employees, Gall became studio head and employed his architectural and technical skills on building sites and at the drafting board.[20] Gerdy Troost assumed the role of office manager, handling correspondence, finances, publicity, and client relations. She also took on a greater role in the firm's interior design projects. In a postwar interview, she described her responsibilities as choosing colors and materials, consulting with Gall on furniture designs, arranging the rooms, and decorating them with tapestries and other artwork.[21] A 1939 article on the Führer's architects in the lifestyle magazine *die neue linie* (the new line) gave her primary design credit for the interiors of numerous Third Reich projects, including the Old Chancellery.[22]

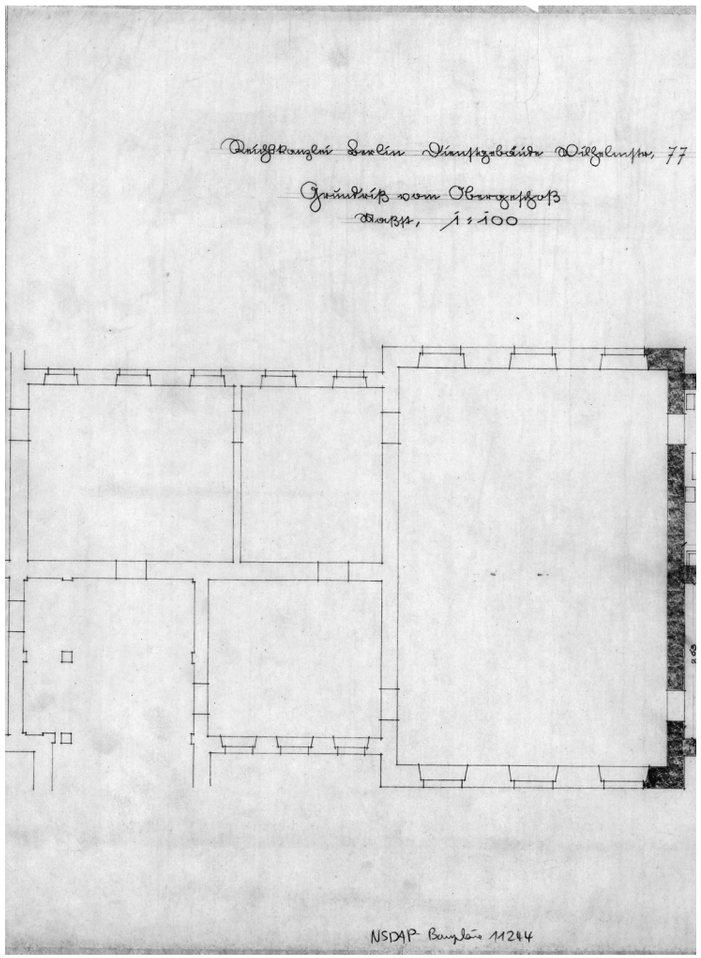
Because of his illness and the demands of his other building commissions, it is not clear how far Troost had progressed in his designs for the Chancellery before his death. Invoices show that he had received estimates for furniture orders as early as August 1933.[23] A few drawings from his hand survive, including an elevation of the dining room dated December 1933.[24] Whatever work remained in reimagining and remodeling the residence fell to the Atelier Troost and was carried out from January to May 1934. As Hitler described it in his 1939 article, the renovation had two interrelated objectives: concentrating the public living spaces and reception rooms on the ground floor, and arranging the upper story to serve the private and practical needs of the chancellor.[25] Previous chancellors had entertained in the reception rooms on the upper floor, a vestige of the *piano nobile.* The 1934 reorganization created a private apartment for Hitler on the northern side of the main building's second floor (fig. 4). The Congress Hall, which was rarely used, separated this domestic space from offices on the southern side. During the Imperial and Weimar eras, the chancellor's private rooms had been located on the second floor of the projecting northern wing.[26] This area was now reserved for Hitler's adjutants, providing easy access from the chancellor's private apartment. The southern wing contained further offices, service areas, and guest rooms (Speer undertook renovations here as well as in the adjacent Siedler building).[27] The result was an expanded private realm for work and personal life in the upper story that was isolated from the lower public rooms.

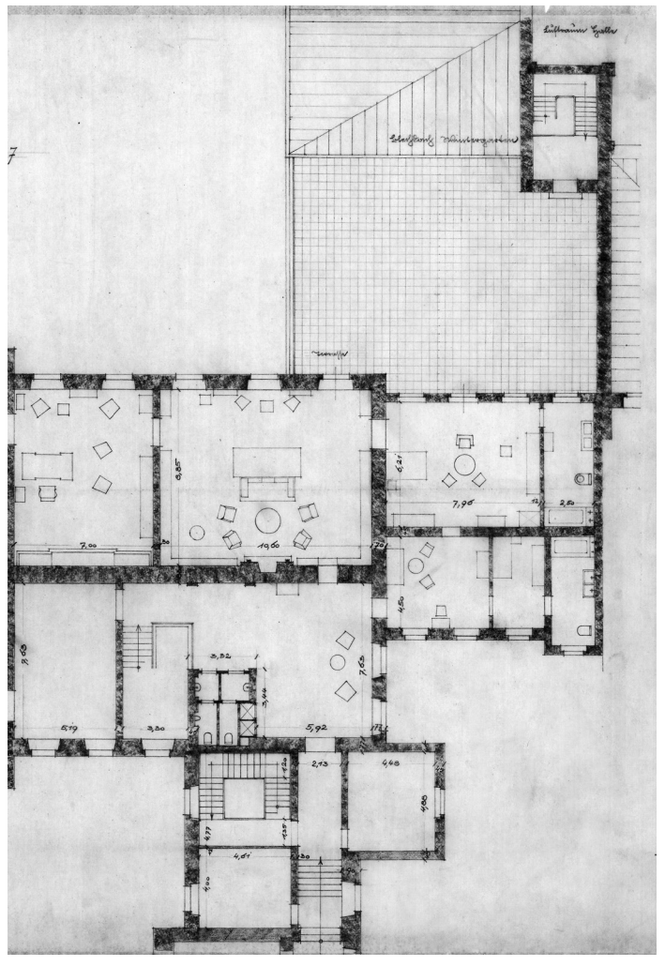
But much more than functionality was at stake for Hitler in the redesign. In criticizing the (supposed) deterioration of the Old Chancellery during the Weimar Republic, Hitler had equated the house's shabbiness with the country's loss of foreign prestige. He thus revealed his belief that an impressive house was a political exigency of his new regime. In an August 1938 speech given at the topping-out ceremony for the New Chancellery, he claimed that he had commissioned Speer's building in order to give Germany an image that was as good as or better than that of other nations. He further explained that this desire was divorced from personal vanity, distinguishing between the modesty of the home he occupied as a private citizen in Munich and the representational demands of his seat as chancellor and Führer.[28]

For Hitler, an image worthy of the Führer and the German nation not only required grandeur, but it also needed to be of its own time. In the same 1938 speech, he criticized revolutionary governments that took office in former castles, such as the Kremlin, and insisted that he himself refused to enter them (conveniently forgetting that the Chancellery had once been, if not a castle, at least a palace).[29] This aversion to historical associations not of his own choosing may well have been the primary motivating factor for the renovation of the Old Chancellery. Photographs from 1932 reveal that the building had been furnished in a style that preserved a historical tone. This, more than any structural flaws, may have suggested to Hitler the building's decrepitude. Occupying a former palace was problematic enough, but residing in one that looked old and stuffy threatened the dynamic image that Hitler wished to convey. In the 1932 presidential election, Hitler had taken to the air—a then-unprecedented campaign tactic—to establish his youthful modernity in contrast to the elderly Hindenburg. A comparison of images taken before and after the Chancellery renovation makes clear the effort to modernize its spaces (figs. 5, 6).[30] At the same time, this was decidedly not the modernity of the International Style of the previous decade, which Hitler rejected as worthy only of sanatoriums and fire stations. Thus, for the Atelier Troost, the challenge was to create, within the framework of a former palace, a grand and impressive image of the Führer that recalled neither the pompous regality of dead monarchs nor the "tasteless" newness of the tobacco sales executive.

Ridding the interiors of their dated appearance began with an opening of spaces to light and air. On the ground floor, the largest room facing the garden had been partitioned in the Weimar era to create offices, which were desperately needed as the administration of the Chancellery grew in this period. The construction of the Siedler office building in 1930 freed up this formerly residential space, and the old partitions were removed in the 1934 renovation (fig. 7).[31] Additionally, a load-bearing wall was eliminated to join two rooms, which necessitated the replacement of the Congress Hall's

Fig. 4. Atelier Troost, plan of Hitler's renovated private apartment on the second floor of the Old Chancellery at 77 Wilhelm Street in Berlin, n.d.





timber floor above with a stronger steel-girder construction.[32] The resulting open, bi-level hall became the main space for receptions (fig. 8).

The length of the hall created a dramatic interior vista, which would become a hallmark of Hitler's spaces at the expanded Berghof and New Chancellery. An oversized Persian-patterned carpet that climbed the stairs emphasized the sweeping expanse of the room while also unifying the two levels. (Hitler liked to tell the story that this luxurious carpet originally had been ordered by the League of Nations for its new Geneva headquarters, but when it was completed, the league was short of funds and could not pay, so he acquired it for his official residence. He thus presented himself, no doubt with mocking reference to having withdrawn Germany from the league in October 1933, as literally pulling the carpet out from under them.[33]) The perspectival lines of the carpet led the eye to the large Gobelin tapestry hanging on the far wall. Such tapestries, three of which hung in this room, similarly became distinctive of Hitler's spaces, both domestic and official. Paul Troost had used tapestries in his *Europa* interior, and these would also feature prominently in his National Socialist buildings in Munich. Their richness and scale worked well in large rooms, and Hitler appreciated their narrative qualities; he often chose tapestries with triumphal mythic or historic scenes.[34] While decoration of this sort would seem to counteract the

Fig. 5. Photograph of the library on the second floor of the Old Chancellery in Berlin before the renovation by the Atelier Troost, c. 1932.

desire to update the rooms, other elements, such as the off-white walls, crisp rectilinear forms, and abundant light from the large windows facing the park conveyed a more contemporary feel. British journalist George Ward Price, reporting on the first formal dinner party with invited foreign guests hosted there on December 19, 1934, wrote appreciatively of the modern sensibility.[35] Although not visible, the room also contained state-of-the-art entertainment technology, with a hidden movie projector and screen as well as a radio cabinet. Hitler would often gather here informally with guests in the evenings to watch films, a practice he would continue at the Berghof.[36]

Decluttering the rooms and removing much of the historic ornament also served to update the look of the interiors. In some cases, as in the foyer leading to the Reception Hall, this verged on an emptiness that design historian Sonja Günther argues was meant to intimidate (fig. 9). She characterizes the impression made by the spare furniture and stone floor in the capacious room as cold and museal, despite the presence of a large red carpet. One could argue, however, that the removal of four large Doric columns and the lowering of the ceiling made the space considerably more hospitable (and less pompous) after its renovation.[37] Whether or not the foyer unnerved its occupants, it certainly held few distractions to divert their attention from the act of waiting. Speer would later pick up and exaggerate these elements in the experience of anxiety and powerlessness that he designed for visitors to the New Chancellery.

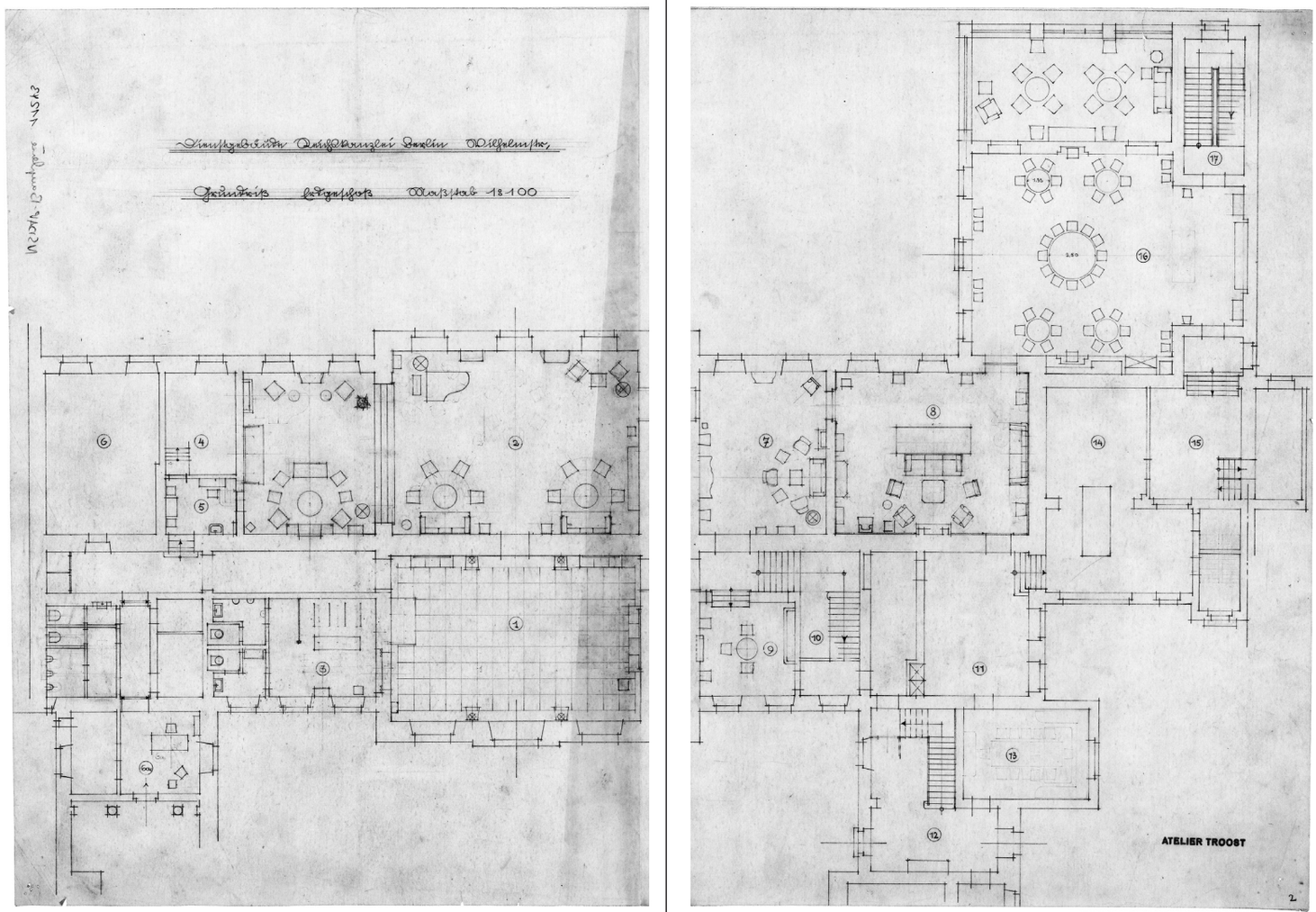
In other ground-floor rooms, Günther sees the desire for aristocratic grandeur and the habits of middle-class domesticity warring with one

Fig. 6. Heinrich Hoffmann, photograph of the library on the second floor of the Old Chancellery in Berlin after the renovation by the Atelier Troost, c. 1934.

another. She points to the incongruity of rooms with noble proportions and crystal chandeliers decorated with fussy, overstuffed sitting corners meant to convey *Gemütlichkeit* or with mantelpieces and display cabinets filled with porcelain figurines and vases, a showcasing of affluence and taste typical of the nouveau-riche bourgeois home.[38] But what Günther interprets as a fissure in Hitler's decorating psychology equally could be interpreted as confidence that he could occupy both identities at the same time—grand yet homey, a world leader yet an average Joe. The apparent disjointedness at the level of design may not have bothered a client like Hitler, who believed that he himself was the integrating factor.

At the same time, and as suggested by his asserted refusal to enter castles, Hitler did not wish to appear to be putting on aristocratic airs. The building at 77 Wilhelm Street was closely associated in the German imagination with Bismarck, who enjoyed cult status among the right. Despite Bismarck's noble ancestry, the soldierly simplicity of his lifestyle, including at the Chancellery, was much admired, especially when weighed against his stature as a statesman. Hitler's criticism of the residence's despoliation around the turn of the twentieth century was directed in large measure at Duke Bernhard von Bülow, who was chancellor from 1900 to 1909. The lavish renovation of the Chancellery undertaken by Bülow and his wife, an Italian princess, sought to evoke courtly associations and led to it being dubbed the Doge's Palace on the Spree. Hitler's commitment to his image as a simple, even poor, man necessitated avoiding the luxuriance with which Bülow had come to be associated. Gerdy Troost claimed that she

Fig. 7. Atelier Troost, plan of the renovated ground floor of the Old Chancellery in Berlin, c. 1934.



had designed in the "English style of living," by which she referred to earlier British-inspired design reform movements in Germany that had valued the quality of materials and craftsmanship over showy display. Even so, and despite his criticism, Hitler seemed to appreciate the aristocratic splendor of some of the Bülow-era decoration. In particular, the striking pine ceilings installed in some rooms by the Bülows in imitation of Italian Renaissance palaces were not only maintained by Hitler but may have inspired the ceiling of the Great Hall of the Berghof (fig. 10 and see plate 4).[39] Thus, the conflicting class associations that Günther detects in the 1934 renovation may also be explained by Hitler being drawn to and yet needing to reject a grandeur that would have hurt his public image.

The dining room designed by Paul Troost similarly reinforced Hitler's vision of himself and his party (fig. 11). Since Hitler found the existing dining room too small, he commissioned a large addition that extended into the park at the back of the house. Speer later described the feeling of this room, with its ivory walls and three glass doors leading on to the park, as one of "openness and brightness." The neoclassical symmetry and ornament, typical of Troost's designs, evoked the ancient Greek heritage