

IV.
Inventing an Expressionist Architecture:
Behne and Bruno Taut

"Criticism should be partial, passionate and political, that is to say, written from an exclusive point of view, but a point of view that opens up the widest horizons."¹

- Charles Baudelaire, 1846

Defining an Expressionist Architecture

Behne's expansion of the theoretical concepts of an Idealist, Expressionist worldview to other arts, to history, and to biology extended as well to architecture. In reviewing the work of the painter Franz Marc in Alfred Kerr's esteemed cultural review Pan, Behne had proclaimed in March of 1913, "We live in a new age, and we can even call it an 'Expressionist' age."² Despite his enthusiasm for this new age, he lamented the omission of architecture within in the contemporary artistic debates. This, he felt, was

¹ Charles Baudelaire, "Review of Salon of 1846," in Oeuvres Complètes, vol. II, p. 416; also cited by Vittorio Gregotti, in introduction to "Siegfried Giedion: un progresso storico," special issue of Rassegna, no. 25 (1979): 4.

² "Wir sind in einem neuen Zeitalter, und es ist sogar durchaus erlaubt ihn die Bezeichnung eine 'expressionistischen' Zeitalter zu geben"; Behne, "Der Maler Franz Marc," Pan (Mar. 28, 1913): 617. Alfred Kerr's cultural journal Pan, published by Cassirer, was critical of Wilhelmine society and materialism and is not to be confused with the sumptuous Secessionist journal with the same name published by Julius Meier-Graefe from 1895-1898 in Munich.

contrary to the argument that the same "bloodflow . . . pulsed" through all the arts at any given time.³ Behne, however, had discovered the work of the young architect Bruno Taut, whose work he believed embodied the same emotional and spiritual essence as the Expressionist painters.⁴ It was in response to Taut's architecture that Behne's criticism turned "personal, passionate, political," and opened up a new way of creating architecture for the modern age.

³ "daß in allen Zeiten lebendiger Kunstübung der *gleiche* Blutstrom durch *alle* Künste gehe"; Behne, "Bruno Taut," Pan 3, no. 23 (Mar. 7, 1913): 538, emphasis in original.

⁴ Bruno Taut (1880-1938) was born in Königsberg, East Prussia, the home of Immanuel Kant; Taut's high school was located next to the cemetery where Kant was buried. Taut's architectural training was through a local vocational school (*Baugewerkschule*), where he had a local masonry internship, then worked for architects in Hamburg, Wiesbaden, Berlin, and finally for the prestigious Theodor Fischer in Stuttgart from 1904-1908. When he returned to Berlin in 1908, he attended classes at the Charlottenburg polytechnic with Theodor Goecke. In 1909 he set up his own architectural practice, entered many architectural competitions successfully, and built several innovative apartment buildings in Berlin. In 1913 he formed an office partnership with his brother Max (1884-1967), and Franz Hoffmann, who did most of the technical designing and construction management. The most authoritative and comprehensive sources on Taut include in reverse chronological order: Winfried Nerdinger, et al., Bruno Taut. 1880-1938. Architekt zwischen Tradition und Avantgarde (2001); Kurt Junghanns, Bruno Taut - 1880-1938 3rd ed. (1998); Manfred Speidel, Bruno Taut: Natur und Fantasie, 1880-1938 (1995); Brigitte Lamberts, "Das Frühwerk von Bruno Taut (1900-1914) unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Berliner Bauten," (Diss. 1994); Regine Prange, Das Kristalline als Kunstsymbol. Bruno Taut und Paul Klee (1991); Kristiana Hartmann, "Bruno Taut," in Baumeister, Architekten, Stadtplaner. Biographien zur baulichen Entwicklung Berlins, ed. Wolfgang Ribbe and Wolfgang Schäche (1987), pp. 407-426; Iain Boyd Whyte, Bruno Taut and the Architecture of Activism (1982); the catalogue from the Berlin Akademie der Künste: Achim Wendschuh and Barbara Volkmann, eds. Bruno Taut 1880-1938 (1980), especially the long essay by Franziska Bollerey and Kristiana Hartmann, "Bruno Taut. Vom phantastischen Ästheten zum ästhetischen Sozial(ideal)listen," pp. 15-85; and Rosemarie Haag Bletter, "Bruno Taut and Paul Scheerbart's Vision: Utopian Aspects of German Expressionist Architecture." (Diss. 1973), and articles that derived from this ground breaking work, cited below.

Several weeks before his review of Marc's colorful paintings, Behne had introduced Taut in the same journal Pan as a "new" architect and listed several recent and current projects.⁵ [Figure 4.1] Behne then proceeded to interpret Taut and his design philosophy, describing him as someone who

"immerses himself deeply and totally in the essence of his projects, but does so without any preconception of certain order or form. His work comes to him from the *ground* up, he creates from his inner self. Taut experiences his projects with an intensity that spares him from all templates. For him every form must be unique, because with every new project the same circumstance can never repeat themselves. . . . That he has found such spiritually endowed, organic forms amidst the great variety of his programs is a testament to the breadth and integrity of this person."⁶

Equally important for the future development of this young architect, the critic insisted, was that he avoided repeating or introducing elements from his own previous work. Taut was not satisfied with past accomplishments. If given the same commission twice, "he would attack the problem very differently the second time."⁷

Behne went to great lengths in the short article to distinguish the novelty of

⁵ Behne's article was subtitled "Zuschrift an den Pan über einen neuen Architekten"; Behne, "Bruno Taut," p. 538.

⁶ "Taut steigt in das Wesen seiner Aufgaben ganz tief und ganz gespannt hinab, noch ohne jede Vorstellung einer bestimmenden Ordnung, einer bestimmten Formung. Ihm ergibt sich stets alles aufs neue von *Grund* aus, er schafft ganz von innen. Taut erlebt seine Aufgaben mit einer Intensität, die ihn vor jeder Schablone bewahrt. Ihm ist notwendig jede Form etwas Einmaliges, weil niemals bei einer neuen Aufgabe die genau gleichen Bedingungen wiederkehren können. . . . Dass er für so verschiedenes so ganz beseelte, so ganz organische Formen gefunden hat, ist bei seiner Schaffensart ein Zeugnis für die Weite und Echtheit des Menschen"; Behne, "Bruno Taut," p. 539, emphasis in original.

⁷ "Taut hängt nicht fest an Geleisteten, er würde die Aufgabe das zweite Mal ganz anders angreifen"; Behne, "Bruno Taut," p. 539.

Taut's extant built work from the typical, contemporary "historical architecture." Taut, he argued, avoided all formal influences that came "from outside" the "necessities of the project."⁸ Yet Taut also took advantage of his "right" to use "purely ornamental forms," because in other instances he knew how to build "puritanically simple."⁹ According to Behne, an insightful example of his thinking was visible at the roof ridge of his "Am Knie" apartment building in Charlottenburg. [Figure 4.2] In order to contrast with the smooth, rounded corner of the facade below, and to "give expression" to the flat roof at the top above, Taut inserted a row of "animated prisms," instead of the "traditional Gothic tiles" that "no one would have noticed. But these new forms disconcert the citizens."¹⁰

Behne thus highlighted both the autonomous nature of Taut's designs that apparently emanated purely from the "necessities," and the "expressive," often ornamental aspects of his designs that consciously sought out the "new," often with some shock values to the complacent bourgeois viewers. Based on this mindset, Behne

⁸ "Die Abkehr von allem Historischen ist für Taut eine einfache Notwendigkeit. Er hält sich alles fern was von außen als Formgesetz, als Einfluß, als Macht herantreten könnte"; Behne, "Bruno Taut," p. 539.

⁹ "Die--selbst reiche--Verwendung rein schmückender Formen sieht er als ein gutes Recht an, gerade weil er bei anderen Gelegenheiten--seine Gartenstädte lehren es--puritanisch einfach zu bauen weiß"; Behne, "Bruno Taut," p. 540.

¹⁰ "Besetzte Taut den First mit einer Reihe von aus- und einschwingenden Prismen. Hätte er statt ihrer Gotischen Zinnen gewählt, so würde sich niemand gerührt haben. Diese neue Form aber befremdet den Bürger"; Behne, "Bruno Taut," p. 540. The apartment in question was located at Bismarkstraße 116, corner Hardenbergstraße 1, and was built 1911-12; see Nerdinger et al, Bruno Taut, p. 325, which does not list Behne's article as a relevant source.

concluded, "we may call Taut's architecture in the inner sense of the word, Expressionist," the same label he had given the prose of Heinrich Mann, the poetry of Walden's wife Else Lasker-Schüler, and the drawings of Kokoshka.¹¹ With this statement from March 1913, Behne became the first to apply the word "Expressionist" to architecture. It marks the beginning of a long quest to define an Expressionist architecture in relation to a broader modern culture.¹² Through Behne's "personal, passionate and political" criticism, both he as a critic and Taut as an architect entered the orbit of modern avant-garde art and culture as it had been defined by previous critics and theorists: straightforward, expressive, with no recourse to history, consciously new, often shocking.

Behne's analysis of Taut's architecture and design method reconceptualized Taut's own assessment of his work as published in the professional journal Moderne

¹¹ "Man darf demnach die Architektur Tauts als dem innersten Sinne nach 'expressionistisch' bezeichnen"; Behne, "Bruno Taut," Pan, p. 539. The essay remains untranslated. A handwritten, manuscript version of Behne's essay continues with a line that was deleted in the published version: "so wie die Prosa Heinrich Manns, wie die Verse Else Lasker-Schülers, wie die Zeichnungen Kokoschkas expressionistisch sind"; manuscript BTA-01-294, in the Bruno Taut Archiv, Sammlung Baukunst, Akademie der Künste, Berlin; kindly provided by Matthias Schirren.

¹² Pehnt, Architektur des Expressionismus, p. 13. The sculptor Oswald Herzog also discussed the idea of an Expressionist architecture in his Der Rhythmus in Kunst und Natur (1914), though he worked through empathy theory and defined Expressionism as the rhythms of nature translated into architecture. He too contrasted an "Expressionist" attitude whose forms arose from inner laws, with "Functionalist" thinking (*Zweckmäßigkeit*), which Herzog restricted to the exterior shaping of a building to accommodate function, akin to Behne's "Impressionism," which focused on exterior image only; see Santomaso, "Origins and Aims."

Bauformen the very same month.¹³ Behne's inspirational language disseminated in the culturally more influential journal Pan created a more potent and philosophically rich analysis of Taut's architecture. The critic placed the architect's work within the context of Expressionist art in a way Taut himself could not. Taut, in fact, did not use the word "Expressionist" to describe his own work, and was extremely skeptical about the label when he first read Behne's characterization. Responding to Behne's invitation to critique his manuscript, Taut's hand-written comments questioned whether any architecture could ever be truly Expressionist in the same way as poetry or painting.¹⁴ However, a few months later, after long exchanges with Behne and the circle of Expressionist artists, Taut recognized the work of Kandinsky and related Expressionist ideas as central to the development of a modern architecture. At this point Taut's built work began to change notably, becoming more expressive, intuitive, and abstract than it had been before Behne's review launched Taut's own reappraisal of his ideas and their Expressionist milieu.

¹³ See Taut's thoughts about his own work in an article published at the same time as Behne's: "Es ist die erste Pflicht des Architekten, an jede Aufgabe ohne Voreingenommenheit, ohne vorgefaßte Formel und bereits fertige Formidee heranzutreten, zunächst die Aufgabe selbst ihrem ganzen Umfange nach in allen Voraussetzungen und Bedingungen klar zu entwickeln und dann aus den sich dabei ergebenden praktischen und Gefühlsmomenten die passende und organisch erscheinende Form entstehen lassen"; Taut, "Zu den Arbeiten der Architekten Bruno Taut und Hoffman," Moderne Bauformen 12, no. 3 (Mar. 1913): 121.

¹⁴ See Taut's handwritten notes on a manuscript of Behne's article "Bruno Taut" BTA-01-294, Bruno Taut Archiv, AdK; also cited in Magdalena Bushart, "Adolf Behne 'Kunst-Theoreticus'," in Adolf Behne. Essays zu seiner Kunst- und Architektur-Kritik, ed. Magdalena Bushart (2000), pp. 19 (cited as Bushart, "Kunst-Theoretikus" hereafter).

"Operative Criticism"

Behne's article on Taut represents a crucial step in developing a new type of architectural criticism and strengthening his position as one of the leading critics of German modernism. The article marked a profound shift in his criticism. Although Behne had studied architecture and written his dissertation on medieval architecture, before March 1913 he only occasionally alluded to architecture in his book and exhibition reviews.¹⁵ These articles had involved for the most part detached reflection and evaluation. In the Pan essay, however, Behne elevated his criticism to what Manfredo Tafuri has called "operative criticism": "an analysis of architecture (or of the arts in general) that . . . has as its objective the planning of a precise poetical tendency, anticipated in its structures and derived from historical analyses programmatically distorted and finalized."¹⁶ In his article on Taut, Behne did not merely report observations or reiterate the architect's ideas, but further proposed a program and definition of architecture. He assumed an active, strategic role akin to that of the architects. He was not only criticizing existing ideas and designs, but also anticipating,

¹⁵ Behne's first mention of modern architecture occurred in Behne, "Zur Einführung in die Literatur über moderne Kunst" Wissenschaftliche Rundschau 1, no. 13 (Apr. 1, 1911): 311; his first complete article on modern architecture, Behne, "Peter Behrens und die Toskanische Architektur des 12. Jahrhunderts," Kunstgewerbeblatt NF 23, no. 3 (Dec. 1911): 45-50; and an early exhibit review Behne, "Die große Berliner Kunstausstellung," Die Gegenwart 42.2, no. 28 (July 12, 1913): 437.

¹⁶ Manfredo Tafuri, Theories and History of Architecture (1980), p. 141. Tafuri lists Behne as one of the critics susceptible to such operative criticism (cf. pp. 149, 153). According to Tafuri, critics such as Behne found ideal vehicles in the "incessant polemical operation" made possible only by magazines and journalism, and which flourishes "when an artistic revolution is happening and needs the clarifying and divulging support of a deeply involved and committed historiography," pp. 153-154.

instigating, and in Tafuri's words "planning" Taut's practice.

Behne's article on Taut also marked a significant moment in the development of modern architecture more generally. It extended important ideas from modern painting to architecture, which would affect not only his own criticism, but also Taut's architecture, and much of the Expressionist movement that followed. As Behne insisted years later, the push to "break the spell of the object," the push towards abstraction by modern painters such as Kandinsky, Marc, Severini, and Delaunay, freed *all* art from all ties to the complexities of the real world. Abstraction, Behne argued, made art autonomous and subject only to "the reality of art: the laws of color, of surface, of line, of form and of light."¹⁷ Rather than focus on new technologies and materials, reforms in the applied arts or social movements as the initiators of innovation, Behne insisted that modern architecture, indeed much of modern material culture, developed primarily out of this "Expressionist Revolution" on exhibit in the Sturm gallery in the months just before he wrote his Taut article. The "energy" and modernization achieved in the Weimar period in "typography, advertising, film, directing, housing culture, and architecture," he claimed, "would have been historically unthinkable without" the earlier innovations in abstract paintings.¹⁸ Admittedly, the abstraction promoted by Behne did not always remain the primary focus of artists and designers in each of these fields. Their focus had turned, however, more towards the emotional essence expressed by form, rather than on a work's content or symbolic meaning.

¹⁷ Behne, "Kunst in der Gemeinschaft," Die Tat 18, no. 9 (Dec. 1926): 690.

¹⁸ Behne, "Kunst in der Gemeinschaft," p. 691.

Behne was uniquely qualified to bridge the divide between art and architecture. His two years of formal architectural training and his art history studies allowed him a broader perspective than most critics or architects. Architects who wrote extensively in the press or served in editorial positions, such as Hermann Muthesius, Walter Curt Behrendt, Heinrich De Fries, or Gustav Adolf Platz, or later Martin Wagner and Taut himself, tended to have a narrower focus that catered primarily to the profession. Similarly, although many of the major art critics of his day, including Karl Scheffler, Max Osborn, Paul Westheim, Fritz Stahl, Wilhelm Hausenstein, and Paul Ferdinand Schmidt successfully dabbled in broader architectural criticism, they lacked the practical insights that Behne had gained from his family's background in construction and from his architectural studios. Only Sigfried Kracauer, with his art history training and his ten years of work as a practicing architect, can be said to have had a greater range of experience and education, but Kracauer preferred a more generalized cultural criticism over Behne's intensive engagement with the contemporary art and architectural scenes.¹⁹

The slightly younger Sigfried Giedion, also a student of Wölfflin's, used Behne's idea that modern painting was a primary force revolutionizing twentieth-century architecture to develop a parallel argument in his Space, Time and Architecture.²⁰

¹⁹ On Kracauer's connections to architecture, see Gerwin Zohlen, "Schmugglerpfad: Sigfried Kracauer, Architekt und Schriftsteller," in Siegfried Kracauer. Neue Interpretationen, ed. Thomas Y. Levin and Michael Kessler (1990), pp. 325-344; and recently Gertrud Koch, Siegfried Kracauer: an Introduction (2004).

²⁰ See Sigfried Giedion, "Space-Time in Art, Architecture and Construction," in Space, Time and Architecture (1941). For the influence of Giedion's ideas and book, see

Giedion's survey was instrumental in convincing an entire profession of the close connections between modern art and architecture. But there were important differences between Behne and Giedion. In his first book on modern architecture, Bauen in Frankreich. Eisen, Eisenbeton (1928, Building in France. Building in Iron. Building in Ferro-Concrete), Giedion saw the rational and dynamic constructions of nineteenth-century French engineers as the key precursors to modern architectural designs.²¹ His later survey continued this line of thought but pointed almost exclusively to the spatial sensibility created by the transparency and overlapping formal arrangements that Picasso and the French Cubists had invented. This spatial sensibility, Giedion argued, was then transferred to architecture by Gropius, De Stijl, Le Corbusier, and others. Behne, on the other hand, played down what he saw as the primary French contributions of formal techniques and inventions in favor of the spiritual "inner necessity" that he saw as characteristic of the new art. This allowed Behne to label a

Sokratis Georgiadis, Sigfried Giedion, An Intellectual Biography (1993); or Panayotis Tournikiotis, The Historiography of Modern Architecture (1999); and Detlef Mertins, "Transparencies Yet to Come. Sigfried Giedion and the Pre-History of Architectural Modernity." (Diss. 1996) and the articles that came out of this dissertation cited below. There were, of course, many other factors that historians, critics and architects both earlier and later have emphasized as contributing to the development of a new, modern architecture for the twentieth century, including the influence of crafts and design reform, technology, science, new materials, urban, housing and social trends, philosophy, as well as biography and the inspiration of creative artists and architects. For other authors who have stressed the relation of painting and architecture, see Walter Curt Behrendt, Modern Building (1936); Alfred H. Barr, Cubism and Abstract Art (1936); Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Painting Towards Architecture (1948), and more recently Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co, Modern Architecture (1979), chapter 8.

²¹ Sigfried Giedion, Bauen in Frankreich. Eisen, Eisenbeton (1928, republished 2000), translated as Building in France. Building in Iron. Building in Ferro-Concrete (1995).

much broader group of modern painters as revolutionaries. Although he considered formal dimensions (e.g., abstraction, color, anti-perspectival compositions, space), he highlighted a subjective attitude within the artist, not art's external characteristics.

Critics are seldom recognized for the active role they played in developing modern architecture. It is significant, then, that it was a critic, not an artist or architect, who was among the first to actively promote the transfer of theoretical arguments from the revolutions in painting around 1910 over to architecture.²² There is, of course, a profound difference between advocating change and actually acting—or persuading others to act—on such ideas. This dissertation, however, seeks to challenge at least in part the pre-eminence usually accorded the artist that stems ultimately from a romantic "cult of genius." Too often we ignore or downplay the role of what Pierre Bourdieu has called the "intellectual field" that surrounds all art and culture, and plays a fundamental role in instigating as well as realizing change.²³ Behne published on the influence of

²² Painting and architecture have always had close connections, both formal and theoretical. Behne himself cited the Renaissance innovations in perspective that shifted swiftly from theory and experiments in painting to architecture. Much of Picturesque theory in landscape theory and architecture was derived from paintings. Closer to home, the German *Kunstgewerbe*, Secession and Jugendstil movements that Behne criticized were replete with painters who had turned to architecture (for example Peter Behrens, Paul Schultze-Naumburg, and Henry van de Velde), as well as artists interested in the idea of a *Gesamtkunstwerk* and other "aesthetically determined environments" that demanded a unity of the arts, as well as the transfer of formal motifs such as the whiplash line and plant motifs that moved easily from painting and applique to architectural ornament and structure (for example August Endell, Hermann Obrist, and Josef Hoffmann). On the latter see Peg Weiss, *Kandinsky in Munich* (1982), pp. 33-36.

²³ Pierre Bourdieu, "Intellectual Field and Creative Project," *Social Science Information* 8, no. 2 (April 1969): 89-119; Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993) as well as the work of Hélène Lipstadt cited in the introduction above.

contemporary painting on modern architecture before many of his contemporaries: before Kasimir Malevich or Vladimir Tatlin in Russia, before Antonio Sant' Elia and the Futurists in Italy, before Theo van Doesburg and De Stijl artists in Holland, before Le Corbusier and Purists in France or Gropius and Bauhaus professors in Germany. Perhaps only some of the Czech cubist architects wrote earlier about the need to transfer forms from painting to architecture, but the results of their efforts remained centered on exterior surface form, and less in a true reconceptualization of architecture, space, and the modern spirit until after 1914.

Through his criticism, I claim, he was a key force in helping spur further connections and transfers of artistic ideas to architecture. Unlike other critics and historians of modern architecture such as Pevsner, Giedion, and Hitchcock, who would become much more famous after World War II, Behne established his intellectual framework already before World War I as an author and critic alongside the very artists whom his peers later misleadingly gave sole credit for inventing modern architecture-- what Giedion had called "a new approach, a new spatial representation, and the new means by which it is attained."²⁴

²⁴ Sigfried Giedion, Space, Time and Architecture. Detlef Mertins, in his ; Mertins, "Anything but Literal," pp. 219-251, examines the reception of Cubism and its transformation into architecture by Behne, Gropius, and Giedion, but also does not adequately emphasize Behne's pioneering pre-war work because, like Giedion, Mertins is intent on distinguishing Cubism from Expressionism rather than seeing in them a common spiritual sensibility.

Taut and Expressionist *Sachlichkeit*

Behne's article launched a close intellectual friendship with Taut that would fluctuate from conspiring partners to jealous adversaries over their entire careers. The exact circumstances under which Behne got to know Taut and his work are unclear.²⁵ Perhaps Taut's recently-constructed apartment buildings neighboring Behne's home in the Charlottenburg suburb of Berlin provided the original introduction.²⁶ The earliest documentation of Behne's knowledge of Taut is a letter dated December 1912 from Karl Scheffler, the editor of the important Kunst und Künstler art journal, rejecting a

²⁵ Starting with Taut's first biographer, Taut scholars have traced Taut's and Behne's friendship back to the infamous "Choriner Kreis" of like-minded art colleagues to which Taut belonged in 1904 while working in the Berlin office of Bruno Möhring; see Junghanns, Bruno Taut 1st ed. (1970), p. 7; Whyte, Bruno Taut, p. 7; Bletter, "Introduction," to Behne, Modern Functional Building (1996), p. 4-5; and Rose Carol Washton Long, ed., German Expressionism (1993), p. 60. There is no evidence suggesting or refuting this, though it's implausible that the high school student Behne (age 19) would have known and been part of this group of older (Taut was 24), idealistic, trained architects and their weekend excursions to the woods of Chorin, where they painted, socialized, and discussed art and philosophy. See also Bushart, "Kunst-Theoretikus," p. 73n.81.

²⁶ Behne lived in with his parents in Charlottenburg, at Schillerstr. 103, until the fall of 1913, within walking distance of Taut's apartment buildings at Bismarckstr. 10 (corner Grolmannstr. 1, 1908-1909, published in Berliner Architekturwelt 12 (1910): 354-357); Bismarckstr. 106 (corner Hardenbergstr. 1, 1911-1912); and at Hardenbergstr. 3a (1912-1913). See, for example, the postcard from Taut to Behne (Apr. 29, 1913), Nachlaß Adolf Behne, in the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, hereafter abbreviated as SBPK. Taut also built other apartment buildings in Berlin-Neu-Kölln (Rixdorf) (1909-1910, 1910-1911), Berlin-Spandau (1911), Berlin-Lichterfelde (1910-1911), and Berlin-Tiergarten (1912-1914), as well as a school one Berlin-Zehlendorf (1910), an office in central Berlin (1911), an industrial laundry facility in Berlin-Tempelhof (1911-1912). For the most complete catalogue of Taut's work and literature on each of these projects, see Nerdinger et al, Bruno Taut, pp. 310ff. Charlottenburg was a suburb of the City of Berlin until 1920, when it was annexed, and became a city district.

proposal by Behne to publish an article introducing the offbeat Taut.²⁷ The more conservative Scheffler considered it premature to write what would have been the first monographic article on this still unknown architect in a journal that primarily supported Impressionist art. By the beginning of March 1913, when the Pan article was published, Behne and Taut were clearly friends. The critic and the architect as well as their wives had begun corresponding regularly, though at first with respectful formality.²⁸

Behne's article offered a fairly comprehensive overview of Taut's built and unbuilt work. He mentioned seeing several projects "on the walls of the studio," including a zeppelin hangar and an exhibition pavilion for Leipzig that would open in May. He also discussed Taut's dreams of building skyscrapers and giant iron bridges.²⁹ Echoing ideas from Worringer, Kandinsky, and his own earlier criticism, Behne

²⁷ Karl Scheffler, letter to Behne, Dec. 14, 1912, Nachlaß Behne/Scharfe, Bauhaus-Archiv, Berlin. Earlier publications on Taut's independent architectural work (including articles by Taut himself) were brief references or descriptive articles in professional journals, none dealt with more than a single building, and none occurred in a major art or cultural publications like Kunst und Künstler edited by Scheffler. See bibliographies in Nerdinger, et al, Bruno Taut, p. 404, 416.

²⁸ Correspondence recently discovered in the family of Hedwig Taut, Taut's first wife, show a familiar, yet respectful friendship developing between the thirty-three year old Taut and his wife of seven years, and the twenty-eight year old Behne and his fiancé, Elfriede Schäfer, to whom he would be married several months later, on June 5, 1913. The earliest surviving correspondence is a postcard from Elfriede to Hedwig Taut (Mar. 7, 1913), BTA-01-466, Bruno Taut Archiv, AdK, kindly provided by Matthias Schirren. Taut's earliest known letter to Behne from Apr. 29, 1913, begins with the very formal "Veehrter Herr Doktor," not a sign of old friends, but ends with warm greetings to Elfriede; Nachlaß Behne, SBPK.

²⁹ Behne, "Bruno Taut," Pan, p. 538. The blimp hangar project is not mentioned in any other Taut literature, but may refer to Taut's earlier project for an airport.

described the urge or "necessity" that Taut felt to abandon all historical precedents.

Behne closed his article with fulsome praise for Taut's much-published 1910 competition entry for the expansion of Alfred Messel's famous Wertheim department store. He insisted that Taut had not borrowed forms from Messel, but rather had matched Messel's spirit. "Taut's work," Behne concluded, "is in general a continuation (not a reification) of Messel's."³⁰ [Figures 4.3 and 4.4]

Behne's reference to Messel placed Taut squarely in the historical development of modern architecture. By framing Taut as a "Messel student," and his architecture as the "continuation" of Messel's direction, Behne was interpreting Taut's designs as the most recent incarnation of a proud "Berlin School" of architecture that reached back to Karl Friedrich Schinkel. The Berlin school emphasized a spartan yet expressive clarity, especially of structure.³¹ The need to legitimize the avant-garde through the deliberate

³⁰ "Eine Weiterführung Messels (statt einer Versteinerung) ist im Prinzip Tauts schaffen überhaupt." Behne, "Bruno Taut," Pan, p. 540. Behne repeated the line in Behne, "Berliner Architektur," Hamburger Nachrichten (Sept. 14, 1913); and at the end of Behne, "Ostpreußische Architekten in Berlin," Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung (Apr. 17, 1914).

³¹ Messel had died in 1909 as Berlin's most prestigious and influential architect. He was posthumously honored by Fritz Stahl's special issue of Berliner Architekturwelt (1911), and an important monograph by the young critic Walter Curt Behrendt, preface by Karl Scheffler, published by the prestigious Cassirer Verlag; Behrendt, Alfred Messel (1911), republished with a postscript by Fritz Neumeyer (1998). The comparison to Schinkel and the Berlin school in Behne, "Berliner Architekten"; and Behrendt, Alfred Messel, p. 127-134. Behrendt too placed Taut as the most talented of Messel's successors, the so-called "Messel-Schule," including Paul Baumgarten, Paul Mebes, Hans Bernouilli and Landsberg, even though Messel was not a professor, and not all had even worked for Messel; see Behrendt, "Berliner Architekten. Bruno Taut," Magdeburgische Zeitung n.159 (Mar. 30, 1913); and Behne, "Berliner Architektur," Zeit im Bild 12.2, no. 15 (Apr. 9, 1914): 804. On Taut's connections to Messel, see Whyte, Bruno Taut, p. 17-18; and Tilmann Buddensieg, "Messel und Taut. Zum 'Gesicht' der

use and manipulation of history is another one of the central paradoxes of modern art, and a characteristic of operative criticism as defined by Tafuri.³² Similar to his teacher Theoder Fischer, and indeed many of most well known figures of modern architecture such as Adolf Loos, Mies van der Rohe, and Le Corbusier, Taut had long professed the need to consider continuity with traditions and established archetypes in their search for a modern architecture. Although Behne had insisted that Taut tackled each design situation anew, for Taut architecture was not primarily about invention.³³

As an art historian, the reflection on the historical continuity of Taut and Messel, as the idea of timeless form-making came with the profession. As a critic, Behne promoted the idea of "the new" as a development that evolved out of the old. Thus he

Arbeiterwohnung," Archithese 12 (1974): 23-29, 55, part of a special issue on "Das Kollektivwohnhaus." Tafuri and Dal Co write that Taut's early architecture was derived from Messel; Tafuri and Dal Co, Modern Architecture. Nerdinger, on the other hand, feels the connections between Taut and Messel are exaggerated; Nerdinger et al, Bruno Taut, p. 18n14.

³² Tafuri, Theories and History, pp. 149-151.

³³ Taut, "Kleinhausbau und Landaufschliesung vom Standpunkt des Architekten," lecture delivered in the fall of 1913 at the general meeting of the German Garden City Association, in conjunction with the Leipzig Building Expo (May 3 to Oct. 31, 1913). It was first published in Gartenstadt 8, no. 1 (Jan. 1914): 9-12; partially reprinted in Wendschuh and Volkmann, Bruno Taut, p. 174. On Taut's self-admitted claim that all architecture is based on tradition and continuity, see also Hartmann and Bollerey, "Bruno Taut," in Bruno Taut, ed. Wendschuh and Volkmann, p. 34, where journal entries from 1904-1905 are cited alongside Taut's posthumous Architekturlehre as proof that Taut always considered tradition as a path into the future, that architecture was not primarily about invention; Winfried Nerdinger, "'Ein großer Baum muß tiefe Wurzeln haben.' Tradition und Moderne bei Bruno Taut," in Nerdinger et al, Bruno Taut; and Iain Boyd Whyte, "Der visionäre Bruno Taut," in Nerdinger et al, Bruno Taut, p. 71-72. Whyte has also claimed that this integration of history and the present was a major part of Activist philosophy; Whyte, Bruno Taut.

was careful to insist that Taut was not a "reification" or confirmation of Messel, but a "continuation." Similarly, he insisted that Expressionist art was a "reawakening of tendencies that were prevalent in art during all its happiest times."³⁴ Throughout his criticism of Expressionist art there is the concept of a "return" to true art--most famously in his well known book Wiederkehr der Kunst (The Return of Art). [Figure 4.5] He sought not a continuity with old forms, but rather only a return of the underlying philosophical conditions of what constituted true art--creative self expression of the artist's inner essence.

Messel, architect for the AEG before Behrens, and architect to Berlin's Jewish elite, was for Berliners a father figure of modern architecture. Since the unveiling of his Wertheim facade in 1897, with its innovative expanses of glass and powerful expression of structural columns, critics had claimed this as one of the pioneering structures of modern architecture. Taut praised Messel's spare and reductive style, "When I saw it [the Wertheim store] for the first time, the clarity and dignity of this work gripped me.

³⁴ "Die expressionistische Kunst . . . ist in Wirklichkeit das Wiedererwachen von Neigungen, die in der Kunst zu ihren glücklichsten Zeiten stets geherrscht haben. . . . Der Expressionismus hat endlich wieder Künstlerische Rücksichten in den Schwerpunkt des Schaffens gerückt!"; Behne, "Deutsche Expressionisten," p. 114. Worringer's references to Egyptian pyramids and the historical monuments of Eastern art, and his call for a new German art to be derived in the spirit of the Gothic cathedrals offered a clear example for Behne and the Expressionist artists to build on. German Expressionist artists, who strove to provide a unified artistic vision in the face of the chaos of contemporary urban life, had a similar predilection for using tradition, history, and the related categories of the foreign, the occult, and the mystical in justifying and explaining their work. Kandinsky and the Blue Rider's use of Russian icons and many other historical art works in the Blue Rider Almanac are only the most well known examples.

I have never seen a building that shows itself so nakedly, so truthfully to the viewer, that so unmitigatingly and without any pathos says: I am as I am, and nothing else."³⁵

Despite Messel's use of historical—especially Gothic—forms, many felt he had been responsible for turning the tide against academic and eclectic buildings of the nineteenth century and initiating a modern architecture of objectivity and straightforwardness (*Sachlichkeit*).³⁶

In Behne's eyes, Taut was advancing Messel's mission. By combining a "puritanical simplicity" with expressive, purely decorative elements Taut created an "original and intuitive art," characterized by a "stringent *Sachlichkeit*, an inner

³⁵ "Als ich es zum ersten mal sah, wirkte auf mich diese Klarheit und Würde geradezu ergreifend. Ich habe noch kein Bauwerk gesehen, das gewissermaßen sich so nackt, so wahr dem Beschauer zeigt, das so unmittelbar und einfach ohne Pathos sagt: ich bin so, wie ich bin, und nichts anderes"; Bruno Taut, letter to his brother Max Taut, from March 3, 1902, upon visiting Berlin for the first time, published in Tilmann Buddensieg, "Schinkel wird nicht erwähnt: Bruno Taut zum ersten mal in Berlin," Neue Heimat 27, no. 5 (1980): 16. These lines were preceded by: "Und nun die Kunstwerke! Wenn ich so das Wort Berlin höre, so taucht immer unter all den mannigfachen Eindrücken ein einziger großer mit besonderer Klarheit unwillkürlich auf, und das ist: das Warenhaus Wertheim, ja man könnte fast sagen: *das* Warenhaus. Denn was Alfred Messel hier geschaffen hat, ist mehr als *ein* Warenhaus--, es ist ein Typus als solchen weshalb man den Architekten genial nennen muß."

³⁶ The important Hamburg art museum curator Alfred Lichtwark, who was among the first to use the term "*Sachlichkeit*," did so in reference to Messel's Wertheim in 1897, and in Lichtwark, "Sachliche Baukunst," Palastfenster und Flügeltür (1899), republished in Lichtwark, Eine Auswahl seiner Schriften, ed. W. Mannhardt (1917), p. 257ff. See also Harry Francis Mallgrave, "From Realism to *Sachlichkeit*: the Polemics of Architectural Modernity in the 1890s," in Mallgrave, ed., Otto Wagner. Reflections on the Raiment of Modernity (1993), p. 304; and Bletter, "Introduction," p. 48. Behne continued to maintain years later that Messel was a pioneer: "Berlage, Messel, und Otto Wagner sind die erste Führergeneration im Kampfe um die Erneuerung der Architektur. . . Berlage, Messel, Wagner haben der neuen Baukunst das Geschenk der *Sachlichkeit* gemacht." Behne also included "Arthur [sic] Sullivan" in a footnote to the first sentence. Behne, Der moderne Zweckbau (1926), pp. 12-13.

soulfulness and natural liveliness."³⁷ Taut's *Sachlichkeit*, Behne later clarified, was "not the *Sachlichkeit* of a 'Functionalist' or a 'purist,'" but a special "artistic *Sachlichkeit*."³⁸

Behne saw in Taut's architecture a synthesis of a sober rationality with expressive fantasy that recalled the ideas of both Jugendstil artists such as Endell and the art historian Worringer, whom Behne had read closely. This synthesis was rapidly becoming a hallmark of Expressionist art for Behne.³⁹

Before exploring Taut's Expressionism, it is helpful to examine the complex term *Sachlichkeit* as used by Behne, which is crucial for any understanding of German

³⁷ The reference to Taut's "puritanisch einfach" building comes from Behne, "Bruno Taut," *Pan*, p. 540; while both Taut and Messel are described as creating "[eine] ursprünglich und intuitive Kunst. . . . Der Wert der Arbeiten dieser genannten Künstler liegt in ihrer strengen Sachlichkeit, ihrer Innerlichkeit, und ihrer natürlichen Lebendigkeit"; in Behne, "Die große Berliner Kunstausstellung" *Die Gegenwart* 42.2, no. 28 (July 12, 1913): 437.

³⁸ "Was ihn auszeichnet, ist seine strenge Sachlichkeit, -- freilich eine künstlerische Sachlichkeit, nicht die Sachlichkeit des 'Zweckkünstlers' oder des 'Puritaners'"; Behne, "'Ein neues Haus!'," *März* 8, no. 1 (Jan. 1914): 323, republished in Behne, "Bruno Taut," *Der Sturm* 4, no. 198/199 (Feb. 1914): 182; and recently in Peter Sprengel and Jürgen Schütte, eds. *Die Berliner Moderne* (1987), pp. 592-596. Whyte, in *Bruno Taut*, p. 238 n.7, guesses that Behne may have been referring to Loos when he wrote of a "Purist," but this seems to contradict Behne's statement a few months later that Loos was an Expressionist. On Loos as Expressionist see Behne, "Impressionismus und Expressionismus," and below. In his famous article "Ornament und Verbrechen" (c.1908-1910) Loos explicitly rejected the idea that all ornament should be abolished, a concept he later accused the "purists" of demanding. Loos' ideas were in part based on Semper's dislike of "Purists"; Semper, *Der Stil* I, p. 224, quoted in Peter Singelenberg, *H.P. Berlage: Idea and Style* (1972), p. 164. More likely, Behne was picking up on general discussions of the time by figures such as Tessenow, Scheffler, Muthesius, and J.A. Lux; see Richard Hamann and Jost Hermand, "Purismus," chapter in *Stilkunst um 1900* (1977, orig. 1959), pp. 440-462.

³⁹ On the synthesis of fantasy and *Sachlichkeit* in Taut and Behne see Regine Prange, *Das Kristalline*, pp. 78-84.

modern architecture in the first decades of the twentieth century.⁴⁰ Despite his architectural studies, Behne at this point held a different view of what constituted a *sachlich* approach to modern architecture than did the dominant architect and designers of his day. Muthesius and many of the architects surrounding the Werkbund had begun to define *Sachlichkeit* primarily as a pragmatic approach to form where function, technology, and a quest for typical or pure forms eliminated any need for ornament. They felt clues to a *sachlich* approach were to be found in the newest technological objects and industrial buildings.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Stanford Anderson defines *Sachlichkeit* as: "a convenient umbrella term that invokes simplicity, a rational and straightforward attention to needs as well as to materials and processes"; see Anderson, "*Sachlichkeit* and Modernity, or Realist Architecture," in Mallgrave, *Otto Wagner*. The concepts embodied in the German adjective *sachlich* and related noun *Sachlichkeit* are complex, with various interpretations and translations (including sobriety, thing-ness, object-ness, objective, reality, practicality, functional, pragmatic, material, factual, matter-of-fact, artless, straightforward), and will be explored in greater depth below. In addition to Anderson, see Bletter, "Introduction," pp. 47-70; S. Anderson, "Introduction," in Hermann Muthesius, *Style-Architecture and Building Art* (1994); and Mallgrave, "From Realism to *Sachlichkeit*," pp. 281-321.

⁴¹ Muthesius wrote in 1902: "*Sachlichkeit*, an abstention from all superficial forms of decoration, a design strictly following the purpose that a work should serve," such as railway terminals, large bridges, steamships, railway cars, bicycles and the like; Muthesius, *Stil-Architektur un Baukunst* (1902) translated as *Style-Architecture and Building Art* (1994), p. 79, also cited in Frederic J. Schwartz, "Form Follows Fetish: Adolf Behne and the Problem of *Sachlichkeit*," *Oxford Art Journal* 21, no. 2 (1998): 48. This book was preceded by what Harry Mallgrave has called "the second most important document of the period," (after Otto Wagner's book): Muthesius, "Neues Ornament und neue Kunst," *Dekorative Kunst* 4 (1901): 353; in Mallgrave, *Modern Architectural Theory*, p. 228. Behne's relation to the Werkbund and its ideology will be discussed in further detail below. In his earlier book on the Werkbund, Schwartz was careful also to acknowledge Muthesius' debt to Riegl and the art historians' idea of *Sachlichkeit* as a spiritual endeavor; Fredric Schwartz, *The Werkbund* (1996), pp. 18ff, esp. pp. 21-22.

Other influential architects, such as professor Friedrich Ostendorf and the autodidact Paul Schultze-Naumburg, who were part of the *Heimatstil* or *Um 1800* movements, had also called for a more *sachlich* approach to architectural form. But they looked to tradition, not technology for their cues. They recommended continuing the simple, tectonic, conventional forms of Biedermeier classicism. They saw this as a means to escape the merely decorative, irrational forms of Jugendstil, Secession, and *Gründerzeit* historicist styles.⁴²

Behne's use of the word *sachlich*, by contrast, came out of his art history studies as well as his work as a critic.⁴³ Already in his first article for *Der Sturm*, in April 1912, Behne had criticized paintings that imitated nature or were representational as "unsystematic and *unsachlich*."⁴⁴ Later, in September 1913, he contrasted naturalistic art

⁴² On Ostendorf and the influence of his teaching and design theory as expressed in Friedrich Ostendorf, "Zur Einführung in eine Theorie des architektonischen Entwerfens," *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 32 (1912): 593-7, 601-6, 612-6; and Friedrich Ostendorf, *Sechs Bücher vom Bauen* (1913-14); see Hermann Endell, "Architektur-Theorien" *Neudeutsche Bauzeitung* 10, no. 4-5 (1910): 37-39, 53-56; and Werner Oechslin, "'Entwerfen heißt, die einfachste Erscheinungsform zu finden,'" in *Moderne Architektur in Deutschland 1900 bis 1950. Reform und Tradition*, ed. Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani and Romana Schneider (1992), pp. 29-54. On Schultze-Naumburg, the *Heimatstil* and "Um 1800" movements, see Kai Gutschow, "Cultural Criticism, Classical Vernacular and the Modern in Schultze-Naumburg's *Kulturarbeiten*," in *North-South* ed. Jean-François Lejeune (in press); Matthew Jefferies, *Politics and Culture in Wilhelmine Germany* (1995); and Christian F. Otto, "Modern Environment and Historical Continuity," *Art Journal* 43, no. 2 (Summer 1983): 148-157.

⁴³ Peter Sprengel has postulated that Walden's *Sturm* enterprise was in part founded on ideas related to *Sachlichkeit* as it was discussed in architecture; see Sprengel, "Von der Baukunst zur Wortkunst. Sachlichkeit und Expressionismus im *Sturm*," *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte (DVjs)* 64, no. 4 (Dec. 1990).

⁴⁴ Behne, "Zwei Ausstellungen" *Der Sturm* 3, no. 107 (Apr. 1912): 20.

with Expressionist paintings, which followed Kandinsky's "Principle of Inner Necessity." Kandinsky's paintings, he claimed, exhibited an unrestricted use of color by the artist and a "truthfulness in the use of materials."⁴⁵ This focus on autonomy in art, on the basic principles and material processes that differentiate painting from other arts, would become the key to Expressionist art in the early Sturm circle.⁴⁶ Indeed, it would become a key of all modernist art.

Behne clarified what he meant by *Sachlichkeit* in Expressionist architecture by defining its antithesis, what he termed an "Impressionist" architecture.⁴⁷ He warned explicitly against trying to identify a formal architectural corollary to the light paintings of Monet or the fleeting glimpses of Max Liebermann's Polo players. As with

⁴⁵ "Im Schaffen der Expressionisten steht die inner Wahrhaftigkeit in der Verwendung der Mittel;" Behne, "Impressionismus und Expressionismus"

⁴⁶ One thinks in particular of the "Word Art" (*Wortkunst*) championed by Walden in poets such as August Stramm, where rules of grammar and ordinary word usage was often sacrificed in favor of a more "abstract" use of the words. Sprengel has noted, however, that after 1912 the "inner essence" and expressive quality promoted by Kandinsky and Marc would often be valued over any cool and unornamented formal purity. Sprengel, in his article "Von der Baukunst zur Wortkunst," traces Walden's turn from an early *Sachlichkeit* asceticism, to more "ornamental" forms using the writing of Alfred Döblin, who wrote early articles in Der Sturm in favor of *Sachlichkeit*, but after Walden's Futurist exhibit in 1912, became increasingly critical of the ornamental aspects of abstract, expressionist art in the name of Kandinsky's "inner essence."

⁴⁷ The dichotomy of Impressionism and Expressionism was common, going back to the very founding of the term Expressionism. Santomaso, however, has proposed without hard evidence that Behne was reacting to Muthesius, who transferred the term Impressionism to architectural discourse when he warned explicitly of an infiltration of an "Impressionist" approach into architecture; see Muthesius, "Wo stehen wir?," a speech at the annual Werkbund convention of 1911, published in the first Werkbund yearbook Die Durchgeistigung der deutschen Arbeit (1912, reprinted 2000); and Santomaso, "Origins and Aims" p. 13.

Expressionism, Impressionism was for Behne a point of view. Impressionism, because of its reference to the forms of the world, subordinated artistic expression to elements. Behne defined the newest houses of Richard Riemerschmid in Hellerau, for example, as "Impressionist" because their forms "are not developed exclusively from the givens, the form is not the organic product of realities."⁴⁸ Behne accused Riemerschmid of basing his designs on a pre-conceived form or style, which Behne disparaged as "a touch of Rothenburg or Old-Nürnberg." [Figure 4.6]

In defining an Expressionist architecture Behne also avoided direct architectural parallels to the abstract paintings of Die Brücke, Blauer Reiter, Cubist, or Futurist artists. Rather he defined Taut's Expressionist architecture as "*pure*," elemental, and grounded in original principles.⁴⁹ He noted that Taut had excluded the use of columns, caryatids, turrets or any other "derivative or imported elements." Much as Expressionist painters had returned to color, line, and shape, Behne insisted that Taut had "returned to the primal elements of building." In this manner he achieved a "new simplicity, a primitiveness" that "left aside all conventions or derivative elements," and reflected a "new sensibility, a new worldview!"⁵⁰ [Figure 4.7] Recalling aspects of Ostendorf's

⁴⁸ Behne, "Impressionismus und Expressionismus."

⁴⁹ "*Reinheit!* Das ist vielleicht das Wort, das am ehesten der Architektur Tauts recht wird"; Behne, "Ein neues Haus!," p. 33, emphasis in original.

⁵⁰ "Bruno Taut geht hier bewußt auf die Urelemente des Bauens zurück, und läßt alles bei Seite liegen, was nur Konvention, nur Ableitung ist. . . . Auch er bemüht sich . . . um eine neue Einfachheit, um Primitivität. . . . Eine neue Gesinnung, ein neues Lebensgefühl liegt in dieser Architektur!"; Behne, "Ein neues Haus!," p. 32. Behne used similar terms in many of the articles listed above, though this is a particularly concise and powerful analysis.

spartan design theory--"Design means finding the simplest form"--Behne claimed that Taut had reduced his designs to the two most primal elements of architecture: "the *wall* and the *opening*."⁵¹ In contrast, Behne criticized that "Impressionist" architects such as Ludwig Hoffmann, the architect of the new Berlin City Hall, determined the size of windows and rooms from stylistic rules such as those of the Italian Renaissance. [Figure 4.8] "Expressionist" architects such as Taut, by contrast, derived their window and wall sizes exclusively from their intended purpose: to create well-lit, stimulating, enjoyable interior spaces. Modern architecture, he insisted in 1913, must be designed "from the inside out," both functionally and spiritually.⁵²

However, Behne also sought to unite this objective, functional aspect of design with a subjective desire for the free, creative expression of the artist. To this end, he added that the resulting pure composition of wall and openings could be brought to life by a third primal element: "the joy of *decoration*."⁵³ More explicitly than in the first article on Taut, Behne highlighted the purely expressive sense of decoration that Taut featured in his work, a personal ornament.

Expressionist *Sachlichkeit* combined a primal purity with the pleasures of

⁵¹ Behne, "'Ein neues Haus!'," p. 33, emphasis in original.

⁵² Behne, "Impressionismus und Expressionismus"; included as part of Behne's Sturm book Zur Neuen Kunst. In 1924 Behne would become one of the fiercest opponents of Ludwig Hoffmann, joining a small group of progressive architects led by Martin Wagner who sought to oust Hoffmann from his position as official city architect of Berlin. The group of architects joined forces under the banner of "Der Ring," while Behne kept his work to criticism in the press.

⁵³ "Zu den Urelementen des Bauens gehört freilich noch ein Drittes: die Freude am *Schmuck*"; Behne, "'Ein neues Haus!'," p. 33, emphasis in original.

decoration. But Expressionist painting shared with Taut's architectural work an expressive, impassioned energy, a purposiveness of form-making. Behne cited as other examples of an Expressionist *Sachlichkeit* the architectures of Tessenow and of Loos.⁵⁴ Behne saw in the early Secession-inspired apartment buildings of Taut, in the sober, well crafted Biedermeier-inspired homes of Tessenow, and in the stark villas and urban facades of Loos a similar simplicity of form which was derived from function, technique, and materials. Most importantly, all of this was in the service of an architect expressing his individual artistic "inner necessity" and vitality.

Tessenow's simple worker housing at Hellerau, as well as the house he had designed for the first phase of Taut's Falkenberg Garden City in 1911 were, despite their penchant for traditional forms, models of "puritanical," *sachlich*, functional construction⁵⁵ [Figures 4.9 and 4.10] The spartan forms of Tessenow's Dalcroze

⁵⁴ Behne, "Impressionismus und Expressionismus."

⁵⁵ Behne later referred to Tessenow's houses as "a bit puritanical" in Behne, "Gartenstadt-Architekturen," *Illustriertes-Jahrbuch* (1915) 209. Martin Wagner claimed Tessenow's work embodied "das natürliche Gefühl für das Sachliche, Zweckmäßige, Brauchbare und die Überwindung der Materie durch künstlerische Gestaltung"; Wagner, "Gartenstadthäuser," *Neudeutsche Bauzeitung* 6, no. 7 (1910): 84. Heinrich Tessenow (1876-1950) was born in the northern Prussian port city of Rostock, where he trained as a carpenter and at a vocational school. He subsequently taught at several vocational schools while designing and publishing many unexecuted houses, before he got his big break as one of the architects of the garden city of Hellerau, near Dresden. Here he built several houses and the famous Dalcroze Institute from 1910-12. On Tessenow see Marco de Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991); and Gerda Wangerin and Gerd Weiss, *Heinrich Tessenow - Ein Baumeister 1876-1950* (1976). Behne probably got to know Tessenow through Taut. In handwritten comments on Behne's manuscript for his March 1913 article "Bruno Taut", Taut had proposed Tessenow and Peter Behrens as up-and-coming architects. In addition to Tessenow's Haus für Adolf Otto (1912-13) in Taut's garden city of Falkenberg outside of Berlin, Behne probably saw Tessenow's work in the professional press, in the Werkbund yearbooks, in Tessenow's popular

Institute, a utopian *Gesamtkunstwerk*, more likely had caught Behne's eye in his search for an "artistic *Sachlichkeit*" that united the arts in order to achieve a higher, ideal expression of the human spirit.⁵⁶ [Figure 4.11] The Institute was created in collaboration with the rhythmic musician and gymnast Emil Jacques-Dalcroze, the radical set designer Adolphe Appia, and the lighting designer Alexander von Salzmann.

Tessenow's drawing technique and tender depiction of domestic life reinforced a sense of calm and timeless grace in his work.⁵⁷ [Figure 4.12] The intriguing blend of tradition and modernity, of artistry and *Sachlichkeit* in Tessenow's built and published work still

book *Wohnhausbau* (The Building of Dwellings, 1909), or in person at Hellerau. The Dalcroze Institute hosted well attended Festspiele in July 1912 and July 1913 to which over 500 journalists were invited, a huge media spectacle Behne could hardly have missed. Behne traveled frequently to Dresden to review museum exhibits, including for his regular art column in the *Dresdner neueste Nachrichten*. Tessenow worked to create an architecture based on "conventions" and the deliberate borrowing of vernacular craft traditions. His ideas, also documented in his book *Wohnhausbau* and many journal articles, derived from his early work with Paul Schultze-Naumburg's Saalecker Workshops, his work in Muthesius' office, and his designs for the Hellerau Garden City. In many respects they were more related to the pragmatic *Kunstgewerbe* or *Heimatsstil* movements and even Werkbund ideology than to the spiritual "inner necessity" Behne saw in Expressionist paintings. On the conventionality of Tessenow's designs, see S. Anderson, "The Legacy of German Neoclassicism and Biedermeier: Behrens, Tessenow, Loos, and Mies," *Assemblage*, no. 15 (Aug. 1991): 63-87.

⁵⁶ On the Dalcroze Institute as "Gesamtkunstwerk," see Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow*, pp. 13-39, 205-213. On the conflict with Muthesius' values, see John Maciuika, "Hermann Muthesius and the Reform of German Architecture, Arts, and Crafts, 1890-1914," (Diss., 1998), chapter 6.

⁵⁷ Wagner wrote that through the drawings alone one would suspect that Tessenow was part of "die Gruppe der Malerarchitekten," the "care and the loving touch" seeming to defy Tessenow's attempt to find inexpensive, functional solutions for the problem of worker housing; Wagner, "Gartenstadthäuser," p. 84.

stirs controversies about his position in the development of modern architecture.⁵⁸

The same can be said for Behne's relationship to Loos. Loos' passionate, elitist defense of true art had endeared him to Walden from the beginning of the Sturm enterprise. The memorable discursive attacks on style and ornament, and on Jugendstil and Secession art that Loos had promulgated in his essays (including in Der Sturm) were models of early modernism. The *sachlich* image of his urban facades that were being built in Vienna were later recognized as antecedents to modern architecture.

[Figure 4.13] Behne, however, chose to ignore (or remained ignorant of) Loos' references to tradition and convention, and his sharp separation of art and utility. This is expressed most clearly by Loos' 1910 statement in "Concerning Architecture" that "everything that serves a function is to be excluded from the realm of art." For Loos, within architecture, "only tombstones and monuments" could be considered art, everything else was merely construction.⁵⁹

In retrospect, it is difficult to see much that was "Expressionist" in the built, painted, or written work that Taut had completed by the time Behne wrote his article in

⁵⁸ See, for example, Marco de Michelis, "Modernity and Reform, Heinrich Tessenow and the Institute Dalcroze at Hellerau," Perspecta 26 (1990): 143-170; and the problematic article by K. Michael Hays that attempts to interpret Tessenow's use of tradition as "Protofascism"; Hays, "Tessenow's Architecture as National Allegory: Critique of Capitalism or Protofascism?," JH 8 (1989): 54-71; or more generally Kenneth Frampton, "The Classical Tradition and the European Avant-Garde," in Nordic Classicism 1910-1930, ed. Simo Paavilainen (1982), pp. 161-173.

⁵⁹ Loos wrote "alles, was einen Zweck dient, ist aus dem Reiche der Kunst auszuschliessen," Loos, "Über Architektur," Der Sturm 1, no. 42 (1910): 334. Loos had been championed by Walden since 1910, publishing several articles in Der Sturm, and giving several lectures sponsored by the Sturm gallery. See above for Loos' possible influence on Walden's conception of Expressionist art as Sachlich.

March 1913. The absence of overtly Expressionist features is especially noticeable when compared to the contemporary Sturm painters or Taut's work as it would develop in the ensuing months and years. Behne's attempt to group this eclectic set of architects (who all wrote prodigiously) under a common label was a rather forced effort to expand his ideas on Expressionism from painting to architecture and beyond. In other ways, however, this was typical given Behne's ideas about the autonomy of art. Despite his concerns for formal issues in his art criticism, in the end he was more interested on artistic intent, on the creative process, and on the experience of the art than on style or visual results.

The Monument to Iron

Behne's contacts with Taut late in 1912 or early in 1913 led to a deepening personal friendship.⁶⁰ The relationship soon offered Behne his first opportunities to write extensively about modern architecture. In the summer of 1913 Behne began publicizing Taut's "Monument to Iron" pavilion for the Steel Producers Association which stood at the Leipzig International Building Exposition from April to October 1913.⁶¹ [Figure 4.14] He wrote at least six monographic articles on the pavilion, and

⁶⁰ The oldest surviving correspondence from Taut to Behne, from April 29, 1913, was a color postcard of Taut's "Monument to Iron" pavilion, thanking Behne for a (now lost) postcard from the Secession exhibit, requesting to see him, and sending greetings to Behne's fiancée Elfriede; see Behne Nachlaß, SBPK.

⁶¹ "Monument des Eisens" was at first only the name of the 1912 competition entry submitted by the team of Taut and Hoffmann Architects in cooperation with the Firma Breest and Co. steel producers. It soon became the name of choice for the pavilion commissioned by the Deutschen Stahlwerks-Verbandes in cooperation with

briefly discussed it in at least five more essays.

Except for two essays in 1914, all of his texts on the pavilion were published in popular cultural periodicals. This reflects both Behne's constant effort to spread the word about modern art and architecture, and his lack of identification with, and standing in, the professional architecture community. The number of articles Behne wrote on the same building and the celebratory tone he set distinguished these articles apart from earlier more descriptive and neutral writings. In contrast to his reviews of individual exhibits, books, and artists, these articles contained a clear ideological agenda, to promote a new form of spiritual art and the hope for a new society that went along with it. Although there is no reason to believe that Behne was actually commissioned by Taut, it is quite clear that Behne was promoting Taut's as well as his

the Verein Deutscher Brücken- und Eisenbaufabriken at the Leipziger Bau-Fachausstellung. It is sometimes erroneously called the "Monument of Steel" in English language publications, though clearly the reference to iron was intentional and approved by the steel producers. Although meant to exhibit the latest products of the steel industry and serve as explicit advertisements for their products, it was also conceived as a "monument," an art work very much in the spirit of Loos' definition of art mentioned above, intended to celebrate the material. For an introduction to the pavilion and bibliography, see the entry in the catalogue in Nerdinger et al, Bruno Taut, p. 329-330. Behne's wide range of articles on the Leipzig pavilion from which the following descriptive analysis is taken include: Behne, "'Monument des Eisens'," Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten (July 11, 1913); Behne, "Das Monument des Eisens auf der Leipziger Baufachausstellung," Die Umschau 17, no. 30 (July 19, 1913): 619-621; Behne, "Die Leipziger Baufach-Ausstellung," Die Tat 5.1, no. 5 (Aug. 1913): 504-507; Behne, "Der Kino im Leipziger Monument des Eisens," Bild und Film 2, no. 11/12 (Aug./Sept. 1913): 269-271; Behne, "Das Monument des Eisens," Allgemeiner Beobachter 3, no. 12 (Oct. 15, 1913): 167; Behne, "'Ein neues Haus!'" Behne, "Das Monument des Eisens von Taut und Hoffmann auf der Internationalen Baufachausstellung in Leipzig," Kunstgewerbeblatt N.F.25, no. 5 (Feb. 1914): 86-88; Behne, "Bruno Taut," Der Sturm 4, no. 198/199 (Feb. 1914): 182-183, a republication of the März article. The building was also mentioned in many more articles.

own artistic and social agenda.⁶²

Drawing on the evolving definitions of Expressionism that he gleaned from Kandinsky, Worringer, and others, Behne's articles all comment favorably on the "new, revolutionary," and "strict, Sachlich" nature of Taut's pavilion. This applied not only to the exposed octagonal steel-frame construction, which historians (and even Taut) would later see as influenced by the tectonic and monumentalized forms of Peter Behrens' exhibition pavilions, but also to the "spare, logical, precise" black-and-gold color scheme.⁶³ Even the gigantic (nine-meter diameter) gold sphere resting on an open lattice at the top of the stepped pyramid, Behne maintained, was "*sachlich*" and aesthetically "functional": a necessary antidote and "lively counterpart" to the stack of

⁶² See, for example, Behne, "Das 'Monument des Eisens'," Dresdner neueste Nachrichten. We have no direct evidence that Behne was commissioned or even encouraged by Taut to write these articles, as was the case with many artists and architects after the war who explicitly asked for Behne's help, but they could hardly have been written without his approval. In a postcard from May 8, 1913, Behne wrote to Taut that Diederichs had asked Behne for an article on the Leipzig exhibition for the August issue of Die Tat (and Behne did in fact publish his very first article in this prestigious journal in the August 1913 issue, "Die Leipziger Baufach-Ausstellung"). It is likely that Behne, who was still relatively unknown, had requested to write such an article. In the same postcard Behne mentions that he had already written to Hellwag, the editor of the Kunstgewerbeblatt, where Behne would publish a long article on Leipzig in February 1914; BTA-01-468, Bruno Taut Archiv, AdK.

⁶³ Taut admitted the Leipzig pavilion owed a great deal to Behrens in his Die Neue Baukunst in Europa und Amerika (1929), p. 28; translated in Taut, Modern Architecture (1929), p. 58; Nerdinger, Prange and Bletter all emphasize this connection, especially when the Leipzig pavilion is compared to the Cologne Glashaus; Nerdinger et al, Bruno Taut; Prange, Das Kristalline, p. 76ff.; Bletter, "Bruno Taut and Paul Scheerbart's Vision," pp. 55-57. Taut had also built an even more cubic, rectangular, and Behrens-like pavilion for a steel vendor (Eisenverkaufskontor) at the 1910 construction materials exposition in Berlin; see Nerdinger et al, Bruno Taut, pp. 324-325.

"rigid vertical walls" below and the building's overall "unrelentingly Cubist design" (*cubistische Gestalt*). He insisted it would be wrong to ask about the rational "functionality" (*Zweck*) of such a "stern yet playful . . . aesthetic creation" (*Gebilde*). Along with the purely decorative Expressionist painted ornaments on the interior by Taut's friend Franz Mutzenbecher, Behne insisted the gold sphere was built from a sense of fantasy that embodied an "artistic *Sachlichkeit*, not the *Sachlichkeit* of a 'Functionalist' or a 'purist.'" ⁶⁴ In a line very similar to one Taut would later use to describe his work, Behne wrote prophetically that the Leipzig pavilion appealed not to the intellect, but to feelings, having "no other purpose than an inner artistic one."⁶⁵

Behne also pointed out that the pavilion also displayed the latest trends in media technology. It contained an innovative movie theater inside, which showed informational clips about the steel industry, and featured the supergraphics announcing the sponsors' names in a prominent frieze. The pavilion was a happy convergence of art and advertisement that served as effective business "propaganda" for the steel industry, this after all, was the building's "function."⁶⁶ Its effectiveness was especially convincing, Behne felt, in comparison with the anachronistic logo of the exhibition--a single classical column--or in comparison with the neighboring Concrete Pavilion, a

⁶⁴ Behne, "Das Monument des Eisens," Allgemeiner Beobachter; Behne, "'Ein neues Haus!'" ; and Behne, "Das Monument des Eisens," Kunstgewerbeblatt.

⁶⁵ "Falsch wäre es . . . nach dem 'Zweck' zu Fragen! Sie haben keinen anderen als einen innerlich künstlerischen"; Behne, "'Ein neues Haus!'," p. 33.

⁶⁶ On Taut's pavilion as part of a larger commercial and advertising culture see Schwartz, The Werkbund, p. 182-183.

pastiche of the Pantheon in Rome designed by the conservative architect Wilhelm Kreis.⁶⁷ [Figures 4.15, 4.16, and 4.17]

The "unfortunate" Concrete Pavilion by Kreis, Behne argued, failed to express the potential or spirit of concrete as effectively as Max Berg's Centenary Hall built in Breslau a year earlier. [Figure 4.18] He claimed that Taut, in contrast to Kreis, had managed through fantasy to "represent" and "celebrate" the "character" and "style" of steel in a "truly artistic" and "beautiful" way, despite the difficulty of doing this in a small exhibit pavilion using a material known for its long spans. The success of Taut's "terse and wonderfully energetic creation" could be measured, Behne wrote, by the fact that a public not usually attuned to architecture noticed and commented on it extensively. Although steel and concrete, "the two most modern and cutting-edge building materials," were always in competition for predominance in the marketplace, judging by their representative pavilions, Behne insisted, steel clearly had the edge in terms of "energy, sense of purpose and orientation to the future."⁶⁸ Taut, and the "slenderness, purity, luminosity, liveliness, lightness, and freedom" of steel and glass,

⁶⁷ Behne felt the official column logo of the exhibit did not reflect the otherwise thoroughly "modern" spirit of the fair; Behne, "Die Säule," Kunstgewerbeblatt 25, no. 8 (May 1914): 144; and republished as "Säulenheiligkeit," Kölner Zeitung (July 16, 1916). For comparative descriptions and photos of Taut's and Kreis' pavilions, see Der Industriebau 4, no. 7 (July 15, 1913); and 4, no. 11 (Nov. 15, 1913). On Kreis see Winfried Nerdinger and Ekkehard Mai, eds., Wilhelm Kreis. Architekt zwischen Kaiserreich und Demokratie, 1873-1955 (1994).

⁶⁸ Behne, "'Monument des Eisens'," Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten (July 11, 1913).

were clearly the path into the future.⁶⁹

Architecture as Art

The increasingly close relationship between Behne and Taut resulted in a conscious spirit of collegiality that makes it difficult to sort out the intellectual ownership of the common ideas they espoused. Behne and Taut's exchanges deepened over the summer and fall of 1913 when Behne was writing his articles on the Leipzig pavilion, and their friendship expanded to include their wives and children.⁷⁰ [Figure 4.19] Behne brought to the relationship a scholarly, broadly educated mind, who wrote easily and trenchantly, as well as contacts and insights into Berlin's world of avant-garde art and the media. Taut brought to the relationship a creative, philosophical mind that sought artistic expression in many media: at first in architecture, then in painting and drawing, and after meeting Behne, increasingly in writing.

Taut had published a few descriptive articles on his own work before meeting Behne, after which he began writing more prolifically, eventually producing over a dozen books, hundreds of articles, and editing a journal. Indeed, Taut became an increasingly savvy user of the media. Taut's fame today derives not only from his

⁶⁹ Behne, "Das Monument des Eisens von Taut und Hoffmann," Kunstgewerbeblatt, p. 88. It is worth noting that Taut's next pavilion, his more famous Glashaus in Cologne, used a concrete structural skeleton that was arguably far more advanced than his earlier one out of steel.

⁷⁰ Manfred Speidel calls Behne Taut's "kritischer Begleiter"; Speidel, "Bruno Taut und die Berliner Architektur 1913 bis 1923," in Joseph Kleihues and Thorsten Scheer et al, eds., Stadt der Architektur der Stadt, Berlin 1900-2000 (2000), pp. 106; Whyte calls Behne "Taut's leading advocate in pre-war years"; Whyte, Bruno Taut, p. 23.

buildings but also from the impact and legacy of his publications, particularly his post-war utopian drawings and polemical text-and-image books such as Bauen (Building, 1927) and Modern Architecture (1929).⁷¹ Nonetheless, as Taut admitted himself, architects express even the most complex ideas more forcefully through their designs than through writing. In the spirit of Expressionism, the strength of Taut's writing was more in poetics and inspiration than in content and information, especially during the period 1913-23.⁷²

One of the most fundamental beliefs that Behne and Taut shared was the Idealist concept that architecture was above all a fine art.⁷³ Although in part a legacy of the Jugendstil theory, espoused by applied artists such as Obrist and Endell, Behne's emphasis on the artistic side of architecture rather than the technical tempered his

⁷¹ The most complete bibliography of Taut's published and unpublished writings is compiled by Manfred Speidel in Nerdinger et al, Bruno Taut, pp. 404-415. Good introductions to the importance of Taut's written work are Roland Jaeger, "Bau und Buch: 'Ein Wohnhaus' von Bruno Taut," in Bruno Taut, Ein Wohnhaus (1995), pp. 118-147; and the postscript by Speidel in the republication of Bruno Taut's Die neue Wohnung. Die Frau als Schöpferin (2000).

⁷² Wendschuh and Volkmann, Bruno Taut, p. 24. Rainer Stamm has even called his post-World War I books such as Alpine Architektur and Der Weltbaumeister primarily literary, not architectural. Schreiber has called the Crystal Chain letters that Taut initiated with his colleagues after World War I the most important exchange of architectural ideas of twentieth-century, even though it was not published at the time; Daniel Schreiber, "Friedrich Nietzsche und die expressionistische Architektur," in Bau einer neuen Welt. Architektonische Visionen des Expressionismus, ed. Rainer Stamm and Dieter Schreiber (2003), p. 24.

⁷³ See Hermann Bauer, "Architektur als Kunst. Von der Grösse der idealistischen Architektur-Ästhetik und ihrem Vervall," in Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttheorie im 19. Jahrhundert, ed. Hermann Bauer, Lorenz Dittmann et al. (1963), pp. 133-171.

embrace of functionalism and technology, and eventually allowed him to find a balance between tradition and modernity, between the historical forms of the *Heimatstil* and the dry calculations of the engineer that would remain a hallmark of his critiques through life. Behne described Taut's work as full of "artistry," developed "not from the intellect, and not from 'taste,' but from fantasy." He added later that Taut was one of the few architects who was a true artist.⁷⁴ Taut himself had written even before he met Behne, "The architect must be an artist, he must have the courage to design an idea. . . . As a whole it must function like something organic and grown: the same factors that lead to an artwork."⁷⁵ As Manfred Speidel has recently shown, Taut continued to be interested and involved with art and painting after his practical architectural education. In 1904 he mused, "I feel ever more like a painter. . . . Thoughts about painting now occupy me constantly. It seems I can give my character fullest expression in this medium—probably better than in architecture."⁷⁶

⁷⁴ "Das ist gerade das Schöne, daß Bruno Taut nicht aus dem Intellekt und nicht aus dem 'Geschmack' baut, sondern aus der Phantasie!"; Behne, "'Ein neues Haus!'," p. 33. See also Behne, "Bruno Taut," *Illustrierte Zeitung* 154, no. 3994 (Jan. 15, 1920): 81.

⁷⁵ "*Der Architekt muß Künstler sein, er muß den Mut haben, eine Idee zu Gestalten*"; Taut, "Kleinhausbau," p. 11, emphasis in original.

⁷⁶ Taut, letter to his brother Max Taut from June 8, 1904, cited in Manfred Speidel, "Farbe und Licht, Zum malerischen Werk von Bruno Taut," in Speidel, *Bruno Taut*, p. 41; and in Manfred Speidel, "Das Frühwerk," in *Bruno Taut*, ed. Nerdinger et al, p. 32. Cited as a diary entry in Whyte, *Bruno Taut*, p. 20. Taut had begun to draw in architecture school between 1889 and 1901, and continued during his first years in practice, particularly after 1904 when he worked in Berlin for Bruno Möhring, who also enjoyed painting and even had some of his works published. Through contacts at Möhring's office Taut entered the so-called "Choriner-Kreis," whose members were interested in painting and art.

For both Taut and Behne, "building art" (*Baukunst*) had a special role in the pantheon of art. *Baukunst*, Behne believed, was particularly adept at mirroring the spirit of the age. He wrote in September 1913 that it was the "original art, the foundation for all other visual arts, celebrated as 'frozen music,' and herewith the purest of the arts."⁷⁷ He continued, "As a form-based art without content or subject, it captures and allows one to recognize more clearly and accurately the actual artistry" expressed by artists than painting or sculpture, which were always hindered by objects taken from the outside world.⁷⁸ The subject matter and relationship to natural objects in all the other arts, Behne explained, tended to obscure what Hildebrand had identified as a pure "architectonic element" (*das architektonische Element*), at the core of all art.⁷⁹ This

⁷⁷ "Baukunst, die man doch an anderer Stelle nicht müde wird als die Urkunst, die Grundlage aller anderen bildenden Künste, als 'gefrorene Musik,' und damit als die *reinste* der Bildkünste zu feiern"; Behne, "Kunst und Milieu," p. 601. Taut later expressed similar ideas about architecture as the "mother of all arts"; Taut, *Architekturlehre* (1977, orig. 1936), p. 175, cited and expanded upon in Lamberts, "Das Frühwerk von Bruno Taut," p. 103ff.

⁷⁸ "[Baukunst], diese als inhaltlose, formale Kunst, läßt das Eigentlich-Künstlerische deutlicher und schärfer fassen und erkennen als die Malerei und Plastik"; Behne, "Kunst und Milieu," p. 601. Alois Riegl had written that although the *Kunstwollen* is expressed in all media, "these laws cannot be recognized with the same clarity in all media. The clearest case is architecture," the art most unencumbered by content; Riegl, *Late Roman Art Industry* (1985, orig. 1901), p. 15, and cited in Schwartz, *The Werkbund*, p. 22.

⁷⁹ Behne, "Kunst und Milieu," p. 601. Hildebrand, like Behne twenty years later, was seeking alternatives to the "apparent chaos" of forms in Impressionism. On Hildebrand's "architektonische Element," see his *Das Problem der Form*. Behne had reviewed Hildebrand's book in [Behne], "Zur Einführung in die Literatur"; and discussed Hildebrand's theory extensively a few months later in [Behne], "Wie ein plastisches Kunstwerk entsteht," *Arbeiter-Jugend* 6, no. 9 (Apr. 25, 1914): 139-142. Regine Prange has traced "das architektonische" back even further, to the Romantics; Prange, *Das Kristalline*, p. 68.

architectonic element, a formal quality that created a transcendent order, allowed both paintings and sculpture to rise above being mere representations of subject matter, to become "art."

Both Behne and Taut wrote at length that art (and architecture) could be neither defined nor controlled with preconceived formulas or common stylistic intentions. By contrast, Taine had written about the determinative impact of culture and time on art, and Riegl had postulated that the art of any epoch was in large part determined by a common *Kunstwollen*. In early November 1912, around the time Behne was first considering writing an article on Taut for Scheffler's journal, he wrote that rules definitely existed in art (he felt there were rules for all things in the universe, even if they were not discernable), but these rules could not be universal. Artistic forms were subjective, he insisted, determined by the particular time, place, and the artist or viewer.⁸⁰ Citing Kandinsky's "Rule of Inner Necessity," Behne added that rules, as far as they existed at all, came from within the individual artist, not from nature or the *zeitgeist*. He wrote, "the rule that controls and orders every Expressionist, operates inside the artist. . . . He is beholden only to his own [inner] artistic ideal."⁸¹ Echoing Behne's Idealist discourse, Taut wrote, "It is the first priority of the architect to approach every assignment without preconceptions, without preexisting formulas or

⁸⁰ Behne, "Kunst und Gesetzmäßigkeit," Wissenschaftliche Rundschau 3, no. 3 (Nov. 1, 1912): 49-52. In this article Behne reviews the ideas of the director of the Magdeburg museum, T. Volbehr, Gibt es Kunstgesetze? (1912), who begins by disproving Schopenhauer's thesis.

⁸¹ Behne, "Max Pechstein," Die Hilfe 19, no. 9 (Feb. 27, 1913): 139.

predetermined formal ideas."⁸² He then wrote even more decisively, "I am of the opinion that as nice and scientific as rules can be, [in art] there are no rules. There are not rules about which one can say: that is *the* principle. . . . 'Principium' signifies beginning; yes one can assume that. But to carry a principle to the end, that seems very dangerous. That is why I subscribe to the Roman saying: *Principiis obsta!* (oppose all principles!)."⁸³ Behne later wrote almost identically, in clear reference to Taut: "Save us from predetermined principles."⁸⁴

Multi-media Collaboration: Behne, Scheerbart, Taut

Paul Scheerbart

On July 30, 1913, Taut met the fantastical poet, journalist, novelist, inventor, and utopian artist Paul Scheerbart. Scheerbart and his work would have a significant impact on Behne and Taut, deepening their intellectual partnership and spiritual quest for an artistic Expressionist architecture.⁸⁵ Scheerbart, a generation older than Taut and

⁸² Taut, "Zu den Arbeiten." This was Taut's first extensive article summarizing his work to date.

⁸³ Taut, "Kleinhausbau," p. 12; also cited in Speidel, "Bruno Taut und die Berliner Architektur," pp. 105-106. Emphasis in original. "Principiis obstat," which Taut himself translated as "Wehre dich gegen Principien!", (more correctly translated as "Defend against beginnings") became a personal motto of Taut's, even inscribed in the Ex Libris designed for him by his Expressionist artist friend Franz Mutzenbecher. See also Manfred Speidel, "Bruno Taut als Architekt der Deutschen Gartenstadtgesellschaft," in Speidel, Bruno Taut, p. 116.

⁸⁴ "Hüten wir uns vor Begriffen"; Behne, "Prinzip oder Takt?" p. 119.

⁸⁵ This date of Taut and Scheerbart's first meeting, long the subject of speculation and confusion, has now been more definitively established by Leo Ikelaar,

Behne, was a well-known, well-published bohemian figure in Berlin. [Figure 4.20]

Often ill-dressed and reportedly drunk, he was a fixture along with his old friend

Herwarth Walden, at the Café des Westens, the meeting place of Berlin's liberal artistic

milieu.⁸⁶ [Figure 4.21] Scheerbart, whom Walden called "the first Expressionist," and

whom Behne called "the first Cubist," had been writing novels, essays, and *feuilleton*

pieces for over twenty years. His work sought to release architecture from the burdens

of constricting rationality, pompous style, and inhuman seriousness.⁸⁷ His writings

based on correspondence in the company archives of the Heinersdorff Glass company; Ikelaar, ed., Paul Scheerbart und Bruno Taut: zur Geschichte einer Bekanntschaft (1996).

Scheerbart (1863-1915), the son of a carpenter, was born in East Prussia (Danzig), like Taut. He studied philosophy and art history before coming to Berlin in 1885 to become, like Behne, a journalist and *feuilleton* writer (early on he wrote regular columns for the Danziger Courier and the Berliner Börsen Courier). Ever animated and full of fantastical ideas, he squandered a sizable inheritance already as a young man (his parents died before he was ten, his ten older siblings before he was sixteen), and lived most of his life poverty stricken and near starvation. He spent his publishing royalties on projects such as his quest for a "perpetuum mobile." The most important sources on Scheerbart and his relationship to Expressionism and Taut are in chronological order: Ralph Musielski, Bau-Gespräche. Architekturvisionen von Paul Scheerbart, Bruno Taut und der 'Gläsernen Kette' (2003); Rosemarie Haag Bletter, "Mies and Dark Transparency," in Mies in Berlin, ed. Terence Riley and Barry Bergdoll (2001), pp. 350-357; John A. Stuart, "Introduction," in Paul Scheerbart, The Gray Cloth (2001), a translation of Scheerbart's most important architectural fantasy Graues Tuch (1914); Mechthild Rausch, ed., 70 Trillionen Weltgrüße. Eine Biographie in Briefen 1889-1915 (1997); Ikelaar, Paul Scheerbart und Bruno Taut; Rosemarie Haag Bletter, "Paul Scheerbart's Architectural Fantasies," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 34, no. 2 (May 1975): 83-97; Bletter, "Bruno Taut and Paul Scheerbart's Vision"; Reyner Banham, "The Glass Paradise," Architectural Review n.125 (Feb. 1959): 87-89.

⁸⁶ See the oft-reproduced photo of Walden and Scheerbart titled "The 'moderns' at their table in the Café des Westens," printed in Der Weltspiegel, an illustrated insert to the Berliner Tageblatt no. 41 (May 21, 1905); reprinted in Ikelaar, Paul Scheerbart und Bruno Taut, p. 12; and in Asmus, Berlin um 1900, p. 342.

⁸⁷ Walden, "Paul Scheerbart. Rede am Grab," Der Sturm 6 (1915/16): 96, quoted in Wolfgang Pehnt, Die Architektur des Expressionismus 3rd ed. (1998), p. 101; Behne,

conjured up a visionary "glass architecture" (*Glasarchitektur*) that was flexible and mobile, floating and towering, gleaming and transcendent, and that was allied with a modern political and social agenda calling for internationalism, pacifism and a greater equality of the sexes.

While writing his aphoristic handbook Glasarchitektur in the summer of 1913, Scheerbart flirted with the real technical and conceptual implications of building with glass, and dreamt of realizing a version of his utopian glass fantasy.⁸⁸ In mid-July 1913 Scheerbart wrote to the Heinersdorff art glass company seeking a "*Glasarchitekt*" that might help him, and expressed his desire to found an "Association for Glass

Wiederkehr der Kunst (1919), p. 39. Banham has suggested that Scheerbart fantasized about a clean and well-lit glass architecture to escape the impoverished, sensory-deprived tenement-house conditions in which the chronically down-and-out artist constantly found himself; Banham, "The Glass Paradise," p. 35. Whyte claims that Scheerbart's first contacts with real architecture came through Walden, and noted that Scheerbart's many letters to Walden often closed with architectural greetings; Whyte, Bruno Taut, p. 32. Scheerbart first described symbolic and metaphysical implications of glass in Das Paradies. Die Heimat der Kunst (1889). In Münchhausen und Clarissa (1906) he described full-blown colored glass architectural utopias. In Lesabendio: ein Asteriden Roman (1913), a ladies novel, he explored at great length colored glass architecture that can be joined with music, and the idea that the process of building and construction could in itself lead to knowledge and heightened awareness. In "Das Ozeansanatorium für Heukranke" Der Sturm 3, no. 123/124 (Aug. 1912): 128-130, he describes a floating glass island with colored glass pavilions with double walls. For summaries of Scheerbart's work that relates to architecture, see Musielski, Bau-Gespräche; and Bletter, "Paul Scheerbart's Architectural Fantasies."

⁸⁸ Scheerbart, Glasarchitektur (1914) is a book of 111 very short chapters outlining technical ideas for glass construction and all manner of material culture, historical precedents as well as utopian hopes for a *Glasarchitektur*. Glasarchitektur was republished with a postscript by Wolfgang Pehnt (1971); again in 1986 alongside the Glashaus correspondence; and again recently postscript by Mechthild Rausch (2002), from which all citations here are taken. It has been translated into English in Dennis Sharp, ed., Glass Architecture and Alpine Architecture (1972), and recently reprinted in The Light Construction Reader, pp. 345-368.

Architecture" that would primarily create "propaganda" for glass. Heinersdorff replied, "By chance, a young, very talented architect is just now busy thinking about a glass house very much in the spirit you describe, that is to be built next year at the exhibit in Cologne," referring to Taut. Taut, meanwhile, claimed to have known Scheerbart's work "well."⁸⁹ Receiving at that moment a great deal of positive press from Behne and others for his steel and glass pavilion then on display in Leipzig, Taut was already involved in the preliminary designs for a pavilion in which he proposed to promote the German glass industry. [Figure 4.22: Glashaus Exterior] He eagerly the invitation to exchange ideas on glass with Scheerbart.⁹⁰ The two met on July 30, and despite their seventeen-year age difference began an intense spiritual and intellectual collaboration that lasted until Scheerbart's death in October 1915. Their collegiality developed not only out of an interest in *Glasarchitektur*, but also from their shared East Prussian roots

⁸⁹ Scheerbart's first inquiry to Heinersdorff is from July 11, 1913; Heinersdorff's reply was on July 24. The mostly complete correspondence regarding their interaction has been published in Ikelaar, Paul Scheerbart und Bruno Taut, pp. 88-135; and Scheerbart's letters in Rausch, 70 Trillionen Weltgrüße, pp. 457-475. Scheerbart had known the whole Heinersdorff family since the turn-of-the-century. Gottfried Heinersdorff had been a member of the Werkbund since 1908, through which Taut had probably gotten to know him. He had also done the glass work on Taut's Leipzig Pavilion. In addition, Heinersdorff was active in the New Secession and actively pursued contacts to Sturm artists. The Heinersdorff company archives, including the correspondence are in Archiv der Vereinigten Werkstätten für Mosaik und Glasmalerei Puhl & Wagner, Gottfried Heinersdorff, at the Berlinische Galerie; see H. Geisert, et al, Wände aus farbigem Glas (1989).

⁹⁰ Speidel claims that Taut's Glashaus was begun in April 1913, and conceived in model by July 1913; Speidel, Bruno Taut, p. 125; and Speidel, "Bruno Taut und die Berliner Architektur 1913 bis 1923," p. 108. Kurt Junghanns claims the Glashaus was complete by the time Taut and Scheerbart met; Junghanns, Bruno Taut, p. 28.

and dialect.⁹¹ Soon after their initial meeting, Scheerbart visited Taut's steel pavilion in Leipzig.⁹² In October 1913 he wrote an introductory article on Taut's Glashaus (glass pavilion) in the Berliner Tageblatt in which he described his discovery of Taut's design as "the greatest event in my life."⁹³ At some point later that year, Scheerbart decided to dedicate his book Glasarchitektur to Taut. Taut, meanwhile, engaged Scheerbart to write a set of aphorisms about glass for the what came to be known as the *Glashaus* in Cologne. The aphorisms were inscribed in large letter on a decorative frieze just below the multifaceted, colored glass dome.⁹⁴

During the fall of 1913 and spring of 1914, Taut's exchanges with Scheerbart coincided with his intensifying collaboration with Behne. In the fall, on the heels of his March 1913 introduction of Taut, Behne penned glowing reviews of the architect's

⁹¹ Bletter, "Bruno Taut and Paul Scheerbart's Vision."

⁹² There is a postcard of the Leipzig pavilion that Scheerbart wrote to his poet friend Richard Dehmel, in the Dehmel papers, Staatsarchiv Hamburg.

⁹³ Scheerbart, "Das Glashaus: ein Vorbericht," Berliner Tageblatt (Oct. 22, 1913).

⁹⁴ Bletter claimed the Glashaus was "replica of Scheerbart's ideas"; Bletter "The Interpretation of the Glass Dream: Expressionist Architecture and the History of the Crystal Metaphor," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 40, no. 1 (March 1981): 33. The mutual dedication of their works is chronicled in their correspondence, published in Ikelaar, Paul Scheerbart und Bruno Taut; as well as in Rausch, 70 Trillionen Weltgrüße, pp. 458ff. Taut first published Scheerbart's letters regarding their collaboration in his important post-war journal Frühlicht, part of the professional planning journal Stadtbaukunst alter und neuer Zeit 1, no. 3 (1920): 45-48. The letters were republished in Ulrich Conrads, ed., Frühlicht (1963), pp. 18-23. Taut later wrote that this project had merely brought him together with Scheerbart, and that Scheerbart, by admiring Taut, had "indirectly" led Taut to the design; Taut, "Glaserzeugung und Glasbau," Qualität 1, no. 1/2 (Apr./May 1920): 9-14; quoted in Musielski, Bau-Gespräche, p. 87; and in Angelica Thiekötter, ed., Kristallisationen. Splitterungen: Bruno Tauts Glashaus (1993), p. 168.

Leipzig pavilion and essays connecting an Expressionist approach to art and architecture. It is hard to imagine that Behne was not involved in or at least well aware of Taut's and Scheerbart's projects for a glass architecture. Although the exact details of the relationships between these three men are difficult to reconstruct, it is certain they interacted frequently, and soon became mutual admirers.⁹⁵

Behne had probably become acquainted with Scheerbart through his life-long interest in the Berlin literary scene.⁹⁶ The two shared a deep curiosity about glass and colored mosaics. Scheerbart had written extensively on mosaics in his novels, and Behne's dissertation analyzed medieval mosaics, leading him to publish several articles

⁹⁵ Walden gave the eulogy at Scheerbart's funeral in 1915. Taut's work is said to be a continuation of Scheerbart's quest for a glass architecture and the concomitant world spirit. Behne published an obituary for Scheerbart in Zeit-Echo n.5 (1915-16): 77; and commemorative articles on the tenth and twentieth anniversaries of Scheerbart's death: Behne, "Paul Scheerbart," Ostdeutsche Monatshefte 6.2, no. 7 (Oct. 1925): 735-737; Behne, "Paul Scheerbart," Deutsche Zukunft 3, no. 41 (Oct. 13, 1935): 20. He celebrated Walden's fiftieth birthday: Behne, "Herwarth Walden," Die Welt am Abend 6, no. 218 (Sept. 17, 1928): B.2. Behne also helped found a "Paul Scheerbart Association" at the Sturm offices on Jan. 18, 1929, to commemorate the fifteenth anniversary of Scheerbart's death, and to help propagate his legacy. Behne was president, and members including Taut, Walden, Alfred Richard Meyer, Erich Mühsam, and others. See the announcement in Welt am Abend n.25 (Jan. 30, 1929); and in Das Neue Berlin 12 (1929): 43. Walden's personal copies of Scheerbart's books, as well as a stack of newspaper clippings on Scheerbart can be found in the Walden Nachlaß in the SBPK.

⁹⁶ See chapter 1 on Behne's early interest in Berlin's avant-garde literary and theater scene. Behne took over the monthly "Theater Arts" column for the Sozialistische Monatshefte from July 1913 to April 1914; Behne, "'Bühnenkunst'--Reinhardt: Tolstojaufführung, Kinokunst, Kurze Chronik, Literatur," Sozialistische Monatshefte 37, no. 14 (July 24, 1913): 885-888. He first mentioned Scheerbart in Behne, "Kinokunst" Sozialistische Monatshefte 19.2, no. 14 (July 24, 1913): 886; and commented on him in Behne, "Der erste deutsche Herbstsalon," Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten (Sept. 28, 1913).

on the subject.⁹⁷ In addition, Behne may have met Scheerbart through Walden, who had published and promoted Scheerbart's work for years. They all frequented the Café des Westens, which Behne was known to have visited in search of contacts and material for his writing.⁹⁸

These inter-relationships solidified in the context of Walden's Sturm enterprise.⁹⁹ Scheerbart had published many of his utopian glass fantasies in Der Sturm, and after his manuscript Glasarchitektur was rejected by his regular publisher for being merely "practical building advice," he came back to Walden's Sturm-Verlag to publish his it May 1914.¹⁰⁰ In an effort to reach out to the public even during the tumult

⁹⁷ See, for example, Behne "Der Inkrustationsstil in Toscana"; Behne, "Inkrustation und Mosaik," Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft 7, no. 2 (Feb. 1914): 55-60; Behne, "Ausstellung altchristlicher Mosaiken," Vorwärts 36, no. 104 (Feb. 26, 1919); Behne, "Ausstellung von Mosaiken," Der Cicerone 11, no. 5/6 (Mar. 13/27, 1919): 141-142. See also Ikelaar, Paul Scheerbart und Bruno Taut, p. 49.

⁹⁸ There is debate about how and when Walden met Scheerbart, Ikelaar claiming they met as early as 1895. Scheerbart definitely participated in Walden's "Verein für Kunst" in 1903 and was photographed at the Café des Westens with Walden in 1905. For a short while in 1909 Walden was editor of the theater magazine Der neue Weg, to which Scheerbart contributed, as did Peter Behrens and Hermann Muthesius. Scheerbart published 34 literary essays in Der Sturm, primarily 1910-12, before Walden's journal focused more exclusively on visual art. See Whyte, Bruno Taut, p. 32; Ikelaar, Paul Scheerbart und Bruno Taut, p. 47-48. The Behnes and the Waldens were both invited for dinner at the Scheerbart's house in August 1914; see letter from Anna Scheerbart to Nell Walden (Aug. 14, 1914) published in Rausch, 70 Trillionen Weltgrüße, p. 473.

⁹⁹ Kristiana. Hartmann and Franzisca Bollerey insisted that Taut and Scheerbart got to know each other in the context of the Sturm group; Hartmann and Bollerey, "Das Glashaus von Bruno Taut," in Die Deutsche Werkbund-Ausstellung Köln. P.134.

¹⁰⁰ Glasarchitektur was written in the fall of 1913, and rejected by Scheerbart's regular publisher Georg Müller in December 1913 because it contained "merely practical building suggestions." It was subsequently published by Walden's Sturm

of the war, Walden donated copies of Glasarchitektur to public institutions including libraries and military hospitals. Although Scheerbart had all but stopped publishing in Der Sturm after 1912, he remained close to Walden and may well have drawn Behne deeper into that circle. Certainly Behne's publishing activity in Der Sturm increased, as did his role as a semi-official Sturm theoretician during and after the Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon (First German Fall Salon) in the fall of 1913. Behne first connected Scheerbart to his own interests in Expressionist art in a review of Walden's Herbstsalon in September 1913. In it he criticized Alfred Kubin's "mystical and dark" illustrations on display as inappropriate for the "crystalline clarity and definite lightness" of Scheerbart's novel Lesabendio, and suggested that the "pure and clear" drawings of Paul Klee or Kandinsky would have been more appropriate.¹⁰¹

Throughout his career, Behne championed this same "clarity," "lightness," "purity," and "freedom" in Scheerbart's work and in glass architecture more generally. In a 1914 article he celebrated the "wondrous color . . . the liveliness . . . and the unique beauty" of glass, explaining that "Scheerbart does not like the heaviness and elephantine massiveness the public always admires. He loves freedom, fresh lightness and cheerfulness. . . . Glass gives us the possibility of also making our architecture light and free, pure and cheerful. . . . Glass architecture is a [grand] idea. She belongs to the

Verlag in May 1914; see letter from Taut to Richard Dehmelt (Jan. 9, 1914) and letters to Walden published in Rausch, 70 Trillionen Weltgrüße, pp. 458-459.

¹⁰¹ Behne, "Der erste deutsche Herbstsalon," Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten (Sept. 28, 1913).

future-- and thus to the interests of the youth."¹⁰² In an obituary for Scheerbart at the end of 1915, Behne wrote: "No adjective can describe you [Scheerbart] . . . for you were beauty personified. . . . You recognized . . . that beauty is in large part movement, dissolution, dynamism and floating. Everything dark and everything crooked had to flee from you into its holes."¹⁰³

Behne asserted often that glass did not have to be transparent to be modern or influential. He wrote: "The appeal of glass does not lie in the fact that through it we can see what transpires outside . . . the walls [of the Glashaus] are *nontransparent*. Yes, that's the amazing thing. Glass also has another great attraction that we, we who know glass only as a window pane in our homes, can surmise. . . . Glass is *in itself* a material of unique beauty, and even when we cannot see through it, as a wall, as an encloser of space, it has an inestimable artistic significance."¹⁰⁴ [Figure 4.23 and 4.24] In contrast to

¹⁰² "Scheerbart liebt das Schwere und Elefantenmäßige nicht, das dem Publikum immer so angenehm ist; er liebt die Freiheit, frische Leichtigkeit und Heiterkeit. Und nun wissen wir auch warum Scheerbart sich für die Glasarchitektur einsetzt: weil das Glas die Möglichkeit gibt, auch unsere Architektur leicht und frei, rein und heiter zu machen"; Behne, "Das Glashaus," 6, no. 20 Arbeiter-Jugend (Sept. 26, 1914): 293.

¹⁰³ "Kein Adjektiv erreicht dich . . . denn Du warst die Schönheit selbst. . . . Du sahst . . . daß aber die Schönheit ganz wesentlich Bewegung, Auflösung, Schwingen, und Schweben ist. . . . Alles Dunkle und alles krumme mußte von dir in seine Löcher flüchten"; Behne, "Paul Scheerbart †," Zeit-Echo no. 5 (1915/16): 77.

¹⁰⁴ "Nicht darin liegt der Reiz, daß wir nun nun alles sehen können, was draußen vorgeht; vielmehr sind die Wände *undurchsichtig*. . . . Ja daß eben ist der Witz. Das Glas hat noch einen ganz andere Reize, als wir, wir die es nur als Fensterscheibe in unseren Häusern kennen, uns ahnen lassen. . . . Das Glas ist *an sich* ein Material von einziger Schönheit, und auch wenn wir nicht hindurchsehen können, hat es als Wand, als Umschließung eines Raumes eine unabschätzbare künstlerische Bedeutung"; Behne, "Das Glashaus," p. 292, emphasis in original.

the mature work of modern architects such as Le Corbusier and Erich Mendelsohn (later celebrated as "glass architects" by Sigfried Giedion and Walter Benjamin), the fantastically colored glass walls described by Scheerbart and built by Taut were only translucent, and mostly colored. By closing the viewer's gaze off from the outside world, Taut was giving the viewer a more individual, interior experience. In doing so he sought to emphasize and celebrate the subjective and the personal--the Expressionist world view. Taut's glass panels let in light, but was not open to the world. The primary emphasis of his work was not objectivity and rationality, but rather subjectivity, expression, and what Rosemarie Haag Bletter has called the "dark side" of Scheerbart's work.¹⁰⁵ Behne--standing somewhere between Benjamin and Bletter on the issue of glass--felt that even clear plate glass could have an emotional "dark side," a mystical, transformative, and Expressionist spirituality.

Benjamin was fascinated by the duality of rationality and the often comic subjectivity in Scheerbart's *Glasarchitektur*. This same paradoxical duality was expressed by Behne in his admiration for Taut's "artistic *Sachlichkeit*." Both Benjamin and Behne sought a sober mix of objectivity and utopian fantasy that Behne defined as

¹⁰⁵ Rosemarie Haag Bletter, "Mies and Dark Transparency," pp. 350-357. For similar views on the subjective side of glass, see Anthony Vidler, "Dark Space," and "Transparency," in *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely*, (1992) pp. 167-175, 217-225; Jose Quetglas, "The Fear of Glass," in *Architectureproduction*, ed. Beatriz Colomina, Joan Ockman et al (1988), pp. 123-151; slightly revised in K. Michael Hays, ed., *Architecture Theory Since 1968* (1998), pp. 384-39. For a related discussion on the emotional "dark side" of the Bauhaus, see Joseph Rykwert, "The Dark Side of the Bauhaus," *The Necessity of Artifice. Ideas in Architecture* (1982), pp. 44-49.

"Expressionist."¹⁰⁶ It is unlikely, then, that Benjamin interpreted the glass world described by Scheerbart as "antihumanist" during or immediately after World War I, as has recently been suggested.¹⁰⁷ Scheerbart was, at his core, anticlassical, a quality admired by the Dadaists as well as by Benjamin after the late 1920.

Taut probably knew the Berlin art scene well through his own work as a painter (albeit in a very naturalistic style), and through personal friendships with Franz Mutzenbecher and other artists he got to know in his student days with the Choriner Kreis. But Taut was also a young architect starting up a new practice, busy with commissions in Berlin and Magdeburg. It is more likely, then, that Behne and Scheerbart led Taut to focus more closely on the Sturm circle and to acquaint himself more intensely with the Expressionist art and theory of Kandinsky, Marc, and Worringer.¹⁰⁸ In the fall of 1913 Taut was especially inspired by Walden's Herbstsalon,

¹⁰⁶ On Benjamin's fascination by rationality and fantasy, see Mertins, "Enticing and Threatening Face of Prehistory," p. 11.

¹⁰⁷ On the chronologically suspect interpretation of Scheerbart as anti-humanist see Detlef Mertins, "The Enticing and Threatening Face of Prehistory: Walter Benjamin and the Utopia of Glass," *Assemblage* 29 (1996): 6-23. On anti-humanism, see also K. Michael Hays, *Modernism and the Posthumanist Subject. The Architecture of Hannes Meyer and Ludwig Hilbersheimer* (1992). For a related critique of this position see Mary McLeod and Joan Ockamn, "Some Comments on Reproduction with Reference to Colomina and Hays," in Colomina and Ockman, *Architectureproduction*, pp. 223-231.

¹⁰⁸ Bletter notes that in 1912 Taut worked on designs for a building at Tiergartenstraße 34a, the address where Walden first opened his Sturm Gallery in an abandoned villa, and speculates that Taut got to know Walden in this context, as a client. Although Bletter cites Taut's own CV from 1931 to claim that Taut renovated the villa for Walden, Nerdinger lists this as a new building, presumably a replacement for the villa after Walden abandoned it, designed from late 1912 and finished in 1914. Walden used the original building only for his first two exhibits (Blue Rider and Futurists) in March and April 1912. Nonetheless, Taut may well have become

the first international survey of modernist painting, which included both German Expressionists and foreign artists such as Delauney and Archipenko.¹⁰⁹ Behne, moreover, was one of the official tour guides of this exhibit. Behne also supplied Taut with theoretical literature. In December, Behne sent Taut a letter he had just received from Franz Marc, which Behne felt Taut would be "particularly interested in at this moment."¹¹⁰ Behne and Scheerbart, aiding Walden in his effort to let artists speak for themselves in Der Sturm, also almost certainly played a role in getting Taut to write his first theoretical article and to publish it in Der Sturm in February 1914. Behne's own article on Taut in the same journal a week later introduced the young architect to the Expressionist milieu, in time for the exhibition of the completed model of the Glashaus,

interested in the recent tenant of the site. In June 1913 Walden moved into an apartment at Potsdamerstraße 134a, the same address as the new gallery and the editorial offices of Der Sturm, and not far from the offices of Hoffmann and Taut Architects at Linkstraße 20. See Bletter, "Bruno Taut and Paul Scheerbart's Vision," p. 78; Nell Walden and Lothar Schreyer eds., Der Sturm, p. 257; Nerdinger et al, Bruno Taut, p. 329n55; Ikelaar, Paul Scheerbart and Bruno Taut, p. 43.

¹⁰⁹ With existing records, it has not been possible to pinpoint when and how Taut first came in contact with Expressionist painters. Kurt Junghanns claims he was first excited by Walden's Herbstsalon exhibit in the fall of 1913. Taut and Behne began exchanging ideas on modern painting from the very begin of their relationship; see the postcard from Taut to Behne thanking Behne for the postcard from the Secessionist exhibit; Taut postcard to Behne (Apr. 29, 1913). Based on some questionable formal similarities, Tilmann Buddensieg has claimed that Taut was aware of Cubists well before he met Behne, and in fact was influenced by them in his designs of the Kottbusserdam apartment building, from 1910-11; Buddensieg, "Berlin: Kottbusser Damm," Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (Apr. 30, 1977).

¹¹⁰ The Marc letter has not been found; but there is a reference to it in a letter from Behne to Bruno Taut (Dec. 27, 1913) BTA-01-471, Archiv Bruno Taut, AdK.

which was on public display in the Sturm gallery in April 1913.¹¹¹

Taut's "*Eine Notwendigkeit*" (A Necessity) Essay

Taut, who had been working since spring 1913 on the glass pavilion for the Cologne Werkbund exposition, still had to persuade the Werkbund to let him build it. His relatively unknown status, the experimental and artistic nature of his ideas, and the fact that his project was both personally initiated and an advertising pavilion rather than an official exhibition building, made it controversial to the Werkbund's executive board and planners. As a result, the glass pavilion was left off the first two master plans, and funding by the Werkbund was delayed and reduced to such an extent that Taut was forced to put up large amounts of his own money to see his glass dreams realized.¹¹² When Taut was finally given a building site, it was in front of the official entrance pavilion, right next to the tram station that brought people to the fair, and far away from all the other official Werkbund exhibition pavilions. [Figure]

¹¹¹ The model was on display in the Sturm gallery in April 1914, at the same time as an exhibit of Paul Klee's paintings. See *Vossische Zeitung* n.177 (Apr. 7, 1914), cited in Thiekötter, *Kristallisationen*, p. 170.

¹¹² The Glashaus is missing from the plan of the exhibition published in the official Werkbund yearbook *Die Kunst in Industrie und Handel* (1913), opp. p. 96. Taut served as own client for the Glashaus. He received only a minor sum from the Werkbund and personally undertook the difficult task of procuring funds and materials from glass manufacturers. In the end Taut had to use RM 20,000 of his own money to realize his glass dream. To add insult to injury, the City of Cologne and the Werkbund asked him to pay for its removal when the German army needed the grounds in 1916 for troop preparations. See Thiekötter, *Kristallisationen*, pp. 15, 158-159, 168; and Kristiana Hartmann, "Ohne einen Glaspalast ist das Leben eine Last," in Nerdinger et al, *Bruno Taut*, p. 56.

In an attempt to gain public support and prove the worthiness of his ideas, Taut turned to the press. In addition to commissioning Scheerbart's newspaper article, Taut negotiated with a few trade magazines to announce his general plans for a glass building that fall.¹¹³ In December, he arranged a press conference and reception to show off the completed model and present his ideas more fully. The first photos of the model were published in the professional journal Bauwelt on January 1, 1914.¹¹⁴ By January 6, Taut claimed to have collected sixty press clippings, which he presented as qualifications to the finance committee of the Werkbund.¹¹⁵ This, along with pressure from the wealthy and influential patron Karl Ernst Osthaus (a founding member of the

¹¹³ Scheerbart, "Das Glashaus: ein Vorbericht,"; Anon, "Das Glas in der Architektur," Die Glas-Industrie 24, no. 44 (1913): 3-4; and Anon., "Das 'Gläserne Haus' auf der Deutschen Werkbund Ausstellung," Keramische Rundschau 21, no. 42 (Oct. 1913): 435.

¹¹⁴ See letter from Heinersdorff to Taut (Dec. 15, 1913) in the Heinersdorff Archive; cited in the chronology by Bettina Held in Thiekötter, Kristallisationen, p. 168. Bauwelt published four design drawings of the Glashaus that vary slightly with the executed work; "Das Glashaus für die Werkbund-Ausstellung," Bauwelt 15, no. 1 (Jan. 1, 1914): 25-26.

¹¹⁵ See letter from Taut to Heinersdorff (Jan. 6, 1914), in the Heinersdorff archive; listed in the chronology by Bettina Held in Thiekötter, Kristallisationen, p. 168. It is unclear which 60 articles Taut claimed to have, whether he exaggerated, whether they all explicitly cited the Glashaus, or more likely whether they included all articles ever published on Taut. The archives and extant bibliographies provide references to only a handful of articles (not 60) on the Glashaus, beginning in the fall of 1913; see the catalogue entry in Nerdinger, et al, Bruno Taut, and the bibliography in Thiekötter, Kristallisationen, pp. 174-176. However, the structure of Germany's newspaper publishing business may have made this possible. A small story or byline in a single Berlin newspaper could have been picked up through news distribution services by literally dozens of small, regional and local newspapers, and in turn collected by one of a number of clipping agencies, to whom many architects and institutions had standing subscriptions.

Werkbund and supporter of young artists, including Taut since 1909), ensured that the project for the Glashauss would go forward.¹¹⁶

Behne, as a journalist and friend with connections to the publishing world, began supporting Taut's project immediately. In January 1914 he published a second essay on Taut in the prominent cultural journal März. This was reprinted a month later in Der Sturm to introduce this relatively unknown architect to the Sturm circle.¹¹⁷

Nominally the piece was about Taut's newest Berlin apartment building. But it also lauded Taut's "innovative approach" of seeking a simple, *sachlich* architecture based simultaneously on primal elements of building and on fantasy. Behne's article declared Taut to be a "modern and totally contemporary" architect. At the same time Behne placed early announcements about the glass pavilion in Taut's hometown newspaper, the Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung, and in the popular illustrated magazine Zeit im

¹¹⁶ Karl Ernst Osthaus (1874-1921), as part of his efforts to create an arts community in Hagen, had actively promoted the work of many young and avant-garde artists and craftsmen since the turn-of-the-century, including purchasing art and craft work for himself and his museum, and commissioning many of architecture's rising stars, including Taut, for whom he arranged a commission to design a turbine power generation plant in 1909. On Osthaus see below, and Carmen L. Stonge, "Karl Ernst Osthaus: The Folkwang Museum and the Dissemination of International Modernism," (Diss. 1993); Anna-Christa Funk-Jones and Johann H. Müller, eds., Die Folkwang-Idee des Karl Ernst Osthaus (1984); and Herta Hesse-Frielinghaus, ed., Karl Ernst Osthaus. Leben und Werk (1971), as well as his collected writings Osthaus, Reden und Schriften, ed. Rainer Stamm (2002). On Osthaus' relationship with Taut from 1909-1922, see Birgit Schulte, ed., Auf dem Weg zu einer Handgreiflichen Utopie (1994). Osthaus continued his support of Taut when his Folkwang Verlag published Taut's important utopian writings after World War I; see Rainer Stamm, "Das 'Taut-Werk,' Bruno Tauts Inkunabeln utopischer Architektur," in Stamm and Schreiber, Bau einer neuen Welt, pp. 18-23.

¹¹⁷ Behne, "'Ein neues Haus!"; identical to Behne, "Bruno Taut," Der Sturm.

Bild. The latter also included one of the earliest published photos of the Glashaus model, probably given out by Taut at the press conference.¹¹⁸ [Figure 4.26] In each article Behne discussed the imminent realization of a new glass architecture based on ideas Scheerbart would soon publish in a book, and that Taut's pavilion would include inscriptions by Scheerbart. Scheerbart quickly admitted that Behne's explanation clarified Taut's artistic intentions to Scheerbart himself.¹¹⁹ A whole series of laudatory articles followed in diverse cultural journals over the following months.¹²⁰ No one wrote more on Taut, the Glashaus, and Expressionist ideas than Behne.

In February, while finalizing his designs for the Glashaus, Taut himself put pen

¹¹⁸ Behne first announced that Taut's pavilion would include Scheerbart inscriptions and that Scheerbart was the originator of glass architecture in [Behne], "[Das Glashaus]," Zeit im Bild 12.1, no. 5 (Jan. 29, 1914): 280; and Behne, "Das Glashaus," Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung (Jan. 30, 1914).

¹¹⁹ In a letter to Taut (Feb. 8, 1914), Scheerbart wrote that he had just read Behne's newspaper article and now understood the dedication; letter published in Rausch, 70 Trillionen Weltgrüße, p. 460.

¹²⁰ Further articles by Behne concerning the Glashaus include: Behne, "Berliner Architektur" Zeit im Bild; Behne, "Ostpreussische Architekten in Berlin," Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung (Apr. 17, 1914): 6; Behne, "Das Glashaus," Die Umschau 18, no. 35 (Aug. 29, 1914): 712-716, republished in Adolf Behne, Architekturkritik in der Zeit und über der Zeit hinaus, ed. Haila Ochs (1994), p. 26-29 (cited as Ochs, Architekturkritik hereafter); Behne, "Das Glashaus," Arbeiter-Jugend 6, no. 20 (Sept. 26, 1914): 291-293; Behne, "Gedanken über Kunst und Zweck, dem Glashause gewidmet," Kunstgewerbeblatt N.F.27, no. 1 (Oct. 1915): 1-4; and after the war Behne, "Glasarchitektur," Frühlicht, n.1 (Jan. 1920): 13-16; reprinted in Conrads, Frühlicht, p. 12-16; and in Ulrich Conrads and Hans G. Sperlich, Phantastische Architektur (1960), pp. 132-134; translated as The Architecture of Fantasy (1962). The fact that Behne's first known article to discuss the Glashaus in Zeit im Bild from January 29, has never, to my knowledge, been cited or found by other scholars, suggests that there are probably many more published articles in the German press about the Glashaus (or any subject) than historians have been able to locate.

to paper to write his essay "*Eine Notwendigkeit*" ("A Necessity"). It was a composite of ideas circulating among Behne, Scheerbart, Walden, and the Expressionists.¹²¹ Behne arranged that the essay appeared in the same issue of Der Sturm as his own article about the architect, the kind of "artist's statement" that Walden invited. Taut's article called on architects to follow contemporary painters in seeking a new artistic spirit. Success in this venture would "necessitate" the creation of a magnificent new communal building, akin to the Gothic cathedrals. Architects were to lead the other arts in creating a temple of the arts whose design and construction would help revitalize and renew modern art.¹²² The new building was to be without any real function. The goal was that architecture would merge with the other arts of painting and sculpture to achieve a new unity. Taut wrote: "Let us build together a magnificent building! A building which will not simply be architecture, but in which everything—painting, sculpture, everything together—will create a great architecture, and in which architecture will once again merge with the other arts. Architecture here should be both frame and content. This building does not need to have a purely practical

¹²¹ Bruno Taut, "Eine Notwendigkeit," Der Sturm 4, no. 196/197 (Feb. 1914): 175; translated in Washton Long, German Expressionism, p. 126; and more accurately in Timothy O. Benson, ed., Expressionist Utopias (1993), pp. 282-283. On the essay see Marcel Franciscono, Walter Gropius and the Creation of the Bauhaus in Weimar (1971), p. 91-100; Whyte, Bruno Taut p. 33-38; Bletter, "Bruno Taut," pp. 83-86; Santomaso, "Origins and Aims," pp. 18-21.

¹²² Brian Hatton argues that Taut stressed collaboration more than total control by a single artist; Hatton, "Kandinsky and Taut: the Total Work of Art," Issues in the Theory and Practice of Architecture, Art and Design 1, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 15-36, esp. p. 18.

function. Architecture too can free itself from utilitarian demands."¹²³ Taut imagined a museum-like temple of the arts, in an open space outside the city, with "large windows [containing] the light-compositions of Delaunay, on the walls Cubist rhythms, the paintings of a Franz Marc or the art of Kandinsky. The interior and exterior piers feature the constructive forms of [Alexander] Archipenko's sculptures, and [Heinrich] Campendonk will create the ornament. . . . Individuals all should collaborate--as is only possible in architecture--in such a way that the whole rings with a magnificent, unified harmony."¹²⁴

Building on Scheerbart's glass fantasies and Behne's ongoing attempts to define an expressionist architecture, Taut's article is arguably the first manifesto of Expressionist architecture.¹²⁵ Nearly identical to the vision of the Cathedral of the Future (*Zukunftskathedrale*) that was central to Gropius' Bauhaus manifesto five years later, the essay was key to the development of modern architecture.¹²⁶ The important

¹²³ "Bauen wir zusammen an einem großartigen Bauwerk! An einem Bauwerk, das nicht allein Architektur ist, in dem alles, Malerei, Plastik, alles zusammen eine große Architektur bildet, und in dem die Architektur wieder in den anderen Künsten aufgeht. Die Architektur soll hier Rahmen und Inhalt, alles zugleich sein. Dieses Bauwerk braucht keinen rein praktischen Zweck zu haben. Auch die Architektur kann sich von utilitaristischen Forderungen loslösen"; Taut, "Eine Notwendigkeit," p. 175.

¹²⁴ Taut, "Eine Notwendigkeit," p. 175.

¹²⁵ Bletter describes the essay as "the earliest manifesto calling for Expressionist architecture" in Long, *German Expressionism*, p. 124. The manifesto was a particular form of artistic expression, a succinct statement of intent, usually by artists themselves, usually published, often in the popular press, has been described as characteristic of modern art and architecture; see also introduction above.

¹²⁶ Franciscono sees Taut's words as "virtually those of the Bauhaus proclamation"; Franciscono, *Walter Gropius*, p. 91.

turning point it represented in Taut's own work, and the foundational role this article played in both Taut's and Behne's work over the next ten years, demands exploration about the sources of Taut's inspired ideas, especially the influence Behne may have had on it.

Taut's manifesto was a more utopian rendition of the ideas encased in his steel and glass pavilion in Leipzig, which included films and Expressionist sculpture. The nearly complete designs and model for his glass pavilion for the fairgrounds of Cologne, were clearly also on his mind, even if the pavilion as built fell short of the grand synthesis promised in his words. Taut's ever increasing respect for Scheerbart and his utopian visions of a *Glasarchitektur* were key sources for both Taut's manifesto and pavilion. When Scheerbart finished reading Taut's article in Der Sturm he immediately wrote a letter to Taut expressing his approval of the idea, and suggesting they buy land outside of Berlin to realize it. Although nothing ever came of this, Scheerbart's enthusiasm inspired the architect to push his designs further in the utopian and spiritual direction.

From Scheerbart's earliest novel Paradise (1889) to Grey Cloth (the novel written early in 1914 while Taut was composing his own essay), Scheerbart had created vibrant word images of whole new worlds that integrated glass, light, color, music, and motion. The opening scene of Grey Cloth, for example, featured a gigantic exhibition pavilion on the shores of Lake Michigan made of colored, double-glazed walls, illuminated by

blinking colored lights, and filled with a light show and organ music.¹²⁷ Scheerbart remarked that every detail of the pavilion was designed to create a harmonious whole, even the dress of the architect's wife was "grey, and ten percent white" in order to highlight the colors of the architecture. The ironic figure of the all-controlling architect recalled fellow Sturm author Loos' essay "The Poor Little Rich Man," a critique of Secession-style architects infatuated with the total design environment.¹²⁸

Scheerbart's vision began with architecture. It then radiated outward and inward to encompass everything from the smallest technical detail to the overall culture and cosmos, all of which he viewed as interdependent. In Glasarchitektur, for example, he asserted that traditional brick architecture bred a certain dark, closed, heavy mentality, and even mold and sickness. The experience of living in a healthy glass-based world with natural and corrective light, on the other hand, would induce spiritual and cultural transformation, producing a more open, colorful, and lively culture. Behne summed up Scheerbart's belief in the power of architecture to transform culture when he wrote later in 1918: "The idea of a glass architecture is simple. . . . It is not just a crazy poet's idea that glass architecture will bring a new culture. It is a

¹²⁷ Scheerbart, Das Graue Tuch und zehn Prozent Weiß (1914) translated as The Grey Cloth and Ten Percent White (2002). Kandinsky, Van de Velde, and Frank Lloyd Wright had all created dresses that harmonized with architectural environments. On the relationship of fashion and modern architecture, see, for example, Mary McLeod, "Undressing Architecture: Fashion, Gender, and Modernity," in Architecture: In Fashion, ed. Zwi Efrat, Rudolphe El-Khoury et al (1994), pp. 38-123; and Mark Wigley, White Walls, Designer Dresses. The Fashioning of Modern Architecture (1995).

¹²⁸ Loos, "Von einem armen reichen Man," first published in Neues Wiener Tageblatt (Apr. 26, 1900); republished in Ins Leere Gesprochen (1921 and 1981), translated as "The Poor Little Rich Man" Spoken into the Void (1982), pp. 124-127.

fact! . . . Building as elemental activity has the power to transform people. And now building with glass! This would be the surest method of transforming the European into a human being."¹²⁹

Both Scheerbart's and Taut's visions of "a synthesis of the arts" were firmly within the tradition of the "total work of art" (*Gesamtkunstwerk*) of eighteenth and nineteenth-century Romanticism, as well as the turn-of-the-century *Kunstgewerbe*, symbolist and Jugendstil movements. Based on the premise that all art, like nature, embodied universally valid spiritual and material laws, artists had long attempted to synthesize various artistic media into a *Gesamtkunstwerk* that would evoke and intensify these laws. In both their creative process and the resulting art works, many sought greater artistic, social, and philosophical unity to confront the perceived increasing chaos of modernity.¹³⁰ Behne himself cited Richard Wagner's quest for a

¹²⁹ "Die Idee der Glasarchitektur ist einfach. . . . Es ist keine verdrehte Poetenmarotte, daß die Glasarchitektur uns eine neue Kultur bringen würde. Es ist so! . . . Das Bauen als eine *elementare* Tätigkeit vermag den Menschen zu verwandeln. Und nun ein Bauen aus Glas! Das würde das sicherste Mittel sein, aus dem Europäer einen Menschen zu machen"; Behne, *Wiederkehr der Kunst*, p. 65. Behne quoted Scheerbart's lines: "Our culture is to a certain extent a product of our architecture. If we want to bring our culture to a higher level, we must, for better or for worse, change our architecture"; Scheerbart, *Glasarchitektur*, chapter 1, quoted in Behne, "Bruno Taut," *Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung* 2, no. 1 (Apr. 1919): 13-15; also republished in Volkmann and Wendshuh, *Bruno Taut*, p. 186; and Ochs, *Architekturkritik*, pp. 55-59.

¹³⁰ William Morris, Richard Wagner, Oscar Wilde, Stefan Georg, and Peter Behrens all called for collaboration and unification of the arts through opera, theater, music, poetry, and above all architecture. Bletter, "Bruno Taut and Paul Scheerbart's Vision," p. 85; Weiss, *Kandinsky in Munich*; Santomaso, "Origins and Aims," p. 155ff. On the *Gesamtkunstwerk* more generally, see, for example, Gabriele Bryant, "Timely Untimeliness: Architectural Modernism and the idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*," in *Tracing Modernity*, ed. Mari Hvattum and Christian Hermansen (2004), pp. 156-172.

Gesamtkunstwerk as an important precedent for Taut's essay, though he felt Wagner's unity of the arts was outdated, forced, and disjointed. Behne sought more Idealist results, where artists would feel drawn together to achieve an "inner transformation of all of art," and criticized Taut's essay for also falling short of this ideal.¹³¹

The various turn-of-the-century Secession movements and the related applied arts workshops in Vienna, Munich, and Dresden, and the artist's colony at Darmstadt, all featured attempts to seek a revival and unity of the arts through collaborative artistic projects. There were many well-publicized examples to which Taut may have known. Among them were the competition in 1900 for a "House for an Art Lover" sponsored by Alexander Koch and his magazine *Zeitschrift für Innendekoration*, Behrens' opening ceremony at Darmstadt, or his proposal to create a magnificent theater in the spirit of Wagner in order to purify and transform all of life into an artistic experience through a unity of the arts.¹³² Kandinsky, whom Taut cited as the primary motivation behind his call to build a temple, had also written about and experimented in the synaesthetic experience of the theater that approached *Gesamtkunstwerk*.¹³³

¹³¹ Behne, *Wiederkehr der Kunst*, p. 39-40; also translated in Franciscono, *Walter Gropius*, p. 115.

¹³² On Koch and the competition, see Sigrid Randa, *Alexander Koch. Publizist und Verleger in Darmstadt* (1990). On Behrens, see Stanford Anderson, *Peter Behrens and a New Architecture for the Twentieth Century* (2000), chapter 3; and Behrens, *Feste des Lebens und der Kunst* (1900), part of the whole selection of neo-romantic material published by Diederichs. On Taut's relation to *Gesamtkunstwerk* examples, see Franciscono, *Walter Gropius*, pp. 95-96; Prange, *Das Kristalline*, pp. 38-50; Santomaso, "Origins and Aims," pp. 180-182; and Bletter, "The Interpretation of the Glass Dream."

¹³³ On Kandinsky and the theater see Weiss, *Kandinsky in Munich*, chapter 9.

Although Scheerbart's novels and the romantic *Gesamtkunstwerk* precedents certainly inspired aspects of Taut's essay and his subsequent pavilion, there were also more purely architectural precedents that influenced Taut's and Behne's ideas. Two months after Taut's manifesto was published, Behne proposed that the Marmorkino (Marble Cinema) on the Kurfürstendamm in Berlin--designed by the Hungarian Secessionist architect Hugo Pál, with paintings by the artist Cesar Klein and sculptures by R. Sieburg-- might be considered an already realized example of such a collaboration of "Expressionist" artists.¹³⁴ Behne suggested that Taut would probably soon get the opportunity to build a new house of art, but strangely did not mention any specific projects such as the Glashaus.

Winfried Nerdinger and others have proposed that an additional and important source for Taut's synthetic building was the concept of the communal *Volkshaus* (Community House) that was promoted a few years earlier by Taut's former mentor and employer, the teacher and architect Theodor Fischer. In 1906 while Taut was working for him, Fischer published an essay in the influential journal Der Kunstwart (Warden of the Arts) journal in which he called for the erection of popular cultural centers, "houses for all." These would consist of colored multiform halls that would hold art exhibits, performances and events of all kinds, with no other purpose than

¹³⁴ Behne, "Berliner Architektur," Zeit im Bild, p. 805-806, includes a photo of the interior; also Behne, "Kinoarchitekturen," Bild & Film 4, no. 7/8 (Apr./May 1915) : 138. In a postcard to Taut from May 22, 1913, Behne made a special mention of having enjoyed a visit to the Marmorkino; BTA-01-469, Bruno Taut Archiv, AdK.

lifting people's spirits.¹³⁵ Built examples, however, were all in Fisher's rather conventional south-German regional style of classicism, and can hardly be seen as formal precursors of Taut's pavilion.

A more theoretically developed contemporary architectural source for Taut's Expressionist manifesto, and one not yet adequately explored by historians, was the work of the Dutch architect Hendrick Petrus Berlage, whom Behne later listed as one of three father figures of modern architecture.¹³⁶ Taut had probably seen Berlage's work on his 1912 trip to Holland, and may have also met the architect when Berlage headed the team of Dutch designers at the Cologne Werkbund exhibit.¹³⁷ Berlage's theories and

¹³⁵ Fischer actually built closely related buildings in Stuttgart, Pfullingen and Worms while Taut was working for him in 1904-08, though unlike Taut's ideas, they were urban; see Nerdinger, et al, Bruno Taut, pp. 10-11; Winfried Nerdinger, Theodor Fischer: Architekt und Städtebauer (1988), chapter 3, esp. pp. 332-334; and Theodor Fischer, "Was ich bauen möchte," Der Kunstwart 20 (Oct. 1906): 5-9; republished in Der Kunstwart (Jan. 1918). See also Franciscano, Walter Gropius, p. 92; Santomaso, "Origins and Aims," pp. 185-187. After World War I Taut explicitly includes the *Volkshaus* as one of a number of appropriate building types for architects to build to regenerate Germany; see Taut, "Ein Architektur-Programm" (1918).

¹³⁶ Behne considered Hendrik Petrus Berlage (1856-1934), alongside Wagner and Messel, one of the three primary father figures of modern architecture, and quotes and cites him many times after World War I. Fritz Schumacher, Erich Mendelsohn, Bruno Taut, and Behrens later expressed similar praise for Berlage; see Schumacher Strömungen in deutscher Baukunst seit 1800 (1935, 1955), p. 118; Taut, Die neue Baukunst in Europa und Amerika (1929), p. 39; and Whyte, "Introduction," p. 1.

¹³⁷ Taut's trip is mentioned in Nerdinger, Bruno Taut. Whyte mentions that many of Taut's ideas had been prefigured by Berlage, but does not explore whether or how Taut may have known about Berlage's work; Whyte, "Introduction," in Thoughts on Style, 1886-1909 (1996), p. 57-58. Berlage gave a speech as representative of the "Dutch Werkbund" on July 3, 1914, just before a speech by Muthesius that launched the famous Werkbund debates, and which Taut probably attended; see Hermann Muthesius, ed., Die Werkbund-Arbeit der Zukunft (1914), pp. 16-20. Like Wagner in Vienna, Behrens in Berlin, and Perret in Paris, Berlage was employer and spiritual

built work, especially his Amsterdam stock exchange (1897-1903), were derived from the ideas of Viollet-le-Duc and Semper. [Figure 4.27] As Manfred Bock has shown, Berlage was also influenced by Messel's restrained, tectonic forms.¹³⁸ The Dutch architect helped turn the tide of nineteenth-century eclecticism towards the primacy of space, construction, and proportion in modern architecture. Although not usually seen as an Expressionist architect, in Holland Berlage inspired a group of young architects to band together beginning in 1915 under the banner of "Dutch Expressionism."¹³⁹ His

leader of the younger generation in Holland and remained so after World War I. Through his training in Zurich, Berlage was well known and in close contact with many architects in Germany; see Singelenberg, H.P. Berlage, p. 158. Behrens tried to hire him for his Düsseldorf Art Academy in 1903, but settled for fellow Dutchman J.P. Lauwericks, interested in many of the same themes as Berlage, especially in geometry. Osthaus collected photos of his work for the Deutsches Museum für Kunst im Gewerbe in Hagen beginning in 1909, and convinced Berlage to exhibit his work and lecture in Hagen several times before World War I; see also below. On Berlage's early work see Manfred Bock, Anfänge einer neuen Architektur. Berlages Beitrag zur Architektonischen Kultur der Niederlande im ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert (1993); and more generally see Sergio Polano, ed., Hendrik Petrus Berlage: Complete Works (1988); and Singelenberg, H.P. Berlage.

¹³⁸ Bock, Anfänge einer neuen Architektur. Matthias Schirren also credits Cornelius Gurlitt for introducing both Messel and Berlage to a modern style; Schirren, "Ein 'erweiterter Architekturbegriff.' Die Rezeption Hermann Billings durch die Jungen und Jüngsten um 1910," in Hermann Billig. Architekt zwischen Historismus, Jugendstil und Neuem Bauen, ed. Winfried Nerdinger (1997), p. 65.

¹³⁹ The critic Max Eisler called Berlage's stock exchange the "first monument of Expressionism in modern architecture"; Eisler, Der Baumeister Berlage (1920); cited in Iain Boyd Whyte, "Expressionismus und Architektur in den Niederlanden," in Wendingen 1918-1931, ed. Gerda Breuer (1992), p. 37. J.M. van der Meij's "Het Scheepvaarthuis" in Amsterdam from 1912-13 is often considered the first work of Dutch architectural Expressionism; though the label first arose in an exhibit on Berlage in 1915, and found a supporting voice in the magazine Wendingen starting Jan. 1918. On Dutch Expressionist architecture see Wim de Wit, The Amsterdam school: Dutch expressionist architecture (1983); and Pehnt, Architektur des Expressionismus, pp. 215-246. On Behne's relationship to Holland, especially after 1920, see Antonia Gruhn-

work was widely publicized, and in Germany he had many close contacts, including Osthaus, who had traveled to Holland in 1912 expressly to photograph Berlage's work.

Berlage's greatest impact in Germany came through his theoretical essays and published photos of his work. His lecture and essay Grundlagen und Entwicklungen der Architektur (Foundations and Development of Architecture, 1908), which Taut knew through Behne, had surprising parallels with both Taut's and Behne's writings, including the language they used.¹⁴⁰ In the essay Berlage laid out his ideas for the revival of architecture as the rightful leader of the arts. Architecture was to become "the art of the 20th century." The "Modern Movement" that Berlage envisioned emphasized "*sachlich*, rational, and therefore clear construction," but always with a spiritual (not materialistic) basis. Berlage praised "the naked wall in all its smooth, spare [*schlicht*] beauty," where any ornament was carefully chosen and integral to the wall. This

Zimmermann, "'Das Bezwingen der Wirklichkeit' Adolf Behne und die moderne holländische Architektur," in Bushart, Adolf Behne, pp. 117-146.

¹⁴⁰ Berlage, Grundlagen und Entwicklungen der Architektur (1908), was first given as a series of four German language lectures in Zurich in 1907, then published in 1908 in both Rotterdam and Berlin, and republished in an anthology Über Architektur und Stil (1991), p. 102-157, to which I refer throughout this dissertation. Excerpts were translated as "Foundations and Development of Architecture" in The Western Architect 18 (Aug.-Sept. 1912): 96-99, 104-108, after Berlage's travel to the US, and recently in the anthology Berlage, Thoughts on Style, pp. 185-257. Berlage's essay Gedanken über den Stil in der Architektur (1905), translated as "Thoughts on Style in Architecture" in Thoughts on Style, pp. 122-156, contains many of the same ideas, though sometimes more poetically stated. Taut had probably heard of Berlage through his connections to Behrens, Osthaus and Hagen, or through the abundant reports in the journals. In the postcard from Taut to Behne (Apr. 19, 1913) mentioned above, Taut requested to see "Grundlagen der Baukunst." Although we cannot know for sure whether this referred to Berlage's essay, this title does not seem to appear on any other book or essay published before 1916 (Fritz Schumacher wrote a book with the title in 1916). Behne cited Berlage's essay many times in later years.

foreshadowed Behne's analysis of the "simple and spare" (*einfach und schlicht*) walls of Taut's apartment building and the sculptural ornament that was created in "free collaboration" with the artist Georg Kolbe.¹⁴¹ Such collaboration, Berlage had suggested, could be coordinated through the use of a rigorous geometrical systems to harness the entire design process. Although both Taut and Behne in general opposed strict rules in art, such as enforced geometries, they echoed Berlage's proscription of arbitrary forms, praising "regulated, coherent forms" (*gesetzmäßige Formen*).¹⁴²

Towards the end of the essay, Berlage again prefigured Taut and Behne's theoretical ideas when he called for architects to act as artists, to be "creative spirits" (*schaffende Geister*). He urged artists from all the arts to come together and seek an "artistic consensus," a communal love for an "ideal," as there had been in the middle ages. In the first decade of the century Berlage himself had been involved in the design of several *Gesamtkunstwerk*-type monuments, including a Beethoven House that used stark, minimal forms that, in conjunction with music and the other arts, were meant to evoke powerful, even sublime emotional responses.¹⁴³ Much like Taut, Berlage insisted that this elusive "ideal" was not form-based, but spiritual, achieved by working "in a

¹⁴¹ Compare Behne "'Ein neues Haus!'," and Berlage, *Gedanken*, p. 155.

¹⁴² Taut, "Eine Notwendigkeit," p. 174. Berlage had been careful to emphasize the freedom and creativity that was possible within a geometric structure, indeed, that was required of all the artists in order to avoid copying the past and to create a new architecture. Taut's use of symmetry, proportion and order in his apartment facades, and his use of numerical symbolism in conjunction with geometry in the Glashaus may also be tied back to Berlage's geometrical systems. On Taut's use of geometry see Lamberts, "Bruno Taut."

¹⁴³ See Whyte, "Introduction," pp. 51-57.

religious way."¹⁴⁴ Explicitly citing the ideas of the Karl Scheffler, Berlage called on artists to seek images from within, since modern society lacked such communal ideals. The new art that followed, he claimed, would be "the product of the community, the work of all."¹⁴⁵ This conflation of art and community, a common motif in the writings of both Behne and Taut, had multiple origins: the applied arts and lifestyle reform movements; in the ongoing cult of Nietzsche; in the theories of the conservative critic Julius Langbehn; and in the ideas of the authors surrounding the neo-romantic publisher Eugen Diederichs to which Behne was at times affiliated.

A final architectural precedent was the Gothic cathedral, which Taut, Berlage, and Behne all cited explicitly. The Gothic cathedral had been idealized by romantics since at least the eighteenth century as a communal work of art and a symbol of a mystical, spiritual past.¹⁴⁶ In his book Formprobleme der Gotik (Form in Gothic, 1911), for example, Worringer had exalted the Gothic as the ultimate expression of a Germanic spirit that brought together an empathy for clear structural order with the abstraction of

¹⁴⁴ Berlage, Grundlagen, p. 114; Taut had referred to a new artistic intensity and a "religiosity" perceptible in the arts"; Taut, "Eine Notwendigkeit," p. 174. Wilhelm Hausenstein saw a "new religiosity" in Expressionist art that he equated with medieval collectivism and a coming Socialism; Hausenstein, Die bildende Kunst der Gegenwart (1914), p. 23, 260-261.

¹⁴⁵ Berlage, Foundations, p. 245. Berlage, whose book was published by Julius Bard, Karl Scheffler's primary publisher, quotes extensively from Scheffler, Konventionen der Kunst (1904).

¹⁴⁶ For a longer history on the interpretation of the Gothic, see P. Frankl, The Gothic: Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries (1960).

forms.¹⁴⁷ But his book was only the most often quoted of many references to the Gothic in the Expressionist art world. Scheerbart had insisted that it was the origin of all glass architecture.¹⁴⁸ Taut looked to the Gothic cathedral as a precedent for his own ideas on the harmonious collaboration of artists. He imagined them working under the leadership of architecture to create a transcendent work of art filled with light, color, glass, and structure.¹⁴⁹ In his February 1914 essay he called Gothic cathedrals "the sum of all its artists, filled with a wondrous sense of union, they achieved an all-encompassing rhythm that rang through the architecture of the building."¹⁵⁰ In Gothic designs Taut detected an Expressionist-like synthesis of creativity and pragmatism, fantasy and *Sachlichkeit*, which he characterized as, "construction elevated to the status of passion, and on the other hand a search for what is practically and economically most simple and most expressive."¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ Worringer, Formprobleme der Gothik (1911), translated as Form in Gothic (1954).

¹⁴⁸ Scheerbart, Glasarchitektur, chaps. 19, 66.

¹⁴⁹ The idealization of the Gothic dates back to early romanticism, with Goethe, Hegel, and the Schlegel brothers all extolling the spiritual and architectural virtues of the Gothic cathedral. See Magdalena Bushart, Geist der Gotik (1990), esp. pp. 30-44; Santomaso, "Origins and Aims"; and Georg Germann, Gothic Revival in Europe and Britain (1972).

¹⁵⁰ "Die gotische Kathedrale umfaßt ebenso alle Künstler, die von einer wundervollen Einheit erfüllt waren und in dem Architekturgebilde des Domes den klingenden Gesamtrhythmus fanden"; Taut, "Eine Notwendigkeit," p. 174.

¹⁵¹ "die Gotik, die in den großen Werken eine zur Leidenschaft gesteigerte Konstruktion und auf der anderen Seite das Suchen nach dem praktisch und wirtschaftlich Allereinfachsten und Allerausdruckvollsten enthält"; Taut, "Eine Notwendigkeit," p. 174.

Following Worringer, Behne claimed that the Gothic represented the highest and most wondrous achievement in art.¹⁵² He saw in the Gothic painters, sculptors, and master builders a "passion to represent, an impulse to fantasy, and a domination of the spirit. . . . [They] were Expressionists."¹⁵³ Citing and quoting Scheerbart, Behne maintained that a new, modern architecture based on glass was unthinkable without Gothic architecture, that "the Gothic Cathedral is the prelude to Glasarchitektur."¹⁵⁴ Later, when the fascination with the Gothic became more popular and took on nationalist overtones during World War I, Behne warned against the contemporary use of Gothic "style" as fashion. Instead he advocated focusing on its more authentic, metaphysical quality as an "art" that embodied a communal, spiritual, and collective expression that combined empathy and abstraction.¹⁵⁵

Expressionist Art and Theory

Fischer, Scheerbart, Berlage, the Jugendstil, and the Gothic *Gesamtkunstwerk* all may have contributed to the change that took place in Taut's thinking between his steel

¹⁵² "Denn mehr und mehr erkennen wir heute wieder dass die Gotik die höchste und herlichste Blüte aller Baukunst gewesen ist"; Behne, "Die gotische Kathedrale," Arbeiter-Jugend 6, no. 24 (Nov. 14, 1914): 326.

¹⁵³ Behne, "Deutsche Expressionisten," p. 114.

¹⁵⁴ Scheerbart, Glasarchitektur, chaps. 19, 66; also quoted on the cover to the official visitor's guide to Taut's pavilion, Glashaus (1914); reprinted in Wulf Herzogenrath, ed., Frühe Kölner Kunstaussstellungen (1981), pp. 287-293; also quoted in Behne, "Das Glashaus," Die Umschau 18, no. 35 (Aug. 29, 1914): 714; and in Behne, "Wem gehört die Gotik?," Sozialistische Monatshefte 23.2, no. 22 (Oct. 31, 1917): 1126.

¹⁵⁵ Behne, "Wem gehört die Gotik?"

pavilion in Leipzig and his manifesto and glass pavilion in Cologne. But the major cause that influenced Taut in the design of the Glashaus, I would argue, was contemporary Expressionist art and Behne, who pushed the linkages between architecture to Expressionist art. When Behne first wrote about him, Taut voiced some doubt about Behne's contention that architecture could be Expressionist like poetry or painting. However, by the Fall of 1913, after Taut's increasing contact with the Expressionist artistic milieu through Behne, Scheerbart, and Walden, he became convinced by the critic's writings and the paintings on display in Walden's Gallery, especially the Herbstsalon.¹⁵⁶ Indeed, the artists and sculptors Taut cited explicitly as inspiration for, and collaborators in his utopian temple of the arts--Kandinsky, Delaunay, Léger, Marc, Archipenko, and Campendonk--were all exhibited in the Sturm gallery the previous fall. Even the title of Taut's manifesto published in Der Sturm, "A Necessity," recalls the urgent spiritual force of renewal summoned by Kandinsky's "inner necessity."¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ Junghanns claims that Taut's viewing of Expressionists at Herbstsalon inspired him to write the "Eine Notwendigkeit" essay, though Taut is careful not to call the new spirit Expressionist or German; Junghanns, Bruno Taut, p. 29. See also Santomaso, "Origins and Aims," p. 18.

¹⁵⁷ In his introductory article on Taut, Behne had referred to Taut's abandonment of all historical forms as a "necessity," a self-imposed mandate; Behne, "Bruno Taut," Pan, pp. 539-540. Franciscono claims Taut's title recalls the mysterious, collective "Necessity" that Richard Wagner proclaimed as the driving force behind the great *Gesamtkunstwerk* of the future; Franciscono, Walter Gropius, p. 95. Matthias Schirren relates Taut's title back to the philosophical and ethical "*necessitas*" expressed in Otto Wagner's book Moderne Architektur, which proposed a mandate or necessity to synthesize "purpose, function, construction and a sense of beauty" in all art; Schirren, "Das Ethos des Expressionismus," in Stamm and Schreiber, Bauen einer neuen Welt, p. 49.

The transformation in Taut's thinking extends beyond the artists and precedents he cited to justify and inspire his work and to the theoretical ideas that tied their art to architecture. It is illuminating, then, to examine Taut's essay closely, comparing it to Behne's. Picking up on the affinity of the new painting and architecture that Behne had conjectured, Taut had opened his article with a plea to follow the lead of the new painting, although like Behne he warned against copying the "Cubist" forms of the new painting. Good architecture, Taut insisted, was in its essence already cubic and pure. For both Behne and Taut, architecture represented the most original of the arts: the pure assembly of forms without reference to reality, subject only to elemental laws of design (*Gestaltung*). Taut exceeded Behne, and indeed most Expressionist and *Gesamtkunstwerk* theories, in emphasizing the primacy and leading role that architects and architecture were to take in effecting changes leading to the creation of a modern art and more broadly of a modern society.¹⁵⁸

Echoing Behne's earlier proclamation of "a new age of intuition, of metaphysics, of synthesis," Taut pronounced it a joy to live in his time with artists so intently striving for "synthesis, abstraction and what everyone is calling the construction (*Aufbauen*) of paintings. . . . There is a secret architecture that goes through all this work that unifies them."¹⁵⁹ His reference to architecture was more than metaphorical. As in Gothic

¹⁵⁸ Lankheit sees the Der Blaue Reiter Almanach and indeed much of the theory coming out of the Expressionist Blue Rider group, especially Kandinsky, as a "cultural synthesis encompassing all the arts," related to the concept of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, and thereby a precursor to the Bauhaus; Lankheit, introduction to republication of Blaue Reiter Almanach, cited in Franciscano, Walter Gropius, p. 88.

¹⁵⁹ Behne, "Der Maler Franz Marc," p. 617. Taut writes: "Es ist eine Freude in

cathedrals, Taut felt this architectural sensibility was not analogically, but literally at the root of all the new art. With this reference to construction and building at the foundation of modern art, Taut shared the language and theories of Kandinsky, Marc, Worringer and others. Construction was used as a means to justify and explain the increasingly abstract forms of modern painting in the absence of a represented subject matter. In 1911 Franz Marc had already claimed in Pan that great art had always come from "constructive" ideas or inspiration, but that the new art tapped into these "constructions" more directly, without the interference of foreign objects on the painted surface.¹⁶⁰ Likewise Klee wrote in 1912, "A major consequence of the Expressionist creed has been the emphasis on the structural, namely the elevation of the structural to expressive means."¹⁶¹ As has been noted, Behne too saw in the new painting and sculpture (in fact in all the arts) a similar "architectonic element" that transcended subject matter and lent an underlying order. It elevated the works above mere

unserer Zeit zu leben. . . . Eine Intensität hat Künstler aller Künste ergriffen. . . . Die Plastik und die Malerei finden sich auf rein synthetischen und abstrakten Wegen und man spricht überall von dem Aufbauen der Bilder. . . . Es geht eine geheime Architektur durch alle diese Werke und hält sie alle zusammen"; Taut, "Eine Notwendigkeit," p. 174. Berlage ended his Grundlagen der Baukunst with the similar optimistic quote from Ulrich von Hutten: "The times are changing. The spirits are awakening. It is a joy to live"; Berlage, Grundlagen, p. 120.

¹⁶⁰ Franz Marc, "Die konstruktiven Ideen der neuen Malerei," Pan 2 (1912): 527-531. Kandinsky too used architectural metaphors to discuss the formal composition of painted forms; see, for example, Kandinsky, Concerning the Spiritual in Art, p. 31.

¹⁶¹ Paul Klee, "Die Ausstellung des modernen Bundes im Kunsthhaus Zurich," Die Alpen 6, no. 12 (Aug. 1912): 696ff; translated in Long, German Expressionism, p. 52.

imitation to the level of "art."¹⁶² In several reviews of the Herbstsalon in the fall, Behne had thus referred to the intuited, emotional "constructions" in paint by Cubists such as Delaunay on display in the Sturm Gallery.

In his manifesto, Taut called on architects to follow this "traditional" concept of good design (*Gestalten*), similar to that which "Kandinsky has achieved in painting in his spiritual compositions."¹⁶³ The new art, Taut maintained, embodied a quality that was original to architecture: the freedom from perspective. The greatest works in architecture, he claimed, had been created without perspective, from multiple vantage points. Behne too, following in part the ideas of his mentor Wölfflin as well as Worringer's ideas on abstraction, had written that Expressionism, especially the Cubist's emotional constructions, differed fundamentally from the rationalist, perspectival constructions of realists ever since Masaccio.¹⁶⁴ He recognized that the abandonment of perspective--with the visual and emotional shifts that required--was key to the Expressionist spirit.¹⁶⁵ Later Behne elaborated on these ideas when he claimed that for centuries all the arts had been dominated by a "perspectival" sensibility: "a construction for which the artist presumed an *unchanging station point*

¹⁶² Behne, "Kunst und Milieu," p. 601.

¹⁶³ Taut, "Eine Notwendigkeit," p. 175.

¹⁶⁴ Behne, "Der erste deutsche Herbstsalon," *Die Tat*, p. 843. Franz Marc had uttered similar thoughts in "Die konstruktiven Ideen," p. 527.

¹⁶⁵ Based on the ideas of Ernst Cassirer, Erwin Panofsky would later write eloquently about this mindset implied by perspective; Panofsky, "Die Perspektive als symbolische Form," (1927), translated as *Perspective as Symbolic Form* (1991).

outside of the objects and events."¹⁶⁶ Behne could see in the novels of Zola and naturalistic poetry the same distanced, optical approach to composition that the sculptor Hildebrand had demanded earlier in sculpture and the decorative arts. Perspectival literature, he claimed, was primarily psychological or politically tendentious, rendering both author and reader removed from the subject at hand. Cubism, he proclaimed, was diametrically opposed to such "perspectival art," seeking to express form from within life itself rather than to describe it from the outside.

A close comparison of Taut's and Behne's essays reveals that the two worked increasingly symbiotically, each developing and expanding upon commonly held ideas, especially with regard to Expressionist theory. Although publication dates and the catholic array of sources that Behne revealed in his writings point to him as the originator of many of the ideas discussed, it is all but impossible to reconstruct who had which idea first. The friendship they shared and the intense discussions they certainly had allowed them to exchange ideas and sources, borrow freely from each other, and inspire one another to develop new ideas. The traditional assumption that the architect created and the critic responded is an oversimplification in this relationship.

The Cologne *Glashaus* as Collaborative Creation

Behne's influential role in the creation of a new architecture occurred not just in

¹⁶⁶ "eine Konstruktion, die für die Künstler einen festen, unwandelbaren Standpunkt außerhalb der Körper und Geschehnisse voraussetzte"; Behne, "Biologie und Kubismus," p. 71, emphasis in original.

the literary discourse of theory or in essays, but also in the production and reception of actual built work. Nowhere was this more true than in the Cologne Glashaus, the first (and arguably last) constructed embodiment of Taut's manifesto calling for a new temple of the arts. As already mentioned, the Glashaus was first conceived by Taut around the same time he got to know Behne. It was to be a counterpart to his steel pavilion in Leipzig in the spring 1913. Behne's criticism, Walden's Sturm gallery, and the personal relationship that Taut struck up with Scheerbart in the summer of 1913 all inspired Taut towards Expressionist and experimental design ideas in the pavilion. Behne publicized Taut and his Glashaus to a diverse audience through the press as soon as a preliminary model was complete. The pavilion opened to the public in July of 1914, and closed only a few weeks later.¹⁶⁷ Yet Behne continued to promote it for many years afterward.

The inspirational sources that led to the Glashaus are similar to those that led to Taut's manifesto. Expressionist art and theory provided much of the theoretical groundwork for the design details. The pointed rhombus shape of the dome had affinities with the Gothic arch, with medieval tombs near Cairo, and with an ancient Greek omphalos. These references to nonclassical and non-Western art were common

¹⁶⁷ The Werkbund Exposition was officially opened on May 16, 1914, but Taut's pavilion opened late, in early July, in part due to the delays in approval and funding by the Werkbund, and in part due to problems constructing the experimental structure. Soon after the war started, most of the glass was removed for use elsewhere, and the concrete structural core was removed in 1916 to make way for troop exercises. For a chronology of events relating to the Glashaus see Theikötter, *Kristallisationen*, pp. 168-172.

in Expressionist art and literature.¹⁶⁸ Taut's use of colored glass can be easily traced to the popular cathedral as a metaphor for community. He probably, however, modeled the actual spectrum of yellows, blues, and greens created by the luxfer prisms on the interior, after Delaunay's painting "A Window" (1911/12) which was exhibited in the Sturm gallery.¹⁶⁹ The stained-glass paintings on the lower level were the collaborative work of Taut's artist friends Mutzenbecher, Johann Thorn-Prikker, Fritz Becker, Immanuel Margold, and possibly Max Pechstein. These "paintings" were executed by several art-glass specialists.¹⁷⁰

Scheerbart provided much of the theory and inspiration that lifted Taut's design for the Glashaus to flights of fancy beyond the comparatively staid Leipzig pavilion. Taut's pavilion was in many ways a built manifestation of Scheerbart's utopian ideas on *Glasarchitektur*, ideas that both Behne and Taut admired as the revolutionary seed that would transform modern architecture and with it, modern society.¹⁷¹ Scheerbart's Grey

¹⁶⁸ On the many possible sources for all aspects of the Glashaus, see Thiekötter, Kristallisationen; Bletter, "Interpretation of the Glass Dream"; and Dietrich Neumann, "'The Century's Triumph in Lighting': The Luxfer Prism Companies and their Contribution to Early Modern Architecture," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 54, no. 1 (March 1995): 24-53. Scheerbart saw the similarities of the dome to the Mamelucken tombs near Cairo; Scheerbart, "Glashäuser," Technische Monatshefte 5, no. 4 (Mar. 28, 1914): 106. Taut lists the collaborating artists in his official visitor's guide: Taut, Glashaus.

¹⁶⁹ See Thiekötter, Kristallisationen, p. 43-47.

¹⁷⁰ Taut's own guide listed only Mutzenbecher and Margold, though reviews and other catalogues listed more artists; see Thiekötter, Kristallisationen, pp. 164-166; Bletter, "Bruno Taut," p. 73.

¹⁷¹ Scheerbart himself wrote that Taut's Glashaus was conceived as a program, announcing a new period of architecture; Scheerbart, "Glashäuser," p. 105.

Cloth, describing a fantasy world of glass, came out in mid-April. His book Glasarchitektur, dedicated to Taut, was published by Walden one month later, a month before the opening of the Glashaus. The official visitor's guide that Taut wrote for the exhibition was prefaced by the entire first chapter of Glasarchitektur and featured on its cover Scheerbart's glass aphorism: "The Gothic cathedral is the prelude to glass architecture." Scheerbart's intentionally humorous and ironic aphorisms were engraved on the building.¹⁷² Manfred Speidel contends that the design of the imaginative lamps, the mystical numerology woven through the entire design, and even the use of double glazing for insulation purposes can be traced back to Scheerbart, especially his Glasarchitektur. Regine Prange attributes to Scheerbart the glass floor and inner partitions, as well as the electric lighting and the kaleidoscope.¹⁷³ Taut, though, was clearly responsible for the overall design: the dynamic experience of circulating through the glass building; the geometry and innovative reinforced concrete structure of the ribbed dome; the inclusion of contemporary stained-glass art and the sparkling water cascade on the lower level.¹⁷⁴

Behne's role was as critic, which in this case means as primary interpreter and propagandist. Although visitors and critics had admired the Glashaus, Behne reported that most dismissed it as a joke or a trifle, as part of an "impossible" ideal, more

¹⁷² Taut, Glashaus. For a list of the aphorisms on the building, see Whyte, Bruno Taut, p. 239-240n.25; and Bletter, "Bruno Taut," pp. 80-82.

¹⁷³ Speidel, Natur und Fantasie, p. 126; Prange, Das Kristalline, p. 74.

¹⁷⁴ Many historians, including Reyner Banham, erroneously wrote that the Glashaus was made of steel and glass; Banham, "The Glass Paradise," p. 34.

amusement than manifesto.¹⁷⁵ Many reviewers were unable to see beyond the unfamiliar physical artifact. Karl Scheffler wrote to Behne that he disliked the Glashaus, and saw no way that glass could be used "architecturally."¹⁷⁶ Felix Linke, on the other hand, announced the arrival of the "New Architecture" in Taut's Glashaus and explored the new material and spatial experiences made possible by glass. He described Taut's design memorably as a "Temple of Beauty . . . the main attraction of the whole Cologne exhibition. . . . [it] can be characterized as a giant, half sunken crystal."¹⁷⁷ Linke even noted the relationships to Scheerbart's fantastical writings, and quoted several of his aphorisms. However, his review, as with so many others, including even Taut's own visitor's guide, remained little more than factual descriptions of walks through the building highlighting technical details, artistic installations, and architectural composition.

It was Behne, with language varying from precise technical description to poetic prose and popular slang, who analyzed the material artifact and the dynamic experiences of the building most potently. His theoretical musings framed the building within the varying architectural, social, cultural, technological, historical, and philosophical contexts that explained the Expressionist nature of Taut's pavilions.

¹⁷⁵ On the Luna amusement park see Thiekötter, Kristallisationen, pp.19-22.

¹⁷⁶ Karl Scheffler, letter to Behne, (July 25, 1914). Bauhaus-Archiv, Nachlaß Behne/Scharfe, 90; excerpt republished in Conrads and Sperlich, Phantastische Architektur, p. 152.

¹⁷⁷ Linke, Felix, "Die neue Architektur," Sozialistische Monatshefte 20.2, no. 18 (Oct. 14, 1914): 1133ff. Behne contributed a regular theater column to this journal, and after the war would become one of its primary art and architectural editors.

Behne was unique in being able to see beyond the physical construction to interpret and even help create the pavilion's *meaning*. His intellectual work would have profound implications for the future of architecture and European culture. His essay "Thoughts on Art and Function," published a year after the Glashaus closed, discussed the pavilion as an Expressionist synthesis of function and art, of Taut's "artistic *Sachlichkeit*" and Scheerbart's utopian fantasy. [Figure 4.28] Taut set the tone for the discussion of function when he stated in the first line of the visitor's guide, "The Glashaus has no other purpose than to be beautiful."¹⁷⁸ But these words essentially repeat Behne's earlier contention that Taut's Leipzig pavilion had "no other purpose than an inner artistic one."¹⁷⁹

Scheerbart had also expressed a generalized aversion to all that was overly functional, pragmatic, in favor of an artistic glass "paradise."¹⁸⁰ But Behne also realized (in ways that would anticipate his later focus on function) that slogans such as these were more extreme than true. The building had a clear function: as a temporary

¹⁷⁸ Taut, Glashaus, p. 289.

¹⁷⁹ Behne, "'Ein neues Haus!'," p. 33. In his manifesto Taut had described his temple of the arts as having "no practical function"; Taut, "Eine Notwendigkeit," p. 175.

¹⁸⁰ Scheerbart condemned the "*Sachstil*" and expresses hope for a glass paradise in Glasarchitektur, chaps. 13, 18. In Scheerbart's short story "Der Architektenkongreß: Eine Parlamentsgeschichte," he expressed a similar critique of the overly pragmatic nature of contemporary architecture through a story about a father who admonishes his son for being too practical, for wanting to become an engineer, and then advises him instead to search inside himself for expression since the world was awaiting a great architect; first in Der Zeitgeist n.1 [supplement to Berliner Tageblatt 48, no. 8] (Jan. 6, 1913), p. 1-2, later reprinted in Frühlicht 1 (Fall 1921, republished 1963); cited at length in Karin Wilhelm, Walter Gropius: Industriearchitekt (1983), pp. 59-61.

marketing pavilion for the glass industry at an exposition full of new products and ideas. For Behne, it was precisely the pavilion's function as a temporary exhibition that made a certain "functionlessness" possible and appropriate. Similar to Scheerbart and Taut, he believed that temporary exhibition pavilions represented a unique opportunity for architects to experiment and leave aside constraining functions and even all social obligations in order to create pure and ideal expressions of art.¹⁸¹ Exhibition pavilions, Behne argued, had to reach beyond their pragmatic function of advertising and representing an industry to contain "a little bit of extravagance . . . freedom . . . and the fantastical."¹⁸² Later he suggested further that "when the pressures of economics, commerce and industry are removed, the passion and love of creating should simply be explosive. . . . [Exhibitions should be] a kind of folk festival, an eternal Sunday . . . something celebratory."¹⁸³

Behne urged his readers to think of architecture, and especially exhibition pavilions, not as pragmatic constructions or as applied art. He wanted them to see

¹⁸¹ Scheerbart had great hope that exhibition pavilions, especially in America, would help spawn a true glass architecture; Scheerbart, *Glasarchitektur*, chaps. 74-76. In his novel *Münchhausen* (1905), Scheerbart described a world's fair in Melbourne that served as an example to Behne; see Behne, "Die Ausstellung des Deutschen Werkbundes," *Dresdner neueste Nachrichten* (June 20, 1914). In his manifesto Taut had explicitly warned against allowing social obligations to play a role in the creation of his temple of the arts, which was to seem exclusive, like all great art, with the public slowly learning from it; Taut, "Eine Notwendigkeit," p. 175. The topic of exhibition pavilions was much discussed before World War I; see Annette Ciré, *Temporäre Ausstellungsbauten für Kunst, Gewerbe und Industrie in Deutschland 1896-1915* (1993).

¹⁸² Behne, "Gedanken," p. 2.

¹⁸³ Behne, *Wiederkehr der Kunst*, p. 53-54.

architecture as *art*, "as the original art, the mother of all arts."¹⁸⁴ This, he felt, might help the public better understand that the true essence of architecture lay beyond function. Offering an analogy few could refute, he stated that the power of a Gothic cathedral, such as the one at Strasbourg, came not from its pragmatic function of keeping worshipers and the altar dry, but from the experience of "an artistic rush, a transcendent passion to build" (*eine höhere Baulust*), that could be felt by all.¹⁸⁵

Amending Taut's contention that the pavilion was functionless, and borrowing a phrase from Scheerbart, Behne thus explained that the Glashaus had as its true purpose the expression of a lofty "goal" or "idea," of making manifest to all a "higher passion to build."¹⁸⁶

Behne was careful to remind his readers that this emphasis on art and spiritual ideals did not mean that good architecture ignored function. Rather, through art the architect should be able to animate even the most trivial of functional requirements. Function should not constrain the architect, he suggested, but rather the architect should use it as yet another material to bring his creation to life. Resorting to a more Idealist vocabulary, Behne wrote that the true architect does not degrade forms to functions, but rather elevates functions to forms. He closed his discussion of the artistic

¹⁸⁴ Behne, "Gedanken," p. 1.

¹⁸⁵ "Die herrliche Macht der mittelalterlichen Dome stammt offenbar nicht aus 'Zweckerfüllung', sondern aus einer anderen Wurzel: aus einem künstlerischen Rausch, aus 'höherer Baulust'"; Behne, "Gedanken," p. 2. The last phrase was taken from Scheerbart's *Grey Cloth*, as Behne himself later admitted; Behne, "Bruno Taut," *Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung*, p. 14.

¹⁸⁶ Behne, "Bruno Taut," *Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung*, p. 14.

function of exhibition pavilions with yet another memorable analogy when he claimed that architectural function was "not the root, but the leaves. . . . It does not nourish the whole, but plays a vital role in the juices that vitalize all the pieces."¹⁸⁷ Such rich analogies would become a hallmark of Behne's critical writings, allowing both a lay public to grasp deeper implications directly, and more professional or philosophical readers to make connections that were not otherwise obvious. In this particular example, the analogy of architecture as a tree simultaneously recalled both Goethe's panegyric to Strasbourg cathedral and the natural, organic life presented by the biologist Uexküll which was vital to Taut's and Scheerbart's views on art and architecture.

In addition to this discussion of function in modern architecture (a theme with which Behne would become indelibly tied with his most famous book Der Moderne Zweckbau, (The Modern Functional Building, 1926), Behne's article, "Thoughts on Art and Function," was also the first publication to explain Taut's glass pavilion fully in terms of higher philosophical and Idealist intentions. The metaphysical goals of the pavilion that could lead to a new architecture, Behne insisted, were first and most poetically described by Paul Scheerbart. The revelation--inspired by Scheerbart's ideas-- that Behne had in Taut's Glashauss a year earlier is worth quoting at length:

The longing for purity and clarity, for glowing lightness, crystalline exactness, for immaterial lightness, and infinite liveliness found a means of its fulfillment in glass--the most ineffable, most elementary, most flexible and most changeable of materials, richest in

¹⁸⁷ Behne, "Gedanken," p. 2.

meaning and inspiration, fusing with the world like no other. This least fixed of materials transforms itself with every change of atmosphere. It is infinitely rich in relations, mirroring what is above, below, and what is below, above. It is animated, full of spirit and alive.

The thought of the beautiful cupola room, vaulted like a sparkling skull, or of the unreal, ethereal stair, which one descended as if walking through pearling water, moves me and produces happy memories.

It is an example of a transcendent passion to build, functionless, free, satisfying no practical demands--and yet a functional building, soulful, awakening spiritual inspirations--an ethical functional building.¹⁸⁸

With these lyrical words written in at the beginning of World War I, Behne made the Glashaus a symbol, a mystical sign or guidepost for a new world view and future architecture.¹⁸⁹ Inspired by Taut's building and Scheerbart's writings, Behne transfigured glass from a transparent modern technical material to a crystalline expressive spiritual force that could transform culture. The simultaneous perceptions of

¹⁸⁸ Behne, "Gedanken," p. 4; translated slightly differently in Bletter, "Bruno Taut's and Paul Scheerbart's Vision," p. 77; and also in Bletter, "The Interpretation of the Glass Dream," p. 34. The image of the glass skull that glorified the mind and spirit recalls those of the anthroposophist leader Rudolf Steiner; see Bletter "Bruno Taut's and Paul Scheerbart's Vision," p. 77 n103; and Santomaso, "Origins and Aims." Scheerbart had earlier professed that the new architecture would have "cathedralesque effects. . . and for that reason should also have ethical consequences"; Scheerbart, "Glashäuser," p. 107.

¹⁸⁹ See also Prange, Das Kristalline, p. 78ff. Frederic Schwartz has compared Taut's pavilion to the transcendental, mystical sign of the crystal as expounded by Peter Behrens at Darmstadt in 1910; see Schwartz, The Werkbund, p. 184. Annette Ciré and Gabriele Heidecker and have both interpreted Peter Behrens' early exhibition pavilions for the AEG as built symbols, with close affinities to Behrens' contemporary poster and logo designs. See Ciré, Temporäre Ausstellungsbauten; and Heidecker, "Das Werbe-Kunst-Stück," in Tilmann Buddensieg and Henning Rogge, Industriekultur: Peter Behrens und die AEG, 1907-1914 (1979); translated as Industriekultur: Peter Behrens and the AEG (1984). The German edition of Heidecker's essay includes a subtitle "Der Pavillon als Zeichen." Unless otherwise noted, all references are to the original German edition.

functionless freedom and functional practicality, of fluid change and crystalline clarity, of spirited life and of death and resurrection, of the sparkling heavens above and descent into an ethereal world below, set the tone for all future interpretations of this building. These paradoxes and juxtapositions of contrary images became part of the very definition of Expressionism, and a key to the emotional force it had with those who encountered it.¹⁹⁰ It was a crucial link in establishing glass as integral to the development of modern architecture.

Although both Taut and Behne had been profoundly inspired by, and even directly copied some of Scheerbart's ideas on a *Glasarchitektur*, it was Behne who disseminated their communal convictions about glass architecture to a wider public, and in a realistic and poetic manner that the public might accept and even embrace. His reputation and stature, at that time, as scholar and critic, rather than as specialized practicing architect or as bohemian artist, gave him an authoritative platform from which to proselytize in the mainstream press.¹⁹¹ Published in an applied arts journal while Behne was serving in a reserve military hospital, "Thoughts on Function and Art," (as well as other contemporary essays published in more popular venues) later inspired many younger German architects. In the darkest days of the world war that closed the Glashaus and led to its demolition, as well as in the bleak years that followed the

¹⁹⁰ Bletter, "Bruno Taut and Paul Scheerbart's Vision."

¹⁹¹ Behne's byline regularly featured the "Dr." to indicate his rank; while Scheerbart's article on Taut's Glashaus in the Berliner Tageblatt was preceded by a note from the editor that he was publishing the technical remarks on glass despite the author's reputation as a utopian artist; see Scheerbart, "Das Glashaus: ein Vorbericht."

German defeat, Behne's hommages to Scheerbarth and *Glasarchitektur* had particular resonance. A flurry of Behne's ruminations on glass came during the tumultuous months immediately following the war, when Expressionist artists, and indeed an entire German nation, were searching for new beginnings and visions of a more optimistic future. Through these powerful words, Behne directed Scheerbarth's ideas and Taut's pavilion to the center of the debate about the development of a modern architecture in Germany.

Behne was not a critic who insisted on reflecting well after the fact and from a dispassionate distance. He rallied support for projects still in their creative inception and he kept projects in the public eye even after they had been razed. His participatory role as critic was intensified by the temporary nature of the glass pavilion itself. Although many thousands of people had seen the building in person, and most reviews of the exhibition contained at least a brief reference to the Glashaus, the pavilion was soon relegated to the status of "paper architecture." After the beginning of the war the building existed almost exclusively in the form of a few iconic photographs and written descriptions and interpretations, of which Behne's were among the most evocative and influential. Lacking the physical artifact, Behne's published legacy is in large part responsible for how we interpret the building.¹⁹² Unlike permanent buildings that are more readily reinterpreted by later generations of viewers, Behne's reviews, his

¹⁹² For a related analysis of how criticism of a building can influence future interpretations, see Juan P. Bonta, Architecture and Its Interpretation. A Study of the Expressive Systems of Architecture (1979).

panegyrics on Scheerbart, and the few remaining photographs, became the lens through which all subsequent interpretations have been made.¹⁹³ They formed the basis for discussions on Expressionism after the war, and have been repeated ever since, to present day. Recently, the construction and public exhibition of a large, full-color model, and the meticulous research that went into it, including extensive references to Behne's writings, have for the first time allowed us to move beyond the sparse historical record.

Rather than view the Glashaus only as the product of an architect inspired by a novelist, I propose that Taut, Scheerbart, and Behne were equal partners using different tools to ply their trade and express architectural ideas. The poet Scheerbart acted as theorist. His practical research and fantastic writings conjured up utopias of glass architectures, and perhaps more importantly provided the spark, hope and encouragement necessary to realize their shared vision. The architect Taut struggled to find physical, architectural forms corresponding to their shared vision for the future and engaged several artists to create pieces of the building. The critic Behne, through

¹⁹³ See Thiekötter, Kristallisationen. Behne's panegyrics assured that Taut's Glashaus remains an icon of modern architecture and well-represented in most history books; for example Reyner Banham, Theory and Design in the First Machine Age (1960), p.266; William Curtis, Modern Architecture Since 1900 3rd ed. (1996), pp. 97, 107; Kenneth Frampton, Modern Architecture: A Critical History 3rd ed. (1992), pp. 116-117; Alan Colquhoun, Modern Architecture (2002), pp.91-92; Udo Kulterman, 20th-Century Architecture (1993), pp. 46-47; Tafuri and Dal Co, Modern Architecture, pp. 86; Dennis Doordan, Twentieth-Century Architecture (2003), pp.95-96. The first edition of Giedion's Space Time and Architecture (1941), contained no references to Taut; the 5th edition (1982), contains only the briefest reference, p.480, reflecting perhaps Giedion's own ambivalence about his brief immersion in Expressionist thinking.

his articles, gave meaning and reveal real architectural implications for the future of building and Scheerbart's ideas. When architecture is understood not only as the physical artifact, but also as the ideas, collaboration, and the process that created it, as well as the future discourse and offspring that followed it, all three figures must be credited as architectural collaborators. They realized their mutual vision and promotion of a new art and architecture together. Each of them--the architect, the visionary, and the critic--was equally important in that enduring creation.



Figure 4.1. Cover of Pan that included Behne's groundbreaking article "Bruno Taut," Pan 3, no. 23 (March 7, 1913).



Figure 4.2. Taut's "Am Knie" Apartment Building, Bismarckstraße 116, Ecke Hardenbergstraße 1, built for Arthur Vogdt, 1911-1912. Behne felt this apartment was "Expressionist" because of its artistic "*Sachlichkeit*", most notably in the ridge beam tiles. Source: Achim Wendschuh and Barbara Volkmann, eds., Bruno Taut 1880-1938 (1980), p. 171.

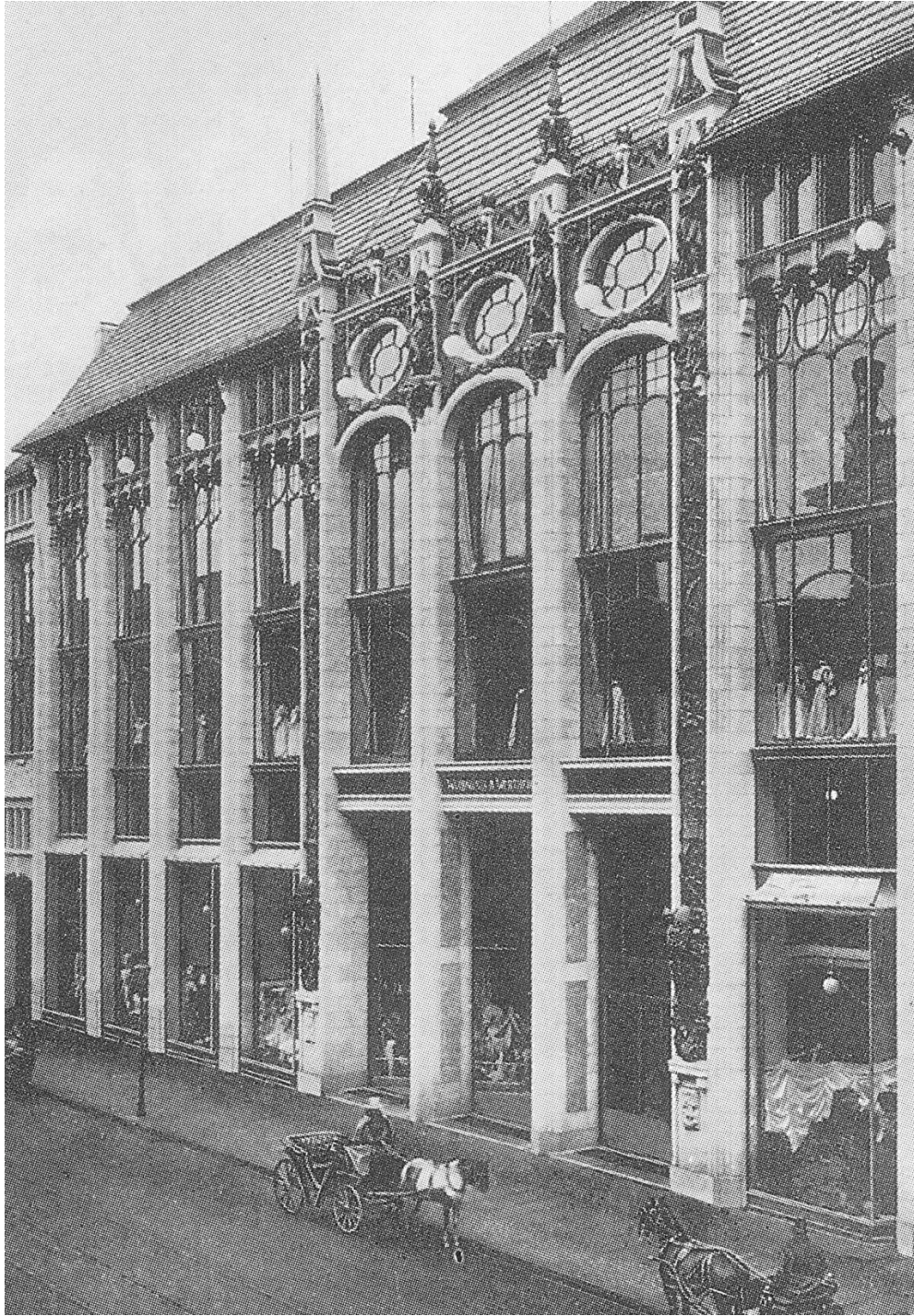


Figure 4.3. Alfred Messel's original Wertheim Department Store on the Leipzigerstraße, built 1896-1897, with its innovative expanses of glass and powerful expression of structural columns. Critics had claimed this as one of the pioneering structures of modern architecture. Source: Karl-Heinz Hüter, Architektur in Berlin 1900-1933 (1987), p. 24.



Figure 4.4. Bruno Taut, Competition entry for the Wertheim Department Store expansion, 1910. Note the formal relationship to Messel's original design shown in the previous figure. Source: Julius Posener, Berlin, auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur (1979), p. 478.



Figure 4.5. Cover of Adolf Behne's Wiederkehr der Kunst (1919), design by Behne's friend Arnold Topp, with colorful blue and red accents.

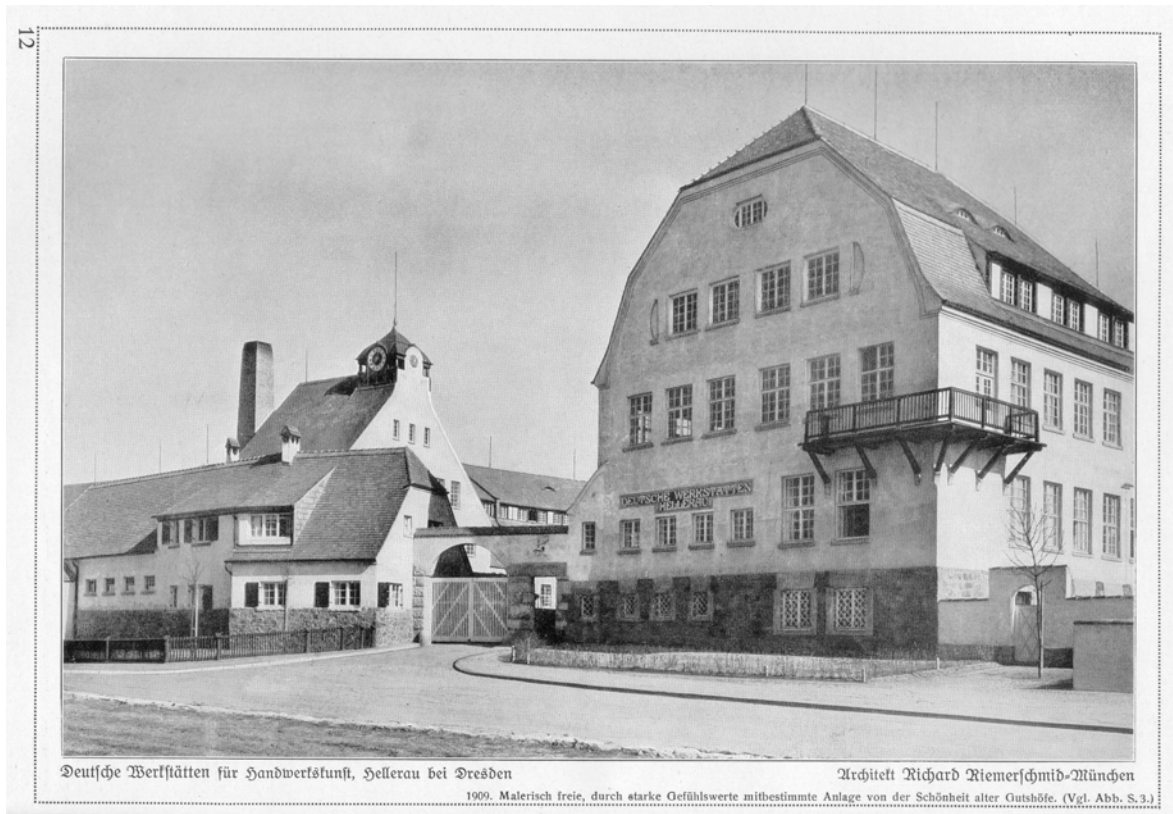


Figure 4.6. Riemerschmid's Factory at Hellerau, which Behne disparaged as "a touch of Rothenburg or Old-Nürnberg." Source: Walter Müller-Wulckow, Bauten der Arbeit und des Verkehrs aus deutscher Gegenwart Die Blauen Bücher (1925) p. 12.

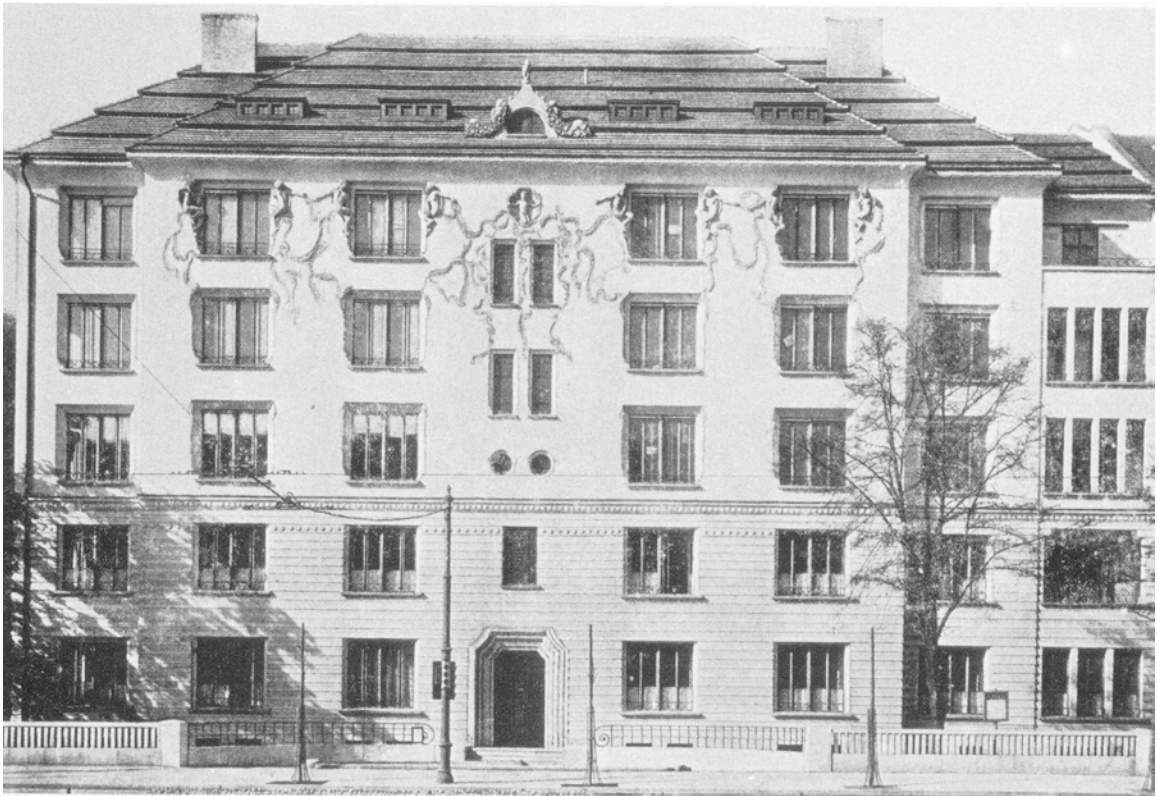


Figure 4.7. Bruno Taut's apartment house in Berlin-Tiergarten, Tiergartenstraße 34a, built 1912. The combination of rational, abstracted facade and expressive ornamental detailing led Behne to label Taut's architecture "expressionist." Source: Achim Wendschuh and Barbara Volkmann, eds., Bruno Taut 1880-1938 (1980), p. 172.



Figure 4.8. Ludwig Hoffmann, Stadthaus, Berlin, 1900-1914. Behne compared this very unfavorably to Taut's apartment buildings and to Messel's Wertheim. Source: Karl-Heinz Hüter, Architektur in Berlin 1900-1933 (1987), p. 43.



Figure 4.9. Heinrich Tessenow, house design as part of Bruno Taut's garden city in Berlin-Falkenberg, built 1911, photo 1997. Source: Collection Kai Gutschow.



Figure 4.10. Heinrich Tessenow, Row Houses in Hellerau Garden City, 1910-1911, undecorated, straightforward, worker housing house that led Behne to label Tessenow an "Expressionist" alongside Taut and Loos. Source: Walter Müller-Wulckow. Wohnbauten und Siedlungen aus deutscher Gegenwart. Die Blauen Bücher (1929), p. 61.



Figure 4.11. Heinrich Tessenow, Dalcroze Institute, Hellerau Garden City, near Dresden, built 1910-1913, shown during the popular 1913 Festspiele that Behne may have attended. Source: Marco de Michelis, Heinrich Tessenow, 1876-1950 (1991), p. 32.



Figure 4.12. The distinctive drawing style of Heinrich Tessenow, showing a double house for single families, 1913. Source: Marco de Michelis, Heinrich Tessenow, 1876-1950 (1991) p. 108-109.



Figure 4.13. An example of what Behne called the "Expressionism," Adolf Loos, his Steiner House, street facade ca. 1930, built 1910. Source: August Sarnitz, Adolf Loos, 1870-1933 (2003), p. 42.

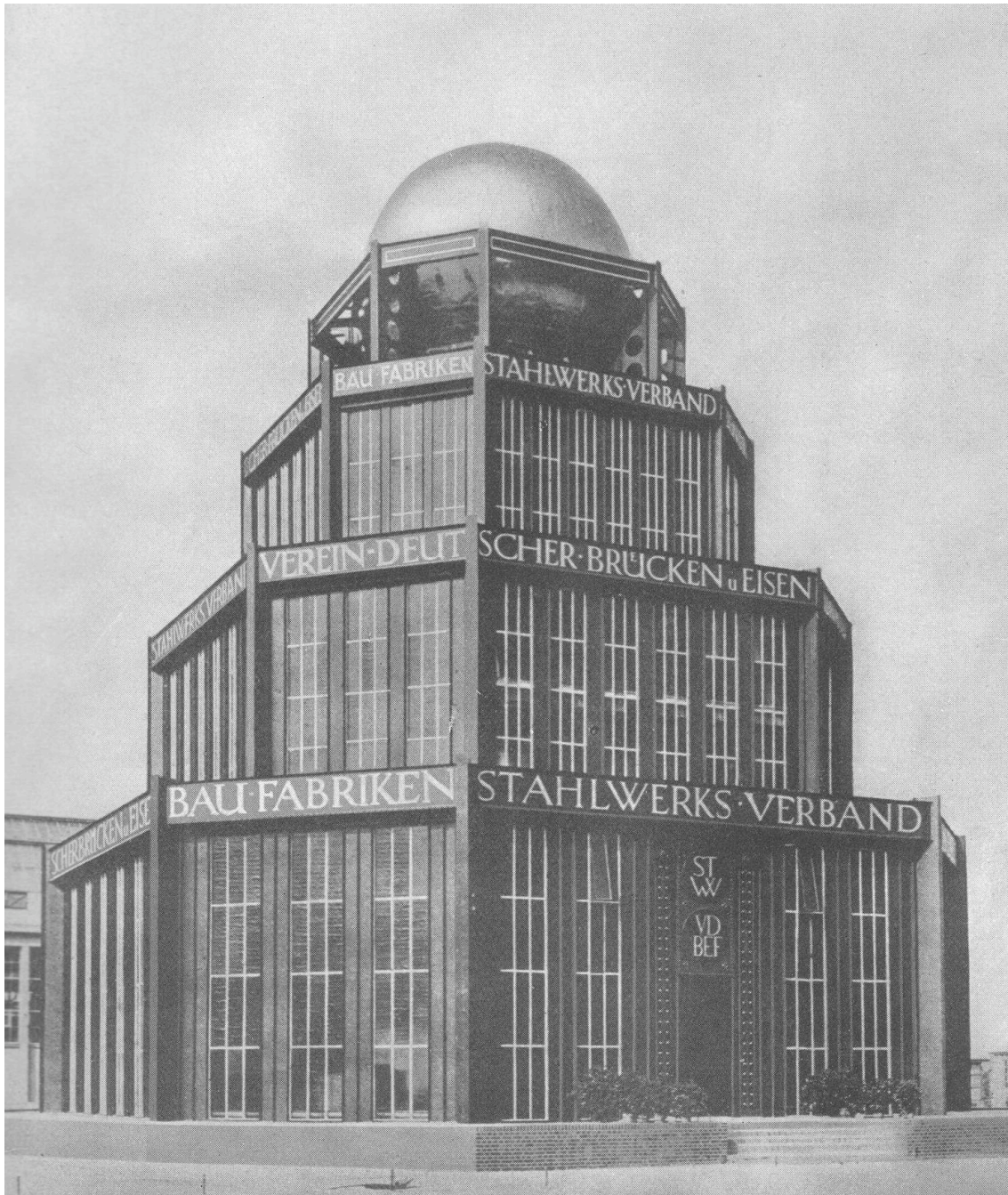


Figure 4.14. Bruno Taut and Franz Hoffmann, "Monument des Eisens," at the Internationale Baufach-Ausstellung Leipzig, 1913. The exhibit pavilion was made of black-painted steel with gold lettering and a gold sphere suspended above, which Behne highlighted as "Expressionist." Source: Gustav Adolf Platz, Baukunst der neuesten Zeit (1930), p. 355.



UNTER DEM PROTEKTORAT SR. MAJESTÄT DES KÖNIGS FRIEDRICH AUGUST VON SACHSEN
FINDET IN

LEIPZIG 1913

VON ANFANG MAI BIS ENDE OKTOBER DIE „INTERNATIONALE BAUFACH-AUSSTELLUNG
MIT SONDERAUSSTELLUNGEN LEIPZIG 1913 (E.V.)“ STATT, DIE ERSTE

INTERNATIONALE AUSSTELLUNG FÜR BAU- u. WOHNWESEN

Auskunft erteilt das
DIREKTORIUM DER „INTERNATIONALEN BAUFACH-AUSSTELLUNG LEIPZIG 1913 (E.V.)“
Briefadresse: Internationale Bau-Ausstellung, Leipzig / Telegramme: Bauausstellung Leipzig / Telephon Nr. 20 280, 81, 82.

Figure 4.15. Official advertisement and logo of the Leipzig building exhibition. Behne was critical of how un-modern the symbol of a column was to represent the state of the art of the German building industry. Source: advertisement in Der Industriebau 3, no. 8 (1912): Beilage cxxxviii.

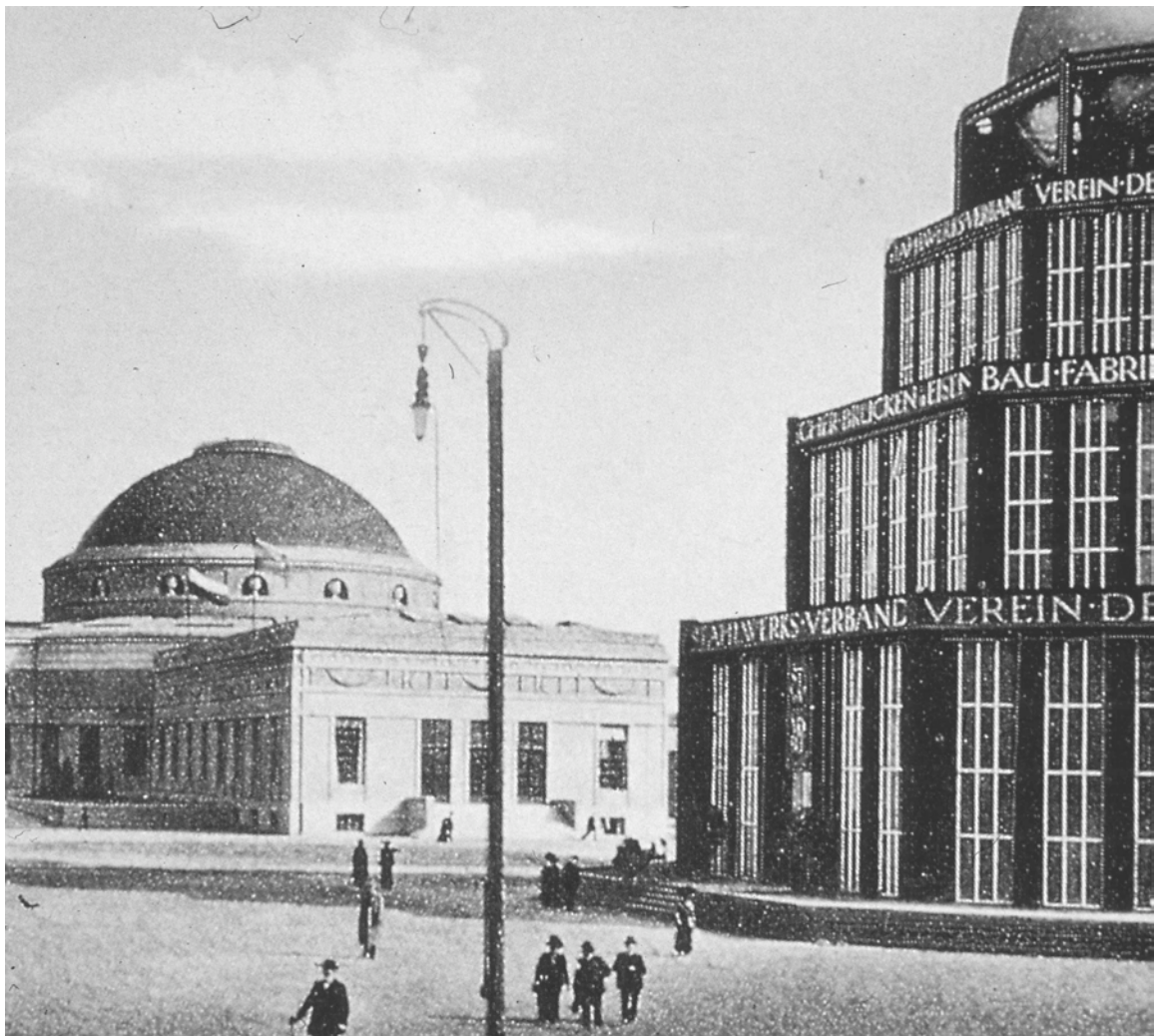


Figure 4.16. Wilhelm Kreis' domed Concrete Pavilion (Eisenbetonhalle) and Taut's "Monument to Iron" at the Leipzig Building Exposition, 1913. Source: Der Industriebau 4, no. 11 (Nov. 15, 1913): 261.

IV. JAHRGANG

DEN 15. NOVEMBER 1913

11. HEFT

(Lfd. Nr. 47)



DER INDUSTRIEBAU

MONATSSCHRIFT FÜR DIE KÜNSTLERISCHE
UND TECHNISCHE FÖRDERUNG ALLER GEBIETE
INDUSTRIELLER BAUTEN / EINSCHLIESSLICH ALLER
INGENIEURBAUTEN/SOWIE DER GESAMTEN FORTSCHRITTE DER TECHNIK

HERAUSGEBER:

ARCHITEKT E. BEUTINGER, STUTTGART
ALLE ZUSCHÜNDUNGEN SIND AN DIE SCHRIFTLEI-
TUNG STUTTGART, BLÜCHERSTRASSE 11 ODER
HEILBRONN, GUTENBERGSTRASSE 25 ZU RICHTEN

NACHDRUCK DER AUFSÄTZE OHNE BE-
SONDERE ZUSTIMMUNG DER SCHRIFT-
LEITUNG VERBOTEN!

VERLAG:

CARL SCHOLTZE (W. JUNGHANS)
LEIPZIG, KÖNIGSTRASSE Nr. 3

Inhalt: Die Eisenbetonhalle auf der I. B. A. in Leipzig 1913. Ausführung: Rud. Wölle und Kell & Löser in Leipzig. Entwurf: Prof. W. Kreis in Düsseldorf. Mit 13 Abb. — Die Maschinenhalle II. Entwurf und Gesamtausführung: Breest & Co., Eisenhoch- und Brückenbau, Berlin. Mit 12 Abb. — Wettbewerb um einen Wasserturm in Varel i. O. Mit 24 Abb. — Kgl. Eichamtgebäude in Memel. Von Architekt Stadtbaurat Kleemann in Memel. Mit 3 Abb. — Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen, Arbeiterhäuser, Heimatschutzbestrebungen, Landwirtschaftliche Anlagen. Die Halbergerhütte zu Brebach a. Saar. Von Architekt Fritz Klein. Mit 11 Abb. — Der Eisenbetonbau. Die Widerstandsfähigkeit der Zemente gegen Säuren und Salze. Von Professor Dr. P. Rohland, Stuttgart.

Beilage: Projektirte Neubauten — Terminkalender der laufend. Preisausschreibungen — Technische Neuerungen — Bücherbesprechungen — Inserate.

Die Eisenbetonhalle auf der I. B. A. in Leipzig 1913.



Ausführung: Rud. Wölle und Kell & Löser in Leipzig.

Entwurf: Prof. W. Kreis in Düsseldorf.

Figure 4.17. Wilhelm Kreis' domed Concrete Pavilion (Eisenbetonhalle at the Leipzig Building Exposition, 1913. Source: Der Industriebau 4, no. 11 (Nov. 15, 1913).

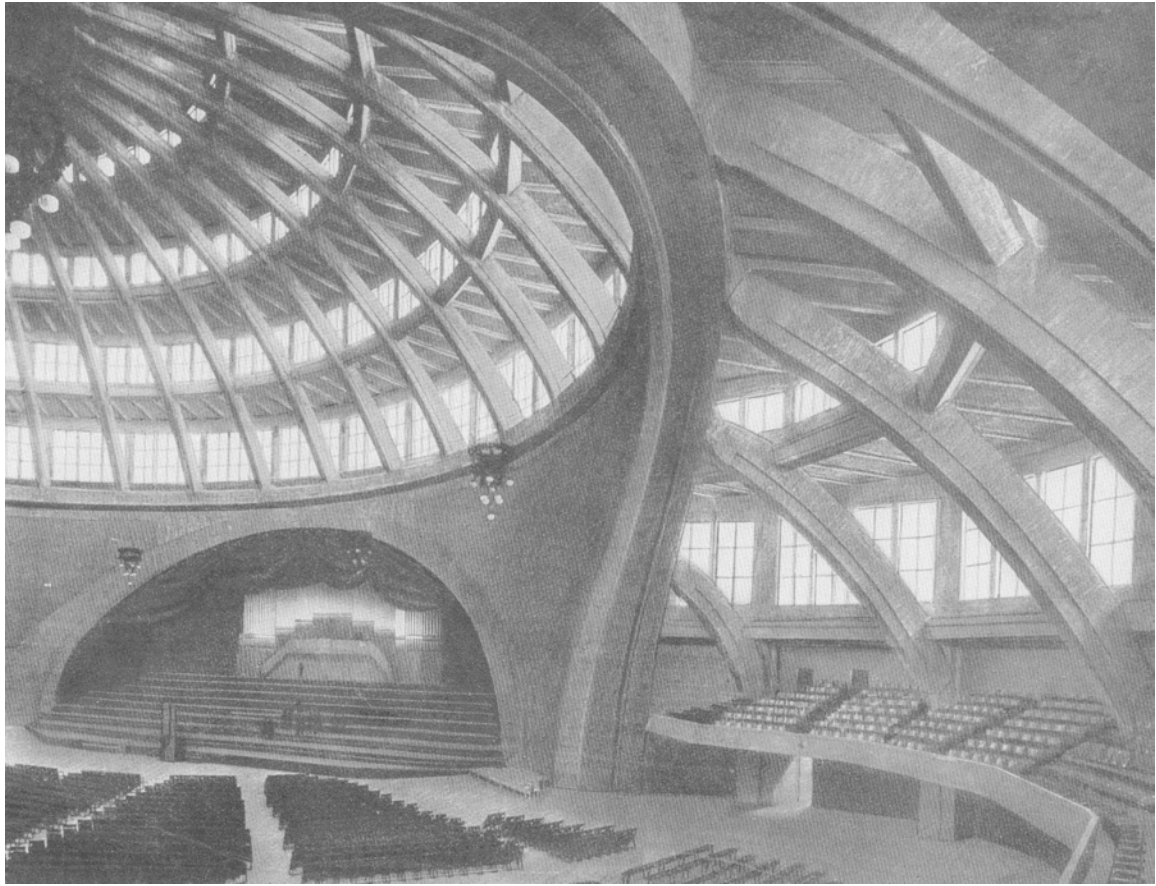


Figure 4.18. Max Berg, Jahrhunderthalle, Breslau, 1913, the largest reinforced concrete span in the world at the time, which Behne felt was a much more modern and appropriate form for concrete architecture than Kreis' Betonhalle. Source: Gustav Adolf Platz, Die Baukunst der neuesten Zeit (1930) p. 245.



Figure 4.19. Adolf Behne (center) and Bruno Taut (right) with their wives and children, ca. 1914. Source: Achim Wendschuh and Barbara Volkmann, eds., Bruno Taut 1880-1938 (1980), p. 32.

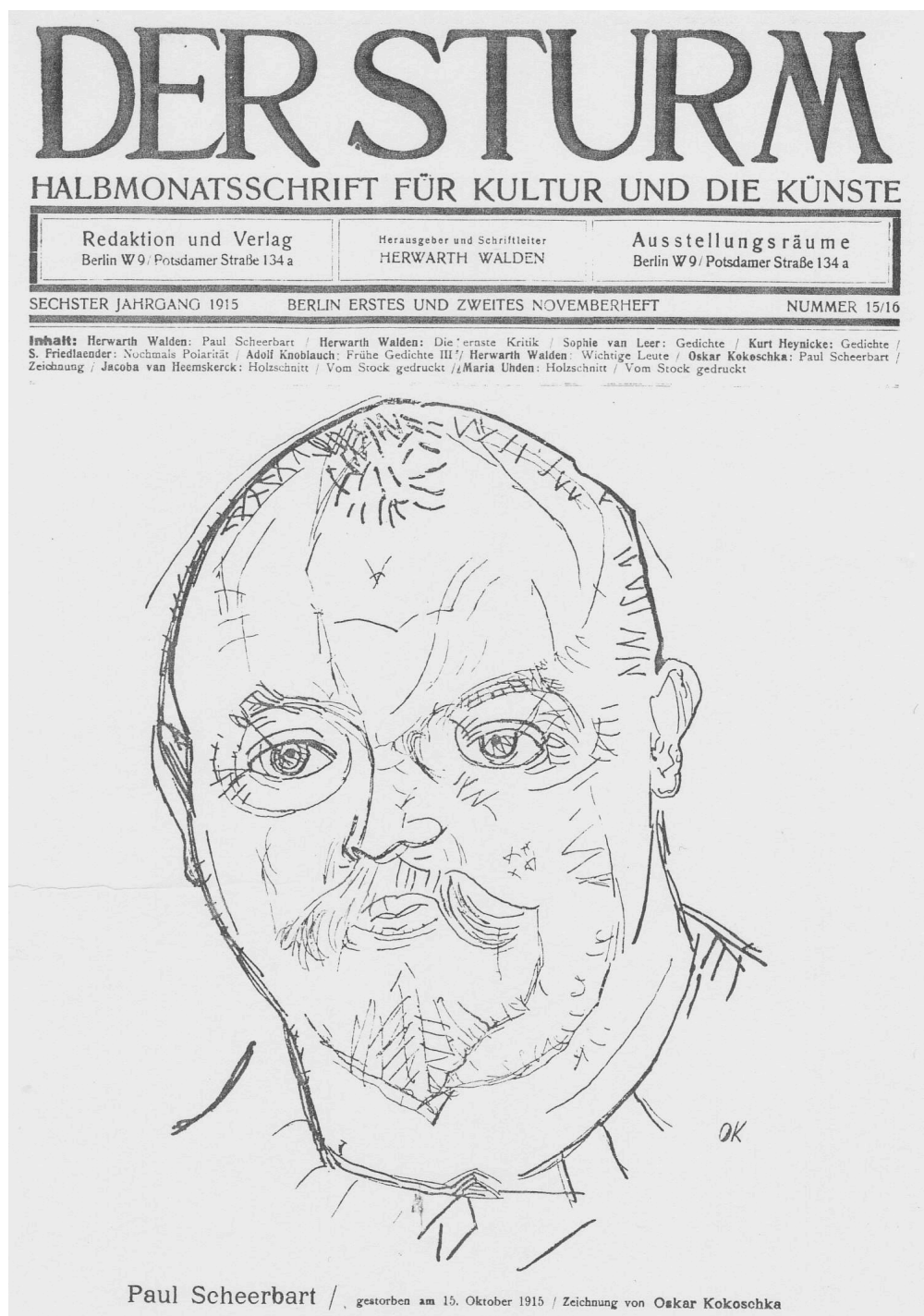


Figure 4.20. Portrait of Paul Scheerbart, drawing by Oskar Kokoschka, as published in Der Sturm 6, no. 15/16 (Nov. 1915), to commemorate the poet's death.

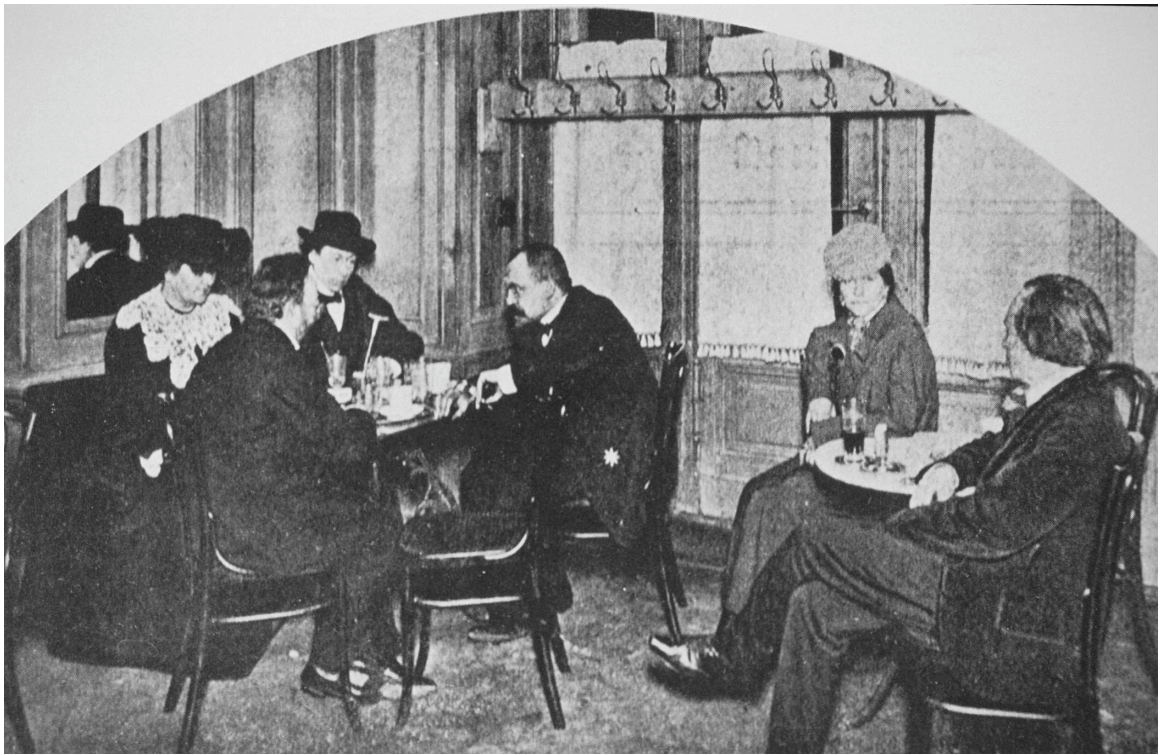


Figure 4.21. Photo of Herwarth Walden and Paul Scheerbart with the caption "The 'moderns' at their table in the Café des Westens," printed in Der Weltspiegel, an illustrated insert to the Berliner Tageblatt no. 41 (May 21, 1905). Source: Leo Ikelaar, Paul Scheerbart und Bruno Taut, zur Geschichte einer Bekanntschaft (1996), p. 12.

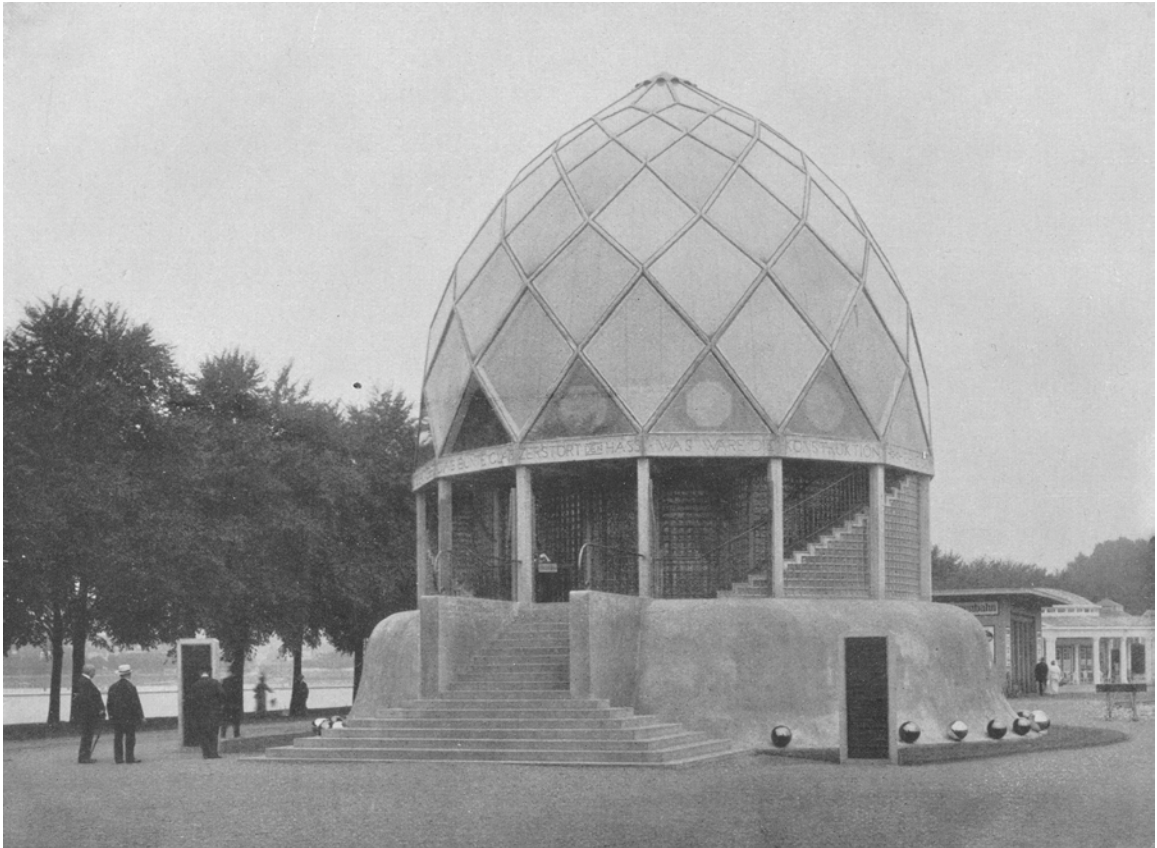


Figure 4.22. Bruno Taut, Glashaus, Cologne Werkbund Exhibition, 1914. Source: Gustav Adolf Platz, Baukunst der neuesten Zeit (1930), p. 350.

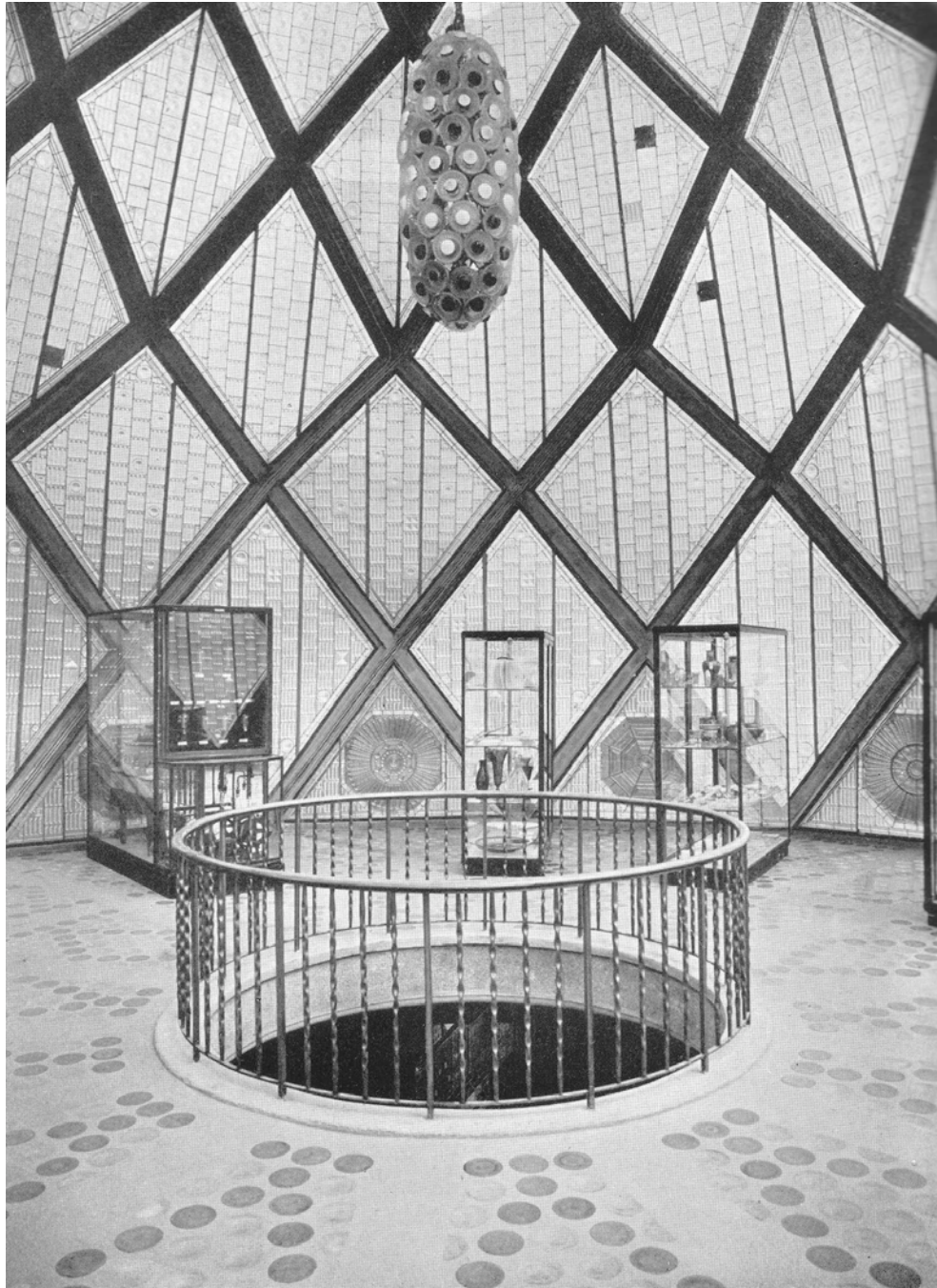


Figure 4.23. Bruno Taut, Glashaus, at Cologne Werkbund Exhibition, 1914, upper level, with hole in middle to floor below. The view shows some of the many uses of glass that taut employed: colored, molded Luxfer Prism tiles woven together in between the concrete reinforced dome ribs (a layer of plate glass in each bay on the exterior), special round and colored glass block in the floor, glass vitrines with various glass objects, a lamp of concrete with colored glass light bulbs above. Source: Deutsche Form im Kriegsjahr. Die Ausstellung Köln, 1914. Jahrbuch des deutschen Werkbundes (1915), p. 80.



Figure 4.24. Bruno Taut, Glashaus, at Cologne Werkbund Exhibition, 1914, lower level, with brightly colored ceramic tiles on the walls in the foreground and on the dome with the oculus to the upper space, a glass-block wall illuminated from behind in the rear wall, containing stained glass paintings by Fritz Adolf Becker, Imanuel Josef Margold, Max Pechstein, and Johan Thorn-Prikker. In the foreground, between the stairs, a waterfall over white tiles, with silver balls. Not shown is the "Kinematograph," which projected moving abstract patterns of color onto the back of a translucent scrim at the end of the space. Source: Deutsche Form im Kriegsjahr. Die Ausstellung Köln, 1914 Jahrbuch des deutschen Werkbundes (1915), pp. 78.

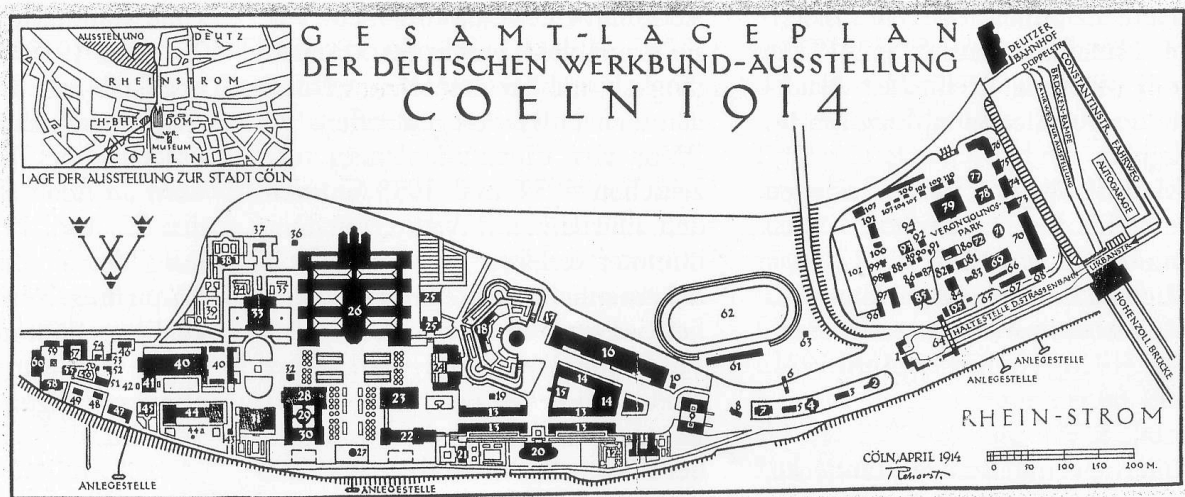


Figure 4.25. Plan of Cologne Werkbund Exhibition, April 1914, by Carl Rehorst. Taut's Glashaus (#2) is right of center, right behind the main entry gate at the tram stop, the first in a narrow group of buildings aligned along the Rhein. Walter Gropius' model Werkbund factory (#40) is on the left, adjacent to Henry van de Velde's Werkbund theaer (#33), and facing the other more official exhibition buildings, including the main exhibit building by Theodor Fisher (#26), the festival hall by Peter Behrens. Source: Winfried Nerdinger, Kristiana Hartmann, Matthias Schirren and Manfred Speidel, eds. *Bruno Taut, 1880-1938* (2001), p. 56.

KUNST- UND LITERATURNACHRICHTEN

Das „Glashaus“ wurde von dem Berliner Architekten Bruno Taut, der durch sein Leipziger Eisenmonument bekannt geworden ist, für die deutsche Glasindustrie zur Werkbund-Ausstellung in Köln entworfen. Vor kurzem wurde das von Weinert mit köstlichem Geschmack durchgearbeitete Modell fertig, das an sich schon ein entzückendes Kunstwerk darstellt. Man wäre übrigens im Irrtum, wenn man die Glaswände und die Glaskuppel des „Glashauses“ nur als Mittel ansähe, der Glasindustrie einen „Clou“ der Ausstellung zu sichern. Taut verfolgt mit dem Glashaus die Absicht, das Glas als Baumaterial einzuführen.

Neben dem Beton und das Eisen soll das Glas treten, dessen wundervolle Eigenschaften ja nicht im entferntesten ausgenutzt werden, wenn man es als Fensterscheibe dienst tun läßt. Taut hat für Köln einen Saal von 10 Metern Durchmesser konstruiert, dessen Wände und dessen Boden aus Glas bestehen. Er soll einen Begriff geben, wie ein vom klingen und lebendigen Glase umschlossener Raum wirkt. Durch eine Inschrift widmet Taut dieses erste Glashaus dem Dichter Paul Scheerbart, von dem der Gedanke der Glasarchitektur ausgegangen ist. Wer Scheerbarts „großes Licht“ kennt, weiß, welche Schönheiten wir von der Glasarchitektur erwarten müssen. In einer neuen Schrift wird Scheerbart demnächst die Probleme der Glasarchitektur programmatisch behandeln. Wer etwa die Zukunftsbilder Scheerbarts bisher nur für die weissen Träume eines Dichters nahm, den dürfte, wenn nicht schon das köstliche Modell, so mit Bestimmtheit das erste fertige Glashaus in Köln von seinem Jertum überzeugen!

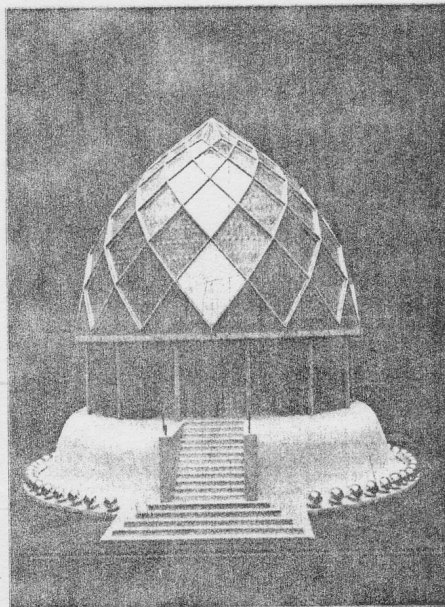
Am 3. und 4. Februar kommt in Rudolf Lepkes Kunstauktionshaus, Berlin, die Sammlung Raffauf aus Hordheim zur Versteigerung. Ein schöner, sorgfältig ausgestatteter Katalog der Sammlung erschien jeben. Die Sammlung enthält türkische und kleinasiatische Teppiche und Stoffe, Bilder aus der alten venezianischen Schule, italienische Bronzen, italienische und rheinische Renaissance-Möbel. Besonders bemerkenswert sind einige sehr feine deutsche Holzfiguren des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts.

In der Galerie Helbing-München kommen am 29. und 30. Januar Waffen und Uniformen vom 16. Jahrhundert aus der Sammlung des Professors Louis Braun zur Versteigerung. Der reich illustrierte Katalog enthält neben einigen Rüstungen, Kanonenmodellen usw. vor allem militärische Ausstattungsgegenstände aus der napoleonischen Zeit.

Die Deutsche Werkbund-Ausstellung gibt ein Flugblatt „Die Fabrik“ heraus, das sich über die Ziele verbreitet, die die Ausstellungsleitung mit der Errichtung des Fabrikbaues verfolgt. Das Flugblatt weist auf die starke Förderung hin, welche das Gewerbe und damit indirekt die deutsche Maschinenindustrie durch die Werkbund-Ausstellung erfährt. Am Kopfe zeigt die Schrift das Fabrikgebäude von Walter Gropius und außerdem enthält sie einen Grundriß dieser Anlage. Ferner sind die Mitglieder des Industrie-Ausschusses der Werkbund-Ausstellung genannt. Dem in dem Flugblatt aufgestellten Programm zufolge verspricht die Abteilung „Fabrik“ eine der interessantesten der ganzen Ausstellung zu werden.

Zur Einweihung ihres neuen Theaters, das „Nouvel Ambigu“ hatten sich die Herren Herz und Coquelle in den seit vielen Jahren schweigsamen Francois de Curel mit einem neuen Stück versprochen, dem „Tanz vor dem Spiegel“ („La Danse devant le Miroir“). Obgleich dieses Werk durchaus noch nicht das längst erwartete Meisterwerk des Dichters des „Neuen Idols“ und der „Engeladenen“ ist, eher ein Neuaufguss des Wertes von vor 20 Jahren „Die Liebe sticht“ („L'amour brode“), so rühmt doch die französische Kritik die Kunst der Übertragung tiefgründiger Abstraktionen ins Bühnenleben und insbesondere das Spiel von Frau Simone im letzten Akt. Selbst die Widerstrebendsten, unter denen der Lothringer Dichter ja reichlich zu leiden gehabt hat, hatten das Gefühl, hier vor einem seltenen und tiefgründigen, berechtigen und edlen Werke zu stehen, das sich, wie sämtliche Werte des adeligen de Curel, ohne weiteres hoch über den Durchschnitt stellt.

In Agels Junters Verlag, Berlin, erschien nach zwei kleinen Mappen hochgeworfener, teilweise handcolorierter Zeichnungen von Rainer und Fritz Wolff ein Novellenbändchen, als zehntes der Drplidbüch, Kurt Münzers „Casarovas letzte Liebe“, ein nettes kleines Büchlein mit netten kleinen Novellen, ohne tiefe Tragik, ohne verwirrende Leidenschaften, aber mit viel Anmut und einem entzückenden leichten Esprit. In seiner zierlichen Aufmachung ist das Bändchen so recht geschaffen für die vornehme Dame, so zum Einstecken ins selbstgefüllte Handtäschchen, ehe man ins Auto schlüpft, als Lektüre im Schlafwagen vor dem Einschlafen. Man lächelt, man ist amüsiert, man freut sich über die kleinen Tragödien der Helden und Heldinnen, die ja nicht so ganz an der Oberfläche bleiben, aber, Gott sei Dank, nicht tragisch genug sind, um den Nachtschlaf zu rauben.



Modell des Tautschen Glashauses

Verantwortlich für die Schriftleitung: Chefredakteur Dr. Collin Roth, München

Alle redaktionellen Zusendungen werden nicht an persönliche Adressen, sondern an die Redaktion der „Zeit im Bild“ nach München, Bittelbacherplatz 2, erbeten. Unverlangten Manuskripten ist Rückporto beizufügen

Figure 4.26. Behne's note on Taut's Glashaus in the popular magazine *Zeit im Bild*, with early publicity photo of the model by Weinert. Source: [Behne, Adolf], "[Das Glashaus]," *Zeit im Bild* 12.1, no. 5 (Jan. 29, 1914): 280.



Figure 4.27. Hendrik Petrus Berlage, Amsterdam Stock Exchange, 1896-1903. Source: Source: Sabine Röder, ed. Modern Baukunst 1900-1914 (1993), p. 56.

KUNSTGEWERBEBLATT

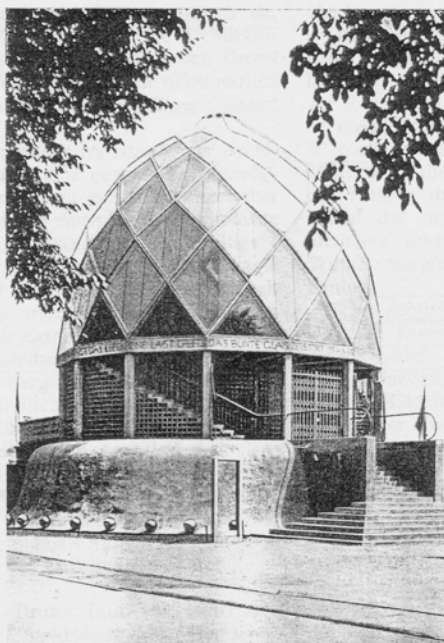
NEUE FOLGE 1915/16 27. JAHRGANG

REDAKTION: FRITZ HELLWAG IN
BERLIN-ZEHLENDORF-
WANNSEEBAHN · TELEPHON: ZEHLENDORF 1053

VERLAG: E. A. SEEMANN IN LEIPZIG,
HOSPITALSTR. 11a · TEL. 244

HEFT 1
OKTOBER

VEREINSORGAN DER KUNSTGE-
WERBEVEREINE
BERLIN, DRESDEN, DÜSSELDORF, ELBERFELD,
FRANKFURT A. M., HAMBURG, HANNOVER, KARLS-
RUHE I. B., KÖNIGSBERG I. PREUSSEN, LEIPZIG,
MAGDEBURG, PFORZHEIM UND STUTTGART



Bruno Taut, Berlin. Das Glashaus auf der Deutschen
Werkbund-Ausstellung Köln 1914

GEDANKEN ÜBER KUNST UND ZWECK, DEM GLASHAUSE GEWIDMET

VON DR. ADOLF BEHNE

Nichts ist so wirr, wie das Urteil der Allgemeinheit über das Wesen und den Wert der Architektur. Man behandelt die Architektur im Ernste nicht als Kunst, führt aber das Wort »Baukunst« recht gern im Munde. Man kümmert sich um

das lebendige Schicksal der Architektur blutwenig; aber, vor der Baukunst als der Urkunst, der Mutter der Künste, von Zeit zu Zeit eine tiefe und weise Reverenz zu machen, gehört zur Bildung. Wirkliche Liebe zur Architektur ist selten; aber immerhin scheint

Kunstgewerbeblatt. N. F. XXVII. H. 1

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Figure 4.28. Cover of Adolf Behne, "Gedanken über Kunst und Zweck, dem Glashause gewidmet," Kunstgewerbeblatt volume 27, number 1 ((October 1915).

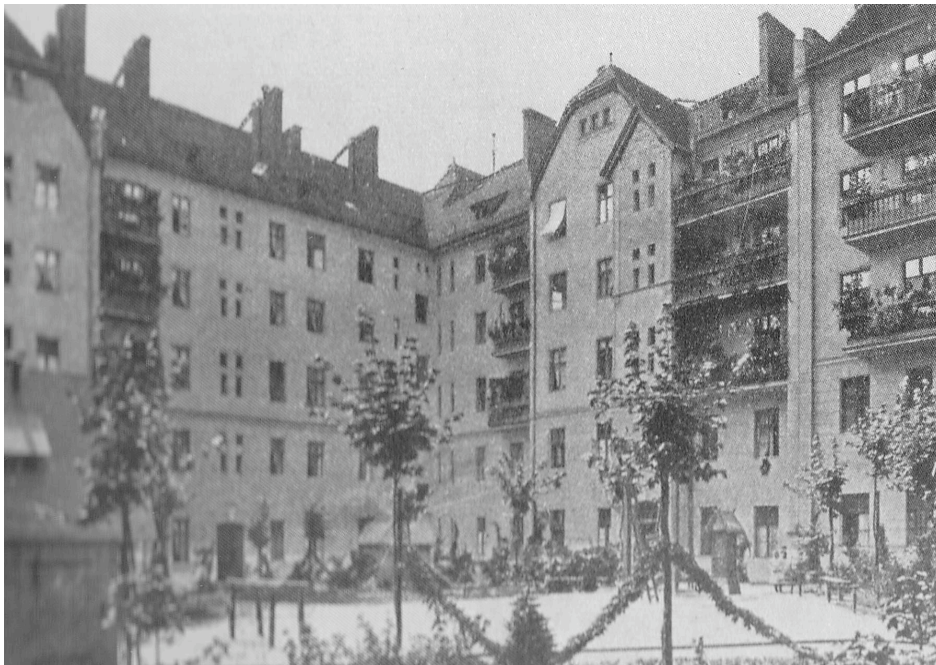


Figure 4.29. Alfred Messel, Apartments for the Berliner Spar- und Bauverein, Proskauer Straße, 1897-1899, street facade and courtyard interior. Source: Julius Posener, Berlin, auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur (1979), p. 345.



Figure 4.30. Alfred Messel, Apartments for the Berliner Spar- und Bauverein, Sickingenstraße, 1893-1894, street facade, courtyard interior and plan. Source: Julius Posener, *Berlin, auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur* (1979), pp. 343-344.