9 Cologne / Germany[1]
Islands of Tradition. Heritage Politics from the Nazi Era to Postwar Reconstruction

Kölle bliev Kölle
Cologne must remain Cologne
(local saying)

Due to the extensive destruction of German cities in World War II, an examination of their present-day appearance is largely confronted with the products of postwar urban planning and architecture. Even where the rebuilding effort aimed to establish continuity and the decision was made to reconstruct the prewar appearance of a city, the majority of the buildings are substantially new. We may at most distinguish between cities that exemplify a new beginning in urban planning (such as Mainz, Frankfurt, and Hannover) and others that sought to preserve the historic townscape (such as Munich and Nuremberg).[2] In Germany's so-called 'Old Towns' (*Altstädte*), unlike in Italy's, the 'artificial' is accordingly the default register, although many people now prefer to remain unaware of this artificiality. In the following study of continuity in the German rebuilding effort, the focus is on continuities in the guiding principles of urban planning and the conceptions of modernization that shaped the ways planners engaged with historic city centers from the 1920s and 1930s through to the postwar era. As we will see, the conceptions elaborated by Germany's historic preservationists, too, show a striking degree of constancy from the 1920s through the Nazi era to the reconstruction period.

Modernization and the Question of Identity

The war constitutes a watershed moment in the history of Germany's cities; the guiding principles of urban planning, however, evince a great deal of continuity. In a larger

1 Translation from the German by Gerrit Jackson with assistance from Johanna Blokker.

2 See Beyme, Der Wiederaufbau, 1987, 175–182; Beseler/Gutschow, Kriegsschicksale Deutscher Architektur, 1988, XLIX–LXV.

historical perspective, the rebuilding effort – which is to say, the phase of urban construction that largely defined the present appearance of German cities – may be described as part of the great conflict surrounding the issue of modernization that began in the 19th century and was largely fought on the battlefield of the European city.[3] The competing urbanistic goals of the different sides in this conflict may be described as either progressive or traditional, but the categorization is superficial. On the one hand, it was a matter of meeting the challenges posed by industrialization and rapid urbanization, of modernizing the city by rebuilding its transportation infrastructure, installing sanitation facilities, and revising its overall structure. On the other, it involved overcoming the feelings of rootlessness and alienation engendered by these transformations, a profoundly disruptive experience which Charles Baudelaire captured as early as 1857 in a much-quoted sentence in his *Fleurs du mal*: "Le vieux Paris n'est plus; la forme d'une ville change plus vite, hélas, que le cœur d'un mortel!"[4] This inversion of the relative paces of change seemed to imperil the city as a self-contained structure which may be experienced as such, as an entity quite literally filled with meaning. During the core period of Modernism, however, the foundational role the city plays for its residents' identity was often effectively ignored or explicitly rejected. Ideas such as continuity and traditionalism ran counter to the era's avant-garde self-conception, which posited that identity flowed from radical contemporaneity (*être-du-temps*). Le Corbusier, for example, planned to rebuild the center of Paris in the spirit of the Athens Charter, the paradigmatic founding document of Modernist urban planning.[5] The city's historic core – which the architect vilified as a "flattened-out and jumbled city", a "maze", "the seventh circle of Dante's Inferno"[6] – would have been razed to make way for an array of functionalist skyscrapers called the *Ville Voisin*. Planners whose perspective was defined by their enthusiasm for technology saw the traditional city as deficient more than anything else, as unsanitary and dangerous, but also as crowded, ugly, and 'unmodern'.

It is characteristic of this attitude that the majority of planners saw the destruction of almost all major cities in Germany by area-bombing as creating a welcome opportunity to impose radically new and forward-looking plans.[7]

"Holy Cologne" with its iconic Rhine riverfront (fig. 1) perished in World War II: on May 31, 1942, more than a thousand bombers of the British Royal Air Force took the city as their target in the first devastating large-scale operation against a major German urban center (fig. 2). In addition to damaging most of Cologne's historic monuments, the attacks destroyed 120,000 apartments and rendered 350,000 people homeless.[8] By the end of the war, 95 percent of the city's Old Town had been ravaged. Of its prewar

3 For a detailed discussion, see Vinken, Zone Heimat, 2010.

4 The old Paris is gone (the form a city takes / More quickly shifts, alas, than does the mortal heart). Baudelaire, The Flowers of Evil, 1998 (1857), 175.

5 Tönnesmann, Paris ist tot, 1993. Cf. the essay on The Crises of the Modern City in this volume (Chapter 2).

6 Le Corbusier, The City of To-morrow, 1987 (1925), 280, 284.

7 Vinken, Zone Heimat, 2010, 161–163.

8 Beseler/Gutschow, Kriegsschicksale Deutscher Architektur, 1988, XLVI.

population of over 700,000, no more than 10,000 people remained in the areas on the left bank of the Rhine.[9]

Figure 1: Veduta of Cologne (detail), woodcut by Anton von Worms 1531

In 1944, the National Socialist mayor of Cologne, Robert Brandes, mused: "If there is a point to the destruction of our major cities, [… it is that we will have to] define the intellectual foundations on which the planning for the *metropolis of the future* will be based and work toward that great goal […] Entirely new cities will be built. Existing neighborhoods are at bottom a burden."[10] Even historic preservationists shared the euphoric sense that a new beginning was possible; shortly before the end of the war, Andreas Huppertz expressed the sentiment with particular bluntness, welcoming the ravages of the war as an "opportunity the like of which will probably never arise again" to remake Cologne's urban core, which he described as a "filthy slum" marred by the "lapses in taste" of the late 19th century.[11] The mood remained widespread once the war was over; in a programmatic essay entitled "Altstadt und Neuzeit" (Old City and Modern Era), Wilhelm Heilig wrote that the war had effectively "expurgated" what "should long ago have been cleaned up, if in a different and reasonable manner".[12]

Yet the caesura of 1945 also raised the question of the identity of the city with new urgency. In the rubble-filled wasteland of the ravaged cities, the formerly powerful bonds of tradition seemed to have worn thin and in fact threatened to snap. The war generation shared the shocking experience that intimately familiar environments and images might be lost from one day to the next. The architect Hans Hansen, who had been a member of Bruno Taut's avant-gardist *Gläserner Kette* (Chain of Glass), described with precision the changes of perception wrought by the destruction of the war: "Here, in the narrower framework of our home town, all spaces and streets reflected the life of the past, both great and small. We were free to draw from that source without fearing

9 Beseler/Gutschow, Kriegsschicksale Deutscher Architektur, 1988, 522.

10 Brandes, Wiederaufbau und Gemeindeverwaltung, 1944, 1.

11 Huppertz, Schönere Zukunft, 1945/1947.

12 Huppertz, Schönere Zukunft, 1945/1947.

Figure 2: Cologne, view of the Rhine riverbank with the Cathedral and the ruins of Groß-St.-Martin (left), photograph by August Sander, 1946

that it would ever be exhausted […] In 1918, still possessed of a rich and undestroyed world of creative forms, we proposed to renew the realm of the arts 'utterly and without compromise'; now we stand before a world that has truly been destroyed […] That which we, in the high spirits of youth, once wished to throw on the scrap heap has suddenly become precious, now that we have lost it: *tradition*. Where the eternal principle of living art still shines forth from the devastation, it must be preserved by all means necessary."[13]

Yet what would it look like to tie the plans for the postwar city back to local tradition as an "eternal principle"? Views on this question diverged widely from the very outset. The architect Paul Schmitthenner noted as early as 1943: "Cologne, at least the core, the old town with its famed houses of worship and other valuable old structures, cannot be rebuilt, if by rebuilding we mean the recreation of the former state of affairs. […] The city needs to be planned from scratch if a new Cologne is to rise that will meet the needs of a new era and be a living structural creation of our time."[14] That same year, the municipal conservator, Hans Vogts, remarked on the same question: "Historical consciousness, which is heavily dependent on the townscape, constitutes […] an indispensable foundation for future development; its worth cannot be overestimated."[15] To regain its position as the metropolis of the Rhineland, Vogts wrote, Cologne needed to have character, to convey a sense of home and the values associated with it; functional modern buildings were unsuited to this task. From his perspective, the "recovery of the townscape" was the most pressing need the rebuilding effort would have to address.

13 Hansen, Gedanken über Grundlage, 1945, 1–2. Italics in the original.

14 Quoted in: Beseler/Gutschow, Kriegsschicksale Deutscher Architektur, 1988, XLVI.

15 Vogts, Betrifft Wiederaufbau, 1943, 2. See Roth, Vorstellung des alten heiligen Köln, 1998, 590.

After the war was over, Cologne was the scene of an especially impassioned debate over the city's identity that drew a great deal of public interest.[16] Not everyone shared the writer and journalist Carl Oskar Jatho's confidence that the *genius loci*, as a spirit slumbering in the city's soil, would guarantee that "future and tradition" would fuse into an "harmonious continuum".[17] The various factions, including Modernist advocates of a new beginning as well as defenders of a reconstructive approach to rebuilding, quickly united behind the consensus slogan "Cologne must remain Cologne" (fig. 3).[18]

Figure 3: "Cologne must remain Cologne". Poster produced by the municipal authorities of Cologne soliciting voluntary participation in the rubble clearance effort, 1945

"Cologne must remain Cologne": that meant – and probably all parties involved were in agreement on this point – building a "modern, viable" city, but also taking care that this new city would be not just any city, that it would still be recognizable as Cologne. The rebuilding of Cologne is thus a paradigmatic example of the double task facing those leading the rebuilding effort in West Germany: the need to make a fresh start – ethically, politically, socially – while safeguarding values such as recognizability and continuity, identity and the sense of home.

16 For a detailed discussion, see Vinken, Zone Heimat, 2010, 151–206.

17 Jatho, Urbanität, 1946, 67. See also Jatho, Eine Stadt von Welt, 1958, 99.

18 Heinen, Moderne für die Römerstadt, 1992, 221; Frohn, Vom Trümmerhaufen zur Millionenstadt, 1982, 139–140.

Rebuilding Cologne

Cologne, the only major city to pursue a 'conservationist' rebuilding policy, is regarded as one of the cities that sought to steer a middle course between Modernist construction and traditionalist reconstruction.[19] In 1946, Rudolf Schwarz had been appointed as Cologne's head of general reconstruction planning; Schwarz was an architect with theoretical ambitions who had published numerous essays and treatises engaging the consequences of the radical changes wrought by modernity for architecture and urban planning.[20] Schwarz's genuine contribution to the architectural debate was his attempt to show that the specific quality of the European city derived from its double mission: it had to be both a functional living environment and a place that was literally filled with meaning.[21] Taking up the ideas of organic urban planning, he saw it as one central challenge to overcome the centripetal structure of the city in order to prevent transportation gridlock and relieve congestion in the center. He designed a regional development scheme for Cologne that envisioned a confederation of cities composed of autonomous units arrayed in the manner of interrelated cells.[22] They would represent different urban types – Mülheim, for instance, would again be an industrial city, while the urban core of Cologne would be what Schwarz called the *Hochstadt* or "acropolis" – and would be interconnected by a "double band of transportation", itself a modification of the basic idea of the industrial linear or ribbon city (fig. 4a). These plans assigned a preeminent role to Cologne's urban core or "acropolis".[23] As the site of representation and education, of the collective generation of meaning and communal praxis, the center was to be the "head" of the urban confederation (fig. 4b). In order to maintain the "cellular tissue" of this area as it developed historically, Schwarz sought to preserve the urban layout and elements that lend it structure; major buildings that defined the city's identity were to be reconstructed, while a moderately modernist style would predominate in the remaining area.

Rudolf Schwarz's tenure as head of general city planning was short – he was relieved in 1950 – but many of his goals were implemented in the city center. The historic urban layout with its streets and squares was largely respected; the most important monuments, especially Cologne's famous Romanesque churches, were reconstructed, albeit sometimes in simplified form.[24] The city was given the contemporary face he had envisioned, based on a moderately modern design vocabulary; only the neighborhood around Groß-St.-Martin was reconstructed in a way that recreated its historic appearance.

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19 Diefendorf, In the Wake of War, 1993, 197–198, 201–202. Other examples of conservationist planning are Münster, Freiburg, Nuremberg, Rothenburg ob der Tauber, and Freudenstadt. See Beseler/Gutschow, Kriegsschicksale Deutscher Architektur, 1988, XLIX–LXV.

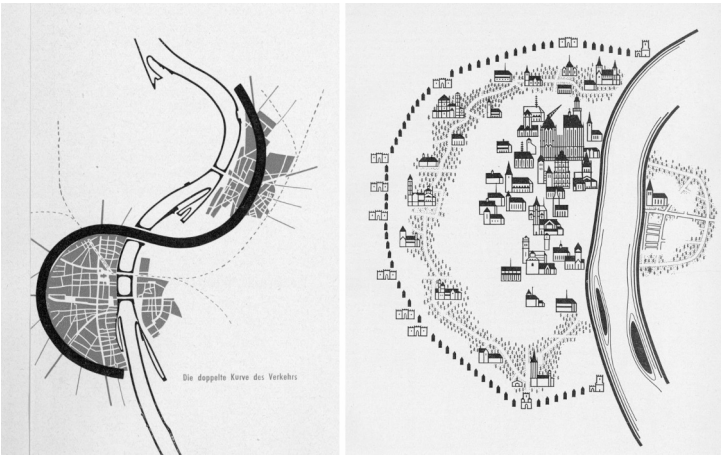
20 Pehnt/Strohl, Rudolf Schwarz, 1997.

21 Vinken, Ort und Bahn, 2008. Cf. also the essay on *The Crises of the Modern City* in this volume (Chapter 2).

22 Schwarz, Das neue Köln, 1950.

23 Schwarz, Das neue Köln, 1950, 43–44. Pehnt/Strohl, Rudolf Schwarz, 1997, 116–117.

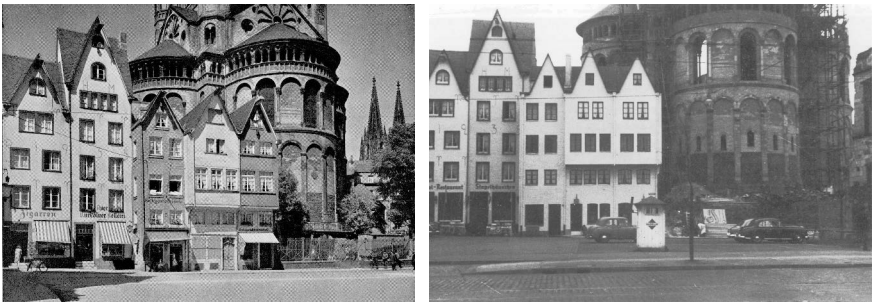
24 Blokker, (Re)konstruierte Identität, 2011, and Blokker, (Re)Constructing Identity, 2012.



Figures 4 a, b: "The Double Band of Transportation" – "Sacred Cologne", Rudolf Schwarz 1950

An island of tradition: the St. Martin quarter

On the initiative of historic preservationists and champions of native traditions, an image of the old Cologne was recreated in the St. Martin quarter, located on the Rhine riverbank and not far from the cathedral; here, copies and reconstructions of old buildings and new buildings that adapt to their surroundings predominate.[25] Even today, the Fischmarkt square with its narrow houses huddling against the apse of Groß-St.-Martin is popular with photographers (figs 5, 6).



Figures 5, 6: Cologne, Groß-St.-Martin and the Fischmarkt square in 1937 and in 1954

The rebuilding of the St. Martin quarter explicitly aimed to evoke an "image of the Old Town". Buildings and parts of façades were transplanted here from all over the city. New buildings were required to conform to the restrictive regulations stipulated in the

25 Roth, Vorstellung des alten heiligen Köln, 1998, 590–594; Schlungbaum-Stehr, Das Martinsviertel, 1991.

bylaw of 1937, which prescribed historically appropriate numbers of storeys, façade designs, and roof shapes as well as the use of lime plaster and slate roof cladding. Because salvaged building components such as portals, decorated keystones and the like were reused, it is virtually impossible to distinguish the reconstructions from the new houses built in the old style.[26] The Alter Markt and Heumarkt squares were restored – with certain compromises – to their original shapes, with mostly new buildings rising along their edges.[27] Besides unambitious adaptive architecture, there are also very accomplished and original instances of the more abstract recourse to tradition that Schwarz had called for (fig. 7).[28] In a parallel process, a considerable proportion of the surviving building stock was torn down in response to economic or functional considerations during redevelopment.[29]

Figure 7: Cologne, the reconstructed Fischmarkt square, 1967

To sum up, the conflict that pitted function against meaning in the city centers of destroyed German cities was resolved in Cologne by means of spatial differentiation; in this regard, the metropolis of the Rhineland is emblematic of the German rebuilding process as a whole. The desire for an experience of continuity and the presence of history was satisfied by means of a placebo of sorts: the creation of a modestly-sized island of tradition set off from the rest of the city. As long as such zones of native tradition were limited to a few streets, even those planners who much preferred the technical and the modern could make their peace with them. Wilhelm Riphahn, for example, a devotee of the ideal of a spacious urban layout with generous green spaces, a city that would accommodate healthy residential areas as well as a highly efficient transportation infrastructure, observed drily that "the goal of preserving Cologne's ancient character is to be achieved by reconstructing the St. Martin quarter (rehabilitation of the Old Town) with the Alter Markt square".[30] His drafts for the Rhine riverfront (fig. 8) show

26 Adenauer, Die Pflege der profanen Denkmäler, 1955/1956, 162–163.

27 Beseler and Gutschow have tallied the damage to individual rows of houses; see Beseler/Gutschow, Kriegsschicksale Deutscher Architektur, 1988, 575–596.

28 Roth, Vorstellung des alten heiligen Köln, 1998, 594–595.

29 Adenauer, Die Pflege der profanen Denkmäler, 1955/1956, 173.

30 Riphahn, Grundgedanken zur Neugestaltung, 1945, 7–8.

generously spaced large-format residential buildings in a thoroughly Modernist style; the designation 'preserve of tradition' appears, a little sheepishly, in the margin.

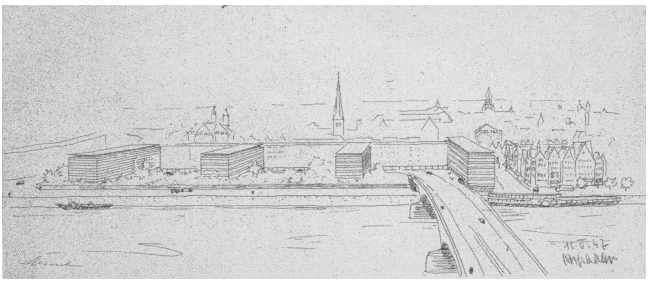


Figure 8: Cologne, reconstruction proposal for the west bank of the Rhine near the Heumarkt square, Wilhelm Riphahn 1947

The concept of the island of tradition had already been proposed in Germany before the end of the war. In Hamburg, for example, which was likewise completely destroyed, planner Fritz Schumacher suggested that "consolidating [surviving buildings and placing them] anywhere [sic!] would allow the creation of an 'Historic Center', however modest".[31] A well-known example is Hannover, which was rebuilt under the direction of Rudolf Hillebrecht as a modern, "car-friendly" city, in complete disregard of existing structures; numerous historic buildings were demolished.[32] As though to compensate for the loss, a small old-town island was created around the reconstructed Marktkirche, including the transplantation of half-timbered houses from all over the city. In Cologne, Municipal Conservator Hanna Adenauer praised these measures in retrospect for having preserved the townscape: "The question of the townscape is of particular significance in Cologne. The staggered arrangement of gables, churches, towers, and walls, which appears in many illustrations dating back as far as Schedel's World Chronicle […] is familiar to people all over the world. Even now, anyone thinking of Cologne and its Rhine riverfront will vividly remember the sight of the churches and towers from the Cathedral to Groß-St.-Martin and on to St. Maria Lyskirchen and, between them, the residential buildings of the St. Martin quarter with their pointed gables […] Out of consideration for the townscape, the city's historic preservationists, fully aware that only some of the buildings are originals, and that the neighborhood as a whole is for the most part a new ensemble more or less created from scratch in the course of the rehabilitation of the Old Town before World War II, insisted on retaining the gable pattern and the height and rhythm of the architectural volumes".[33]

31 Quoted in: Beseler/Gutschow, Kriegsschicksale Deutscher Architektur, 1988, XLVIII.

32 Beseler/Gutschow, Kriegsschicksale Deutscher Architektur, 1988, 250–251.

33 Adenauer, Die Pflege der profanen Denkmäler, 1955/1956, 168.

A fateful continuity

There is an intriguing detail to the history of the rebuilding of Cologne that Adenauer mentions only in passing: the fact that the reconstruction of the St. Martin quarter recreated a showcase ensemble first created by a rehabilitation project launched in the 1930s.[34] As Rudolf Schwarz put it succinctly, "the old Cologne that appealed to the tourist and the picture-postcard vendor, between the market squares and the Rhine, did not come into existence until the Nazi period".[35] In today's perspective, this sort of maintenance of a tradition – its advocates were "fully aware", to quote Hanna Adenauer's words, of its implications – would seem positively scandalous. Hans Vogts, who had been appointed Municipal Conservator in 1933, an office he held until 1948, embodied a commitment to continuity in the guiding principles of urban planning across changing political systems that even his successor, Hanna Adenauer, was not ready to abandon. During the postwar rebuilding effort, historic preservationists buried the ideological overtones of the Nazi rehabilitation project and its disgraceful aspects under a blanket of silence. The rehabilitation measures of the time, which operated under the title of "sanitization and decontamination") (*Gesundung und Entschandelung*) aimed to Aryanize areas such as the St. Martin quarter in terms of aesthetics as well as social and "racial hygiene"; their goals were to "eliminate" the "breeding grounds" of "communists", "antisocial elements", and "Jews" and to homogenize the "national body".[36] In Cologne, prostitution was to be expelled from the area in the city center that one observer described as a "slum".[37] "Light-shy" and "unclean elements", Hans Vogts wrote in 1935, were to be kept out in order to prevent "infestation of the remainder of the city" and to protect the population that had roots in the neighborhood.[38] As part of the radical "cleansing" of the area in accordance with the goals of demographic (and 'racial') policies, around two hundred families were resettled to the urban periphery: "With the removal of the inferior elements, the area, whose central location and large open spaces recommend it for the goals of housing policy, is ready to receive honorable members of the German nation."[39]

The reliance of the postwar 'reconstructions' on the results of the Nazi-era rehabilitation project seems problematic even from a preservationist's perspective, since the measures had entailed considerable structural changes.[40] To improve the residents' access to light and fresh air, Vogts had created two new squares, the Eisenmarkt and the Ostermannplatz (fig. 9).

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34 Schlungbaum-Stehr, Das Martinsviertel, 1991, 36; Menne-Thomé, City-Bildung, 1995, 164.

35 Schwarz, Das neue Köln, 1950, 60.

36 Düwel/Gutschow, Städtebau in Deutschland, 2001, 90–91; Petz, Stadtsanierung im Dritten Reich, 1987, 135–166, especially 152–153.

37 Füllenbach, Die Kölner Altstadtgesundung, 1937, 247.

38 Vogts, Gesundungsmaßnahmen, 1998 (1935), 590; Petz, Stadtsanierung im Dritten Reich, 1987, 141–142.

39 Füllenbach, Die Kölner Altstadtgesundung, 1937, 248.

40 Statistical information on the rehabilitation can be found in Vogts, Die Kölner Altstadtgesundung, 1938, 465; Schlungbaum-Stehr, Das Martinsviertel, 1991, 39; Beseler/Gutschow, Kriegsschicksale Deutscher Architektur, 1988, 575–596.

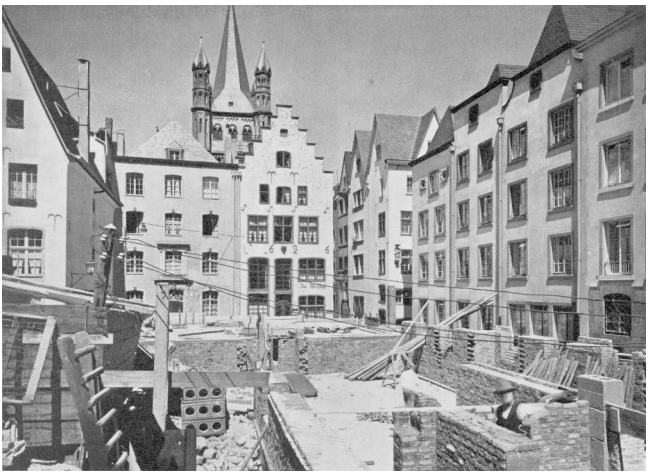

Figure 9: Cologne, rehabilitation works at the Eisenmarkt square, 1938

The dense ensembles of courtyards surrounded by buildings, some of which dated back to the Middle Ages, had been razed, and the backs of houses redesigned as façades.[41] To achieve a more rational use of the available space, entire rows of houses had been torn down and replaced with apartment buildings. The houses that survived the sanitization project had been modernized throughout; in many instances, no more than parts of the exterior walls and staircases had remained standing. In total, roughly one third of all buildings had been demolished and rebuilt during the 1930s (fig. 10).[42]

By reusing characteristic details and pieces of décor taken from condemned houses, the architects had sought to lend the new buildings an air of the "home-like and unique".[43] Portals, embrasures, or salvaged wall anchors with dates made it almost impossible to distinguish new from rehabilitated houses, especially since even 'faceless' old buildings were enriched by adding such spolia. The old-town atmosphere had been a product of deliberate mimicry and simulation: the "typical Cologne character" of some alleys, Vogts wrote, was "heavily dependent on new buildings".[44] The "decontamination" had turned out to be a radical effort at aesthetic homogenization (fig. 11) whose contradictions and factitiousness were keenly felt by observers even then.[45]

41 Vogts, Gesundungsmaßnahmen, 1997 (1936), 171.
42 Wiktorin, Der historische Atlas Köln, 2001, 159.
43 Vogts, Gesundungsmaßnahmen, 1997 (1936), 171.
44 Vogts, Gesundungsmaßnahmen, 1997 (1936), 171.
45 Vogts, Gesundungsmaßnahmen, 1997 (1936), 173.

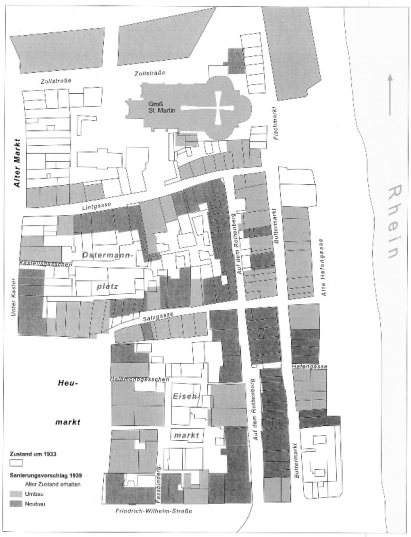

Figure 10: Cologne, redevelopment of the St. Martin quarter, changes between 1933 and 1939 (light gray: modification, dark gray: new construction)

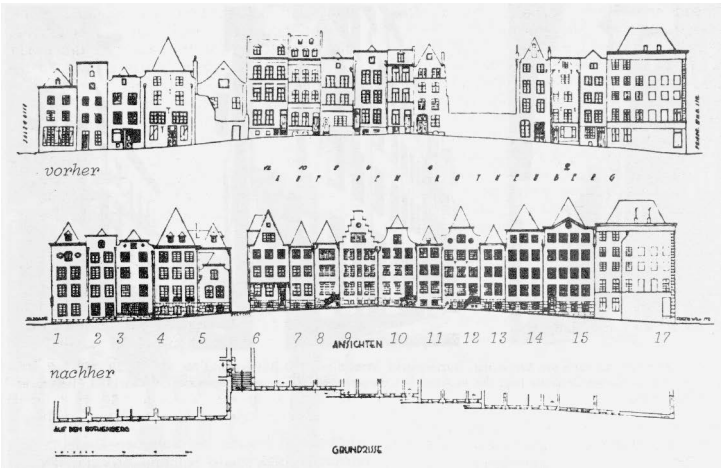

Figure 11: Cologne, Auf dem Rothenberg. Existing building stock (above) and planning, 1940

Vogts had defended the sanitization as a white lie that was necessary "for the benefit of the whole",[46] a prerequisite "if the quality of home-like livability and native tradition is to be preserved in the countenance of the metropolis".[47] Little wonder, then, that the municipal conservator in office during the postwar rebuilding period adopted the principles of Nazi-era sanitization without qualification. In some instances, bombed-out houses that had first been built in the 1930s were carefully reconstructed. The generously spaced structure with its 'intimate' courtyards was consistent with postwar Modernism's hygienic as well as aesthetic ideas. The aesthetic goals the Nazis had championed – to preserve native traditions while establishing visual homogeneity – were likewise pursued with undiminished zeal in the postwar era. Despite its synthetic nature – it is the product of two phases of sweeping rehabilitation – the St. Martin quarter in some ways succeeds as an historic town center. "Even if there is little by way of truly old building stock here, even if many houses are reconstructions of new buildings from the 1930s, locals and tourists alike regard this small neighborhood as Cologne's Old Town (*Altstadt*) par excellence."[48] Hiltrud Kier, who was Cologne's municipal conservator for many years, came to an altogether negative assessment of how the city had been rebuilt, but she praised St. Martin quarter for its old-Cologne-style cozy atmosphere: "Only in a very small area of the old town did the rebuilding effort successfully retain the true small-scale proportions that corresponded to the historic urban layout" – even if this same neighborhood, she noted in 1976, was gradually becoming the "backdrop for an entertainment district."[49] With the blessing of historic preservationists who have yet to dissociate themselves from such fateful continuity, more recent measures have perfected this scenery. Since the 1980s, a growing number of old-town buildings whose aesthetic was informed by the conservative modernism of the 1950s have been replaced by new structures in the 'old Cologne' style that imitate the models of the 1930s.[50]

46 Vogts, Gesundungsmaßnahmen, 1997 (1936), 173.

47 Vogts, Gesundungsmaßnahmen, 1997 (1936), 170.

48 Hagspiel, Reflexe, 1994, 82.

49 Kier, Der Wiederaufbau von Köln, 1976, 233.

50 Roth, Vorstellung des alten heiligen Köln, 1998, 594–595. On the current boom in the creation of 'new' Old Towns, see also Vinken, Unstillbarer Hunger, 2013, and the essay on Frankfurt in this volume (Chapter 12).