staff of ninety, and spends €7 million euros a year on maintenance and restoration. [105] Called "the eternal construction site," the Cologne Cathedral is still a massive source of German pride. [106] Even the Cathedral's website boasts of the everlasting construction, and hopes it will continue, saying "these enduring works on the cathedral show us how important the cathedral still is for us today." [107] Thus, the same wartime belief of the Cathedral as a symbol of German strength and persistence still applies to modern-day Cologne citizens.

Whereas the speedy restoration of the Cologne Cathedral, in comparison to other churches, was certainly fostered by ample finances and superb organization, other factors were clearly at play as well. For instance, the Germans were undoubtedly eager to return the Cathedral to being an

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[105] "68. Wonder: Cologne Cathedral" on World Wondering (blog). Accessed 5 October 2016, http://www.nevworldwonders.com/2015/07/68-wonder-cologne-cathedral.html.

[106] "History of the Building," Der Kölner Dom. Accessed 5 October 2016, http://www.koelner-dom.de/index.php?id=baugeschichte&L=1.

[107] "History of the Building." Accessed 5 October 2016, http://www.koelner-dom.de/index.php?id=baugeschichte&L=1.

international symbol of unity, rather than the culturally divisional force it had become in the early years of World War I, and thus restore Germany's place in the European community. To do so, it was imperative to showcase the Cathedral as both a work of art and an architectural masterpiece, and to remind the world of the "enthusiasm and ecstasy" that the world once felt upon seeing it. Returning the Cathedral to its original ecclesiastical purpose could gain support and sympathy only from Catholics around the world, an important demographic but not sufficient for the burden of cultural capital shouldered by the Cologne Cathedral. Disengaging the church from the nationalist symbolism cast upon it by the National Socialist Party was crucial in order to gain the support of other nations, though some form of cultural nationalism would also be essential to propel its reconstruction on the home front.

Citizens of Cologne loved their cathedral. The tall Gothic towers were an essential part of the city's iconic altstadt, and without them, the city would never be the same. As discussed in Chapter 1, the preservation of Cologne's, and all of West Germany's, identity and "individuality" was a top priority. Restoring elements such as rooflines, facades and basic structure was essential, and these components were especially potent in the Cologne Cathedral. Cologne Preservation Office architect Rudolf Schwarz (1897-1961) believed that all of Cologne's churches, including the Cathedral, served as critical "focal points" of each of the city's "revived quarters," thus they needed to be restored in their

pre-war form.[108] Because Gothic structural and aesthetic elements are so meticulously integrated, preserving the church was both an urban- and building-scale endeavor.[109] Restoring the Gothic towers produced the urban focal points that Schwarz deemed critical, while also reconstructing the spiritually important west façade and the skeleton-like structure of the church, all at once. Schwarz and other Cologne traditionalists had a huge backing from the general population, who were actively volunteering in the restoration of the Cathedral.

Transitioning Cologne Cathedral from its status as a pre-war nationalist icon to a post-war Catholic house of worship was a relatively easy task. Secular attention on the church for political purposes dwindled after the air raids on Cologne began in 1942-43, quietly returning the building to its traditional stewards, its clergy and parishioners. It is true that the Cathedral was no longer an international art icon, but at least it had also lost its status as a Nazi state symbol. Toward the end of the war, Hitler had stopped hosting demonstrations on the church's plaza, and the soot-stained skeleton of the Cathedral had become a symbol of defeat rather than power. The local governments had shifted its attention from protecting and restoring the Cathedral to the larger, more immediate problem of feeding and housing survivors. As the Cathedral lost the support of the government, its fate was left solely to its parish and staff (Figure 28). This chapter has already highlighted some of the ways in which

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[108] Diefendorf, *In the Wake of War*, 96.

[109] Many Gothic architectural elements serve both structural and aesthetic purposes and they are highly visible on a city's skyline. For example, flying buttresses are necessary for the structural stability of a cathedral, but they are also ornately detailed and unique to Gothic church aesthetic.

Cologne Catholics persisted in continuing their traditions throughout the air raid years, how, for instance, the church staff remained on the front lines at all times to assist in protecting artwork and putting out fires. The emergency training sessions were held frequently as wartime technology was constantly evolving, and Güldenpfennig even insisted on the implementation of new procedures. As noted, the church services did not stop after the major air raids began. Mass inside the Cathedral was actually relocated at least four times, as various parts of the church were deemed unsafe from the most recent bombing. After the May 1942 bombing, mass took place in the south tower narthex, then moved to the sacristy following the June 1943 attack, then was relocated to the treasury in January 1944, where nine masses were held every single day.[110] Cologne's Catholics simply refused to give up their religious ceremonies in their Dom, and were therefore eager to rebuild a fully functioning Cathedral as soon as possible after the war.

The rebuilding of cathedrals after the war was fueled by more than just desires for a material recovery of places of worship, as both Catholics and Protestants alike sought a spiritual reconstruction of Germany. Rebuilding the "soul" of the Germany by reconstructing its churches was a top priority.[111] After decades of Nazi rule and combat, the post-war era was first a time of suffering but later one of rebirth as well, and it potentially presented an opportunity to

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[110] Möring, *Cologne Cathedral in World War II,* 72.

[111] Joel Davis, "Rebuilding the Soul: Churches and Religion in Bavaria, 1945–1960," (PhD. diss., University of Missouri - Columbia, Columbia, MO, 2007), 1-26. Proquest Dissertations Publishing (3322690).

reignite the pious flame in the hearts of German Christians who may have doubted about God's power of existence during times of conflict. In 1945, Protestant Regional Superintendent Oscar Daumiller said,

> "Cities with rich, thousand year histories and uncountable cultural wealth lie in ash and rubble. The process of rebuilding them has already begun. But more than just material and economic life has sunk into ruin. The spiritual lives of many lie amidst the rubble of these times as well. These must also be rebuilt."[112]

The Catholic church, specifically, focused on a return to service to others as a force to combat the growing materialism of the twentieth century, a force that Catholic leadership believed was responsible for the war.[113] Many German Catholics naturally took the pleas to rebuild the soul of the church spiritually as a call to rebuild the architecture of the church physically. Not only did volunteering to help in the labor of reconstruction satisfy their devotion to serve the community, but it also promoted the "message of Christ" in a very tangible way. The reconstruction of the tall towers of the Cathedral itself was the ultimate billboard for the Word of God. The restored towers effectively reached a large number of Germans at one time. Thus, the Cologne Catholics could quite conceivably have seen the reconstruction of the church as a manifestation of Christian renewal as a whole.

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[112] Davis, "Rebuilding the Soul," 1.

[113] Scholar Joel Davis claims that materialism was the all-encompassing "ism" of twentieth century Europe, which stood for industrialism, capitalism, nationalism, etc. Davis, "Rebuilding the Soul," 2.

The culmination of these international, cultural, and religious efforts can be seen in the 1948 Domfest, where Catholic leaders from around the world came to celebrate the reopening of the church. It was much more than a typical ribbon-cutting ceremony (Figure 29); as Möring pointed out, it was nothing less than a

> symbol of reconciliation, the Papal Representative Cardinal Micara,
> the Cardinals of Westminster, Paris, Mechelen, Utrecht, Vienna
> and Munich, as well as bishops from America, Canada, Australia,
> Sweden, Denmark and Switzerland took part in the ceremony.[114]

The Cologne clergymen processed into the church to celebrate mass at the original altar, the highlight of which was the just-returned Shine of the Three Magis, which contained the relics of the three Holy Kings, and nearby one of the cathedral's most important altarpieces, the *Altar of the Patrons* (1440s) which was originally in the chapel of the Cologne town council and was installed in the Lady Chapel. Its panels also depict the adoration of the magi but with Cologne's patron saints in attendance (Figure 30). The return of the relics was rather fitting, as the original Magis had been international kings that came from their respective countries to honor the birth of Jesus (Matthew 2:1-12). Catholic officials traveled from their respective countries to honor the rebirth of the German Catholic Church as represented by the official reopening of the cathedral, and its reintegration into the worldwide Catholic community. Even though it was still far from being completely restored to its pre-war state, the

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[114] Möring, *Cologne Cathedral in World War II,* 97.

Cologne Cathedral was once again a symbol of international unity, but this time, under the leadership and auspices of the Catholic Church rather than the international community for architecture as high art as it had been prior to the first World War. Regardless of any sectarian divides, this was an important step in Germany restoring its place in the European community, and it was the citizens of Cologne that had helped to establish this relationship.

Other West German Cathedrals

Cologne was just one of many West German cities to reconstruct its cathedral with passion and zeal following catastrophic destruction in World War II. Across the FRG, Allied bombings had devastated many parts of Germany, leaving houses and cathedrals in ruin. Of the many cities that undertook cathedral restoration projects, Lübeck offers interesting insight into preservation practices because, unlike Cologne, it was home to two significant brick Gothic cathedrals: the Marienkirche (begun 1250) and the Lübeck Dom (begun 1266), both of which have housed Protestant congregations since the Reformation (Figures 31 and 32). Brick was the principal building material on the Baltic Sea, and it was not entirely unheard of to build Gothic churches in brick (e.g., churches in Lombardy and the Veneto in Italy). The Marienkirche, founded as the city's great parish church for the citizens and guildsmen of the Hanseatic League, has been a cathedral in the honorary Protestant sense since 1531. According the Christopher Wilson, St. Mary's is arguably one of the finest thirteenth century examples of a "'burgher cathedral,' that is an urban parish

church which aspires to the condition of a cathedral."[115] In fact, in all of

Germany, only Cologne Cathedral surpasses the height of the Marienkirche's

choir (39m on the interior).[116] Its stature was such that it also served as the seat

of the bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church from 1934 to 1973. The

Lübeck Dom, formerly the seat of the city's Catholic bishop, has retained the

name "cathedral" since becoming a Lutheran church in 1535. Although slightly

later than the Marienkirche, its Gothic architecture is more conservative than the

merchants' church; its Romanesque nave and its Gothic hall-type choir is nearly

the same as that of an older church demolished to make way for it.[117] Hence,

authorities and citizens in Lübeck faced questions that their peers in Cologne

did not: could they save both cathedrals, and if so, which should they save first?

The British Royal Air Force bombed Lübeck on March 28, 1942.[118] While

the altstadt endured drastically fewer bombs than that of Cologne, both the

Marienkirche and the Dom suffered significant damage. The Marienkirche was

not directly bombed, but was the victim of a fire that spread from an adjacent

building. The great church went up in flames, leaving only its Gothic skeleton

standing and even going so far as to melt the towers' bells (Figures 33 and 34).

The Lübeck Dom also fell victim to fire, though not as severely as the

Marienkirche (Figure 35). The cathedral's roof vaults collapsed, consequently

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[115] Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral,* 155.
[116] Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral,* 156.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Diefendorf, *In the Wake of War,* 100.

destroying the organ. Much of the Dom's Gothic structure remained, but without a roof to shelter the nave.

The Lübeck restoration debates were very different than those in Cologne. There was a stronger modernist presence among Lübeck government and preservation officials, causing tension in the discussions of monument restoration. As was typical in these debates, the progressive element won the authority to determine the course of urbanism and habitation, while the traditionalist view carried the day for ecclesiastical architecture. Though the modernists got their way with wider streets and modern-style housing, they "compromise[d]" with traditionalists by promoting the restoration of churches to their original state, and offering to construct a wide road around them that closely matched the historic street pattern and differed from the new, modern urban layout.[119] This differs dramatically from Cologne, where the cathedral was recognized as an integral piece of the urban fabric and thus the two could not be considered separately.

Lübeck city planners and Protestant church members now faced the question of which cathedral to rebuild first. Because the Schleswig-Holstein region received one of the smallest portions of federal funding at roughly six percent, funds were limited, and the Protestant church did not have the same international and centralized organization as the Catholic Church did to make a substantial contribution.[120] Though the Lübeck Dom required far less rebuilding

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[119] Diefendorf, *In the Wake of War,* 101.
[120] Diefendorf, *In the Wake of War,* 135.

and would have cost substantially less, the Marienkirche was restored first because of its historical status as Lübeck's primary place of worship and Protestant cathedral before the war began. Restoration work began shortly after the end of the war in 1947 and lasted until 1959. During this time, the Dom was provided a temporary roof until restoration work could begin in 1960.[121]

Though both of Lübeck's cathedrals are Gothic in style, their features vary greatly and clearly demonstrate the evolution of the Gothic style in Germany in a manner that favored the more conventional Marienkirche. This church more closely resembles the height of Gothic design, incorporating elements such as flying buttresses and tracery on stained glass windows; in other words, it bears a closer resemblance to the Cologne Cathedral than the Dom. The latter, by contrast, is a more solid brick form, showing the German transformation of Gothic as the style moved northward in the country, that is, farther from its French origins. The structure of the Dom is composed of solid walls with windows and utilizes engaged buttressing for support, rejecting the French Gothic aesthetic of ornate flying buttresses. In addition, the towers do not contain the same level of aesthetic detail as those on the Marienkirche or in Cologne (Figure 36). Interestingly enough, it was not this "more German" cathedral was restored first. Though the Dom had suffered less damaged, and would have taken less time and money to restore, it was more "original Gothic"

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[121] St. Marien in Lübeck. "History." Accessed 6 October 2016. http://www.st-marien-luebeck.de/seit-1945.html, Travemünde Lübeck. "Lübeck Cathedral." Accessed 6 October 2016. http://www.luebeck-tourism.de/discover/sights/churches-in-luebeck/luebeck-cathedral.html.

(i.e., French) Marienkirche that was given full attention by Lübeck's preservation office. Perhaps the closer visual association to Cologne Cathedral gave the Marienkirche a more prestigious status, as something closer to being a national icon than the somewhat experimental design of the Dom. Despite the fact that it was the medieval German architectural community that altered the received Gothic style into the Northern design exhibited at the Dom, the twentieth-century German public certainly seemed to have a preference for the style as it was more quintessentially executed in Cologne and at the Marienkirche. Thus, the "classic" style achieved a higher merit among the preservation community, and was restored first. While the majority of Lübeck was reconstructed with modern buildings, both cathedrals were fully restored to their pre-war state, joining a plethora of churches across West Germany that continued to represent the Gothic style for future generations.

Throughout the remainder of West Germany, countless other Gothic cathedrals required restoration, and the majority of this work reached substantial completion by the mid-1950s. Cologne was the first to complete substantial restoration by 1948, but many cities, including Nuremburg and Hannover, followed with completions as early as 1952. Though the Munich Frauenkirche began holding church services in the early 1950s, its restoration, much like that of Cologne, continued well into the 1990s. Historic preservation in West Germany proved to be a brisk yet thorough cultural process, as the majority of citizens of each cathedral's respective city desperately wanted the lives of their

historic altstadt to return to their adored pre-war state. This idea of restoring buildings to a pre-war state comes in opposition to other approaches, such as that of Berlin where ruins like Kaiser Wilhelm stand as shells in memory of the war. Perhaps West Germans in general were intent on "erasing" Nazi history from their architectural memory, thus proving the entire Nationalist Socialist period to be an aberration in their country's history. The citizens' collective drive to restore buildings to their pre-Nazi state bridges a historical gap, in a sense, to create a more noble version of architectural, and by extension national, history without Nazi interference. This might have been a priority for Germany's Churches, eager as they might have been to expunge their own records of inaction in the face of the Nazi rise to power.

Culturally driven preservation ideology and the inclusion of citizens in restoration decisions and practices allowed the monumental rebuilding and national healing to flourish in West Germany. Though the united FRG never developed a statewide policy regarding the restoration of historic buildings, the devoted Christian citizens of each city managed to create, in a sense, a consistent approach to the architecture of historic cathedrals across West Germany by helping to restore them. The protocol may not have been written into official administrative policy, but the evidence strongly suggests that it certainly occurred consistently across the FRG.

Chapter 3: East Germany and the Dresden Sophienkirche

Restoration practices in East Germany were less consistent than they were in West Germany. One significant difference was that the role that citizens play in reconstruction in the GDR was severely diminished, leaving the fate of historic buildings, and the hearts of East German residents, in the hands of a powerful and centralized modernist government. Even when nationhood arrived for the GDR in 1949, the Soviets maintained a stranglehold of influence on the new government. SED party officials met regularly with Joseph Stalin (1878-1953) in Moscow to discuss East Germany's rebuilding strategy and how it could be used to promote the new socialist rule. These discussions resulted in the translation of Soviet rebuilding mentality back to the GDR, and though the USSR did not formally recognize the "full sovereignty" of East Germany until 1955, Stalin's influence on the SED had become deep enough to carry out his ideas for East German reconstruction long past his direct rule.[122]

Like its counterpart in the west, the new East Germany was naturally anxious to begin rebuilding its rubble-ridden cities. But, unlike most state and municipal office holders in West Germany, government officials in the east looked toward a new nation of a different kind, a "progressive" socialist country, and saw post-war reconstruction as a chance to develop a rather modern architectural aesthetic. Building departments placed emphasis on "technical monuments" that represented "activities of work" rather than religious and

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[122] Peter Grieder, *The East German Leadership 1946-73: Conflict and Crisis* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 125.

cultural monuments of the past (with some exceptions, like opera houses).[123]

Perhaps this tendency was due to the fact that, until the war, eastern Germany had been a hotbed of modernist design. In fact, the Bauhaus, Europe's foremost school of modern design was located in eastern cities – namely Weimar, Dessau and Berlin – from 1919 to 1933 until the Nazi government shut it down on charges that it promoted "decadent," non-German internationalism. Of course, most of the modern architecture of East Germany turned out not to be "modernist" so much as Stalinist Socialist Classicism followed by the stripped-down "rationalist" designs of Khrushchev's era, as described above. A corollary of the East German desire to be modern—even if architecture was not cutting-edge—was intolerance toward the historical styles of the past and historicist impulses in restoration.

In addition to at times outright contempt for historical design styles, the new Soviet government implemented extreme limitations on religion, a position which had serious consequences for the restoration possibilities of church architecture in East Germany. The SED aimed to nationalize, and thus more closely monitor, the Protestant Church. Schools were no longer allowed to integrate teachings of the church into their lessons, and teachers that could not faithfully teach only Marxist principles were fired. In addition, students that rejected their socialist education in favor of their faith were often expelled. In

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[123] Michael Meng, "East Germany's Jewish Question: The Return and Preservation of Jewish Sites in East Berlin and Potsdam, 1945-1989," *Central European History* 38, no. 4 (2005): 606-36. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20141154.

1953 alone, more than 3000 kids were expelled from East German high schools for choosing Christianity over the communist Youth Dedication. [124] These academic incidents are good examples of the party's platform declaration that religion was not a private affair, thus blurring the line between church and state to the detriment of the former. In attempt to emphasize their inferiority, the SED warned Church officials, in historian Peter Grieder's words, against "interefer[ing] in internal matters of the state" and "adopt[ing] a hostile stance toward the GDR."[125] Furthermore, church properties became properties of the state, allowing the government to control their post-war fates. The Church did little to fight back against the Soviets' strict policies, because as historians like Richard Solberg have long pointed out, "criticism of … the occupation powers might have [had] the result of worsening conditions for members of the church rather than improving them."[126] Instead, churches were forced to rely on their parishioners on a local level for support and any restoration funds they might have acquired.

The key player in restoration debates at the national level in East Germany was SED Chairman Walter Ulbricht, the official cited in chapter one as responsible for the destruction of the Berlin Stadtschloss, the Baroque palace and statehouse of the Prussian kings and German Emperors from 1701-1918. While the Baroque had been a favored style for absolutist rulers in the territories

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[124] Richard W. Solberg, *God and Caesar in East Germany: The Conflicts of Church and State in East Germany Since 1945* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1961), 7.
[125] Grieder, *The East German Leadership,* 123.
[126] Solberg, *God and Caesar in East Germany,* 35.

that now made up East Germany, the Gothic style had been very popular there as well, as outlined in the introduction. Though not entirely dominant, as it was often merged with other traditional architectural styles, its presence was still powerful in most East German cities. But Ulbricht's tastes would matter. His authoritarian approach is often summed up by the famous quote: "it must look democratic, but we must control everything."[127] This approach, in addition to his hostile attitudes toward traditional styles of European architecture, would leave several East German Gothic churches standing in ruined condition long after the war had ended and, in some cases, permanently.

The most striking example of Ulbricht's authoritarianism is the destruction of the Dresden Sophienkirche after having allowed the ruins of its walls and towers to stand for seventeen years. Built in 1351 as a Franciscan monastery, it became the court church of the Electors of Saxony after the Reformation and, soon after the establishment of the Weimar Republic in 1919, it became the seat of the bishop of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Saxony (Figure 37).[128] At this point, it had lost some of its original Gothic features. Its façade had been redone in 1864-1868 in the wave of Neo-Gothic fervor that saw the completion of the Cologne Cathedral (discussed above). The Sophienkirche's twin steeples and aisles also date to the mid-nineteenth century.[129] The Sophienkirche was the

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[127] As cited by Grieder, *The East German Leadership,* 14.
[128] "Sophienkirche (Dresden)." *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*. Accessed 24 October 2016. https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sophienkirche_(Dresden).
[129] Ibid.

city's only surviving Gothic church going into the Second World War, when it was severely damaged by Allied air raids (Figure 38). Though immensely adored by the citizens of Dresden, Walter Ulbricht and the socialist government ultimately tore down the church's ruins in but not until 1962. Because of its highly protested fate, the Dresden Sophienkirche is a prime example of the East German post-war approach to Gothic architecture.

Dresden: 13 February 1945

The Allied bombing of Dresden was more devastating than that of Cologne in terms of both bomb tonnage and percentage of the Altstadt left in complete ruin. As a result, the city's historic center warranted even more reconstruction than most cities in the West. Up until 1945, Dresden had managed to survive most of the war unscathed. The Allies first bombed Dresden in October 1944, then again in January 1945. These attacks were minor, killing 376 people and causing relatively negligible damage to the city and its buildings. One month later, however, on February 13, 1945, the British Royal Air Force and the American Air Force dropped a total of 2,660 tons of bombs on the city.[130] Bomb technology had progressed significantly since the aforementioned raids on Cologne just three years earlier. The Allies dropped a combination of explosive and incendiary bombs on Dresden, igniting a fire so hot that the city and its people essentially melted. While the number of total deaths is contested,

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[130] Robin Neillands, *The Bomber War: The Allied Air Offensive Against Nazi Germany* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 2001), 363.

British military historian Robin Neilland estimates that about 30,000 Germans were killed in Dresden, the vast majority of whom perished in the February 13 attack.[131] In terms of damage to buildings, Dresden had "more cubic meters of rubble per capita than any other German city (Figure 39)."[132] The level destruction was not entirely unprecedented, but was certainly unanticipated because the end of the war was so near.

Though the bombing of Dresden is remembered as particularly brutal, the air raid, unlike that of Cologne, was not designated as an attack on morale.[133] As the capital of the Saxony region, Dresden served as an important military transportation target near the end of the war. Because of its geographic location on the eastern edge of Germany, Dresden was a key city for the advancement of Russian troops coming from the East.[134] According to the accounts of various British air soldiers, as collected in Robin Neillands' *The Bomber War* (2001), the British and American forces bombed Dresden to "assist the Russians … in their efforts to capture Berlin."[135] Military targets included gas mask and radar equipment factories, rather than civilians and hospitals as in Cologne. While there are not any records that directly mention the fate of the Sophienkirche during the air raid, and whether or not it was directly bombed, the level of overall

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[131] Neillands, *The Bomber War,* 358.

[132] Tony Joel, *The Dresden Firebombing: Memory and the Politics of Commemorating Destruction*. (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2013), 92.

[133] The claim that the British bombed Dresden for military reasons is highly contested, considering the attack took place so late in the war and seemed, to many, to be unnecessary. However, for the British to so openly admit their intentions at Cologne, but then obfuscate them in Dresden, it is reasonable to believe that they stated their intentions honestly, no matter how bad they were.

[134] Neillands, *The Bomber War,* 353.

[135] Ibid.

destruction in the city makes it pretty clear that the church was at minimum a case of collateral damage in the process of bombing military targets.

In a city that lost almost everything, one could assume that officials would be eager to rebuild as much of their lost culture as possible. However, as the rubble-ridden city remained untouched for years, it was clear that, despite such severe destruction, restoration was going to be a slow and highly debated process.

Reconstruction and Demolition in Dresden

The war ended just a few months later in May 1945, leaving Dresden in the new, Soviet-controlled occupation zone. The ambition to begin rebuilding the city's significant architecture, including churches like the Sophienkirche, was much slower than that of Cologne because of the Soviets need to establish both a new government and economy. The first steps of rebuilding included financing food, planning for housing and hosting what historian Anne Fuchs describes as a "political campaign for municipal elections."[136] After all, in order to establish and implement reconstruction policies, a seemingly democratic government must first be elected. Instead of physically rebuilding the architecture of the destroyed city, Ulbricht and his newly "elected" local officials focused on the immediate concerns of reconstructing housing and the reshaping of East German morale. Finding economic resources to finance necessities such as

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[136] Anne Fuchs, *After the Dresden Bombing: Pathways of Memory, 1945 to the Present* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 99.

infrastructure were naturally a high priority for the East German government, but it did not have the same fiscal benefits as the West did with the support of the international Catholic Church and a financially flourishing ally like the United States. The solution, developed by Soviet economists aimed to shift the "emphasis from heavy industry to consumer goods," so that citizens could recover their own daily lives before reinvesting in the larger Soviet economy.[137] However, the profits of all nationalized industries in the eastern German occupation zone were being used to repay Russian war reparations, so East Germany did not start receiving international aid until 1950 after it had become a full-fledged country and joined the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.[138] This delay in economic stabilization could be, in part, responsible for the lag in rebuilding of the city fabric at large and its iconic architecture in particular.

As a result of trying to organize a new local government and stable economy, the city's Altstadt remained, as historian Tony Joel put it, "a wasteland interspersed with rubble and ruin" for nearly five years.[139] However, the ruined iconic architecture of the city, though largely ignored, did continue to play a part in public displays of patriotism. Major efforts went into organizing rallies and distributing anti-Allies propaganda. For instance, each year on the 13th of February, Dresden city officials organized the annual Gedenktage

[137] Curtis, Glenn E, ed, "Post-War East Gemany," *East Germany: A Country Study* (Washington D.C.: Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress, 1992). Accessed 1 November 2016. http://www.shsu.edu/~his_ncp/EGermPW.html.

[138] Curtis, "Post-War East Germany." Accessed 1 November 2016. http://www.shsu.edu/~his_ncp/EGermPW.html.

[139] Joel, *The Dresden Firebombing,* 90.

(Remembrance Day) rally, typically located in front of the ruins of the bombed Baroque Frauenkirche (1726-43), the city's most iconic church.[140] Much like the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial in Berlin, the ruins of the Frauenkirche stood as a reminder of the devastation that war brings, making the rubble the perfect setting to unify East German survivors in their newfound nationalism, collectively rallying against the barbarism of the West in particular rather than the war in general.

Thoughts regarding the modernization of Dresden were much more prevalent among the civic community than pleas for restoration. As Fuchs put it: "The construction of a new Dresden was perceived as the unique opportunity to map political ideology into all aspects of planning."[141] Though Ulbricht's modern opinions ultimately prevailed as a single authoritarian voice, he was not alone; many other officials believed in similar progressive ideals. In 1946, Lord Mayor Walter Weidauer (1899-1986) addressed the citizens of Dresden, asking "What is the point of tradition, if it puts people in a straightjacket, if they have to live without standard commodities and exposed to diseases?"[142] In essence, the city's leadership was telling his people that they had a choice between a new city with amenities that looked toward the future, or a soiled, disorderly city that unnecessarily respected the past. This may seem extreme, but the citizens of Dresden appeared to embrace the modern changes being proposed by the government, even going so far as to input their own ideas. When Ulbricht

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[140] Joel, *The Dresden Firebombing,* 94.
[141] Fuchs, After the Dresden Bombing, 99.
[142] Fuchs, After the Dresden Bombing, 100.

expressed dissatisfaction with the urban planning proposals of local architects, the ordinary citizens of Dresden actually sent their designs into a local newspaper; Fuchs describes them as consisting of "detailed written submissions … often accompanied by sketches and drawings."[143] None of these stipulated the preservation of the city's cultural heritage. While the totalitarian government was not inclined to adopt the plans of its citizens in any case, this instance documents the allegiance of Dresden residents to the dominating government and its new, progressive policies.

German city planner Kurt Leucht (1913-1999) echoed the anti-historicist sentiments of Ulbricht and the SED by arguing that Dresden's new city plan should "[seek] little or no inspiration from the past."[144] Furthermore, in 1950, the Dresden city planning office composed an inventory of post-war buildings, placing them into categories according to their level of destruction. Of the thirty-one historical buildings surveyed, only seven were deemed worthy of reconstruction for "cultural preservation" purposes.[145] Only three churches fell into this small group: the Annenkirche, the Kreuzkirche and the Hofkirche, all three of which were built in the Baroque style. The uniquely Gothic Sophienkirche, however, was left off the list.

The Gothic shell of the Sophienkirche stood for nearly twenty years after bombing of Dresden (Figure 37). In the hands of the Dresden city planning office, its fate was rather ambiguous. Ulbricht, however, disliked the church

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[143] Fuchs, After the Dresden Bombing, 94.
[144] Fuchs, After the Dresden Bombing, 101.
[145] Ibid.

immensely, and made sure to voice his opinions each time he visited Dresden. Unlike other members of the SED's politburo, or policymaking committee, Ulbricht did not see German reunification as an eventual goal. [146] Thus, architectural styles that emulated traditional German culture, as it was once understood before the creation of the two Germanys, were deemed unnecessary, and Ulbricht constantly singled out the Gothic style for condemnation. According to Ulbricht, "a socialist city [did] not need Gothic churches."[147] In his rejection of the style, he tacitly agreed with others, such as Gerhard Strauss: the Gothic represented the national character of pre-war Germany, and progression towards the socialist future was more important than honoring a former, unitary German culture simply on the basis of "age value" (see Chapter 1).

About a decade after the end of the war, the first rumors of the Sophienkirche's demolition began to circulate. In 1956, articles appeared in the Sächsische Zeitung (Saxon Newspaper) that seem to confirm what Ulbricht had said in official speeches in which he mentioned demolishing the church. The mere possibility of tearing down the cathedral caused an uproar among the city's traditionalists and forward-thinking citizens alike. The cathedral's pastor, Karl-Ludwig Hoch (1929-2015), protested the demolition in a letter to the SED,

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[146] Grieder, *The East German Leadership*, 14.

[147] "Sophienkirche (Dresden)." Accessed 24 October 2016. https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sophienkirche_(Dresden).

arguing that losing the church would be a "culturally hostile barbarity."[148] Hence, at least this Protestant clergyman equated the restoration policies of the East German SED with the Americans and the Allies, the "barbarians" against whom many of the Gedenktage observances were directed. In addition, students at the Dresden Technical University distributed flyers around the city that said, "Save the Sophienkirche, before it's too late!" in an attempt to raise awareness for the cathedral's destruction.[149] Though this East German cathedral did not have the same level of fervent support that the Cologne Cathedral had, there was clearly a degree of opposition among the general public.

Because the powerful SED was primarily focused on restoring the strength of the East German economy, and because Ulbricht harbored a personal animus for the Gothic style per se, the protests to save the church were ineffectual. The city planning office outlined the development of a large, modern-style restaurant on the site of the Sophienkirche's ruins called the Am Zwinger, honoring the nearby Zwinger Palace (Figure 40). Completely ignoring petitions by the Dresden Heritage Institute and the Technical University, the SED forcibly took ownership of the church on October 28, 1962, offering the Landeskirche (the local Lutheran organizational body) DM 160,000 in return.[150]

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[148] "Sophienkirche (Dresden)." Accessed 24 October 2016.
https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sophienkirche_(Dresden).
[149] Ibid.
[150] Busmannkapelle, "Chronology." Accessed 24 October 2016.
http://www.busmannkapelle.de/index.php?PHPSESSID=8f6b342b1371c60c2a682f56c3190b10
&page=timetable.

Demolition of the church began immediately, and was completed on April 30th, 1963.[151]

Despite the efforts of Ulbricht and the SED to eradicate the Sophienkirche, the years following the church's destruction teemed with memories of the cathedral. As the foundation work for the new Am Zwinger restaurant began, construction workers found over seventy tombs and several underground treasuries from the lost church. They were literally unearthing the city's Catholic, monastic past in the bodily remains of the Franciscan brothers and, most likely, lay patrons such as the late medieval Busmann family. The Heritage Institute examined the graves and found three-hundred-year-old gold and silver goods, which the local government immediately claimed for the city's museums. [152] This situation offers yet another counter example to West Germany, where relics were given back to their respective churches after reconstruction. As noted in chapter two, the Shrine of the Three Magis, was returned to Cologne Cathedral in a particularly reverent, ritual fashion. It is not surprising that the controlling SED, with its general disdain for religion, would not follow these practices, but rather keep their findings in the hands of government-owned facilities where their cultic meaning would be forgotten. After finally removing each of the tombs and precious metal goods, construction of the restaurant commenced once more. The excavation findings delayed the opening of the restaurant for four years, until, in 1967, it was completed, leaving

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[151] Ibid.

[152] "Sophienkirche (Dresden)." Accessed 24 October 2016.
https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sophienkirche_(Dresden).

the site without a single trace, neither above nor belowground, of the former Gothic church.

Twenty-First-Century Memorial

After nearly three decades of SED control, East Germany was reunified with West Germany on October 3, 1990. As a result, cities in Germany found a renewed interest in the united culture and the symbols that they shared. In Dresden, recovery for ruined churches began, not with the now lost (but not forgotten) Gothic Sophienkirche, but with the Baroque Frauenkirche, an ambitious church sometimes dubbed the Protestant St. Peter's, which had been obliterated in the 1945 bombing (Figure 41).[153] Because the Frauenkirche was the city's most iconic church, promoters were able to secure regional and federal funding for a complete reconstruction of the church.[154] An organization was established, the Foundation for Rebuilding the Dresden Frauenkirche (founded 1992) to coordinate the fundraising and oversee the reconstruction.[155] The rebuilt Frauenkirche was opened to patriotic fanfare in 2006, the year that the city celebrated the 800th anniversary of its founding. The city did not ignore the Gothic Sophienkirche's plight entirely, however. In 1994, the year in which

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[153] Barbara Marx, "From Protestant Fortress to Baroque Apotheosis: Dresden from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century," in *Embodiments of Power: Building Baroque Cities in Europe*, edited by Gary B. Cohen, Franz A.J. Szabo (New York and Oxford: Bergham Books, 2008), 155.

[154] The Frauenkirche was reconstructed from 1992-2005, using as many original church fragments as possible. "Frauenkirche Dresden." Accessed 7 November 2016. http://www.frauenkirche-dresden.de/en/reconstruction/.

[155] "Frauenkirche Dresden." Accessed 7 November 2016. http://www.frauenkirche-dresden.de/en/reconstruction/.

the rebuilding of the Frauenkirche began, the city council of Dresden determined to restore the historical site of the Sophienkirche, not the building, to visibility (*Sichtbarmachung*), a rather ambivalent commitment.[156] With the support of the Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen (State Conservation Office of Saxony), the city announced a competition for entries open to artists and architects, which the German architectural firm Gustav and Lungwitz won in 1995 for their project called the Busmannkapelle. In 1998, on the model of the Frauenkirche Foundation, the Society for the Promotion of a Memorial for the Sophienkirche was founded.[157] Although smaller and less active than that of the Frauenkirche, the Society shepherded the efforts to commemorate its lost Gothic icon. The Society, still in operation today, is responsible for the preservation of pieces of material that were salvaged after the church's destruction and the ongoing commemoration of the cathedral in the minds of Dresdeners.

Working within a more physically limited urban site than the Frauenkirche enjoyed, Gustav and Lungwitz designed a memorial in the form of partial rebuilding of the Sophienkirche. They memorialized the church by "reconstituting" a small side chapel built by the Busmann family in ca. 1400, which once sat to the right of the southern apse of the Franciscan church (Figure 42). Gustav and Lungwitz designed the memorial as a series of

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[156] Wikipedia, "Gedenkstätte Busmannkapelle." Note 1: Gerhard Glaser, "Die Gedenkstätte Sophienkirche. Ein Ort der Trauer, ein Ort gegen das Vergessen," in *Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Sophienkirche*, Special volume, *Die Dresdner Frauenkirche. Jahrbuch zu ihrer Geschichte und Gegenwart* 3 (2009): 195. Accessed 25 October 2016.
https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gedenkst%C3%A4tte_Busmannkapelle.
[157] Bussmankapelle, "Chronology." Accessed 24 October 2016.
http://www.busmannkapelle.de/index.php?PHPSESSID=8f6b342b1371c60c2a682f56c3190b10&page=timetable.

freestanding columns that lead up to a Gothic "apse" (Figure 43). The structure is made of concrete but it showcases stone fragments of the original Sophienkirche somewhat randomly framing the newly constructed Gothic windows (Figure 44). Though it is still under construction today, the intention for the design is to wrap the memorial in glass, as if to freeze the structure in time (Figure 45).[158] This idea of architecture as a "memorial" behind glass has a much different connotation than monuments that are reconstructed as if they were never gone. The encasing of Busmannkapelle seems to convey an inferior status in comparison to the Frauenkirche which, when given the honor of being rebuilt in its entirety, symbolizes an immortal prestige. Instead, the museum-ified Sophienkirche ruins commemorate not the church but its destruction, suggesting that the church, once worth preserving, now existed only outside of time.

It was perhaps a sign of how deeply the SED's aversion to Gothic had settled into the fabric of eastern Germany that the Society for the Promotion of a Memorial for the Sophienkirche faced many difficulties in getting Gustav and Lungwitz's memorial constructed. In fact, many obstacles the Society faced recall the experience of traditionalists who argues for the preservation of the original Sophienkirche in the 1950s. For instance, when the Society applied for access to the property, the local government denied them a building permit, arguing that the 1962 expropriation of the land was, legally, still in effect. It was

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[158] "Gedenkstätte Busmannkapelle." Accessed 25 October 2016.
https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gedenkst%C3%A4tte_Busmannkapelle.

not until 2001 that the land was granted by the City Council, and even then construction did not start until 2008 due to a lack of funding.[159] The continued conflict surrounding the Sophienkirche in the twenty-first century highlights the persistence of ambivalent attitudes toward the past as well as the influence Ulbricht exerted on the mentality of city planning offices long beyond his control of the SED.

An interesting enduring effect of the indifference to the Sophienkirche is the lack of detailed information on the subject. Scholarly studies on the Cathedral in the twentieth century are rare, especially in English, a situation quite unlike West German architectural icons like Cologne Cathedral. The Society for the Promotion of a Memorial for the Sophienkirche has published a small journal in German since 2010 called the *Blätter zur Geschichte der Sophienkirche Dresden* ("Papers for the History of the Sophienkirche, Dresden)*, but the closest it has come to an article on the post-war preservation issues was "Erinnerungen an den Abbruch der Kriegsruine der Sophienkirche in Dresden 1962-1964: Vortrag zur Mitgliederversammlung am 1. Dezember 2012" by Heinrich Margirius.[160] Further evidence of the lack of interest even in German scholarship is seen in the reprinting in 2015 of a 1912 monograph on the Sophienkirche without revision.[161] The disregard for the Sophienkirche in English literature may reflect the importance of East German Modernism, as there are

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[159] Busmannkapelle, "Chronology."
[160] English translation: "Memories of the demolition of the war ruins of the Sophienkirche in Dresden 1962-1964: Lecture on the General Assembly on 1 December 2012"
[161] Robert Bruck, *Die Sophienkirche in Dresden, ihre Geschichte und ihre Kunstschätze* (1912; Paderborn: Salzwasser Verlag, 2015).

countless titles on the subject. Though Modernism was a dominant architectural style in the post-war GDR, its preeminence in academia seems disproportionate, especially when one considers the virtual absence of works on historical monuments such as the Sophienkirche. Ulbricht's legacy of indifference to the past seems to have translated into twenty- and twenty-first-century scholarship.

Other East German Cathedrals

Dresden was just one of many East German cities where local governments faced the decision of rebuilding versus destroying their historic, iconic architecture, yet the outcome for Gothic buildings was similarly, if not more, bleak elsewhere in the country. Support for architectural preservation waned in the 1960s across the GDR, and another example of brutality aimed specifically at the Gothic style can be found in Leipzig, perhaps not surprisingly, Ulbricht's birthplace.[162] Like Dresden, Leipzig was primarily concerned with economic reconstruction in the post-war years, and religious activities were considered secondary to the benefits of commercial ventures. The victim this time was the Paulinerkirche (1231), a Gothic Dominican church turned Catholic collegiate church (after 1409), then Protestant collegiate church on the University of Leipzig campus in 1545, only to fall four centuries later to Ulbricht's

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[162] On the swinging pendulum of support for preservation in East Germany, see Meng, "East Germany's Jewish Question," 624-625.

desire to have a socialist university (Figure 46). [163] Students and professors used the Paulinerkirche, also known as the Universitätskirche St. Pauli, as both a place of worship and a lecture hall. Unlike the Dresden Sophienkirche, the Paulinerkirche was not bombed in the air raid visited upon the city in 1943; it survived the war still standing, but the university buildings around it were in ruins. [164]

Damage from the bombardment was relatively negligible compared to other cities, as the death toll measured a mere 1,800 (compared to Dresden's 30,000). [165] The city center emerged in better condition than Cologne or Dresden, but it did face ample destruction of housing. While the church itself did not warrant any restoration, its fate was sealed by the city's post-war "improvements." Because Ulbricht and the SED saw post-war reconstruction as an opportunity to rebuild cities as socialist showcases, which meant a modern style, the entire city of Leipzig was being redesigned. The city's planning committee, heavily influenced by Ulbricht, introduced a redevelopment of the University to make the campus "more beautiful." [166] The new plan included the destruction of the Paulinerkirche seemingly because it was a religious edifice (ignoring its history as a university lecture hall) rather than a secular cultural building like the opera house Ulbricht liked to frequent. He is even quoted during a visit to Leipzig as exclaiming, "That thing must go away! When I come out of

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[163] The Paulinerkirche is also known as the Universitätskirche St. Pauli.

[164] "Death Sentence for the University Church, Walter Ulbricht: 'That thing must go!'" Heute im Osten. Accessed 3 November 2016, http://www.mdr.de/damals/archiv/artikel91872.html.

[165] Neillands. *The Bomber War,* 286.

[166] Joel, *The Dresden Firebombing,* 312 n.43.

the opera, I do not want to see a church!"[167] Perhaps faithful to a strict

interpretation of communist ideology, Ulbricht was happy to see a traditional

system of belief supplanted by a "religion" of the state with its own temples of

culture like opera houses and theatres. Thus, on May 30, 1968, five years after

the demolition of the Dresden Sophienkirche, the Paulinerkirche in Leipzig was

torn down with dynamite (Figure 47).[168] The church's Gothic altarpiece, the

fifteenth-century Paulineraltar, however, was removed from the church before

demolition and placed in the local Romanesque-Gothic blended

Thomaskirche.[169] This may seem counterintuitive given the SED's view on

religion, but because the University owned the piece, it is likely that Ulbricht

allowed the altar to escape destruction for educational purposes, or perhaps to

maintain good relationships with the University as a socialist institution.[170]

The Paulinerkirche is an important example that enhances the reality of

the anti-Gothic policies enacted in Dresden because it highlights the extension

of Ulbricht's ideologies past the direct need of post-war reconstruction. The

Sophienkirche was legitimately damaged, making an argument for destruction at

least somewhat feasible, while the Paulinerkirche was not affected by the war

and should not have been a part of any reconstruction debates. To Ulbricht,

post-war reconstruction was simply an excuse to carry out urban

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[167] "Death Sentence for the University Church." Accessed 3 November 2016,
http://www.mdr.de/damals/archiv/artikel91872.html.
[168] "Paulinerkirche, Leipzig," *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*. Accessed 1 November 2016.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paulinerkirche,_Leipzig.
[169] Ibid.
[170] "The Paulineraltar is Again at the Augustusplatz." Stadt Leipzig. Accessed 7 November 2016.
http://www.leipzig.de/news/news/der-paulineraltar-steht-wieder-am-augustusplatz/.

redevelopment plans, whether or not certain sectors of the city, such as the University and its Paulinerkirche, were damaged.

In Leipzig much as in Dresden, German reunification in 1990 brought the realization that historical architecture lost to post-war ideological restoration policies, including the Paulinerkirche, needed to be memorialized. In 2003, German Nobel Prize winner in physiology Günter Blobel (1936-present), argued specifically for the rebuilding of the demolished Paulinerkirche, saying, "This is more than a church – this is a shrine of German cultural history."[171] The State of Saxony, the city of Leipzig, and the University joined forces to host a competition for the addition of new campus buildings and a redesign of the Paulinerkirche. In 2004, the design of Rotterdam architect Erick van Egeraat (1956-present) was selected for the rebuilding of the new church.[172] In an attempt to merge the functions of a University and a church once again, the reconstruction of the new Paulinerkirche (begun in 2009 and still ongoing) will serve as both a worship space and an assembly hall, the same two functions that the previous church held before its implosion.[173]

In spite of itself, Van Egeratt's contemporary interpretation of the old Paulinerkirche is a pure example of the lingering attitude towards the debate of modernism versus historicism that the SED engrained so deeply in the policies

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[171] "Paulinerkirche, Leipzig." Accessed 1 November 2016.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paulinerkirche,_Leipzig.
[172] "600 Years of University Construction History at Augustusplatz." Universität Leipzig.
Accessed 7 November 2016. https://www.zv.uni-leipzig.de/en/university/profile-and-management/developments/construction-projects.html
[173] "Paulinerkirche, Leipzig." Accessed 1 November 2016.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paulinerkirche,_Leipzig.

of post-war architects. The extremely modern façade of the new Paulinerkirche, which exploits substantial amounts of glass, resembles the original iconic Gothic structure only in its steep pitched-roof silhouette, a profile typical of the Gothic in the eastern provinces of Germany (Figure 48). The interior, with its late Gothic stellar vaulting rendered in present-day materials, is a modern, white washed imitation of what one was (Figure 49). With the recent return of the Paulineraltar to the Paulinerkirche in 2014, the new white interior provides a stark, blank canvas against which to view ornate medieval art, the Gothic depictions of Christ and the apostles in both painted and sculpted forms (Figure 50).[174] But the contrast of the architectural setting and the Gothic altarpiece only serves to highlight the bitter and long struggles between those in favor of sensitive preservation policies and those deliberately or indifferently against them. While the ample, and debatably excessive, amount of glass on the façade does, in fact, honor the tradition of abundant light inherent to the Gothic style, the complete disregard for authentic materials and details such as local stone and window tracery demonstrates the supremacy of Modernism, as once blindly promoted by Ulbricht, even in the midst of an edifice designed to pay respect to the medieval past.

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[174] "The Paulineraltar is Again at the Augustusplatz." Accessed 7 November 2016. http://www.leipzig.de/news/news/der-paulineraltar-steht-wieder-am-augustusplatz/.

Contempt for Gothic in East Germany

The demolition of the Dresden Sophienkirche and the Leipzig Paulinerkirche are just a few of ten or so examples of post-war Gothic destruction across East Germany. While historian Michael Meng suggests that East German preservationists followed traditional guidelines in respecting Germany's cultural heritage by safeguarding town halls, the houses of the well-to-do, and churches, my study finds that Gothic churches in the East were reconstructed with considerably less vigor and enthusiasm than churches designed in other styles. In fact, they were often the targets of mindless architectural violence. Dresden's Baroque Kreuzkirche (begun 1765), for instance, was reopened by 1955 for regularly scheduled services. Although conservation efforts in the church persisted well into the 1990s, the church's less-than-ideal conditions did not persuade the government to tear it down, unlike the Sophienkirche that lay in a similar, partially damaged condition after the war. Berlin's neoclassical St. Hedwig (begun 1747) was reconstructed from 1952-1963. Serving as the seat of Berlin's Catholic archbishop, the cathedral, designed by Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff, was an early example neoclassical architecture in a city which would become well-known for the style with architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel at the helm of the Prussian Building Commission. Its dome, modeled after that of the Roman Pantheon, signaled the presence of the Catholic Church in Berlin, a first after the Reformation. Despite Catholicism's minority in Berlin, the church was rebuilt shortly after the war, without rebuttal from the government. Potsdam's war-damaged neoclassical

Nikolaikirche (begun 1830) designed by Schinkel, began reconstruction in 1955. Painstaking efforts were made to reconstruct and improve the structure of the church, including its iconic dome, which was an important part of the Potsdam skyline. Work was slow, however, as the church finally reopened for services only in 1981, and construction continued until 2010. Even the Baroque Potsdam Synagogue was rebuilt to "repeal the 'cultural barbarism' of the Nazis" during a wave of philosemitism.[175] These are just a few examples of the many non-Gothic religious edifices in East Germany that received the reconstruction efforts that they warranted. Clearly, anti-ecclesiastical sentiment did not stop churches in other styles from being rebuilt.[176]

In the face of this evidence, it is hard not to conclude that Gothic was the only architectural style that was consistently targeted by Ulbricht and the SED for antagonistic treatment. While one might be inclined to think that Gothic destruction in the GDR was the result of one man's stylistic preferences, which is quite possible given the centralized government of which he was a towering figure, I would argue that it was also the consequence of a nationalistic rejection of Western cultures (i.e., the former Allied Powers, including the United States, and other countries now part of Western Europe like Italy and West Germany), through an architectural style that they created and still valued. By destroying

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[175] Meng, "East Germany's Jewish Question," 630.

[176] While Meng seems to suggest that these sentiments did not affect church building at all, it is important to note that one of his sources only covers preservation efforts up to 1933. Another problem with his argument is that he claims that six million marks were "supplied" for the reconstruction of "336 'culturally important churches,'" but does not highlight how many of these projects were actually executed. Meng, "East Germany's Jewish Question," 624-5.

Gothic churches, the socialist East German government rejected a style developed in France, historically one of their greatest political enemies. Not only did the style originate in France, but it then became the chosen style of the British monarchy, used in both Westminster Abbey, begun in 1245, and the Gothic Revival British Houses of Parliament, begun in 1840 (Figure 51). Later in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, elite American universities such as Princeton and Yale adopted the style for collegiate purposes in imitation of historical English institutions like Oxford and Cambridge (Figure 52). Thus, as suggested by East Germany's hostile attitude toward its Gothic heritage in the post-war period, the style had arguably emerged as an architectural symbol of the Western Allies.

While Allied nations also had examples of Baroque and neoclassical architecture in their countries, some of the most prestigious religious, political and institutional buildings that were in the Gothic style.[177] The socialist East used the demolition of the style (as showcased by the Sophienkirche and Paulinerkirche examples above) as part of an effort to *create* a new national identity for itself distinct from, and superior to, that of their former peers in the West. It is even possible to view the conspicuous annihilation of the Gothic as a sort of propaganda against the republican FRG, a country and culture known for being more focused on saving their cultural heritage (including Gothic cathedrals) as well as moving forward architecturally and technologically.

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[177] Perhaps this is a result of the Gothic being a purely European style that originated with ecclesiastical architecture, unlike other styles that had roots in classical architecture, which was not associated with the church.

This contempt towards the Gothic style, much like Ulbricht's positions on preservation, originated in Soviet Russia. Before the 1917 Russian Revolution, rulers including Catherine the Great and Alexander I embraced the Gothic style during its early nineteenth century revival and implemented it in building projects across the city of Moscow. Even Lenin saw the value of the country's historical architecture without regard to style (as mentioned above). As the Revolution approached, however, a growing malice toward Western architectural styles, which Russia had eagerly imported since the Renaissance, began to influence the country's architectural theory. Any affiliations with the West were "conducted under the mantle of secrecy," according to Russian architectural historian Dmitry Shvidkovsky, as the Soviet government strived to develop a new uniquely "Russian" model for architecture and urban planning strategies. Politicians and architectural theorists alike argued for a radical change from the former "foreign models." [178] Shvidkovsky claims that "according to the Communist utopian ideal, the environment of everyday life had to be radically changed [and] a complete break with the past was held to be imperative."[179] Constructivist architecture (1920-1932) supplied the desired modern forms by utilizing advanced technology and materials, such as steel and glass, to promote a new aesthetic for an increasingly social purpose (Figure 53). Vladimir Tatlin's Monument to the Third International, though never built, serves as a clear example of the extreme shift that the Russians were searching for (Figure

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[178] Dmitry Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 357.
[179] Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture,* 357.

54). In this socialist environment, prominent Russian architect and educator Ivan Fomin dismissed any use of "overloaded and tawdry ornamentation," which is a phrase that many would use to describe the Gothic as well as other medieval styles, such as Byzantine, Islamic and Moorish modes which were not unusual in pre-war churches and synagogues.[180] While these ideals paved the way for the Constructivist movement in Russian architecture, they had, though not explicitly, condemned the Gothic style. Furthermore, one of the "fundamental changes" that the Constructivist period sponsored was the demolition of ecclesiastical buildings for the sake of new construction. "Two thirds of all churches … were destroyed" to make way for the architecture that promoted the new, socialist lifestyle.[181] Ulbricht, though born and raised in Germany, moved to Moscow to attend the International Lenin School in 1924, where he received his socialist training precisely during the time in which Constructivism was the most advanced and modern style, and when the demolition of churches was both common and acceptable practice.[182]

But in this period of blatant rejection, favor towards "order based forms" (i.e. classical) grew into a new wave of streamlined classicism that came to fruition in the 1930s under Stalin.[183] "Stalinist architecture" (1933-1955) was a

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[180] Vladimir Paperny, *Architecture in the Age of Stalin: Culture Two,* trans. John Hill and Roann Barris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 19. On the neglect of synagogues in these styles, see Meng, "East Germany's Jewish Question," pp. 620-628. It is safe to assume that if there were any Byzantine churches in the GDR, they would share a similar fate to Gothic style churches.

[181] Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture*, 358.

[182] "Walter Ulbricht." *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*. Accessed 15 November 2016. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Walter_Ulbricht.

[183] Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture*, 359.

style that condemned the excessive ornament of the past, in favor of monumental forms with slight historicizing undertones (Figure 55). There are even a few examples of "pseudo-Gothic" architecture built under Stalin. The "Seven Sisters" (Figure 56) are a series of skyscrapers in Moscow that incorporate Gothic elements such as spires and ornamented towers, not unlike some turn-of-the-century skyscrapers in the United States (e.g., the Woolworth Building in New York, 1910-12). [184] Though Stalinist architecture was largely developed after Ulbricht's time in Moscow, it infiltrated Berlin in the late 1930s, further subjecting future East German leaders like Ulbricht to its influence.

In spite of two decades of Stalinist building projects in the Eastern Block, it is not unreasonable to speculate that the Russian and Soviet polemics surrounding historical styles of the 1920s laid the foundation for Ulbricht's policies, because he had spent his formative years in the pre-Stalinist Soviet Union. Upon leading the SED, the "general destruction of historical monuments," including churches, was simply the standard that Ulbricht had absorbed from Constructivist architecture, and the eradication of a highly-ornamented, Western-developed style was a natural translation of Soviet architectural policies to the new Eastern German state.[185]

It was not until the late 1970s, undoubtedly as a result of Ulbricht's death in 1973, that the establishment of citizen-run cultural organizations began to

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[184] In comparison to the primacy of Constructivist and Neoclassical theory and practice in the early twentieth century, these few projects with Gothic elements are negligible and are not enough to suggest an acceptance of Western style, especially as they are merged with Baroque and Neoclassical elements.
[185] Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture,* 357.

actively fight for religious restoration practices.[186] A group known as the Aktion Sühnezeichen, or Action Reconciliation Service for Peace, started "creating a dialogue" between religious groups (of all denominations) and the GDR in order to promote the reconstruction of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish sites.[187] While these groups made small advances in the years up to Reunification, larger scale changes in restoration policy took place in the 1990s across the former East Germany, with the establishment of more groups like the Foundation for Rebuilding the Dresden Frauenkirche. Since Reunification, reconstruction in eastern Germany has been steadily increasing in an attempt to memorialize the part of their culture lost in the twentieth century.

Government controlled reconstruction ideology and the exclusion of citizens in restoration decisions and practices certainly hindered monumental rebuilding and national healing through heritage preservation in East Germany. Ulbricht's Soviet foundational training paved the way for a highly ideological and politicized reconstruction culture (in both necessary and unnecessary post-war planning projects). The examples at Dresden and Leipzig underscore the growing desire for modern socialist cities at the expense of historic religious icons such as Gothic cathedrals as well as post-Reunification efforts to remember them in the face of their absence.

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186 Meng, "East Germany's Jewish Question," 630.
187 Meng, "East Germany's Jewish Question" 628.

Conclusion

This comparative study of the architectural preservation practices of East and West Germany has assessed how glaring political and social discrepancies emerged from a shared theoretical and architectural context, and how, despite their common ecclesiastical and cultural backgrounds, they arrived at post-war reconstruction decisions much differently from one another. On the one hand, the restoration policies of West Germany's constitutional republic, though at times not entirely consistent throughout the country, invited architects and citizens of destroyed cities to take an active role in the redesigning and rebuilding of their lives. The West German Altstädte were, therefore, rebuilt to the satisfaction of a majority of their residents. On the other hand, the socialist East Germany was primarily rebuilt according to the dictates of one governmental ministry, specifically to the vision of one central leader in that bureau who took little notice of the opinions of citizens or architects. As a result, the eastern Altstädte are not necessarily a reflection of the values of East German architects, preservationists or civilians. In fact, the decisions made by the SED were too often diametrically opposed to what citizens desired. While a variety of social and economic priorities were in play across both post-war societies, the evidence of the cases examined in this thesis demonstrates that the primary driver for reconstruction decisions essentially boiled down to a difference in political control.

One key factor underscored by this research is that the German people essentially lost the war and thus not only had cities and towns to rebuilt but also had something to prove. In both the FRG and the GDR, either the historic preservation or the modern redesign of cities became an outlet for resuscitating and promoting a culture that the war had deemed inferior to others such as England, France, the United States and the USSR. While the sheer scale of the destruction and the post-war period of foreign occupation undoubtedly combined to shape restoration policies in the two countries, it is worth noting that the defeated Germans were trying to rebuild a respectable, valued, and truly authentic "German" culture with their herculean efforts in reconstruction, and that outside influences, such as Lenin's admiration for historic architecture, could only go so far.

Equally clear is the fact that at least two very different ideas of what it meant to be "German" emerged in the post-war era, and this study draws attention to how the act of rebuilding mirrored the respective cultures each nation sought to create or recreate. In the West, the idea of German heritage included historical religious ideals, however turbulent sectarian differences may have been in the pre-modern period, and these manifested themselves in the reconstruction of churches throughout the country. The Catholic and Protestant Churches promoted the "rebuilding of the soul" as something equally as important and the rebuilding of cities, and the two usually ended up working hand in hand in post-war reconstruction as Christians believed it was their spiritual duty to assist in community service projects such as restoring

churches. East Germany, however, promoted its new ideal socialist Germanness with the modernization of its cities and the protection of civic cultural monuments such as opera houses and universities over places of worship. Socialist leaders did not need churches to serve as the "billboards" of a spiritual revolution, thus they were not looking to reconstruct symbols of religious allegiance that challenged the dominance of the SED. Furthermore, the FRG was a culture that sought, and did eventually regain, acceptance within the international community, while the socialist GDR wanted very little to do with the outside world beyond the bounds of the Iron Curtain, or at least their Soviet overlords strictly controlled access to that world. The architectural and preservation works within these regions acted as symbols to promote their respective desires for unity and isolation. The international gathering of leaders, prelates, and citizens at Cologne satisfied the West German ambition for European affirmation, and the demolition in Dresden served to denounce the customs of the West.

The concept of historical continuity is one that was also handled dramatically different between the FRG and GDR. In their attempt to condemn Hitler and revert to a pre-Nazi past, West Germans made painstaking efforts to restore their magnificent cathedrals to a pre-war state. Monuments like the Cologne Cathedral, which was once actually celebrated by Hitler and used for public Nazi demonstrations in the 1930s, was rebuilt so quickly and passionately and with such fidelity to their pre-war origins so as to obliterate the memories of any National Socialist presence, however brief it had been. East Germans,

though also aspiring to distance themselves from the historical evils of the Nazi party, tore down churches that had no connection to Hitler at all as if they were undeniable symbols of some kind of contagion. This ironic twist demonstrates that the idea of historical continuity, often the battle cry of post-war German preservationists, was a complex and often irrelevant part of post-war reconstruction. The act of restoring culturally identified buildings can either help mend embattled national identities in post-war societies or, depending on which edifices are selected for reconstruction, it can attempt to redraw the present in a different mold from the past.

The Gothic style in post-war reconstruction posed questions about the past, which East and West Germans alike had to answer, as the style was developed over centuries in their common pre-war heritage. While the style proved to be indispensable to the West's vision of its future, the same was not true in East Germany. Yet, the themes of individuality and exuberance, as embodied in the Gothic (as discussed in Chapter 1) clearly operated with equal force in both nations. In the FRG, the unique aesthetic of the style promoted the distinctiveness of each Altstadt, drawing on Germany's long pre-modern history as a culture made up of independent political principalities until unification under a modern nation-state in 1871. Meanwhile, in the GDR, the Gothic seems to emerge in the post-war period as an architectural "other" among the classical power buildings of the past and modern Stalinist designs of the present and future. Its stark difference to other styles was perceived as standing in direct opposition to the socialist ideals that the SED advanced as the sole doctrine of

East Germany. Perhaps the very individualism fostered by medieval Gothic made it easy for the style to become polarizing in the twentieth century. This characteristic facilitated the integration of the style into the searches for cultural identity as discussed above, and was exploited by each government in its respective post-war rebuilding policies.

The study of post-war reconstruction in any time period is one that benefits the theoretical study of architectural history, and by extension the study of human nature of decision-making. Not only does confronting the "morality" of built environments and deciding what should be done to reconstitute them contribute to our knowledge of the past, but it also allows modern cultures to be prepared for destruction resulting from future wars, and to better understand what is valued and therefore deserving of a country's economic resources for restoration. While a cultural gap obviously separates present-day Western countries and mid-twentieth-century Germany, this study serves as a guide to how countries have made post-war rebuilding decisions after one of the world's most destructive wars, and what roles we might allow our executive governments, building departments and civilians to play in future decisions. As this research shows, involvement from all levels, as done in West Germany, is crucial to restoring a holistic identity that represents the many diverse lives within a culture. Even in a global, culturally homogenizing environment, local initiative is still critical. By simply allowing a centralized government to make decisions for a much larger population, cultures risk losing their heritage piece by piece until they eventually have to settle for small memorials, old

photographs and inadequate Wikipedia pages. In the United States, local and state historical preservation departments are the first line of defense against overarching policies. Restoration, whether Gothic or Baroque, German or American, post-war or otherwise, is an investment that we, as a human culture, cannot afford to overlook, and one that defines both who we were in our past heritage and who we want to be in our future culture.

Figures

Figure 1. Percentages of German cities destroyed after World War II
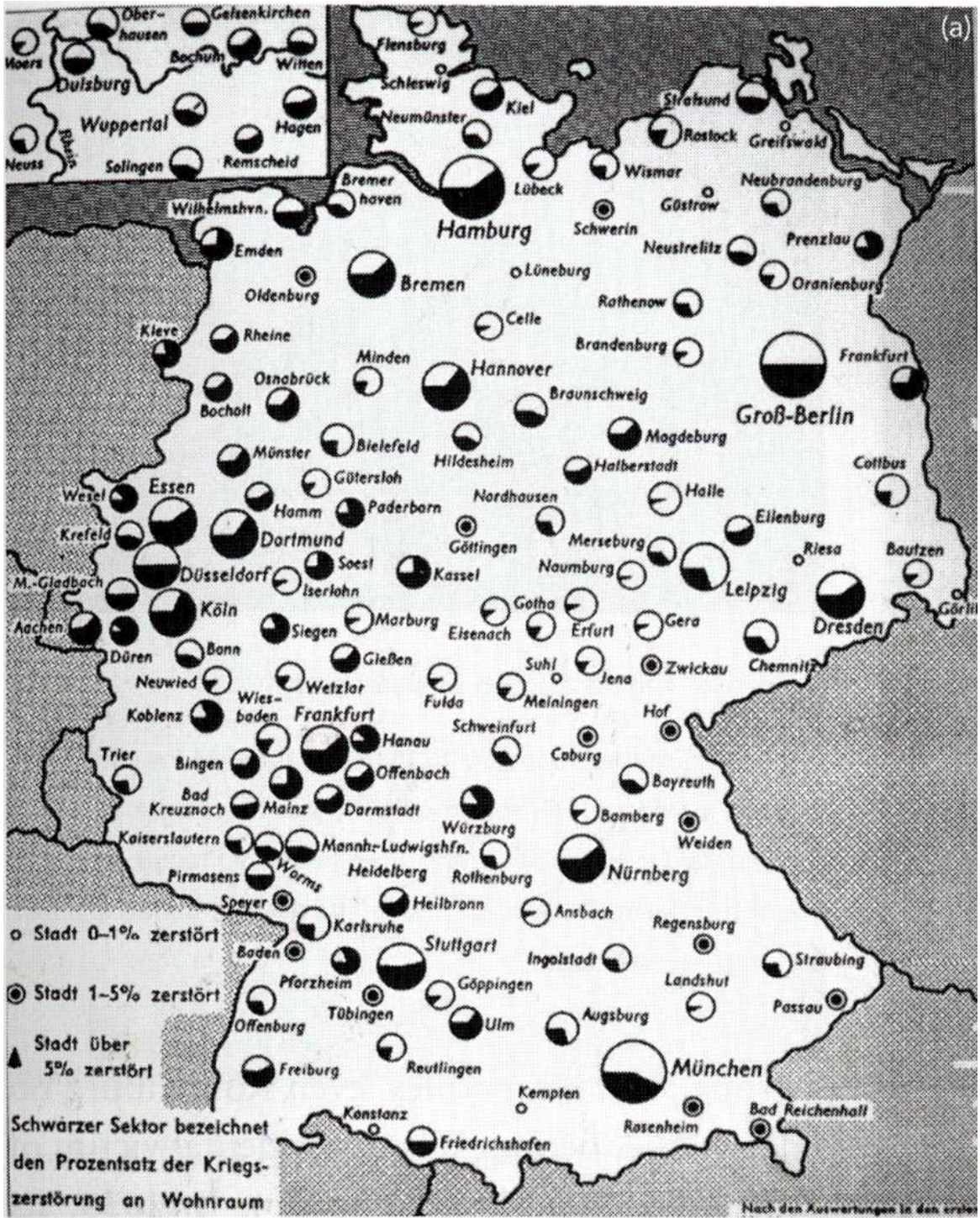
Figure 2. Popularity of the Gothic style in West German regions

Schleswig-Holstein	89%
Hamburg	60%
Lower Saxony	83%
Bremen	100%
North Rhine-Westphalia	40%
Rhineland-Palatinate	50%
Hesse	67%
Saarland	33%
Baden-Wurttemberg	33%
Bavaria	33%
West Berlin	0%
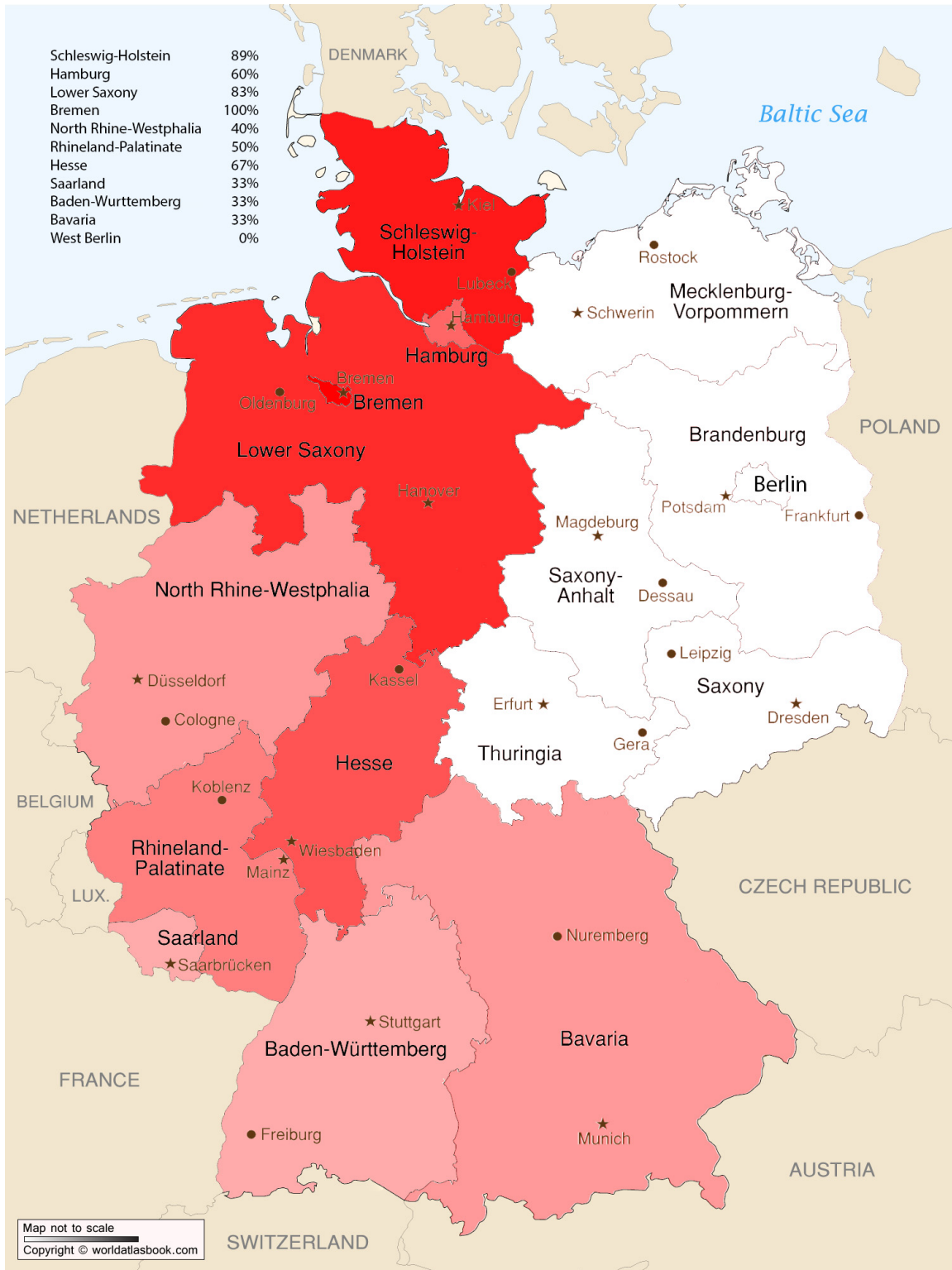
Figure 3. Popularity of the Gothic style in East German regions

Figure 4. Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church, Berlin

Figure 5. Hitler's personal residence, "The Berghof," Obersalzberg, 1933-35, demolished 1952

Figure 6. Post-war ruins of the Berlin Stadtschloss.

Figure 7. Interior of St. Denis, Paris, the choir ambulatory and chapels (1140-44), the triforium and clerestory (1231-50).

Figure 8. Mystic interior of Cologne Cathedral, 1248-1322, pre-war.

Figure 9. Flying buttress details of Cologne Cathedral, pre-war.
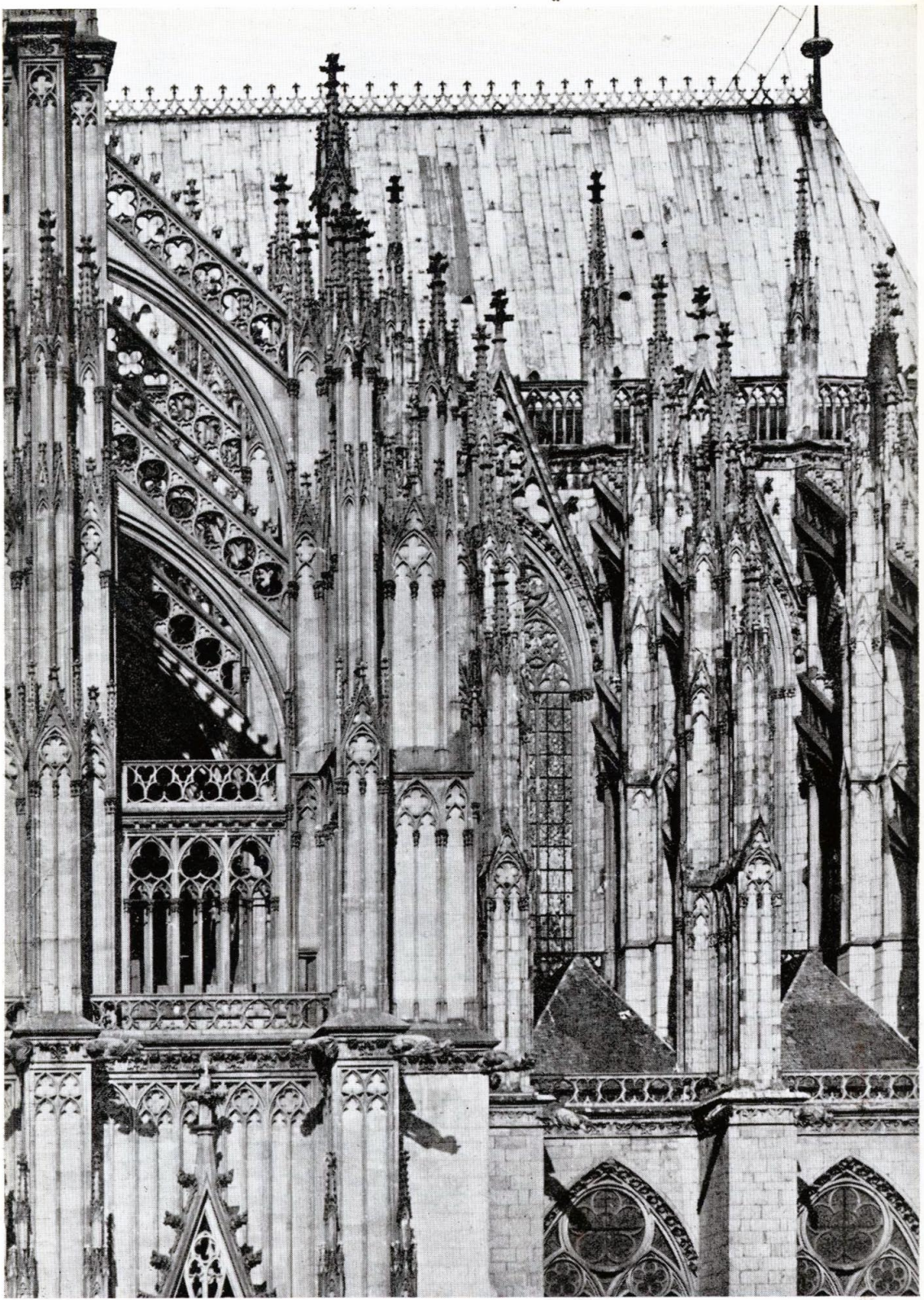
Figure 10. South portal (St. Peter portal) on the west façade of Cologne Cathedral, post-restoration, original partially completed in 1370-80

Figure 11. Model of Cologne, showing medieval urban fabric (foreground) vs. Nazi urban planning on the other side of the river.
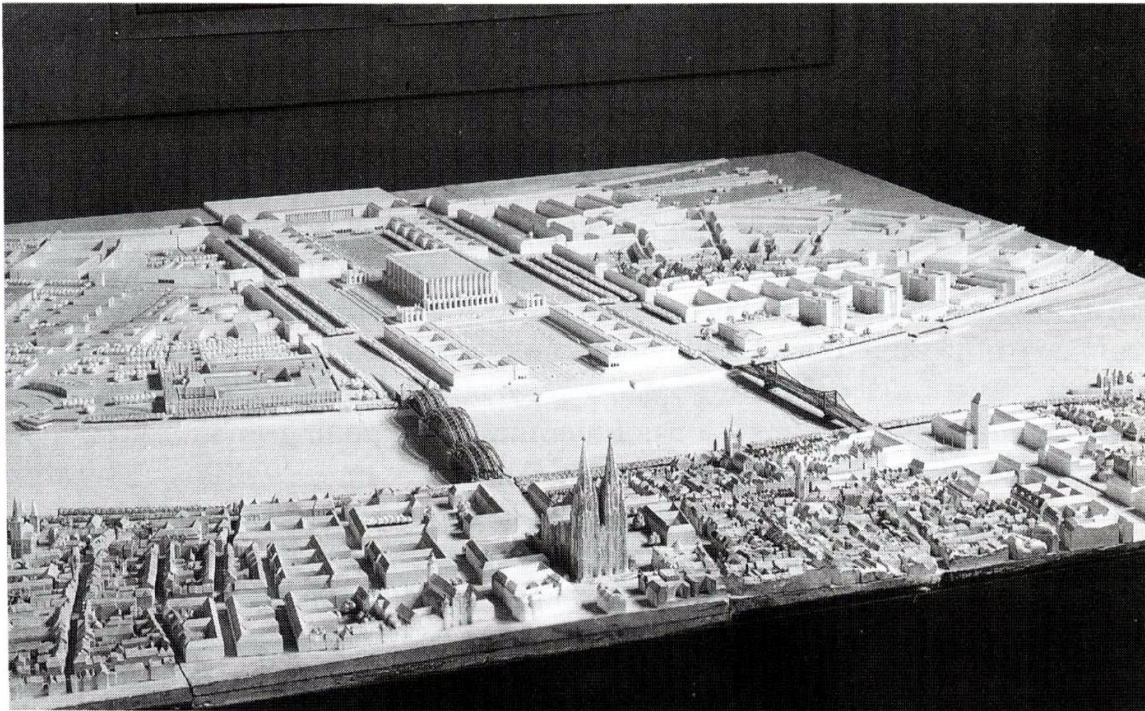
Figure 12. The bombing of Reims Cathedral, World War I

Figure 13. Hitler leading a Nazi rally in front of Cologne Cathedral
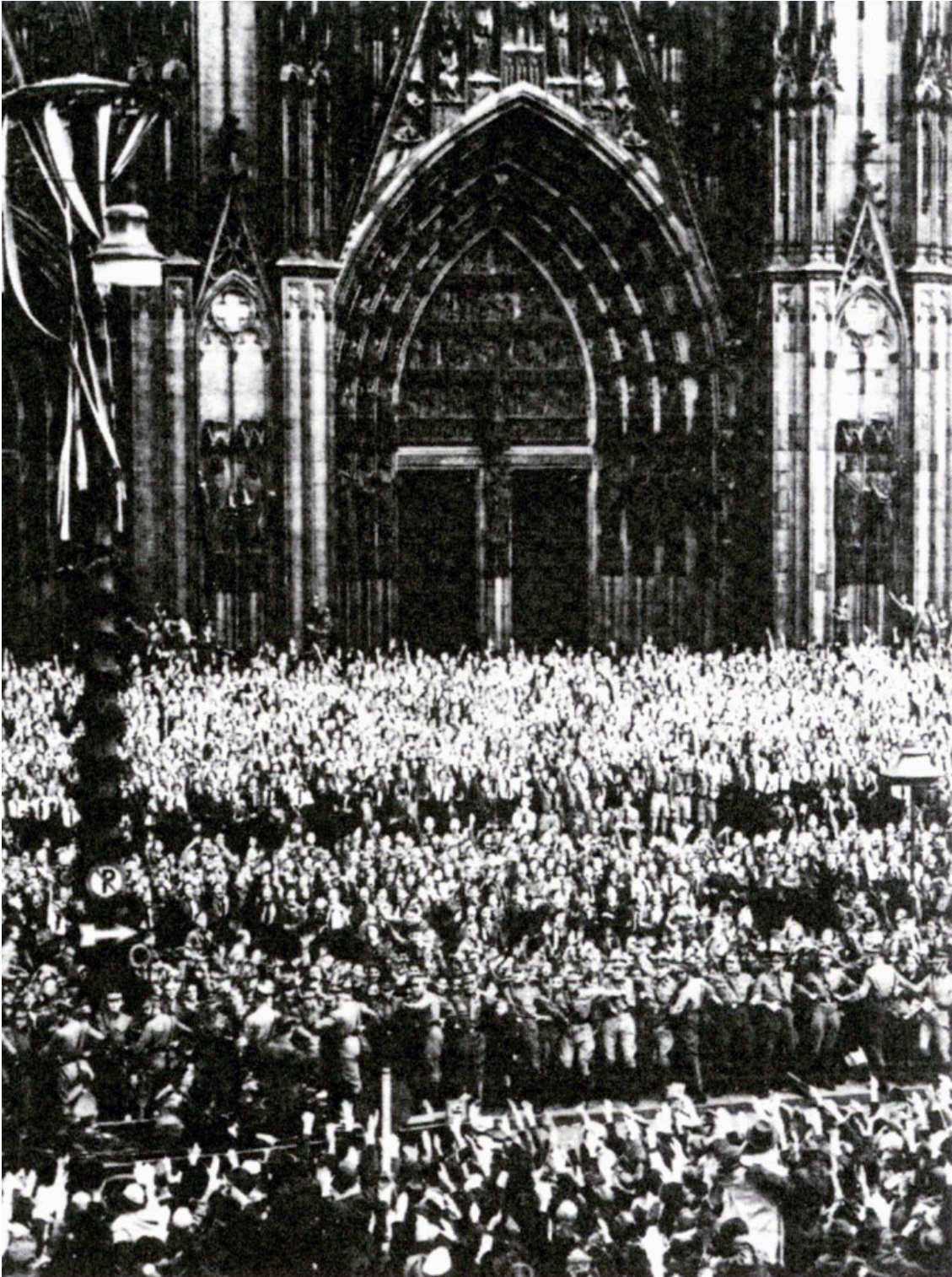
Figure 14. Nazi demonstration in front of Cologne Cathedral

Figure 15. Swastika engraved on Cologne Cathedral

Figure 16. Interior protection at Cologne Cathedral: wooden panels and sandbags

Figure 17. Altar protection at Cologne Cathedral: wooden panels and sandbags

Figure 18. The bombing of Cologne, Germany, May 30th, 1942

Figure 19. Catholic mass in a rubble-filled Cologne Cathedral

Figure 20. Damage to the Cologne Cathedral organ, June 29, 1943

Figure 21. Cologne after the war, 1945

Figure 22. Federal Fund Distribution in West Germany

TABLE 5.3. Distribution Key for Federal Funds, 1953

Schleswig-Holstein	6.48%
Hamburg	4.27%
Lower Saxony	14.85%
Northrhine-Westphalia	28.20%
Bremen	1.34%
Hesse	7.99%
Rhineland-Pfalz	4.55%
Bavaria	16.17%
Baden-Württemberg	10.15%
West Berlin	6.00%
Total	100.00%

Source: HSANRW/ NW 305/333/ Bundesministerium für Wohnungsbau, Ministerkonferenz, 28 November 1952.

Figure 23. Rubble in Cologne Cathedral, 1945

Figure 24. Roof panel reconstruction at Cologne Cathedral

Figure 25. Shrine of the Three Magis at Cologne Cathedral

Figure 26. Preservation work being done in Cologne Cathedral's Workshop

Figure 27. Present-day Cologne Cathedral with tower scaffolding
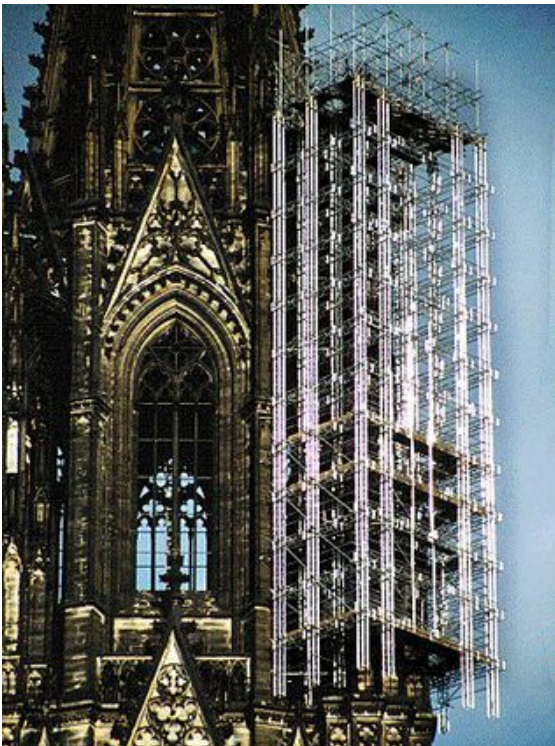
Figure 28. Nuns clearing rubble at Cologne Cathedral

Figure 29. Domfest at Cologne Cathedral, 1948

Figure 30. Altar of the City Patrons (Adoration of the Magi), 1440s, by Stefan Lochner, commissioned for the cathedral by the city council of Cologne, and open views

Figure 31. Lübeck Marienkirche

Figure 32. Lübeck Dom

Figure 33. Lübeck Marienkirche on fire, March 28, 1942

Figure 34. Lübeck Marienkirche melted bells, as they stand in memorial today

Figure 35. Lübeck Dom on fire, March 28, 1942

Figure 36. Comparing the Gothic towers of Lübeck's Marienkirche and Dom

Figure 37. Dresden Sophienkirche (1351), Photograph 1910

Figure 38. Ruins of Dresden Sophienkirche after the war

Figure 39. The city of Dresden in rubble, from the Rathaustrum, or Town Hall Tower (the tallest point in Dresden)

Figure 40. Am Zwinger restaurant on the site of Dresden Sophienkirche

Figure 41. The Frauenkirche, before and after the 1945 Dresden bombing

Figure 42. The plan of the original Sophienkirche, with the Busmannkapelle highlighted in orange
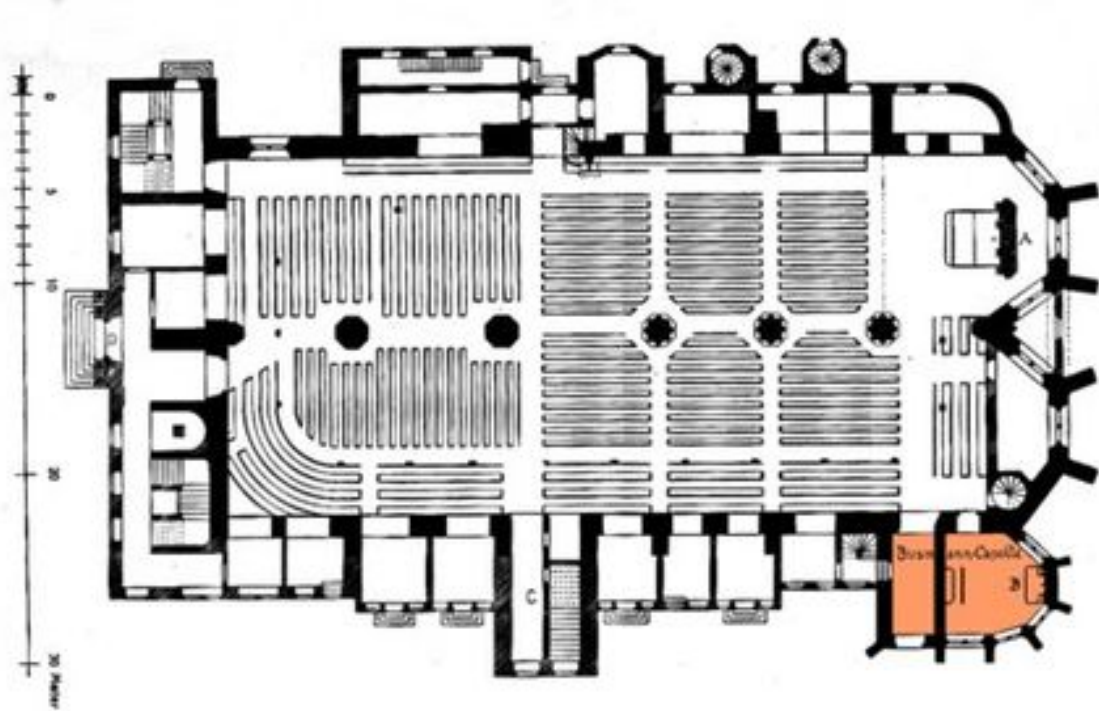
Figure 43. Dresden Sophienkirche Memorial, architectural rendering

Figure 44. Dresden Sophienkirche Memorial, stone window detail

Figure 45. Dresden Sophienkirche Memorial, progress photo July 17, 2015

Figure 46. Paulinerkirche, Leipzig (1231), Photograph 1948

Figure 47. The dynamite demolition of the Leipzig Paulinerkirche, 1968
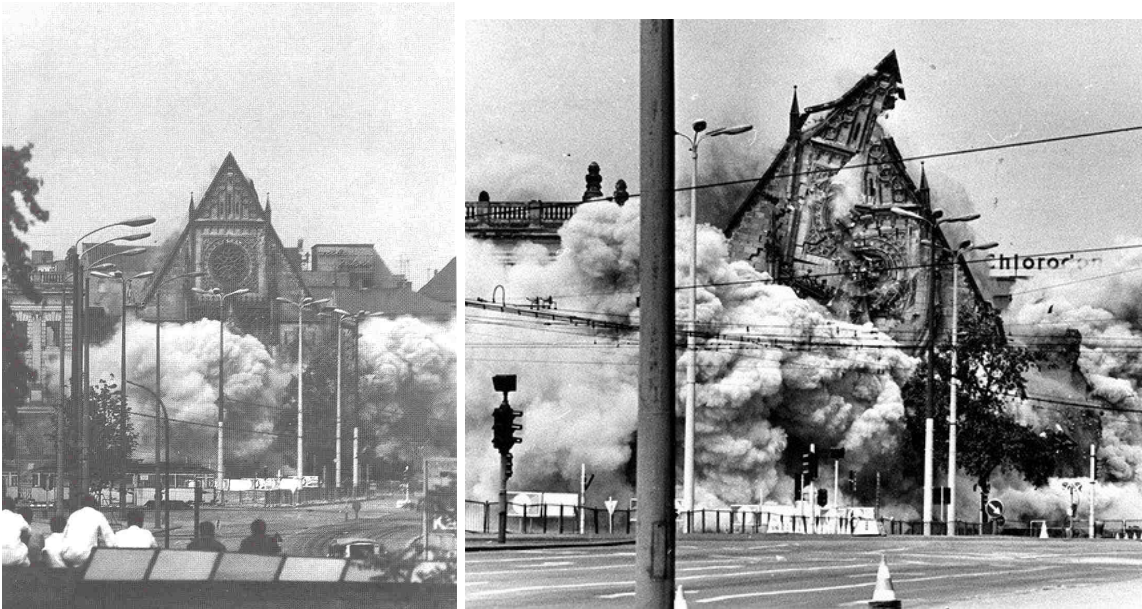
Figure 48. Leipzig Paulinerkirche (2009) as it stands today

Figure 49. Interior of the modern Leipzig Paulinerkirche

Figure 50. The Paulineraltar, Paulinerkirche, Leipzig

Figure 51. British Parliament, London, England

Figure 52. Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, USA

Figure 53. The Zuyev Workers Club as an example of Russian Constructivism

Figure 54. Monument to the Third International, Vladimir Tatlin

Figure 55. Palace of the Soviets as an example of Stalinist Architecture, 1930s

Figure 56. Moscow State University, one of Stalin's Seven Sisters

Appendices

Appendix A: Church sampling in eighteen West German cities

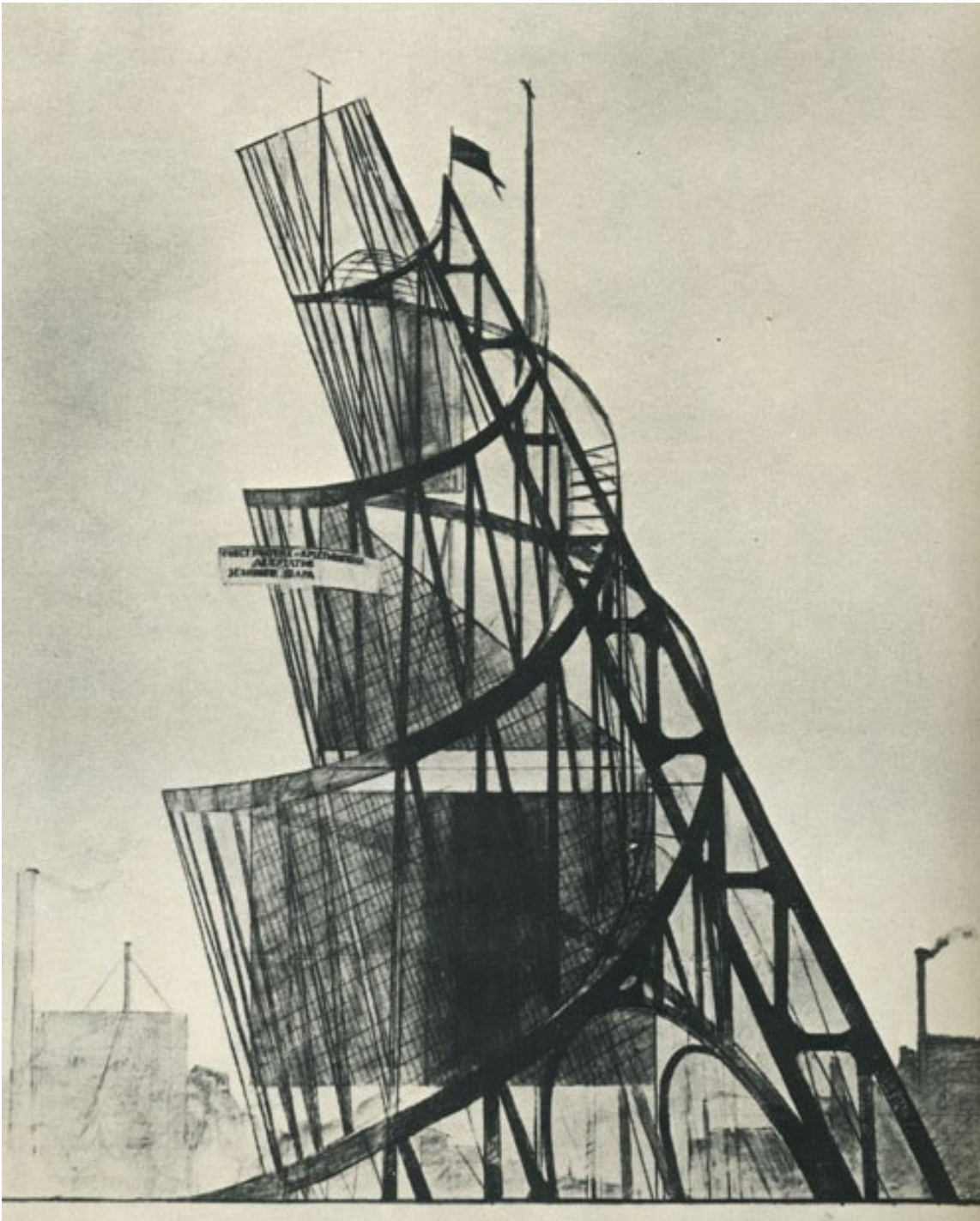| Region (West)	City	Church	Style	Region %
Schleswig Holstein	Lubeck	Marienkirhe	Gothic	89%
Schleswig Holstein	Lubeck	Dom	Gothic	
Schleswig Holstein	Lubeck	St. Aegidien	Gothic	
Schleswig Holstein	Lubeck	Sankt Jacobi	Gothic	
Schleswig Holstein	Lubeck	St. Matthai	Gothic	
Schleswig Holstein	Lubeck	Petrikirche	Gothic	
Schleswig Holstein	Kiel	St. Nikolai Kirche	Gothic	
Schleswig Holstein	Kiel	Ansgarkirche	Gothic	
Schleswig Holstein	Kiel	Petruskirche	Romanesque	
Hamburg	Hamburg	St. Peter's	Gothic	60%
Hamburg	Hamburg	Hauptkirche St. Katharinen	Gothic	
Hamburg	Hamburg	St. Nikolai MEMORIAL	Gothic	
Hamburg	Hamburg	St. Michael's	Baroque	
Hamburg	Hamburg	English Church	Neoclassical	
Lower Saxony	Hanover	Herrenhauser Kirche	Gothic	83%
Lower Saxony	Hanover	Neustadter Kirche	Gothic	
Lower Saxony	Hanover	Marktkirche	Gothic	
Lower Saxony	Hanover	Marktkirche	Gothic	
Lower Saxony	Hanover	Basilika St. Clemens	Romanesque	
Lower Saxony	Oldenburg	St. Lambertikirche	Gothic	
Bremen	Bremen	Kulturkirche St. Stephani	Gothic	100%
Bremen	Bremen	St. Petri Dom	Gothic	
Bremen	Bremen	Propsteikirche St. Johann	Gothic	
Bremen	Bremen	Sankt Martini Kirche	Gothic	
Rhine-Westphalia	Cologne	Cologne Cathedral	Gothic	40%
Rhine-Westphalia	Cologne	Herz-Jesu Kirche	Gothic	
Rhine-Westphalia	Cologne	Sankt Heribert	Gothic	
Rhine-Westphalia	Cologne	St. Georg	Romanesque	
Rhine-Westphalia	Cologne	Sankt Maria im Kapitol	Romanesque	
Rhine-Westphalia	Cologne	St. Kunibert	Romanesque	
Rhine-Westphalia	Dusseldorf	St. Joseph	Gothic	
Rhine-Westphalia	Dusseldorf	Maxkirche	Baroque	
Rhine-Westphalia	Dusseldorf	Andreaskirche	Baroque	
Rhine-Westphalia	Dusseldorf	Johanneskirche	Romanesque	
Rhineland-Palatinate	Maniz	St. Stephen	Gothic	50%
Rhineland-Palatinate	Maniz	Mainz Cathedral	Gothic/Romanesque/ Baroque	

Rhineland-Palatinate	Maniz	Augustinerkirche	Baroque	
Rhineland-Palatinate	Maniz	Evangelische Johannirskirche	Romanesque	
Rhineland-Palatinate	Maniz	Christuskirche	Renaissance Revival	
Rhineland-Palatinate	Maniz	Sankt Peter	Rococo	
Rhineland-Palatinate	Koblenz	St. Josef	Gothic	
Rhineland-Palatinate	Koblenz	Florinskirche	Gothic	
Rhineland-Palatinate	Koblenz	Herz-Jesu Kirche	Gothic	
Rhineland-Palatinate	Koblenz	Liebfrauenkirche	Gothic/Romanesque	
Rhineland-Palatinate	Koblenz	Citykirche am Jesuitenplatz	Romanesque	
Rhineland-Palatinate	Koblenz	Christuskirche	Romanesque	
Hesse	Wiesbaden	St. Augustine of Canterbury	Gothic	67%
Hesse	Wiesbaden	Marktkirche	Gothic	
Hesse	Wiesbaden	Ringkirche	Romanesque	
Hesse	Wiesbaden	Lutherkirche	Romanesque/Art Noveau	
Hesse	Kassel	Martinskirche	Gothic	
Hesse	Kassel	Jugendkulturkirche	Gothic	
Saarland	Saarbrucken	Johanneskirche	Gothic	33%
Saarland	Saarbrucken	Ludwigskirche	Baroque	
Saarland	Saarbrucken	Basilika Sankt Johann	Baroque	
Baden-Wurttemberg	Stuttgart	St. Maria Kirche	Gothic	33%
Baden-Wurttemberg	Stuttgart	Stiftskirche	Romanesque	
Baden-Wurttemberg	Stuttgart	Stuttgart Cathedral	Romanesque	
Baden-Wurttemberg	Freiburg	Freiburger Munster	Gothic	
Baden-Wurttemberg	Freiburg	Seventh Day Adventist Church	Romanesque	
Baden-Wurttemberg	Freiburg	Universitätskirche	Baroque	
Bavaria	Munich	Frauenkirche	Gothic	33%
Bavaria	Munich	St. Peter's	Gothic/Baroque	
Bavaria	Munich	Salvatorkirche	Gothic	
Bavaria	Munich	St. Michael's	Baroque	
Bavaria	Munich	Asam's Church	Baroque	
Bavaria	Munich	Heiliggeistkirche	Baroque	
Bavaria	Munich	Damenstiftskirche Sankt Anna	Baroque	
Bavaria	Munich	Theatine Church	Baroque	
Bavaria	Munich	Bürgersaalkirche	Baroque	
Bavaria	Munich	Dreifaltigkeitskirche	Baroque	
Bavaria	Nuremberg	St. Martha	Gothic	
Bavaria	Nuremberg	Sankt Sebalduskirche	Gothic/Baroque	
Bavaria	Nuremberg	Jakobskirche	Romanesque	
Bavaria	Nuremberg	St. Elizabeth	Neoclassical	
Bavaria	Nuremberg	Egidienkirche	Baroque	
Berlin	West Berlin	Kaiser Wilhelm MEMORIAL	Romanesque	0%

Appendix B: Church sampling in eleven East German cities

(East)	City	Church	Style	Region %
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	Rostock	Heiligen-Geist-Kirchengemeinde	Gothic	89%
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	Rostock	Marienkirche	Gothic/Baroque	
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	Rostock	Petrikirche	Gothic	
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	Rostock	Nikolaikirche	Gothic/Baroque	
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	Schwerin	Schelfkirche	Gothic/Baroque	
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	Schwerin	Paulskirche	Gothic	
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	Schwerin	Schwerin Cathedral	Gothic/Baroque	
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	Schwerin	Propsteikirche Sankt Anna	Romanesque	
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	Schwerin	Schloßkirchengemeinde	Gothic/Renaissance	
Brandenburg	Potsdam	Nikolaikirche	Neoclassical	50%
Brandenburg	Potsdam	Propsteikirche Sankt Peter und Paul	Romanesque/Classical	
Brandenburg	Potsdam	Church of Peace	Romanesque	
Brandenburg	Potsdam	Erlöserkirche	Gothic/Romanesque	
Brandenburg	Potsdam	Französische Kirche	Neoclassical	
Brandenburg	Frankfurt	Saint Bartholomew (Fr Cathedral)	Gothic	
Brandenburg	Frankfurt	St. Paul's Church	Romanesque/Neoclassical	
Brandenburg	Frankfurt	Alte Nikolaikirche	Gothic	
Brandenburg	Frankfurt	Dreikönigskirche	Gothic	
Brandenburg	Frankfurt	Liebfrauenkirche	Gothic/Romanesque	
Saxony-Anhalt	Magdeburg	Magdeburg Cathedral	Gothic	44%
Saxony-Anhalt	Magdeburg	Sankt Sebastian	Gothic	
Saxony-Anhalt	Magdeburg	Johanniskirche	Romanesque	
Saxony-Anhalt	Magdeburg	Wallonerkirche	Romanesque	
Saxony-Anhalt	Magdeburg	Pauluskirche	Gothic/Baroque	
Saxony-Anhalt	Dessau	Pauluskirche	Gothic/Romanesque	
Saxony-Anhalt	Dessau	St. Georg	Baroque	
Saxony-Anhalt	Dessau	St. Johannis	Romanesque	
Saxony-Anhalt	Dessau	Petrusgemeind	Romanesque	
Saxony	Leipzig	St. Thomas Church	Gothic/Romanesque	63%
Saxony	Leipzig	Nikolaikirche	Gothic/Baroque	
Saxony	Leipzig	Peterskirche	Gothic	
Saxony	Dresden	Zwinger Cathedral (destroyed)	Gothic	
Saxony	Dresden	Katholische Hofkirche	Gothic/Baroque	
Saxony	Dresden	Holy Cross Church	Romanesque/Baroque	

Saxony	Dresden	Annenkirche	Baroque	
Saxony	Dresden	Jugendzentrum Trinitatiskirche	Romanesque/Baroque	
Thuringia	Erfurt	Erfurt Cathedral	Gothic	67%
Thuringia	Erfurt	St. Martini Kirche	Romanesque	
Thuringia	Erfurt	Predigerkirche und Predigerkloster	Gothic/Baroque	
Thuringia	Gera	Kirche St. Johannis	Gothic	
Thuringia	Gera	Kirche St. Salvator	Baroque	
Thuringia	Gera	Sankt Marienkirche	Gothic/Romanesque	
Berlin	East Berlin	Berlin Dom	Baroque	33%
Berlin	East Berlin	Marienkirche	Gothic/Baroque	
Berlin	East Berlin	St. Hedwig's	Neoclassical	

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