

Unquestioned and invisible mindsets and biases become perceptible if we consider the fact that few People of Color work in our institutions and that the canon is overwhelmingly white and male. Moreover, the contribution of Jewish architects is unevenly acknowledged in the historiographical literature. How did nationalist conservative and National Socialist concepts and networks affect postwar nation building? How did they shape architectural theory and urban planning? Is their influence still traceable today in the biases in our fields?

This methodological sketch discusses issues of the single-family house in relation to building exhibitions, advertising, gender roles, and structural racism.<sup>1</sup> I thus seek to address hidden agendas and sociopolitical dimensions in individual residential architecture and gardens from the 1930s to the 1950s, e.g., as presented at building and garden exhibitions. Because of their normative and thus implicitly exclusionary slant, these exhibitions are particularly suited for investigation and analysis in respect of the ideal White nuclear family they promulgated. Not only do they depict who inhabits houses and how (and who doesn't), but they elaborate their concepts in the accompanying catalogs, thus giving temporary manifestations the stamp of permanence. Their organisers produced built examples of their notion of ideal gender roles and associated behavior which are still in place today. All this is evident in the visual documentation that records the houses, their location, and their most meticulously cultivated gardens. While they are often background figures, exhibition organisers, i.e., architects and landscape designers, had a profound influence not only on architectural discourse<sup>2</sup> but in shaping postwar society. Their political mindset, however, although carefully disguised, was very much the product of the institutions of the Third Reich.

A prominent case is that of Werner Haftmann (1912–1999), organiser of *documenta* and an influential art historian. He was admired for his commitment to modern art in post-war Germany. Not only was he responsible for the success of *documenta* from 1955 onwards, he also significantly determined the canon of modern art in West Germany. Like many other players in German post-war nation building, he kept quiet about his wartime activities. Haftmann also sought to erase the contribution of Jewish and leftist artists to modernity. The Journalist Catrin Lorch asks with regard to Haftmann: «Would the canon have looked different if the young Federal Republic had made an effort to bring back the survivors and emigrants?»<sup>3</sup> This question should also be asked of post-war architecture.

What did Haftmann do during the war?<sup>4</sup> He was a Wehrmacht spy in Italy who tracked down and executed resistance fighters and civilians during partisan warfare. He also worked as an interpreter for his military superior, the architect Wer-

ner March, builder of the Berlin Olympic Stadium in 1936. When the Allies entered Italy, Haftmann, unlike many others, did not surrender but continued his mission.

The reevaluation of Haftmann is underway at a time when the biographies of artists like Emil Nolde,<sup>5</sup> museum directors like Ernst Buchner at the Munich Pinakothek,<sup>6</sup> or architects like Roland Rainer are also being reconsidered (on the latter, see Monika Platzer's contribution in this volume). These recent developments exhibit renewed attention and an ongoing reevaluation of current practices of coming to terms with the past in general as well as systemic racism and attitudes in particular. Across the humanities and beyond, long held beliefs, assumptions, legends, and other constructions are met with skeptical scrutiny. In common with Lorch, I attempt to identify the 'long-term consequences' of National Socialism and nationalist prejudices in architecture. My considerations are rooted in the German research tradition founded by architecture historians like Werner Durth,<sup>7</sup> Winfried Nerdinger,<sup>8</sup> or Niels Gutschow,<sup>9</sup> and by historians like Norbert Frei<sup>10</sup> or Ulrich Herbert<sup>11</sup> (to name just a few), but also draw their impetus from publications concerning the Israeli postwar condition and ethnic architectural segregation by the historian Yfaat Weiss,<sup>12</sup> or the book *Farbe bekennen*, which deals with the biographies and history of Afro-German women.<sup>13</sup> This interdisciplinary reading is indispensable in developing a critical approach towards our discipline and its canon.

### **Rural Settlements at Building Exhibitions I: Ideal White Habitats**

Among the various types of modern dwelling, the typology of the single-family house has not received much attention – either from architectural historians or from sociologists, with the exception of houses designed by famous architects.<sup>14</sup> In my ongoing research on the history of the building exhibition since the mid-19th century, however, I have come across a wide variety of single-family house types. As model houses, they exemplify various types of settlement, of connecting houses with the garden, of effective use of their small floor plans and their materials, but are also socially marked by the class affiliation of their inhabitants, their gender and, especially in view of the inhabited *peoples shows* sometimes organised concurrently in situ<sup>15</sup>, their race. In this more experimental curatorial context, prefabricated elements were as crucial in keeping down costs and providing easy transportability as – in a broader context – for the expansion of the single-family house.<sup>16</sup> Prefabricated elements were also used to build the so-called *Eingeborenendörfer* (native villages).<sup>17</sup>

One quarter of all dwellings in the Federal Republic of Germany are single-family houses and their number is still growing.<sup>18</sup> These are not just detached buildings on a small piece of land. Rather, the type still embodies, as current studies show, the German ideal for living, no matter what generation.<sup>19</sup> Advertisements show White couples living a successful, secure life in their two-storey house, their children playing in the garden on lushly landscaped lawns. If we look back seventy years, we recognise a similar mindset, though much more conservative with respect to gender roles. While today couples tend to pose in a gender-appropriate way, back then it was 'the man' who had the authority, his dominance also symbolic of ownership. In a 1950 illustration, the male figure points to the family home and to the future (Fig. 1). The house belongs to a group of five prefabricated wooden houses displayed at the 1950 *German Garden Exhibition* on the Killesberg in Stuttgart. The row of houses was titled *Homes and Gardens*. They are still inhabited today. Hither-

to, the fact that they were created in 1939 for the Nazi *Reichsgartenschau* (*Imperial Garden Exhibition*), organised by the *Reichsnährstand* (*Body of Imperial Nutrition*), the official agricultural organisation of the Nazi state, has been quietly elided (Fig 2). In addition, the entire grounds of the garden exhibition with its landscape design and its buildings were completed in 1939. The exhibition had 4.5 million visitors.<sup>20</sup> The landscape architect Hermann Mattern (1902–1971), the creator of the 1939 grounds, restored them after the war.<sup>21</sup> Mattern appeared repeatedly in exhibitions over the next twenty years, and collaborated with Haftmann on the preparation of the first *documenta* in 1955.

The houses rise over low stone plinths, and have lath-clad first floors under high, gable roofs with dormers. Winter gardens open to the garden side, over which the roofs partially extend. Their gardens, generously planted with flowers and fruit trees, extend far into the surrounding landscape, sharing a homogenous designed landscape. The only public building was the so-called *Rural Restaurant* at the beginning of the road into the estate, which also served the exhibition visitors.



1 Alfred Hugendubel, Illustration, *Homes and Gardens, German Garden Exhibition 1950*, Catalogue, Stuttgart 1950



2 In the Settlement Area, *Reichsgartenschau*, Stuttgart 1939, Photographer unknown

The prefabricated exhibition section was called *In the Settlement Area* in 1939. The architect was Karl Eugen Rückgauer (1870–1943),<sup>22</sup> the landscape architect was Otto Valentien (1897–1987).<sup>23</sup> *The Settlement Area* forms a special type of settlement, known as *Ländliche Kleinsiedlung* (*Rural Small Settlement*). It was considered typical of the German settlements of the eastern provinces. One year after the *Imperial Garden Exhibition* and the beginning of World War II, architect Walter Kratz presented many types of the *Rural Small Settlement* in his book *Die landschaftlichen Grundlagen des deutschen Bauschaffens: Der Osten* (*The Landscape Fundamentals of German Construction: The East*) with images by photographer Elisabeth Maria Heddenhausen, who was Mattern's second wife. Here, Kratz outlined the ideal German settlement in the Eastern and now occupied territories, combining a mixture of historic photographs of small villages and contemporary designs for single-family houses. No prefabricated examples are shown here, only single-storey houses in stone with white stucco. While the historic houses, dating back to the Prussian settlement under Frederick II, have simple gable decorations, the contemporary houses are mostly functional and unembellished.

The Stuttgart *Imperial Garden Exhibition* was located at short distance from the *Weissenhofsiedlung* of 1927 and the *Kochenhofsiedlung* of 1933. These two housing exhibitions are manifestations of a social-democratic and a right-wing conservative housing construction of the time. The *Kochenhofsiedlung* showcases middle-class single-family houses in the style of the Stuttgart School in a variety of wooden and half-timbered constructions. Here, too, buildings for the community (as well as for exhibition visitors) were primarily restaurants. Paul Schmitthenner, one of the organisers, deliberately contrasted the reinforced concrete construction method and prefabrication at *Weissenhof* with the traditional timber construction methods of his two houses in the *Kochenhof*.<sup>24</sup> However, some wooden framed houses were plastered white, creating the impression of solid walls.<sup>25</sup> The debate around 1930 was not merely an architectural debate but an ideological one: Schmitthenner paralleled the *Weissenhof* and the *Kochenhof* settlements as negative and positive models of nation building: mass and collectivist there, man and individualist here.<sup>26</sup>

The small housing estate of 1939 rather resembled the *Kochenhof* houses but was not conceived to display architectural quality. The prefabricated wooden buildings were prototypes of a mass product tailored to the needs of White petit bourgeois and blue collar workers, considered as members of the *Volksgenossenschaft*, rooted in German soil. In 1950, the *Settlement Area* were reinvented as friendly, single-family houses with pretty gardens that promised a secure future for young couples. The *Rural Restaurant* was still in service. It was easy for the organisers to erase the racist implications associated with völkish settlement policy and landscape architecture as well as war-related settlement of the Eastern territories, because homes and gardens had no identifiable style. The reference to the 'habitat in the East' would only have been recognisable to the trained eye since they were already disguised at the time of their creation. They were presented in *Das Buch vom eigenen Haus* (*The book of one's own house*) of Alfons Leitl in 1940. The author addressed the core family in a promotional manner as owners of their own estate without further political implication, again using the plans and buildings presented by Kratz and the photographs of Heddenhausen.<sup>27</sup>

Conceiving of landscape as the homeland of a people goes back to idealistic-romantic, increasingly chauvinistic nation-state thinking. At the end of the Weimar

Republic, landscape architects like Heinrich Wiepking-Jürgensmann, who propagated the neoclassical garden with the exclusion of non-German plants, prevailed.<sup>28</sup> Völkish anti-Semitic thinking also shaped the architect and «Reichslandschaftsanwalt» Alwin Seifert, who taught at the Technical University of Munich between 1932 and 1944. As Thomas Zeller has observed, Seifert explained the diversity of landscapes based on the actions of different «races».<sup>29</sup> Wiepking-Jürgensmann's «classical» landscape served as a stage for the National Socialist image of the Aryan wo\*man (as Birgit Szepanski demonstrates in this issue), and Seifert envisaged the whole of «Germany as a garden», especially in the Eastern territories, whose inhabitants he accused of neglect and «desertification»: «[...] Seifert was anointed as the nation's gardener. A seemingly apolitical and private act of gardening thereby received the blessing and support of a powerful nation-state», writes Thomas Zeller, «[...] certain characteristics of gardening – growing, selecting, raising and weeding – assumed a particular urgency within the ideological world of Nazi Germany.»<sup>30</sup> Contrarily, in the Weimar Republic, garden exhibitions were arenas of debate about the appropriate garden, whether neoclassical or modern. In the Third Reich, they became places of intense völkish propaganda, the idealised habitat for a «German race». The *Rural Small Settlement* made of wooden prefabricated single-family houses located in a huge «garden» illustrates how the aggressively enlarged Third Reich was ideally to be inhabited.

### **Rural Settlements at Building Exhibitions II: Planning the Outskirts of the City**

Settlements consisting of individual homes had been well known since the Garden City movement or Ernst May's settlements for the *New Frankfurt*.<sup>31</sup> However, these were communal or municipal initiatives. At the level of the Reich, it was not until 1933 that legislation allowed for and regulated small housing settlement on the outskirts of cities, areas formerly used for industry and agriculture.<sup>32</sup> At the same time as the *Law on the Development of Residential Areas*, völkish ideology was implemented, which of course had existed since the turn of the century but had never been realised or materialised on a larger scale. Now, the regime favoured small settlements with single-family houses, self-sufficiency, and the fulfillment of its «blood and soil» ideology. Another model of settlement in the Third Reich were newly built cities with an industrial or military purpose, like Wolfsburg or Wilhelmshaven: The urban plan consisted of staggered rows of multi-family houses with gable roofs and shared green spaces, with only a few single-family houses. In both, a patriarchal family model, with the male bread winner and the housewife and mother at home, prevailed.

How then was the small settlement type supposed to look? One answer was provided by the architect, building official, author and publisher Guido Harbers (1897–1977) in Munich. In his function as Munich's city councilor for construction from 1933 onwards, he organised the *German Settlement Exhibition* in Munich-Ramersdorf in 1934 under the motto *The German Family's own Home on its own Soil. Happiness and Home in the New Empire* (Fig. 3). Unlike in Stuttgart, no prefabricated houses were built here. The 193 buildings on the settlement were built of brick. It consisted of 152 detached houses, 5 semi-detached houses and 4 rows of terraced houses. In total, 34 types of houses were exhibited.<sup>33</sup> All of them had gable roofs, the majority were plastered white. As at *Weissenhof* and *Kochenhof*, regional architectural details, including Upper Bavarian construction methods, materials, and



3 *German Settlement Exhibition and Home and Garden Exhibition, München 1934*, Photographer unknown

decor, typical of Munich's architecture up to that time, were largely omitted. Harbers understood his exhibition as continuation of the tradition of the *Weissenhof Settlement*,<sup>34</sup> which shed light on his ambivalent attitude towards modernism. With the huge number of almost 200 houses and 34 types, Harbers combined collectivism with individualism and mass with man. Artisanal details like iron-wrought fences, wooden doors, and plaster paintings along with the work of several garden architects created a self-contained green settlement, resembling garden cities with winding streets and large trees, characterised by single-storey buildings with window casings that blend into the walls, and with windows of different sizes and positions, and a location in the garden chosen according to the position of the sun. The latter were considered extensions of the house, intended for year-round use. The importance of gardens also for Harbers is evident in the *Home and Garden Exhibition*, held at the same time as part of the larger settlement exhibition and also organised by him. Mattern, Herta Hammerbacher (1900–1985), and Valentien contributed model gardens. They were loosely separated by hedges and had a basic square shape with rectangular paths that gave the garden a rational layout – the so-called *architectonic garden*.<sup>35</sup> This was also a continuation of the Weimar decade. The left edge of the photograph shows another type of garden with a more rounded layout, with bushes and copses screening it from the outside (see Fig. 3). The beds also have a rounded shape. Lars Hopstock calls this type of garden a «picturesque or naturalistic garden design», which was continued after 1933.<sup>36</sup> In the photograph, the settlement appears to be reproducible ad infinitum. It was planned together with Munich's connection to the new motorway to Austria, so it also included infrastructural and landscape planning.

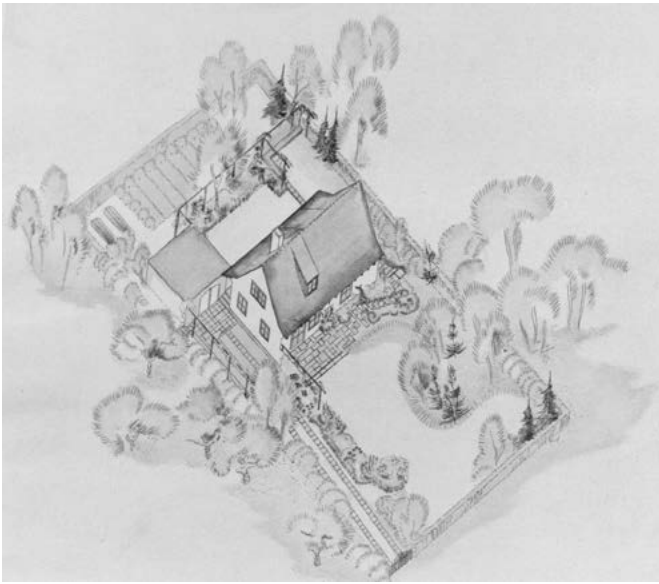
Again, there are only a few public buildings: a restaurant, an *Adolf-Hitler-fountain*, the *Gustav-Adolf-Church* and a village square with a children's paddling pool. For the social cohesion of a settlement at the edge of the city, this seems a very small number. This settlement is therefore not autonomous, yet it seems placeless, universal: hallmarks of prefabricated, globally applicable construction.

### **Concept of the Single-Family House and the Garden: Uniform White Middle-Class Ownership**

Where architectural theory is concerned, it is noticeable that hardly any theoretical explanations can be found for repetitive petit bourgeois single-family houses in the 1920s and 1930s. The approaches put forward by members of the Bauhaus are noticeable, from the artistic Sommerfeld House made of ship logs to Haus am Horn which was also conceived as a repetitive type, to the Törten settlement with rows of houses and huge garden grounds. Theoretical or systematic reflections, however, are scarcely to be found.

One exception is Harber's book *The Small House, its Construction and Furnishing* from 1930. At the same time, many gardening books appeared: in 1932, Harbers published a book on the *Residential Garden*, which was reprinted in 1937 and 1952.<sup>37</sup> Valentien published his books *Zeitgemäße Wohngärten (Contemporary Residential Gardens)* and *Neue Gärten – New Gardens* in 1932 and in 1949.<sup>38</sup> The Swiss Garden architect Ernst Baumann published *Neue Gärten* in 1955, which was highly influential in Switzerland in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>39</sup> Theorising of the single-family house began to flourish from the end of World War II, partly as a consequence of housing shortage and recovery. By far the most prolific author was Roland Rainer, who published *Die zweckmässigste Hausform für Erweiterung, Neugründung und Wiederaufbau von Städten (The Most Appropriate House Form for Expansion, Reestablishment and Reconstruction of Cities)*, 1944<sup>40</sup>, *Die Behausungsfrage (The Question of Housing)*, 1947, *Ebenerdige Wohnhäuser (Low-Rise Housing)*, 1948<sup>41</sup>, and together with Johannes Göderitz and Hubert Hoffmann, *Die gegliederte und aufgelockerte Stadt (The Structured and Dispersed City)* in 1957<sup>42</sup>, which is a continuation of *Die zweckmässigste Hausform* of 1944.

We can assume that the houses in the Munich exhibition were also intended for settlement in the new German territories in the East, although this option is not explicitly referenced. Obviously, they fit into the semantics that Leitl relied on in his *Book of one's own house*: White middle-class ownership in the national socialist welfare state, simplicity mixed with solidity, and a healthy way of the life in the naturalistic garden. This becomes particularly evident in the house of the landscape architect Hammerbacher. One year after her divorce from Mattern, in 1936, Kratz built a brick single-family house with white walls and a gable roof for her in Berlin, similar to the ones in Munich, surrounded by one of her *naturalistic gardens* (Fig. 4). It was built for «two adults», which goes some way to illuminating Hammerbacher's atypical model for living then. Especially noteworthy, since they were also realised by Hammerbacher and Mattern in Stuttgart, are the rounded lines of the landscaped garden that form the soft boundary between the lawn and plantings of perennials, shrubs, and trees. They reach into the meadows and out into the landscape like tongues or tentacles. It is also noticeable that the gardens of these landscape architects are located on sites that are seemingly free and randomly placed without reference to a site, topography, or neighbourhood.



4 Herta Hammerbacher, Hammerbacher House, Berlin, Perspective, 1936

Kratz advertised Hammerbacher's single-family house as a settler's house for the «Germanization of the East» in his abovementioned book as a model house for living in the colonies.<sup>43</sup> Here, then, the impulse to translocate house and garden, and to make it adaptable, is openly revealed. But also Leitl, by taking over the designs and photographs of the buildings from Kratz, used the Hammerbacher house for his own ends. It was he who published Hammerbacher's garden draft, while her daintily drawn design did not fit the more «masculine» appearance of Kratz's book.

### Continuity of Rural Settlements at the Outskirts of the City: Postwar Building and Garden Exhibitions

As war and destruction progressed, more and more single-family houses were built from simple prefabricated wooden modules, so they became ever more like the barracks which were the blueprint for prefabrication. Architects who had worked in the occupied East during the war, like Hans Schwippert in 1943, designed makeshift homes for bombed-out populations and refugees. Schwippert became an eminent protagonist in German post-war Nation Building, designing, for example, the parliament building in the new capital of Bonn. The collaborating landscape architect was Mattern. Others, like Roland Rainer, Johannes Göderitz, Hubert Hoffmann, or Bernhard Reichow<sup>44</sup> continued by spreading their ideas by means of building exhibitions, theoretical texts, and settlements at the outskirts of cities.

Rainer reflected on modular single-family houses in his study *Die zweckmässigste Hausform* of 1944.<sup>45</sup> In her article in this volume, Platzer states that for Rainer the single-family house not only wins over other types of urban planning economically, but biologically. Relying on völkish concepts, he correlated the number of children and land cultivation, stating that the former was higher if the family cultivated land.<sup>46</sup>

In *Die gegliederte und aufgelockerte Stadt*, a revised and expanded edition of *Die zweckmässigste Hausform*, he deleted the biologicistic-racist vocabulary, but main-



tained his preference for the single-family house, as Platzer has shown.<sup>47</sup> Those who today use the term *Gegliederte und aufgelockerte Stadt* as a formula to describe the post war reconstructed city, likely in the manner of a German version of the Athens Charter's urban plan, fail to reflect on its roots in National Socialism. Architects like Rainer saw the connection of small home types and gardens as an opportunity to introduce his biopolitical modernisation concept for high density, low-rise housing and the city. Rainer advocated that land consumption for the construction of owner-occupied homes with gardens for low-rise housing is as negligible as for multi-storey housing.<sup>48</sup> In so doing, he denied the ecological burden for which the single-family house is criticised today because he saw a «biological disadvantage» in the multi-storey construction, as he put it in 1944. He clearly feared a supposed threat to the German core family from «racially other» neighbours, meaning Jews or Slavs.

Rainer became the most influential post-war architect in Austria. Using funds from the Marshall Plan, he and Carl Auböck built the ECA housing estate Veitinger Gasse in the district of Hietzing in Vienna in 1954 as a small settlement of prefabricated low-rise buildings, which were also propagated by an exhibition (Fig. 5).

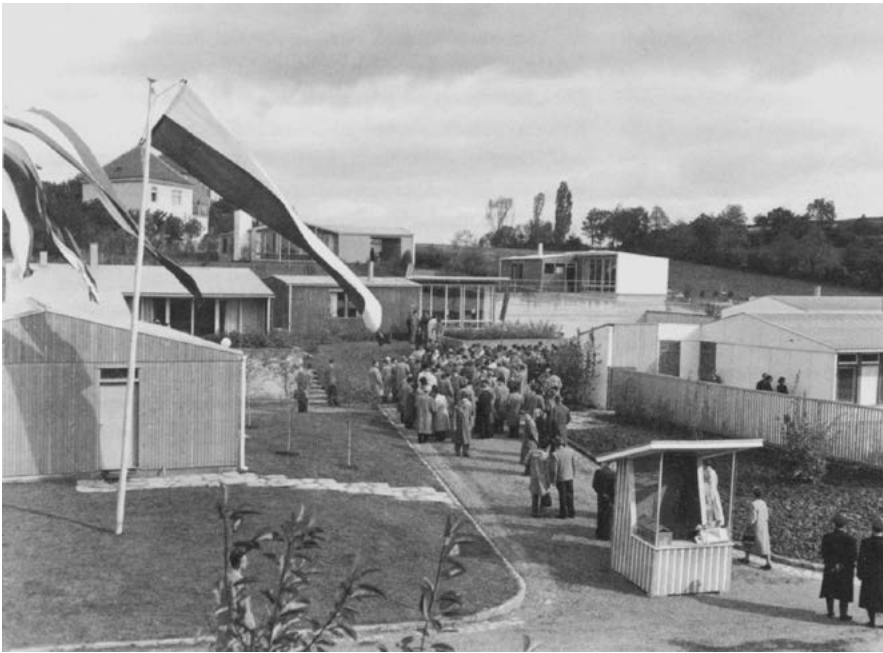
*Die gegliederte und aufgelockerte Stadt* was published on the occasion of the *Internationale Bauausstellung (International Building Exhibition)* in Berlin in 1957, *Interbau 57* in short. It took place at the destroyed Hansa quarter next to Tiergarten park. Mattern again led the landscape architecture and Hammerbacher and Valentien were also involved. Although Rainer did not erect a building there, the settlement principles introduced in his book are reflected in the so-called carpet settlement (Fig. 6). This, I admit, needs further elaboration, and I aim to investigate this aspect in my research on building exhibitions.<sup>49</sup> However, preliminary considerations indicate that the settlement consists of a cluster of 13 one- or two-storey single-family houses with flat roofs, opening onto the gardens rather than to the streets. It is located on the edge of the area of the exhibition and maintains the strongest relation to the Tiergarten Park thanks to its gardens and location. Except for Alvar Aalto, the single-family house settlement is the one section at the *Interbau 57* that was planned only by German architects. Therefore, it resembles a national island within the sea of international residential architecture.

There are no communal buildings that would attract people. Streets are only for inhabitants and pedestrians. Its detachment from the city and the turning of the houses towards the garden and the Tiergarten brings it suspiciously close to the settlements discussed above, but of course it is equally important to consider the influences of American prefabricated housing, further developed in Rainer's low-rise buildings in Vienna.

Racism and segregation, openly displayed by Rainer before 1945, are no longer an issue. Nevertheless, on the last few pages I have tried to question cultural homogeneity in Germany between the 1930s and the 1950s. As far as I can discern, German architectural theory has not yet come terms with racism and concepts of segregation. It is high time we changed that.

### **Exhibition Organizers and the Remembrance of the Holocaust**

I would like to return briefly to *documenta* founder Werner Haftmann. He enters the scene again because of his cooperation with Mattern at the *Federal German Garden Exhibition* in 1955 in Kassel. Again, Mattern was the leading landscape ar-



5 Roland Rainer and Carl Auböck, Prefabricated Housing Estate, Opening exhibition, Veitingergasse, Wien 13, 1954, Photographer unknown



6 International Building Exhibition Berlin 1957, Hansa quarter, Aerial view, Photographer unknown

chitect. The *documenta* was a special art exhibition in the context of the much bigger garden exhibition. In a sense, the *documenta* extended the former sculpture garden and art exhibition of a garden exhibition. That is why Mattern can also be considered as one of the founders and supervisors of *documenta*.<sup>50</sup> Haftmann, as Gentile and Lorch in their abovementioned contributions state, was safe and successful in his network and did not even think about bringing back the survivors and emigrants. The influence of Jewish architects on post-war building and landscape architecture can hardly be called more than marginal.<sup>51</sup> That is why I believe that Mattern also did not advocate for a return or reconciliation. The fact that he later travelled to Israel does not necessarily contradict this assessment.

Another issue is that building and garden exhibitions have become sites of Nazi crimes and permanent displacement: few outside Stuttgart are aware that the *Rural Restaurant* in the Stuttgart Settlement Area served in 1941 and 1942 as part of the collection camp for three large deportations of Jews to Riga, Izbica and Theresienstadt.<sup>52</sup> In 1950, as if nothing had happened, they again served 'Swabian specialties' there. However, there were protests; Roland Müller writes: «The Jewish community, newly founded in 1945 with American support, distanced itself from this insensitive handling and declined an invitation to the opening, referring to 'sad memories' of this place (...).» In 1962, Mayor Arnulf Klett unveiled a memorial stone on the Garden Show grounds, which had been coordinated with the Jewish community.<sup>53</sup>

The question of why no Jewish architect contributed to the *Interbau 57* remains unanswered until today (or has never even been posed). Alexander Klein was the only Jew invited to participate in *Interbau*, and a building plot was reserved for him until January 1957. Klein wanted to build a four-storey building with 16 apartments there. But later, in 1957, his name disappeared from the list of participants without comment, and the plot remains undeveloped to this day. Klein, later Dean of the Architecture Faculty at the Technion in Haifa, had emigrated to Palestine in 1933 and became an important settlement planner. In Germany, Klein had developed a small housing floor plan, which he realised in 1930 in a settlement of multi-storey buildings with 1,000 apartments in Bad Dürrenberg. In 1943, he founded a research institute for urban planning and housing at the Technion. While researching the owners of houses in the Hansa quarter before the destruction in Landesarchiv Berlin, I came across a plot of land with a school belonging to the Jewish community of Berlin. Klein was supposed to build on this very spot. At the end of the year 1956, *Interbau* began to promote the international exhibition to the public with press releases. My guess is that at this time someone pointed out to Klein precisely what heritage encumbered his given plot and that he would help erase Jewish memory if he were to build on it. Is that why he withdrew? To date, there is no commemoration of the school and the fate of its students.

Lorch has raised the question, «Would the canon have looked different if the young Federal Republic had made an effort to bring back the survivors and emigrants?» I think we can answer that question with a resounding 'Yes'.

- 1 The article results from a presentation given via Zoom during the DCOMOMO Israel-Germany conference *From Conventional to Experimental – Mass Housing and Prefabrication*, June 24 and 25, 2021, hosted by the Technion, The Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa. I thank Maximilian Steverding for his cooperation in preparing this article.
- 2 For example, we do not know much about garden architect Otto Valentien, active at many garden exhibitions. His recently submitted estate to Architekturmuseum der TU München helps to open several research perspectives.
- 3 Catrin Lorch, Neustart mit alten Kräften, in: *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 7 June 2021, <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/kunsthistoriker-haftmann-ns-verstrickung-1.5313948> (last accessed 19 July 2021).
- 4 The following remarks derive from Carlo Gentile, Der Krieg des Dr. Haftmann, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 7 June 2021, <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/werner-haftmann-nachkriegszeit-1.5314056?reduced=true> (last accessed 1 August 2021).
- 5 Emil Nolde – Eine deutsche Legende. Der Künstler im Nationalsozialismus, Essay- und Bildband, ed. by Bernhard Fulda, Christian Ring and Aya Soika for the Nationalgalerie, exh. cat., Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nolde Stiftung Seebüll, München/London/New York 2019.
- 6 Theresa Sepp, Ernst Buchner (1892–1962): Meister der Adaption von Kunst und Politik, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Diss., 2020, ed. by the University Library of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München 2020.
- 7 Werner Durth, *Deutsche Architekten. Biographische Verflechtungen 1900–1970*, Schriften des Deutschen Architekturmuseums zur Architekturgeschichte und Architekturtheorie, Braunschweig/Wiesbaden 1986.
- 8 Winfried Nerdinger/ Bauhaus-Archiv (eds.), *Bauhaus-Moderne im Nationalsozialismus. Zwischen Anbiederung und Verfolgung*, München 1993.
- 9 Niels Gutschow, *Ordnungswahn. Architekten planen im «eingedeutschten Osten» 1939–1945*, Gütersloh 2001.
- 10 Norbert Frei (ed.), *Karrieren im Zwielicht. Hitlers Eliten nach 1945*, Frankfurt am Main/New York 2001.
- 11 Ulrich Herbert, *Best. Biographische Studien über Radikalismus, Weltanschauung und Vernunft 1903–1989*, 1.5. Auflage Bonn, 6. Auflage München 2016.
- 12 Yfaat Weiss, *Verdrängte Nachbarn. Wadi Salib – Haifas enteignete Erinnerung*, Edition Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, Hamburg 2012 (Hebräische Ausgabe 2007).
- 13 May Anim, Katharina Oguntoto a. Dagmar Schulz (eds.), *Farbe bekennen. Afro-deutsche Frauen auf den Spuren ihrer Geschichte*, 2. erw. Aufl. Berlin 2020.
- 14 See Kenneth Frampton a. David Larkin, *The Twentieth Century American House. Masterworks of Residential Architecture*, London 1995; William D. Earls, *The Harvard Five in New Canaan. Mid-century Modern Houses by Marcel Breuer, Landis Gore, John Johansen, Philip Johnson, Eliot Noyes and Others*, New York 2006. An exception is the special issue by Sonja Hnilica a. Elisabeth Timm, Das Einfamilienhaus, in: *Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften* 1, vol. 10, 2017.
- 15 The *Erste Deutsche Kolonial-Ausstellung und Alt-Berlin* displayed two villages side by side at the *Berliner Gewerbeausstellung 1896*.
- 16 The expansion of the single-family house was most promoted by Postwar politics around the ruling Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Catholic Church. Some of those responsible had been involved in the housing policy of the Third Reich. Most of the post-war apartments, however, were built as multi-storey buildings. See Günther Schulz, *Wiederaufbau in Deutschland. Die Wohnungsbaupolitik in den Westzonen und der Bundesrepublik von 1945 bis 1957*, series Forschungen und Quellen zur Zeitgeschichte, vol. 20, Düsseldorf 1994.
- 17 I work on the connection between native exhibition villages with Black colonized people and with White «inhabitants» in historical costumes in my upcoming book on building exhibitions.
- 18 <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/39010/umfrage/bestand-der-einfamilienhaeuser-in-deutschland-seit-2000/>, last accessed on 28 June 2021.
- 19 Marie Steffens, Viele träumen vom Einfamilienhaus, in: *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 24 June 2021, <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/wirtschaft/einfamilienhaus-kaufen-1.5332600>, last accessed on 28 June 2021.
- 20 *Das Erlebnis einer Landschaft. Ein Bildbericht von der Reichsgartenschau Stuttgart 1939*, im Auftrag des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Stuttgart bearb. und zusammengestellt von Dr. Erich Schlenker, Stuttgart o. J., p. 5.
- 21 Hermann Mattern was one of the most successful landscape architects of National Socialism and of the Federal Republic of Germany. Socialised in the reform movement, he studied at the Höhere Lehr- und Forschungsanstalt für Gartenbau in Berlin-Dahlem (Higher School and Research Institute for Horticulture), worked at the park department of Magdeburg and became head of the planning department at Karl Foerster's plant breeding company in Bornim/Potsdam. He was married to the also influential land-

scape architect Herta Hammerbacher between 1928 and 1935. Hammerbacher also worked at the *Imperial Garden Exhibition* 1939 and was involved in many projects by Mattern. Both were protected in the Third Reich by the influential «Landschaftsadvokat» Alwin Seifert. Mattern took over civil and military offices. In the FRG, both taught at the Technical University Berlin. See Lars Hopstock, *Building Landscape to Live In: Hermann Mattern (1902–1971)*, PhD Thesis, 2 vols., University of Sheffield, 2015, vol. 1, <http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/25006/>, last accessed 29 January 2021.

22 There is not much known about Karl Eugen Rückgauer. Wikipedia states that he was active as an exhibition architect at the *Industry and Gewerbe Exhibition* at Düsseldorf in 1902 and for Philipp Holzmann AG: [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eugen\\_R%C3%BCckgauer#cite\\_ref-3](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eugen_R%C3%BCckgauer#cite_ref-3), last accessed on 26 July 2021. With Christoph & Urmack, F. H. Schmidt, Drenckhahn & Sudhop and Deutsche Barackenbaugesellschaft, Philipp Holzmann AG was one of the first large prefabrication companies in house building; see Itohan Osayimwese, *Colonialism and Modern Architecture*, series Culture, Politics, and the Built Environment, ed. by Dianne Harris, Pittsburgh University Press, Pittsburgh 2017, p. 210.

23 Otto Valentien was educated at Higher School and Research Institute for Horticulture in Berlin-Dahlem and at Technical University of Stuttgart. He worked at the parks departments of Hannover and Frankfurt and founded his office 1929 at Stuttgart. He is the author of many articles in professional journals and of some books. He designed private gardens, public parks, and exhibitions in Germany and in Switzerland.

24 Stefanie Plarre, *Die Kochenhofsiedlung: Das Gegenmodell zur Weissenhofsiedlung. Paul Schmitt-henners Siedlungsprojekt in Stuttgart von 1927 bis 1933*, Veröffentlichungen des Archivs der Stadt Stuttgart, Bd. 88, Hohenheim 2001, p. 133.

25 Ibid., 132.

26 Ibid., 134.

27 *Das Buch vom eigenen Haus*. Mit Skizzen, Plänen und ausgeführten Bauten von Walter Kratz, Aufnahmen von E. M. Heddenhausen, geschrieben von Alfons Leitz, Berlin 1940. The second edition followed in 1941.

28 Hopstock 2015, vol. 1 (as Note 21), p. 77, 128.

29 Thomas Zeller, *Molding the Landscape of Nazi Environmentalism: Alwin Seifert and the Third Reich*, in: Franz-Josef Brüggemeier, Marc Cioc, and Thomas Zeller, *How Green Were the Nazis? Nature, Environment, and Nation in the Third Reich*, Ohio University Press Series in Ecology and History, Athens 2005, p. 147–170.

30 Ibid., p. 147.

31 For a new approach to the settlements of the *New Frankfurt* in the context of the research project *Architectures of Order*, see Carsten Ruhl, *Organised Architectures: New Frankfurt and the Bureaucratisation of Modernity*, in: Yael Allweil a. Regine Heß (eds.), *Housing Regimes – New Approaches to a State-Citizen-Relation*, *kritische berichte* 2020, vol. 48, No. 2, p. 5–16.

32 Fred Magin, *Die Verordnung über Baugestaltung vom 10. November 1936. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung des Baurechts in der Zeit von 1933–1945 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Berliner Wohnungsbaues*, PhD Thesis, TU Berlin, 2006, p. 145–150 (Imprint *Gesetz über die Aufschließung von Wohngebieten*).

33 Ursula Henn, *Die Mustersiedlung Ramersdorf in München. Ein Siedlungskonzept zwischen Tradition und Moderne*, Dissertation zur Bayerischen Landes- und Münchner Stadtgeschichte, Neue Schriftenreihe des Stadtarchivs München, vol. 138, München 1987, p. 280.

34 Ibid., p. 105.

35 Hopstock 2015, vol. 1 (as Note 21), p. 43.

36 Ibid., p. 58.

37 Guido Harbers, *Der Wohngarten. Seine Raum- und Bauelemente*, first edition München 1930, second edition, München 1937, third edition 1952.

38 *Zeitgemäße Wohngärten. Eine Sammlung alter und neuer Hausgärten*, ed. by Otto Valentien, Garten-Architekt, Stuttgart, München 1932; Otto Valentien, *Neue Gärten*, Ravensburg 1949.

39 Ernst Baumann, *Neue Gärten – New Gardens*, Zürich 1955. See also <https://www.sla-stiftung-landschaftsarchitektur.ch/baumann-ernst/>, last accessed 20 July 2021.

40 Printed at Magdeburg without a publishing house.

41 Both published in Vienna.

42 Published in Tübingen.

43 Walter Kratz, Werner Lindner a. Julius Schulte-Frohlinde (eds.), *Die landschaftlichen Grundlagen des deutschen Bauschaffens: Der Osten*, München 1940, p. 191, 193, 197.

44 As another urban theory worth questioning about its nationalist mindset see Hans Bernhard Reichow, *Organische Stadtbaukunst. Von der Großstadt zur Stadtlandschaft*, Braunschweig et. al. 1948; see also Elke Sohn, *Zum Begriff der Natur in Stadtkonzepten. Anhand der Beiträge von Hans Bernhard Reichow, Walter Schwagenscheidt und Hans Scharoun zum Wiederaufbau nach 1945*, Hamburg et. al. 2008.

45 Roland Rainer, *Die zweckmässigste Hausform für Erweiterung, Neugründung und Wiederaufbau von Städten*, Forschungsarbeit im Auftrage der Deutschen Akademie für Städtebau, Reichs- und Landesplanung. Arbeitskreis im N.S.B.D.T., Sachbearbeiter: Dr.-Ing. Roland Rainer, Breslau 1944.

- 46** See the article by Monika Platzter in this volume, p. 70.
- 47** <https://www.azw.at/en/event/roland-rainer-in-context-a-new-look-at-the-work-1936-1963/>, last accessed on 28 June 2021.
- 48** Rainer 1944 (as Note 45), p. 9.
- 49** I would like to thank my reviewers for their reference to other concepts of a spatial city of flat buildings close to nature that is worth examining such as Walter Schwagenscheidt, captured in his book *Die Raumstadt: Hausbau und Städtebau für jung und alt, für Laien und was sich Fachleute nennt. Skizzen mit Randbemerkungen zu einem verworrenen Thema*, Heidelberg 1949.
- 50** Hopstock 2015, vol. 1 (as Note 21), p. 385.
- 51** For an overview see Alexandra Klei, Jüdisches Bauen in Nachkriegsdeutschland. Möglichkeiten und Bedingungen, in: Regine Heß (ed.), *Architektur und Akteure. Praxis und Öffentlichkeit in der Nachkriegsgesellschaft*, Bielefeld 2018, p. 161–174.
- 52** Roland Müller, Gartenschau und Sammelager. Eine stadtgeschichtliche Verortung, in: Roland Müller (ed.), *Killesberg. Reichsgartenschau, Gartendenkmal, Gedenkort*, Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs der Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, vol. 113, Stuttgart 2020, p. 57–82, p. 32–33.
- 53** Other places of remembrance are an artistic work by Ülkü Süngün and an according stela with explanatory texts from 2013.