

I.
Architectural Criticism, Berlin, and Behne:
Setting the Context

"A critic is supposed to stimulate a dialogue, not be one."⁵
- Robert Cambell, 2005

The Impact of Criticism

A People's Critic

In August of 2004, New York's Project for Public Spaces (PPS) issued a call for the public to write letters to The New York Times urging the newspaper to replace the retiring critic Herbert Muschamp with a critic who would shift the focus of architectural criticism from the heroic "project," to the development of "place" and the building of "communities."⁶ The letter cited a recent Columbia University School of Journalism study lamenting the deteriorated state of architectural criticism in the country. But the Columbia study also insisted that critics still had a power "to make a contribution to

⁵ Quote attributed to Clement Greenberg by Robert Campbell, "What's Wrong with MoMA," Architectural Record 193, no. 1 (Jan. 2005): 67. Clement Greenberg often voiced similar opinions.

⁶ The Project for Public Spaces (PPS), "Open Letter to the New York Times," (June 24, 2004), n.p.; email to the author from www.archvoices.org, archive of issue from July 2, 2004, for this and the following. See also www.pps.org for a brief history of the first thirty years of activism and critical engagement by PPS, "a nonprofit organization dedicated to creating and sustaining public places that build communities."

improving the quality of cultural expression and public life across America and the world."⁷ Even if the implication that an architectural critic writing occasionally in back sections of a newspaper could change an entire nation's public life and culture was somewhat overstated, it did point out the potential power of The New York Times architecture critic.⁸

Muschamp, the PPS statement claimed, had championed only a small camp of "star" architects that created isolated monuments. Although certainly stimulating public dialogue and promoting a unified vision of architecture--as Clement Greenberg had admonished all critics to do--PPS maintained that Muschamp's criticism and the architects he championed had little true impact on the wider public. A new critic, they suggested, should focus on the intricate matrix of factors that leads to the development of "place" and the creation of a people-oriented community. Promoting such an agenda, they claimed, could help make the city a more livable place. Speculating on the power and influence of architectural criticism, they maintained that "in many ways this is more akin to the beginning of a social movement than an architectural movement . . . but its

⁷ András Szántó, Eric Fredericksen, and Ray Rinaldi, The Architecture Critic: A Survey of Newspaper Architecture Critics in America (2001).

⁸ Many other current and historical examples of the power of critics and the press to change industry, the profession, and culture could be cited, even when they are not intentional, especially in today's "media age." In a recent example, on the editorial page of the January 2005 Dwell magazine, the editor Allison Arieff claimed to have been "surprised" when Frances Anderton, host of the radio talk show "Design and Architecture," commended her for having a "proactive" magazine. "The magazine isn't just writing about and showing photographs of the design of houses," she noted, "but is actually influencing the ways in which they are designed and built"; Arieff, "Small Change," Dwell 5, no. 3 (Jan./Feb. 2005): 31.

influence is being felt and reacted to by designers all over the country. There is a trickle-up effect at work here. . . . The world is changing, and we've got to wade into the middle of it."⁹ A new people's critic, they felt, would set the newspaper's architectural agenda in line with the changing world.

Adolf Behne (1885-1948), the focus of this dissertation, was in many ways the type of people's critic the PPS was searching for. [Figure 1.1] Although Behne did not emphasize the specific idea of "place" advocated by PPS, he too sought to change architecture by changing the dominant critics of the era. He worked tirelessly to displace an older generation of star critics who had done little more than bow to the entrenched power hierarchies of star artists and architects, who seldom acknowledged "the new," and who never championed it. Behne, by contrast, constantly focused on "*das Neue*," as well as the needs and ideas of the ordinary person. He sought to lead a group of young architects to create a new vision of modern life and architecture, one based not on established principles, but on a synthesis of the expression of individual creativity and of the entire spectrum of functional and social requirements. Although the campaigns for certain styles and approaches to architecture have changed dramatically since Behne's time, the PPS request is a reminder that the need to "push the boundaries of what design is and, even more boldly, explore its deepest purpose" through criticism has remained relatively constant.¹⁰

⁹ PPS, "Open Letter," n.p.

¹⁰ PPS, "Open Letter," n.p.

Modern Architecture and the Media

Using the latest media buzzwords, the architectural historian Franklin Toker speculated recently in his book on Frank Lloyd Wright's Fallingwater that the "hype" generated by architects in collusion with critics and the media, and the "buzz" created by a receptive public, has elevated individual modern buildings, ideas, and the entire modern movement into the imagination of the public and to an unprecedented extent.¹¹ In the twentieth century architecture has become inseparable from its heterogeneous representations in many media. The production of architecture has moved increasingly beyond the architect and client to include authors, photographers, and other media people "producing" their own architectural representations and participating in a wider discourse.¹² The entire spectacle of architectural culture has been monitored by a far

¹¹ Frank Toker, Fallingwater Rising: Frank Lloyd Wright, E.J. Kaufmann, and America's Most Extraordinary House (2004), esp. chaps. 8 and 9, which Toker had given in 2003 as a lecture at the Carnegie Lecture Hall in Pittsburgh.

¹² I cite only a few of the many studies on the relationship of architecture and photography that have recently appeared: Rolf Sachsse, Photographie als Medium der Architekturinterpretation (1984); Rolf Sachsse, "Architektur- und Produktphotographie," in Fotografie am Bauhaus, ed. Jeannine Fielder (1990), pp. 184-203; Rolf Sachsse, Bild und Bau. Zur Nutzung technischer Medien beim Entwerfen von Architektur (1997); Michael Stöneberg, "The Image of the Neues Bauen in Berlin: Architectural Photography by the Berliner Arthur Köster (1926-1933)," Daidalos, no. 66 (Dec. 1997): 93-99; Andreas Haus, "Photogenic Architecture," Daidalos, no. 66 (Dec. 1997): 85-91; Barry Bergdoll, "Felix Duban, early Photography and the Circulation of Images," in The Built Surface: Architecture and the Visual Arts from Romanticism to the Millennium, vol. 2, ed. Karen Koehler (2001); and Claire Zimmerman, "Photographic Modern Architecture: Inside 'the New Deep'," Journal of Architecture 9, no. 3 (Autumn 2004): 331-354. See also on the relationship of architecture and film, Andres Janser, "Architecture in Motion: the *Kulturfilm* and the Idea of Architectural Reform in Germany," in The Tenth Muse: Cinema and Other Arts, ed. Leonardo Quresima and Laura Vichi (2001); Janser, "'Die bewegliche kinematografische Aufnahme ersetzt beinahe die Führung um und durch den Bau,' Bruno Taut und der Film," in Winfried

bigger audience than ever before: the consuming public. Architecture's users continue to be the people who lived or worked in a building, but in the past century more than ever before also included anyone who saw or read about an image or representation of the building or its related ideas. Over time the media has not only influenced architecture, but representations of modern architecture, including those shaped by critics, increasingly have begun to re-influence the development of the other media such as graphics and advertising, and the development of a modern culture more generally.¹³

The prominence of theory in recent architectural discourse, the renewed interest in early modernism, post-modern criticism's fascination with the author as subject, and most importantly the awareness that we are all increasingly living in a "media age," has led to a remarkable surge in research and publishing on modern architecture's relationship with the media, the publicity industry, and criticism. At the core of much of this new research is the idea that architecture is as much an intellectual construct as a material artifact, as much the result of verbal, representational, and critical practices as

Nerdinger, Kristiana Hartmann, Matthias Schirren and Manfred Speidel, eds., Bruno Taut, 1880-1938 (2001), pp. 267-274; Janser, "'Only Film Can Make the New Architecture Intelligible!' Hans Richter's *Die neue Wohnung* and the Early Documentary Film on Modern Architecture," in Cinema and Architecture. Méliès, Mallet-Stevens, Multimedia, ed. François Penz and Maureen Thomas (1997), pp. 34-42; and Andres Janser and Rüegg, eds., Hans Richter: Die neue Wohnung -- Architektur, Film, Raum (2001).

¹³ Andrew Herscher, for example, has recently discussed the impact that the graphics of several architectural manifestoes from the 1920s had on the advertising and graphics industries in Czechoslovakia; Herscher, "The Media(tion) of Building: Manifesto Architecture in the Czech Avant-garde," Oxford Art Journal 27, no.2 (2004): 193-217.

physical construction. Kenneth Frampton echoes this position when he states in the introduction to his historical survey of modern architecture, "For me the history of modern architecture is as much about consciousness and polemical intent as it is about buildings themselves."¹⁴

The inter-relationship of building and ideas goes back at least to ancient Rome and Vitruvius. Although at first only a critique of the changing architectural values in his own day, nearly every architect, theoretician, and critic since then has had to enter into a dialogue with the principles and ideals that Vitruvius laid out in his treatise.¹⁵

Mario Carpo's book Architecture in the Age of Printing focuses on the first wave of commentary and promotion of Vitruvius' ideas in the Renaissance, analyzing how the *message* in treatises by Alberti, Serlio, Palladio, and others has had a profound impact on the development of architecture since then.¹⁶ But Carpo went further when he argued that the *medium* by which the printed words of Serlio and others were created had at

¹⁴ Frampton, Modern Architecture (1980), p. 9; also cited in Mary Dean, "Literature of Architecture," in Encyclopedia of Architecture, Design, Engineering and Construction vol. 2 (1989), p. 329. Mario Carpo has said in a similar vein that architecture is either something built, or a body of knowledge that must be recorded and transmitted; Carpo, Architecture in the Age of Printing (2001), p. 12.

¹⁵ The literature on the impact of Vitruvius is voluminous. I cite only the introductions in two recent English translations of Vitruvius: Ingrid Rowland, "Introduction," in Vitruvius, Ten Books on Architecture (1999), 1-20, passim; Thomas Gordon Smith, Vitruvius on Architecture (2003), pp. 8-57. Indra Kagis McEwen's fascinating study, Vitruvius: Writing the Body of Architecture (2003), examines the meaning and significance of Vitruvius' book in his own time, providing the intellectual context, or what I will call the "culture of criticism" in ancient Rome under Augustus Caesar.

¹⁶ Carpo, Architecture in the Age of Printing.

least as profound an influence as their message. In these Renaissance treatises, medium and message, discourse and architecture were each inextricably bound. The vehicle through which the ideas were mediated shaped not only the message but the resulting architecture, on several levels. On one level, words and images about specific historic architectural ideals caused the proliferation of classical ideas. On another level, the medium through which these ideas were proliferated--movable type and printing--influenced not only how the ideas were received, but caused the ideas themselves to be transformed, lending the built work a technical, repetitive edge.

Carpo speculated that the invention of movable type and the printing press in the fifteenth century, and the resulting availability of mass-reproduced architectural images and text by the sixteenth century led to an increased systematization of architecture, especially of the five orders.¹⁷ Architectural design, he hypothesized, began increasingly to rely on the repetition of a few, simple, standardized, pre-designed parts, a design method that he has called "typographic." Carpo claimed that a great deal of architecture after Gutenberg, including modern architecture, had been conceived of in such a systematized manner in part *because* of the effect of the movable type and the printing press transmitted in criticism such as Behne's. In closing, he conjectured that this typographic approach may only now be ending with the use of

¹⁷ Carpo builds on the ideas of Victor Hugo and others; see Hugo, "This will Kill That," and "A Bird's-eye View of Paris," chapters in Notre Dame de Paris (1831) Bk. III, chapter 2, Bk. V, chapter 2. See also Neil Levine, "The Book and the Building: Hugo's Theory of Architecture and Labrouste's Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève," in The Beaux-Arts and nineteenth-century French Architecture, ed. Robin Middleton (1982), pp. 138-173.

digital images and computer-aided architectural design and construction.

Advancing a long line of related studies by twentieth-century historians and theorists such as Walter Benjamin, Juan Pablo Bonta, Hélène Lipstadt, and Stanislaus von Moos, Beatriz Colomina sought to analyze the influence of media on early twentieth century architecture in her book Privacy and Publicity (1994).¹⁸ Colomina began her investigation with the somewhat problematic statement that "modern architecture only becomes modern with its engagement with the media," and quickly moved beyond the idea that the media stimulated change both through its overt message as well as underlying medium.¹⁹ She demonstrated how modern media,

¹⁸ Beatriz Colomina, Privacy and Publicity; Architecture and Mass Media (1994), pp. 14, 73. The influence of the press, published images, and architecture as representation clearly goes back much further. Hélène Lipstadt, for example, studied similar ideas related to César Daly; Lipstadt, "The Building and the Book in César Daly's *Revue générale de l'architecture*," in Architectureproduction, ed. Beatriz Colomina and Joan Ockman (1988), pp. 24-55. Richard K. Whittman has discussed the power of the press even two centuries earlier; see Whittman, "Architecture, the Press, and Public Opinion in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France." Ph.D. diss. (2001). Carpo's book allows us to extend this relationship of architecture and the media back to early modern architecture. For further critique of Colomina's argument see Mary McLeod and Joan Ockman, "Some Comments on Reproduction with Reference to Colomina and Hays," in Architectureproduction, pp. 213-216.

¹⁹ Related studies on the inter-relationship of the media and architecture include Walter Benjamin, "The Author as Producer," in Benjamin, Reflections, ed. Peter Demetz (1978, orig. 1934), pp.220-238; Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in Illuminations, ed. Hannah Arendt (1968, orig. 1936); Juan P. Bonta, Architecture and Its Interpretation. A Study of the Expressive Systems of Architecture (1979, orig. 1975); Hélène Lipstadt, "The Building and the Book"; Hélène Lipstadt, "Early Architectural Periodicals," in The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth-century French Architecture, ed. Robin Middleton (1982), pp. 50-57; Stanislaus von Moos, ed., L'Esprit Nouveau. Le Corbusier und die Industrie (1997); Stanislaus von Moos, "Standard und Elite: Le Corbusier, die Industrie und der 'Esprit Nouveau'," in Die nützlichen Künste, ed. Tilmann Buddensieg and Hennig Rogge (1981), pp. 306-323; and more generally Stanislaus von Moos, Elements of a Synthesis (1979); as well as related

including photography, advertising images, and the publishing and publicity industries, had profound effects on how architects such as Loos and Le Corbusier conceptualized their architecture. She argued rather cynically, for example, that Le Corbusier consciously manipulated advertising images to generate much needed publicity for himself and to fashion himself as modern.²⁰ Rather than see media as a democratic tool to communicate and indoctrinate the masses regarding cultural, and by extension social and political modernization, as will be done in this study on Behne, Colomina investigated media primarily as a means for self-promotion and publicity.

As a result, Colomina argued that one of the defining characteristics of modern architecture was the increasingly privileged role of representations of architecture, often over the actual built work. She suggested that modern architecture increasingly relied on and acted not primarily as a constructed system of physical parts, but as a system of representation consonant with and competing with other forms of mass media.²¹ In the early twentieth century, she claims, the site of most innovative architectural production moved progressively from the construction site to the immaterial sites of the mass media and publicity--architectural publications, exhibits, journals, and later photos and film. In the process architecture experienced what she

studies by James Ackerman, Alberto Pérez-Gómez, K. Michael Hays, Hubert Damisch, and Robin Evans.

²⁰ For example Beatriz Colomina, "*L'Esprit Nouveau: Architecture and Publicité*," in Colomina and Ockman, *Architectureproduction*, pp. 56-99; later revised in Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity*.

²¹ Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity*, p. 15.

called a loss of "aura."²² Due to its increased exposure to the media, modern architecture lost the imposing physical presence as well as the status of "high art" that had characterized earlier building. Much as Victor Hugo had argued a century earlier, Colomina argued that the media representation of architecture began to replace the physical presence of building. Architecture was increasingly created with mass production in mind, mechanically reproduced, or proliferated as symbol. It moved from individual creation to communal representation, becoming both a part of mass culture, and anti-human in its sterility and technical perfection.²³

Despite some attempt to move away from a focus on the creative genius of modern designers and the forces of modern industrial society that influenced their built work, Colomina's work still privileged the heroic architect and his varied representational media as the primary force behind the creation of modern architecture. With her analysis of the transformation of architecture from building to representation,

²² McLeod and Ockman note that the press was also instrumental in creating aura through its publicity machine, and of releasing counterfeit aura; see McLeod and Ockman, "Some Comments," p. 224. The most well-known reference to loss of aura is Benjamin, "The Work of Art," to which Colomina refers often. Although Benjamin does refer to the loss of aura in the age of technical reproduction, his argument does not refer to modern architecture, which he claimed lost solidity and opacity, but not necessarily aura. Behne, who in many ways anticipated Benjamin's famous argument on the age of technical reproduction, also discusses aura in Behne, *Von Kunst zur Gestaltung* (1925); and in Behne, "Zweck contra Nimbus," *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 48, no. 11 (Mar. 14, 1928):173-176.

²³ Although Colomina argues that the press contributed to more communal and mass culture values in modern architecture, McLeod and Ockman point out the contradictory nature of arguing simultaneously for a sterile, technological, post-humanism position, seemingly a prelude to post-modern alienation; see McLeod and Ockmann, "Some Comments," p. 230. On the mass culture aspects of modern architecture, see also Markus Bernauer, *Die Ästhetik der Masse* (1990).

however, she did recognize a necessary expansion of the pool of agents and actors that deserve careful study for how they contributed to the discourse and development of modern architecture.

Criticism and Architecture

This study too investigates the relationship of architecture and the media, and is based on the idea that architecture is as much intellectual construct as physical construction. However, it seeks to go beyond the focusing on the technical apparatus of the media or the messages it relayed as investigated by Carpo , as well as beyond the profound changes that occur when architecture becomes primarily representation and publicity, as investigated by Colomina. Instead, I will focus on the cultural context in which the media was used as a tool to change architecture. Rather than focus on printing presses, images, or architects, I will focus on critics and the complex cultural context in which writers like Behne worked to influence the course of modern architecture. In the process, I will attempt to explain in greater detail how the published words of a newspaper critic or journal editor such as Behne can affect not only the design of a building, but also a broader understanding about architecture and the cultural landscape of a city and a century.

Critics like Behne played a vital but still underappreciated role in shaping the development of modern architecture. To be sure there has been a great deal of publishing recently dealing with the work of architectural writers such as Sigfried

Giedion, Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Nikolaus Pevsner, Reyner Banham, and Manfredo Tafuri.²⁴ This scholarship builds on previous efforts to publish the work of important critics such as Maria von Rensselaer, Alan Temko, James van Trump, its focus has too often remained on the architects and architecture associated with these figures, rather than the actual work of the producing and disseminating effective criticism.²⁵

Nonetheless, much work remains to be done to properly understand what differentiates criticism from history, theory, and other journalistic and publishing enterprises.

As we continue to investigate the criticism and transformations in the relationship between the producer, product, and audience of modern architecture, the scope and definition of the entire field will continue to change. Behne worked tirelessly as an activist for larger social movements promoting communally-minded art and architecture. The essays he published in newspapers, journals, and a broad spectrum of Berlin's nascent media culture, the rhetoric he used, the illustrations he chose, and even the radio technology he embraced early on, all would help influence the architecture of

²⁴ A good introduction is Panayotis Tournikiotis, *The Historiography of Modern Architecture* (1999). See also, for example, Sokratis Georgiadis, *Sigfried Giedion, An Intellectual Biography* (1993); Peter Draper, ed. *Nikolaus Pevsner Reassessed* (2003); Nigel Whiteley, *Reyner Banham. Historian of the Immediate Future* (2002), and the related anthology *A Critic Writes: Essays by Reyner Banham*, ed. Mary Banham, Paul Barker et al. (1996).

²⁵ A few exceptions are cited in the preface above. See also Mariana van Rensselaer, *Accents as Well as Broad Effects. Writings on Architecture, Landscape, and the Environment, 1876-1925*, ed. & intro. David Gebhard (1996); James D. Van Trump, *Life and Architecture in Pittsburgh*, ed. Walter C. Kidney and Louise K. Ferguson (1985); as well as several volumes in the Getty series "Texts & Documents," including works by Behne, and Giedion, and Karel Teige.

his era.²⁶ During the most productive period of his career from 1912, when he first became associated with Herwarth Walden's epoch-making Sturm gallery in Berlin, to 1933, when Hitler's rise to power squelched his tireless promotion of modern art and architecture, Behne published more than 1300 items in over 150 different venues, making him one of the most prolific and active agents for the development of a new, modern architecture.²⁷

Of course, not everything Behne wrote was profound or had a noticeable impact in shaping the discussions and ideas on modern architecture. Many of the pieces were little more than descriptions of art works, summaries of exhibits, or announcements of upcoming events. By helping inform a public and proliferate knowledge about modern art and architecture, however, these writings contributed to the larger cultural modernization effort in Germany. The sheer number of pieces and venues in which he published demonstrates how eager he was to get his ideas circulating among a very broad base of readers, and ultimately how passionate he was about trying to influence artistic developments and creation a new culture through criticism.

This investigation of how Behne both worked within, and profoundly

²⁶ Summaries and transcripts of Behne's broadcasts in the radio magazine Die Sendung from 1931-1932 listed in the bibliography below, as well as Behne, Gerhard Strauß, et al, "Kitsch. Ein Gespräch zu viere," Sonntag 2, no. 12 (Mar. 23, 1947): 3.

²⁷ The 1500 separate published books, articles, and reviews by Behne in over 170 different periodicals dwarfs figures for other prominent critics such as Paul Westheim and Werner Hegemann, who published around 1000 items, Walter Curt Behrendt, Sigfried Giedion, Heinrich de Fries and Alfred Kuhn whopublished around 500 pieces each, and by Müller-Wulckow and Gustav Adolf Platz, who wrote about 100 each. Perhaps only the art critic Karl Scheffler published more, though no comprehensive study of his career has yet been attempted.

influenced this culture, demonstrates that the development of modern architecture has been particularly dependent on criticism, the media, and what the cultural theorist Pierre Bourdieu has termed the "intellectual field" surrounding all art.²⁸ Through his work as a critic, Behne consciously made himself an integral part of the "intellectual field" that determined the rise of Expressionist art and architecture and the ideas of the German Werkbund before World War I, laying the groundwork for his position and great influence on the developments after World War I.

Berlin as Epicenter of Modernity

Nowhere was the interaction of architecture and the media more intense than in early twentieth-century Berlin, where Adolf Behne grew up, developed his career as a critic, and helped shape the development of modern architecture. Between national unification in 1871, and the beginning of World War I in 1914, amidst a burgeoning economy and an often intoxicating national pride, the new German capital transformed itself from a relatively austere Prussian garrison town and provincial capital to a thoroughly modern metropolis, one of the largest cities in the world, and the center of German life.²⁹

²⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, "Intellectual Field and Creative Project," Social Science Information 8, no. 2 (April 1969): 89-119; and Bourdieu, The Field of Cultural Production (1993); as well as H el ene Lipstadt, "Architecture and its Image. Notes Towards the Definition of Architectural Publication," Architectural Design 59, no. 3-4 (1991): 12-23; and H el ene Lipstadt, "The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu as a Challenge to Architectural History," Thresholds no. 21 (2000): 31-36.

²⁹ Germany's overall population rose from 40 million in 1872 to over 67 million in 1913, not including millions of migrant and illegal workers, or the over 3 million

As Germans reflected on and sought to shape the cultural identity of their recently unified country, architecture took on a central role in their deliberations and actions.³⁰ With its unique position between the public and the private, between art and technology, architecture was perceived as both a cultural artifact and a technical product. An understanding and opinion about architecture was crucial to sorting out divisive contemporary issues such as *Heimat* (fatherland) and national pride, rural town and metropolitan culture, nature and man's interventions, the traditional German

Germans who emigrated overseas in these years. Whereas in 1871 the new Reich only had eight large cities (over 100,000 inhabitants) with 4.8% of the population living in them, by 1910 there were 43, containing 21.3% of the population. Germany's overall urban population, defined as people living in cities with populations over 2000, went from 36% to 60% of the national total. Although the fastest growth was registered in the industrial West, including the Ruhr Valley, the new national capital of Berlin rapidly assumed a dominant role in economic and industrial spheres, and grew physically and demographically at rates unheard for European capitals. Berlin's population exploded from 400,000 in 1850, to 932,000 in 1870, to 2 million in 1905, and over 3.8 million inhabitants after 1919, more if distant suburbs are included. These urban, industrial, and demographic explosions are often recounted. See, for example, Volker R. Berghahn, Imperial Germany (1994), pp. 43-49; Jürgen Reulecke, Geschichte der Urbanisierung in Deutschland (1985); Brian Ladd, Urban Planning and Civic Order in Germany 1960-1914 (1990), p. 14; and William Harbutt Dawson, Industrial Germany (1913). For introductions on the architectural and urban development of Berlin before World War I, see the authoritative compendium of research and primary material in Julius Posener, Berlin auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur (1979); Günther Peters, Kleine Berliner Baugeschichte (1995); and the impressive set of exhibition catalogues edited by Josef Paul Kleihues: Kleihues, Thorsten Scheer et al., eds., City of Architecture: Architecture of the City. Berlin 1900-2000 (2000) available in German and in English; Kleihues and Christina Rathgeber, eds., Berlin - New York. Like and Unlike (1993); and Kleihues, ed., 750 Jahre Architektur und Städtebau in Berlin (1987).

³⁰ See Karl E. Schorske, "From Public Scene to Private Space: Architecture to Cultural Criticism," in Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism (1998), pp. 157-171; as well as the masterful Schorske, Fin-de-Siècle Vienna. Politics and Culture (1980), which was instrumental in shaping the author's early ideas about architecture, art and the metropolis. See also Janet Ward, Weimar Surfaces: Urban Visual Culture in the 1920s Germany (2001).

applied art for the home and the factory-produced consumer goods for a world market, as well as the appropriate style and meaning for all the various other arts. All of these issues, with architecture at their core, were widely discussed and circulated in newspapers and the publishing culture of the era, including in Behne's criticism.

Berlin's explosive growth prompted societal and cultural upheavals--the modernity described and analyzed in the famous 1903 essay "Metropolis and Mental Life" by Georg Simmel, one of Behne's teachers.³¹ The city's tremendous energy and relative youth led the art critic Karl Scheffler in 1910 to liken to another famous colonial outpost known for its explosive growth, ruthless materialism, and seamy side, but also for innovation, incessant change, and a constant embrace of "the new": Chicago.

"Berlin," Scheffler wrote memorably, "is a city that is *forever becoming and never is*."³²

Behne was among the millions swept up in Berlin's explosive growth and dynamic new culture. When he was a year old in 1886, his family moved from Magdeburg to Berlin's mostly working-class east end, at first near the Frankfurterstraße, then on the Thaerstraße near the great central slaughter house (*Centralviehhof*).³³ [Figure 1.2] Although Behne came from a middle-class family, he

³¹ Behne attended lectures by Simmel at the University of Berlin between 1910-1912. Georg Simmel, "Grossstädte und Geistesleben," in Grossstadt: Jahrbuch der Gehe-Stiftung zu Dresden, vol. 9 (1903), transl. as "Metropolis and Mental Life," in The Sociology of Georg Simmel, ed. Kurt H. Wolff (1950), and republished many times.

³² "Berlin ist dazu verdammt: *immer fort zu werden und niemals zu sein*"; Karl Scheffler, Berlin: ein Stadtschicksal (1910), pp. 267; in reprint edition (1989), p. 219, emphasis in original. See also Karl Scheffler, Architektur der Großstadt (1913), and later Scheffler, Berlin: Wandlungen einer Stadt (1931).

³³ Adolf Bruno Behne was born on July 13, 1885 in Magdeburg, the second of

grew up "amidst the milieu of worker-housing and allotment gardens" in northeastern Berlin.³⁴ It was here that aspects of his social conscience and his Socialist politics were born. Years later he remembered walking on his way to school past drab, filthy factories, and reflecting on the plight of the worker and their disconnection with modern culture.³⁵ In the *Mietskasernen* (rental barracks) surrounding his childhood apartments, he experienced the "unhappy" realities of life in the industrialized

three sons of Therese Lucklum (1857-1935), and the third generation carpenter, builder and developer Carl Behne (1851-1922). Behne's younger brother died in childhood. His older brother Erich (1880-1952) went on to become a successful engineer, and frequently helped out his struggling free-lance art critic brother. On biographical information, see the biographical summaries "Lebenslauf," in "Der Inkrustationsstil in Toscana." Ph.D. diss., Univ. Of Berlin (1912), n.p.; Behne "Lebenslauf," June 29, 1945, Hochschule der Künste, Berlin, Personalakte Behne; as well as Anon., "Wir stellen vor: Adolf Behne," Die Aussprache 2, no. 2 (Feb./Mar. 1947): 7-8; "Adolf Behne zum Gedächtnis," Sonntag 3, no. 34 (1948): 11; Magdalena Bushart, "Adolf Behne 'Kunst-Theoreticus'," in Adolf Behne. Essays zu seiner Kunst- und Architektur-Kritik, ed. Magdalena Bushart (2000), pp. 11-88 (hereafter cited as Bushart, "Kunst-Theoretikus"); Bernd Lindner, "'Auf diesen Berg . . .' Adolf Behne - Vermittler der Moderne," in Avantgarde und Publikum. Zur Rezeption avantgardistischer Kunst in Deutschland 1905-1933, ed. Henrike Junge (1992), pp. 7-15; Rosemarie Haag Bletter, "Introduction," in Behne, Modern Functional Building (1996), pp. 1-83. No complete *Nachlaß* of Behne's personal and professional papers exists, though a good source for biographical anecdotes is the Behne/Wirsig family papers, Rep. 200 Acc.3860, in the Landesarchiv, Berlin. Many discrepancies exist in the available biographical information. Most information is taken from later autobiographical summaries, and anecdotal information in other sources. A postcard by Behne to Walter Dexel, for example, lists the date the Behnes moved to Berlin as 1886, while later autobiographical statements list it as 1887; see Behne to Walter Dexel, (Apr. 12, 1926), Dexel Papers, Archives for the History of Art, Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities; reprinted in Walter Vitt, ed., Hommage à Dexel (1980), p. 99; and Bushart, "Kunst-Theoretikus," p. 10.

³⁴ Cited in Roland März and Anita Kühnel, eds., Expressionisten. Die Avantgarde in Deutschland 1905-1920 (1986), p. 422.

³⁵ Behne, "Die moderne Fabrik," Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung 33, no. 7 (Feb. 17, 1924): 130.

metropolis. His early friendships with street urchins, worker children, and other "uneducated" children, as well as with many Jews, helped establish a lifelong kinship and sympathy for their causes.³⁶ After primary school in the neighborhood, Behne attended the Königstädtisches Gymnasium (high school) near Alexanderplatz, where he graduated in spring 1905, "with little distinction," as he himself admitted.³⁷

During Behne's youth, Berlin was in the midst of a fantastic building boom to accommodate the influx of immigrants. It soon became one of the world's most densely populated cities, a "sea of stone," as the critic Werner Hegemann described it 1930.³⁸ Behne's father, a successful third generation builder, contributed to this expansion with several speculative apartment buildings that he developed in the family's

³⁶ Janos Frecot, "Bibliographische Berichte: Adolf Behne," Werkbund Archiv Jahrbuch 1 (1972), p. 81; Anon., "Wir stellen vor."

³⁷ Behne, postcard to Walter Dixel (Apr. 12, 1926).

³⁸ The crowding in Berlin was legendary. Whereas in 1871, an average of 57 people lived on one Berlin building lot (compared to 8 per lot in London), by 1900 the average was 77 people per lot; see Peters, Kleine Berliner Baugeschichte, pp.146-147. In 1910, 600,000 people lived in rooms that housed at least five people, and 1.5 million Berliners lived in apartments with only one heated room, usually the kitchen. The demand for land and the price of housing grew unmanageable. In 1872, 53% of all renters had to move on a yearly basis merely to escape skyrocketing rents. The situation soon grew to be all but intolerable, and already at the beginning of the century was the subject of much criticism and reform discourse. See Werner Hegemann, Das Steinerne Berlin (1930), an expansion of essays in vol. 1 of Hegemann, Der Städtebau nach den Ergebnissen der allgemeinen Städtebau-Ausstellung in Berlin (1910), adding a great deal more on pre-19th-century history of Berlin; as well as Johann Friedrich Geist and Klaus Kürvers, Das Berliner Mietshaus, 1862-1945, vol. 2 (1984); and Jürgen Reulecke, ed., Geschichte des Wohnens 1800-1918. Das bürgerliche Zeitalter (1998). On Hegemann see most recently, Christiane Crasemann Collins, Werner Hegemann and the Search for Universal Urbanism (2005).

neighborhood.³⁹ In addition to the new construction, throughout eastern Berlin existing mixed-use buildings were reused, modernized, expanded, and partly replaced, resulting in a great deal of displaced housing, the destruction of much historic architectural heritage, and a disorienting, constantly changing streetscape. Miles of new or refashioned apartment blocks with pompous historicist facades plastered with mass-produced ornament encased sumptuous apartments at the perimeter edges of the blocks, while the infamous *Mietskasernen* and light industry filled up the interiors of the blocks. Although Behne talked fondly of his youth in the social milieu of east Berlin, his views on modern architecture must be analyzed at least in part as a reaction against this landscape.

Along with its new role as the political, manufacturing, financial, cultural, and population hub of modern Germany, Berlin quickly rose into the empire's media capital.⁴⁰ The city's growth into Germany's media capital coincided with the rise of a

³⁹ Adolf Behne's father, Carl Behne (1851-1922), was born near Magdeburg into a family that owned a large construction company. Carl was trained at a *Baugewerkschule*, helped in the construction of the Frankfurt opera house, then moved back to Magdeburg (where Behne was born), before moving on to Berlin to build speculative apartment buildings, some of which he kept for himself; see family anecdotes compiled by Karla Behne, in Behne/Wirsig family papers, Rep.200 Acc.3860, Akte #3, item 70.

⁴⁰ The growth of Germany's media industry was explosive. In 1866 Germany had 1000 journals and 1525 newspapers, some 300 of which appeared daily. By 1914 there were 4221 newspapers, but only 700 journals. Of Germany's 3,689 newspapers in 1919, only 26 had a circulation of over 100,000, while over two thirds had printings of 5,000 or less. Most were purchased through subscription, with 1.9 billion copies delivered by mail in 1910. The best selling periodical was the populist Berliner Illustrierte, founded in 1891, with a circulation of over 1.6 million. The best selling newspaper in Germany was the Berliner Morgenpost, founded in 1903, and already three years later outselling all other newspapers, reaching a peak circulation of 600,000

modern mass media culture worldwide, with the press and eventually radio and film able to reach more people through text and images than ever before. Berlin's intense media climate was further intensified by the development of a distinct newspaper district, the so-called *Zeitungsviertel*, with 75 per cent of all the city's news, publishing, and printing companies located between the Jerusalemnerstraße and the Markgrafenstraße in the southern Friedrichsstadt.⁴¹ [Figure 1.3] The centralized nature of this district allowed for efficient production of newspapers and other published products, but also for the easy exchange of news and a healthy competitive atmosphere that stimulated both innovation and hype. With a total of 93 mass-circulation newspapers appearing each week on its streets, Berlin had the greatest newspaper density of any city in Europe. Morning commuters had a choice of over 45 daily newspapers published in Berlin alone, alongside two mid-day dailies, fourteen evening editions, as well as newspapers from every other major city in Germany, Europe, and

in 1926. In the more centralized press culture of England, France and America, the total number of periodicals was far less, but the circulations of the top papers reached well over a million each; see Peter Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900* (1996); as well as classic newspaper histories such as Peter de Mendelsohn, *Zeitungsstadt Berlin* (1959); Karl Schottenloher and Johannes Binkowski, *Flugblatt und Zeitung* 2 vols. (1985, orig. 1922); Otto Groth, *Die unerkannte Kulturmacht. Grundlegung der Zeitungswissenschaft* 8 vols. (1960, orig. 1928); Heinz-Dietrich Fischer, ed., *Deutsche Zeitungen des 17. bis 20. Jahrhunderts* (1972); and Kurt Koszyk, *Geschichte der deutschen Presse* vols. 2 and 3 (1966, 1972).

⁴¹ Walter E. Keller, *Vom Zeitungsviertel zum Medienquartier* (2003); Peters, *Kleine Berliner Baugeschichte*; and Helmut Engel, *Berlin auf dem Wege zur Moderne* (1997). A good source for the proliferation of journal publishing houses in the area are the annual editions of *Sperlings Zeitschriften-adressbuch*, arranged by subject.

the world.⁴²

Heinrich Mann's novel Berlin, im Schlaraffenland (1900, Berlin, Land of Cockaigne), offers insights into Berlin's potent mix of modern consumer culture and the press and newspaper publishing world in which Behne became fully entrenched.⁴³ The novel follows a young, idealistic, artistically-inclined country boy named Andrew after he arrives in the big metropolis of Berlin. Andrew is constantly tested by the trials of modernity and capitalism, but the young man's dreams come true when he becomes a powerful editor of a large newspaper. In a sober yet creative writing style that Behne admired and later identified as "Expressionist," Mann explored how Andrew's character and idealism were eventually ruined by money and the glamorous, overly materialistic lifestyle into which his position at the commercial newspaper embroiled him.⁴⁴ The book makes clear the fine line in Wilhelmine Germany between the abyss of capitalist consumer culture, of which the mainstream newspapers and publishing culture were an integral part, and the high ground of being a thoughtful art critic or

⁴² Hans Bohrmann, "Anmerkungen zur Mediengeschichte Berlins," in Medienstadt Berlin, ed. Günter Bentele and Otfried Jarren (1988), pp. 13-41.

⁴³ Behne began writing free-lance pieces for newspapers all over Germany in 1913, and after World War I served as art editor for Die Freiheit, the primary newspaper of the leftist USPD (Independent Socialist Party of Germany), from March 1919 to September 1922, and for the communist daily Die Welt am Abend, from September 1924 to February 1932.

⁴⁴ The novel is based on Mann's own work at the Fischer Verlag, as editor of the journal Das zwanzigste Jahrhundert (Munich, 1895-1896), as well as Mann's experiences writing for several newspapers. Heinrich Mann, Berlin Schlaraffenland (1900), translated as Berlin, Land of Cockaigne (1929). See also Jill Lloyd, German Expressionism (1991), p. 130.

editor who sought to advance a more idealized sense of art and culture.⁴⁵

Berlin as "Word City"

The Berlin in which both Mann's protagonist Andrew and Adolf Behne came of age was simultaneously a physical place, a burgeoning architectural metropolis, and a spectacle of the modern media. Bismark, who hated big cities and the press, alluded to the potent mix of architecture and the media when he condemned Berlin as nothing but a "city of bricks and newspapers."⁴⁶ The cultural historian Peter Fritzsche recently went even further when he described early twentieth-century Berlin as a "word city," a giant text composed of a panoply of printed words and images that defined the city, guided its inhabitants, and fashioned the nature of the modern metropolitan experience.⁴⁷

[Figure 1.4] Fritzsche, who drew his evidence from a careful review of a few major turn-of-the-century Berlin newspapers, described a historical moment in which dozens of mass-circulation dailies dominated the psyche and physical surrounds of Berliners, perhaps even more than the age of mass-media that followed in the late 1920s, when other media such as film and radio competed for attention.

Fritzsche analyzed how the myriad of newspapers, like novels, "created" the city in their pages, but did so much more completely, and in an even more modern way,

⁴⁵ Behne praised Heinrich Mann as an early "Expressionist writer" in Behne, "Kunst und Milieu (I)," Die Gegenwart 42.2, no. 38 (Sept. 20, 1913): 599-603.

⁴⁶ Bismark, quoted in Iain Boyd Whyte, "The Expressionist Utopia," in Tracing Modernity, ed. Mari Hvattum and Christian Hermansen (2004) p. 258.

⁴⁷ Fritzsche, Reading Berlin 1900 (1996), p. 1.

being more fragmented and simultaneous than were novels. The front pages of newspapers broken into columns of randomly juxtaposed and anonymous stories, interspersed snapshots, and filled with short synopses, were emblematically modern. The effect was multiplied when dozens of newspapers were displayed at the newspaper kiosks alongside the busy streets. [Figure 1.5] The papers served as fleeting, ever-changing guides and dizzying points of orientation for the public. They fostered participation in both a national and international culture. But they also determined a localized, neighborhood spirit, bringing the city, its citizens, and neighborhoods together to share experiences in unprecedented ways.

Although they carried much subjective material, such as Behne's criticism, the primary business of the newspapers was to inform on the facts rather than to enlighten the mind or provide provocative commentary. They reported the latest news and events, and advertised a myriad of ever-changing goods and services. Most were produced by for-profit business enterprises completely embedded in the heterodox capitalist culture. As a result, they catered to fickle fashions. They mirrored, mediated, amplified, and improvised change and the precarious nature of metropolitan culture. With many papers coming out several times a day, and one newspaper advertising that stories could appear in print on the streets of Berlin eight minutes after happening anywhere in the world, the speed of newspapers was "nearly live."⁴⁸ Newspapers

⁴⁸ Fritzsche, Reading Berlin, p. 181-183. See also Bodo-Michael Baumunk, "Metropolis: Die Schnellste Stadt der Welt," in Berlin, Berlin: die Ausstellung zur Geschichte der Stadt, ed. Gottfried Korff and Reinhard Rürup (1987), pp. 459-472.

played a large part in creating a unified metropolitan culture whose hallmarks were fragmentation and change. Their very essence was modernity, about which Baudelaire had famously remarked: "By modernity I mean the ephemeral, the fugitive, the contingent."⁴⁹

In Berlin, as in many big cities, words and the city were inextricably intertwined, the one constantly mediated the other. People relied on an unprecedented number of newspapers, posters, flyers, and a vast number of other printed materials, both words and images, to navigate the city and its architecture. They read Behne's criticism and other pieces in order to make their changing surroundings understandable. The incessant dynamism, chaotic reality, and material abundance of the metropolis and the life it contained, in turn revised the way people wrote and read. These representational acts spawned new experiences and understandings of the city, and eventually altered behaviors. The "word city" not only documented what happened for contemporary readers as well as for historians, but also each piece of the "word city" was in itself an agent of change, influencing people and defining events. This sense of *agency*, a crucial feature of even the driest or most descriptive printed-matter from the day, lies at the heart of this research project about Adolf Behne, who contributed prodigiously to the proliferation of words and images in Berlin.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Fritsche, Reading Berlin, pp. 7, 33, 45, citing Baudelaire's famous definition of modernity; also translated in Charles Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life," transl. in Modern Art and Modernism, ed. Francis Francina and Charles Harrison (1982), p. 23.

⁵⁰ Hayden White's work in exposing the "figurative" aspect of all historical writing, that by definition all history writing includes the author's narrative vision, as well as the related discussions about the role of the author in literary criticism have

The "word city" analyzed by Fritzsche extended far beyond the large daily newspapers, and well beyond 1900. If expanded to include the entire press and publishing culture in the decades before World War I, Fritzsche's ideas lead us to understand that the media played a defining role in the development of a great deal of Berlin's culture and life, including its architecture. Architecture showed up in the newspapers and other published works in many ways. [Figure 1.6] There were reviews, advertisements, and descriptions of old and new, planned, unfinished, and remodeled buildings. Architecture served as backdrops for photos, news stories, and narrated accounts of all kinds that took place in public and private spaces. It was featured in advertisements and logos for many companies and advertisers.⁵¹ It housed the machines and the sales counters that manufactured and sold the entire range of consumer culture. In combination with the nascent media culture of early twentieth century Berlin of which Behne and his writing were integral parts, architecture became more a more pervasive influence on the culture of the city than ever before.

Berlin as Cultural Capital

By 1910, when Behne began writing as a critic and press correspondent, Berlin was not only the center of the German media, but also ascending to a position at the

been influential in my reading of historical material. See, for example, White, "Historicism, History and the Figurative Imagination," in Tropics of Discourse (1985), pp. 101-120.

⁵¹ Advertisements for most of the big department stores in Berlin, for example, featured graphic stylizations of their large stores; see Figure 1.6.

center of German art and architecture.⁵² The traditionally polycentric nature of German culture divided into distinct regional capitals such as Munich, Dresden, Cologne, and Vienna, now focused ever more prominently on Berlin, a cultural upstart suddenly given weight by an influx of artists, critics, and the press.⁵³ The elite were attracted to, and wealth was increasingly generated in, the exploding metropolis that mingled Prussian respectability with bohemian cosmopolitanism. Although Berlin was home to the Kaiser, the Prussian royal art academies, and their often stifling conservative influence, Berliners also began to consume and produce the lion's share of new art in Germany, in almost purposeful defiance of authority. The local art public soon became the most open-minded, though also the hardest to please, the most skeptical and critical in all of Germany. Artists of all types increasingly flocked to Berlin hoping to achieve near instant recognition, sponsors, and eventually fame.⁵⁴ The first performances of revolutionary plays by Henrik Ibsen, August Strindberg, and Gerhart Hauptmann, and

⁵² Many studies of the era focus on 1910 as a turning point in the history of modern art, architecture and culture in Berlin, the moment of the final turn from historicism to modernism, the halfway point between the earliest signs of industrial modernity of the mid-nineteenth century, and the high modernism of the late 1920s through the post-war era. See, for example, Klaus-Jürgen Sembach, 1910: Halbzeit der Moderne (1992); Françoise Forster-Hahn, Imagining Modern German Culture, 1889-1910 (1996); Eberhard Roters, ed., Berlin 1910-1933 (1982); and Joachim Petsch, Architektur und Gesellschaft (1977). Sembach offers a good overview of the era, but is focused primarily on architecture and design. The inaugural exhibit for the Neue Galerie in New York, Renée Price, ed., New Worlds (2001), offers a recent summary of the developments in the other arts.

⁵³ See Istvan Deak, Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals (1968), pp. 13-15.

⁵⁴ Eberhard Roters, "Painting," in Roters, ed., Berlin, 1910-1933 (1982), p. 53; Selz, German Expressionist Painting, p. 130.

the call of Max Reinhard from Vienna to Berlin, had put the city at the forefront of new theater. The most popular theater critics such as Alfred Kerr, Julius Bab, Maximilian Harden, and Sigfried Jacobsohn began to wield extraordinary cultural clout throughout Germany.⁵⁵ Behne became a devoted fan of this revolutionary theater culture in high school, and even tried his hand at becoming a theater critic in a regular column for the Sozialistische Monatshefte after 1913.

Writers and artists moving to Berlin further enhanced the city's reputation as a seat of innovation. The success of the Berlin Secession and the deliberate attempt by its leader Max Liebermann to recruit experimental artists to Berlin helped counter the conservative force of the Kaiser.⁵⁶ Max Pechstein, a leader of the New Secession, had left Dresden for Berlin in 1908, with many of the revolutionary Die Brücke Expressionist painters following by 1911. Alfred Flechtheim opened a branch of his Cologne gallery in Berlin, further helping make Berlin into the center of German avant-garde painting. Experimental poets such as Paul Scheerbarth, as well as the Neo-Pathetic Cabaret group of Expressionist poets that formed around Kurt Hiller in 1911 were immigrants to

⁵⁵ Alfred Kerr (1867-1948), the dean of German theater critics, wrote 1900-1919 for Der Tag, and 1920-1933 for Berliner Tageblatt. For essays on the exciting cultural scene Kerr published in the Breslauer Zeitung from 1895-1900, see Kerr, Wo liegt Berlin? (1997). See also Paul Mendes-Flohr, "Jews within German Culture," chapter 8 in Mendes-Flohr and Avraham Barkai, German-Jewish History in Modern Times. Vol. 4. Renewal and Destruction, 1918-1945 (1998), pp. 170-194.

⁵⁶ Max Slevogt and Louis Corinth had moved from Munich around the turn-of-the-century, a sign of the shifting center of art in Germany. See Joan Weinstein, The End of Expressionism (1990), p. 14; Winfried Nerdinger, "Die Kunststadt München," in Die zwanziger Jahre in München, ed. Christoph Stölzl (1979), p. 94; and Wolf Dieter Dube, The Expressionists (1972), p. 157.

Berlin.⁵⁷ This literary avant-garde both fed off of and helped reinforce the new metropolitan art and culture.

Architects followed suit. Eric Mendelsohn and the brothers Bruno and Max Taut arrived from East Prussia in search of metropolitan culture. Peter Behrens left Düsseldorf for the AEG in Berlin, and in turn young architects like Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier flocked to him for architectural training. Hugo Häring came from western Germany. The architectural critics Paul Westheim and Walter Curt Behrendt, two contemporaries of Behne's, came to Berlin at first to study, but soon decided to make their careers in the capital burgeoning with writing and publishing opportunities. Countless others such as Behne came with the waves of immigrants to the new city.

Behne later recalled that he felt blessed to have grown up in one of the great cultural metropolises of the day. As a teenager he read avidly the popular dime novels published by the Reklam publishing house, as well as translations of naturalist modern authors and playwrights such as Ibsen, Strindberg, Émile Zola, and Leo Tolstoy, whose works were opening in Berlin theaters.⁵⁸ He continued enjoying Berlin's thriving cultural scene as a university student, taking in the theater of Reinhardt and Otto

⁵⁷ German literary Expressionism is said to have started in 1911, the year that Jakob van Hoddis [pseud. Of Hans Davidsohn] published his famous poem "Weltende," (End of the World), shortly after his friends formed the Neo-Pathetisch Cabaret, and the founding of the journal Die Aktion; see Paul Raabe, Die Zeitschriften und Sammlungen des Literarischen Expressionismus (1964), p. 1ff.; and Thomas Anz and Michael Stark, eds., Manifeste und Dokumente zur deutschen Literatur 1910-1920 (1982). Gordon sees the Neo-Pathetic Cabaret as related to the style and forms of Expressionist painting, but this is based on formalist criteria rather than intellectual/spiritual *geistig* criteria that Behne favored. Gordon, Expressionism, p. 91.

⁵⁸ Anon., "Wir stellen vor."

Brahms, Hauptmann's poetry, Kerr's criticism in the art magazine Pan, and art shows at the Secession, such as the 1908 retrospective exhibit of Hans von Marées. In his student club "Studentenverbindung Euphoria," Behne had intense discussions about art history, while in the math club MV# he met his future wife Elfriede Schäfer. They married in June 1913.⁵⁹ Since high school he had subscribed to periodicals such as the Neue Rundschau (New Review), one of Germany's most important and widely read cultural journals, in which he would publish occasionally throughout his career.⁶⁰ In 1910 he began publishing his articles in journals such as Friedrich Naumann's Die Hilfe (Help) and Wilhelm Herzog's März (March). Behne began writing regular columns in Joseph Bloch's Sozialistische Monatshefte in 1913, and wrote populist pieces on museums and the old masters in magazines for the working class youth movements such as Arbeiterjugend (Worker-Youth) after 1912. His efforts to situate himself within this "intellectual field" and to become one of the most prolific and influential art and architectural critics of his day grew easily out of the cultural context of pre-World War I Berlin.

Once he began writing, Behne quickly infiltrated the network of promoters and

⁵⁹ Anon., "Wir stellen vor," p. 7.

⁶⁰ On the importance of the Neue Rundschau, see Karl Ulrich Syndram, Kulturpublizistik und nationales Selbstverständnis (1989); Wolfgang Grothe, 'Die neue Rundschau' des Verlages S. Fischer (1961); Christoph Schwerin, Der goldene Schnitt (1960); Dieter Stein, "Die neue Rundschau," in Deutsche Zeitschriften des 17. bis 20. Jahrhunderts, ed. Heinz-Dietrich Fischer (1973), pp.229-240. See also Birgit Kulhoff, Bürgerliche Selbstbehauptung im Spiegel der Kunstuntersuchungen zur Kulturpublizistik der Rundschauzeitschriften im Kaiserreich (1871-1914) (1990); Rudiger von Bruch, "Kunst und Kulturkritik in führenden bildungsbürgerlichen Zeitschriften des Kaiserreichs," in Ideengeschichte und Kunstwissenschaft, ed. Ekkehard Mai and Stephan Waetzoldt (1983), pp. 313-348.

publicists of modern art. A group of very progressive art dealers and gallery owners were instrumental in bringing the new art into the limelight, and with it set the tone for Behne's writing and helped change the cultural atmosphere of Berlin. The most prominent was Paul Cassirer, who had funded and directed the Berlin Secession since 1899, but also Alfred Flechtheim, who introduced many French painters to local audiences, and later Fritz Gurlitt, J.B. Neumann and Herwarth Walden, for whom Behne wrote some of his most important theoretical pieces. A group of wealthy bankers and industrialists, especially from Berlin's large liberal Jewish community, increasingly acted as patrons and set record prices as they purchased the new art. In order to get around the conservative tastes of the official curators or the Kaiser's museum funding, these patrons often donated work to national museums in Berlin, making the revolutionary art accessible to the masses.⁶¹

The German press, centered in Berlin, embraced the emerging, dynamic developments in theater, art, and architecture. The reviews of the new art published in Berlin were read throughout the Empire and the world.⁶² By 1910 Berlin had taken over

⁶¹ See, for example, Ekkehard Mai, and Peter Paret, eds., Sammler, Stifter und (1993); Emily D. Bilski, ed., Berlin Metropolis: Jews and the New Culture, 1890-1918 (1999); and more generally Robert Jensen, Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe (1996). Many of the most important figures in the promotion and reception of the Berlin avant-garde, including Behne, are surveyed in Henrike Junge, ed., Avantgarde und Publikum. Zur Rezeption avantgardistischer Kunst in Deutschland 1905-1933 (1992), which contains Lindner, "'Auf diesen Berg . . .,'" pp. 7-15.

⁶² The biggest Berlin newspapers all published regional editions in other German cities, and even overseas editions. When combined with the efficient German railway system, Berlin newspapers were available throughout the Empire and much of Europe within hours of publication.

from Munich the role as capital of German art and art publishing, attracting even Frank Lloyd Wright to the city that year to publish his grand Wasmuth portfolio.⁶³ The development of modern architecture in Berlin, and more broadly throughout Germany, was dependent on the modern media culture developing there to promote the discourse of architectural reform and help effect renewal and eventually revolution.

The Architectural "Publishing Culture"

The search for a reformed national culture around 1900 precipitated the proliferation of an ever greater spectrum of printed materials, appearing with ever greater frequency, and referring to an ever broader panoply of cultural conditions. Before World War I an unprecedented array of books, journals, newspapers, posters, photographs and other materials were written, designed, published, and circulated by a vast publicity industry dedicated to architectural design and reform.⁶⁴ Stimulated by

⁶³ See Anthony Alofsin, Frank Lloyd Wright: the Lost Years, 1910-1922 (1993); and the essays in Anthony Alofsin, ed., Frank Lloyd Wright: Europe and Beyond (1999).

⁶⁴ Introductions to this material include Michael Nungesser, "Skizze zur publizistischen Situation der modernen Architektur," in Europäische Moderne. Buch und Graphik aus Berliner Kunstverlagen 1890-1933, ed. Lutz S. Malke (1989), pp. 163-182, as well as Malke's entire catalogue on the more general world of art publishing; Maria Rennhofer, Kunstzeitschriften der Jahrhundertwende in Deutschland und Österreich 1895-1914 (1997); Roland Jaeger, Neue Werkkunst. Architekten-monographien der zwanziger Jahre (1998), for analysis and a very comprehensive bibliography of the most important books and publications in the German architectural publishing culture from 1918-1933; Andrew Herscher, "Publications and Public Realms: Architectural Periodicals in the Hapsburg Empire and its Successor States," in Shaping the Great City, ed. Eve Blau and Monika Platzer (1999), pp. 237-246; and the series of essays in Werner Oechslin, Moderne Entwerfen (1999), whose vast personal collection of books and this publishing culture forms the basis of his own essays.

German publishers and historians have been surprisingly eager to reprint and

the maelstrom of modern metropolitan life in Berlin, critics such as Behne as well as architects, editors, and many others used the nascent, modern media culture of the day to promote new visions of life, reform, and radical change in which architecture played a central role. The architectural publishing culture documented, criticized, and promoted the cause of modern architecture to a wide contemporary audience, and ultimately to perpetuity.⁶⁵

republish many of the influential, obscure books and essays of the architectural publishing culture from the early twentieth century, either separately or in anthologies focused on various themes, personalities, or historical moments. Reprints of whole runs of important journals and publications from the time have begun to correct the focus on professional architects as the only writers and agents of change. Reprinted journals include: ABC, Das Andere, Die Baugilde, bauhaus, Die Form, Frühlicht, G, Das Kunstblatt, Das Neue Berlin, Das Neue Frankfurt, Vesch/Gegenstand/Objet, and Das Werk, as well as a large number of rare Expressionist journals; see below. These reprints, many of which contain essays by Behne, have been motivated in part by the scarcity, demand, and rapidly increasing prices in the used book stores and auction houses of the original resources that were often printed only in very small editions. The reunification of Germany has helped open new archives in the East and also increased interest in the common heritage of East and West before World War II. The old age of the last surviving, immediate family members of the Weimar era architects and critics has motivated the recent selling off of several invaluable private collections to the archives. The recent trends of Minimalism and Neo-Modernism in contemporary architecture and the growing awareness and pervasiveness of the media as a cultural force in the current architectural scene have also helped widen the audience of people interested in the early "media culture" in Germany.

⁶⁵ The media representations that have come down to us from Berlin often form the only real connection with the original building or ideas, since the city constantly embraced the new, and so much architectural production was either never built or destroyed soon after being built (for example, Poelzig's "Large Theater" from 1919). The published materials, in fact, provide much of the "primary source" material for architectural developments of the era, including photographs of the original buildings, and new published commentary by contemporaries who provided a subjective context in which to evaluate the building. With personal papers so often lost to history, this publishing culture provides a nearly inexhaustible supply of evidence, despite being frustratingly dispersed, fragmented, and un-indexed.

Behne and his colleagues published in a remarkably broad spectrum of venues to promote their visions for a new art and architecture. The most well-known sources are the many professional art and architectural journals circulating in Germany, including mainstream,⁶⁶ regional,⁶⁷ conservative,⁶⁸ government published,⁶⁹ and more specialized periodicals such as those dealing with housing, engineering structures, or

⁶⁶ A list of the most important mainstream professional journals would include: Deutsche Bauzeitung (1867-1942); Architektonische Rundschau (1885-1915); Moderne Bauformen (1902-1944, 14,000 copies in 1930, the largest circulation in Germany); Neudeutsche Bauzeitung (1904-22); Bauwelt (1910-1945, with 12,00 copies weekly in 1930); Wasmuths Monatshefte (1914-1932); Die Baugilde (1919-41). The best surveys and indexes of the complete spectrum of architectural periodicals in Germany include Rolf Fuhlrott, Deutschsprachige Architektur-Zeitschriften, 1789-1918 (1975); Ludovica Scarpa, ed., "Riviste, manuali di architettura, strumenti del sapere tecnico in Europa, 1910-1930," in Rassegna 3, no. 5 (Jan. 1981): special issue; Annette Ciré and Haila Ochs, Die Zeitschrift als Manifest (1991); Jacques Gubler, ed., "Architecture in Avant-Garde Magazines," Rassegna 4, no. 12 (Dec. 1982): special issue. The published periodical material has also been thoroughly, if not always comprehensively indexed: Stephan Waetzoldt, ed., Bibliographie zur Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert. 8 vols (1977); Peter and Sabine Güttler, Zeitschriften-bibliographie zur Architektur in Berlin von 1919 bis 1945 (1986); and in the annual volumes of Dietrich's Bibliographie der Deutschen Zeitschriften-Literatur, mit Einschluß von Sammlerwerken (1896-1937, reprint 1962), with a comprehensive list of periodicals surveyed.

⁶⁷ The most important regional professional journals include: Bau-rundschau (Hamburg, 1909-41); Berliner Architekturwelt (Berlin, 1899-1919); Ostdeutsche Bauzeitung (Breslau, 1904-1942) Stein-Holz-Eisen (Frankfurt, 1887-1937); Süddeutsche Bauzeitung (Munich, 1891-1922); and Schweizerische Bauzeitung (Zurich, 1883-present).

⁶⁸ Conservative professional architectural journals included: Deutsche Bauhütte (1897-1942); Der Profanbau (1905-1922); and Der Baumeister (1902-1944).

⁶⁹ Official mouthpieces of various German ministries responsible for building include: Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung (1881-1944); and Zeitschrift für Bauwesen (1851-1931).

emergency dwellings after World War I.⁷⁰ A great deal of architectural publishing was also done in related decorative arts⁷¹ and fine arts magazines.⁷² Finally there were the many small, specialized avant-garde journals, "little magazines," and broadsheets that often carried the most radical and experimental ideas, particularly in the post-World War I era.⁷³ Although these venues of creativity and criticism were often short lived and had very small circulation numbers, their reputation among artists, critics, and friends of modern art and architecture, both in Germany and throughout Europe, lent them disproportionate influence.

The close inter-relationship these avant-garde journals had with the artists or architects themselves, and the mythic image of the artist as genius and master of his own destiny, has led many scholars to focus almost exclusively on the writings of architects when investigating the relationship of architecture and the media. Architects

⁷⁰ More specialized professional architectural journals with a wide circulation included: Der Industriebau (1910-1931); Die Volkswohnung / Der Neubau (1919-1930); and Wohnungswirtschaft (1924-2932).

⁷¹ Popular decorative arts and interior design magazines included: Dekorative Kunst (1897-1929); Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration (1897-1933); Innen-Dekoration (1900-1944); Das Werk (1914-present); and Die Form (1922, 1925-1934).

⁷² Fine arts magazines that regularly carried important material on architecture include: Die Kunst (1896-1943); Kunst und Künstler (1902-1933); Der Cicerone (1909-1932); and Das Kunstblatt (1917-1933).

⁷³ The most important German-language (or German published) avant-garde journals that covered architecture include: ABC (1924-1928); Das Andere (1903); bauhaus (1926-31); Frühlicht (1920, 1921-22); G (1923-26); Das Neue Berlin (1929); Das Neue Frankfurt (1926-34); Vesch/Gegenstand/Objet (1922). Although they rarely carried material directly related to architecture, the hundreds of small Expressionist journals that flourished before and after the World War I were crucial to artistic developments; see the 18 thick volumes of Paul Raabe's Index Expressionismus (1972).

since the turn of the twentieth century increasingly wrote in the form of purposefully provocative manifestoes that they publicized in both avant-garde journals and the general press.⁷⁴ But these often cryptic, and usually singular manifestoes offer only partial explanations into the complexities that promote cultural change. Critics, when they are quoted, are cited for the facts they relay, not the opinions or influence they had.

With some exceptions, perhaps, architects were not as adept at expressing themselves in print as were critics and other professional writers. Even the prolific and gifted architect-writer Bruno Taut admitted openly that he expressed himself far better in drawings than in words.⁷⁵ Architects' writings are almost by definition tendentious, with all the perils and power to shape developments that Manfredo Tafuri identified

⁷⁴ For samples of architect's manifestoes see Kristiana Hartmann, ed. Trotzdem Modern (1994); Ulrich Conrads, ed., Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-Century Architecture (1964, 1989); Ciré and Ochs, Die Zeitschrift als Manifest; and more general art anthologies such as Diether Schmidt, ed., Manifeste Manifeste, 1905-1933 (1965). In recent years there has been increased scholarly research on the reading, writing, publishing, and media work of professional architects all over Europe, including Loos, Le Corbusier, Behrens, Walter Gropius, Ludwig Hilberseimer, Herrmann Muthesius, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Paul Schultze-Naumburg, and Bruno Taut. This trend is hardly new. Writings by important architects have been collected, studied and republished for decades. Even before World War II, for example, the critic and journal editor Paul Westheim was convinced that artists were the best judges of their own intentions and work, leading him to publish anthologies of important essays that affected the development of modern art and architecture; see Paul Westheim, ed., Kulturbekanntnisse. Briefe / Tagebuchblätter / Betrachtungen heutiger Künstler (1925); but also his Paul Westheim and Carl Einstein, eds., Europa Almanach (1925, republished in 1973 and 1984).

⁷⁵ Achim Wendschuh and Barbara Volkmann, eds., Bruno Taut 1880-1938 (1980), p. 24.

with "operative criticism."⁷⁶ The nature of the architects' training, profession, and personalities limited their time and abilities to contextualize and criticize their own work and ideas historically and ideologically. As the East German art historian Diether Schmidt has warned, artists are often provocative, but even the most communally minded are rarely what he calls "team players," unable to reflect adequately on how their work fits into the larger artistic, cultural, and social context of their own time.⁷⁷ Some architects, such as Mies van der Rohe, Terragni or Rietveld, intentionally let their buildings speak for them, and as a consequence wrote almost nothing at all.⁷⁸ Other such as Erich Mendelsohn, who wrote prolifically and trenchantly about their own work and ideas, were reluctant to expose or share their ideas with the public.⁷⁹

Although architects contributed many of the articles in architectural journals, the overall content and nature of the architectural coverage was usually dictated by the publishing house, including such famous art and architectural publishers as Paul Cassirer, Friedrich Bruckmann, Gustav Kiepenheuer, Ernst Wasmuth, Hermann

⁷⁶ Manfredo Tafuri, Theories and History of Architecture (1980); Susan Carty Piedmont, "Operative Criticism," Journal of Architectural Education 40, no. 1 (Fall 1986): 8-13; and chaps. 1, 7 of Panayotis Tournikiotis, The Historiography of Modern Architecture (1999).

⁷⁷ Schmidt, Manifeste, Manifeste, pp. 1ff.

⁷⁸ See Fritz Neumeyer, ed., Das Kunstlose Wort: Gedanken zur Baukunst (1986); translated by Mark Jarzombek as The Artless Word. Mies van der Rohe on the Building Art (1991).

⁷⁹ Erich Mendelsohn, Briefe eines Architekten, ed. Otto Beyer (1961, republished 1991); revised and translated as Letters of an Architect (1967), both contain but a fraction of the many letters Mendelsohn wrote, mostly to his wife.

Reckendorf, and Alexander Koch. For the publishing houses, the art journals were usually part of a much larger business and publishing enterprise, often with a well-defined ideological and artistic positions. Power to control the content was wielded by the journal's *Herausgeber* (Editor in Chief) and the *Schriftleiter* (Managing Editor). They selected the contributors and commissioned specific pieces, and thereby determined the kind of readership and influence the journal could hope for. The architect's writings were thus subsumed within larger institutions of the media.

In addition to the professional art and architectural press, scholars have increasingly focused on the extensive publishing and publicity efforts of important activist reform and educational institutions of the period such as the German Werkbund, the Heimatschutzbund, the Deutsches Museum für Kunst und Handwerk, the Bauhaus, the Reichsforschungs-gesellschaft (RfG), and the Internationaler Kongress für Neues Bauen (C.I.A.M.). Each of these propaganda organizations disseminated architectural images and ideas to reach a wider audiences and achieve desired reforms. The leaders of these organizations understood from the beginning that change and reform could only be achieved with the aid of the modern media. Recent exhibits and monographs on these institutions and reprints such as the Werkbund Yearbooks and Bauhaus book series now allow for a more sophisticated and nuanced understanding of the role these institutions in collaboration with the media played in the development of modern architecture.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ On the publicity of the Bauhaus, see, for example, Kerstin Eckstein, "Inszenierung einer Utopie. Zur Selbstdarstellung des Bauhauses in den zwanziger

But the architectural publishing culture before World War I stretched wider than the professional art and architecture journals and a handful of influential cultural institutions that promoted change and reform. A more thorough investigation of effect of critics and the press on architecture must include the much broader range of non-architectural publications, including cultural journals such as Der Kunstwart and Alfred Kerr's Pan magazine. The monumental efforts by Kraus and others to reprint many of the rare Expressionist journals such as Die Aktion, Der Sturm and Zeit-Echo, as well as surveys of more generalized literary, cultural, and political journals such as Die Welbühne, Das Neue Rußland, and Sozialistische Monatshefte, allow us to explore the complete breadth of Germany's architectural publishing culture. Analyses of important German newspapers such as the Frankfurter Zeitung and the Berliner Morgenpost help explain the context in which architectural reviews by critics such as Behne, Behrendt, Sigfried Kracauer were read.⁸¹ Studies of influential publishing houses such as Mosse, Ullstein, Scherl, and smaller publishers such as Fischer, Piper, Insel, Reclam, and Diederichs provide additional insights.⁸² These media outlets reached much larger

Jahren," in bauhaus-ideen 1919-1994. bibliografie und beiträge zur rezeption des bauhausgedankens, ed. Andreas Haus (1994), pp. 15-29; Juliana Raupp, "Architektur und Anekdoten: Die Zeitschrift bauhaus. Vom Fachperiodikum zum Publicityorgan," in Das A und O des Bauhauses. Bauhauswerbung, Schriftbilder, Drucksachen, Ausstellungsdesign, ed. Ute Brüning (1995), pp. 27-33.; Cornelia Sohn, 'Wir überleben alle Stürme': Die Öffentlichkeitsarbeit des Bauhauses (1997). On Behne's relationship to the Bauhaus, see Hans Lange, "Adolf Behne, Walter Gropius und das Bauhaus," in Bushart, Adolf Behne, pp. 89-116.

⁸¹ See for example, Almut Todorow, Das Feuilleton der Frankfurter Zeitung in der Weimarer Republik: Zur Grundlegung einer Rhetorischen Medienforschung (1996).

⁸² The largest force in Berlin's media culture was a group of three giant media

audiences than did the professional press, often on a daily basis, and included reports and critiques of most of the important events and controversies that gave rise to a modern architecture. Despite this fact, few of the extant studies of Germany's architectural publishing culture have focused attention on the interaction of the more mainstream media with the professional world of architecture and the influence it had by addressing a wider, more mass audience.

Architectural Critics and the "Culture of Criticism"

Many of the individuals, organizations, and institutions with which Behne interacted had in common a dissatisfaction with what they perceived to be an increasingly decadent consumerism and materialism in Wilhelmine Berlin before World War I. They wrote critiques, proposed reforms, searched for alternatives, challenged authority, and sought revolution on many different levels. At the conservative extreme, writers such as Paul de Lagarde, Julius Langbehn, and Moeller van den Bruck attacked the progress of modernity and expressed deep dissatisfaction with the condition of

empires at the center of the so-called "Gross-Presse": the Ullstein, Mosse and Scherl conglomerates. Each published many daily and weekly newspapers, a broad range of periodical journals and magazines (popular and professional, humorous and philosophical, artistic and technical), as well as books and other printed matter in vast numbers. Their output was supplemented by a host of smaller and more specialized publishers from Berlin, the traditional center of German book publishing in Leipzig, as well as cities from all over Germany, Europe and the world. Berlin, as capital of the German Reich, had an appetite for a vast array of printed material, living up to its labels as "Zeitungsstadt" and "Medienstadt". See Mendelsohn, *Zeitungsstadt Berlin*; Schottenloher and Binkowski, *Flugblatt und Zeitung*, pp. 89-96; and Bohrmann, "Anmerkungen zur Mediengeschichte."

modern German culture and the German spirit. Their nostalgia for traditions and a more perfect past, and hopeless attitude about the present, spawned what Fritz Stern has labeled a "culture of despair."⁸³ They were reacting to what had been wrought in large part by the primary conservative force in Germany, the Kaiser and his loyal entourage of army officers, academy professors, and other establishment figures.

Unlike the promoters of a "culture of despair," this camp promoted an often paradoxical mix of tradition and modernity. Emblematic were the German world's fair pavilions in Chicago (1893) and Paris (1900), where a neo-Renaissance or medieval half-timber facade stood in front of airy, steel-and-glass halls selling high-tech Krupp armaments or tea-kettles from the AEG.

Responding to many of the same ills of modern industrialized civilization, more centrist critics such as Eugen Diederichs and Friedrich Naumann and several of the founding members of the German Werkbund spawned a very broad movement of "reform culture" that encompassed nearly every aspect of life, from lifestyles to the German home and landscape, to political reform and industrial policy. Although progressive in comparison to the advocates of tradition mentioned above, these critics encompassed a wide spectrum and rich mix of political and social ideas. Many were

⁸³ Stern investigates the writings of Paul de Lagarde, Julius Langbehn and Moeller van den Bruck, all deeply dissatisfied with the condition of modern German culture and the German spirit. They enumerated the discontents of Germany's industrial civilization and warned against an ongoing loss of values and a cultural crisis. Hoping to become prophets of a national rebirth, they propounded all manner of reform, ruthless and idealistic, nationalistic and utopian, that Stern argues facilitated the rise of National Socialism; see Fritz Stern, The Politics of Cultural Despair (1961).

progressive on matters of technology, modern design, and laissez faire capitalism, but simultaneously strong social conservatives that sought to restore "order" in all aspects of German life.

The left also featured a broad spectrum of ideas. Socialists sought political and economic change to benefit the working class, but as will be explored below, often had very conservative ideas about culture and art. On the far left, a bohemian "café culture" developed in Berlin and other large cities in which artists, literary figures, and all manner of intellectuals retreated to an avant-garde artistic position as a means of compensating for their lack of political power. Their political stances varied from anarchists to "Activists," Socialist and more centrist positions.

All three of these branches of cultural criticism used publishing, the press, and the modern media with great effectiveness to get out their message and convince others of their cause. Together, the reformers, the institutions through which they worked, and the media through which they communicated created what I am calling a "culture of criticism."⁸⁴ Art and architectural issues formed only a small part of the larger

⁸⁴ Joan Ockman describes a "culture of criticism" within architecture for the post-World War II era, but uses the term much more narrowly, confined for the most part to the professional architectural press or the writings of professional architects. In an effort to distinguish the post-World War II period from the pre-war era, she also postulates that the pre-war architectural culture was dominated by architects and their manifestoes, and thus did not feature as pervasive and complex a culture of criticism as the post-World War II era. While this may be true for the United States, England, and Italy, this dissertation is an attempt to demonstrate that this was decidedly *not* the case in pre-war Germany, where a thriving media produced a mature culture of criticism to rival that of any other period or place. See Ockman, ed., Architecture Culture 1943-1968: a Documentary Anthology (1993), p. 20.

culture of criticism in Berlin. Nonetheless, I maintain that Behne's reviews of art, essays of architecture, and theoretical statements on the avant-garde that are the primary source material for this study and so much architectural history of the period, can only be fully understood within the much wider context of the culture of criticism in which they were produced. The culture of criticism encompassed not only what Bourdieu has called the "intellectual field" that surrounds all art and helps define cultural developments, but also a more mundane system of communication, production and exchange that was the modern media. His views on art and architecture were profoundly affected by the network of institutions around him, his writings transmitting and translating for his readers general cultural ideas as well as specific messages about art and architecture.

An investigation of the "culture of criticism" and how it influenced architecture in early twentieth-century Berlin shows the way in which writers such as Behne and the press more generally inserted themselves between producers of the new architecture and the consuming public. They related architecture to larger developments in art, politics, and society. They dictated the tone, format and very often the message of architectural change, and with it implicated larger cultural and even political reforms. Far more than objective reporters or passive filters of the moment, critics such as Behne, Behrendt, Platz and Giedion, working in conjunction with architects, publishers, and the larger culture of criticism opened up the discursive space for a modern architecture and culture in Germany. Modern architecture in Germany, I contend, was shaped as

much by words and images as by actual buildings; the representations by non-practitioners such as Behne at least as determinant as the structures and manifestoes of the architects.

Behne as Premier Critic of Modern Architecture

The Existing Research

Few architectural critics from the early twentieth century have been comprehensively researched or written about, but the existing literature and historical evidence confirms that no critic was more productive, provocative, or influential in determining the course of modern architecture in Germany before World War II than Adolf Behne. His writing, the many artists and architects he wrote about and promoted, and the institutions through which he operated, confirm Behne's influence beyond the confines of traditional art criticism. His vast and provocative work places him squarely as a leading architectural voice within Berlin's culture of criticism.

In order to fully appreciate Behne's role in motivating architectural change, a wide array of sources related to his day-to-day work is required. Because the work of critics and the press has with few exceptions been seen as secondary compared to the work of architects, the personal papers of most critics are widely dispersed or lost to history.⁸⁵ Except for several relatively small collections of personal papers consisting

⁸⁵ Countless letters to archives and discussions with scholars here and abroad in the early years of research proved over and over the relative dearth of archives and personal papers related to architectural critics as well as publishing houses in Weimar Germany. Giedion's papers in Zurich are a stark exception. Many records of the critics'

mostly of reprints or copies of his published articles, there is no comprehensive repository of Behne's personal papers, as there is for critics and historians such as Sigfried Giedion or Nicholas Pevsner, or many of the heroic architects they interacted with.⁸⁶ However, nearly every archival collection of material related to practicing architects or important cultural institutions of the period contains letters to or from Behne.⁸⁷ If the architect or institutions employed newspaper clipping services, as most did in early twentieth-century Germany, there are nearly always articles by Behne. Finally, scholarship in a few archives directly related to the publishing industry have started to provide invaluable insights into the complex business and mechanics of architectural publishing in Weimar Germany, though none seems to contain material

were destroyed or lost in World War II, others were consciously discarded or abandoned, in part because critics and the press were considered to be mere recorders of events, rather than active promoters of change and shapers of architectural discourse. See Appendix I for the fates of the archives of Adolf Behne and Walter Curt Behrendt.

⁸⁶ There are several small collections of Behne papers, mostly clippings or copies of articles, but also limited correspondence to or from Behne. The most important archival collection are in order of quantity and significance: 1) the Sammlung Behne/Scharfe at the Bauhaus-Archiv, as well as several pieces of correspondence Behne had with some of the other figures collected by the Bauhaus-Archiv such as Gropius; 2) the Sammlung Behne in Herwarth Walden's Sturm-Archiv in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin; 3) a series of letters from Behne to various people collected in the Sammlung Baukunst of the Akademie der Künste, Berlin; 4) a series of letters by Behne to various people in archives of the Berlinische Gallerie in Berlin; 5) a large cache of letters to Behne's close friend Walter Dexel, a painter, in the archives of the Getty Research Center in Los Angeles.

⁸⁷ See Bibliography II below for a list of archival collections consulted, including many of Behne's architect colleagues. A surprisingly large number contain at least a letter or note from Behne.

related to Behne's work as a critic.⁸⁸

The incisiveness and importance of Behne's writings have long been recognized and continue to be relevant in both art and architectural history. His publications and ideas are frequently cited in studies of German Expressionist art, European Constructivism, the art of "New Objectivity" (*Neue Sachlichkeit*) or Post-Expressionism, working-class and communist art, and the group of artists labeled "Degenerate" during the Third Reich. Behne's achievements as an architectural critic have been increasingly recognized since his most important book, Der moderne Zweckbau (1926) was first republished in 1964 by Ulrich Conrads. The still relevant, insightful analysis of the various functionalist positions circulating in the Behne's book has been excerpted countless times, republished, translated into Italian, and even recently into English. Behne's essay "Kunst, Handwerk, Technik," (Art, Craft and Technology, 1922) which appeared in the celebrated cultural review Die neue Rundschau, was translated in Oppositions (1980), as well as in the English version of Francesco Dal Co's book Figures

⁸⁸ The discovery of records related to the publishing of the important art periodical Das Kunstblatt in the archives of a successor company of the original publisher Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag have led to a recent monograph of Paul Westheim's work as an art critic; see Lutz Windhöfel, Paul Westheim und Das Kunstblatt (1995). In a similar manner, the discovery of archival material related to the publication of Walter Müller-Wulckow's very popular "Blaue Bücher" in the company archives of the Karl Langewiesche Verlag led to another reprint edition of the books, and to a companion volume of historical analyses of the influence of the book, the career of Müller-Wulckow, and detailed evidence on the photography and photographic editing process that took place in the process of publishing the book in several editions; see Walter Müller-Wulckow, Architektur 1900-1929 in Deutschland, ed. Heinz-C. Köster (1999). These books had already been reprinted once, with a forward by Reyner Banham: Müller-Wulckow, Architektur der Zwanziger Jahre in Deutschland, intro. Reyner Banham (1972).

of Architecture and Thought.⁸⁹ Eight of Behne's other books and many of his most important essays have been republished or translated.⁹⁰ New scholarship, including research developed for a symposium on Behne in Berlin in 1995, has begun to shed light on specific phases, influences, or themes in Behne's work.⁹¹ Nonetheless, major gaps in

⁸⁹ Behne, "Kunst, Handwerk, Technik," Die Neue Rundschau 33.2, no. 10 (Oct. 1922): 1021-1037; translated by Diane Blaurock as "Art, Handicraft, Technology," Oppositions 22 (Fall 1980): 96-104, introduction by F. Dal Co; and by Christiane Crasemann Collins in Francesco Dal Co, Figures of Architecture and Thought (Rizzoli, 1990), pp. 324-338.

⁹⁰ In the last decade, alone, twenty seven of his essays have been reprinted or substantial parts republished, his most famous book has been translated into English and Spanish, and been republished for a third time, while five other books have also been republished, either as facsimile reprints, or as part of a larger anthology. Further editions of Behne's Der moderne Zweckbau (1926), already republished once in 1964, include Behne, 1923, La Construcción funcional moderna (1994); Behne, Modern Functional Building (1996); and Behne, Der moderne Zweckbau (1998). Recent facsimile reprints include Behne, intro., Max Taut: Bauten und Pläne (1996); and Behne, intro., Berlin in Bildern (1998). The volume Behne, Schriften zur Kunst (1998), edited by Cornelia Briel, includes Behne's Die Wiederkehr der Kunst (1919); Behne, Von Kunst zur Gestaltung (1925); and Behne, Entartete Kunst (1946). An anthology of Behne's writings Behne, Architekturkritik in der Zeit und über der Zeit hinaus. Texte 1913-1946, ed. Haila Ochs (1994), contains thirty seven of Behne's most important essays on architecture as well as his book Zur Neuen Kunst (1915, 1917); while the anthology Hartmann, Trotzdem Modern, contains fourteen of Behne's essays and excerpts from three books. See also Bibliography I.

⁹¹ For existing research on Behne, see above all the essays by Magdalena Bushart, Hans Lange, Antonia Gruhn-Zimmermann, Ada Raev, Bernd Nicolai, Jochen Meyer, and Martin Papenbrock on specialized aspects of Behne's work, in Bushart, ed., Adolf Behne; as well as Frederick J. Schwartz, "Form Follows Fetish: Adolf Behne and the Problem of *Sachlichkeit*," Oxford Art Journal 21, no. 2 (1998): 45-77, which is also republished in the Bushart anthology. The following studies also focus intensively on Behne's work: Frecot, "Bibliographische Berichte"; Ochs, preface to Behne, Architekturkritik; Bletter, "Introduction"; Lindner, "Auf diesen Berg"; Anke Steinborn, Die Materie der Kunst in Schwarz und Weiß (2002); Cornelia Briel, "Der Kunst das Volk - dem Volk die Kunst. Spannungspole in Adolf Behnes Konzeption von Kunst und Gesellschaft," postscript in Behne, Schriften zur Kunst, ed. Cornelia Briel (1998), pp. 265-280; Alan Colquhoun, "Criticism and Self-Criticism in German Modernism," AA Files 28

the research still exist.

Behne's Criticism Before World War I

This dissertation investigates the early career of Adolf Behne and the crucial role he played in defining and promoting the development of modern architecture before World War I. During this particularly vibrant cultural moment in Germany, Behne became one of the most perceptive and influential critics of his day, intent on finding alternatives to the elitism, materialism, and decadence of Wilhelmine society. In the course of his intense engagement with Socialism, Expressionism, and the German Werkbund, Behne slowly established a critical position about what modern architecture should be: a synthesis of fantasy and functionality. Although his attitudes about art, architecture, politics, and culture would continue to evolve over the course of his career, the foundations laid between 1910 and 1914 would in time establish him as one of the most perspicacious architecture critics of the twentieth century. By placing Behne's work in a larger critical and artistic context, this study shows how Behne served as link between the producers of the new architecture and an ever-expanding consuming public by making use of the nascent modern media of the day.

(Autumn 1994): 26-33, and other versions of this essay listed in the bibliography; Detlev Mertins, "Transparencies Yet to Come: Sigfried Giedion and Adolf Behne," *A + U* 97:10, no. 325 (Oct. 1997): 3-17, as well as earlier versions of this essay; Arnd Bohm, "Artful Reproduction: Benjamin's Appropriation of Adolf Behne's 'Das reproduktive Zeitalter' in the *Kunstwerk* Essay," *The Germanic Review* 68, no. 4 (1993): 146-155; George Baird, "The Labor of Our Body and the Work of Our Hands," *Harvard Architecture Review*, no. 7 (1989): 82-99; Francesco Dal Co, "The Remoteness of *die Moderne*," *Oppositions*, no. 22 (Fall 1980): 74-95, and many more cited in the bibliography.

Chapter 2, "Reform and Socialism: Behne's Start as a Cultural Critic,"

investigates Behne's training and earliest attempts to enter the dialogue of reform and cultural change in Germany. After several semesters of architecture school, Behne moved on to study art history at the University of Berlin, where he wrote a dissertation on medieval Tuscan architectural ornament that was completed in 1912. As early as 1910, he had begun publishing short reviews of art books and exhibits of Impressionist and Secessionist art in journals such as Friedrich Naumann's Die Hilfe and others related to the cultural reform movement that had led to the formation of the German Werkbund several years earlier. The early reviews from 1910 to 1912 were for the most part unremarkable, but in them the young critic began to establish his positions on modern art, and also on the nature of architectural criticism and its relationship to both the artists and the general public.

Although Behne had hopes of entering academia after school, his increasingly Socialist politics and engagement with avant-garde art made that untenable. In 1912 he began teaching art appreciation courses in the public adult education schools (*Volkshochschulen*) of Berlin and began publishing in a variety of journals related to the cultural program of the Socialist party, including Arbeiter-Jugend (Worker-Youth) and Socialistische Monatshefte (Socialist Monthly). His texts for the Socialist press were primarily art appreciation pieces for working class youth in which he worked to convince his readers of the inspirational power of beautiful art, both for personal enrichment, and as a unique means of creating community among men. In the course

of this writing, his ideas moved ever farther from the more mainline cultural reform movement.

Chapter 3, "Encountering the Avant-Garde: Behne, Sturm, and Expressionist Culture," explores Behne's turn to Expressionist art, especially the artists exhibiting in Herwarth Walden's Sturm Gallery. The Sturm gallery and the related Der Sturm journal were the center of avant-garde art in Germany before World War I, a powerful force for promoting and disseminating a new vision of art that Behne quickly absorbed on his way to becoming one of Expressionism's primary theoretical voices. He defined Expressionism as attitude that departed from the materialistic, observable world of Impressionism, and instead communicated a more communal and spiritual sense about human experience. Under this banner, Behne sought to unify all of Europe's disparate avant-garde movements, including Italian Futurism and French Cubism.

Behne's most important contribution to the discourse of modern art and architecture before the War was not the theoretical definition of a new art, but rather the expansion of an Idealist vision of what constituted Expressionist thought to other cultural and intellectual fields. Inspired by the theoretical biologist Jacob von Uexküll and others, Behne developed ideas he had taken from Kandinsky and Worringer, and proposed that fields as diverse as biology, art history, and literature could all be labeled "Expressionist." Seeking to overcome the materialism of the Impressionist mindset, he avoided discussions of formal style or materially-based criteria, in favor of more Idealist visions of form and spirit.

Chapter 4, "Inventing an Expressionist Architecture: Behne and Bruno Taut," investigates how Behne translated ideas he had explored in Expressionist art to define a new architecture. Upon meeting the younger Bruno Taut at the end of 1912, Behne invented the term "Expressionist Architecture" to define the unique mix of artistic fantasy and objective functionality, a mix which he had discerned in Taut's almost unknown early architectural designs. Behne and Taut soon became fast friends, and by May of 1913 Behne was fully engaged in promoting and shaping Taut's architecture and ideas.

Increasingly they began to collaborate on a new vision of architecture, realized most forcefully in the *Glashaus* (Glass Pavilion) for the 1914 Werkbund exhibition at Cologne. Although the *Glashaus* has long been interpreted as a collaborative product of Taut and the novelist Scheerbart, in this chapter I argue that the architect, novelist, and critic were equal partners using different tools to ply their trade and express architectural ideas. The poet Scheerbart acted as theorist. The architect Taut struggled to find physical, architectural forms corresponding to their shared vision for the future and engaged several artists to create pieces of the building. Through his criticism, Behne lent meaning and speculated on the architectural implications of the collaborative work. When architecture is understood not only as the physical artifact, but also as the meanings implicit in the design, the process that created it, as well as the ideas and discourse that results, then all three figures must be credited as architectural collaborators. Each of them--the architect, the visionary, and the critic--deserves equal

credit for spawning this early development of modern architecture.

Chapter 5, "Cultural Socialism: Defining a Socialist Architecture," investigates the process by which Behne began to define what he called a "sociological approach" to architecture. Behne's desire to unify art and life--a central tenet of both Expressionist art and the German Werkbund--gave rise to one of the fundamental paradoxes, indeed contradictions, in Behne's criticism and the visions he promoted. On the one hand, Behne promoted a new art that he felt transcended the mundane, materialist society of Wilhelmine Germany, one that aspired to express the spirituality, artistry, and inner needs of an artist in the modern world. On the other hand, Behne also wrote passionately about the need to make art accessible to more people, to bring good art and an appreciation of beauty to the masses, which he considered a pre-requisite for the establishment of true modern art and architecture. In Behne's criticism, art was to be simultaneously high and low, personal and popular, autonomous and socially relevant. At the heart of this apparent contradiction in Behne's art criticism lay his political and social convictions, a position I call "cultural socialism": a belief in the principles of Socialism that focused on empowering the people, without engaging in bureaucratic party politics, which too often diffused or blocked the connection of the people to modern art.

Beginning in 1913, Behne increasingly turned to architecture as a means of resolving the perceived paradox of avant-garde autonomy and socialist functionalism in modern art. In Taut's early apartment buildings and designs for the Falkenberg

Garden City, Behne identified a unique blend of simple functionality that expressed the basic needs of the common man, and a fantastic sense of artistry by the architect that could inspire and elevate the human spirit. Such an architecture, Behne theorized, had the potential to shape people and by extension, culture directly. In this way, art became a kind of politics that would eventually help lead man to a new society.

Chapter 6, "Balancing Rationality and Fantasy: Behne's Critique of Industrial Architecture," continues the investigation of Behne's attempt to forge a "socialist" or sociologically appropriate architecture for the common man, but focuses on Behne's critical reaction to the ideas of the German Werkbund and its program of reforming industrial architecture. Beginning in 1913, Behne began to define industrial architecture as one of the primary means of renewing modern culture. He distinguished several contemporary approaches to the type, of which only the "Rationalist," was deemed appropriate. Exemplified by the factories of Hans Poelzig and exhibition pavilions of Bruno Taut, rationalist architecture for Behne synthesized a clear functional objectivity, or *Sachlichkeit*, with an "inner necessity" and human approachability that raised the buildings from mere mechanisms to the level of organic artworks.

The theoretical speculations on industrial architecture he wrote set the stage for a major set of critical essays on the architecture of the Werkbund exhibition in Cologne during the summer of 1914., particularly in reviews of Taut's Glashaus in comparison to Gropius' model factory. Although Behne did not actually participate in the famous Werkbund debates that summer, his essays reveal a viewpoint very close to that of the

socialist artist Henry van de Velde, and vehemently opposed to the establishment view promoted by Muthesius. Behne advocated above all else that it should be artists, not businessman, who lead the Werkbund out of the quagmire represented by the exhibit. He passionately defended Taut's Glashaus as the most artistically inspired pavilion, complete with all the newest materials of concrete and glass, but here used so much more objectively and according to the true principles of glass than the "block-like" glass of Gropius' factory.

A brief epilogue investigates how the themes that Behne deployed in his criticism of the Werkbund exhibition buildings crystalized during the years of World War I and beyond, most importantly his famous book Der moderne Zweckbau (1926, The Modern Functional Building). It stresses that the intellectual groundwork for Behne's rise to becoming one of the most respected and influential critics of art and architecture of Weimar Germany began before the war, in a very different artistic and political milieu.

Chapter 1 Illustrations



Figure 1.1. Portrait of Adolf Bruno Behne (1885-1948). Source: Bauhaus-archiv, Berlin, Sammlung Adolf Behne.

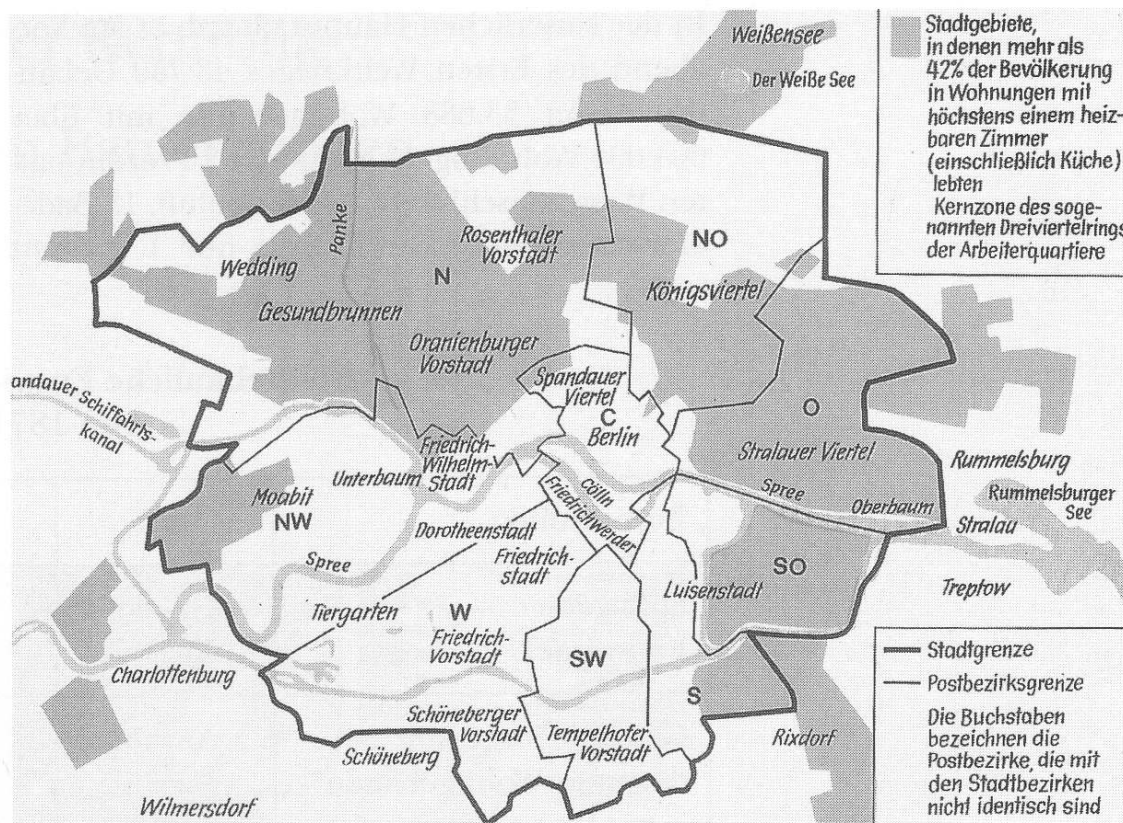


Figure 1.2. Plan of Berlin, showing boundaries of the postal districts and the so-called "three-quarter ring," the vast districts (shaded in grey) of working-class quarters that formed around three sides of Berlin in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Here working-class is defined as areas where more than 42% of the residents reside in apartments with a maximum of one heated room (usually the kitchen). Behne's family lived in the section in the East labeled "O", also called Friedrichshain. Source: Günter Peters, *Kleine Berliner Baugeschichte* (1995) p. 147.

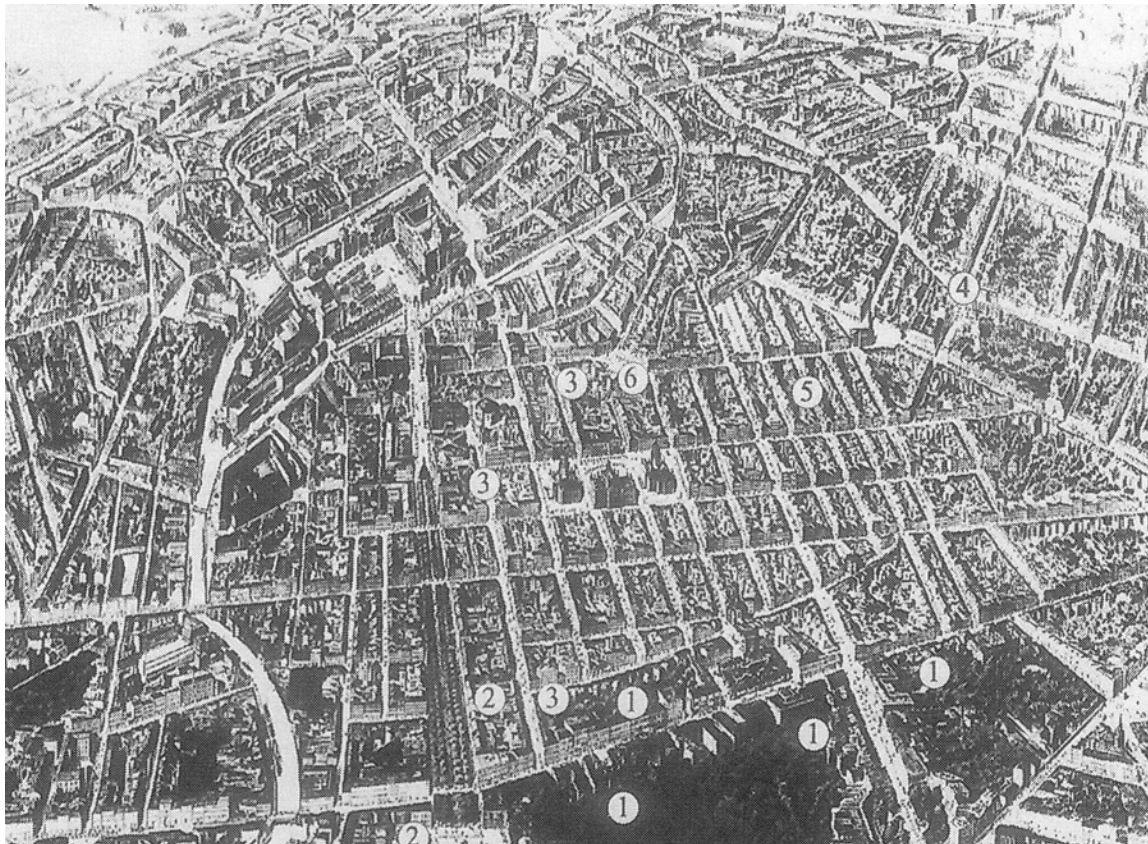


Figure 1.3. Aerial view of central Berlin (looking east from Brandenburg Gate on the bottom, left of center) highlighting various specialized districts, including the #5, the newspaper district (*Zeitungsviertel*), as well as: #1, the government district; #2, the diplomat quarter; #3, the banking district; #4, the export quarter; and #6 the fashion district. Source: Günter Peters, *Kleine Berliner Baugeschichte* (1995) p. 142.



Figure 1.4. Newspaper and City merge in an advertising poster for BZ am Mittag 1909. Source: Peter de Mendelsohn, Zeitungsstadt Berlin (1959), opposite p. 105.



Figure 1.5. Newspaper kiosks with a wide selection of newspapers available in Berlin.
Source: Collection of Kai Gutschow

Jahrgang 4 / Nr. 146

10 Pf.

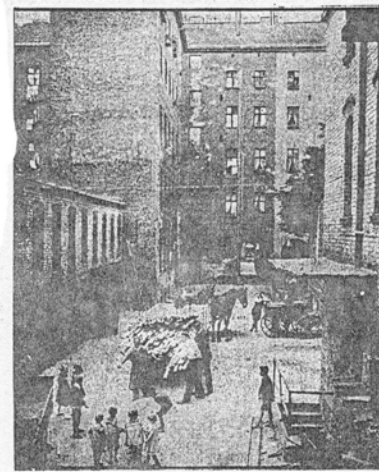
Die Welt am Abend

Original-Heft aus dem Verlag
Verlag, Berlin, am Sonntag, den 26. Juni 1926, 10 Pf.

Berlin, Sonnabend, 26. Juni 1926

Bezugspreis: 10 Pf. (Einschl. Post) monatlich 2 Mk.
Abonnement: 12 Hefen, 120 Pf. (Einschl. Post) 12 Mk.
Einzelheft 10 Pf. (Einschl. Post) 11 Pf.

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Figure 1.6. Newspaper readers were exposed to architecture in many ways: headlines, advertisements, documentary photographs, etc. Source: Collection of Kai Gutschow.