

VI.
Balancing Rationality and Fantasy:
Behne's Critique of Industrial Architecture

[Modern industrial architecture] should be a true and convincing expression of its purpose, function, and life within. . . . The common goal is to create a body for the inner life that is organic, expressive, and convincing.¹

- Adolf Behne, 1913

Industrial Architecture and the Werkbund

For Behne, Taut's apartments and garden cities were elegant architectural reconciliations of two disparate concepts--that of artistic Expressionism and of a *sachlich* or socially-responsible functionalism. Although Taut's work certainly stimulated Behne's ideas early on, it was the Werkbund and Walter Gropius who would inspire Behne to refine his theory that the richest form of a functionalist modern architecture integrated both Expressionism and Socialism. The positions that emerged out of Behne's engagement with the Werkbund before World War I set the course for his

¹ "Des modernen Industriebaues. . . der wahre und überzeugende Ausdruck ihrer Bestimmung, ihres Zwecks, ihres Lebens sein muß. . . . Das gemeinsame Ziel ist, ihrem inneren Leben einen Körper zu schaffen, der organisch, ausdrucksstark und überzeugend ist"; Behne, "Romantiker, Pathetiker und Logiker im modernen Industriebau," Preußische Jahrbücher 154 (Oct. 1913): 171; republished in Ochs, Architekturkritik, pp. 17.

architectural criticism after the war, particularly his most famous work, the Modern Functional Building (1926). Although the social, cultural, and political context inevitably changed, Behne remained convinced throughout his career that modern architecture needed to be more than simplistically functionalist. Rather it had to embody the same spirit of "artistic *Sachlichkeit*" that he had identified in his first article about Taut back in 1913.²

As with so many of the institutions forging modern architecture and design in Germany, the Werkbund was primarily a media and propaganda organization. The Werkbund was the single most potent force in reforming the German professional design establishment prior to World War I. Its mission appealed to Behne, in both its generalized fusing of art and industry and in its specific attention on reforming industrial architecture. Behne was committed to the idea that the new industrial architecture had the power to advance the development of a thoroughly modern architecture for all society, and thus to transform German culture. Through his critiques of German industrial architecture, particularly the work of Taut and Gropius, Behne worked in tandem with the Werkbund's vast publicity machine to promote design reform in industrial buildings. Already as a young critic, Behne was able to convey his message and publish iconic photos such as the American elevators in venues

² Hermann Bauer, in "Architektur als Kunst. Von der Grösse der idealistischen Architektur-Ästhetik und ihrem Vervall," in Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttheorie im 19. Jahrhundert, eds. Hermann Bauer, Lorenz Dittmann et al. (1963), pp. 133-171, argues that around 1910, alongside the Werkbund discussion, when the talk shifted primarily to factories, function, and objective form-making, architecture entered a profound stage of "crisis" and ceased to be an art.

that had a large and diverse circulation. His writings had a far greater mass appeal than the small museum lectures, specialized industrial and architectural journals, and even the Werkbund yearbooks in which most Werkbund members published.³ Behne was, in many respects, a far more important popularizer of these still well-known images and ideas than the architects themselves.

Yet, as Behne became more strongly committed to a synthesis of cultural Socialism and Expressionism, he became increasingly disillusioned with the Werkbund's program, which he saw as overly tainted by a pedantic, industrial pragmatism. At the 1914 Werkbund debate in Cologne, Behne not only stood on the side of artists against capitalism and big industry, he also declared that the Werkbund was incapable of promoting the true artistic spirit that would be necessary to reform design and contemporary culture in Germany.

The Werkbund as Media and Propaganda Organization

The Werkbund emerged from the discourse on the role of the machine in the applied arts and the role of the artist in the mass production of consumer goods.

³ An example of Behne's attempt to circulate the Werkbund's factories to a wider audience is alluded to in a letter from Behne to Gropius' office from July 18, 1914. Behne asked for a copy of a specific photo of the Fagus offices from the Werkbund yearbook to be used in an article on "artistic business architecture" commissioned by the Illustrierte Zeitung (Leipzig), one of the widest circulating illustrated weeklies in Germany. Attempts to locate this article have been unsuccessful, publication may have been canceled due to the declaration of war the next month. See Behne letter in the Gropius Papers, #123 (= Arbeitsrat für Kunst. cf. Harvard Catalogue II) = GN 10/196, Bauhaus-Archiv.

Founded in 1907 by a group of artists and industrialists, its mission was "to increase the quality of industrial production with the cooperation of art, industry and crafts, through the use of education, propaganda, and the articulation of unified stands on relevant questions."⁴ This outgrowth of the English Arts and Crafts movement's response to the dislocating pressures of industrialization found ready reception in turn-of-the-century Germany. The organization was dedicated to improving the design quality and the commercial value of all German products, "from the sofa cushion to urban planning."⁵ Its scale of synthesis and power to influence drew Behne to the organization.

The association of artists (including many architects), manufacturers and other reform advocates attempted to reconcile powerful and sometimes seemingly contradictory forces. On the one hand were the forces of capitalism and industrial

⁴ "Der Zweck des Bundes ist die Veredlung der gewerblichen Arbeit im Zusammenwirken von Kunst, Industrie und Handwerk durch Erziehung, Propaganda und geschlossene Stellungnahme zu einschlägigen Fragen"; "Satzung," from July 12, 1908, published in the first DWB yearbook Die Durchgeistigung der deutschen Arbeit (1912, reprint 1999) n.p. Good introductions to the Deutscher Werkbund (German Works Association) include in reverse chronological order: Frederic Schwartz, The Werkbund (1996); Eckhard Siepmann and Angelika Thiekötter, Hermann Muthesius im Werkbund-Archiv (1990); Wulf Herzogenrath and Dirk Teuber, eds., Die Deutsche Werkbund Ausstellung Köln (1984); Kurt Junghanns, Der Deutsche Werkbund (1982); Julius Posener, Berlin auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur (1979); Joan Campbell, The German Werkbund (1978); Lucius Burckhardt, ed., Der Werkbund in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz (1978); Wend Fischer, ed., Zwischen Kunst und Industrie. Der Deutsche Werkbund (1975); Hans Eckstein, ed., 50 Jahre Deutscher Werkbund (1958).

⁵ This well-known characterization is from Muthesius, "Wo stehen wir?," in Die Durchgeistigung der deutschen Arbeit (1912, reprinted 2000), p. 16. The catchy phrase has been used countless times in studies of the Werkbund and the broad reform movements with which it was involved, including Arnold Klaus-Peter, Vom Sofakissen zum Städtebau: die Geschichte der Deutschen Werkstätten und der Gartenstadt Hellerau (1993).

production that were propelling the young German nation into the ranks of an economic superpower. On the other hand, these same dynamic forces created a disturbing materialism that threatened the spiritual and metaphysical balance of art and culture revered as part of the German psyche and tradition. The Werkbund thus struggled to reconcile the same traditional oppositions as did Behne and Taut: autonomous form and social relevance, art and industry, expression and function, creativity and production.⁶ A synthesis of these opposing poles, members hoped, would lead to measurably greater sales and exports of German-made goods as well as an immeasurable but vital national design culture.

Media and museum interests were strongly represented in the Werkbund's membership, particularly after 1912. Unlike the populist Heimatschutzbund or many other reform organizations, the Werkbund was an exclusive organization, open only to invited "artists, fabricators, craftsmen, businessmen and economists," as well as to "writers, experts and promoters (individuals as well as companies)," who all paid dues on a sliding scale according to income.⁷ Although many Werkbund members were practicing artists or industrialists who controlled large production facilities, founding

⁶ The list of opposing elements that the Werkbund sought to harmonize through reform efforts could go on: culture and technology, craft and machines, spirit and material, uniqueness and standardization, tradition and modernity.

⁷ The Werkbund boasted an exclusive, professional membership, and had no interest in developing a mass membership. It maintained strict entrance qualifications, vetting all prospective members for their "suitability." Membership rose steadily: from 492 in 1908; 843 in 1910; 971 in 1912, and 1870 in 1913, the year Behne joined; Jefferies, *Politics and Culture*, p. 104; and Ernst Jäckh, "5. Jahresbericht des DWB 1912/13," in *Die Kunst in Industrie und Handel*, pp. 97-98.

members such as the architects Muthesius, Behrens, Fischer, Poelzig and Schumacher would go on to shape the course of German architecture not only through their buildings, but also through their theory, teaching, lectures, legislation and extensive writing on Werkbund issues.

Publishers such as Eugen Diederichs, politicians such as Naumann, and art patrons such as Osthaus formed another important constituency on the Werkbund board. The Werkbund's membership soon also included many important editors, historians, museum curators and educators. Behne's architectural critic and journalist peers, such as Hellwag, Breuer, Osborn and Avenarius, Behrendt, Justus Brinkmann, Hans Curjel, Cornelius Gurlitt, Werner Hegemann, Hans Hildebrandt, Edwin Redslob, Walter Riezler, and Fritz Wichert all became members.⁸

The Werkbund was effective in reaching a mass audience not only through its members' products, but also through publishing. In order to assure that its message of reform would reach the widest possible audience and have the greatest impact, it focused its efforts on education and outreach, leaving changes in actual production to individual members and firms.⁹ In addition to actual product reform, the Werkbund

⁸ Complete lists of memberships are available in the first two Werkbund yearbooks, 1912 and 1913. Fischer, *Zwischen Kunst und Industrie*, pp. 594-606, provides a list of most important members of the organization from the founding through the 1960s.

⁹ Related pre-war propaganda organizations that shaped the discourse of reform, both conservative and progressive, include the Dürerbund (founded 1902), German Garden City Association (1902), Bund Heimatschutzbund (1904), Werdandibund (1907), as well as professional organizations such as the Bund Deutscher Schriftsteller, Bund Deutscher Architekten, etc.

sought to promote the exchange of ideas through consumer education and general propaganda. Their propagandistic and pedagogical mission focused on three areas: annual meetings, exhibition work, and a publishing program.¹⁰ The annual meetings included lectures and exhibits and were purposefully held in cities all over Germany-- most famously in Cologne in 1914. Non-members as well as members were encouraged to participate in order to maximize the audience.

By 1913 the Werkbund board included ten major museum directors who promoted the association's mission in museums throughout Germany. The Werkbund's exhibition work was centered around the Deutsches Museum für Kunst im Handel und Gewerbe, in Hagen.¹¹ The museum had been founded by Karl Ernst Osthaus in close cooperation with the Werkbund in 1909 specifically as a "propaganda organ." Its primary goal was the collection and dissemination of educational materials

¹⁰ Campbell, German Werkbund, pp. 38-39; Müller, Kunst und Industrie, pp. 112ff.

¹¹ Hagen, in the Ruhr, was the hometown of the important patron and collector of modern art and architecture Karl Ernst Osthaus and his Folkwang Museum. Since 1904 Osthaus had worked to develop an experimental artist's community on the outskirts of Hagen, based in part on the Mathildenhöhe in Darmstadt as well as on garden city principles, but completely private. Osthaus hired the architects Peter Behrens, Henry van de Velde, J.M.L. Lauweriks, as well as Walter Gropius and Bruno Taut to design some of the most important houses and public buildings in Hagen. Other designs were commissioned from Josef Hoffmann and August Endell. See Peter Stressig, "Hohenhagen: Experimentierfeld modernen Bauens," in Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk, ed. Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus (1971), pp. 385-510. Behne observed later about Behrens' house at Hagen that it "had more to do with reduction than production, more with graphics than architecture. But there was in this work an unmistakable hint of a modern attitude . . . a pleasure in concise, precise, technical form"; Behne, Der moderne Zweckbau (1926); a slightly different translation in The Modern Functional Building, ed. Rosemarie Haag Bletter (1996), p.105.

about the applied arts reform movement.¹² The museum specialized in the creation of traveling exhibits that toured cities and towns all over Germany and Europe, and even eight cities in America. The museum thus acted as a defacto "mobile" Werkbund museum.

Another important part of the Werkbund propaganda machine was its publishing program, in which Behne was involved. DWB members decided early on not to maintain their own journal, but instead to propagate their message through established, large-circulation daily newspapers and art journals, where high-profile members could easily command space that reached a broad audience.¹³ As a result, one of the first tangible manifestations of the Werkbund, besides printing its own governing structure and rules of conduct, was the establishment of a Werkbund publicity office, the "Illustration and News Center" (*Illustrations- und Nachrichtenzentrale*).¹⁴ More than a

¹² Karl Ernst Osthaus, "Das deutsche Museum," in Durchgeistigung der deutschen Arbeit (1911), cited in Müller, Kunst und Industrie, p. 120. On the Deutsches Museum see Hesse-Frielinghaus, Karl Ernst Osthaus, esp. the essay by Sebastian Müller, "Deutsches Museum für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe," pp. 259-341; Sebastian Müller, Kunst und Industrie, esp. chapter 6 on "Kunstpädagogik"; Funk-Jones and Müller, Die Folkwang-Idee; Sabine Röder, ed., Moderne Baukunst 1900-1914 (1993); Michael Fehr, ed., Deutsches Museum für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe (1997).

¹³ Matthew Jefferies, Politics and Culture in Wilhelmine Germany (1995), p. 105. The Werkbund did briefly publish a journal of its own, Die Form, with one run of five monthly issues edited by Walter Riezler in 1922, and another longer run from Oct. 1925 edited by Walter Curt Behrendt until December 1926, and thereafter again by Riezler; see Fisher, Zwischen Kunst und Industrie, p. 607. Behne published ten articles and four book reviews in the later run, from November 1925 to January 1933; see bibliography.

¹⁴ The formation of a press center is first announced in Deutscher Werkbund. Satzung (1908), pp. 40-41, Werkbund Archiv, ADK 1-39/08. After being approved at the 2nd annual DWB meeting in Frankfurt in Oct. 1909, an Illustrations-Zentrale was announced to all member is a draft Rundschreiben of Jan. 12, 1910, Anlage 2, ADK 1-

press and public relations office for the Werkbund, the center distributed photographs and factual information about all manner of high-quality design, especially to popular periodicals and newspapers.¹⁵

In 1910 the collection of the *Illustrationszentrale* was subsumed in a new "Center for Photographs and Slides" (*Photographien- und Diapositivzentrale*), the result of a three-way partnership of the Werkbund, Osthaus' new Deutsches Museum, and the renowned Berlin photographer Franz Stoedtner.¹⁶ The center pooled the photo collections of all three founding institutions. In addition it actively collected and photographed high-quality graphics and images from books, periodicals, and contemporary ephemera such as posters and advertising. Finally, it commissioned Stoedtner and his photographers to document the most important contemporary architecture and industrial facilities in Germany and neighboring countries, including Berlage's Amsterdam stock exchange. It made all these photographs available to the press, including to Behne, and to the qualified public, for publications, lectures, and

60/10c, also in KEO Archiv DWB 1/45, and the letter of Apr. 23, 1910, ADK 1-60/10b, also KEO DWB 1/51. This Illustrations-Zentrale was dissolved after the world's fair in the summer of 1910 in Brussels, where the DWB exhibited much of its work in photo form and made catalogues available; see Vetrauliche Mitteilungen (Jan. 1911) ADK 1-47/11. The formation of a photo section at Osthaus' museum is reported in the Verhandlungsbericht of the 2nd annual meeting (1909), pp. 23-25, ADK 1-44/109.

¹⁵ The professional journals, by contrast, usually solicited the artists directly for materials.

¹⁶ On the *Diapositivzentrale* see Sabine Röder, "Propaganda für ein neues Bauen," in Moderne Baukunst (1994), pp. 8-17; and Katrin Renken, "Von der 'Photographien und Diapositivzentrale' zum Bildarchiv," in Deutsches Museum für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe, ed. Michael Fehr (1998), pp. 323-342. The legacy of this organization is the important German photo archive Foto Marburg.

exhibits.

Many of these images were used in the Werkbund's most successful publicity effort, a series of yearbooks (*Jahrbücher*) published for the Werkbund by the publisher and DWB member Diederichs between 1911 and 1915.¹⁷ The first four yearbooks covered the themes of the spiritualization of German production, industrial architecture, transport, and the Cologne Werkbund exhibition of 1914. They provided a popular, branded venue in Germany's competitive media market for the Werkbund's elite members to theorize and publicize the debate on Werkbund debates. The yearbooks also served as propaganda for the general public about a "re-education to form," and as handbooks for industrialists and retailers to stimulate good design and offer guidance. In his review of an advance copy of the first yearbook, Die Durchgeistigung der Deutschen Arbeit (The Spiritualization of German Work), Behne praised Diederichs for his reform-minded publishing program, and recommended that "everyone should read it."¹⁸ In 1913 Behne listed the second yearbook, Die Kunst in Industrie und Handel (Art in Industry and Business) as the best art-related book of the

¹⁷ The Werkbund published four consecutive yearbooks: Die Durchgeistigung der deutschen Arbeit (1912); Die Kunst in Industrie und Handel (1913); Der Verkehr (1914); Deutsche Form im Kriegsjahr: Die Ausstellung Köln 1914 (1915); and later Kriegsgräber im Felde und Daheim (1917); and Handwerkliche Kunst in alter und neuer Zeit (1920). Print runs of the famous yearbooks (*Jahrbuch*) were 10,000 in 1912, 12,000 in 1913, and 20,000 in 1914, with copies distributed to all members, given away as prizes in schools, and sold in bookstores. The first two have recently been reprinted (1999 and 2000), with identical forwards and afterwards in both English and German by Bernd Nicolai and Frederic Schwartz, providing a good introduction to their publishing history and influence.

¹⁸ Behne, "Kunstwissenschaftliche Neuerscheinungen," Wissenschaftliche Rundschau 2, no. 2 (Oct. 15, 1911): 44.

year, praising its orientation to the future as opposed to criticism of the past as well as its pedagogical method of using many photographs and short essays rather than drawn-out theoretical essays.¹⁹ The easy-to-understand format, as well as the wide distribution of the books by the Werkbund positioned the association at the center of Germany's artistic reform efforts.²⁰

Located in Berlin, the defacto press capitol of Germany, rather than in the Dresden Werkbund headquarters, the publicity offices were coordinated by Fritz Hellwag, the editor of the Kunstgewerbeblatt; Robert Breaur, the art editor of the Socialist daily Vorwärts; and Max Osborn, the art editor of the Vossische Zeitung--all publications for which Behne wrote. By April 1912, the Werkbund's ever-increasing emphasis on developing and publicizing reform agendas and programs propelled the organization to relocate its entire operations from Dresden-Hellerau, to Berlin. The Werkbund was thus firmly seated in the center of both the German press and German culture.

Behne was invited to become a Werkbund member in late spring 1913, probably

¹⁹ Behne, "Moderne Kunstbücher," Die Tat 5.2, no. 9 (Dec. 1913): 936-942. Diederichs had sent him printers proofs of the yearbook in May; see postcard Behne to Taut (May 22, 1913) BTA-01-469, Bruno Taut Archiv, AdK. On the yearbooks, see the introduction by Nicolai and the postscript by Schwartz in the reprints of the 1912 and 1913 yearbooks; Campbell, German Werkbund, p. 37; Jefferies, Politics and Culture, p. 105.

²⁰ Schwartz wrote, "To no small extent, the Werkbund owes its important role as one of the cornerstones on which accounts of modernism have been constructed precisely to these publications"; Schwartz, "Postscript," p. 18.

as a result of his collaborations with Taut.²¹ Membership gave him a free copy of the annual yearbook and easy access to the large collection of publicity and illustration materials in the *Diapositivzentrale* and by Osthaus' Museum. Above all, however, Werkbund membership provided the young scholar-critic contact with the most important applied arts and architectural thinkers of the day. These contacts granted him access to subjects, inspiration, and to the publications through which he would earn his living. Membership in the elite organization also conferred status. As early as January of 1914 Behne added the initials "DWB" (Deutscher Werkbund) to his printed letterhead when corresponding with important affiliated architects such as Gropius.²²

Werkbund membership boosted Behne's stature as one of the leading art critics of the day. It gave him ready access to people, ideas, and graphic material, all of which allowed him to publish timely and insightful articles in a variety of sources. The

²¹ As the Werkbund archives were lost in World War II, we do not know the exact date or sponsors of Behne's Werkbund membership; though Behne was listed in the membership list of the 1913 yearbook that came out mid-year; "Mitgliedsliste," Die Kunst in Industrie und Handel. Bernd Lindner has suggested less persuasively that Behne became involved with the Werkbund through connections to the more conservative and populist Dürerbund and its program of aesthetic reform of life; Lindner, "Mut machen zu Phantasie und Sachlichkeit," Bildende Kunst 33, no. 7 (1985): 292. Taut had become a member of the Werkbund in 1910, probably in connection with his friendships and ongoing engagements with Theodor Fischer and Osthaus, both founding members of the Werkbund. Taut's Harkort Turbinenhaus was publicized in Der Industriebau 1 (1910): 83-87; and in the first Werkbund yearbook Die Durchgeistigung. His Leipzig pavilion was publicized in Der Industriebau 4, no. 7 (July 15, 1913): 150-156; and in the second Werkbund yearbook. His Glashaus was published in the fourth yearbook Deutsche Form im Kriegsjahr, pp. 78-82.

²² Behne letter to Gropius, Jan. 14, 1914. By July 1914, and at least until 1921, Behne had the initials printed on his letterhead. See Behne letters to Gropius in Bauhaus-Archiv.

Werkbund gave him both opportunity and audience. Behne's critical output quickened following his Werkbund membership. By the summer of 1913 Behne was publishing on a wider range of topics and in more venues than before. His pieces moved from a primary focus on painting and fine art, to extensive investigations of all the applied arts, including posters, graphic arts, advertising displays, and architecture--especially industrial architecture--all important areas of debate and reform within the Werkbund.²³

Categorizing Industrial Architecture

Behne's extensive writing on industrial architecture that ensued in the wake of his Werkbund membership not only profoundly boosted his own reputation as a critic, but also shaped his ideas and eventually had a major impact on modern architecture. Second only to garden cities, Behne highlighted industrial architecture as a primary means of renewing modern architecture and, by extension, modern life. Behne did not consider factories to be inherently endowed with modern "social conscience" that he had ascribed to garden cities. Their significance lay instead in their associations with production and the maintenance of the flow of the most up-to-date items for the

²³ See, for example, Behne, "Psychologie des Käufers," Frankfurter Zeitung, n.177 (June 28, 1913): 2; Behne, "Kino und Plakatkunst," Bild und Film 2, no. 10 (July 1913): 235-237; Adolf Bruno [pseud. Behne], "Berliner Denkmäler," Vorwärts 35, no. 127 (July 3, 1913): 508-509. Behne's regular column "Bühnenkunst" in Sozialistische Monatshefte, which began July 24, 1913, as well as Behne's other forays into film and theater criticism beginning that same summer were more likely part of an on-going interest in Berlin's avant-garde literary scene than connected to his Werkbund membership.

modern consumer and industrial economy. Factories were bastions of capitalist production and symbols of economic power of the owner class over the worker. They were monumental signs of the constantly renewing capitalist economy, even of modernity itself. As physical spaces of work, hulking presences in the cityscape, and the home space for working-class unions and political organizations, industrial buildings caught the attention of many socially-oriented and Marxist critics, even if they had little influence over factory designs. The modernity of industrial buildings, the urban and corporate symbolism bestowed upon them, and the dramatic power of their scale and engineering feats stimulated art and architecture critics to consider them the modern counterparts to the communal ideal of the Gothic cathedral.

The problem of finding contemporary, appropriate, artistically inspired designs for industrial building, Behne claimed, had only been around since the turn-of-the-century, since the time that architects became convinced that every building should "express its own purpose, function and life."²⁴ German architects had begun to discuss the architectural, and not just engineering, implications of industrial materials and new technologies during the nineteenth century. By 1902 Muthesius had promoted the iconic and aesthetic value of technology as part of the creation of a new, more objective and functional approach to all architectural design.²⁵ Before 1907 when the Werkbund

²⁴ Behne, "Heutige Industriebauten," Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte 28, no. 5 (Jan. 1914): 53, for this and the following.

²⁵ Hermann Muthesius claimed that the exact date that Germans learned to appreciate the beauty of the machine and engineering works was 1902, at the Düsseldorf exhibition; Muthesius, "Der Weg und das Ziel des Kunstgewerbes," in Kunstgewerbe und Architektur (1907) p. 14-15. See also Muthesius, Stilarchitektur und

was created, Scheffler and Naumann had persuasively argued that industrial speed and precision, and the functional character of industrial architecture, especially steel construction, should be fundamental in determining a contemporary aesthetic.²⁶ As Behne pointed out, however, industrial architecture did not become a truly public and socially relevant issue worthy of media attention until Behrens' began constructing factories for the AEG in Berlin after 1908 [Figure 6.1] Behne acknowledged that the public had little interest in theory: it "only concerns itself with things when its interest is awakened through something gripping, something amazing," which the Behrens' AEG work was perceived to be.²⁷ The publicity generated by the AEG, the Werkbund, and Behrens himself after the completion of the AEG turbine factory in Berlin launched a particularly intense discussion on industrial architecture.²⁸ Much of this discourse was contained in the new periodical Der Industriebau, which began publication in January 1910, and which Behne followed closely.²⁹ One of the most persistent themes in this

Baukunst; Muthesius, "Kunst und Maschine," Dekorative Kunst 9, no. 4 (Jan. 1902): 141-147; and Muthesius, Die Einheit der Architektur (1908).

²⁶ Friedrich Naumann, "Die Kunst im Zeitalter der Maschine," Der Kunstwart 17, no. 20 (July 1904): 317-327; Scheffler, Moderne Baukunst, particularly chapter 1, "Stein und Eisen." Another crucial early work highlighting the modernity of steel construction at this time was Alfred Gotthold Meyer, Eisenbauten. Ihre Geschichte und Aesthetik (1907), republished (1997).

²⁷ Behne, "Heutige Industriebauten, p. 53.

²⁸ On AEG, Behrens, factories, and publicity, see Anderson, Peter Behrens; and above all Tilmann Buddensieg and Henning Rogge, Industriekultur: Peter Behrens und die AEG, 1907-1914 (1979). Buddensieg includes an anthology of Behrens' theoretical essays and an anthology of press reviews of the AEG buildings.

²⁹ Der Industriebau was launched by industrial architect and Werkbund

journal, and indeed throughout the Werkbund discussion, was that art would come to the service of industry to create more beautiful buildings that would have positive, economic, social, and cultural effects.³⁰

Already early in 1909 the Werkbund, in association with the *Illustrationszentrale* and the Heimatschutzbund, had begun to collect photographic material for a major exhibition on factory architecture. Members were called upon to submit examples that showed the ways in which industrial architecture embodied the essence of modern life and could be used to generate other nonindustrial designs as well.³¹ This collection of photographs was substantially expanded after it was merged into the

Diapositivzentrale, and subsequently included in two of the Deutsches Museum's most

member Emil Beutinger. It included extensive reviews of Werkbund member factories, including the AEG, and theoretical essays by Werkbund members, including Behrens. Beutinger was from Heilbron, a leading center of Werkbund activists. He had strong ties to Naumann and the Werkbund president and art publisher F. Bruckmann. On Der Industriebau see Jefferies, Politics and Culture, p. 107. Behne's papers included several clippings from this magazine; see Behne Nachlaß, Bauhaus-Archiv.

³⁰ The discourse on industrial architecture is summarized in Karin Wilhelm, Walter Gropius: Industriearchitekt (1983), pp. 17ff.; and Annemarie Jaeggi, Fagus: Industriekultur zwischen Werkbund und Bauhaus (1998), pp. 41ff.; translated as Fagus: Industrial Culture from the Werkbund to the Bauhaus (2000); and Jefferies, Politics and Culture, pp. 106-113.

³¹ Wolf Dohrn, "Eine Ausstellung architektonisch guter Fabrikbauten," Der Industriebau 1, no. 1 (Jan. 15, 1910): 1-2. The exhibit mentioned here traveled primarily in the industrial Ruhr valley and Saxony, but also to the 1910 Ton- Zement- und Kalkausstellung in Berlin. The DWB collection of factory architecture was organized by a Prof. W. Franz, of the TH Charlottenburg, presumably in coordination with the contemporary "Press and Illustration Center." The factories submitted were evaluated by a commission comprised on Poelzig, Riemerschmid, Wagner, Urbahn and Dohrn; and reconstituted in 1910 to include Osthaus, Muthesius, Franz and Paquet. See references in Jefferies, Politics and Culture, p. 106; Müller, Kunst und Industrie, p. 46; Campbell, German Werkbund, p. 39 n21; and Wilhelm, Walter Gropius, p. 127n121.

important traveling exhibits. The exhibit "Moderne Baukunst" comprised some of the new photos by Stöedtnier, and the "Industriebauten" exhibit organized by Walter Gropius featured German and American industrial buildings. Photos from these exhibits were circulated even more widely when they were published in the 1912 and 1913 Werkbund yearbooks. Thanks to the immense popularity and circulation of the yearbooks, images of the industrial architecture that Gropius had curated soon appeared in magazines and art journals all across Germany and Europe.³² When Le Corbusier published his airbrushed versions in L'Esprit nouveau and in Vers une architecture after World War I, they became icons of modern architecture.³³

Although Behne had studied in Berlin, and had written on Behrens' medieval-inspired industrial architecture, he began contributing professionally to the debate on industrial architecture only in 1913, after joining the Werkbund. The following year he met up with his classmate Gropius again, and promptly began praising his work. If Behne's thinking on apartment houses and garden cities had been shaped primarily

³² Paul Schultze-Naumburg, Die Gestaltung der Landschaft durch die Menschen 3 vols. (1916-17), the last volumes in his "Kulturarbeiten" series; and Werner Lindner, and Georg Steinmetz, Die Ingenieurbauten in ihrer guten Gestaltung (1923), co-published by the Heimatshutzbund and the Werkbund, were only two of many publications that developed from the early Werkbund collection of industrial architecture.

³³ On the dissemination and impact of Gropius' collection of industrial photographs, especially through Le Corbusier, see Reyner Banham, A Concrete Atlantis (1986); Winfried Nerdinger, "Le Corbusier und Deutschland. Genesis und Wirkungsgeschichte eines Konflikts 1910-1933," arch+ 90/91 (1987): 80-86, 97; and Stanislaus von Moos, "Standard und Elite: Le Corbusier, die Industrie und der Esprit Nouveau," in Die nützlichen Künste, ed. Tilmann Buddensieg and Henning Rogge (1981), pp. 306-323.

through his relationship with Taut, his criticism on industrial architecture evolved out of his involvement with the German Werkbund and Gropius. Gropius had been an early advocate of standardization and prefabrication for worker housing since at least 1909, and was also familiar with the Expressionist art scene in Berlin.³⁴ But Behne's interest focused primarily on Gropius' advocacy of industrial buildings and methods in association with the Werkbund. Behne saw in the industrial architecture of both Taut and Gropius not only an architectural expansion of an Expressionist mindset--an emphasis on "artistic *Sachlichkeit*" and the large scale use of that utopian building material glass--but also part of his Socialist agenda of linking the new art and architecture with communal values and the working-class. For Behne, factory design was as much of a social and political act, as an artistic and technical one.

As early as May 1913 Behne began collecting photographs of industrial

³⁴ As early as 1906, after only one semester of architectural studies, Gropius began building simple buildings on his uncle Erich's farm in Pomerania, including around 1909 some standardized worker housing. While working for Behrens and witnessing the design and the construction of the AEG factories in 1909-10, Gropius had proposed to Walther Rathenau and the AEG build prefabricated worker housing. In 1912, while working on the Fagus factory, he designed more worker housing for his uncle in Pomerania. In 1912-13 Gropius and his partner Adolf Meyer designed a group of lower-class worker homes near Wittenberge. Also in 1910 Gropius had become involved with Alma Mahler, the wife of the famous Viennese composer Gustav Mahler, and through Mahler, he became familiar with Expressionism and got to know the work of Oskar Kokoshka, whose work he saw in the Sturm gallery in Berlin in 1912. See Reginald Isaacs, Walter Gropius. Der Mensch und sein Werk (1983), pp. 68-74, 93-96, 98, 115-117; in the abridged English version, Isaacs, Walter Gropius. An Illustrated Biography of the Creator of the Bauhaus (1991); also Winfried Nerdinger's catalogue of complete works, Der Architekt Walter Gropius 2nd ed. (1996), pp. 38, 214-215, 220-222; and Annemarie Jaeggi, Adolf Meyer: der zweite Mann (1994), pp. 228-231, 236-239, 255, 276-279, 281.

buildings by Taut, Hans Erlwein of Dresden, Richard Riemerschmid of Hellerau, and Behrens in order to prepare lectures and articles on "Modern Industrial Buildings." One version of this research work, the essay "Romantics, Emotionalists, and Rationalists in Modern Industrial Building," was published in the October 1913 issue of the prestigious Preußische Jahrbücher.³⁵ Modern industrial architecture, he claimed in the article, had become a topic of truly populist interest that required further investigation and critique.³⁶ Behne commented that media-savvy companies were realizing the power of print advertising in the professional and general press, particularly the popular illustrated weekly magazines, and strategically chose good design for their products as a photograph-able method of building a corporate identity.³⁷ The very existence of the media, Behne argued, helped promote good design. As a critic using Werkbund illustrations, Behne became part of the publicity campaign to inspire companies to improve designs and to disseminate these designs to a mass audience.

For Behne, modern industrial architecture was by definition an architecture that

³⁵ In a postcard to Taut from May 22, 1913, Behne refers to photos of Taut's work and of other industrial architecture for an article and a lecture with the title "Moderne Industriebauten." He also asks Taut his opinion about three categories of industrial architects "Romantiker, Pathetiker and Zweckkünstler"; postcard in BTA-01-469, Bruno Taut Archiv, AdK. There are also references to an article with the same name in the Socialist newspaper Vorwärts Beilage "Sonntag" n. 28 (1913), which I have not been able to locate. See Behne, "Romantiker."

³⁶ Behne, "Romantiker," p. 171; Behne, "Heutige Industriebauten," p. 53. Scheffler too had claimed that model factories were even becoming tourist attractions; Karl Scheffler, "Moderne Industriebauten" Vossische Zeitung (Sept. 26, 1912); revised in Scheffler, Architektur der Grossstadt (1913).

³⁷ Behne, "Fabrikbau als Reklame," Das Plakat 11, no. 6 (June 1920): 275-276.

was a "true and convincing expression of its purpose, function, and life within. . . . The common goal is to create a body for the inner life that is organic, expressive and convincing."³⁸ Borrowing from his contemporaneous critiques of Expressionist art and Taut's architecture, which he also characterized as "organic"--purposive in relation to a distinct goal, and lively as a product of coordinated functions--Behne wanted more than a Werkbund-like coordination of art and industry. He sought a spiritual, integral, and "artistic *Sachlichkeit*" in industrial design.³⁹

Behne was critical of structures that disguised the functional character of the building or dressed it in a fashionable style. He dismissed the Moorish style waterworks at Sanssouci and contemporary structures such as the Berlin subway stations at Dahlem and Podbielski-Allee, which took the form of a thatched roof farmhouse and a medieval castle.⁴⁰ Historical tradition, he claimed, was "dangerous" for industrial architects, as industrial structures were necessarily required to be a part of "modernity," to be "modern . . . [and] absolutely new."⁴¹ In this respect, he claimed, America in particular had an advantage, as it "lacked traditions" to fall back on and was

³⁸ Behne, "Romantiker," p. 171.

³⁹ Behne, "Romantiker," p. 171; Behne, "Deutsche Expressionisten," p. 114; and Behne, "Das Monument des Eisens," Allgemeiner Beobachter.

⁴⁰ The pumphouse at Sanssouci was built in 1841 by Ludwig Persius; the Dahlem U-bahn station was built by F. and W. Hennings and the Podbielskiallee by H. Schweitzer, both 1912-13, as part of the subway expansion into Berlin's Southwest suburbs. For images and discussion see Jefferies, Politics and Culture, pp. 94-98.

⁴¹ Behne, "Romantiker," p. 172.

forced to be inventive and contemporary.⁴² Referring to Gropius' collection of photographs of American grain elevators featured in the second Werkbund yearbook, Behne exclaimed that American industrial architecture was still the best in the world, and that an overseas study trip should be obligatory for German architects.⁴³ He felt that American grain elevators, whether they were designed by engineers or artists, had a definite "beauty," due in large part to the extreme reduction of forms, and that they should serve as models for German architects.⁴⁴

In his article, Behne distinguished three types of architects creating industrial architecture. All were equal in talent and functional approach, and thus all "equally modern." But, added Behne, they could be ranked by their conception of the "essence, value, and soul" of modern industry. The first type he identified was the "Romantic" (*Romantiker*), exemplified by Richard Riemerschmid and his factory at Hellerau Garden City. [Figure 4.6] Behne seems to have drawn this label from Werkbund discussions. A

⁴² Taut had exclaimed similarly "Die Kunst ist in America nicht zu Hause"; see Taut, "Kleinhausbau," p. 10.

⁴³ Although Behne explicitly mentions the images of American grain elevators published in the Werkbund yearbook, he does not mention Gropius in this Sept. 1913 article. He did mention that Behrens had made a study trip to America in 1912, though did not mention Berlage, who had traveled to America in 1910 after having discovered Wright's Wasmuth portfolio, and had given a lecture on American architecture, including on Wright, at Osthaus' museum on March 25, 1912; Peter Stressig, "Walter Gropius," in Hesse-Frielinghaus, *Karl Ernst Osthaus*, p. 505n10. Behne's reference to the lack of traditions in America had been a common trope since at least the turn-of-the-century; see Jaeggi, *Fagus*, pp. 49-52.

⁴⁴ Behne, "Heutige Industriebauten"; much of it repeated later in Behne, "Entwürfe und Bauten von Walter Gropius," *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 42, no. 104 (Dec. 27, 1922): 637-640.

year earlier Gropius had described Riemerschmid's factory as "non-*sachlich* peasant-romanticism."⁴⁵ Behne criticized the Romantics for putting an overly calm and kind face on the power and starkness of modern industry. They attempted to make factories cozy, with a village-like character, or integrated them artificially, tableau-like, into an existing context. For the twenty-nine year old Behne, Riemerschmid in particular represented the conservative approach of an older generation from Bavaria that refused to acknowledge the youthfulness of metropolitan life and industry in the north. A few weeks earlier, Behne had derisively labeled him an "Impressionist."⁴⁶

The second type of industrial architect was the "Emotionalist" (*Pathetiker*).⁴⁷ Here Behne singled out Behrens and what he considered the architect's overly dramatic passion for the heroic, pathos-laden aspect of modern industry. Behrens had sought to elevate industrial architecture to a cultural product through his writings as well as a series of built works that united convention and new forms of expression.⁴⁸ In his early

⁴⁵ "Unsachliche Bauernhausromantik," Gropius, letter to Osthaus (Mar. 23, 1912) KÜ323/74; cited by Sebastian Müller in Hesse-Frielinghaus, Karl Ernst Osthaus, p. 289; Jefferies, Politics and Culture, p. 79; and Maciuika, "Hermann Muthesius," p. 347.

⁴⁶ Behne, "Impressionismus und Expressionismus."

⁴⁷ As Stanford Anderson has noted, the German word "Pathetiker" is awkward to translate. According to the Oxford Dictionary of Art, in ancient Greek art "pathos," the quality of being emotional or transient, was often contrasted with "ethos," implying permanent or Idealist. This idea is often wrongly attributed to Aristotle's Aesthetics, but was actually a part of Greek rhetoric; see also chapter 4. Although Anderson uses the term "patheticist" to describe the emotional art of van de Velde, the English label "Emotionalist" corresponds more closely with Behne's ideas, as does "Rationalists" for the German "*Logiker*"; Anderson, Peter Behrens, pp. 6ff. esp. n.13.

⁴⁸ Stanford Anderson has argued effectively for interpreting Behrens' career as an on-going attempt to balance the use of Expression and Convention in modern

exhibition pavilions Behrens had employed simple, stark geometric forms that Behne had related to the conventions of the Tuscan Gothic style.⁴⁹ In his popular AEG factories later on, Behrens' forms became ever more reductive and monumental, combining exposed brick and concrete with occasional Doric forms in an effort to synthesize the technological forces of modern life with the artistic willfulness needed to create strong forms.⁵⁰ [Figure 6.1] Behrens employed unified, massive forms with minimal detail or ornament that he claimed could be better appreciated from the high speed of metropolitan life. Convinced that all genuine monumental art needed to synthesize the core values and will of a people at any given moment, Behrens attempted to "crystallize" modern materials, techniques, and needs into aesthetically willed, idealized forms that could be symbols of industry, the nation and the era.⁵¹

architecture; Anderson, Peter Behrens, pp. 165ff.

⁴⁹ Behne had written his dissertation on the Tuscan Gothic, and wrote his first architectural article on Behrens in 1911, "Peter Behrens und die toskanische Architektur des 12. Jh," Kunstgewerbeblatt N.F.23, no. 3 (Dec. 1911): 45-50. It is unclear how or when Behne got to know Behrens' work, though his fame in Berlin at the time would make him hard to miss. It is possible he became familiar with the architect in the course of his architecture studies 1905-1907, or his art history studies 1907-1911. See also chapter 1 above.

⁵⁰ Behrens wrote extensively on the topic of "Kunst und Technik." See the essays on the topic assembled in Buddensieg, Industriekultur, D274-D291, especially the lecture "Kunst und Technik" first delivered in May 1910, published in Der Industriebau 1, no. 8 (Aug. 15, 1910): 176-180, and 1, no. 9 (Sept. 15, 1910): lxxx-lxxxv.

⁵¹ The summary of Behrens' theory below is taken from Anderson, Peter Behrens, chaps. 5-8, particularly pp. 104ff, 145ff, 161ff, 165ff.; Anderson, "Behrens' Changing Concept of Art and Life," Architectural Design 39 (Feb. 1969): 72-78; and Buddensieg, Industriekultur. Behrens, like Behne and many others in their generations, borrowed from Riegl the idea of *Kunstwollen*, and that architecture, which unites art and life, is the primary and strongest evocation of *zeitgeist*, and with it that architects

They expressed a combination of power and simplicity, of artistic control and technological precision, of "Kultur" and "Zivilization."⁵² But for Behne, true art, including good industrial buildings, should be less willful, less self-consciously symbolic of grand culture, less emotionally dramatic.

Behne did credit Behrens with raising popular consciousness of industrial architecture, and ascribed Behrens' great reputation to the "contemporary social relevance" of his industrial buildings. His architecture resonated with a large percentage of Berlin's population as an expression of contemporary life. The Berlin architect's relevance was especially apparent, Behne felt, in comparison to the work of the Viennese "aristocrat" Otto Wagner, whom Behne claimed was primarily focused on purely "material" issues such as tectonics, technique, and honesty of materials.⁵³ He also noted that Behrens had been praised in the media for expressing the "nobility of work," "the dynamism of the times," and the "rhythm of modern industry" in his factories.

The third, and highest category of industrial architect that Behne identified was the "Rationalist" (*Logiker*). This category received his greatest praise. Exemplified by Poelzig and Taut, Behne felt the work of these architects came closest to the vital spirit

pointed the way to any new era.

⁵² Behrens, "Einfluß von Zeit und Raumausnutzung auf moderne Formentwicklung," in Der Verkehr (1914), p. 7-10, the 3rd Werkbund yearbook.

⁵³ "Den Ruhm, den etwa Peter Behrens genießt, heftet sich offenbar besonders an die soziale Zeitgemäßheit seiner Bauten"; Behne, "Geh. Baurat Otto Wagner-Wien," Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration 35, no. 5 (Feb. 1915): 382. Whyte has suggested that Taut's early apartment buildings were influenced by Wagner's architecture.

of the American industrial buildings.⁵⁴ Poelzig's water tower in Posen (1911) and chemical factory in Luban (1912) expressed to Behne a freedom and clarity very different from the ponderous and representational work of Behrens.⁵⁵ [Figures 6.2 and 6.3] He felt Poelzig's work exuded an unmitigated *Sachlichkeit*, a rational objectivity that seemed at first glance to deny all potential for "artistic" creative expression. Upon further observation and reflection, however, Behne explained that he felt ever more drawn in by a convincing Expressionist esthetic, by willed artistic forms that appeared ever more pure and powerful: "amazing . . . they truly took my breath away."⁵⁶

In a similar vein Behne wrote that Taut's Monument to Iron pavilion in Leipzig had not over-dramatized steel "as a mute, strong and brutal superpower," but rather had presented it as "a material sent by the engineer and made more intelligent [by the architect], becoming the foundation for some of the most accomplished modern art

⁵⁴ Behne, "Heutige Industriebauten," pp. 61-62.

⁵⁵ In a 1909 lecture to the Werkbund that was published in 1911, Poelzig himself had written that industrial buildings, unlike so much contemporary architecture, should be developed without historical precedent. Their architectural form should be direct, *sachlich*, and functional, developed logically, efficiently and economically out of requirements of material and time, subservient to the demands of the engineer and businessman. Poelzig's lecture was read at the October 1909 Werkbund meeting in Frankfurt, was excerpted in *Verhandlungsbericht* of the 2nd Congress, was later published as "Der neuzeitliche Fabrikbau," *Der Industriebau* 2, no. 5 (May 1911): 100-106; republished in Julius Posener, ed., *Hans Poelzig: Gesammelte Schriften* (1970), pp. 38-42; and translated as *Hans Poelzig. Reflections on his Life and Work* (1992), p. 46-50. Similar thoughts were expressed in Josef August Jux, "Der moderne Fabrikbau," *Der Industriebau* 1, no. 4 (Apr. 1910): 77-83; and Mackowsky, "Der Industriebau und die moderne Baukunst" *Der Industriebau* 4, no. 8 (Aug. 15, 1913): 177-179.

⁵⁶ Postcard Behne to Taut (May 22, 1913) BTA-01-469, Bruno Taut Archiv, AdK.

works."⁵⁷ Rather than romanticize or monumentalize industry, Behne felt these "Rationalist" architects reflected industry "simply, naturally and obviously," creating in an organic way buildings that "grow naturally, from the inside."⁵⁸ Behne's argument about Werkbund-related industrial buildings was an extension of his contemporaneous writings on Expressionist art and Taut's Expressionist architecture. He was thus able to interpret the industrial works of Poelzig and Taut as totally modern, functional, rational and *sachlich*, but still filled with an artistic "inner necessity" and a sense of humanity that raised them from mere mechanisms to the level of "organic" artworks.

Behne's division of the contemporary industrial architecture scene into three groups highlights the critic's unique ability to cut through a myriad of examples, to create an overview of a broad range of material, and to organize it into distinct, understandable categories that acted simultaneously as critique of past work and as guide to the future.⁵⁹ Following his own ideals of a "scholar-critic," Behne's writing had

⁵⁷ "Das Eisen nicht als starre, schwere und brutale Rekordmacht . . . sondern als den vom Geist der Ingenieure geschickt und klug gemachten Stoff, dem wir einige der vollendesten modernen Kunstwerken verdanken!"; Behne, "Romantiker," p. 174.

⁵⁸ Behne, "Romantiker," p. 174.

⁵⁹ As Santomaso has shown, other critics discerned trends in modern architecture as well; Santomaso, "Origins and Aims," p. 51. In the same month as Behne wrote his article, Fritz Hoeber distinguished between a contemporary "*Zeitstil*" and a more individualist "*Persönlichkeitsstil*," as well as among a "*Formstil*," a "*Zweckstil*," and a "*Materialstil*"; Hoeber, "Das musikalische in der Architektur," *Der Sturm* 4, no. 180/181 (Oct. 1913): 108-110. Scheffler had distinguished between a "*Stein*" and "*Eisen*" approach to architectural design; Scheffler, *Moderne Baukunst*. Walter Curt Behrendt distinguished between "primitives," "traditionalists," "autodidakts," and "materialists"; Behrendt, "Über die deutsche Baukunst der Gegenwart," *Kunst und Künstler* 12, no. 5 (Feb. 1914): 263ff.

a pedagogical tendency that addressed the general public's need to stay informed about contemporary culture, the professional's need for expert analysis, and the connoisseur's need for discerning judgement.

In a later review of over one hundred designs for the German embassy in Washington Behne distinguished three similar trends: the "playboys," who wanted to create opulent palaces for diplomats without representing anything; the "monumentalists," who sought to represent German national pride boldly with forests of columns; and the "sachlich" architects who sought to find a middle-ground that both represented Germany and created a compassionate, humane residence for the ambassador.⁶⁰ Ten years later, in his famous book Der moderne Zweckbau, Behne would elaborate a similar matrix of functional form by dividing all modern architects once again into three groups again: the functionalists, the rationalists, and the utilitarians.⁶¹ These categories allowed contemporary architects, patrons, and the public to differentiate the many overlapping ideas of functionalism and objectivity in a manner that remains insightful to this day.

Behne summarized for a general audience many of his observations and critiques on industrial architecture in his article "Today's Industrial Buildings," that

⁶⁰ The categories were "*pathetisch*," "*lebemännisch*," and "*sachlich*," with "Romantics" having only a minor presence this time. Behne disliked most of the premiated designs, noting that competitions with a large jury almost always result in compromise, and impersonal conventional designs. Behne noted that "as expected," a very conservative, historical design was premiated by the Kaiser's art commission; Behne, "Die Botschaft in Washington," März 7, no. 3 (Sept. 20, 1913): 429-431.

⁶¹ Behne, Der moderne Zweckbau.

appeared in the popular family magazine Velhagen & Klassings Monatshefte in January 1914.⁶² [Figure 6.4] Taking a more conversational tone than he did in the highbrow Preußische Jahrbücher he reiterated the three main types of industrial architecture and some of the most important architects working in Germany. A profusion of illustrations, many taken from the Werkbund yearbooks, also made graphic for a much wider audience the central concepts.

When he republished a nearly identical version of this popular article in the business journal Die Welt des Kaufmanns (The World of the Businessman) in June 1914, he was clearly targeting yet another audience: factory or business owners.⁶³ [Figure 6.5] Although Behne did not alter his text to cater to the different but still lay audience, he did change the selection and order of the images, and thus the tone and force of his message.⁶⁴ In the illustrated family magazine Behne opened with a dramatic, attention-grabbing image of a Montreal grain elevators borrowed from Gropius' exhibit collection. Recognizing the power of images both to draw in and educate his lay audience, he also included a larger overall number of images. In the necessarily more conservative, establishment journal that catered to businessmen, Behne opened with more familiar images on German soil: the Munich central market by Richard Schachner

⁶² Behne, "Heutige Industriebauten."

⁶³ Behne, "Heutige Industriebauten," Die Welt des Kaufmanns 10, no. 11 (June 1914): 215-219.

⁶⁴ The publication of the grain elevators by Behne is not mentioned by Banham, even though this was probably the first of many times this photo was republished before being included in Le Corbusier's Vers une architecture; Banham, Concrete Atlantis.

(1912), and an uncharacteristically staid image of Poelzig's chemical factory at Luban.

With this more educated readership, he let his words make his argument more subtly than images, which might be read in very different ways by owners than the public.

Who made this editorial decision remains open to speculation. In both cases, however, the medium and message were carefully coordinated to maximize the impact on the different audiences.

Dry Technique and Pioneering Fantasy: Walter Gropius

In his articles on industrial architecture, Behne frequently discussed the Fagus shoe-last factory by his architecture school classmate Gropius, who was by then one of the Werkbund's rising stars in the discourse on industrial architecture.⁶⁵ [Figure 6.6] By January of 1914, Behne had read Gropius' theoretical essays on industrial architecture in the first two yearbooks, and obtained his first photos of the Fagus factory from the Werkbund press office. At this point, he wrote to Gropius' Berlin office using a circumspect tone and claiming to know only Gropius' Fagus factory. He requested photographs of other recent work that he could include in an article commissioned by

⁶⁵ The literature on Gropius (1883-1969) is extensive. For the issues discussed here, see in reverse chronological order: Jaeggi, Fagus; Winfried Nerdinger's catalogue of complete works, Der Architekt Walter Gropius 2nd ed. (1996); Isaacs, Walter Gropius (1983 and 1993); Wilhelm, Walter Gropius; Marco de Michelis, ed. "Walter Gropius 1907/1934," in Rassegna 5, no. 15/3 (Sept. 1983) special issue; Herbert Weber, Walter Gropius und das Faguswerk (1961); Giulio Carlos Argan, Gropius und das Bauhaus (1962, orig. 1951); Sigfried Giedion, Walter Gropius (1954, orig. 1933). The Fagus factory and the model Werkbund factory at Cologne were both design by Gropius in partnership with Adolf Meyer.

the Munich popular family magazine Zeit im Bild on new architecture in Berlin.⁶⁶ At Gropius' request, they met a few days later at his atelier. Until Behne's death, they would vacillate between being best friends, professional accomplices, and sparring partners in the development of modern architecture in Germany.⁶⁷

Although the Gropius office was brimming with new work and had recently completed several projects, Behne published only two photos. The first was a photo of an ornate chair and desk designed for a Berlin client. The second was a reproduction of a provocatively modern charcoal drawing of the phase-two extension to the Fagus factory with the now iconic, though monumental, brick entry facade, which Behne was the first to publish.⁶⁸ [Figure 6.7]

⁶⁶ Behne, letter to Office of Walter Gropius, (Jan. 15, 1914), Gropius papers, #123 (= Arbeitsrat für Kunst. cf. Harvard Catalogue II) = GN 10/201, Bauhaus-Archiv. The requested images were used in Behne, "Berliner Architektur," Zeit im Bild. The letter is cited in Franciscono, Walter Gropius, p. 106, who claims (without evidence) that Behne and Gropius met just before Behne wrote the letter. The critic and the architect may also have encountered each other during their two years studying architecture at the TH in Berlin, 1905-1907; see chapter 1 above.

⁶⁷ See the letters from Gropius' Office to Behne, (Jan. 18, 1914, and Jan. 24, 1914), Gropius papers, #123 (= Arbeitsrat für Kunst. cf. Harvard Catalogue II) = GN 10/200 GN/199, Bauhaus-Archiv.

⁶⁸ In a letter from Gropius to Behne from Mar. 12, 1914, Gropius mentions sending the photo of the writing desk for the Mendel apartment in Berlin, with carvings by R. Scheibe; Gropius papers, #123 = GN 10/198, Bauhaus-Archiv, Berlin. The desk is among the furnishings listed as project W169 in Nerdinger, Walter Gropius, p. 295; and the illustration is reproduced in Jaeggi, Adolf Meyer, catalogue no. 141, p. 387. The Fagus drawing published by Behne is now in the Busch-Reisinger Museum at Harvard (BRM-GA 3.1), and is illustrated in the Nerdinger catalogue on p. 37. As far as this author has been able to determine, Behne was the first to publish this (or any) drawing of the Fagus factory extension, which included the iconic, monumental entry facade. Although mentioned obliquely in the Bauhaus correspondence, Behne's April 1914 article "Berliner Architektur" in Zeit im Bild in which this drawing appears, has to my

In his first published comments on Gropius' work in January 1914, Behne praised him as one of the leaders of the new "artistic" approach to industrial design but placed the architect in the camp of the "monumentalists" around Behrens.⁶⁹ In several lectures and articles Gropius composed in conjunction with his exhibits on industrial architecture, he addressed themes that showed the impact of Behrens: the need to create a "contemporary" aesthetic, a style in keeping with the speed, industrialization and efficiency of the day, and the need to tear down the problematic divisions between art and technology, between architect and engineer.⁷⁰ In the articles he combined his lifelong passion for art as well as the expertise in industrial architecture he had acquired through his work with Behrens and the Werkbund.⁷¹ Despite the clear influence, Gropius departed from Behrens' ideas in his concern for the worker and other social aspects of industrial architecture—the very concern that motivated Behne.

knowledge not been cited by any previous author and does not show up in any of the standard Gropius bibliographies.

⁶⁹ Behne, "Heutige Industriebauten."

⁷⁰ Although we cannot know for sure which of Gropius' essays Behne had read, they all repeated salient points, and Behne must at least have known what is arguably the most important of the articles, the 1913 essay "Die Entwicklung modernen Industriebaukunst" in the 1913 Werkbund yearbook, which Behne had received in the form of printers proofs from Diederichs directly. Behne had reviewed the yearbook, and had borrowed photographs from it for his article. Gropius' five main essays on industrial architecture before 1914 are summarized in Wilhelm, Walter Gropius, pp. 23ff. Wilhelm argues that Gropius followed Behrens in all his pre-1914 writings; Wilhelm, "Fabrikenkunst: Die Turbinenhalle und was aus ihr wurde," in Buddensieg, Industriekultur, p. 165n54. See also Bauer, "Architektur als Kunst."

⁷¹ See Anderson, Peter Behrens, p. 306-307 n4; and Isaacs, Walter Gropius (1983) 90-97, for the dates.

In Gropius' earliest extended essay on industrial architecture, a lecture to the Werkbund held at Hagen in April 1911, he pronounced that a great new architecture could evolve only when it tapped into the spirit and fundamental building problems of the age: "Totally new formal tasks have always been decisive in the creation of the monumental architecture of an age. . . . a new monumental building art today will evolve from the problems presented by technology and industry."⁷² Later he declared: "Modern life needs new building developments (*Bauorganismen*) corresponding to the lifestyle of our times."⁷³ Gropius continued his argument by attempting to derive an aesthetic from the program and the spirit of the times. He claimed that during this technical age, an age that focused so much on economics and the maximizing of materials, money, labor and time, it was no longer appropriate to use forms from the past such as the Rococo or Renaissance: "The new forms will not be arbitrarily invented, but will erupt from the life of the time. . . . The energy and economy of modern life will determine the new artistic forms. . . . The new time demands its own spirit: exact forms, the exclusion of all arbitrariness, clear contrasts, an ordering of all parts, the sequencing

⁷² Gropius, "Monumentale Kunst und Industriebau," his first lecture on industrial architecture, held at Osthaus' Folkwang Museum on April 10, 1911, a transcript of which is available in the Sammlung Gropius, Bauhaus-Archiv, Berlin; published in Wilhelm, *Walter Gropius*, pp. 116-120; cited here and below from Hartmut Probst and Christian Schädlich, eds. *Walter Gropius. Ausgewählte Schriften*, 3 vols. Berlin: Ernst, 1968, 1987, 1988, vol. 3, p. 28. Although this lecture was not published until decades later, Gropius repeated most of the central points in all his essays on industrial buildings before World War I.

⁷³ Gropius, "Monumentale Kunst und Industriebau," p. 32; and in Gropius "Ausstellung moderne Fabrikbauten," p. 46.

of all similar parts, and unity of form and color."⁷⁴

Like Behrens, Gropius believed that industrial buildings could only become truly important cultural artifacts when interpreted by an artist, not just by an engineer. Explicitly citing the art historical and theoretical work of Riegl and Worringer as key to his arguments--as both Behne and Behrens did--Gropius insisted that only "artist-architects" could transform what would otherwise remain "dead material" and mere "calculated form" into buildings would be both integrally related to contemporary life and monumental art.⁷⁵ Relying on similar sources to escape from "materialist" theory that saw form in art as a product material and technique, Behrens, Gropius and Behne all focused on the benefits that artistic contributions by architects would bring to industrial building. Industrial architecture, Gropius proposed, provided a perfect challenge to contemporary architect trying to solve the apparent contradictions of contemporary life and art. The functional requirements of factories demanded the most contemporary solutions. Nonetheless, he insisted that the power of the will of the artist, not function, be the primary determinant of form. Here, however, the similarities between Gropius, Behrens, and Behne end.

After additional personal contacts with Gropius and a visit to his model Werkbund factory at the exposition in Cologne, Behne began to differentiate Gropius'

⁷⁴ Gropius, "Monumentale Kunst und Industriebau," p. 32; and Gropius, "Sind beim bau," p. 6; also Gropius, "Die Entwicklung moderner Industriebaukunst," p. 17-18; and cited in Wilhelm, Walter Gropius.

⁷⁵ Gropius, "Monumentale Kunst und Industriebau," p. 28. On Gropius' reliance on Riegl and Worringer, see Wilhelm, Walter Gropius, pp. 26, 30-33.

work from that of Behrens more clearly. According to Behne, in the Cologne model factory, Gropius,

fortunately avoids a slavish imitation of Behrens' work. More than that, he [Gropius] recognizes the weaknesses of this artist [Behrens], and is careful not to exaggerate further what already had a forced poignancy. He stays away from the unfortunate schematism in which this pioneer has fallen over time. Gropius sees value not in heavy masses or the cyclops-like muting of forms, but rather in the spiritualization of the material, for which he draws on all the latest resources and innovations of technology."⁷⁶

Although Behne had initially admired Behrens' artistically inspired, Idealist and non-positivist stance that synthesized art and technology, he soon became disillusioned. He confessed to Taut in May 1913, "Behrens is falling ever more out of favor with me."⁷⁷ In his search for an innovative architecture that explicitly rejected all he became increasingly critical of the "ponderousness" of Behrens' "temples of industry." For Behne, Behrens' pedimented factories inspired by antique monuments had succeeded in simplifying the forms of factories, but only by over-emphasizing "the ponderous, massive and powerful" qualities of modern industry. Continuing with classical metaphors, Behne claimed Behrens had interpreted industry as a "cyclops, as a giant

⁷⁶ "Er ist von einer sklavischen Nachahmung der Behrensschen Arbeiten glücklicherweise weit entfernt. Im Gegenteil: er hat die Schwächen dieses Künstlers wohl erkannt, er hütet sich, das forciert Markige noch etwas zu übertrumpfen, und hält sich von dem bedauerlichen Schematismus, in der dieser Bahnbrecher mit der Zeit verfallen ist, durchaus fern. Gropius sieht das Heil nicht so sehr in der schweren Massigkeit und dem zyklopen-mäßig Dumpfen, als in einer Geistreichen Durchdringung des Materiellen, für die er alle Mittel und Neuerungen der Technik heranzieht"; Behne, "Die Fabrik," Die Umschau 18, no. 43 (Oct. 24, 1914): 863.

⁷⁷ "Von Behrens komme ich immer mehr ab"; postcard Behne to Taut (May 22, 1913), BTA-01-469, Bruno Taut Archiv, AdK. Behne also admitted sheepishly that he did buy Behrens' "Arbeiter-Möbel" (worker furniture) for his apartment.

whose only expression is thunder and whirlwinds."⁷⁸ Such factories, he wrote, had an air of true operatic tragedy, "as if [created] under the shadows of Agamemnon and Aegisth."⁷⁹ For Behne, Behrens was more concerned with glorifying the machine and representing the power of modern industry, than with creating an honest expression for industrial architecture. Behne later criticized the "closed and divided" forms of Behrens' St. Petersburg Embassy in a similar way, labeling it "Impressionist," a style which he had maligned so vehemently as materialist, capitalist and imperialist.⁸⁰

To Behne, these famous buildings reflected the materialistic values of the Wilhelmine era without actually benefitting the worker or creating a communal architecture for the future.⁸¹ He felt Behrens' "cathedrals of labor" were monuments of German industrial power, and not sympathetic with the true "social conscience" he considered essential to social, political, or artistic reform. Behne then resorted to what one editor called "misguided party politics."⁸² Behne bluntly condemned Behrens'

⁷⁸ Behne, "Romantiker," p. 173-174; similarly in Behne, "Fabrikbau als Reklame."

⁷⁹ Behne is here referring to the Linoleum factory outside of Bremen by another "monumentalist" architect: Heinz Stoffregen. The classical reference is to the tragic deaths of Trojan warriors depicted most famously in Richard Strauss' opera "Elektra" with words by Hugo von Hoffmannsthal; cited in Behne, "Romantiker," p. 174.

⁸⁰ Behne, "Stilbemerkungen zur modernen Kunst," Die Neue Rundschau 27.1, no. 4 (Apr. 1916): 557.

⁸¹ Behne, "Die Fabrik," p. 863.

⁸² The anonymous editor of the design journal Das Plakat preceded Behne's article with a brief apologia, declaring Behne's criticism to be overly political; Behne, "Fabrikbau als Reklame," p. 275; republished in Ochs, Architekturkritik, pp. 78-81, for this and the following. Behne's article was part of a special issue on "Baukunst" in this journal dedicated to posters and advertising display, and included an article and a

designs as having "done nothing at all to alter the wage-slavery of the workers inside."

Although Behne conceded that wages were not the responsibility of the architect, he insisted that Behrens did have the ability "to prevent places of sweat and toil by the masses for their daily bread from appearing as though they were sites of exaltation."

The deep understanding of industrial work that people claimed was embodied in Behrens' buildings was for Behne "merely stone rhetoric, meant to flatter the megalomania of the owners. Their solemn character is actually profanity." Behne explained that the problem was not that art was used to address issues of industry and economics, but "that it is the trademark of a particular kind of art, 'bourgeois' art that favors being pretentious and insincere."⁸³

Behne cited Gropius' designs for the 1911 Fagus factory and the model Werkbund office and factory in the 1914 Cologne exhibit as legitimate "breaches" in the bastions of bourgeois monumentality.⁸⁴ To be sure, the main entries to Gropius' two

cover design by Behrens, as well as articles by Muthesius and Friedrich Paulsen, editor of Bauwelt.

⁸³ "Als ob die große Gebärde dieser Schauseiten auch nur das Geringste an der Lohnsklaverei der Arbeiter geändert hätte." Wohl, es lag nicht in der Hand des Baukünstlers, dieses zu leisten. Aber es lag in seiner Hand, zu vermeiden, daß Stätten des Schweißes und der herdenweisen Arbeit um das liebe Brot ein Gesicht bekamen, als sein sie Stätten der Erhebung. Was an tiefer Erfassung der heutigen Arbeit in diesen Schauseiten liegen sollte, sind ja nur Redensarten dem Größenwahn des Unternehmers zu schmeicheln. Auch hier ist das scheinbar Weihevoll in Wahrheit das Entweihende. . . . Das Abstoßende liegt nicht darin, daß überhaupt Kunst in Verbindung gebracht wird mit Industrie und Handel, sondern darin, daß es eine bestimmte Gattung der Kunst, nämlich die 'bürgerliche' Kunst, für die es kennzeichnend ist, anspruchsvoll und unaufrichtig zu sein"; Behne, "Fabrikbau als Reklame," p. 275.

⁸⁴ Behne, "Die Fabrik," p. 486.

factory buildings were still monumental brick facades, their massiveness even emphasized by the incised lines, not unlike Egyptian pylon gates, as both Reyner Banham and Wolfgang Pehnt have observed.⁸⁵ In the sculptural ornament that adorned the walls of the model office in Cologne, in the sleek glass walls that wrapped the side facade of the Fagus office wing, and in the glazed corner stairs and interior facade of the Werkbund factory, however, Behne saw a unique combination of art and industrial rationality. They provided Behne with a Werkbund-sanctioned escape from the hegemony of Behrens' ponderous factory facades. [Figures 6.8 and 6.9]

Although history and even Behne's later criticism have tended to focus on the austere, sleek walls of glass in Gropius' pre-war factory buildings, Gropius' model factory at Cologne was in its own way a collaborative art work between architects, sculptors and artists, not unlike Taut's nearby Glashaus. Reliefs by Gerhard Marcks and Richard Scheibe of men laboring embellished the porticoes on either facade of the office. Free-standing sculptures by Hermann Haller and Bernhard Hoetger adorned the grounds. Georg Kolbe and Ernst Hass painted the walls and the ceiling of the entry vestibule with abstract and animated Expressionist murals of figures shaping forms. A prominent inscription that read "material awaits its form" provided a mood of optimism about the role of the artist in shaping the future. Expressionist murals by Hans Blanke and Otto Hettner adorn the rooms adjacent to the roof garden with bucolic, almost primitive scenes of workers dancing, drinking and frolicking in the fields. [Figures 6.10,

⁸⁵ Reyner Banham, Theory and Design in the First Machine Age (1960); Pehnt, Expressionistische Architektur, p.42.

6.11, and 6.12] While many had criticized Gropius for his extensive use of applied sculpture in the model factory as inappropriate for the efficiency and functionalism expected of an industrial building, Behne insisted that the experimental nature of an exhibition building made it an appropriate test-site for the young architects' mandate to "ornament" our lives through architecture. For Behne, even industrial architecture should aspire to be an artform for expressing the human spirit.

Behne felt that Gropius had created "one of the best pieces in the Cologne exhibition," that his work "achieved an appealing mix of dry technique and pioneering fantasy."⁸⁶ Although this assessment reminds of the "artistic *Sachlichkeit*" Behne had identified in Taut's early work, Behne was critical of Gropius' use of glass when he compared the model factory to the Glashaus. Whereas Taut had shown how glass might be used in a completely "artistic" way, Behne issued faint praise when he wrote that "Gropius' factory shows how much more glass can be exploited in a purely practical manner."⁸⁷ He credited Gropius with using glass in a way that broke down the penchant for monumental form associated with massive brickwork, but felt Gropius' overly "block-like" stacking of rectangular glass panes "is perhaps the point with which

⁸⁶ "Es ist in den Gropiusschen Arbeiten eine eigene Mischung von technischer Trockenheit und von pionierhafter Phantastik, die außerordentlich sympatisch ist"; Behne, "Die Fabrik," p. 865; similar lines in Behne, "Die Ausstellung des deutschen Werkbundes in Köln," *Zeit im Bild* 12.3, no. 29 (July 16, 1914): 1499; and Behne, "Die Kölner Werkbundaussstellung," *Die Gegenwart* 43.2, no. 32 (Aug. 8, 1914): 501-506.

⁸⁷ "So beweist die Gropiussche Fabrik, wie sehr das Glas in seiner *rein praktischen Möglichkeit* noch ausgenutzt werden kann"; Behne, "Die Fabrik," p. 864, emphasis in original.

criticism must take issue."⁸⁸

Behne recognized that Gropius remained wedded more to a classical and monumental approach than a distinctly hopeful vision for the future, as Taut and Scheerbart had.⁸⁹ In Gropius' architecture, art works were additive rather than integrated. His glass acted as mere enclosure instead of a transformative screen between inside and out. Gropius himself had stated that similar to Behrens, he was searching for a "monumental beauty," a new "sacred style."⁹⁰ Although both he and Taut had been inspired by Worringer in their search for a more "primitive" and "expressive" architecture based on experience rather than rationality, Gropius' ideal was not the light, dynamic, colorful, and creative Gothic, but the "monumental, spare contained form, autonomous, healthy and pure" form of ancient Egyptian temples that

⁸⁸ "Die Quaderhaftigkeit, mit der Gropius das Glas übereinander legt, ist vielleicht der Punkt, wo die Kritik mit einem Einwand kommen muß"; Behne, "Die Fabrik," 864.

⁸⁹ Banham painted Gropius' pre-war work as classicist; see Banham, Theory and Design, pp. 79-87. Ludwig Grote interpreted Gropius' glass stairs as being influenced by Scheerbart; see Grote, "Walter Gropius. Ein Weg zur Einheit künstlerischer Gestaltung," in Walter Gropius (1952) n.p.; cited in Wilhelm, Walter Gropius, p. 60. Gören Lindahl, however, explicitly rejected any influence of Scheerbart on Gropius; Lindahl, "Von der Zukunftskathedrale bis zur Wohnmaschine. Deutsche Architektur und Architekturdebatte nach dem ersten Weltkrieg," in Idea and Form, ed. N.G. Sandblad (1959), p. 230. Franciscono cited several connections between Gropius and Scheerbart, but only after World War I, in the context of the Arbeitsrat für Kunst, when Taut, Behne and Gropius were working very closely together; see Franciscono, Walter Gropius, p. 86n41, 124.

⁹⁰ Gropius, "Monumentale Kunst und Industriebau," pp. 28-30, 32-33, for this and the following.

Worringer had seen as an early "abstract" architecture.⁹¹ As with Muthesius and many of the Werkbund members, Gropius was seeking to establish a "stylistic unity" that could arise only "through the establishment of conventions . . . through a rhythm of repetitions, through a uniformity of forms that have been recognized as good." This put him in direct opposition to Taut, who Behne insisted had "cleaned architecture of all traditionalism and conventionalism."⁹² The legacy of Gropius' work in Behrens' office was that he valued rules, proportions, and a proper "architectonic expression" with uniform, simple volumes "that would appear to a passerby as spatially grounded." Even materials "without an essence" (*Wesenslosigkeit*) such as glass and concrete, Gropius felt, should be manipulated in order to give them corporeality and permanence.

The Politics of *Glasarchitektur*

Karin Wilhelm has speculated that Gropius' early glass walls were not only prescient uses of modern building systems, but that they also represented conscious moves towards a "democratic" architecture. Despite the "dry technique" that Behne

⁹¹ Gropius, "Entwicklung moderner Industriebaukunst," p. 22.; Worringer had praised Egyptian art in *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* (1908); transl. as *Abstraction and Empathy* (1953). Worringer's *Ägyptische Kunst* (1927) contains wonderful visual comparisons of Egyptian architecture with concrete grain elevators, and Bauhaus designs (Figs. 8-10, 21-22), though the elevator illustration was the airbrushed version from Le Corbuisier's *Vers une architecture* (1923). See also Werner Hegemann, "Weimarer Bauhaus und Ägyptische Baukunst," *Wasmuths Monatshefte* 8 (1924): 69-86.

⁹² Behne, "Bruno Taut," *Illustrierte Zeitung* 154, no. 3994 (Jan. 15, 1920): 81; similar thoughts in Behne, "Bruno Taut," *Pan*; and also Behne, "Bruno Taut," *Der Sturm*.

identified in Gropius' use of glass, Wilhelm speculated that Gropius' political interpretation of glass was akin to that of Scheerbart's.⁹³ Positing a life-long conviction about the inter-connectedness of architecture and social values in Gropius, she claimed that by removing the "representative" and "interpretative" facade from architecture, at least in certain parts of his facades, Gropius was deliberately opening the building's inner-working to a wider audience, both to the workers on company grounds, and to the public passing by.⁹⁴ Gropius' glass curtain wall, Wilhelm postulated, broke down the barrier to the exclusive domain of the private corporate interior, with all its connotations of bourgeois class separation and property ownership.⁹⁵ She claimed the glass not only exposed the office and factory floor to public critique--a fundamentally democratic principle--but acted as a display window of sorts that led to a greater sense

⁹³ Wilhelm correlates Gropius' position with ideas proposed in Scheerbart's utopian article "Architektenkongress," in which government officials announce to a congress hall full of architects the need for a glass architecture. Unfortunately, Wilhelm gives no evidence that Gropius knew of or derived any part of his designs from Scheerbart's ideas. She also cites several of Gropius' post-war writings on modern architecture's attempt to "deny" the wall and thereby "seek to retain the connection of interior space with the greater space of the cosmos"; Gropius, "Glasbau," Die Bauzeitung 23, no. 25 (May 25, 1926): 165, cited in Wilhelm, Walter Gropius, pp. 59-66.

⁹⁴ Wilhelm cites Peter Jessen's comment in the 1915 Werkbund yearbook dedicated to the Cologne exhibition that Gropius' glazed spiral stairs allowed "the work and traffic to unfold before everyone's eyes"; Jessen, "Die Deutsche Werkbund Ausstellung Köln," Jahrbuch des DWB (1915), p. 34, cited in Wilhelm, Walter Gropius, p. 64.

⁹⁵ As proof that contemporaries were aware of the social implications of Gropius' glazing, she cites Robert Breuer's critique that this exposing of the interior had gone to far. Breuer feared revealing the inner workings of a factory may useful for control, but was rather "unseemly," "uncultivated," and even "embarrassingly asocial"; Breuer, "Die Cölner Werkbund Ausstellung," Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration (Apr.-Sept. 1914): 420, cited in Wilhelm, Walter Gropius, p. 64.

of pride and equality between workers and owners in their identification with the main work of the business. Wilhelm's sometimes forced argument emphasized Gropius' post-war writings to explain his pre-war work, and used somewhat ineffectively Jürgen Habermas' theory on the opening of the public sphere and Max Weber's discussion of the "protestant ethic" to equalize the position of the worker and owner. Nonetheless, Wilhelm's arguments begin to expand our understanding of the symbolic potential of glass during the time, pointing to the idea that glass, in addition to technical or fantastical associations, had emancipatory social and political potential, especially for the worker.⁹⁶

Behne was well aware of the economic and social relevance of industrial architecture and glass, as evidenced in a review of Gropius model Werkbund factory he published in the popular review Die Umschau in October 1914.⁹⁷ Expanding upon the Werkbund's reform of modern graphics and advertising, he repeated Gropius' claims that a well-designed factory could increase public awareness of a company and its products more thoroughly than any graphic advertisement. Behne also highlighted Gropius' quest to find an appropriate architecture for the age, an idea that Gropius had derived from Behrens, Riegl, German cultural reformers as well as the international Arts and Crafts movement.⁹⁸ Behne agreed with Gropius' claim that good factory design

⁹⁶ Wilhelm cites Jürgen Habermas, Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit (1975); and Max Weber, "Asketischer Protestantismus und kapitalistischer Geist," (1968), in Wilhelm, Walter Gropius, p. 141n444, n455.

⁹⁷ Behne, "Die Fabrik," Die Umschau 18, no. 43 (Oct. 24, 1914): 863-866.

⁹⁸ Gropius visited England with Behrens in 1908; see Isaacs, Walter Gropius

would lead to a happier and thus more productive worker. On this point, Behne quoted an article by Gropius in the 1913 Werkbund yearbook at length: "From the social standpoint, it is not unimportant whether the modern factory worker toils in ugly industrial barracks or in well-proportioned spaces. He will work more joyfully on great communal endeavors in a space designed by an artist that speaks to everyone's in-born sense of beauty and counters the monotony of machine work. With increased satisfaction the spirit of the worker and the productivity of the business will surely grow."⁹⁹

Behne's atypically long quotation from Gropius' essay documented his concurrence with many of the architect's ideas. But reading between the lines also reveals differences in their political ideas. Despite their shared concern for the condition of the worker, in the end the frame of reference for both Behrens and Gropius--whose privileged backgrounds and whose status as architects to corporations

(1983), p. 91. His work has been tied to the William Morris and the English Arts and Crafts movement most famously in Nikolaus Pevsner, Pioneers of the Modern Movement (1936); and earlier in Walter Curt Behrendt, Der Kampf um den Stil im Kunstgewerbe und in der Architektur (1920). On Gropius' attitudes towards society and culture see Wilhelm, Walter Gropius, p. 17-22. Colquhoun noted that Gropius' ideas are similar to those expressed by Frank Lloyd Wright as early as 1901 in his essay "The Art and Craft of the Machine"; see Alan Colquhoun, Modern Architecture (2002), p. 55, 68, though the similarity with Wright is more likely a product of their common interest in the machine and Arts and Crafts, than a direct borrowing transferred through the Wasmuth portfolio (1911) that he had seen at nearly the same time as he was first seriously engaged with his work on factories for the Werkbund.

⁹⁹ Behne, quoting Walter Gropius, "Die Entwicklung moderner Industriebaukunst," in Die Kunst in Industrie und Handel (1913), p. 20; in Behne, "Die Fabrik," p. 863. Gropius had written nearly identical comments earlier in "Sind beim Bau von Industriebauwerken künstlerische Gesichtspunkte mit praktischen und wirtschaftlichen vereinbar," Der Industriebau 3, no. 1 (Jan. 15, 1912).

and entrepreneurs made difficult any dispassionate stance towards capital--remained that of the bourgeois factory owner, his profits, and his image. Behne, through his attempts to have modern art accepted by a much wider public, and through his empathy for the struggle of the working class, would seek to redress this bias, able to articulate a more sympathetic response to the condition of the worker and the programs of Socialism.

Taut's "Expressionist" industrial buildings presented a more worker-oriented set of design principles for Behne. The critic characterized Taut's work as "primitive" and "simple," composed of "primal elements" that expressed a "new mentality, a new feeling for life," and thus a social conscience.¹⁰⁰ He felt that Taut's Reibetanz industrial laundry facility in Berlin, for example, catered specifically to the sensibility of a pedestrian worker through its scale, its lively rhythm, and its animated sense of color. [Figure 6.13] Behne contrasted Taut's building with that of Gropius' teacher: "the insensitive space-philosopher Peter Behrens, who justifies the cold sterility of his naked walls by referencing the speeding blur of the motorcar. Behrens pays homage to the owner, who of course pays for the whole thing, rather than to the large numbers of proletariat that pass by on foot, and to whom Taut offers a little eye candy on their miserable journey."¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Behne, "'Ein neues Haus!'," p. 32.

¹⁰¹ Behne, "Fabrikbau als Reklame," p. 276. Behrens had written about the speed of the motor car as a reference for modern architecture in Behrens, "Einfluß von Zeit und Raumausnutzung auf moderne Formentwicklung," in Der Verkehr (1914), p. 7-10, the 3rd Werkbund yearbook.

Behne's Early Critique of the Werkbund

Although Behne joined the Werkbund in order to gain access to its propaganda, designers, and reputation, he also responded to it as a critic. Already in his first articles, Behne had condemned the "romantic" and "sentimental" designs of the prominent Werkbund members such as Riemerschmid, and commented that the "pathos-laden" monuments of Behrens looked backward rather than forward. He had targeted such comments both to the general public with articles in the general press, as well as to professionals and Werkbund members by publishing in some of the Werkbund's most closely allied journals, such as the Kunstgewerbeblatt. The depth to which he explored the issues varied from one forum to another, yet the message remained fairly constant. There was, overall, a polite acknowledgment of the Werkbund's efforts and the exhibit intentions.

But Behne, who had defined "politics as the "daring" act of defining a better future and "reaching out amidst the richness of one's own time to find the inspiration for freedom, expansive development, and a future that leaves behind all conventions," grew increasingly disillusioned with the backward-looking nature of the Werkbund's attempt to define German design.¹⁰² His detailed analysis became very critical, accusing

¹⁰² Referring to Roman art as both symbolizing brute force, and a relationship to the Orient, Behne wrote, "Sie ist politisch, soweit man Politik ausschließlich als Prozeß des Strebens nach äußerer Gewalt anerkennt. Aber sie ist keineswegs mehr politisch, wenn man unter Politik versteht: aus dem Reichtum der Stunde die Regung zu schöpfen, die, weit alle Konventionen überfliegend, Befreiung, Erweiterung, Zukunft bedeutet"; Behne, "Rom als Vorbild," Sozialistische Monatshefte 23.1, no. 6 (Mar. 28,

organizers of not promoting the artistic side of the architectural work, and highlighting only three worthwhile monuments: Van de Velde's theater, Gropius' factory and above all Taut's Glashauss.¹⁰³

Gropius' and the Werkbund's synthesis of art and technology had healed some of the divisive rifts between that had formed between the engineer and architect in the nineteenth century. By seeking a synthesis of art and technology, of form and structure, they had begun to mend the split of the so-called underlying "core-form" (*Kernform*) and visible "art-form" (*Kunstform*) in modern architecture.¹⁰⁴ However, Behne argued that in many of the buildings designed by Werkbund architects, including Behrens', the "art-form" remained over-burdened by symbolism and an expression of monumentality that was unrelated to the "core-form." In other Werkbund sanctioned designs, such as the glass in Gropius' Werkbund factory, he believed that the opposite was true, that the

1917): 306, emphasis in original.

¹⁰³ Behne, "Die Ausstellung des deutschen Werkbundes in Köln."

¹⁰⁴ See Wilhelm, Walter Gropius, p. 23. The terms *Kernform* and *Kunstform*, differentiating an idealized internal structural core or essence from the physical, external form, were first coined in nineteenth-century. They became standard interpretations of architectural form through the writings of Gottfried Semper and Carl Bötticher that remain to this day when we differentiate the engineered structural form from the form-making working of the architect. See Semper, Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten 2 vols. (1861-1863), reprint (1977); Bötticher, Die Tektonik der Hellenen 2 vols. (1843-1852). On the influence of these terms and the related theory of "tectonics" through the early twentieth century down to the present, see Werner Oechslin, Stilhölse und Kern: Otto Wagner, Adolf Loos und der evolutionäre Weg zur Modernen Architektur (1994), translated as Otto Wagner, Adolf Loos and the Road to Modern Architecture (2002); and Kenneth Frampton, Studies in Tectonic Culture. The Poetics of Construction in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Architecture (1995).

"art-form" was over-determined by the "core-form," thereby all but erasing that element that elevated architecture to an art.¹⁰⁵ For Behne, Werkbund architects remained wedded to the conservative notion of harnessing art for the cause of industry, of creating an aesthetic and a contemporary "style" that could sell German technical products and force the creation of a German style, rather than creating true art or simple functional form. Behne's criticism focused less on style and forms, and more on the individual spirit and "inner necessity" required in a work as a means to achieve a genuine modern art.

As early as April of 1914, two months before the opening of the Cologne exposition, Behne insisted it was futile to discuss whether it was possible to create a "new style" that represented the zeitgeist, as Muthesius and many of the Werkbund members were claiming. Such thinking, he felt, represented an overly "intellectual" approach to the subject. IN an argument that reminds of Loos, Behne defined true art as "something singular that finds meaning only in itself. It [art] is not characteristic 'of its time,' but rather stands for the most part . . . in opposition to that which is characteristic 'of its day.' Art has nothing to do with the characteristic, only with beauty!"¹⁰⁶ While Behne disagreed with Loos' rejection of functional building as art,

¹⁰⁵ For Behne, the factories that Behrens had built for the AEG and that Gropius built for Fagus and the Werkbund represented something of an "official" Werkbund policy as it had been developing. As many have commented, there was no "official" Werkbund policy, though the leadership and guiding figures at any one point in time did dominate discussions and revealed particular ideals.

¹⁰⁶ "Jedes Kunstwerk ist etwas Singuläres und erschöpft seine Bedeutung in sich selbst. Es ist nicht charakteristisch für seine Zeit, vielmehr steht es meist . . . in Gegensatz zu dem, was für 'seine Zeit' charakteristisch ist. Die Kunst hat es überhaupt

both Behne and Loos were critical of the artificiality of the Werkbund's creation of a contemporary "style" and its imposition of German design conventions.¹⁰⁷

Behne's Idealist artistic stance put him at odds with the Werkbund and led to ever harsher criticism of the organization. In fact, Behne may have joined the Werkbund in part to wield this critique with more authority. Although the Werkbund's mission statement had called for a unified stance on important issues, one of the most progressive but also debilitating qualities of the organization was that it allowed, even encouraged discussion and disagreement among its members in its goal of stimulating reform and the development of ideas. Frederic Schwartz has recently suggested that the Werkbund consciously used slippery terms such as "Quality," "Work," and "Type" for their "discursive indeterminacy or, better mobility," so that the discourse could simultaneously resonate across realms of industry and art, expertise and opinions.¹⁰⁸ Although these slippery terms allowed many to read their own interpretations into the the organization's propaganda, the contemporary artist Endell had complained that "dangerously unclear" words such as "quality" and "*Typisierung*" featured in Werkbund

nicht mit dem Charakteristischen zu tun, sondern mit dem Schönen!"; Behne, "Berliner Architektur," Zeit im Bild, p. 806.

¹⁰⁷ Adolf Loos, "Die Überflüssigen" März 2, no. 15 (Aug. 1908): 185, is a critique of Werkbund and Art Nouveau tendencies to create a "style." The article was based on Loos' participation at the Werkbund Jahrestag in Munich in July 1908, to which he was invited despite not being a member because of his influential criticism of the applied arts in Vienna a decade earlier. It is worth noting that both Riemerschmid and Behrens noted that style or type is not something that can be consciously achieved; see Hermann Muthesius, ed., Die Werkbund-Arbeit der Zukunft (1914).

¹⁰⁸ Schwartz, The Werkbund, p. 122; also cited in Bernd Nicolai's forward to the reprint of the Werkbund yearbooks, p. 6.

programs led only to "grave misunderstandings" and thus should be avoided.¹⁰⁹

The consequence of these internal debates was that the Werkbund became what its first executive secretary, Wolf Dohrn, once called an "association of intimate enemies": an association of corporate competitors representing themselves as a unified group, but in reality often presenting and promoting work that was more a product of competition or a desire to maximize sales and profits.¹¹⁰ For many critics and members alike, a Werkbund exposition on the scale of that at Cologne was thus destined to mediocrity. Muthesius and Theodor Heuß, another founding member of the Werkbund, admitted that the Cologne exhibition reflected only a slight increase in the general level of design, and almost no exceptional achievements, especially in architecture. Although true progress necessitated both singular achievements and broad acceptance of ideas, Muthesius lamented that the Werkbund exposition clearly only reflected the latter: "The weakness of a beginner's work . . . indecision . . . and flatness."¹¹¹ Likewise, the critic Robert Breuer complained that although the Werkbund had been started by some outstanding artists, it had tended ever more towards general cultural production, and thus would not be able to create the latest artistic trends or

¹⁰⁹ August Endell, contribution to the Werkbund discussion on July 4, 1914, published in Muthesius, Werkbund-Arbeit, p. 58.

¹¹⁰ This phrase is often credited to Walter Curt Behrendt, and his article "Die Deutsche Werkbundaussstellung in Köln," Kunst und Künstler 12, no. 12 (Sept. 1914): p. 626, though Behrendt himself credits Dohrn, and Muthesius attributes the same phrase to "a close observer of the Werkbund," in his lecture from July 3rd "Die Werkbundarbeit der Zukunft," in Muthesius, Werkbund-Arbeit (1914), p. 35.

¹¹¹ Muthesius, "Die Werkbund Arbeit der Zukunft," p. 37; T. Heuß, "Der Werkbund in Cöln," März 8, no. 2 (1914): 907-913.

achievements. "The Werkbund is no Mt. Olympus of artists," he wrote, "Art and the Werkbund have really nothing in common. . . . [The Werkbund] is a union of artists, manufacturers, craftsmen and business men whose primary goal is practical, propagandistic, and money-making work," not the instigator of spiritualized form advocated by the association's mission.¹¹²

The trained architect, Prussian bureaucrat, and freelance critic Behrendt wrote perhaps the harshest critique in his review of the Werkbund exposition, in Scheffler's conservative Kunst und Künstler.¹¹³ He remarked that the reform movements begun at the turn-of-the-century and promoted by the Werkbund since 1907 had "come to a standstill." The buildings on display appeared as if "a respected collection of senile academics had seen their charge as arduous. . . . or worse that they performed their duty with indifference and the greatest of reluctance." Old and young architects were condemned alike. Gropius, "a student of Behrens" erected a "quite problematic" building according to Behrendt. He judged Gropius to be an overly intellectual artist who "thinks and reasons too much, and senses and sees too little."¹¹⁴

Behne was thus far from alone when he criticized the fundamental principles of Werkbund production. He praised the Werkbund's exhibition program of uniting art

¹¹² Robert Breuer, contribution to the Werkbund discussion on July 4, 1914, published in Muthesius, Werkbund-Arbeit, p. 89; and Breuer, "Die Cölner Werkbund-Ausstellung," Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration 34, no. 12 (Sept. 1914): 417.

¹¹³ Behrendt, "Die Deutsche Werkbundaussstellung," p. 617 for this and the following. Behrendt's review is discussed in Wilhelm, Walter Gropius, p. 70-71.

¹¹⁴ Behrendt, "Die Deutsche Werkbundaussstellung," p. 618.

and life by exhibiting real buildings and products rather than replicas as well as its mission to achieve "Quality" and the spiritualization of German products. But he felt most of the classicizing architectural works at the exposition fell short of these goals. In Behne's memorable prose, the Werkbund seemed to have forgotten that the "spirit" is something "light and free that seeks to escape the weight of earthly concerns," not something full of pathos or tragedy that brought to mind "the slaying of kings, mystical priesthood, and boundless Assyrian sacredness."¹¹⁵ Most architects, he lamented, remained "so overly deferential, so overly serious . . . with their false monumentality."¹¹⁶ They shied away from fantasy and the qualities that Behne believed were at the core of the exhibition pavilion "type": "the provisional, the exciting, the celebratory"--exactly the features that Behne praised in Taut's Glashaus. Although Behne's review focused to a large extent on style and the backward quality of the pseudo-classical monumentality of most of the buildings at the exposition, his more fundamental objection was to the use of ponderous traditions and conventions as a means of creating quality and

¹¹⁵ Behne, "Die Ausstellung des deutschen Werkbundes in Köln," Zeit im Bild 12, no. 29 (July 16, 1914): 1497; republished in Behne, "Deutsche Werkbund-Ausstellung in Köln," Allgemeiner Beobachter 4, no. 7 (Aug. 1, 1914): 90-93; as well as in Behne, "Die Kölner Werkbundaussstellung," Die Gegenwart 43.2, no. 32 (Aug. 8, 1914): 504, republished in Ochs, Architekturkritik, pp. 29-36;

¹¹⁶ Behne, "Die Ausstellung des Deutschen Werkbundes, I," Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten 22, no. 164 (June 20, 1914), for this and the following quote. Attempts to locate part II of this critique have been unsuccessful. As will be explored below, Behne's critique of DWB became even harsher and more explicit in the context of World War I, as in 1917 he rejected the Werkbund's attempts to synthesize life and art as mere sentimental lies that ignored the true character of art; see Behne, "Kritik des Werkbundes" Die Tat 9.1, no. 5 (Aug. 1917): 430-438; republished in Janos Frecot, ed., Werkbund Archiv Jahrbuch 1 (1972): 118-128; translated in Francesco Dal Co, Teorie del Moderno: architettura, Germania, 1880-1920 (1982), pp. 226-233.

contemporary artistic designs.

Cologne Werkbund Debate

The Opposing Arguments

Behne's criticism of the Werkbund and its exhibition were fundamentally the same as the explosive objections that Henry van de Velde and his supporters had to Muthesius at the infamous Werkbund debates on July 3rd and 4th, 1914, in Cologne.¹¹⁷ There is no evidence that Behne participated in the discussion, perhaps because he was a relatively young, new member of the Werkbund with little standing. Gropius, Behne's exact contemporary, also did not contribute to the discussion, although he was a rising star in the Werkbund. Instead Gropius ceded his time to the older and more established artist Endell, whose views on art would no doubt carry more weight than the young architect's. Nonetheless, Behne must have aware of what transpired. His

¹¹⁷ The Werkbund debate has been widely discussed; see, for example, Kai Gutschow, "The Werkbund Exhibition, Cologne 1914," in Encyclopedia of Twentieth-Century Architecture, ed. Richard S. Sennott (2004), pp. 1439-1440; Campbell, German Werkbund, pp. 57-81; Stanford Anderson, "Deutscher Werkbund – the 1914 Debate," in Companion to Contemporary Architectural Thought, ed. Ben Farmer and Hentie Lous (1993), pp. 462-467; Fedor Roth, Hermann Muthesius und die Idee der harmonischen Kultur (2001) pp. 227-257; Angelika Thiekötter, "Der Werkbundstreit," in Herzogenrath and Teuber, Die Deutsche Werkbundaustellung, pp. 78-94; Schwartz, The Werkbund, pp. 121ff. and 147ff., with citations to further interpretations, p. 241n8. Muthesius' lecture, his theses, Van de Velde's counter-theses, and all contributions to the ensuing debate were first published in Muthesius, Werkbund-Arbeit; lengthy excerpts were republished in Fischer, Zwischen Kunst und Industrie, pp. 85-115; and Julius Posener, Anfänge des Funktionalismus (1964), pp. 199-222. Translations of Muthesius' and Van de Velde's theses are most easily found in Conrads, Programs and Manifestoes, pp. 28-31.

slightly older friend Taut was one of the most controversial participants, and the discussion generated a veritable "press-war" afterwards in Berlin's major newspapers.¹¹⁸

The debate, which is recorded verbatim in Muthesius' book Die Werkbund-Arbeit der Zukunft (The Werkbund Work of the Future, 1914), warrants elaboration here to illuminate the context for Behne's increasingly harsh critique of the Werkbund.¹¹⁹

[Figure 6.14]

Muthesius had long been arguing for the need to establish typical forms in the applied arts as a means of insuring economic vitality for Germany's emerging national economy in the global marketplace.¹²⁰ This position had troubled some of the younger, progressive, architecturally-oriented Werkbund members, including Gropius, Taut, and Osthaus. Behne found Muthesius' positions particularly disturbing. Muthesius had insisted that *Typisierung* was especially pronounced in architecture, which, "unlike the free arts," was always beholden to the leveling influence of functions and daily life.

¹¹⁸ Discussion of this lengthy "press-war" that ensued in the influential Berliner Tageblatt in the weeks following Cologne is missing from most historical analyses; see Anna-Christa Funk, Karl Ernst Osthaus (1978); and Franciscano, Walter Gropius, Appendix C, pp. 262-274.

¹¹⁹ Muthesius, Werkbund-Arbeit.

¹²⁰ Muthesius suggested that all great epochs in art and culture began with individual experiments, but eventually settled on more "typical" modes of expression. He called this process "*Typisierung*," the gradual development of established design conventions within a general cultural production that "eschewed the extra-ordinary and sought the orderly." Such a typical expression for the modern era, he insisted, had already been recognized by critics all over the world in the German exhibits at the world's fairs in St. Louis (1904) and Brussels (1910). He then proclaimed that "there can be no doubt that this unified stylistic expression, despite all the individualistic differences of the work, has been achieved in the modern applied arts today"; Muthesius, Werkbund-Arbeit, pp. 42, 44-45.

Although even Muthesius admitted that "the only lasting value is the contemporary," he believed that architecture was inherently more tied to tradition and conventions than the other arts. He insisted that it was these two qualities, architecture's close relationship to the habits of daily life and its natural adherence to tradition, that made it simultaneously the most effective means of educating people about good form and the best means of demonstrating national character abroad.¹²¹

But Behne was not convinced. Architecture for him was a mode of individual artistic expression, not a national propaganda tool. As early as the beginning of January 1914, in his popular article "Today's Industrial Buildings," Behne added to his three categories of German industrial architecture a brief critique of Muthesius' position.¹²²

¹²¹ Muthesius often wrote about architecture as an especially good measure of national culture as well as an effective propaganda tool. Behne cited these ideas in two short excerpts of Muthesius' writing that were appended to two of Behne's articles, Behne, "Ungerechte Selbstvorwürfe," Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration 35, no. 1 (Oct. 1914): 68; and Behne, "Geh. Baurat Otto Wagner--Wien," Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration 35, no. 5 (Feb. 1915): 390.

In the best spirit of the Werkbund, Muthesius was also concerned with promoting his ideas through the media, an area that directly impinged on Behne's endeavors as a critic. In addition to refining the quality and technical perfection of the German production, Muthesius felt the Werkbund needed to redouble its efforts to promote and popularize the emerging unified style, to educate the public and create a communal taste: "the public requires a certain uniformity in what it sees in order to understand, and in order to get used to a certain style of expression." (pp. 43-44). In his 6th thesis from the Werkbund debate to be discussed below, Muthesius urged that such advances in German design should be made known to the world through "effective propaganda," especially through illustrated magazines; Muthesius, Werkbund Thesis no. 7, in Muthesius, Werkbund-Arbeit, p. 32; translated in Conrads, Programs and Manifestoes, p. 28. This, Muthesius claimed, would eventually lead to the high quality production and spiritualized form towards which the Werkbund had always been working, and would allow German firms to increase their exports and lead the world towards a modern form.

¹²² Behne, "Heutige Industriebauten," Velhagen & Klasings Monatshefte, p. 63-

Of all the modern architects working on industrial buildings, Behne singled out Muthesius for working most strongly with historical forms and perpetuating an inappropriate "house-like" aesthetic alongside the latest advances in technology. Referring directly to Muthesius' well known country houses, Behne closed his article with the statement that the confusion of factories looking like castles or country houses could be avoided only if factory owners hire a new breed of "true industrial building artists."¹²³ When Behne republished his article in the business journal Die Welt des Kaufmanns (The World of the Businessman) in June 1914, just as the Werkbund exhibition opened, he warned the German business community even more explicitly about the fallacy of Muthesius' recourse to historical conventions as a means of increasing exports and Germany's cultural reputation.¹²⁴

On January 16, 1914, the day after Behne first contacted Gropius about publicizing the architect's work, Gropius wrote to his friend and supporter Osthaus expressing similar concern over the conservative position of Muthesius and his followers. In reflecting on the authors that Muthesius was organizing for the 1914 yearbook focusing on transportation, Gropius was dismayed that "unpleasant" forces were limiting the discussion to quality and technical issues, and ignoring the need for

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¹²³ Behne, "Heutige Industriebauten," Velhagen & Klasings Monatshefte, p. 64.

¹²⁴ Behne, "Heutige Industriebauten," Die Welt des Kaufmanns. The fact that Behne did not even mention Muthesius in his extensive April 1914 survey of Berlin architecture also shows his objections to this powerful architect and ideologue; "see Behne, "Berliner Architektur," Zeit im Bild 12.2, no. 15 (Apr. 9, 1914): 801-806.

"new forms."¹²⁵ Gropius hinted to Osthaus that it may be an opportune time to press for the inclusion of their more artistic point of view, and was soon able to convince elements of the Werkbund board that "considerable tension was in the air" between the two camps, and that there was "danger of secession." All agreed to avoid public conflict before the Cologne exposition, but insisted the two positions be given opportunity to "collide against each other" in Cologne, in order "to show up the black sheep."¹²⁶

In his famous Werkbund speech of July 3, 1914 in Cologne and a set of summary theses that he had distributed to all registered participants a week earlier, Muthesius demanded more clearly and forcefully than ever before that the Werkbund work towards *Typisierung* of German products and the establishment of artistic conventions instead of emphasizing artistic innovation, primarily for business reasons. Muthesius was careful to note in his speech that "Art is free, and must remain free. She has the right to make mistakes, which will to a certain extent confirm her freedom." But he insisted the Werkbund was not primarily an artist's group (*Künstlergruppe*). It was, instead, an ally of modern business, catering to industry and the mass production of quality consumer goods. What most distinguished his July 1914 speech from earlier lectures and writing was a more explicit reaction *against* artists as primarily experimental form-givers within the Werkbund. Even though Muthesius' lecture was considerably less controversial than the theses he had distributed, his lecture opened an

¹²⁵ Letter from Gropius to Osthaus (Jan. 16, 1914) KEOA, Kü/335, republished in Funk, Karl Ernst Osthaus, n.p.

¹²⁶ Letter from Gropius to Osthaus (Feb. 26, 1914) KEOA Kü/335, republished in Funk, Karl Ernst Osthaus, n.p.

unbridgeable divide in the Werkbund's membership, all but forcing members such as Behne to take a stance on the matter.¹²⁷

Immediately after Muthesius' lecture, van de Velde distributed ten counter-theses that rejected *Typisierung*, and reaffirmed a commitment to inspired individual creation and the will of the artist as the only way forward for the Werkbund.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Muthesius himself, in the opening remarks to the debate on July 4th, as well Posener in *Anfänge*, p. 204, and others have commented on the significant differences between Muthesius' public lecture on July 3, 1914, where he defended the freedom of the artist and justified the development of typical form over long periods of time in a softer and less provoking manner, and the summary theses that he distributed, where he called on Werkbund members to create or design such typical form; see Muthesius, *Werkbund-Arbeit*, p. 55. In his lecture, which he claimed was addressed primarily to the Werkbund's businessmen, not its artists, Muthesius sought to convince Werkbund industrialists to continue to work with artists towards *Typisierung*. Muthesius' *Typisierung* was a call to artists to help businessmen and industry to "reduce" the chaos of cultural production and to further "abstract" the essence of the modern typical forms. As Muthesius saw it, the mediocre work exhibited at Cologne was not a sign that radical rethinking or innovations in form were necessary, but rather a clarion call for an even more concerted effort to refine quality and improve technology.

¹²⁸ Historical interpretations of van de Velde's counter-theses have varied widely. Too many have seen his position as a nostalgic plea for the arts and crafts in opposition to Muthesius' more "modern" call for "standardization" and the mass-production of modern "types." Many see van de Velde's comments as vestiges of his earlier Art Nouveau and Secession theories promoting the unfettered energy of the whiplash line, nature, and artistic genius as the way out of the stranglehold of classicizing historical styles on design. Others have viewed van de Velde's comments as a "romantic" call to return to medieval craftsman ideals, which become a central theme of the early Bauhaus. Although van de Velde's ideas included these dimensions, a more complete interpretation would acknowledge the complex politics of the Werkbund debate that pitted more conservative titans of industry against a band of fiercely independent artists eager to revolutionize the world around them.

Previous discussions of Muthesius' *Typisierung* have tended to mis-translate and mis-represent the architect's use of the term as "standardization." Based on this mis-interpretation, many historians have given Muthesius credit for anticipating the standardization and machine-aesthetic that was to become a hallmark of avant-garde design and International Style modern architecture after World War I in Germany. See Schwartz, *The Werkbund*, p. 238n212 for an outline of the various (mis)interpretations.

Although the Belgian designer still gets credit for setting off a heated discussion and ensuing press wars between advocates of the opposing views, evidence suggests that it was above all the powerful patron Osthaus and two of his proteges, Gropius and Taut, who most staunchly rejected Muthesius.¹²⁹ Behne, we recall, had been one of the earliest critics, promoters, and intellectual collaborators of these same two young architects. All three believed the fundamentally creative genius endowed in the work of individual artists was key to cultural innovation and social unity. With the support of Behrens, Endell, Obrist, Breuer, and others, this group managed to force Muthesius that same evening to withdraw his theses and to explain that they were purely personal opinions rather than proposals for Werkbund policy. They also pressured Muthesius to announce that he in no way sought to limit the freedom or opportunities of artists.

A direct confrontation of the divergent ideologies occurred the day after

However, in arguments that I have followed here, Stanford Anderson has more perceptively argued that Muthesius did not feel rationalized standardization was inevitably pervasive in all aspects of society, but rather intended to reinforce the conservative statement made by the classicism of his own buildings and well as most of those at the Cologne exposition; see Anderson, "Deutscher Werkbund – the 1914 Debate." Schwartz has expanded our understanding of the debate by focusing on the economic implications. Although Muthesius has often been interpreted as a supporter of big business, industrialization and capitalism, as opposed to van de Velde, who emphasized individual craft production, Schwartz interprets van de Velde's position as an artists defense of the role of creation within the market economy, supporting the free market ideal that individual creativity should be protected and rewarded in the capitalist system through institutions such as trademark law and royalties; Schwartz, The Werkbund, pp. 147ff.

¹²⁹ See, for example, Stressig, "Walter Gropius," p. 465-468; as well as Funk, Karl Ernst Osthaus, for documentation to support the thesis that Osthaus was the primary force behind the young artists. Funk also documents some of the extensive press-war that ensued in the pages of the Berliner Tageblatt between Muthesius and his opponents.

Muthesius' speech in a pre-arranged discussion that began to distinguish more clearly the two camps and their positions. Behrens, whose work Behne had classified as overly monumental, opened the discussion with brief remarks criticizing the artificiality of Muthesius' idea of norms and conventions. He was followed by Endell, Obrist, and Osthaus, who were even more staunch supporters of artistic freedom and creativity. Endell complained bitterly about Muthesius' emphasis on the vague word "quality." Whereas Muthesius and the official Werkbund program tended to emphasize "technical quality," Endell, Taut, and many of the pre-war Expressionist artists such as Kandinsky had preferred to focus on "spiritual quality, or beauty . . . beauty that is based on personal experience."¹³⁰ Foregrounding technical quality and *Typisierung*, both Endell and his teacher Obrist warned, would result in the "premature sterilization of invention . . . one of the few remaining pleasures that we moderns have left."¹³¹

Behne had expressed nearly identical thoughts just two months earlier when he criticized architects such as Paul Baumgarten and Paul Mebes for over-emphasizing the role of tradition in their work, leading to designs that were "Dead, . . . impersonal and lifeless."¹³² A few years later he expressed nearly the same sentiments when he condemned what he called the Werkbund's "Reform Erector-set Style" (*Reformbaukastenstil*): "We have been brainwashed by the German Werkbund, the

¹³⁰ August Endell in Muthesius, *Werkbund-Arbeit*, p. 58.

¹³¹ Hermann Obrist in Muthesius, *Werkbund-Arbeit*, p. 62.

¹³² "Erstarrung. . . etwas Unpersönliches, etwas Unerlebtes"; Behne, "Berliner Architektur," p. 804.

Dürerbund, and the Kunstwart," no longer questioning why certain furniture is "nothing but an upright, painfully accurate, rectangular dark box." The "serious art magazines" try to convince us that it is a "triumph of modern living culture which has finally returned to simplicity and functionality. But this furniture is obviously not any better than the imitative Renaissance-buffet which it replaced. Instead, it is as bad as that or even worse. While the old piece at least had an imitated sense of life, [the new one] is totally dead!"¹³³ For Behne, Endell, and the supporters of van de Velde, Muthesius' *Typisierung* implied compromise, homogenization, and an undesirable leveling of values that would stifle artistic excellence. All recognized that Muthesius' policies, if enacted, would greatly reduce the role of the artist in the industrial design process in Germany and "lead to the end of new German culture," as Behne put it.¹³⁴

Taut gave the most impassioned defense of the Expressionist viewpoint that had been defined collaboratively by Behne, Scheerbart, and Taut in the months prior to the Cologne exhibition. For Taut, as for Endell and Behne, "beauty" was the only true goal

¹³³ "Wir sind allerdings so zähe, namentlich vom Deutschen Werkbund, vom Dürerbund, vom Kunstwart und ähnlichen Bestrebungen bearbeitet worden daß wir uns gar nicht mehr wundern, wenn etwa in seriösen Kunstzeitschriften Schränke . . . abgebildet werden, die absolut *nichts* sind als ein aufrecht stehender, penibel akkurat viereckiger, dunkler Kasten . . . [der] als einen neuen Triumph der modernen Wohnkultur anpries, die endlich wieder auf das Einfache und Zweckentsprechende zurückgehe. Aber dieser Schrank ist selbstverständlich nicht besser als das angeblich von ihm verdrängte, nachgemachte Renaissance-Buffet, sondern, so schlimm dieses war, er ist noch schlimmer. Denn hatte jenes noch einen nachgebildeten Schein von Leben, so ist dieser völlig Tot!"; Behne, *Wiederkehr der Kunst*, pp. 10-11, emphasis in original.

¹³⁴ "Und dann sei ja die neudeutsche Kultur fertig," Behne, *Wiederkehr der Kunst*, p. 11.

of art. Like Behne, Taut borrowed from Scheerbart the idea that art must be unfettered, light, cheerful, and affecting the senses, not intellectual or ponderous. He lamented that Muthesius had defined *Typisierung* as leading only to a "general increase" in the quality of design, insisting that being satisfied with averages could only represent the watering down of creativity and innovative ideas.¹³⁵

Taut then proclaimed that the development of high quality, spiritualized form was possible only through the efforts of the most creative artists. Art, he asserted, was analogous to a pyramid, with a few original artists at the tip, the masses of followers below, and the general public defining the base. The reference of a pyramid followed Kandinsky's use of the same theory. It also recalled Nietzsche's vision of artists on the mountaintops leading the people in the valley's below.¹³⁶ [Figure 3.6] Extending his analogy of a pyramid even further, Taut insisted that all groups need a single strong leader at the top in order to be truly productive. The weakness of the Werkbund exhibit and the opposing views of the discussion made it clear to Taut that in order to be truly focused and productive, the Werkbund needed an "art-dictator." He proposed that either van de Velde or Poelzig be elected. Poelzig was the only other architect besides Taut whom Behne had labeled "Rational," designing with an "artistic *Sachlichkeit*" that Behne had earlier referred to as "Expressionist."¹³⁷

Taut's proposal for an art-dictator for the Werkbund clashed directly with

¹³⁵ Taut's contribution to discussion in Muthesius, *Werkbund-Arbeit*, pp. 74-76.

¹³⁶ See Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*.

¹³⁷ Behne, "Heutige Industriebauten."

Muthesius' call for business to lead, and was met with quite a bit of misunderstanding and criticism, including charges of elitism.¹³⁸ The tone and direction of Taut's proposal amidst the heated debate seemed to be a departure from his earlier call for a peaceful, Babel-like collaboration among many artists to build a great new temple of the arts.¹³⁹ But in fact it built on earlier ideas that he had developed through his collaboration with Behne and Scheerbart. His views were based on an utopian conception of art and his understanding of architecture as the mother, or leader of the arts, and not on conscious political or social elitism. Although the temple of the arts he proposed in his Der Sturm a few months earlier was to be a collaborative work, expressing the unity of the artists, Taut warned in that same article that "every social intention should be avoided. The whole project must be exclusive, the way all art at first presents itself solely within the artist. The people should then educate themselves on this art, or await the arrival of teachers."¹⁴⁰ Taut meant for the building to be built by a community of artisans, and ultimately for the greater good of society. But an overt political program or social function was to be avoided in order to give full range to the pure artistic expression and to the new order it might engender.

Taut's belief in the regenerative power of artistic collaboration was far from

¹³⁸ See the comments by the conservative critic and historian Walter Riezler, the conservative publisher Ferdinand Avenarius, and even the sympathetic critic Robert Breuer, all in Muthesius, Werkbund-Arbeit.

¹³⁹ Taut, "Eine Notwendigkeit," Der Sturm 4, no. 196/7 (Feb. 1914): 175; slightly different translations in Long, German Expressionism, p. 126; and T. Benson, ed., Expressionist Utopias: Paradise, Metropolis, Architectural Fantasy (1994), p. 283.

¹⁴⁰ Taut, "Eine Notwendigkeit," p. 175.

unique. Gropius, heavily influenced by Behrens, had written extensively that the work of finding contemporary new forms could only be done by the best artists.¹⁴¹ Art, and especially high "monumental art," Gropius insisted, involved ideas that transcended the merely technical, material and natural. Drawing on a vision of the creative artist inspired by Nietzsche, Gropius had written several times of the power of the individual human will to recognize and create order amidst the chaos of life and the world: "The development of an artwork demands personality, the power of genius. Only the genius has the power to tackle the earthly with something unearthly, to reveal the unknown. He grabs the spirit of the cosmos, and captures it in a physical creation. . . . Only genius can create a truly monumental art. . . . The artistic genius always strives to express the most important thoughts of the day."¹⁴² Employing an artist to bring taste and propriety to the masses would not only garner the owner fame as a promoter of culture, but also profits. Eventually, he claimed, it would also benefit the community, bringing better work and designs to all.¹⁴³ Despite his overly technical interests and his Behrens-like tendency to monumentality that Behne had criticized, it is clear that Gropius himself was firmly committed to the role of the artist in shaping the modern world. It was perhaps only his insistence that artists express the most important thoughts "of the

¹⁴¹ Franciscano, Walter Gropius, p. 72-73.

¹⁴² Gropius, "Monumentale Kunst und Industriebau," pp. 28-29, 31, 32.

¹⁴³ Gropius wrote: "It is the genial ideas [of the artist] that are especially worthy and perfect enough to be mass-produced by modern industry, benefitting not just the individual, but the community"; Gropius, "Entwicklung moderner Industriebaukunst," p. 18.

day," with which Behne might have quibbled. Behne maintained that art was never "of the day," but about more eternal spiritual values and fundamental human experiences.

Werkbund Debate as Politics

Underlying the Werkbund debate were fundamental differences in opinion about the nature of art and its relationship to society, in other words, politics. On the one hand Muthesius' seemingly progressive position on type and convention emphasized the conservative interests of big business and the German role in international trade. On the other hand, van de Velde's Socialist position paradoxically highlighted individual creativity as the path to innovation. Although both van de Velde and Muthesius had drawn many of their convictions from the early Socialist thinker William Morris and the English Arts and Crafts movement he helped found, the context in which they developed their positions profoundly determined their ideological stances.

Van de Velde began his career as a painter in the context of the Belgian Art Nouveau movement, whose overt ties to Belgium's revolutionary Socialist movement sought a consciously innovative formal vocabulary in parallel to the working-class movement. Under the influence of Max Stirner, Nietzsche, Bakunin, Tolstoy, and Kropotkin, van de Velde eventually turned to the applied arts and architecture, and made it his goal to create a meaningful environment for the working man, an ethical

artistic goal that he saw as a parallel with the Socialist movement.¹⁴⁴ The Société Anonyme craft workshops he founded in response were a for-profit corporation based on Morris' company, but the principle of collaborative, anonymous manufacturing of artistically inspired products using machines was something both Taut and Behne would promote as key to developing a new art with which people could identify. In an unpublished essay from 1914 that Behne reprinted in his Wiederkehr der Kunst (The Return of Art, 1919), for example, Taut had declared that architects, like other applied artists, should avoid signing their works. Behne for his part proposed that when art became truly communal, the architect would lose all ego, and "act simply as the gathering consciousness of the many."¹⁴⁵ Although van de Velde's designs remained highly individual, aligned more with the Art Nouveau and the Arts and Crafts movement which interested him at the begin of his career, he was, ideologically and temperamentally, aligned closely with Behne and other Expressionists inventing a new artistic spirit for Europe.

¹⁴⁴ On Van de Velde's Socialism, see Hans Curjel, introduction in van de Velde, Zum neuen Stil (1955), pp. 10-11; Karl-Heinz Hüter, Henry van de Velde, sein Werk bis zum Ende seiner Tätigkeit in Deutschland (1967); Amy Ogata, Art Nouveau and the Social Vision of Modern Living (2001); and Mallgrave, Modern Architectural Theory, p. 212. . Sembach's recent biography focuses primarily on stylistic issues, and so does not reference politics and ideological orientation; Klaus-Jürgen Sembach, Henry van de Velde (1989).

¹⁴⁵ "Er ist nur wie das zusammenfassende Bewußtsein der Vielen"; Behne, Wiederkehr der Kunst, p. 77. In this same book Behne reprinted a long excerpt of an unpublished article from 1914 by Bruno Taut on the virtues of anonymous architectural production, pp. 79-80. Taut's article was solicited for "Soll der Baukünstler wie der Maler und wie der Plastiker sein Werk signieren?," Bauwelt 5 (1914): 27-30. The Arbeitsrat für Kunst in which Behne and Taut were leading figures was based on many similar principles of anonymous production and exhibition.

To Behne and his colleagues, Muthesius represented the oppressive Wilhelmine establishment they were trying to escape. The architect had developed his theoretical stance and ideological alliances while employed in the Commerce Ministry of the conservative Prussian bureaucracy. In the course of his work reforming the Prussian applied arts education system as well as his ministry's more general mission of increasing the quantity and quality of German production and trade, Muthesius identified increasingly with the government's conservative politics, hierarchical social order, and desire for order and consistency above any individual creativity.¹⁴⁶ Not unlike van de Velde, Muthesius sought a coherent written and design "style" that was to be part of a "harmonious culture." But his emphasis was less on benefitting workers or the individual, than on representing the nation.¹⁴⁷ Although his desire to reform art and

¹⁴⁶ In his dissertation "Hermann Muthesius," esp. chaps. 6, 7, and even more forcefully in his forthcoming book Before the Bauhaus: Architecture, Politics, and the German State 1890-1920 (2005), Maciuka attempts to paint Muthesius' design reform as precursors to Bauhaus methods, but this argument underplays the political confrontation between the industrialists and the Gropius and Van de Velde group who started the Bauhaus.

¹⁴⁷ For years Muthesius had been seeking to counter the chaotic individualism and arbitrary forms that he and many contemporaries, including Behne, had perceived since the turn-of-the-century in the Art Nouveau movement, in the applied arts reform movement that followed, as well as in the modern, industrialized consumer culture around him. In his own designs he borrowed much from the English country house, about which he had published extensively, but also the popular Biedermeier revival or "Around 1800" movement that reintroduced a stripped-down classicism as a means of limiting expression. He proposed that the people and country that first arrived at a unified new style would determine future artistic developments, and soon dominate the world's markets. See Fedor Roth, Hermann Muthesius und die Idee der harmonischen Kultur (2001); Maciuka, "Hermann Muthesius"; and Hermann Muthesius, Das Englische Haus, 3 vols. (1904), republished with an intro. by Manfred Bock (1999); and as an abridged translation as The English House (1987). The "Um 1800" movement was expressed most saliently in Paul Mebes, Um 1800 (1907), with 2nd and 3rd editions

escape the eclectic and decadent form-making of Wilhelmine culture were often not radically different from Behne and artists such as Gropius and Taut, he was increasingly perceived and accused of representing a government sanctioned position, never a popular stance among artists.

More specific political connotations of the Werkbund debate emerged in the comments by Osthaus to the association's members.¹⁴⁸ Unlike Endell, who simply dismissed Muthesius' "type" as an inappropriate goal for the Werkbund (he preferred "beauty" as the goal), Osthaus pointed out that the term *Typisierung* promoted by Muthesius had its origins in discussions about the creating worker housing. Osthaus explained that the strictures and functional requirements necessary to build such housing was incompatible with art and more generalized design reform. By using "typical," uniform or standard forms for items such as windows, he claimed worker housing such as the units that Metzendorf had recently erected in Essen could realize tremendous cost savings. Much as Behne and Taut had justified the use of repetitive and simple forms for worker housing and garden cities, Osthaus then proclaimed that "types develop everywhere that living conditions are identical. . . . Where similar living conditions exist, where a large number of workers all live off of similar wages, similar

revised by Walter Curt Behrendt (1918, 1920), and republished with an introduction by Ulrich Conrads (2001). The movement is discussed in Kai Gutschow, "Cultural Criticism, Classical Vernacular and the Modern in Schultze-Naumburg's *Kulturarbeiten*," in *North-South*, ed. Jean-Francois Lejeune (in press).

¹⁴⁸ Osthaus' contribution to the discussion, in Muthesius, *Werkbund-Gedanke*, pp. 64-68.

forms will develop out of these similar living conditions."¹⁴⁹ This lesson, Osthaus noted, was also apparent in the famous "type-furniture" and other applied arts products manufactured by the Deutsche Werkstätten (German Workshops) at Hellerau. He even commended Riemerschmid, who was in the audience, for his inventive method of combining a few standardized parts to create a large collection of furniture including different beds, dressers, and tables. He claimed that this design method had huge "social benefits," allowing ever greater numbers of consumers to take advantage of the good design for an affordable price.

Osthaus opposed, however, a blanket application of type covering all facets of design and art. Here he showed his greatest affinities to the positions of van de Velde, Taut, Gropius, and Behne, sharing their underlying social commentary. He argued that modern Germany was too diverse and dynamic to justify the standards or conventions such as those proposed by Muthesius and Riemerschmid. "Everything is still in the process of becoming," he claimed. Incomes were diverging rapidly, life was in constant flux, individualism was ever more celebrated, traditions were still so different in the North than in the South, new materials such as concrete had not yet been adequately

¹⁴⁹ Osthaus also had very similar utopian, Idealist conception of art conviction about the nature of art. In his talk, for example, he characterized Riemerschmid's process as "calculating." By extension the Werkbund's design reform efforts, had nothing to do with art. Osthaus ended his lecture with a long quote from Schopenhauer on the defining role played by the "Idea" in the creation of great art, and how principles and rules lead only to poor imitations; Osthaus in Muthesius, Werkbund-Gedanke, pp. 65-66, quoting Arthur Schopenhauer, Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung (1814, 1844), translated as The World as Will and Representation (1969). esp. vol. 1, chapter 43 and vol. 2, chapter 35.

explored to begin to settle on typical forms. Any perceived harmony or uniformity in past styles, he assured listeners at the debate, was deceptive. Osthaus also claimed that historical epochs had primarily been defined by singular achievements, and types so far as they existed at all, eventually developed from these, "The whole of art and architectural history is nothing but the history of creative work and its influence on the milieu."¹⁵⁰ Osthaus thus articulated a position similar to Taut's in his pyramid analogy--a top-down view of art regeneration that saw the genius artist as instigator of innovation and development.

The socio-political implications of the opposing positions were by no means clear. Amidst the debate of future leadership that pitted Romantic idealism about the expressive genius of artists against the pragmatic production of industrialists, a great deal of ambiguity remained about which position was more pro-worker, nationalist, or traditional. It was for this reason, perhaps, that the political ramifications of certain positions drew the most passionate, personal commentary during the debate, although the moderator of the Werkbund discussion had explicitly prohibited such attacks. Osthaus' comments, for example, were opposed by Muthesius supporters such as the Stettin museum director and journal editor Walter Riezler, who claimed the

¹⁵⁰ "Die ganze Kunst- und Architekturgeschichte ist nichts anderes als die Geschichte schöpferischer Leistungen und ihres Einflusses auf das Milieu"; Osthaus in Muthesius, Werkbund-Gedanke, p. 66. In their lectures both Behrens and Riemerschmid had also insisted that typical form was something that could not be willed or purposefully created, *Typisierung* being an inevitable consequence of development, the purest resolution of a problem created by the best artists, which others followed.

Werkbund's central mission lay not in producing inspired artistic achievements, but in solving everyday problems. Good solutions, he maintained, could not be achieved without the approval of the masses. The liberal critic Robert Breuer retorted that Riezler was trying to instigate a "Sociology of Art," deriving art not from forces internal to art, but rather from a popularity contest or paternalistic decree. Such an approach, warned Breuer, constituted demagoguery. Supporting Taut's Saint-Simonian-like views of artist's leading society to new frontiers, Breuer claimed that art arises not from the masses, but against it. The artist is more often right than the majority, he insisted. In a similar manner, Behne had also warned that art was not to be "of the times," or overly accommodating of specific circumstances, appealing rather to broader, eternal Ideals and a sense of "*das Künstlerische*."¹⁵¹

Behne's Support for the Artists

Behne's criticisms of the Werkbund exhibition, Taut's Glashaus, and Gropius' model factory must be seen as not only a set of aesthetic or an economic positions, but more importantly as part of a political debate about the role of art in modern industrial society. Behne did not participate directly in the vehement press and letter writing battles that followed the Werkbund debate, but his position can be gleaned indirectly from the ideas expressed by Taut, with whom Behne had shared so many ideas in the past year, as well as supporting statements by Endell, Obrist, and Osthaus. More direct

¹⁵¹ See chapter 2 above, as well as Behne, "Populäre Kunstwissenschaft," p. 247.

evidence can be found in the many reviews Behne wrote of the Cologne exhibit discussed earlier, especially of Taut's Glashaus. In texts such as "Thoughts on Art and Function" from 1915, Behne articulated an Expressionist stance that emphasized the role of the individual, creative artist as the only force capable of creating transcendent, expressive form appropriate for the modern world.¹⁵² His harshest critiques of Muthesius' position would wait until near the end of World War I, when any hope Behne had in industrial capitalism had collapsed, and the only way out seemed to be through art.

Although Behne was on the side of van de Velde, there were also important differences in their motivations. The historian Marcel Franciscono has pointed out that van de Velde's camp, especially Endell, had recognized that Muthesius' goal of raising the quality of industrial design on the broadest possible scale would inevitably lessen industry's dependency on the individual artist. Muthesius' ideas on convention and repetition inevitably meant the actual design of objects would return to limited pattern-book artists, although they might now be guided by the formal types established by the fine artists.¹⁵³

More recently Frederic Schwartz has also explored van de Velde's counter-theses in light of contemporary socio-economic theories, showing van de Velde to be one of a number of artists "rooted in the economic realities of the times" who were

¹⁵² Behne, "Gedanken über Kunst und Zweck, dem Glashause gewidmet," Kunstgewerbeblatt N.F.27, no. 1 (Oct. 1915): 1-4;

¹⁵³ Franciscono, Walter Gropius, p. 263.

"attempting to integrate themselves into this evolving modern economy" by promoting an individual creativity encouraged by copyright and trademark laws.¹⁵⁴ While this hypothesis may hold true for some of the applied artists, including van de Velde and even Gropius, it fits less well for other Werkbund members who supported the artists. Osthaus, the wealthy patron and collector of fine and applied arts, including designs by van de Velde, had little reason to justify his support for the genius of the artist on economic grounds. Taut, although working hard to "sell" his creative designs to clients as well as industry in order to establish himself and his fledgling architectural firm in Berlin, was primarily motivated by philosophical and ideological convictions about the nature of art and the human will to create. As a critic Behne also showed no evidence of being motivated by a desire to integrate either himself or his artist friends and colleagues into a capitalist economy. For Behne, all fine and applied art was not a commodity but an expression of the inner-life of the artist.

Despite a determination to bring art to the people and to unify art and life, for Behne, Taut, Osthaus, and many of the Werkbund's most rebellious young minds, art was an antidote to the materialism and capitalism of decadent Wilhelmine culture, not a means of engaging with it. A close investigation of the positions taken by Behne's Expressionist colleagues reveals a bias in Schwartz's argument towards the important factions of the Werkbund's industrialists and artists who were motivated by consumption and the consumer market. But the Werkbund's influence on the

¹⁵⁴ See Schwartz, Werkbund, pp. 147ff., quotes from p. 149.

development of modern architecture and design stemmed only partly from its ties to hegemonic economic and social forces. Schwartz's approach thus under-represents the role that the Werkbund played in reforming production and creativity itself.

Behne and Taut promoted an "artistic *Sachlichkeit*" as well as the "rational" industrial architecture of Gropius and Poelzig. When viewed in the context of the Werkbund debate, such a synthesis of clear, functional forms with a passion and fantasy that only an artist could bring, would seem to be a contradiction. Far from promoting a willful, arbitrary, or abstract sense of form or aesthetics, Behne anticipated his later championing of functionalism, but also his more human-oriented approach to form-making. Although Behne's positions changed in many respects after World War I with the development of modern architecture in the Weimar Republic, his emphasis on the human, artistic element in the creation of a modern architecture developed from this pre-war Expressionist sensibility and was solidified in the context of the Werkbund discussions.

Chapter 6 Illustrations



Figure 6.1. Peter Behrens, A.E.G. Montagehalle, Husittenstraße 25-31, built 1912-1913, with workers. Behne criticized the austere facade for passing workers in comparison to Taut's Reibetanz Laundry from the same year. Source: Die Kunst in Industrie und Handel Jahrbuch des deutschen Werkbundes (1913), Fig. 4.

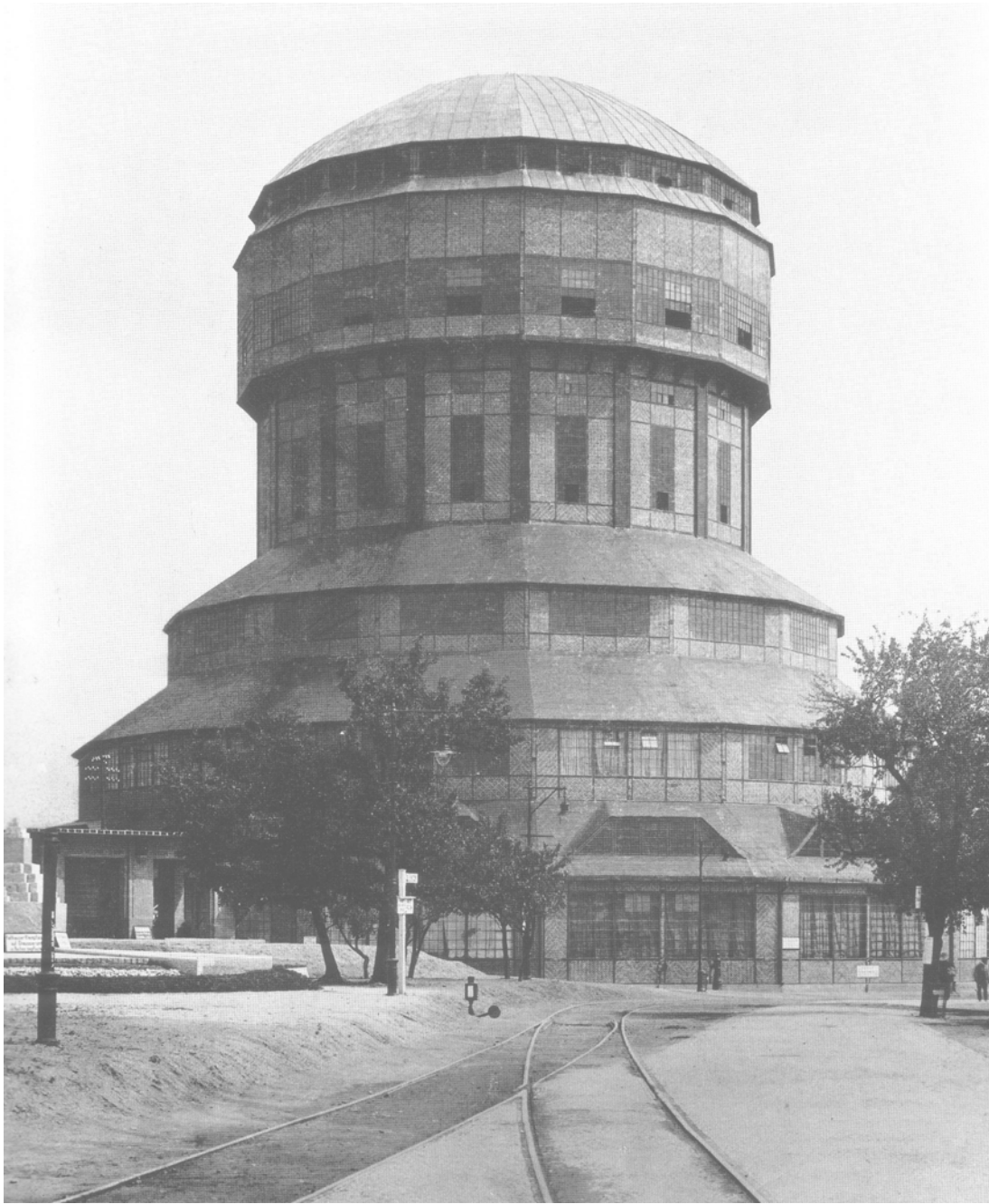


Figure 6.2. Hans Poelzig, Water Tower at Posen, 1911. This image part of the Werkbund photograph collection of industrial buildings curated by Walter Gropius. Source: Sabine Röder, ed. Modern Baukunst 1900-1914 (1993), p. 179.

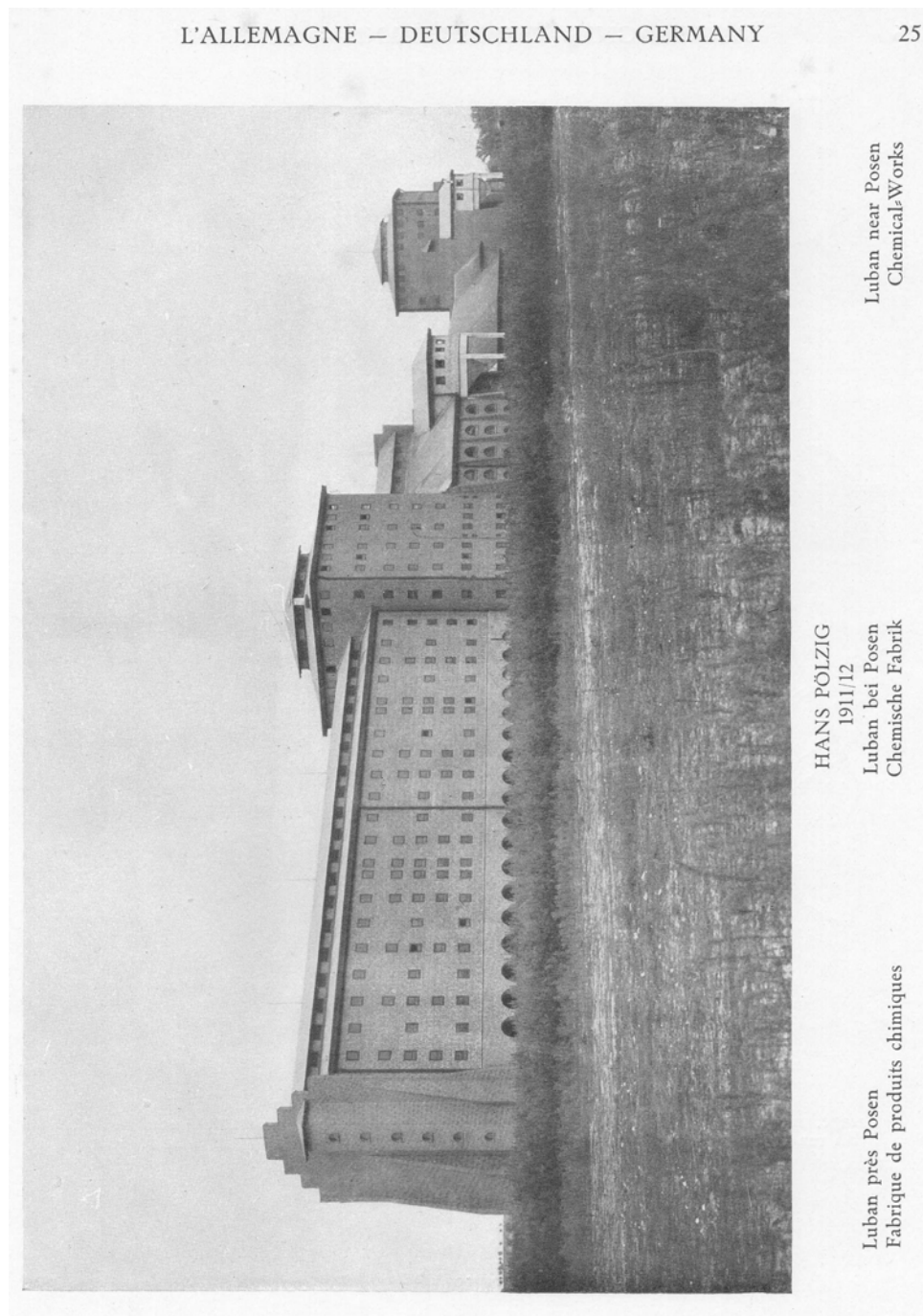
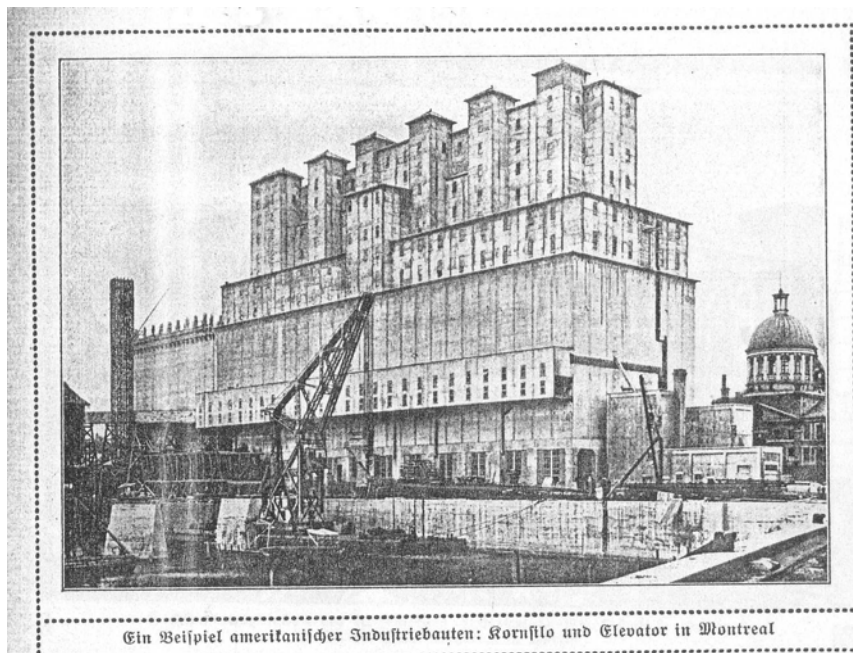


Figure 6.3. Hans Poelzig, Chemical Factory at Luban, 1911-1912, which Behne early on identified as *sachlich*, yet Expressionist in design. Source: Adolf Behne, Der moderne Zweckbau (1926) p. 12.



Ein Beispiel amerikanischer Industriebauten: Kornsilo und Elevator in Montreal

Heutige Industriebauten. Von Dr. Adolf Behne

Es wird stets das Verdienst von Peter Behrens bleiben, daß er durch einige für die Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft zu Berlin geschaffene Arbeitshallen und Fabriken das Interesse der Öffentlichkeit auf den Industriebau gelenkt und damit einem lange vernachlässigten Gebiete die allgemeine Teilnahme gesichert hat. Zwar haben neben Peter Behrens auch andere Künstler sich um Ähnliches bemüht, doch erst die Behrensschen Bauten sind tatsächlich durchgebrungen und haben einen Umschwung herbeigeführt. Seit ihnen ist der Industriebau fast ein Lieblingsvorwurf aller Kreise geworden — derselbe Industriebau, um den sich noch vor zehn Jahren kein Mensch gekümmert hat. Heute, das darf man wohl ohne Übertreibung behaupten, fesselt ein industrieller Neubau Publikum und Kritiker in höchstem Maße. Eine Fabrik, die nicht künstlerischen Ansprüchen genügt, wird heute fast erbarmungslos beurteilt als ein langweiliges Rathaus oder ein mißlungenes Denkmal.

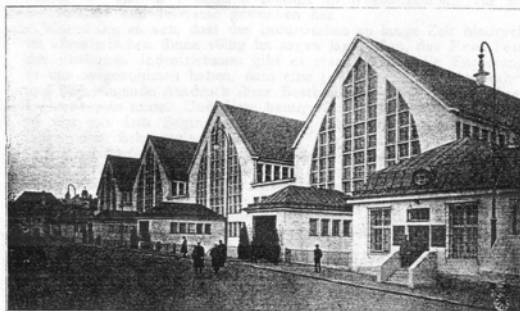
Vor zehn Jahren konnte im Fabrikbau

geschaffen werden, was wollte, kein Mensch nahm davon Vermerk.

Kümmerte sich niemand um diese Bauten, weil sie künstlerisch so gleichgültig waren — oder waren diese Bauten deshalb so geringwertig, weil sich doch niemand um sie kümmerte? Sicherlich kam eines zum andern! Der Fabrikherr sagte sich: „Warum teures Geld für einen künstlerischen Fabrikbau ausgeben, den sich doch kein Mensch ansieht?“ Das Publikum aber wußte noch gar nicht, daß ein Fabrikbau schön sein könnte. Das Publikum kümmert sich um eine Sache stets erst dann, wenn sein Interesse durch etwas Packendes, etwas Hervorragendes kräftig geweckt ist. Bis das nicht geschehen, trägt es meist auch das Schlimmste mit Geduld. Theorien verfangen beim Publikum wenig, aber um so mehr das praktische Beispiel, die Tat. Und das erste packende Beispiel bot im Fabrikbau Peter Behrens. Er wäre aber zu seiner fundamentalen Leistung nicht gekommen, wenn nicht in der Leitung der A. E. G. der Gedanke, mit den erforderlichen Neubauten dieses Riesenbetriebes einen selbständigen und kühnen Architektur-

Figure 6.4. Behne's article "Heutige Industriebauten," as it appeared in the family magazine *Velhagen & Klasings Monatshefte*, featuring the monumental and now iconic grain silo. Le Corbusier would make this image famous when he published it in his *Vers une architecture* (1923), though he erased the classical dome on the right. Source: Behne, "Heutige Industriebauten," *Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte* 28, no. 5 (Jan. 1914): 53.

Zu dem Aufsatz: HEUTIGE INDUSTRIEBAUTEN



GROSSMARKTHALLE IN MÜNCHEN
ARCHITEKT: RICHARD SCHACHNER



CHEMISCHE FABRIK A.-G. VORM. MILCH & CO. IN ZUBAN BEI POSEN
ARCHITEKT: HANS POELZIG IN BRESLAU

DIE WELT DES KAUFMANNS

X. JAHRGANG ■ ERSTES JUNIHEFT 1914 ■ HEFT 11

*Denken und Handeln muss aus einem Stück sein.
Fichte*

Heutige Industriebauten

Es wird stets das Verdienst von Peter Behrens bleiben, dass er durch einige für die Allgemeine Elektrizitätsgesellschaft zu Berlin geschaffene Arbeitshallen und Fabriken das Interesse der Öffentlichkeit auf den Industriebau gelenkt und damit einem lange vernachlässigten Gebiete die allgemeine Teilnahme gesichert hat. Zwar haben neben Peter Behrens auch andere Künstler sich um Ähnliches bemüht, doch erst die Behrensschen Bauten sind tatsächlich durchgedrungen und haben einen Umschwung herbeigeführt. Seit ihnen ist der Industriebau fast ein Lieblingsvorwurf aller Kreise geworden — derselbe Industriebau, um den sich noch vor 10 Jahren kein Mensch gekümmert hat. Heute — das darf man wohl ohne Uebertreibung behaupten — fesselt ein industrieller Neubau Publikum und Kritiker in höchstem Masse. Eine Fabrik, die nicht künstlerischen Ansprüchen genügt, wird heute fast erbarmungsloser beurteilt als ein langweiliges Rathaus oder ein misslungenes Denkmal. Vor 10 Jahren konnte im Fabrikbau geschaffen werden, was wollte, kein Mensch nahm davon Vermerk.

Kümmerte sich niemand um diese Bauten, weil sie künstlerisch so gleichgültig waren — oder waren diese Bauten deshalb so geringwertig, weil sich doch niemand um sie kümmerte? Sicherlich kam eines zum andern! Der Fabrikherr sagte sich: „Warum teures Geld für einen künstlerischen Fabrikbau ausgeben, den sich doch kein Mensch ansieht?“ Das Publikum aber wusste noch gar nicht, dass ein Fabrikbau schön sein könnte. Das Publikum kümmert sich um eine Sache stets erst dann, wenn sein Interesse durch etwas Packendes, etwas Hervorragendes kräftig geweckt ist. Bis das nicht geschehen, trägt es meist auch das Schlimmste mit Geduld. Theorien verfängen beim Publikum wenig, aber um so mehr das praktische Beispiel, die Tat. Und das erste packende Beispiel bot im Fabrikbau Peter Behrens. Er wäre aber zu seiner fundamentalen Leistung nicht gekommen, wenn nicht in der Leitung der AEG. der Gedanke, mit den erforderlichen Neubauten dieses Riesenbetriebes einen selbständigen und kühnen Architekturkünstler von hohem Range zu betrauen, lebendig gewesen wäre. Es musste also eine günstige Konstellation vorliegen: ein Fabrikherr, der sich ästhetisch-kultureller Verpflichtungen bewusst war, musste mit einem Baumeister zusammenkommen, der für diese neuen Aufgaben eine ursprüngliche und echte Begabung mitbrachte. Ein gutesinnter Bauherr ist allein nicht imstande, wahrhaft gute Industriebauten zu schaffen, und ein guter Architekt mag die schönsten Pläne im Kopfe

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Figure 6.5. Behne's article "Heutige Industriebauten," as it appeared six months after the original article in the business journal Welt des Kaufmanns, featuring Poelzig's factory at Luban, as well as Schachter's market hall in Munich, rather than the more austere and sensational grain elevators. Source: Behne, "Heutige Industriebauten," Die Welt des Kaufmanns 10, no. 11 (June 1914): 215.

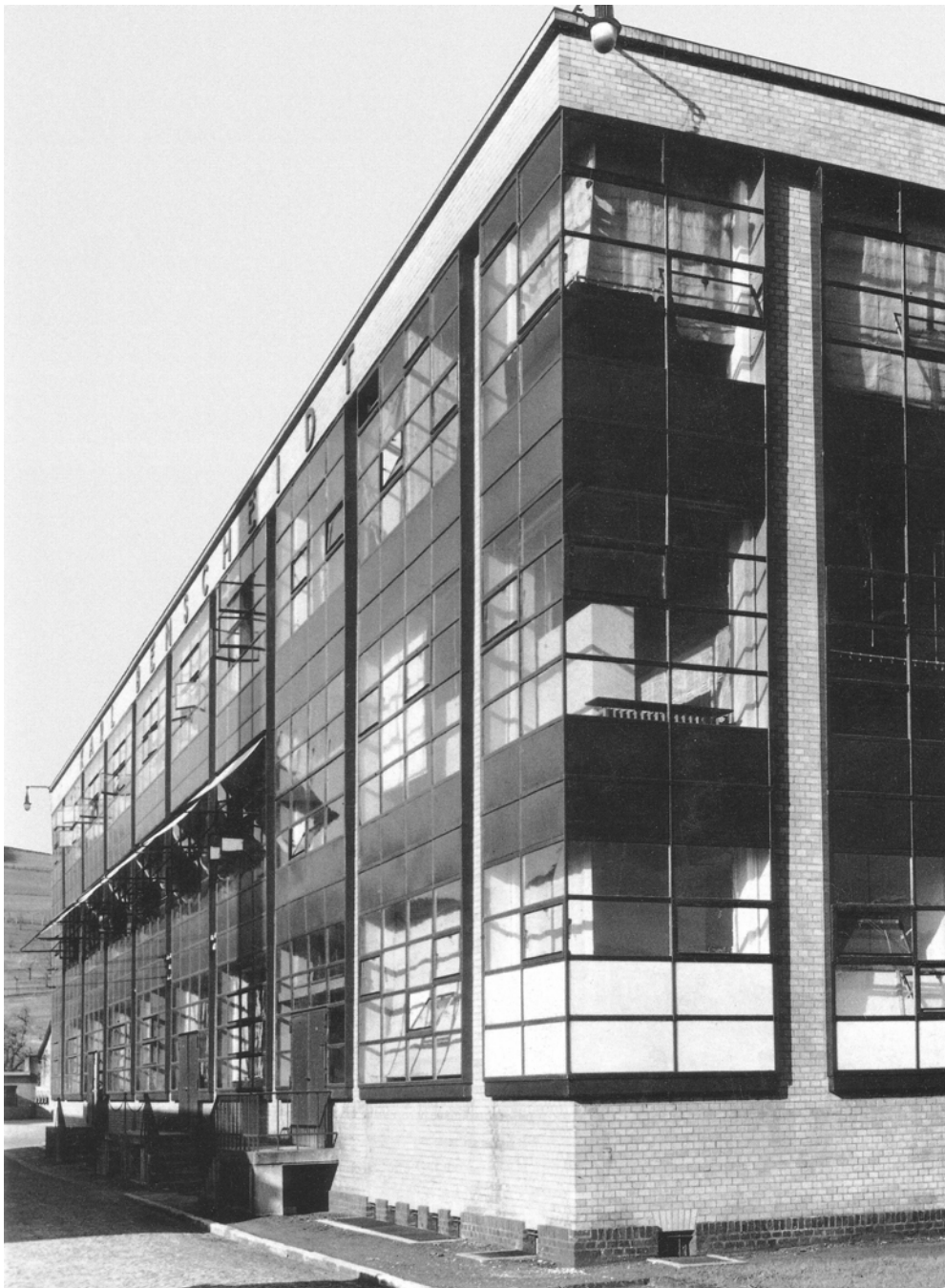


Figure 6.6. Walter Gropius, Fagus Factory Facade, 1911-1914. The facade to the right, the corner, and the first two bays of the receding facade are from the first phase, from 1910-1911, while the rest of the receding facade is from the second phase, 1913-1914. Photo by Albert Renger-Patsch, April 1928 (Fagus series no. 16). Source: Annemarie Jaeggi, *Fagus* (1998), p.121.

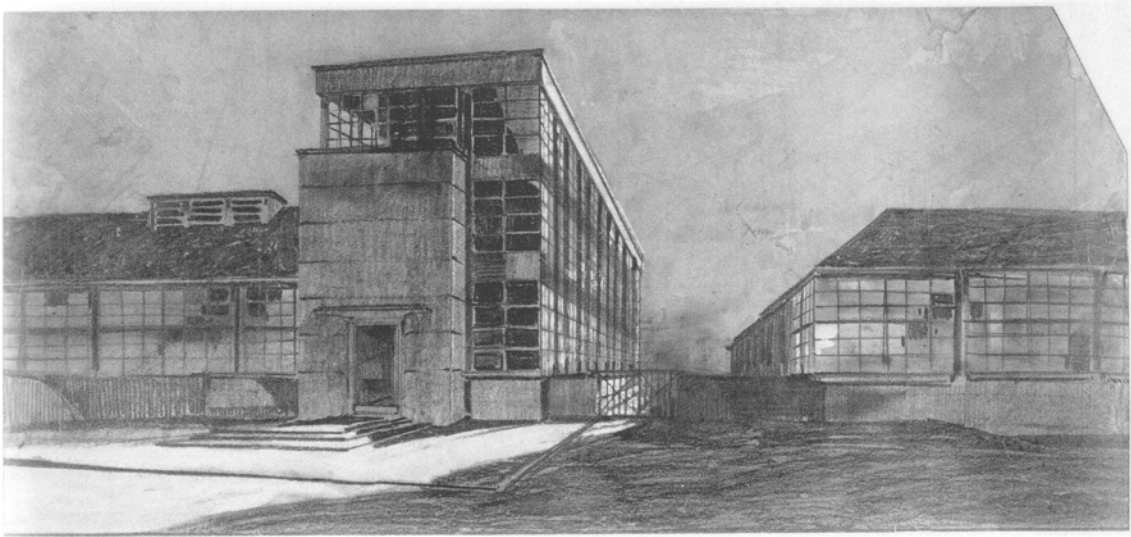


Figure 6.7. Walter Gropius, charcoal drawing of Phase II addition to Fagus Factory, 1913-14, first published in Adolf Behne, "Heutige Industriebau." Source: Winfried Nerdinger, Der Architekt Walter Gropius (1996), p. 37.



Figure 6.8. Walter Gropius, Model Factory, Werkbund Exhibition, Cologne, 1914, front facade (top) and rear (bottom), with fountain by Georg Kolbe. Source: Winfried Nerdinger, Der Architekt Walter Gropius (1996), p. 41.

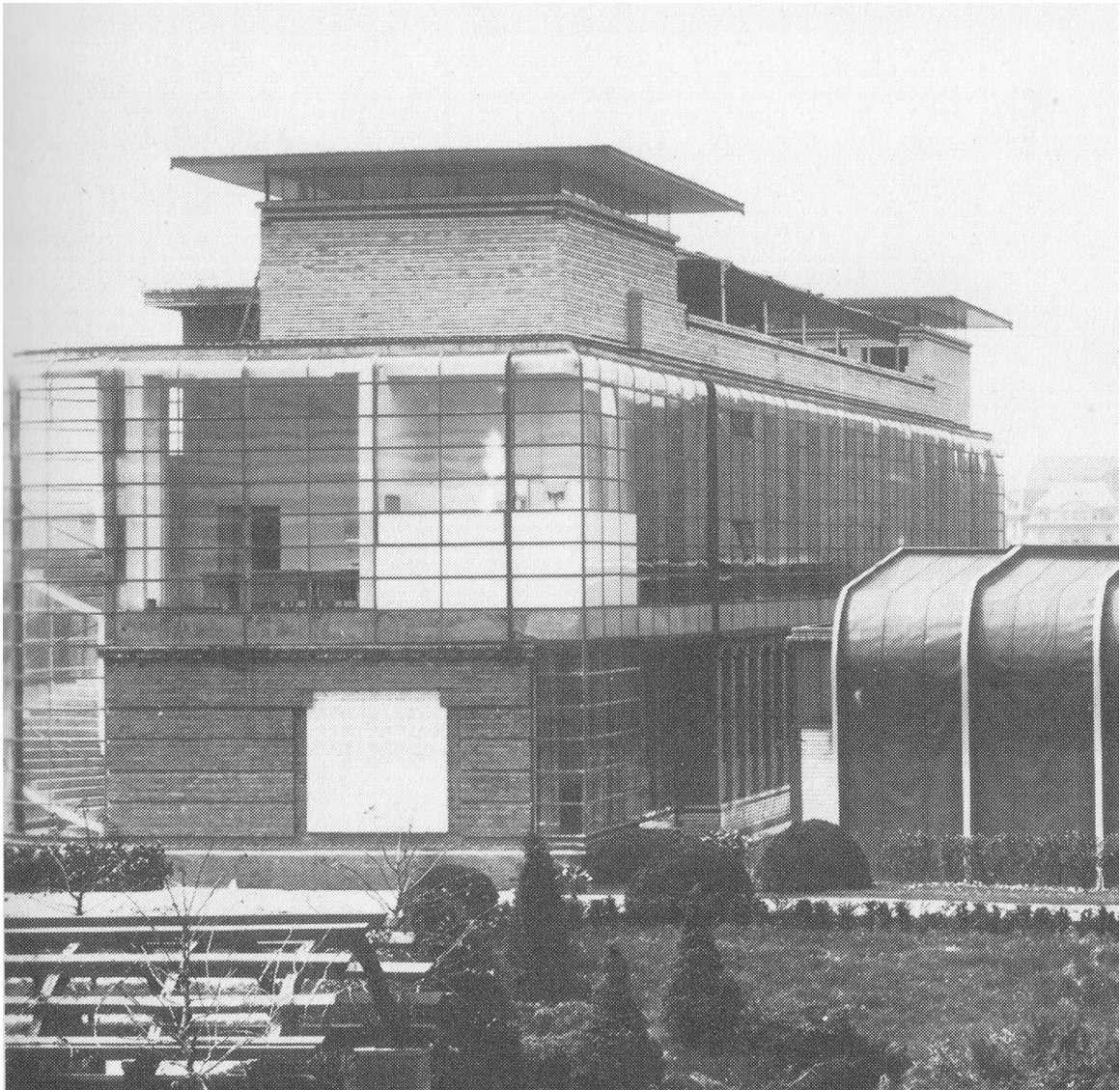


Figure 6.9. Walter Gropius, Model Factory, Werkbund Exhibition, Cologne, 1914. This seldom published view highlights the "block-like" character of Gropius' glass design. Source: Karin Wilhelm, Walter Gropius, Industriearchitekt (1983), p. 237.

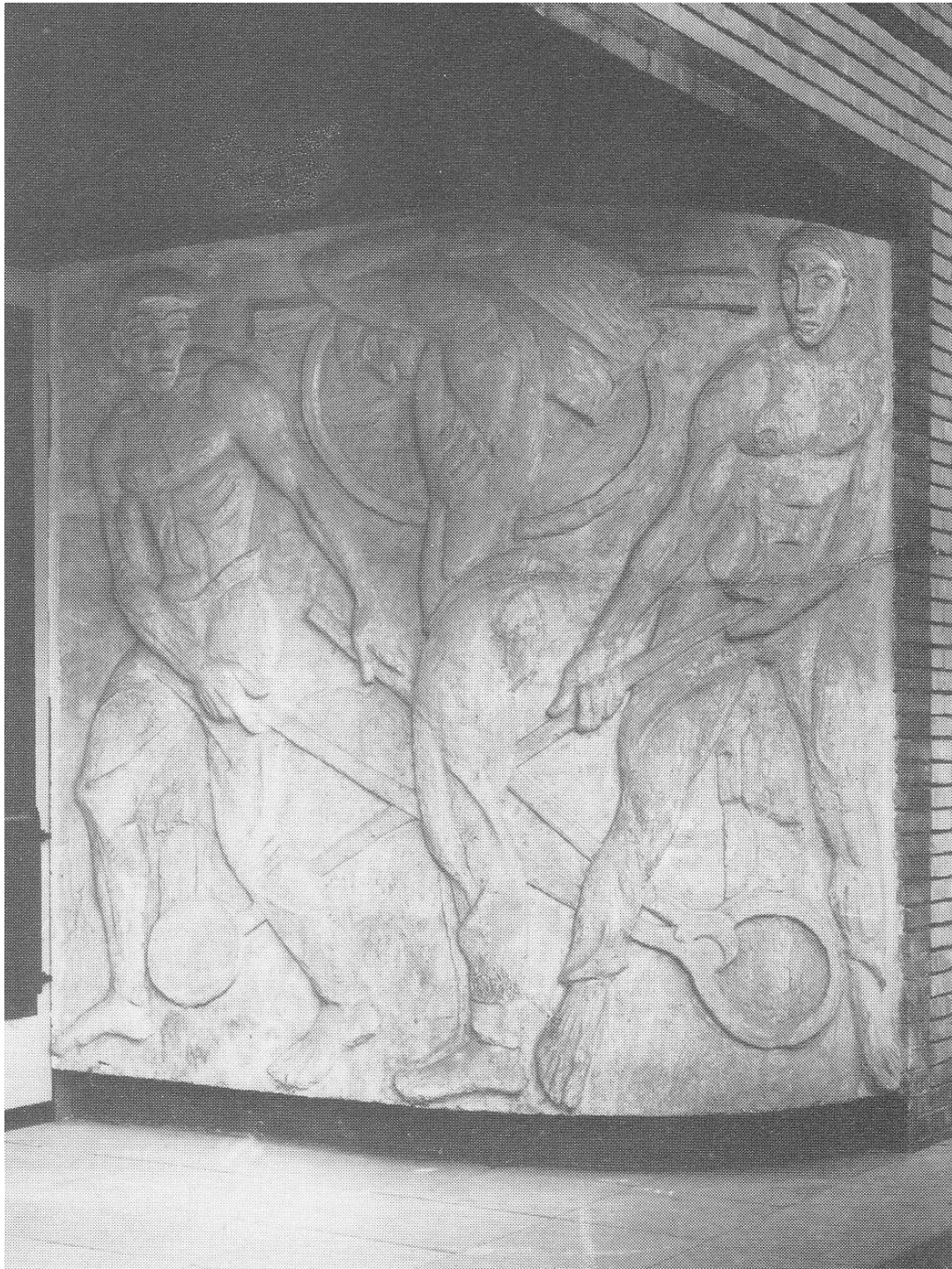


Figure 6.10. Walter Gropius, Model Factory, Werkbund Exhibition, Cologne, 1914. Relief at entry, by Gerhard Macke. Source: Karin Wilhelm, Walter Gropius, Industriearchitekt (1983), p. 231.



Figure 6.11. Walter Gropius, Model Factory, Werkbund Exhibition, Cologne, 1914. Hallway to offices, murals by Georg Kolbe and Erwin Hass, with the title "Material awaits its Form" above the door. Source: Winfried Nerdinger, Der Architekt Walter Gropius (1996), p. 41.

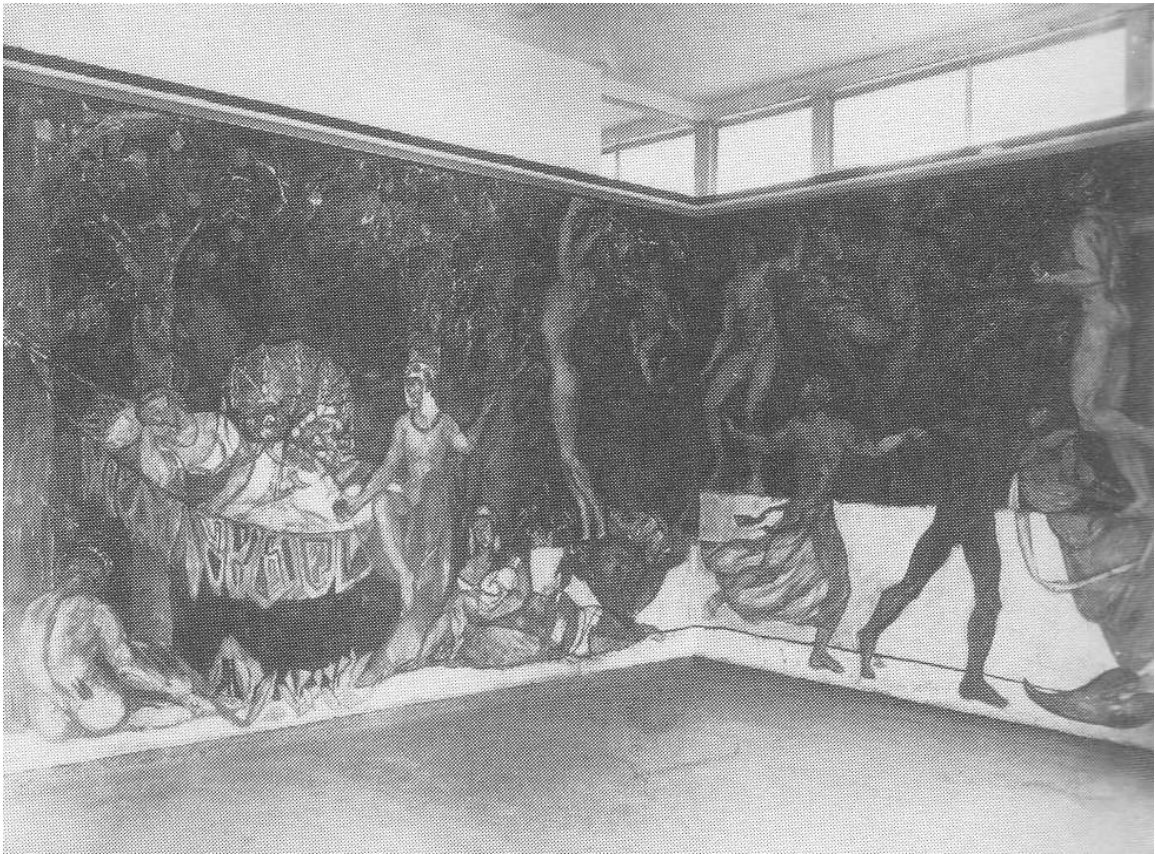


Figure 6.12. Walter Gropius, Model Factory, Werkbund Exhibition, Cologne, 1914. Paintings on spaces adjacent to the roof terrace by Otto Hettner, 1914. Source: Karin Wilhelm, Walter Gropius, Industriearchitekt (1983), p. 236.

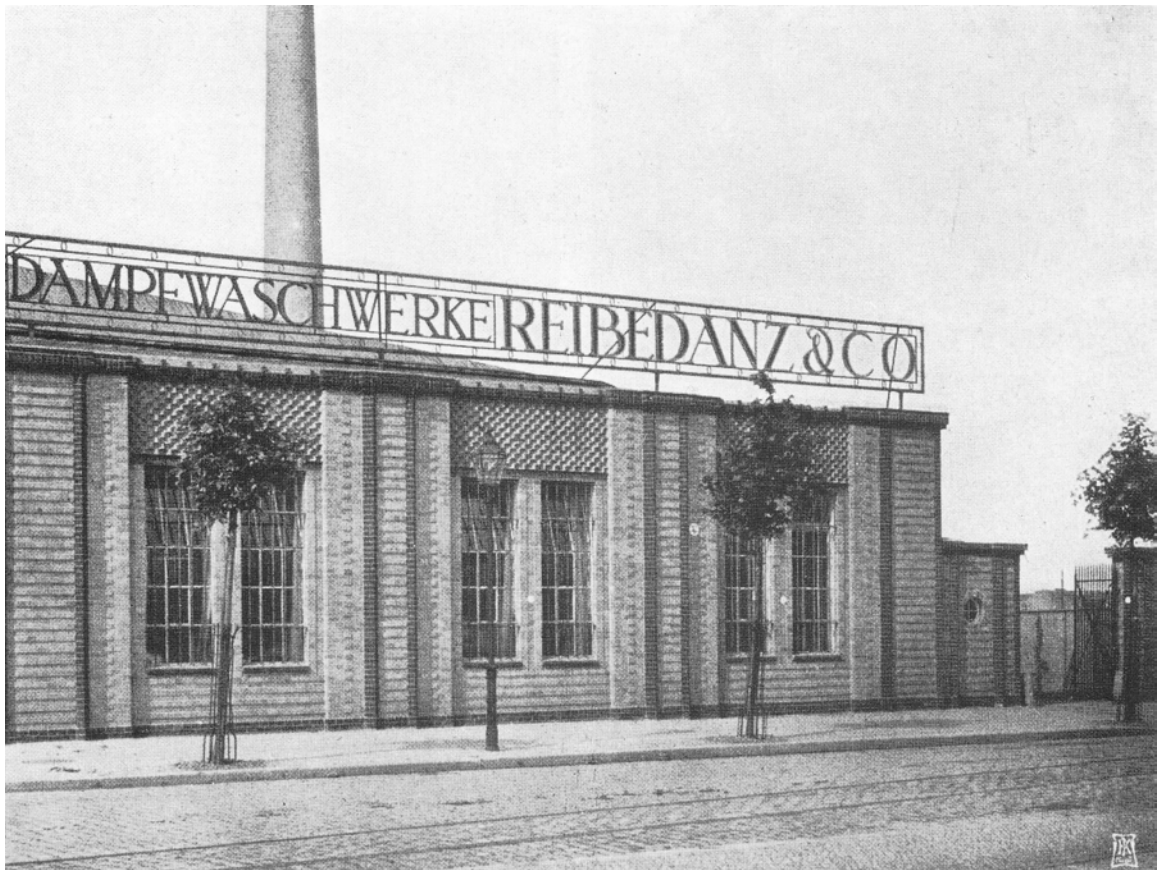


Figure 6.13. Bruno Taut's Reibetanz Wäscherei, 1914. Source: Achim Wendschuh and Barbara Volkmann, eds., Bruno Taut 1880-1938 (1980), p. 169.

Hermann Muthesius Die Werkbund-Arbeit der Zukunft

und Aussprache darüber von
 Ferdinand Avenarius / Peter Behrens
 Rudolf Boffelt / Robert Breuer / Peter Bruckmann
 August Endell / von Engelhardt / Karl Groß / Hermann Obrist
 Karl Ernst Osthaus / Wilhelm Ostwald / Erich Pistor / E. A. Reichel
 Richard Riemerschmid / Walter Riezler / Karl Schäfer
 Bruno Taut / József Vágó
 van de Velde

Friedrich Naumann Werkbund und Weltwirtschaft



Der Werkbund-Gedanke in den germanischen Ländern

Oesterreich-Ungarn, Schweiz, Holland, Dänemark, Schweden, Norwegen

Verlegt bei Eugen Diederichs in Jena

1914

Figure 6.14. Titlepage of Hermann Muthesius, Die Werkbund-Arbeit der Zukunft (1914), which documents the famous Werkbund debate at Cologne on July 2-3, 1914.

Epilogue

The Werkbund debates, Taut's Glashauss, as well as the accompanying exhibit buildings that so inspired Behne's thinking on the development of modern architecture, all came to an abrupt close in the first week of August 1914, when the German Kaiser declared war on Europe. Soon after, Behne began a brief tour of duty on the western front and then as a hospital attendant in the Berlin suburb of Oranienburg, writing throughout almost without interruption. He swung from bouts of patriotism early in the war, to deep depression about the state of the industrial world order late in the war.¹ His criticism of the Werkbund and the missions it promoted became harsher. He turned more inward to the Idealist position of Expressionist art that he would retain so for his entire career.

In his well-known article "Critique of the Werkbund," published in the former Werkbund publisher Diederichs' journal Die Tat in August 1917, Behne launched a full-scale attack on the institution which had done so much to bring about reform towards more *sachlich* design in Germany.² Behne suggested that the Werkbund's mission of uniting art and industry was farce, doomed to failure because of contradictory goals.

¹ On Behne's nationalism, see Magdalena Bushart, "Adolf Behne 'Kunst-Theoretikus'," in Adolf Behne. Essays zu seiner Kunst- und Architektur-Kritik, ed. Magdalena Bushart (2000); Rose-Carol Washton Long, "National or International? Berlin Critics and the Question of Expressionism," in Künstlerischer Austausch - Artistic Exchange vol. 3, ed. Thomas W. Gaehtgens (1993), pp. 521-534.

² Behne, "Kritik des Werkbundes" Die Tat 9.1, no. 5 (Aug. 1917): 430-438; also published as separate reprint; and republished in Frecot, ed., Werkbund Archiv Jahrbuch 1 (1972):118-128.

Business and industry, he claimed, by their very nature tended towards sentimentality and convention, while pure art was an elementary formal force that could not be harnessed into a "style" or any other goals.³ In an article from the same year published in the more obscure Expressionist magazine Marsyas, he lamented how business and modern technology had come to dominate modern man. In his own field, he felt the technical modes of reproduction were inflicting "violence" on any notion of a true art.⁴ In the Fall of 1918, Behne even began to criticize his mentor Walden for having gone over to the other side, accusing the art dealer of being bourgeois in the way he promoted art as a commodity and luxury, rather than as an idea and "Inner necessity".⁵

By the end of World War I, Behne's advocacy of appropriate new art for the age turned from Expressionism to Cubism and eventually to Constructivism. Through support of these movements, he began to play an even more pivotal role in the development of a modern art and architecture in Germany. In March 1919, Behne became the executive secretary of the Arbeitsrat für Kunst (Working Council for Art), a group modeled after the Soviet worker's councils, intent on promoting utopian artistic

³ Behne, "Kritik des Werkbundes," esp. p. 438.

⁴ Behne, "Das reproduktive Zeitalter," Marsyas, no. 2 (Nov./Dec. 1917): 219-226. Arnd Bohm, in "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, claims with questionable evidence, that Behne's essay was the unacknowledged source for Walter Benjamin's much more famous essay "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." See also chapter 2 above.

⁵ Behne, "Kunstwende?," Sozialistische Monatshefte 24.2 = Bd.51 (Oct. 15, 1918): 946-952.

experimentation in the face of the gloom of post-war Berlin.⁶ Acting as secretary general of the group, Behne was responsible for all the exhibits, publications, as well as worker-outreach programs initiated by the group. In part through contacts he developed in the Arbeitsrat, Behne introduced his friend Gropius to Lyonel Feininger, and eventually helped convince the architect to hire him and several other artists as "Form-Masters" at the Bauhaus.

Behne also became ever more Socialist, politically, and artistically. In the midst of Germany's failed revolution in November 1918, he briefly joining the new USPD party that split from the mainstream SPD. He became one of the primary art editors for Die Freiheit (The Freedom), the official mouthpiece of the USPD, and after the party collapsed in 1923, he moved on to become art editor of Die Welt am Abend (The Evening World), a communist newspaper sold mostly on the streets to workers, rather than through subscriptions. Behne also contributed significantly to discussions of art in two of the most important socialist journals of the Weimar era, the Sozialistische Monatshefte (Socialist Monthly), and DieWeltbühne (The World Stage).

In the late summer of 1920 Behne traveled to the "International Socialist Exhibition of Modern Art" in Amsterdam, and in the process became the first important

⁶ Although Behne is often credited with being a founder of the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst*, possibly alongside his friends Bruno Taut and Walter Gropius, there is no evidence that Behne was involved before March 1919; see Bushart, "Kunst-Theoretikus." On the *Arbeitsrat*, see recently Regine Prange, "Architectural Fantasies without Architecture? The *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* and its Exhibitions," in City of Architecture: Architecture of the City. Berlin 1900-2000, ed. Josef P. Kleihues, Thorsten Scheer et al. (2000), pp. 93-103.

member of the German avant-garde to seek out the artists of the De Stijl movement. Through articles and books Behne began to convince Germans to look towards Holland for ideas of renewal and modern architecture. When Theo van Doesburg ventured east to Berlin, he first stayed in Behne's apartment, where he was introduced to Taut, Gropius, Adolf Meyer, Fred Forbat, and Raoul Hausman, among others. Behne and these acquaintances eventually inspired van Doesburg to move to Weimar in 1921, where he was instrumental in helping move Gropius and the Bauhaus away from Expressionism. Behne's 1922 article "Kunst, Handwerk und Industrie," written in the wake of these events, was one of the key theoretical essays that convinced Gropius and many other architects to abandon an Expressionist emphasis on craft in favor of technique, technology, and modern production methods.⁷

Although he cannot be said to have invented the ideas or the terms, Behne became ever more instrumental in identifying and promoting a new type of architecture that emerged after World War I as "Neues Bauen." Always seeking "the new," Behne was determined to reveal through his criticism what he called a "sociological approach" to architecture, one that balanced between the needs of the individual and the masses. Building on ideas that he had first formulated and explored before the war, Behne outlined a strategy that combined an emphasis on rational, *sachlich* design, with attention to the inner spiritual needs of the users and inhabitants of this new

⁷ Behne, "Kunst, Handwerk, Technik," Die Neue Rundschau 33.2, no. 10 (Oct. 1922): 1021-1037; translated as "Art, Handicraft, Technology," Oppositions 22 (Fall 1980): 96-104, with an introduction by Francesco Dal Co.; as well as by Christiane Crasemann Collins in Dal Co, Figures of Architecture and Thought (1990). pp.324-338.

architecture. In his book Der moderne Zweckbau (The Modern Functional Building), written to a large extent in 1923, Behne laid out with remarkable clarity the complete range of approaches to functionalism circulating in Germany at the time. In later books such as Neues Wohnen, Neues Bauen (New Living, New Building, 1927) and Eine Stunde Architektur (One Hour of Architecture, 1928), as well as his often reprinted article "Dammerstock" (1930), Behne continued his attempt simultaneously to shape a modern architecture, and to insure that it retained a humane character in the face of increasingly rational and mechanistic tendencies. Increasingly, he was forced to balance his often harsh critique of modern architecture, with a criticism of older, traditional, and according to Behne, clearly anachronistic approaches.

Although his ideas would continue to evolve and accommodate the changes in the context around him, the origin for most of Adolf Behne's increasingly well-known ideas and arguments had their origins in his pre-World War I criticism. It was during these crucial years that the foundation and much of all the necessary intellectual and critical work was done that would allow for the radical architectural developments after the war that still inform our architectural thoughts today.⁸ The intellectual milieu in which Behne established his ideas about modern architecture distinguish him from his more famous critic colleagues such as Sigfried Giedion, allowing him to be both more perceptive and more influential on contemporary developments.

⁸ Posener, for example, insists that the years before 1918 were the decisive ones, not merely a prehistory to modern architecture, Berlin auf dem Wege 8. See also V.M. Lampugnani and R. Schneider, eds. Moderne Architektur in Deutschland 1900 bis 1950. Reform und Tradition (1992).