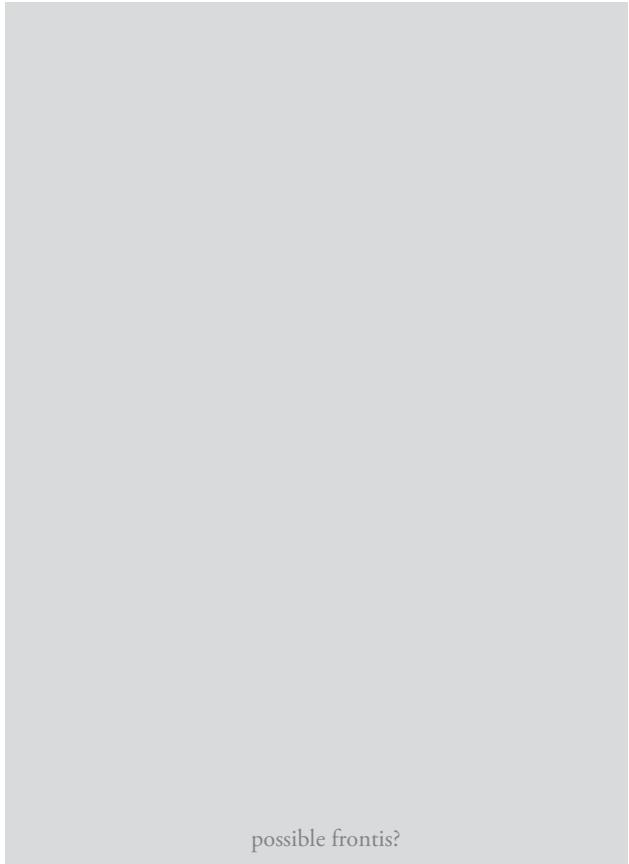


**HITLER AT HOME**



possible frontis?

**HITLER AT HOME**

**DESPINA STRATIGAKOS**

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Frontispiece:

To my mother,  
who lived it

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## INTRODUCTION

### THE POWER OF HOME

As Allied troops moved into Bavaria at the end of April 1945, soldiers and journalists sought out the places where Adolf Hitler had lived in an attempt to understand the man who had battered Europe and terrorized the world. Sergeant Harry Sions, writing for *Yank* magazine, peered into Hitler's bathroom cabinet at the Berghof, the dictator's mountain home, and pondered the bottles of castor oil and mouthwash he found there. *Vogue* correspondent Lee Miller, staying at Hitler's Munich apartment, rummaged through his closets and noted the monogrammed linen and silver.<sup>1</sup>

Our domestic spaces and possessions, we believe, reveal our inner selves, and the deeper the closet or cabinet, the greater the secrets. Hitler's homes had not only the conventional nooks and crannies but also whole underground bunkers and passageways, and reporters (and subsequently tourists) searched them thoroughly for clues. There were rumors of torture chambers as well as of overflowing treasures, and some went in search more for buried riches than for hidden truths. But journalists and sightseers were also drawn to those spaces precisely because Hitler's domesticity had been so highly visible during the Third Reich. Especially in his mountain home, where he had often been photographed, Hitler's "private" life had been carefully orchestrated for public consumption and the images and stories broadly distributed at home and abroad. Millions of readers felt that they knew Hitler-the-man through this domestic performance,

and when Allied soldiers and reporters arrived in Germany, they were drawn to the places where his ghost seemed to linger.

This book follows in the footsteps of these domestic explorers but seeks a different sort of understanding. The first major postwar biography of Hitler, published by Alan Bullock in 1952, dismissed the meaningfulness of the Führer's private life as "meager and uninteresting at the best of times."<sup>2</sup> A wholly different attitude characterized the tell-all books that emerged in subsequent decades, which scoured Hitler's body, family past, and relationships to men and women for anomalies on a personal scale that could somehow explain a cosmic catastrophe. *Hitler at Home* acknowledges the importance of the private realm without seeking to be a biography told through architecture. Instead, I am interested in how Hitler chose to present his domestic self to the public and in the designers, photographers, and journalists who constructed and conveyed the image to a German and English-language audience that was all-too-eager to consume it.

By the mid-1930s, it was all but impossible to avoid images and stories about the domestic Hitler. Not only the German media covered the topic with great—indeed, almost obsessive—zeal, but it was also avidly carried by an English-language press serving a global audience, from London to Sydney, Toronto to Phoenix, and Bombay to Shanghai. In Germany, a market quickly emerged for popular consumer goods bearing images of the Führer's home or its owner at leisure on the Obersalzberg. One could decorate with a Hitler-house-themed porcelain plate or embroidered throw pillow, save pennies in a replica coin bank, play with a toy model, send a postcard showing Hitler feeding deer on his terrace, or buy one of the many photography albums that documented his life at home, from the dictator entertaining children to hiking with his dog. For a time, Hitler's mountain retreat was arguably the most famous house in the world.

This vast production of images of Hitler at home proved to be enormously seductive and continues to exert its power even today. Its appeal has largely gone unchecked by historians, who have insufficiently exposed and deconstructed the propaganda surrounding Hitler's domesticity. Apart from a small body of articles, books, and catalogues, literature about Hitler's homes tends to be uncritical and, in some cases, reproduces the ideological "charm" of Third Reich publications. Remarkably, given how much has been written about Hitler, the significance of his domestic spaces in the visual imagination of National Socialism has remained underexplored terrain.<sup>3</sup>

Compared to their high visibility during the Third Reich, Hitler's domestic spaces rarely appear in political or architectural histories of the period. Those

who have written about the many diplomatic meetings that occurred in these homes have had little to say about the settings, despite Hitler's desire to use them as stage sets to perform his identity as a statesman and man of culture. Studies of the Obersalzberg as an ideological and political center of National Socialism have been more attentive to its structures, but architectural historians themselves have contributed little to this literature. In general, scholars of architecture and fascist aesthetics have focused on monumental building projects and mass spectacle, overlooking the domestic and minute. And yet one could argue that the aesthetics of the mass spectacle at the Nuremberg parade grounds or of the gigantic in the New Chancellery, both designed by Albert Speer and associated with the public Führer, correlate with the singular and detailed assemblage of Hitler's private domestic spaces, a choreography of objects and space that enact the private man. The Hitler who commanded thousands and moved mountains of stone induced awe; the Hitler at home with his dogs and tea inspired empathy. Both images were integral to the Führer's seductive power and each had its architectural manifestation. Reading the official and monumental together with the domestic and minute allows us to grasp their intended and productive interplay in the representation of the Führer as both beyond and yet of the people.

Hitler himself cared deeply about the production of his domestic spaces, discussing them at length with his interior designer, Gerdy Troost. After the war, she recalled the enthusiastic interest he had showed in even the smallest detail. In his memoirs, Speer admitted that Hitler had devoted a level of personal attention to the design of the Berghof that was unequaled by any of his other building projects.<sup>4</sup> It was Hitler's favorite place to be—about a third of his time in office was spent on the Obersalzberg. In July 1944, Joseph Goebbels confided to his diary that he was relieved that the Führer had decided to transfer his military headquarters from his mountain home to the Wolf's Lair on the eastern front. While Hitler had spent months planning battle strategies from his living room, the Allied armies had pushed ever closer to Germany's borders.<sup>5</sup>

Perhaps if Speer had been involved, historians might have paid more attention to Hitler's domestic spaces. Women architects and designers have only recently begun to receive their due in architectural history books, and little is known about their involvement in the Third Reich. Gerdy Troost has likewise slipped beneath the historian's radar, despite the fact that she was once the tastemaker of choice for Hitler and other prominent National Socialists. This book hopes to raise awareness of a neglected but powerful female figure in the Third Reich, who deserves far greater scholarly attention than she has received. Her work

also suggests that we need to consider more generally the role of interior design in the self-representation of the Nazi regime, to which many of its architects, including Speer, eagerly contributed.

Ultimately, the reasons for the neglect of the dictator's homes and their creators may have more to do with scholars having all too readily accepted the propaganda of the Third Reich; namely, that Hitler's domestic spaces existed outside the world of politics and ideology. I believe, to the contrary, that they were profoundly ideological spaces, which demonstrably lay at the heart of some of the most successful propaganda about Hitler produced by his regime. Representations of Hitler's home life played a critical role in the early 1930s, when his public image as a screaming reactionary needed to be softened. The attention and care lavished on Hitler's domesticity by his propagandists also transformed a potential liability—the perceived oddity of a stateless man living without deep connections to family, place, or lovers—into an asset by creating a domestic milieu that grounded and normalized him. Hitler's domestic spaces struck just the right balance with the public of heterosexual masculinity, refined but not ostentatious taste, and German roots. Thus, his publicists and designers killed two birds with one stone, making Hitler seem both warmer and less queer. And all of this was carefully crafted and communicated to German and foreign audiences through a media eager to sell the story and images of the domestic bachelor.

The book is divided into two sections. The first half addresses the physical design and construction of Hitler's three residences: the Old Chancellery in Berlin, his Munich apartment at 16 Prince Regent Square, and his mountain home on the Obersalzberg. Hitler occupied all three throughout the period of the Third Reich, although he owned only the latter two. Chapter 1 examines Hitler's transition from a prolonged period of marginal domesticity to the setting up of his first independent households in the late 1920s as he approached his fortieth birthday and the reasons for his lifestyle change. When Hitler became chancellor in 1933, he insisted on remodeling the official residence before he moved in, and Chapter 2 investigates how this was used to frame a new narrative about a leader with the ability to put his house in order. Having been bitten by the home renovation bug, Hitler then turned to reinventing his private residences. Chapters 3 and 4 chronicle the wholesale renovations of his Munich apartment in 1935 and, as soon as it was completed, the massive expansion of Haus Wachenfeld into the Berghof in 1935–1936 by the architect Alois Degano. These projects demonstrate how Hitler used domestic architectural makeovers in the mid-1930s to shed any vestiges of his image as rabble rouser in order to emphasize his new status as statesman and diplomat. The associated high costs reveal how much Hitler was willing to invest to get it right and contradicts

his regime's propaganda, which continued to present the German leader as a simple man unspoiled by fame and power. While Hitler's new domestic facades outwardly proclaimed the leader's maturation and confidence, a cache of unbuilt drawings of the Berghof exposes Hitler's struggle with how to position his domestic self in relation to his public identity. Chapter 4 also briefly considers Eva Braun's photographs of the Berghof and what they suggest about her role as both mistress of the house and its privileged prisoner. Gerdy Troost was central to all three design projects, and Chapter 5 is devoted to her life and work, drawing on her personal papers at the Bavarian State Library in Munich, an astonishingly rich collection that opens officially to scholars in 2019.

The second half of the book explores propaganda about Hitler's homes and their reception, focusing on his Munich and Obersalzberg residences. Chapter 6 begins with the “discovery” of the private Hitler by Nazi publicists in 1932 in the midst of a crucial election battle. Chapters 7 and 8 respectively survey the media's coverage in Germany and abroad of Hitler's homes. In Germany, Hitler's mountain retreat became a site of pilgrimage and Chapter 7 looks at the hold it exerted on the National Socialist imagination through written accounts and the photography of Heinrich Hoffmann. While one can understand the appeal of journalistic accounts of Hitler at home for German audiences in the 1930s, it is surprising to discover a similar fascination reflected in the pages of foreign newspapers and magazines. Chapter 8 investigates the whitewashing of Hitler's reputation for violence in the English-language press through its depictions of the domestic bachelor as the kind of gentle, cultured man one would be blessed to have as a neighbor. Views of the house-proud Hitler changed from admiration to ridicule when England, and later the United States, entered war, and Chapter 9 traces the turn in the English-language press's representation of the domestic Hitler from a gentleman-artist to a megalomaniacal housepainter and effeminate dilettante. The close of the Second World War marked both an ending and a new beginning for Hitler's homes. Chapter 10 chronicles the bombing of the Obersalzberg, the arrival in Bavaria of allied troops and journalists and their inspections of the Führer's apartment and mountain retreat, and the extensive looting that took place by neighbors and soldiers. Chapter 11 brings the histories of these two residences into the present and explores the headaches that they have created for Bavarian authorities. On the Obersalzberg and in Munich, different strategies have been employed to compel people to stay away from these sites and to encourage forgetting. Yet decades after their owner died in an underground Berlin bunker, these homes continue to exert an unsettling magnetism. Moreover, fragments of Hitler's domestic surroundings—ranging from silverware to bathroom tiles—continue to circulate and fetch astonishingly high prices among collectors of Third Reich memorabilia.

Today, bits and pieces of the Führer's domesticity are scattered on book shelves and coffee tables across the globe, further contributing to the curiously long half-life of this history. The book ends by considering the problem such "relics" create for museum curators, who find them among their own collections, as well as the reluctance of the press in the United States and England to confront its own role in having disarmed its readers in the 1930s with depictions of Hitler at home.

**PART I**

## 1 HITLER SETS UP HOUSE

### A BACHELOR'S DOMESTIC TURN AFTER 1928

The headline, printed in inch-high letters, stretched across the front page of the *Regensburger Echo*: “Suicide in Hitler’s Apartment.” The story, carried in newspapers across Germany, concerned the death of Adolf Hitler’s twenty-three-year-old niece, Geli Raubal, on September 18, 1931. That morning, she had been found dead, apparently of a self-inflicted gunshot wound, in the Munich apartment she shared with her bachelor uncle, then the leader of the nation’s second-largest political party. For Hitler, the private tragedy threatened to damage him publicly because it struck at a vulnerable spot: his unconventional lifestyle.

In light of the personality cult that later developed around Hitler and that seemed to grip the German nation in a collective state of delusion, many historians have taken for granted that his decision to remain single was an effective strategy for winning female votes. Countless media images from the Third Reich document Hitler’s appeal to women as the nation’s most eligible bachelor; we see ecstatic throngs of women waving to a smiling Führer or trying to touch his hand. But before he rose to power and silenced his detractors, the advantage of being a middle-aged, single man aspiring to become chancellor was by no means obvious. Voters then, as now, preferred national leaders with outwardly stable personal lives, which for most meant traditional marriage and children.

Following the devastating defeat of the National Socialists in the May 20, 1928, Reichstag election, when they obtained a mere 2.6 percent of the vote, the party set out to broaden its appeal, particularly to the middle classes, by appearing to be more mainstream in both its message and leadership. Indeed, it was in this period that Hitler remodeled his public persona from radical firebrand to bourgeois politician.<sup>1</sup> Among other changes, he appeared to settle down domestically after two decades of transient living. After leaving Linz in 1908 following his mother's death, Hitler had occupied shabby furnished rooms, slept on park benches, claimed a bed in a men's hostel, and shared army barracks. On May 1, 1920, he sublet a small room (and was allowed the use of a large foyer) from a couple in their thirties, Maria and Erich Reichert, living at 41 Thiersch Street in Munich, where he remained until 1929, except for a year's absence while interned following the Beer Hall Putsch of November 1923.<sup>2</sup> It was a "poorish" street, the address of an ex-soldier whose army pay had run out.<sup>3</sup> In his memoirs, Ernst Hanfstaengl, who served as Hitler's foreign press chief, suggested that Hitler kept his small room for so long for political reasons:

He lived there like a down-at-heels clerk. He had one room and the use of a quite large entrance-hall as a sub-tenant of a woman named Reichert. It was all modest in the extreme and he remained there for years, although it became part of an act to show how he identified himself with the workers and have-nots of this world. The room itself was tiny. I doubt if it was nine feet wide. The bed was too wide for its corner and the head of it projected over the single narrow window. The floor was covered with cheap, worn linoleum with a couple of threadbare rugs, and on the wall opposite the bed there was a makeshift bookshelf, apart from a chair and rough table the only other piece of furniture in the room.<sup>4</sup>

On October 15, 1928, Hitler rented a chalet on the Obersalzberg and thereby established his first independent household at the age of thirty-nine (see plate 1).<sup>5</sup> He had been coming to this picturesque Alpine retreat since April 1923, when he had visited Dietrich Eckart, an aggressively anti-Semitic writer and early founder of the National Socialist movement, who was then hiding from the authorities at a small Obersalzberg inn after having slandered the German president, Friedrich Ebert, as a tool of world Jewry. (Party legend had it that it was on this trip that plans for the anticipated November revolution, which would land Hitler in Landsberg prison, were sealed.) Hitler later claimed to have "fallen in love with the landscape," although the support among local inhabitants for National Socialism (Eckart felt well protected there) also impressed him. The Berchtesgaden group of the NSDAP had been founded on February 14, 1922, and events featuring anti-Semitic speakers (including, in the

summer of 1923, Hitler), were well attended. Over the years, Hitler stayed at various local hotels. In 1925, following his release from prison, a supporter lent him a log cabin on the Obersalzberg, where he worked on the second volume of his political autobiography, *Mein Kampf*.<sup>7</sup> (After 1933, the cabin was named the *Kampfhäusl*, or *Battle Hut*, and became a National Socialist pilgrimage site.) Perhaps the experience awakened a desire for his own home on the mountain; if so, it would be a few more years before he would act on it.

Reminiscing about his early days on the Obersalzberg while at his military headquarters on the eastern front in 1942, Hitler recounted how in 1928 he had learned that a chalet was for rent on the northern slope of the mountain. The vacation home had been constructed in 1916–1917 by Otto Winter, a leather goods manufacturer from Buxtehude (near Hamburg), who had given it his wife's maiden name, Wachenfeld. The small, two-story structure had been built in the traditional style of upper Bavarian farmhouses. Hitler recalled that the house was made of poor materials, but had the advantage of a shady location and a spectacular view. From his front balcony, he could see Salzburg in his native Austria as well as the Untersberg, a mountain swathed in medieval legends. Winter's widow, Margarete Winter-Wachenfeld, a National Socialist party member, rented the house to Hitler's older half-sister, Angela Raubal. Hitler had persuaded her to leave Vienna and resettle with her youngest daughter, Friedl, on the Obersalzberg to run his household. This is somewhat surprising, given that the siblings had been estranged for over a decade after Hitler had left Linz. In the 1920s, however, he renewed contact, and, presumably, the relationship deepened. Raubal certainly had ample domestic skills; beyond raising three children and her younger half-sister, Paula, on her own after she was widowed, she was also then managing a kosher kitchen for Jewish students in Vienna.<sup>8</sup> Whether motivated by sentimental or strategic reasons, Hitler's decision to live with his sister helped to soften his image. He acquired a readymade family, and, in later years, Raubal served as the public female face of his home life.

Hitler's domestic turn after 1928 coincided with a new source of personal income: sales of *Mein Kampf*, the first volume of which was published in the summer of 1925, followed by the second in 1926 (eventually, both volumes would be combined into a single book). While the book would only become a bestseller after 1933, Hitler's tax statements from 1925 onwards indicate considerable royalties. Indeed, he may have rented Haus Wachenfeld under his sister's name in order to avoid paying taxes on a second residence. And yet despite the sales revenue from his book, on his tax returns, Hitler denied being financially solvent, claiming indebtedness and high professional expenses, which the Munich Finance Office disputed. He was often in arrears in his taxes, either out of neglect or an inability to pay. After Hitler became chancellor, royalties

from *Mein Kampf* made him a millionaire and by 1934 he owed an astonishing 405,494 Reichsmarks in overdue tax payments—the equivalent of millions of dollars *today*. Hitler resolved the problem later that year by making himself exempt from paying taxes altogether.<sup>9</sup>

But having more money did not automatically open every door for Hitler. When, in September 1929, he sought to rent a grand apartment at 16 Prince Regent Square in the Bogenhausen district of Munich, Hugo Bruckmann acted as his legal representative in securing approval of the lease from the Municipal Housing Authority. Although Hitler in the 1920s did have a considerable following in Munich, where the National Socialist movement had begun and which he would later designate its capital, party members made up less than one percent of the city's population (and only 0.64 percent in Bogenhausen) before 1930. Moreover, while their social backgrounds were diverse, the majority came from the lower middle and working classes, groups without great economic or political pull.<sup>10</sup> Bruckmann, by contrast, was one of the city's social and cultural heavyweights, living in a palatial mansion on Caroline Square, an elegant neoclassical space designed in 1809 by Karl von Fischer. He managed the art publishing firm, F. Bruckmann, founded by his father, who had established its reputation by publishing some of the leading German architects and artists of the nineteenth century, including Gottfried Semper and Wilhelm von Kaulbach. In 1899, seeking to give voice to the formative minds of his own generation, Hugo Bruckmann published *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, a sweeping anti-Semitic discourse on Aryan culture by Houston Stewart Chamberlain that became an ideological bible for the Nazis. Chamberlain was an honored guest in the celebrated literary salon hosted by Bruckmann's wife, Elsa, born Princess Cantacuzène of Romania. In the early 1920s, both Bruckmanns enthusiastically embraced Hitler's cause and it was at their home that he was introduced to Munich's cultural luminaries, including the architect Paul Troost, from whom he would commission National Socialism's first monumental buildings. Through the Bruckmanns, Hitler thus gained access to influential new social circles, and when he sought entry into one of the city's most prestigious neighborhoods, he again employed the publisher's social capital. Whereas Bruckmann counted among Munich's social elite, Hitler's associates reminded some of its criminal bottom. An international story that ran on September 12, 1929, just as Hitler submitted his lease for approval, linked his name with a ring of "bomb-throwers" that had been terrorizing northern German towns.<sup>11</sup> Bruckmann's support undoubtedly would have had a reassuring effect. Nonetheless, other tenants in the building, which included a lawyer, factory director's widow, and senior government official, must have eyed the newcomer with some trepidation.<sup>12</sup>

### 3 CULTIVATED INTERIORS

#### THE 1935 RENOVATION OF THE PRINCE REGENT SQUARE APARTMENT

Leni Riefenstahl's 1935 film *Triumph of the Will* glorified Adolf Hitler as the titanic leader of a great and unified nation. Whether speaking to rapt audiences from the podium, saluting SA and SS troops in the medieval streets of Nuremberg, or paying tribute to fallen soldiers at a war memorial, Hitler displayed the mastery and gravitas of a statesman. This highly ideological documentary of the Nazi party's 1934 Nuremberg rally helped to lift the stain of the brutal Röhm putsch that had occurred just weeks earlier, and which had seemed to confirm in the world's eyes Hitler's blood lust and the chaos of political life in Germany.<sup>13</sup> But with the approach of the 1936 Olympic Games, which Hitler hoped would be an international public relations victory for his regime, and as he prepared to enter a new phase of diplomatic negotiations for expanded territorial claims, the man with a thousand faces determined to remodel his image once more in order to secure his next round of political goals, which required the respect and trust of foreign nations. Architecture would play an important role in this makeover and not only in its most public and monumental forms, such as in the Nuremberg rally grounds designed by Albert Speer. On a diplomatic level, the renovations and expansions of the Old Chancellery spoke of a confident new

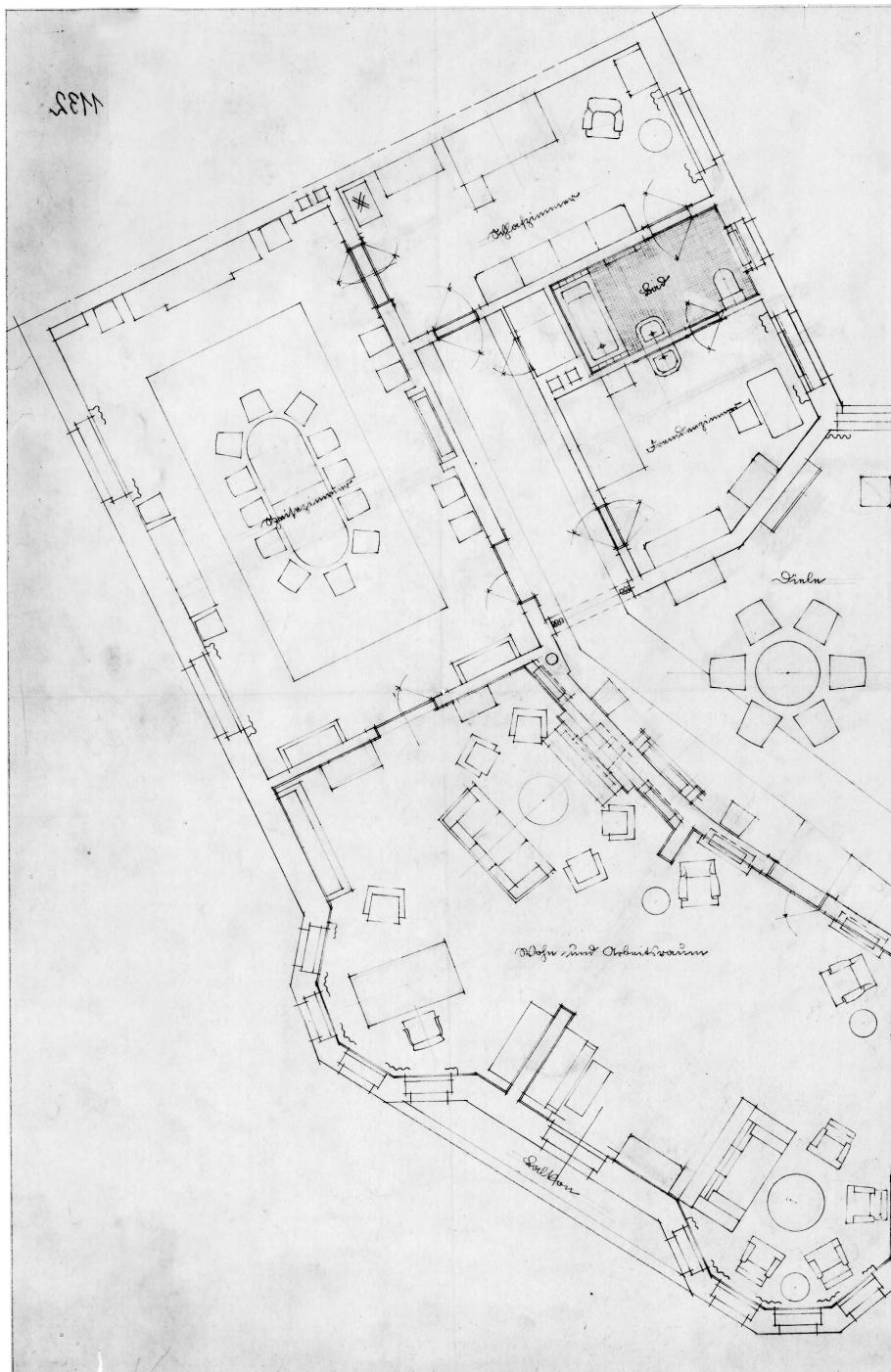


Fig. 15. Undated floor plan of Hitler's apartment on 16 Prince Regent Square in Munich after the 1935 renovation by the Atelier Troost.

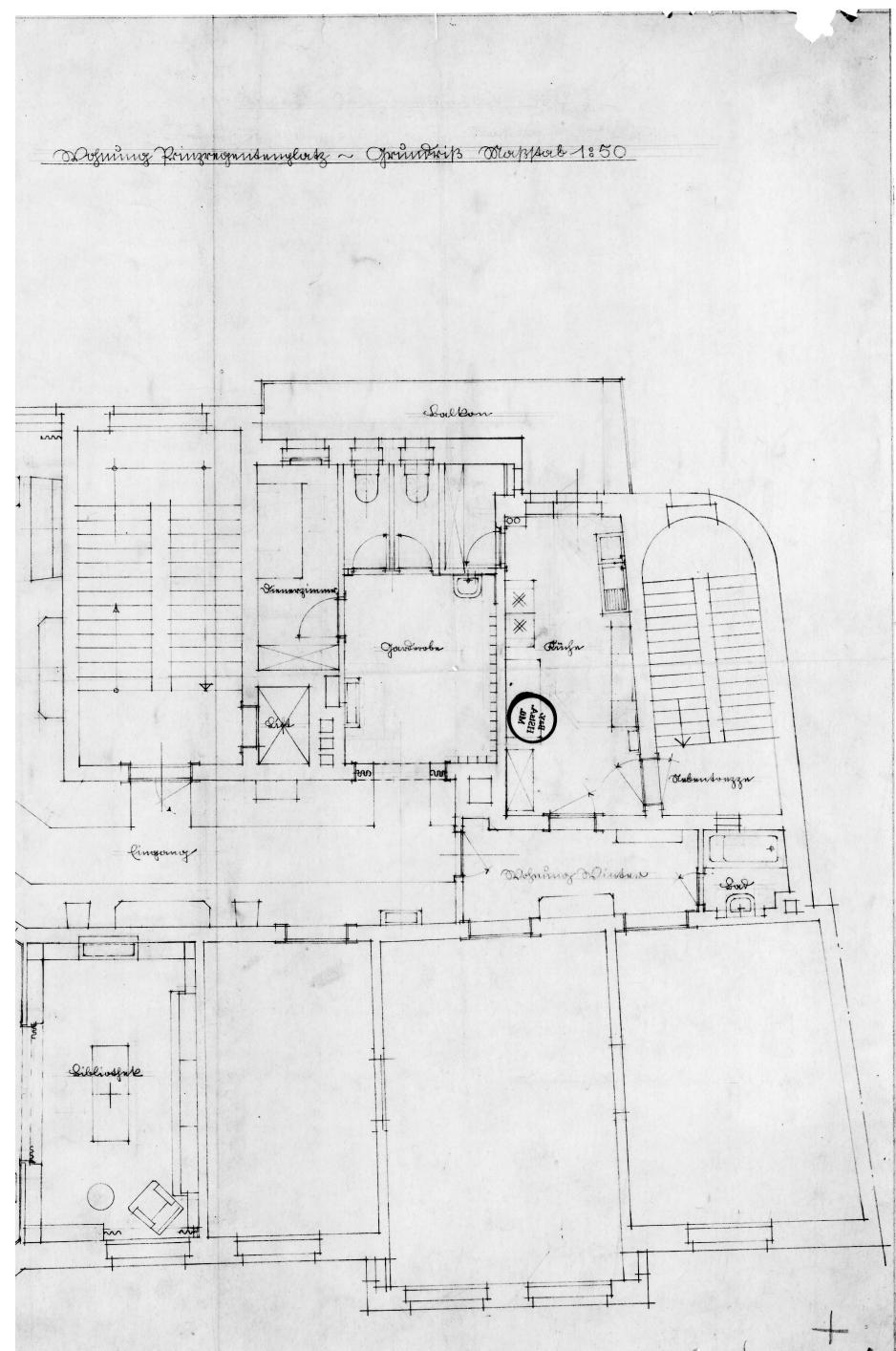
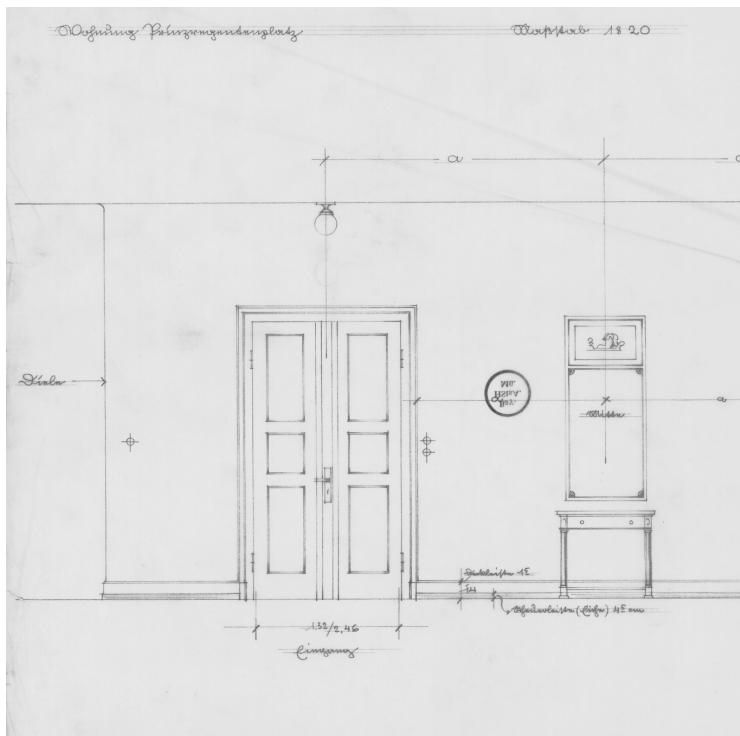




Fig. 16. Contemporary view of the foyer of the first-floor apartment, 16 Prince Regent Square in Munich, showing original Jugendstil decoration that also existed in Hitler's apartment before the renovation.

Fig. 17. Atelier Troost, elevation drawing of the hallway in Hitler's Munich apartment showing the main entrance (left), garderobe (middle), and kitchen (right), c. 1935.



style in the government district. And even in the ostensibly private sphere of Hitler's home life, changes signaled a self-possessed maturation.

In 1935, the Atelier Troost renovated and redecorated Hitler's spacious Prince Regent Square apartment in Munich at the extravagant cost of 120,000 Reichsmarks—or more than ten times the average income earned by a doctor in Germany that year.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the Chancellery, Hitler paid for the work personally, from the account his publisher maintained for him, which by then overflowed with royalties from *Mein Kampf*. The high price tag bought him an apartment in which he felt confident to host world leaders such as Neville Chamberlain and Benito Mussolini. The commission to the Atelier Troost testifies to Hitler's satisfaction with their work at the Chancellery and to his trust in their ability to give the right architectural form to his domestic needs and identity. Because this was the most private of his residences, Gerdy Troost and Leonhard Gall could work on a different, more intimate scale than at either the Chancellery or the Berghof. Nonetheless, they found other ways to communicate that this was no ordinary home.

The state of the apartment before the Atelier Troost began their work is not entirely clear. From 1929 until the renovation, the residence appears to have been occupied by a group of adults: Hitler, his niece Geli Raubal (until her

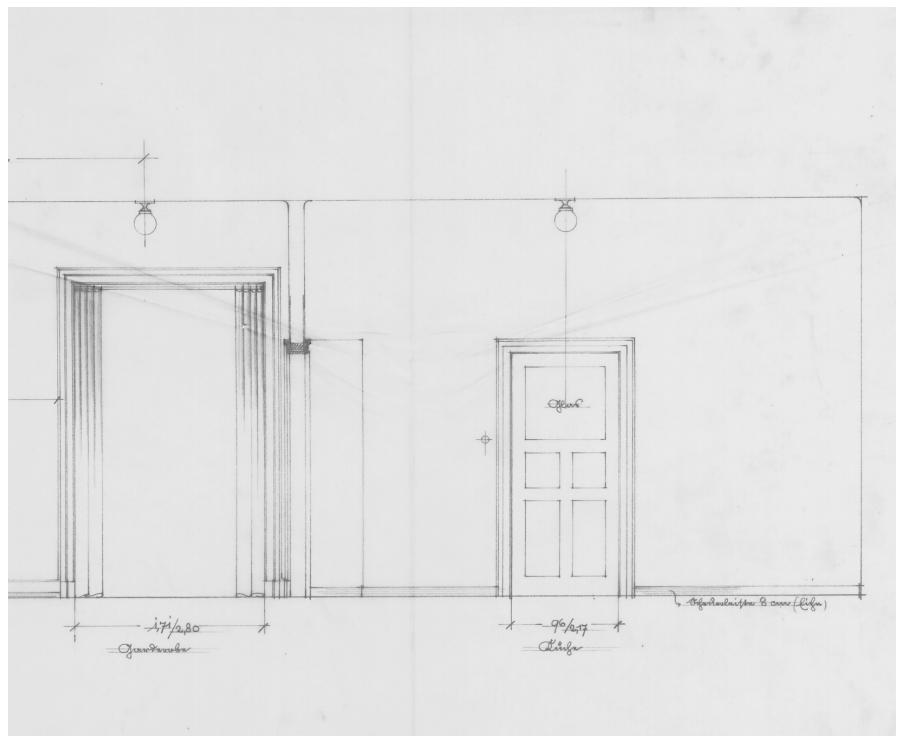
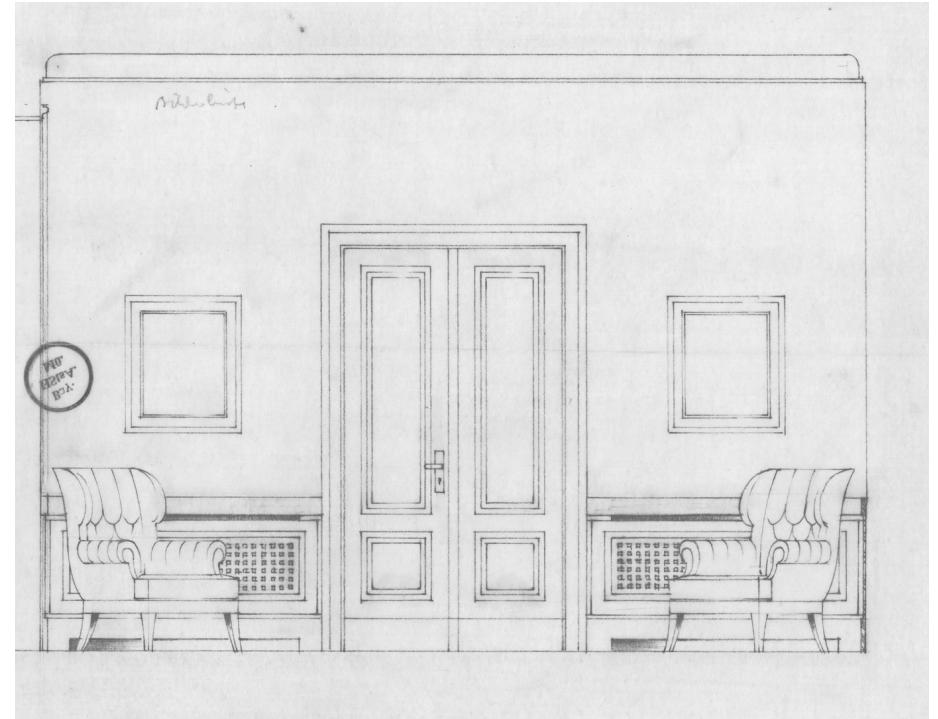
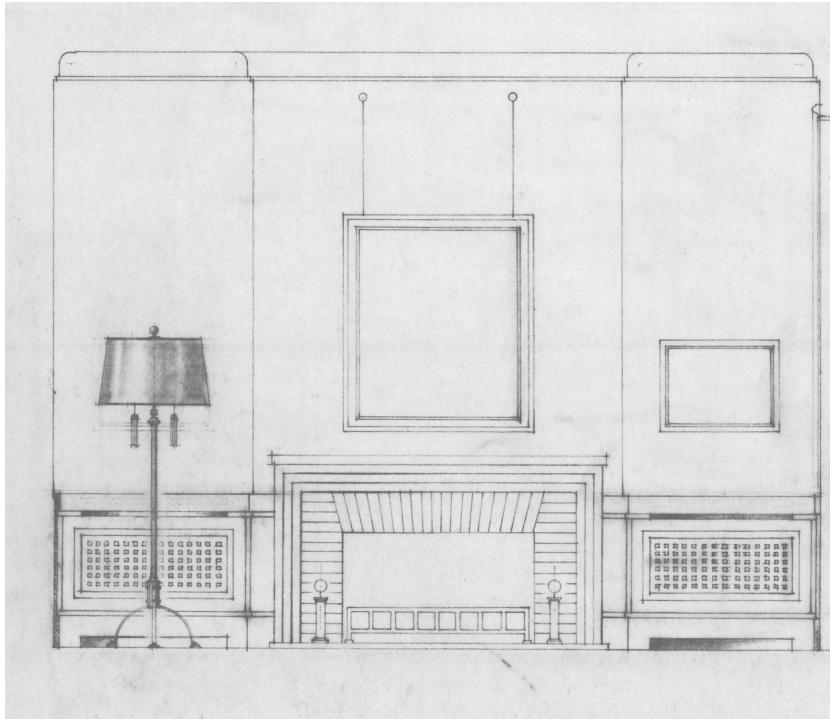


Fig. 18. Atelier Troost, elevation drawing of the interior walls of Hitler's renovated living room in his 16 Prince Regent Square apartment, showing the new fireplace (across from Hitler's desk) and the double door leading into the foyer, c. 1935.



death in 1931), and two couples. The first couple, Erich and Maria Reichert, had been Hitler's landlords for nine years on Thiersch Street, where he had lived with them and their daughter. Antonie Reichert would have been sixteen at the time of her parents' move to Prince Regent Square, but there is no indication that she came with them. Erich Reichert identified himself as a businessman, although his finances apparently required taking in a lodger.<sup>3</sup> Hitler described the Thiersch Street apartment they had shared as having four to five rooms.<sup>4</sup> Presumably, when the couple moved, they brought their furniture with them.

The other couple, recent newlyweds Georg and Anni Winter, also moved in with Hitler.<sup>5</sup> Georg Winter had worked as a valet for General Franz Ritter von Epp, through whom he had met Hitler. In October 1929, the thirty-three-year-old Winter was hired as a packer at Eher Verlag (Hitler's publisher), and also helped occasionally in the apartment, including serving at dinner parties. Anni Winter, Georg Winter's twenty-four year old bride, became Hitler's cook and house manager.<sup>6</sup> In later testimony before a denazification tribunal, Winter successfully argued that Hitler had asked him to join the SS in 1930 in order to wear the uniform when serving at table or otherwise helping his wife with official functions and thus make a suitable impression on party bigwigs. Although he

did not serve in the SS, promotions in rank followed, resulting in an ever more imposing appearance. His employer's vanity about livery, Winter claimed, cost him a long and harsh internment at the war's end, which he barely survived.<sup>7</sup>

It is not known whether the Winters brought their own furniture when they moved to 16 Prince Regent Square. Hitler himself seems to have had very little. In a 1948 interview, Anni Winter stated that he had brought only his bedroom furniture from Thiersch Street and then began to add new things.<sup>8</sup> Gerdy Troost later recalled that the apartment had been eclectically furnished, mostly by Hitler's friends. In 1929, Hitler's wealthy admirer Elsa Bruckmann had purchased some furniture for the apartment from the royal cabinet maker, Moritz Ballin. Eye witnesses later claimed that at this time Hitler also acquired a few cherished pieces by Paul Troost from the Munich Vereinigte Werkstätte.<sup>9</sup> On the whole, however, Anni Winter remembers the apartment being sparsely furnished before the 1935 renovation.

How the furniture was arranged and who lived in what rooms cannot be determined, with the possible exception of Geli Raubal. After the war, Winter reported that before the 1935 renovation, she, her husband, and Hitler occupied one wing of the apartment, and Raubal and the Reicherts the other. When



Fig. 19. Neville Chamberlain, Hitler, and Paul Schmidt (Hitler's interpreter) in Hitler's Munich apartment, sitting in the living room niche near the library. Chamberlain visited on September 30, 1938, after the signing of the Munich Accord. Hitler's book and art collections are prominently displayed in this published photograph, emphasizing how his domestic settings served to convey the image of a man of culture rather than a warmonger.

Raubal died, according to Winter and other witnesses, Hitler closed off her room and preserved it unchanged as a sort of shrine.<sup>10</sup> If this is true, the one room in the apartment conspicuously not renovated in 1935—the room beside the library—can be assumed to have been hers (fig. 15). This is also the room identified as belonging to her by Hitler's secretary, Traudl Junge.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, its location facing Prince Regent Square matches the description given by the police who investigated her death.<sup>12</sup> Hitler's bedroom after the renovation, with its own private bathroom, was located at the far end of the opposite wing, and it seems likely that he had occupied this same room before 1935. If this is the case, then Hitler and his niece did not live adjacent to one another, as some have speculated, seeing in this presumed spatial proximity evidence of other intimacies. Indeed, the door that directly connected Hitler's room (via the bathroom) to its neighbor and that has contributed to rumors of clandestine encounters did not exist before the renovation. This neighboring room, erroneously identified as belonging to Raubal, had previously been a small maid's chamber and was expanded into a comfortable guest room only in 1935.

In more general terms, the apartment's appearance prior to the renovation can be reconstructed on the basis of architectural plans and of other floors in the building whose original interiors have been preserved. When he designed the building in 1907–08, the architect Franz Popp employed the Jugendstil forms that were then popular in Munich. Curvilinear wooden moldings as well as rounded arches above doorways gave the apartments an elegant, but also historical feel (fig. 16). Hitler did not like Jugendstil, according to Gerdy Troost, which he considered "too extreme."<sup>13</sup> In the 1935 renovation, all such Jugendstil decoration was eliminated from the apartment and replaced with the starkly plain rectilinear forms characteristic of the interiors of Paul Troost's party buildings on Königsplatz and House of German Art (fig. 17). The removal or reduction of walls also increased the impression of a bright, open interior (see figs. 2, 15). The result as it is experienced today is strikingly modern and spare, although the relative emptiness of the apartment, now used for offices, contributes to this effect. When Lee Miller arrived here in the final days of the war, having hours earlier witnessed the starving and dead in Dachau concentration camp, and photographed the interiors of Hitler's home, she avoided conveying any of that sense of light and modernity, which must have seemed impossibly at odds with what she had just experienced. These were not, in any case, glossy photographs for an architecture magazine spread, but images of American soldiers occupying a dictator's lair. Most of the images seem to have been taken at night or with the curtains drawn. In some instances, she may have rearranged objects to heighten the sense of a claustrophobic jumble (such as in Hitler's bedroom), even though her text described the apartment as "quite spacious" and "very simply laid out." The resulting dark, cramped interiors published in the July 1945 issue of *Vogue* magazine thus do not prepare one for the airy interiors encountered in the apartment today.<sup>14</sup>

Unfortunately, almost no other photographs exist of the apartment. In 1935, in response to a request by the magazine *Die Neue Linie*, Joseph Goebbels expressly forbid taking pictures of Hitler's domestic spaces in the Old Chancellery (although official and public areas were permissible).<sup>15</sup> Goebbels did not give a reason for his decision, but it reveals that even for the much photographed Führer, some spaces were off limits. Nonetheless, numerous surviving drawings and plans by the Atelier Troost document the transformation. A floor plan of the apartment indicating the proposed changes, signed on behalf of Gall as the architect and dated January 1935, was submitted to local building authorities in early February.<sup>16</sup> Most of the work appears to have been carried out between February and mid-April 1935.<sup>17</sup> Because of the extent of the renovation, the apartment's occupants moved out; when it was completed, only Hitler and the Winters returned. On April 29, Hitler proudly showed off his new home

by inviting three influential female admirers—Unity Mitford, the Duchess of Brunswick (the daughter of Emperor Wilhelm II), and Winifred Wagner—to dinner.<sup>18</sup>

Similar to the work undertaken at the Chancellery, although on a smaller scale, the renovation opened up the residence's main living spaces and reorganized its layout to consolidate functions (see figs. 2, 15). Entering the apartment and turning right, one crossed the wedge-shaped foyer and came to what had been a maid's room and separate hall toilet. The toilet was removed in order to expand the small room, which was then connected to a bathroom that was shared with Hitler's bedroom. Eva Braun may have used this room on overnight stays.<sup>19</sup> Across from Hitler's bedroom, on the south-eastern end of the apartment, had been a square room and, adjacent to it, a narrower room. The wall between them was removed to create a large dining room with a marble mantelpiece (which may have been decorative or covered a radiator) and a table that could seat twelve. From the dining room one entered the largest space of the apartment, with two sets of bay windows. The bay closest to the dining room contained Hitler's study, across from which was a seating area and a newly installed fireplace (fig. 18). The other bay contained a sitting alcove, beside which a wall had been removed to join it to a new library (fig. 19 and see plate 12). Although the space of this living area was more confined than in the Chancellery Reception Hall, the Atelier Troost nonetheless created a sense of an unfolding interior, with one space flowing into another. In their memoirs, Henriette von Schirach and Traudl Junge recalled the appeal of the apartment's large rooms to Hitler. Hitler told Schirach that people needed room to flourish, a comment that would seem innocuous if it did not come from the man who justified genocide on the same grounds.<sup>20</sup>

This whole section of the apartment was now given over to Hitler, and the western wing, which one entered if one turned left from the foyer, became the service area. The last two rooms in this wing facing the square were made into an apartment for the Winters, consisting of a bedroom, living room, and bathroom. A wall in the hallway directly before their rooms separated their living space from that of Hitler. The kitchen across from their rooms, which served the entire apartment, was expanded and modernized. A maid's room and toilet that had been located beside the pantry in the old kitchen were removed. A preexisting maid's room located within the space of the wardrobe (to the left) was slightly expanded.

The Atelier Troost designed much of the apartment's furniture and fittings. The forms tended to be simple, albeit traditional, and ornament minimal. Numerous elements reappear in the later National Socialist buildings on Königsplatz and

in the House of German Art, the interiors of which Gall and Gerdy Troost also created. For example, the round coffee table with a dark marble top in the nook near the library, where Hitler received his guests, closely resembles those used in the Führerbau, which housed Hitler's office on the Königsplatz (see fig. 19). The combination of colored marbles used for Hitler's living room fireplace—sand for the mantelpiece and red for the floor in front—recurs in the interior of the Führerbau's grand staircase atrium. Moreover, the grooved linear forms of the mantel (here and in the dining room) resemble the radiator covers in this same atrium and at the House of German Art. The square grid pattern used for the radiator grills in the apartment's living room transforms into the railings of the Führerbau's atrium and outdoor balconies, the latter already sketched out by Paul Troost (see fig. 18). The distinctive door handles, composed of a cube attached to a cylinder, are also found at the Königsplatz buildings and the House of German Art. The dramatic rectangular opening between the library and the living room, framed in dark wood, resembles the striking treatment of doorframes in the Königsplatz buildings and the House of German Art. The Atelier Troost thus developed a versatile decorative style that encompassed both private and public buildings, and monumental and domestic scales. Within a syntax of spare classicism, the Atelier Troost employed a vocabulary of specific forms, colors, and materials that produced a distinctive visual language of power. Whether private or public, the Atelier Troost interiors were immediately recognizable as the Führer's spaces.

It was in the spring of 1932, in the midst of presidential elections, that the National Socialists discovered the publicity value of Hitler's private life. The electoral campaign pitted Hitler, then the leader of the second-largest political party in the Reich, against the elderly incumbent Paul von Hindenburg, revered by Germans as the war hero of Tannenberg, and the Communist leader Ernst Thälmann. On March 13, German voters returned a strong lead of over seven million votes for Hindenburg, throwing the National Socialists, who had expected Hitler to be swept into the presidency, into despair.<sup>1</sup> Hindenburg's failure to win an absolute majority, however, led to a runoff election the following month, and it was in the period between the two presidential elections that the Nazis seized on a new representational strategy.<sup>2</sup> Although Hitler would lose the next round, the campaign, along with the worsening economic crisis, increased his support among the German people by over two million votes, to a third of the electorate.<sup>3</sup> Having proved its broad appeal, the image of the private Führer would become a staple of National Socialist propaganda for years to come.

The coming out of the Führer's personal life marked a distinct departure from earlier National Socialist publicity, which had focused on Hitler's role as agitator of the masses and leader of a militant political movement. In the 1932 run-off election, the need to cast a wider net pushed Nazi propaganda toward a celebration of the personal attributes of their candidate. Hitler's youth and dynamism, epitomized by his much advertised campaign flights across Germany,

became an important selling point. Against the aristocratic honor and dignity that accrued to the remote eighty-four-year-old Hindenburg, the Nazis offered the modernity and glamor of a candidate who took to the skies to meet face-to-face with the German people. Perhaps most daringly, Nazi publicists brought Hitler's private life into the limelight in order to emphasize his moral and human character and thereby win over the bourgeois voters and women who had overwhelmingly supported Hindenburg on the first ballot.<sup>4</sup>

Given the circumstances of Hitler's private life, this was truly an audacious move. He was a middle-aged bachelor with few family ties and no known romantic relationships. Unsavory rumors about his domestic life and sexuality had flared in September 1931 after his niece, Geli Raubel, shot herself in her uncle's Munich apartment. Indeed, until the turnabout in 1932, National Socialist publicists had diverted attention away from or suppressed stories about Hitler's personal life. While the Nazis continued to fight reports that could harm Hitler's reputation, they began to construct for public consumption their own version of the private individual. The image of Hitler-as-private-man would now be reconfigured into an asset rather than a liability.

The title of Heinrich Hoffmann's photo album, *The Hitler Nobody Knows*, announced the shift in the Führer's image. The book appeared in mid-March, shortly after the first presidential election. While conceived earlier and perhaps independently, it nonetheless served as an effective tool in the National Socialists' new campaign to appeal to a broader public through the recently discovered private Hitler.<sup>5</sup> Hoffmann, as Hitler's official photographer, had extensive access to the German leader and from the thousands of images at his disposal, he selected one hundred to encapsulate the Führer's personal life.

On the cover of the book, Hitler was shown in a Bavarian jacket and floppy-brimmed hat reclining in the grass in the mountains with one of his dogs by his side (see fig. 3). The image, together with the book's title, signaled to the reader that the camera lens would reveal a different Hitler and thus fulfill, as the dust jacket text stated, the "yearning" of his "countless millions of followers" to know more about his personal life and his "wide-ranging interests and aptitudes." The text also claimed the "documentary truth" of Hoffmann's work, a statement intended not only to instill confidence in his presentation of the private Hitler, but also to refute the less flattering accounts published by his critics. In fact, and as Germans were to learn after the war, Hoffmann's distorted and highly edited vision of Hitler's personal life bore little resemblance to reality; Eva Braun, for example, is nowhere to be found in these official portrayals.

The dust jacket text further suggested that the book would serve as a visual complement to Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, and the book did begin biographically, like a family album, with photographs of Hitler as a baby (with a birth

announcement “pasted” beside it), the house where he was born, his parents, his school and army days, and his rise as an orator and politician. In documenting his contemporary life, Hoffmann included an assortment of photographs that mostly appeared to be candid shots of Hitler engaged in activities either of a private nature or at the peripheries of his political duties—for example, stopping for a quick picnic lunch on the way to giving a speech or chatting with a worker who approached his car. Relatively few of the images revealed an urban landscape; instead, Hitler’s so-called private life played out mostly on a pastoral stage. A number of the images of Hitler at leisure focused on the Obersalzberg, although Haus Wachenfeld, while described, was not visually depicted. Hitler was shown in the mountains with his dogs, reading outdoors, walking, talking with a neighbor’s child, and dressed in casual clothes, including Lederhosen. Here, the caption text stated, away from the “noise and restlessness” of the cities, Hitler could relax and recover from the “stresses and strains” of his political struggle. Yet despite the pretext of being personal, these images of a relaxed and often smiling Hitler were by no means apolitical. Thus, a photograph of Hitler sitting in the grass reading the newspaper and grinning broadly was accompanied by a caption indicating that he was amused by the “fables” printed about him by a hostile press: “champagne feasts, Jewish girlfriends, a luxury villa, French money . . .”<sup>16</sup> The viewer, at whom Hitler gazes, is invited to share in this intimate moment and laugh along with him.

Similarly, Hitler’s fondness of children, which would also become an iconic theme in Hoffmann’s hands, conveyed the Führer’s goodness both in his apparent affection and concern for them, as well as in their trust of him. “The young love him,” read the title to an image of Hitler surrounded by young boys. “Everywhere children crowd around him to bring him flowers.” Below a photograph of Hitler talking with two members of the Hitler Youth, one of whom was a small boy from the “Pimpf” (cub) division, Schirach’s caption claimed that “even the youngest are his fighters.”<sup>17</sup> The loyalty of Hitler youth members, in their innocence as children, suggested that they, like the animals, were drawn instinctively to a trustworthy man. While Hitler was not the first politician to tug on voters’ heartstrings by posing with children, together with Hoffmann he would raise this public relations ploy to a new level of exploitation. Being seen in the company of adoring children was especially useful for a bachelor politician needing to appeal to female voters and to soften the aggressive masculine image of his party.

On April 4, 1932, the first official day of campaigning for the run-off election, Joseph Goebbels published an article in the National Socialist newspaper *Der Angriff* that exemplified the new campaign tactics promoting the private Hitler as a good man. The major points of his argument repeated and reinforced the

themes introduced in Hoffmann’s illustrated book. The real Hitler, he claimed, was artistically gifted, but had renounced architecture and painting to lead the German people out of their misery. “Adolf Hitler is by nature a good man. It is known that he has a particular fondness for children, to whom he is always a best friend and fatherly comrade.” Indeed, Goebbels claimed that the welfare of German children had spurred Hitler to political action in his desire to give them a better life than that of their parents. Goebbels also lauded Hitler’s comradeship with and understanding for his colleagues, his intellectual taste, artistic sensitivity, simple lifestyle, modesty, and enormous dedication to work. “This is Adolf Hitler as he really looks. A man who enjoys the highest love and devotion from all those who know him not only as a politician, but also as a person.”<sup>18</sup> In Goebbels’s testimonial account, then, Hitler’s goodness was not only proven by his character, but also by the love of those near him, who knew the “authentic” man.

The left-leaning press countered the personal and sentimental appeal of the National Socialist’s campaign with the distancing power of sarcasm. On March 19, 1932, *Vorwärts*, the central organ of the Social Democratic Party, republished in full the advertisement for Hoffmann’s book that had appeared in *Der Angriff* the previous day. As in the book’s dust jacket text, the advertisement promised to satisfy the yearnings of “Hitler’s countless millions of followers” for a glimpse of his personal life, drawing on the “many thousands of pictures” taken by Hoffmann in the past ten years at Hitler’s side. Beneath the original advertisement, *Vorwärts* rewrote the promotional text:

“Listen up, millions, your longing is satisfied! You see the great Adolf of the Morning in pajamas and of the Evening in tails, you see him painting his nails, you see him pomading his side part, you see him eating, drinking, speaking, writing! For the last ten years, that is, since he turned thirty-three, the great Adolf has spent the better part of his life having his picture taken and so in less than four thousand days ‘many thousands of pictures’ have been produced, thus, evidently, several each day.

This is how Adolf has worked quietly for his people and satisfied their desire. Though they have not eaten their fill in a long time, they can now glut themselves looking at Adolf Hitler! Heil!”<sup>19</sup>

Despite such criticisms, *The Hitler Nobody Knows* sold and sold: over 400,000 copies in multiple printings by 1942. Its success, combined with Hitler’s need to solidify his support among the German population in the early years of his rule, ensured that Hoffmann would return to this popular format. After Hitler’s rise to power, he published three more books that focused on the Führer’s private

life: *Youth Around Hitler* (Jugend um Hitler, 1934), *Hitler in His Mountains* (fig. 41; Hitler in seinen Bergen, 1935), and *Hitler Away From it All* (fig. 42; Hitler abseits vom Alltag, 1937). Each of these sold over 200,000 copies, testifying to the unwavering interest of German audiences.<sup>23</sup> To the books, Hoffmann added a brisk business in Hitler postcards with off-duty motifs, and sold such images to the German and foreign press (fig. 43). In 1937, for example, *Life* magazine

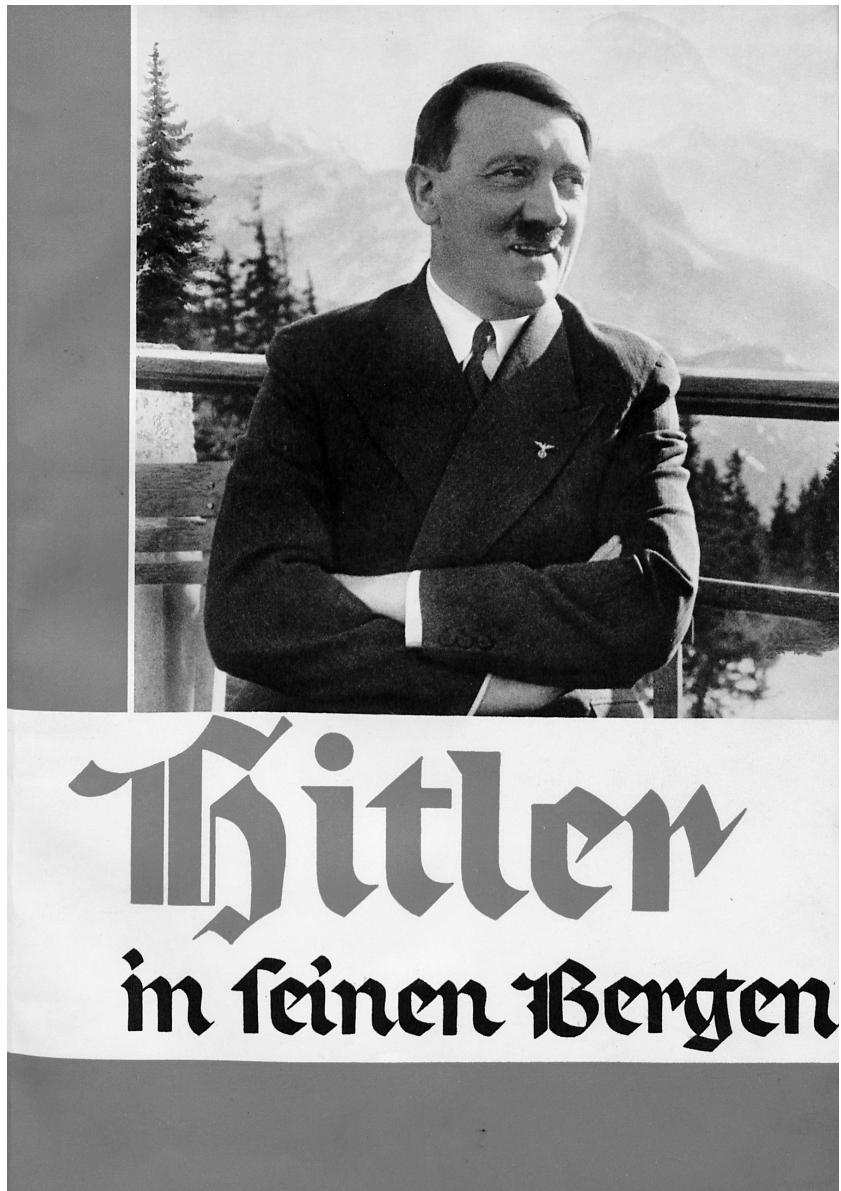


Fig. 41. Cover of Heinrich Hoffmann's *Hitler in His Mountains* (1935).

published a three-page feature on Hoffmann's photographs of Hitler with children, admitting that the images were propaganda, but reproducing them, complete with sentimental captions, nonetheless.<sup>24</sup> As historian Toni McDaniel has argued, the American media's preoccupation before 1938 with maintaining "balanced" coverage of Nazi Germany resulted in a confusing image of Hitler, particularly in the "sugar-coated" stories regularly printed in newspapers and

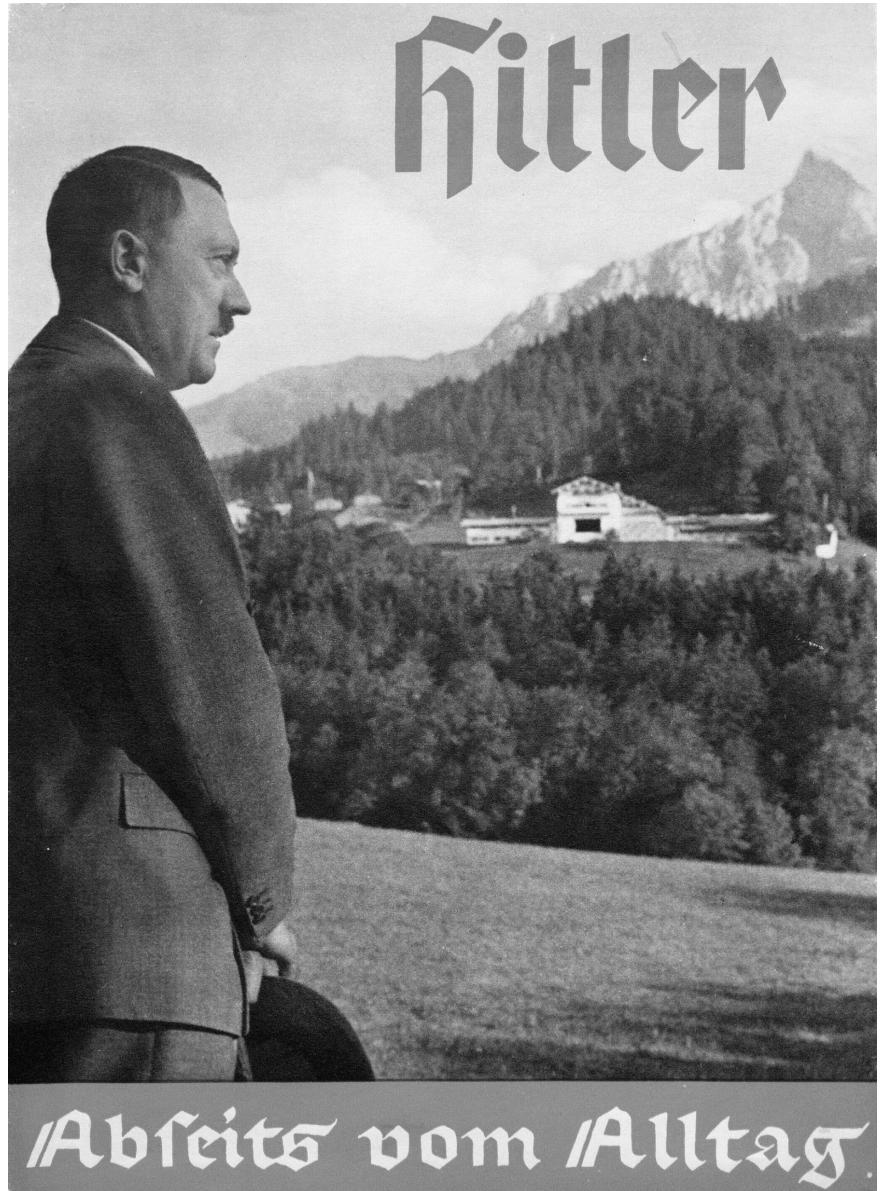


Fig. 42. Cover of Heinrich Hoffmann's *Hitler Away From it All* (1937).



DER FUHRER ALS TIERFREUND

Fig. 43. "The Führer as animal lover." Postcard by Heinrich Hoffmann.

magazines about the private man, a subject that fascinated the American public.<sup>25</sup> But the immense popularity of Hoffmann's images goes beyond editorial choices to suggest how audiences in Germany and abroad themselves wanted to see Hitler in the early years of the regime. A 1934 article in the *Deutsche Presse*, the journal of the National German Press Association, on national and foreign markets for German photojournalism reported that "photos that depict the Führer as a friend of children or playing with his two German Shepherds at Haus Wachenfeld are the most popular." Even American newspapers preferred to buy Hitler pictures with a "human interest" angle, such as the Führer snapped "as he caresses a child."<sup>26</sup> By 1934, then, the most sought-after images of Hitler were not of the new leader giving speeches or reviewing his troops, but those that purported to show his softer side. The private Hitler invented for the 1932 presidential elections had become a global celebrity.

While *The Hitler Nobody Knows* established the main characteristics of the Führer's private persona, after 1933, the site of its performance focused predominantly on Haus Wachenfeld on the Obersalzberg. The house in the mountains, as envisioned by Hoffmann and other National Socialist promoters, became a space of projected desires for the good life promised to the German people by the Nazi party. Here in the expansive *Lebensraum* and pure air of the mountains,

where the sun always seemed to shine and blond children frolicked, the Nazis envisioned and propagated a domestic "utopia" that stood for the nation as a whole. Through officially sanctioned representations on postcards and in magazines, books, and exhibitions, and even in the "spontaneous" pilgrimages to the Obersalzberg tolerated for many years, Germans were encouraged to consume in their imaginations the little house that symbolized the larger reward to come. Not unlike the witch's house in the fairy tale of Hansel and Gretel, it was an alluring and dangerous lie.

## NOTES

### INTRODUCTION

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### 1. HITLER SETS UP HOUSE

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27. Rosenbaum, *Explaining Hitler*, 39.

## 2. HOW THE CHANCELLOR LIVES

1. Adolf Hitler, “Die Reichskanzlei,” *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich* 3 (1939): 277. According to Birgit Schwarz, despite Hitler’s complaints about the bad quality of the state-loaned art, many of the paintings borrowed from Berlin museums at the Chancellery were rehung after its renovation. Birgit Schwarz, *Genieähnlich: Hitler und die Kunst* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), 140.
2. Hitler, “Die Reichskanzlei,” 277.
3. Ibid. I have borrowed from the translation in Albert Speer, *Inside the Third Reich*, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (New York: Touchstone, 1997), 29.
4. Speer, *Inside the Third Reich*, 29. In their memoirs, both Christa Schroeder and Traudl Junge repeat an anecdote that Hitler told them about the day he visited Hindenburg at the Chancellery to be sworn in as chancellor. As he entered the Congress Hall, where the ceremony was to be performed, he claims that Hindenburg warned him to “Keep to the walls, Herr Hitler, the floor won’t last much longer.” It is important to keep in mind that the source for this story is Hitler, who was committed to the narrative of decay. See Christa Schroeder, *He Was My Chief*, trans. Geoffrey Brooks (London: Frontline, 2009), 19; and, Traudl Junge, *Until the Final Hour*, ed. Melissa Müller, trans. Anthea Bell (New York: Arcade, 2004), 149.
5. Staatssekretär der Reichskanzlei [Hermann Pünder], ed., *Zur Geschichte des Reichskanzlerpalais und der Reichskanzlei* (Berlin: Zentralverlag, 1928), 67–72.
6. Hitler is often credited (as in the Schroeder and Junge memoirs, see note 4) with having rescued the historic Congress Hall by ordering the replacement of its rotted timber floor with a new steel-girder construction. Arnold convincingly argues on the basis of archival records that the work was done to allow the removal of a weight-bearing wall in the Reception Hall and four columns in the foyer directly below the Congress Hall. Dietmar Arnold with Reiner Janick, *Neue Reichskanzlei und ‘Führerbunker’: Legenden und Wirklichkeit* (Berlin: Links, 2009), 55–56, 172n36. On the 1926 renovations, see also Laurenz Demps, *Berlin-Wilhelmstrasse: Eine Topographie preussisch-deutscher Macht*, 4th rev. ed. (Berlin: Links, 2010), 147, 150.
7. Gerdy Troost to Albert Speer, November 28, 1934, Captured German Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 452 (container 768), Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (originals in the Bavarian State Library). The construction site manager was Josef Schatz, a Munich builder hired by Paul Troost. See Gerdy Troost, “Zur Frage Albert Speer,” unpublished manuscript, no date, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325, Bavarian State Library, Munich.
8. Gerdy Troost, interview by John Toland, November 5, 1971, transcript for tape C-50, John Toland Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.
9. List of renovation expenditures and payments, January 29, 1935; Reichsminister der Finanzen to Atelier Troost, March 27, 1934; Atelier Troost to Reichsministerium der Finanzen, April 4, 1934, German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 452 (container 768), Library of Congress.
10. Angela Schönberger, *Die Neue Reichskanzlei von Albert Speer* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1981), 21.
11. Hans Wilderotter, *Alltag der Macht: Berlin Wilhelmstrasse* (Berlin: Jovis, 1998), 74.
12. Gerdy Troost, “Adolf Hitler: Erste Begegnung—‘Braunes Haus’ (Umbau Palais Barlow),” undated manuscript, private collection.
13. Timo Nüsslein, *Paul Ludwig Troost, 1878–1934* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2012), 68–69, 71–72.
14. Ibid., 86.
15. Ibid., 238–239.
16. Hans Frank, *Im Angesicht des Galgens* (Neuhaus bei Schliersee: Frank, 1955), 122.
17. Arnold, *Neue Reichskanzlei*, 47. Arnold mistakenly states that the apartment was located on the fifth floor (German fourth floor) of the Siedler building. In fact, it was on the fourth floor (German third floor).

18. Nüsslein, *Paul Ludwig Troost*, 67–68.
19. Speer, *Inside the Third Reich*, 50.
20. On the number of employees in the Atelier Troost, see Gerdy Troost's Meldebogen, May 6, 1946, Spruchkammerakten K 1844 Troost, Gerdy, Bayerisches Staatsarchiv München.
21. Eva von Seckendorff, "Monumentalität und Gemütlichkeit: Die Interieurs der NSDAP-Bauten am Königsplatz," in *Bürokratie und Kult: Das Parteizentrum der NSDAP am Königsplatz in München*, ed. Iris Lauterbach, Julian Rosefeldt, and Piero Steinle (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1995), 120.
22. Bruno E. Werner, "Der Führer und seine Architekten," *Die Neue Linie* 10, no. 8 (1939): 27.
23. See the mention of a furniture cost estimate from August 1933 in the invoice from Vereinigte Werkstätten für Kunst im Handwerk to Atelier Troost, March 15, 1934, German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 452 (container 768), Library of Congress.

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