

V.
The Politics of Unifying Art and Life:
Socialism and Architecture

"The *social* is the measure of our time and the rhythm of the foreseeable future."¹

- Wilhelm Hausenstein, 1913

A Sociological Approach to Architecture

Behne's desire to unify art and life--a central tenet of both Expressionist art and the German Werkbund that had been given physical form in Bruno Taut's Cologne Glashaus--gave rise to one of the fundamental paradoxes, indeed contradictions, in Behne's art criticism. On the one hand, Behne promoted a new art that he felt transcended the mundane, materialist society of Wilhelmine Germany, one that aspired to express the spirituality, artistry, and inner needs of the modern artist. In this regard, Behne sought a pure, Idealist vision of art that turned inward to abstraction and autonomy, away from imitating the natural world or representing symbols or other content. On the other hand, Behne wrote passionately about the need to make art accessible to more people, and through his teaching and writing worked to define and to bring all art and an appreciation of beauty to the masses. He sought to transform art and architecture from the exclusive province of the rich and educated elite, into an art

¹ Hausenstein, Der nackte Mensch in der Kunst aller Zeiten 2nd ed. (1913), p. 2.

for and by the people. Only then, he felt, would a new and modern art be possible. The new art for which Behne was searching was to be simultaneously high and low, personal and popular, autonomous and socially relevant.

Increasingly, Behne attempted to resolve this contradiction in two inter-related ways: politics and architecture. As Behne became more ensconced in Walden's Sturm circle and engaged with the associated Expressionist artists, as well as Socialist-oriented art critics such as Wilhelm Hausenstein and others from the *Volkshochschule*, he began to develop a distinct form of "cultural Socialism."² Refusing to allow art to be instrumentalized or used in the service of politics, and unwilling to participate in bureaucratic party politics, Behne promoted a form of Socialism that focused on empowering individual people and giving them access to a spiritual life, through values of true art. Although certain theoretical foundations of Expressionist painting helped Behne reconcile his desire for both artistic autonomy and a new culture for the masses, architecture offered Behne the best resolution to his conundrum. Architecture, to Behne, was by definition both abstract and social, composed of non-representational formal elements, and serving the functional and social needs of its users. In the course of his on-going relationship with Taut, Behne began to define the outlines of a "sociological approach to art" that would resolve the contradiction between art and life that he witnessed in Wilhelmine culture.³ This sociological approach to art would

² See chapter 2.

³ See Behne, Adolf. "Ist eine Soziologie der Kunst möglich?," *Die Form* 8, no. 1 (Jan. 1, 1933): 2-7; which is a shortened version of the unpublished manuscript manuscript "Skizze zur Sociologie der Kunst," given as a lecture to P.E.N. Club in

remain at the core of his criticism throughout his career, forming the basis for his conviction on modern architecture expressed in his better known criticism of the 1920s.

Spiritual Socialism and Cultural Reform

Most avant-garde artists and critics in the early twentieth century, including Behne, were intellectually and spiritually--if not always politically--attracted to Socialism. In the face of industrialization, the growth of the metropolis, and what they perceived as an alienating society and decadent culture, critics, reformers, and artists from all positions on the political spectrum increasingly sought escape. They longed for a cohesive society that valued community and spiritual production. The groundwork for this Idealistic desire for community had been laid by late nineteenth-century social philosophers who presented sets of antitheses such as community/society, hometown/metropolis, and culture/technology. They developed a rhetoric of need and longing for a more harmonious "unity of art and life," a connection of "the people" (*Volk*) with their culture and their art. With little power to change the political and social conditions or the overall culture, reformers such as Wilhelm Riehl, Ferdinand Tönnies, Julius Langbehn, Ferdinand Avenarius, attacked to varying degrees the depravities of modern life, and promoted in turn the values of a more communal culture and spiritual lifestyle.⁴ More progressive German social thinkers such as Max Weber, Werner

Stockholm, Apr. 22, 1932.

⁴ The intellectual background for much of the communal Idealism had been provided by a wide range of works such as Wilhelm Riehl's Naturgeschichte des Volkes als Grundlage einer deutschen Social-Politik (Natural History of the German People as

Sombart, and Georg Simmel highlighted essentially the same pitfalls of modern society, though they were not as violently anti-modern or as severely nostalgic for a past that was perceived to be more whole and secure.⁵

In his 1911 keynote speech to the Werkbund, Hermann Muthesius incorporated this theme of community in this call for all members, indeed all Germans, to band together against materialism and individualism. Rather than focus only on the quality of design, as the Werkbund had done to date, Muthesius proposed that the organization work towards the "Spiritualization of German Production" (*Die Durchgeistigung der*

a Foundation for a Social-Politics) a four volume compendium of Riehl's major works published 1857ff., and many subsequent editions, including (1903-1907), and recently translated in a greatly abridged version as Riehl, The Natural History of the German People, transl., ed., and intro. D.J. Diephouse (1990); Ferdinand Tönnies' Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft (1887) translated as Community and Society (1955); Julius Langbehn's Rembrandt als Erzieher (Rembrandt as Educator, 1890), and even Nietzsche's Thus Spoke Zarathustra (1883-1885). Cultural reformers influenced by these works varied widely in their politics. On the right stood the reformers of "culture of despair" whose pessimistic view of industrialization and modernization was embodied in organizations such as the Wandervögel, Dürerbund and Heimatschutz, and is described most potently in Fritz Stern's The Politics of Cultural Despair. A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology (1961). More moderate or left-wing positions inspired by these works include the romantic and anarcho-Socialism of Prouhon, Kropotkin, and Landauer, the communitarian ideals of the German Garden City movement, the Werkbund, and even some of the artist's groups of early Expressionism such as Die Brücke and Kandinsky's Neue Künstler Vereinigung. Good introductions to the abovementioned social philosophers and the opposed cultural positions they inspired are Francesco Dal Co, Figures of Architecture and Thought. German Architecture Culture 1880-1920 (1990); Mark Jarzombek, "The *Kunstgewerbe*, the *Werkbund*, and the Aesthetics of Culture in the Wilhelmine Period," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 53, no. 1 (March 1994): 7-19; and Iain B. Whyte, Bruno Taut and the Architecture of Activism (1982), pp. 88, 105.

⁵ On German sociologists and commentary on modern society, see Harry Liebersohn, Fate and Utopia in German Sociology, 1870-1923 (1988).

deutschen Arbeit).⁶ He advocated the return to conventional forms inspired by classicism and the idea of "architectonic form" where, under the leadership of architecture, all the arts would evolve towards standards, types, and a homogenous style. This return to order, Muthesius proposed, was in line with recent socio-economic conditions: "In modern social and economic organization there is a sharp tendency towards conformity . . . and these social and economic tendencies have a spiritual affinity with the formal tendencies of our movement."⁷ His call for a new approach to form was thus inextricably linked to a call for generating an organic, spiritualized community in the Werkbund and in Germany. Muthesius closed his talk with the comment that it was the destiny of the German people to revive the arts of design in the twentieth century.

Similar ideals were soon also reflected in the publicity and press surrounding the rise of Expressionism. Expressionist artists, inspired by essays such as Kandinsky's Concerning the Spiritual in Art, built on this pervasive desire for community by highlighting a "religious sensibility" they perceived in the simultaneous artistic, cultural and *geistig* revolutions in which they were involved.⁸ The critic Wally Zepler, for example, wrote, "For the proletariat, Socialism is truly . . . a belief system, an ethical

⁶ Muthesius, "Wo stehen wir?," from the annual Werkbund convention of 1911, published in the first Werkbund yearbook Die Durchgeistigung der deutschen Arbeit (1912, reprinted 2000). Muthesius, speech is discussed in Reyner Banham, Theory and Design in the First Machine Age (1960), chapter 5.

⁷ Muthesius, "Wo stehen wir?," as transl. in Banham, Theory and Design, p. 76.

⁸ Wassiliy Kandinsky, Über das Geistige in der Kunst (1912). On the "Geistig" revolution of Expressionism, see Magdalena Bushart, Der Geist der Gotik und die Expressionistische Kunst (1990).

ideal, and that is why, as many have correctly pointed out, it is truly a replacement for the decaying religious ideals."⁹ Few reformers, whether from the political right or left, whether proselytizing a "culture of despair" or seeking a utopian unity of art and life, would have disagreed with the words of Hausenstein that "the *social* is the measure of our time and the rhythm of the foreseeable future. It determines our thinking as emphatically as Revelations has always determined the actions of religious people."¹⁰

A passionate desire for community, unity, and social integration led critics to conflate religious or spiritual longings with aesthetic visions and philosophical ideals. In 1912 the critic Ludwig Coelln perceived that amongst the avant-garde, "the individual artist necessarily recedes; his work becomes a mere function of the general will."¹¹ Paul Fechter, in the first book-length study on Expressionism before World War I, similarly noted that for the first time since the Renaissance art was being created from a "communal spiritual situation, where the personal withdraws in favor of the great

⁹ Wally Zepler, "Die psychischen Grundlagen der Arbeiterbildung," Sozialistische Monatshefte 16.3 (1910): 1556. Klara Zetkin had similar thoughts when she wrote, "More and more religion loses its position with the proletariat; therefore, as a substitute, we must offer artistic works that embody our conception. Otherwise the workers would be driven into the arms of religious mysticism, such as prevails among the bourgeoisie. And so we must give consideration to a rational art that reflects our world view"; Zetkin (1907), translated in Willi L. Guttsman, Worker's Culture in Weimar Germany (1990), p. 167.

¹⁰ "Das Soziale ist das Maß unserer Zeit und der Rhythmus der absehbaren Zukunft. Und es bestimmt unser Denken so unwiderstehlich wie je die Idee der Offenbarung das Denken des religiösen Menschen bestimmt hat. Wir müssen. Es ist das Gesetz unserer Vitalität, das uns Zwingt"; Wilhelm Hausenstein, Der nackte, p. 2.

¹¹ Ludwig Coelln, Die neue Malerei 2nd ed. (1912); transl. in Haxthausen, "A Critical Illusion," p. 177.

anonymity of the universal."¹²

Most Expressionist artists and critics favored social and political philosophies that they saw as humanitarian and democratic and which held an Idealistic view of man's potential.¹³ For many supporters of Expressionist art in particular, "socialism" was not so much a political or economic program, but an ethical, intellectual, and social ideal that expressed a future, utopian brotherhood of all men. Gustav Landauer, in his Aufruf zum Sozialismus (For Socialism, 1911) explained, "Socialism is a cultural movement, a people's struggle for beauty, greatness and satisfaction. . . . Socialism is the soft reality of the true beauty of people living together."¹⁴ Taut, who was apparently influenced by Landauer during World War I, later also claimed to have been searching for a "socialism in the non-political, supra-political sense," based on the inter-

¹² Paul Fechter, Expressionismus (1914), p. 29; transl. in Haxthausen, "A Critical Illusion," p. 177.

¹³ On the politics of Expressionism see, for example, Erhard Frommhold, "Politischer Expressionismus - expressionistische Politik," in Roland März and Anita Kühnel, eds., Expressionisten. Die Avantgarde in Deutschland 1905-1920 (1986), pp. 62-69; Shapiro, Painters and Politics. The European Avant-garde and Society, 1900-1925 (1976), pp. 221-222; Bushart, Geist der Gotik.

¹⁴ Gustav Landauer, Aufruf zum Sozialismus 2nd ed. (1919, orig. 1911), pp. 22, 87, as cited in Speidel, postscript to Bruno Taut, ed., Die Stadtkrone (2002, orig. 1919), p. 8. Landauer's book, translated by David Parent as For Socialism (1978), was a compendium of three essays that came out of his involvement with the "Sozialistischer Bund," a vehicle for propagating his views on decentralization and mutualism. Landauer (1870-1919), a "romantic Socialist" and one of the founders of the Garden City Movement, was an anarchist who attacked the centralized, capitalized state as the root of all contemporary evil, proposing instead *Geist* and a new egalitarian community as a way forward into a more Socialist future. Influenced by Saint-Simonian doctrine, he was elitist, anti-democratic, and anti-Marxist, seeing the proletariat as a hindrance to reform, and wanting a dictatorship of artists to lead the way to reform.

relationship of man with man."¹⁵ Such a spirit of brotherhood became a key component in the artist rebellions before World War I. Artists and other reform groups countered the entrenched institutions of official art with new artists' groups. They battled the elitism and affluence of the German art community by creating their own exhibits, sometimes in very populist venues, such as worker clubs or in the working-class districts. The avant-garde group Die Brücke, for example, consciously sought an escape from the bourgeois, middle-class roots from which most artists came. This group of artists, many of them former architecture students, located their group's studio in a rebuilt butcher shop in a working-class neighborhood of Dresden. They strove to create a communal way of life, shared art production work, and invited unaffiliated artists to exhibit with them.¹⁶

Expressionist artists also battled the academy in the media through which they worked and in the content of their art work. They specialized in less expensive, more

¹⁵ Taut, Stadtkrone, pp. 59-60; also cited in Bushart, Geist der Gotik, p. 169; and translated in Whyte, Bruno Taut, p. 53, 83. Whyte traces Taut's ideas on Socialism back to his engagement with "Activism" and the ideas of the author Kurt Hiller during World War I. Hiller had written in the same spirit: "Socialism is no party doctrine but a way of thinking; it is the focusing on the soul of the fraternity"; Kurt Hiller, "Ortsbestimmung des Aktivismus," Die Erhebung 1 (1919), p. 363; cited in Whyte, Bruno Taut, p. 100. Whyte places the source of both Hiller's and Taut's ideas in Landauer's book; see Whyte, Bruno Taut, pp. 53-57. However, Manfred Speidel has recently cast doubt on aspects of Taut's pre-revolutionary ties to Hiller and Landauer, noting that Taut neither quoted Landauer nor voiced any ideas about Socialism until 1919: Taut, "Der sozialismus des Künstlers," Sozialistische Monatshefte 25 (Apr. 1919): 259-262; and quotes Landauer for the first time in Taut, Die Auflösung der Städte (1920). See Speidel, postscript to Die Stadtkrone, p. 34.

¹⁶ Shapiro, Painters and Politics; on Socialism in Die Brücke see Long, German Expressionism, pp. 21-22.

populist art forms such as wood block prints. Their prints and paintings often represented more ordinary, contemporary or working-class people and scenes. They frequently included vernacular or esoteric objects and references in their work that nostalgically recalled more spiritually unified eras. Kandinsky, Gabrielle Münter and several of their friends, for example, moved out of the city of Munich into the village of Murnau, in part to tap into a rich tradition of Bavarian folk art as well as what they perceived as a more communal, spiritually healthy small-town atmosphere. They longed for a unified culture and to be reintegrated with society in some future world that would right social wrongs.

The longing for community had spawned a new art, which in turn was to produce a new society and political system. Revolutions in art were tied to visions of revolutions in politics, the new visual forms standing in for the rebellious, even revolutionary social values in which the artists believed. The avant-garde especially, had long theorized that art might lead society and politics to change.¹⁷ Behne, like Kandinsky and Taut before him, had explicitly connected the revolutionary art of

¹⁷ Donald Drew Egbert, Theda Shapiro and others have shown that connections between revolutions in art and revolutions in society and politics since the French Revolution, had become commonplace, even a constituent part of modernity; Egbert, Social Radicalism in the Arts (1970); and Shapiro, Painters and Politics. On the connections of Socialism and Art Nouveau in Spain and Belgium, which Hausenstein considered the spiritual home of Socialist art, see, for example, Maurice Culot, "Belgium, Red Steel and Blue Aesthetic," and Tim Benton, "Modernismo in catalonia," in Art Nouveau Architecture, ed. Frank Russell (1971); Amy Ogata, Art Nouveau and the Social Vision of Modern Living (2001); Alan Colquhoun, Modern Architecture (2003), pp. 18-21; Hausenstein, Die bildende Kunst der Gegenwart (1914); and Egbert, Social Radicalism, pp. 603-621.

Expressionism and the current tumultuous times when he wrote, "We who live today have the rare and great fortune to live during a great revolution not only of art but of the whole intellectual and *geistig* orientation."¹⁸ What began as a spiritual revolution in the nineteenth century, by 1905 had begun to produce breaks in artistic form and style, and by World War I had moved on to politics.¹⁹ Although German artists clearly sought a revolutionary art to reflect or promote new and revolutionary social and political ideals, few Expressionist artists engaged in party politics before World War I.²⁰

The trauma of mechanized warfare and the upheaval of revolution in the wake of World War I only confirmed for many Expressionist artists the depravity of the Wilhelmine society of which they were a part, and the need for salvation. They saw art even more as a redemptive force, "a cosmopolitan, secular equivalent of religion" as the critic Peter Schjeldahl recently called it.²¹ One artists group in Behne's original hometown of Magdeburg proclaimed immediately after the devastation of war and political revolt, "The new will make art into religion. No longer the arcana of a closed

¹⁸ Behne, "Expressionismus," Allgemeiner Beobachter 3, no. 20 (Feb. 15, 1914): 273; also in Behne, Zur neuen Kunst, p. 12-13, cited in Haxthausen, "Critical Illusion," pp.176-177.

¹⁹ März and Kühnel, eds., Expressionisten, p. 65.

²⁰ Exceptions to the rule that Expressionist artists were seldom engaged in politics included the Jewish painter Ludwig Meidner (1884-1966), a committed Socialist who early on cited rebellion and even revolution in his work, and the circle of literary expressionists around Franz Pfemert and Hiller's journal Die Aktion, which sought to use the power of radical literature and art to effect reform of culture, society, and ultimately politics. On Meidner see Shapiro, Painters and Politics, p. 261; on Activism see Whyte, Bruno Taut.

²¹ Peter Schjeldahl, New Yorker 80, no. 38 (Dec. 6, 2004): 117.

circle. . . . What politics has destroyed, art will make good. Through art man finds his way to humanity. . . . We believe in a great and liberated art, and in the salvation of man through it. . . . our great redeemer: *Art*."²² At nearly the same time in Berlin, Ludwig Coelln added: "Before there was the political revolution, there was the revolution in art. Long before the end of the war cleared the way for the spirit of the new times politically, this spirit had come alive in the new art. This is what today the working people must know: that the young artists and the young art are its allies. . . . The new art hails the revolution. It knows that now the day of its victory has come as well."²³

Worringer, whose ground-breaking publications had fueled the early development of Expressionism, noted after the war that the thoroughly spiritualized art which he had earlier discerned in the Gothic and in more primitive art was above all "an expression of the masses, the collective artistic expression of unified multitudes."²⁴

²² "Vom neuen wird Kunst Religion. Nicht mehr Geheimlehre eines abgeschlossenen Zirkels. . . . Was die Politik Verdarb, will die Kunst gutmachen. Durch sie findet der Mensch zum Menschen. . . . Wir glauben an eine große freie Kunst. Und wir glauben an die Erlösung der Menschheit durch sie. . . . unser aller Befreierin: *Die Kunst*"; from a proclamation by the Vereinigung für neue Kunst und Literatur, Magdeburg (1919), republished in Diether Schmidt, ed., Manifeste, Manifeste, 1905-1933 (1964), pp. 180; in part translated in Guttsman, Worker's Culture, p. 40.

²³ Coelln, "Die neue Kunst," Münchener neueste Nachrichten n.161 (Apr. 9, 1919); cited in Werckmeister, The Making of Paul Klee's Career, p. 172.

²⁴ Wilhelm Worringer, "Kritische Gedanken zur neuen Kunst," (1919); reprinted in Worringer, Fragen und Gegenfragen (1957), p. 96; transl. in Charles W. Haxthausen, "A Critical Illusion: 'Expressionism' in the Writings of Wilhelm Hausenstein," in The Ideological Crisis of Expressionism, ed. O.K. Werckmeister and Rainer Rumold (1990), pp. 169-181, here p. 176.

Behne later echoes that sentiment when he wrote: "What is Socialism? It is a spirit! . . . Socialism, or brotherliness, develops naturally from communal action."²⁵ Behne also continued to tie the communal spirit to the revolutionary developments in art: "We are in the middle of a series of constantly renewing art revolutions, which for generations have had their strongest influence in the West. Revolutions in art led the way for revolutions in politics, and also differ from those in politics because they have never temporary come to a standstill."²⁶ Eventually, he felt, this would translate into a more communal, Socialist politics. In 1924 Behne wrote, "If one goes beyond the superficial aspect of art, one must recognize that the new art is a fighter for a coming Socialism."²⁷

Political Socialism and Expressionism

Expressionist critics were not shy about introducing politics into the search for a new art, as Behne's quote illustrates.²⁸ Their work as intermediaries between the public

²⁵ "Was ist der Sozialismus? Eine Gesinnung! . . . Sozialismus, Brüderlichkeit entwickelt sich von selbst im gemeinsamen Tun"; [Behne], "Mitteilung an Alle," brochure for the periodical Bauen (Sept. 1919): n.p.

²⁶ "Wir sind mitten in einer Reihe ständig erneuerter Kunstrevolutionen, die, wie seit Generationen, stärksten Antrieb im Westen haben. Die künstlerische Revolutionierung ging der politischen voraus, und sie unterscheidet sich von der politischen dadurch, daß sie auch nicht vorübergehend zum Stillstand gekommen ist"; Behne, "Die Kunst in diesem Augenblick," Die Freiheit 4, no. 20 (Jan. 13, 1921): 2.

²⁷ "Wer nicht an der Oberfläche der Kunst haften bleibt, muß erkennen, daß die neue Kunst Kämpfer ist für einen kommenden Sozialismus"; Behne, Von Kunst zur Gestaltung (1925), p. 3; the lines are from the preface of this book published by the Arbeiter-Jugend Verlag, dated Aug. 1924.

²⁸ See Haxthausen, "A Critical Illusion."

and the artists, and their positions in politically motivated media such as the press perhaps even required it. Critics from both ends of the political spectrum looked to turn the avant-garde's fervent attack on both the academy and on bourgeoisie culture into political action. In 1914 the Activist critic Ludwig Rubiner, for example, tried to capture and promote the zealous energy he saw in Expressionism for political purposes, differentiating between art-for-art's-sake, and art with a polemical mission, a "commitment to cultivating our initiative on earth." He relished the "upheaval, the dawning of the first day . . . the perpetual revolution through all times" that he saw, and beckoned "Painter, you have a will: you topple the world; you are a politician! Or you remain a private person."²⁹

Although the initial experimental and revolutionary art associated with Expressionism before World War I was to a large extent ignored by the main-stream bourgeois press, when critiques did appear, they were primarily negative, and often became politicized.³⁰ The new art was increasingly associated with a popular culture that included the working classes. Karl Scheffler, the staunch defender of Impressionism and conservative editor of Kunst und Künstler, repeatedly denounced the Expressionists as "revolutionaries," "conceited copy-cats, and sensationalist

²⁹ Ludwig Rubiner, "Maler bauen Barricaden," Die Aktion 4 (Apr. 25, 1914): 353-64; cited in Werner Altmeier, "Die bildende Kunst des Deutschen Expressionismus im Spiegel der Buch- und Zeitschriftenpublikationen zwischen 1910 und 1925" (Diss. 1972), p. 181; transl. in Long, German Expressionism, p. 79 .

³⁰ For some of the negative criticism of Sturm, see Mark Jarzombek, "The *Kunstgewerbe*, the *Werkbund*, and the Aesthetics of Culture in the Wilhelmine Period," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 53, no. 1 (March 1994): 16-17.

sansculottes." He condemned their art for its "proletarian outlook," thereby reinforcing the Kaiser's degradation of modern artists as from the street, "gutter-artists."³¹ Attacks such as Scheffler's reviews of the Sturm's ground-breaking Herbstsalon were in fact what caused Walden to publish his "Lexicon of German Art Criticism," and an "Appeal Against Art Critics" in Der Sturm, much of it with political undertones.³²

The first professional critic to define a more positive connection of artistic Expressionism and political Socialism was the Munich-based Hausenstein.³³ Although Munich was not a strong-hold of Socialism in Germany, it was not surprising that some of the earliest connections of political and cultural criticism were published in this older center of German art, distant from the oppressive influence of the Kaiser on art and politics. Hausenstein was a founding member of Munich's New Secession in 1912, and had written in defense of modern art in the Munich publisher Piper's Im Kampf um die

³¹ Karl Scheffler, "Kunstaussstellungen," Kunst und Künstler 12, no. 2 (Nov. 1, 1913): 120; and Scheffler, "Die Jüngsten," Kunst und Künstler 11 (1913): 406; excerpts in März and Kühnel, eds. Expressionisten, pp. 123-125; partially cited in Peter Paret, The Berlin Secession (1980), p. 208; Joan Weinstein, The End of Expressionism (1990), p. 12. See also the letter of complaint Emil Nolde wrote to Scheffler and Kunst und Künstler for never publishing his work, and Scheffler's rejection of Nolde as part of the "proletarian anarchism of the young artists"; republished in Expressionisten, pp. 93-94.

³² See chapter 2 above, and also Volker Pirsich, Der Sturm. Eine Monographie (1985), pp. 611-612.

³³ Joan Weinstein claims Hausenstein was "not only a leading leftist art critic / historian, but the first significant supporter of expressionist art from a leftist perspective"; Weinstein, "Wilhelm Hausenstein," p. 193, and pp. 196-199 for Hausenstein on modern art. On Hausenstein see also Haxthausen, "Critical Illusion"; Egbert, Social Radicalism, pp. 591-592; Metzler Kunsthistoriker Lexikon; Johannes Werner, "Der Kunstschriftsteller Wilhelm Hausenstein," Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel n. 69 (Aug. 29, 1995): A287-A290; and Dieter Sulzer, Der Nachlaß Wilhelm Hausenstein (1982).

Kunst, a reaction to Karl Vinnen's chauvinistic critique Protest deutsche Künstler in 1911.³⁴ Although Hausenstein did not write much in defense of individual avant-garde Expressionist artists, he had gotten to know Kandinsky and Marc personally in Munich, and had written in support of Kandinsky in Der Sturm in 1912. In the fall of 1913, Walden chose Hausenstein alongside Behne and his *Volkshochschule* teaching colleague Max Deri as one of the few sympathetic experts to lead tours of the Herbstsalon in Berlin.

Earlier that year, Hausenstein published two ground-breaking works in which he sought to tie developments in art history to economic and socio-political developments through the ages: Der nackte Mensch in der Kunst aller Zeiten (The Nude in Art through the Ages), and a related essay "Versuch einer Soziologie der bildenden Kunst" (An Attempt at a Sociology of the Visual Arts).³⁵ Convinced of the synthetic, unified nature of all history and human work, and that "socio-economic forces were the basis for all culture," he set out "to explain the changes in artistic form

³⁴ Wilhelm Hausenstein, "Mittelstandspolitik," Im Kampfe um die Kunst, ed. A.W.v. Heymel (1911), pp. 108-121.

³⁵ Hausenstein's Der nackte Mensch in der Kunst aller Zeiten was first published c.1912, and a completely revised, greatly expanded edition was published in 1913, the edition cited here unless otherwise noted. The theoretical component of the Der nackte Mensch was republished as Die Kunst und die Gesellschaft (1917), a book that, through Bakunin, had tremendous influence on establishing a "Socialist art" for revolutionary Russia later that year. Hausenstein's essay on the sociology of art, "Versuch einer Soziologie der bildenden Kunst," Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft 36 (1913): 758-794, was republished as the book Bild und Gemeinschaft (1920). See also Weinstein, "Wilhelm Hausenstein," pp. 194-196 for the following.

out of the principles of historical materialism" as advocated by Marx.³⁶ Using a cyclical reading of history proposed by the French social philosopher Henri Comte de Saint-Simon, Hausenstein discerned a historical alternation between two predominant types of societies.³⁷ "Organic" or "positive" societies, he claimed, were collective, synthetic and highly structured, in which the role of each individual was carefully prescribed (e.g. feudalism, or primitive agrarian democracies such as the Germanic tribes).

"Critical" or "negative" societies, in contrast, were loosely structured, characterized by the disintegration of economic and social life, the emergence of a market economy, and a focus on the individual (e.g. classical and Hellenistic Greece, the Renaissance, or the capitalism of late nineteenth-century Europe). Hausenstein, as a committed Socialist, clearly favored the communal "organic" over the individualistic "critical" society.

Focusing on the nude in art, which he held was a politically neutral subject with easily comparable content, Hausenstein then suggested that the formal development of art corresponded to the same cyclical and dialectical pattern as that of societies more generally. "Critical" societies, he maintained, produced art that was naturalistic, spatially dynamic, individualized, and created for private pleasure. "Organic" societies, on the other hand, created art that was formally more stylized, frontal, abstract, and

³⁶ Hausenstein, letter to H. Schweizer (Aug. 14, 1916), printed in Migge, Wilhelm Hausenstein, pp. 46-47; Hausenstein, Der nackte Mensch, p. 10, where he quotes from Marx, Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie (1907), p. lv, on the base-superstructure theory of culture; and Hausenstein, Der nackte Mensch, pp. 1, 24.

³⁷ Hausenstein, Der nackte Mensch, pp. 22-24. Hausenstein cites F. Muckle, Henry de Saint-Simon (1908), and more briefly Muckle, Geschichte der sozialistischen Ideen im 19. Jahrhundert (1909).

ornamental. Artists in these organic societies tended to subordinate their ideas to a collective notion of beauty, or served communal interests in the creation of public, or "monumental" works.³⁸

The main purpose of revealing such a detailed historical pattern, Hausenstein claimed, was to use it to understand the present, and to project a future art.³⁹ He discerned an increasingly "organic" approach to art in the present, a "Socialist art" that would eventually correspond to a more communal society. He wrote in 1913, "Today, in a time in which Socialism for the first time is nascent. . . . the best sons of the bourgeoisie anticipate a monumental style of painting which seems to intimate the public of the future. . . . Our vitality is rooted in the organized power of the proletarian existence. It grows with the unstoppable rise of a new class that will change the face of the earth."⁴⁰ Just as sure as Socialism was gradually emerging from bourgeois capitalist society, Hausenstein argued the new art of Expressionism was gradually overcoming Impressionism. Naturalism was giving way to artifice. A focus on the object was giving way to formal logic. Frenetic constellations of tiny dabs of pigment were giving way to calm, broad swaths of color. Differentiation, specialization, complexity, and division were giving way to integration, synthesis, simplicity, and closure.

³⁸ Although "monumental" implied large-scale, Hausenstein's use of the word "monumental," had connotations of public monument, and should not be confused or conflated with artistic definitions of monumental that implied classical, symmetrical, and over-scaled form.

³⁹ Hausenstein, Der nackte Mensch, p. 1, on using history to reveal the present.

⁴⁰ Hausenstein, Der nackte Mensch, pp. 1-2, 22, 183; partially cited in Weinstein, "Wilhelm Hausenstein," p. 196.

In art, this recent trend could be traced back at least to "the Socialist" artist Vincent Van Gogh, according to Hausenstein. Taking his cues from Julius Meier-Graefe, one of Van Gogh's staunchest supporters, Hausenstein argued that Van Gogh had shown the way towards the future with his proposals for "Socialist artists' organizations" and his energetic "Fourier-like series of paintings of communist life."⁴¹ The most recent example of such an approach, according to Hausenstein, was the work of Kandinsky and Marc who were moving towards a "collective," "Socialist," and "anonymous style."⁴² Although the general theme of Hausenstein's argument is clear, his somewhat suspect characterization of Expressionism as "calm," "anonymous," and full of "formal logic" reveals how much his pre-determined system and its political component influenced his reading of the art.

Despite his sympathies with Hausenstein's personal politics, and a shared emphasis on the formal element in art derived from the Idealist tradition of aesthetics from Herbart and Hildebrand to Wölfflin, Behne was critical of Hausenstein's methods.⁴³ Although Hausenstein had argued explicitly that he was focusing on *form*,

⁴¹ Hausenstein, Bild und Gemeinschaft, p. 106; Hausenstein, Der nackte Mensch, pp. 8-10; Hausenstein, Bildende Kunst der Gegenwart p. 110.

⁴² Hausenstein, Der nackte mensch, pp. 192,662; Hausenstein, Bildende Kunst der Gegenwart, pp. 170ff, 260-261, 304-309; and Weinstein, "Wilhelm Hausenstein," p. 196.

⁴³ Behne, "Kunst und Milieu (II)," Die Gegenwart 42.2, no. 39 (Sept. 27, 1913): 616-619; in which he criticizes the social history of art proposed by the French art historian Hippolyte Taine, especially his book Philosophie d'art (1881), translated into German as Die Philosophie der Kunst (1907). See also chapter 2 above; as well as Egbert, Social Radicalism, p. 591.

not content as other "social historians" of art had, Behne claimed that Hausenstein's approach, like Taine's, was "Impressionist." Behne rejected Hausenstein's focus on material factors external to the art work rather than on the spiritual essence expressed from within the art. He criticized Hausenstein for forcing the individual achievements of art into a rigid, *a priori* schema that saw socio-economic factors as the root of all human production. Hausenstein had quoted the esteemed German art critic Julius Meier-Graefe on the concept that the essence of art lies beyond reason, in the realm of intuition and the spirit, but he also insisted that art is not completely free. "Art," Hausenstein professed, "appears only as a materialization of the zeitgeist."⁴⁴ For him form and content were forever inter-dependent. He even allowed that art might occasionally need to be harnessed for political purposes by using symbols and analogies, as it was in *Tendenzkunst*.⁴⁵ Behne, by contrast, had insisted on the autonomy of art, arguing that true art was never overtly tendentious, and always a purely formal exercise with no outside references.⁴⁶

Before World War I, Behne's understanding of art as autonomous would not allow as overt a connection of art and Marxist theory or politics as expressed by the Socialist Hausenstein. He preferred Kandinsky's definition of art as the expression of "inner-necessity" by the individual artist in tune with the spiritual concerns of society, or Worringer's "psychological" approach to artistic expression. Worringer, like

⁴⁴ Hausenstein, Bild und Gemeinschaft, pp. 17-18.

⁴⁵ Hausenstein, Der nackte Mensch, p. 6.

⁴⁶ Behne, "Die neue Sezession," p. 207.

Hausenstein, had attempted to link historical cultures with their art and had observed several predominant, non-individual approaches to art--Primitive, Oriental, Classical and Gothic.⁴⁷ Unlike Hausenstein, who had criticized Worringer's types as overly "socio-psychological" and without a firm historical basis, Behne admired Worringer's ideas precisely for their emphasis on the spiritual and ineffable. Though Behne was also critical of the rigid categories into which Worringer tried to press individual artistic achievements.⁴⁸ For Behne, a thorough understanding of history was necessary for a good art critic, but only as a means of gaining insights into what kinds of problems and ideas artists dealt with when creating art and obtaining a feel for the essence of "true art." Any evaluation or criticism of art in the present had to be made independently, autonomously, and empathetically, without reference to history, society or politics, from the critics' own intuition.

One theory of art admired by both Behne and Hausenstein was that of the French sociologist of art Jean-Marie Guyau.⁴⁹ Both critics admired Guyau's theory that

⁴⁷ See Worringer, Formprobleme der Gotik (1912)

⁴⁸ On Hausenstein's critique, see Hausenstein, Der nackte Mensch, p. 2-4; on Behne's reaction to Worringer, see chapter 2, and Bushart, "Kunst-Theoretikus," p. 15.

⁴⁹ Jean-Marie Guyau (1854-1888) was a prominent French scholar who wrote on the role of the artist in society. For a summary of Guyau's thought, see Hans-Peter Thurn, "Jean-Marie Guyau," in Klassiker der Kunstsoziologie, ed. Alphonse Silbermann (1979), pp. 28-42; Frank J.W. Harding, Jean-Marie Guyau, 1854-1888, Aesthetician and Sociologist (1973); the introduction to the new translation of Guyau's most important work, Die Kunst als soziologisches Phänomen (1987, orig. 1912); and Bushart, "Kunst-Theoretikus," pp. 16, 22, 70n26-28, 72n72. The unpublished conference paper by Maria Stavrinaki, "Les arts doivent agir spatialement, c'est-à-dire socialement: la critique architecturale d'Adolf Behne (1918-1926)," at the Exposé zum Ersten deutsch-französischen Forschungs-Atelier, Université Marc Bloch, Strasbourg, Nov. 22-24, 2002,

the highest aspiration for an artist was to express a personal intimacy in such a way that all humans could empathize with it. In his own sociologically inspired analyses of art Hausenstein praised Guyau's "artistic oriented sociology of style." He was particularly convinced by Guyau's contention that the fundamental essence of all art is to create sympathy with the viewer, "to produce an aesthetic emotion with social character."⁵⁰ Behne too was taken by the Frenchman's focus on art as the expression of individual tenderness in such a way that it could be experienced by a larger public.⁵¹ But rather than limit the response to mere sympathy, or an aesthetic with a "social character," Behne, much like his Expressionist colleagues, sought an art that could project the complete range of human inner-emotions.

Although Behne did not explicitly cite Guyau until after World War I in works such as his primer on modern art Von Kunst zur Gestaltung or his famous analysis of modern architectural functionalism Der moderne Zweckbau, Magdalena Bushart has conjectured that Behne borrowed from Guyau before World War I. But these ideas

explored some aspects of Behne's relationship to Guyau, but only dealt with the period after World War I.

⁵⁰ Hausenstein quotes the French original of Guyau's L'Art au point de vue sociologique (1887 and 1903) in his Kunst und Gesellschaft, p. 6,7,10. He was critical of a number of "social" approaches to art, including the "social-moral baffoonery" of P.J. Proudhon's Du principe de l'art et de sa destination sociale (1865); the bad taste of the "new-Proudhonist" Emil Reich, Die bürgerliche Kunst und die besitzlosen Volksklassen (1894); and even another favorite of Behne's, the overly bourgeois Russian Leo Tolstoy.

⁵¹ Bushart, "Kunst-Theoretikus," p. 16. Bushart cites the German translation of Guyau's work Die Kunst als soziologisches Phänomen (1912) as evidence of the circulation of his ideas in Germany, but does not establish Hausenstein or any contemporary references to Guyau.

were common during the period, expressed in variations by many critics and artists since Symbolism and Jugendstil at the turn of the century. Guyau, for example, was a favorite of Henry van de Velde's, with whom Behne would be closely allied in the Werkbund debates of 1914.⁵² Behne's interest in and shared convictions with authors such as Guyau or the biologist Uexküll underscore his Idealist conceptions of art. For each, art was a fundamentally *geistig* expression that allowed communication with a larger humanity, a communion more metaphysical than political or material and formal. Such a sociologically defined approach to art would remain with Behne throughout his career and his search for a new art and architecture appropriate to modern life.

Towards a Socialist Architecture

Behne, like many of his Expressionist artist colleagues, wanted to create a new, modern society and a new, modern art, each feeding the other. Already in 1905, August Endell had exclaimed, "I am no Social-Democrat. . . . But much that socialism promotes on political and economic grounds, appears to me as necessary on artistic grounds, though for different reasons. Above all I am convinced that a deep artistic culture can only be realized when the desire for, and understanding of, art comes alive and flourishes in the working classes."⁵³ Both men believed that the common people's

⁵² See Hans Curjel, introduction to Henry van de Velde, Zum neuen Stil (1955), p. 16.

⁵³ "Ich bin kein Sozialdemokrat. . . . Vieles, was die Sozialdemokratie aus politischen und wirtschaftlichen Gründen fordert, merkwürdigerweise aus ganz

innate artistic ability and understanding could be released given the proper education and opportunity. As an Idealist who believed in the autonomy of art, however, Behne also avoided overtly political and didactic pronouncements in his early criticism.

Architecture offered a way out of the ideological and operative impasse. For Behne, architecture and the applied arts were bound much more closely to the realities of everyday life than painting. The functional requirements, costs, longevity, and public nature associated with architecture and more generally the applied arts, have almost always forced designers and architects to consider social requirements and political attitudes more closely than fine artists. Architecture also gave the greatest opportunity for real impact on human lives and culture. As the Marxist agitator Clara Zetkin declared in her essay "Art and the Proletariat," from 1911, "Architecture is the highest and most difficult of all the arts; but it is also the most social (*die sozialste*) of all the arts, the strongest expression of a communal life."⁵⁴ After World War I Behne

anderen, nämlich künstlerischen Gründen notwendig erscheint, und vor allem weil ich überzeugt bin, daß einetiefgehende künstlerische Kultur nur denkbar ist, wenn Kunstsehnsucht und Kunstverständnis in den arbeitenden Klassen lebendig und reif werden"; August Endell, "Kunst und Volk," Die neue Gesellschaft 1, no. 1 (Apr. 5, 1905): 8; republished in August Endell, Vom Sehen. Texte 1896-1925 ed. Helge David (1995), p. 116. Die neue Gesellschaft, whose subtitle was "A Socialist Weekly," was a magazine dedicated to reform socialism founded by Heinrich and Lily Braun, who saw socialism as an educational problem, "Because Socialism is an educational problem, Die neue Gesellschaft has worked hard to disseminate knowledge and understanding among the people (*Volk*), to treat art, literature and science affectionately"; in Die neue Gesellschaft 5, no. 18 (Oct. 31, 1907): 546; quoted in Endell, Vom Sehen, p. 114.

⁵⁴ Clara Zetkin, Kunst und Proletariat (1911, published 1921), pp. 14-15; quoted here and below from the republished version in Zetkin, Kunst und Proletariat, ed. Hans Koch (1977), p. 196. Also republished in Tanja Bürgel, ed., Tendenzkunst-Debatte 1910-1912 (1987), p. 126.

concluded similarly that "Architecture is a social art. . . . To think about good and proper building is no different than thinking about good and proper *living*. Since, to say it again, the architects are not trying to implement some sort of new style, but rather they want to contribute to the design of a better and proper life for the people."⁵⁵ Taut voiced nearly the same ideas later, "The relationship of architecture to society, that is to the State and its various groups, as well as to the public in general, is doubtless very big. Architecture is in the public eye more than the works of any other art. . . . Architecture is the societal art (*Gesellschaftskunst*) *par excellence*."⁵⁶

But before World War I there was still no conception of what might constitute a "Socialist architecture." Although the Socialist party and affiliated trade unions had constructed many community centers and union halls, as well as representative institutions such as the headquarters of its Vorwärts publishing house, they were uniformly traditional, undifferentiated from their bourgeois counterparts.⁵⁷ In her 1911

⁵⁵ "Architektur ist eine soziale Kunst"; Behne "Die deutsche Baukunst seit 1850 (V)," *Soziale Bauwirtschaft* 2, no. 18 (Sept. 15, 1922): 230. The article was the last in a five part series that ran since June 15 (no. 12) in this professional building journal edited by Behne's Socialist friend Martin Wagner. The articles are reprinted in Ochs, *Architekturkritik*, pp. 97-121. In 1927 Behne wrote in a Socialist cultural journal: "Über gutes und richtiges Bauen nachdenken heißt nichts anderes als über gutes und richtiges *Leben* nachdenken. Denn, um es nochmal zu sagen, nicht irgendwelche neue Stilform wollen die neuen Architekten durchsetzen, sie wollen beitragen das Leben der Allgemeinheit besser und richtiger zu gestalten"; Behne, "Wege zu einer besseren Wohnkultur," *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, 33.1 = Bd.64, no. 2 (Feb. 14, 1927): 123, emphasis in original; republished in Hartmann, *Trotzdem Modern*, p. 360.

⁵⁶ Bruno Taut, *Architekturlehre: Grundlagen, Theorie und Kritik* (1977, orig. 1937), p. 177, emphasis in original.

⁵⁷ Guttsman, *Worker's Culture*, p. 185.

essay, the staunch socialist critic Zetkin regretted that "the spaces [in which we live] have not been created artistically from the Socialist worldview. The style--style seen as the outer form of inner essence--of our union halls, *Volkshäuser* and work places is no different from that of the bourgeois business or transportation buildings. . . . In short, the spiritual life of the working class has not yet found even the slightest hint of an architectural formal language."⁵⁸ Although working definitions of party-sanctioned Socialist or Communist architecture in Germany would have to wait until after the Russian Revolution in 1917, the seeds for a new architecture connecting the spirit and the needs of the people, in particular the working-class, began to germinate in Behne's circles during the early 1910s. Expressionist artists and critics in favor of a more communal and even Socialist approach to art focused increasingly on architecture as the leader of the arts, as the art that could potentially unify all the other arts, inspire artists and whole communities to work together, and produce monuments with which all could identify.

Taut's glass pavilion served as a link for Behne between the ethereal world of Expressionist ideas and the concrete world of an enlightened but practical architecture. Far from being a purely aesthetic exercise, the Glashaus was both manifesto and exemplar of a new social order. In 1918 Behne wrote that *Glasarchitektur* as proposed by Scheerbart and Taut, and hinted at in Gropius' use of glass at his model Werkbund

⁵⁸ Zetkin, *Kunst und Proletariat*, p. 196; also partly cited in Romana Schneider, "Volkshausgedanke und Volkshausarchitektur," in *Moderne Architektur in Deutschland 1900-1950: Reform und Tradition*, ed. Romana Schneider and Vittorio Magnano Lampugnani (1990), p. 189.

factory in Cologne, had begun to provoke a "European spiritual revolution, transforming a limited, lazy creature of habit, into an alert, radiant, fine and gentle person."⁵⁹ In Scheerbart's literary works such as Glasarchitektur, Lesabendio, and the fable "Architektenkongreß," completed before his collaborations with Taut and Behne in 1913, Scheerbart waxed poetically about the potential of glass architecture to bring about a new culture, one of openness and community.⁶⁰ He wrote: "If we want our culture to rise to a higher level, we are obliged, for better or for worse, to change our architecture. . . . We are not at the end of a cultural period, but the beginning. . . . The new glass-milieu will completely change people."⁶¹ Rejecting the over-ornamented, private bourgeois interior of the Wilhelmine era as well as the stuffy culture and politics it represented, Scheerbart and Behne began to fantasize about a more modern and socially progressive interior and culture made possible by glass.

The visionary *Glasarchitektur* proposed by Scheerbart did not explicitly advocate a political position, but the open and communal utopia he described clearly contrasted with Wilhelmine culture and politics. His novels on glass architecture were an ironic commentary on Germany's development before World War I, critical of the materialist,

⁵⁹ "Die Glasarchitektur bringt die europäische Geistesrevolution, sie macht aus einem beschränkten, eitlen Gewohnheitstier einen wachen, hellen, feinen, und zarten Menschen"; Behne, Wiederkehr der Kunst, (1919), p. 66.

⁶⁰ Scheerbart, Glasarchitektur (1914); and Scheerbart, "Architektenkongreß," first in Der Zeitgeist n.1 [supplement to Berliner Tageblatt 48, no. 8] (Jan. 6, 1913) pp. 1-2. Both are discussed as manifestos for social reform and open communities in "Glasarchitektur: Architektur und Gesellschaft," in Wilhelm, Walter Gropius, pp. 59-61.

⁶¹ Scheerbart, Glasarchitektur.

capitalist, imperialist, and elitist values that he felt dominated German society. Glass, as Scheerbart hypothesized, was a way "to forge a connection between the era of Socialism, technology, and militarism and my amazing and very religious life. . . . [My books attempt] to move a desiccated period driven by the masses toward a 'new' romanticism and a 'new' piety."⁶² Scheerbart's fantastic glass utopias represented both a futuristic vision for a new, improved society, and the continuation of an age-old convention of assigning near magical powers to glass, seeing glass-crystal symbolism as a metaphor of transformation to signify a changed society.⁶³

The political implications of Scheerbart's work were clear to his contemporaries, though his satire and humor could obscure "his work's serious political aspect."⁶⁴ Benjamin wrote his essay "The True Politician," a favorable philosophical critique of Scheerbart's book soon after he was given a copy of Scheerbart's Lesabendio as a wedding present in 1917. Scheerbart would be fundamental to developing Benjamin's leftist political views. A similar mix of Expressionist, Activist, and Nietzschean ideas circulated through the work of authors such as Salomo Friedländer and Erich Unger,

⁶² From Scheerbart's autobiography of July 6, 1904 published in K. Lubasch and A.R. Meyer, eds. Paul Scheerbart - Bibliographie mit einer Autobiographie (1930), translated with slight variations in John Stuart, "Introduction," in Scheerbart, The Grey Cloth (2001), p. xviii.

⁶³ Rosemarie Haag Bletter, "The Interpretation of the Glass Dream," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 40, no. 1 (March 1981): 20-43

⁶⁴ Bletter, "Mies and Dark Transparency," p. 250. Similarly, John Stuart wrote of the "trenchant social commentary" offered through irony in Scheerbart's last novel, The Gray Cloth; see Stuart, "Introduction." On Expressionism and anarchism see Rose-Carol Washton Long, "Occultism, Anarchism and Abstraction: Kandinsky's Art of the Future," Art Journal 46 (Spring 1987): 38-45.

close friends of both Scheerbart and Benjamin.⁶⁵ The Activist artists associated with the politically-oriented journal Die Aktion, which occasionally published Scheerbart's work, were more anarchist than they were Socialist or Marxist. They sought to overthrow an all-controlling government and hoped to empower individuals to band together to help themselves. It was a utopian, cultural Socialism, a world seen through "rose-colored glasses," not through the antiseptic lenses of transparent glass, as has often been asserted. It was only a decade later, well after the trauma of war, after rise of the iconoclastic sensibilities of Dada and Surrealism, after the rise of a spirit of "New Objectivity," and especially after the rise of Social Realism in Russia, that Benjamin could propose the Scheerbart as an early influence on anti-humanist thought and see activism as counter-revolutionary.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ See Schneider, "The True Politician."

⁶⁶ Benjamin's published remarks on Scheerbart have often been take out of context. They were written in the vastly different cultural circumstances of late Weimar Germany. To infer Benjamin's early views on Scheerbart from his later writings would be to ignore the fundamental cultural, political and ideological ruptures that so characterize German history in this period. Starting in the late 1920s, Benjamin attempted to synthesize some of his profound appreciation for the crystalline clarity and openness of Scheerbart's glass fantasies with his respect for the mystification of modern life by the Surrealists, the cold rationality of nineteenth-century engineering, and the objectivity of the modern architecture of Le Corbusier and J.J.P. Oud. He picked up the call for a new architecture of glass, "a hard, smooth material to which nothing can be fixed. . . cold and sober. . . [with] no aura. . . creating rooms in which it is hard to leave traces"; see in Benjamin, Selected Writings, Vol. 2, 1927-1934, ed. M.W. Jennings, H. Eiland and G. Smith (1999) the essays "Surrealism," pp. 212, 215; "The Return of the *Flaneur*," p. 26; "Short Shadowns (II)," pp. 701-702; and "Experience and Poverty," pp. 733-734. Only after 1929 could Benjamin seek a world in which privacy, traditional dwelling and all "humanlikeness" would be eviscerated in favor of an cold, anti-auratic rational form of housing and architecture as was being proposed, according to Benjamin, by Giedion, Mendelsohn and Le Corbusier; see Benjamin, Selected Writings, Vol. 2, pp. 264, 733, as; well as his famous essay "The Author as Producer."

Housing the Masses

Housing would become one of the defining problems of modern architecture, and one Behne would confront many times in his career as a critic. Of course well before he became a critic, Behne had been enmeshed in housing issues; his grandfather owned a large construction firm and his father was a contractor who built apartments in Berlin. Housing had been a central concern of Marxists and Socialists at least as far back as Friedrich Engels' analysis of the plight of the working masses and their inhuman housing conditions in England. Turn-of-the-century non-profit organizations entered the housing fray by commissioning improved dwellings. The 1910 master plan competition for Berlin directly addressed the housing crisis. A decade later, the Weimar welfare state launched housing legislation to ameliorate the inhuman living conditions. Developing affordable and decent housing in the crowded metropolis became key for the modern architect with a social conscience.⁶⁷ Through manifestos such as Le Corbusier's Towards a New Architecture, housing for the masses would become the defining problem of modern architecture.⁶⁸

In their concern for "solving" the housing problems, modern architects developed ever more rational methods of design, and financing, a harsh pragmatism

⁶⁷ See Nicholas Bullock and James Read, The Movement for Housing Reform in Germany and France, 1840-1914 (1985); Jürgen Reulecke, ed., Geschichte des Wohnens 1800-1918. Das bürgerliche Zeitalter (1997).

⁶⁸ Le Corbusier, Vers une architecture (1923); transl. into English as Towards a New Architecture (1927), and into German by Hans Hildebrandt as Kommende Baukunst (1926). Behne had first reviewed Le Corbusier's work in Behne, "Junge französische Architektur," Sozialistische Monatshefte 28.1, no. 12/13 (June 8, 1922): 512-519, just before he began publishing his survey "Die deutsche Baukunst seit 1850".

that Behne would become increasingly critical of by the end of his career.⁶⁹

Architecture's engagement with the social problem of housing expanded the scope of the profession. Architects went from being content to design individual objects, to the hubristic belief that through an expansive approach to architecture, they could house the masses, fix cities, and cure social ills. Le Corbusier gave his readers a choice of two equals means of fixing modern society when he asked, "Architecture or Revolution?" at the end of his manifesto for modern architecture.

In Germany the issue of worker housing (and later of the design of factories for the worker) were forced onto center stage by a specific constellation of historical, political, and economic circumstances.⁷⁰ Politicians, industrialists, and reformers such as Naumann and the Werkbund concluded that one had to improve the life of the worker in order to become economically competitive as a company or as a nation. Friedrich Naumann's Christian-Social politics, with its mantra "Foreign affairs through power politics . . . internal affairs through reform," might be considered representative of the Werkbund politics before World War I.⁷¹ Many Werkbund members were

⁶⁹ Behne, Adolf. "Dammerstock," Die Form 5, no. 6 (Mar. 15, 1930): 163-166; reprinted in Feliz Schwarz, ed. Die Form (1969), pp. 168-174; in Behne, Adolf Behne -- Eine Stunde Architektur (1984) 46-54; in Christian Mohr & Michael Müller, Funktionalität und Moderne (1984), pp. 327-9; and in Kristiana Hartmann, ed., Trotzdem Modern (1994), pp. 362-366; and excerpted in many more sources.

⁷⁰ Julius Posener has dubbed this constellation the "Wilhelmine Compromise"; Posener, Berlin auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur (1979), pp. 12,49ff.

⁷¹ Friedrich Naumann, "National-sozialer Katechismus," first as "Unser Programm," Die Hilfe 3, no. 1-3 (1897): 1ff.; excerpted in Posener, Auf dem Wege, p. 56ff. On Naumann's politics and reform agenda, see chapter 1.

decidedly against the politics and conservative taste of the Kaiser, but nonetheless devout nationalists and supporters of the build-up of the German navy as a means of exerting Germany's growing international power. Werkbund members were closely allied with some of Germany's largest industrialists and corporate trusts such as Bosch and the AEG, seeking to reform the quality of German design from the top down as a way of increasing consumption of products at home as well as increasing exports.⁷²

⁷² The political orientation of the Werkbund and its members was diverse. Few if any Werkbund members belonged to the radical artistic avant-garde before World War I, either politically or artistically. Behne was one of the primary intermediaries between these camps. With the possible exception of the Glashaus, the built works of Gropius, Taut, and other progressive Werkbund members before World War I fit well within the Werkbund ideals of creating restrained, well-designed, classically inspired buildings. The Werkbund's associations with corporate industry made it on the whole more conservative than Behne, both politically and culturally. Founding members included members of the Garden City Association (for example Osthaus and Schultze-Naumburg), whose work Behne supported for artistic and political reasons. But the organization also had a great deal in common with the more conservative Dürerbund and Heimatschutzbund. The factory at Hellerau, for example, was received with great acclaim by the Heimatschutz, which had campaigned for the reform of factory designs--an effort that paralleled that of--the Werkbund. The Werkbund and Dürerbund later published several books together, such as Werner Lindner and Georg Steinmetz, Die Ingenieurbauten in ihrer guten Gestaltung (1923). Schultze-Naumburg and German Bestelmeyer were members of both the Werkbund and the Heimatschutz; while Naumann and Fritz Schumacher were members of both the Werkbund and the Dürerbund; Matthew Jefferies, Politics and Culture in Wilhelmine Germany (1995), chaps. 2,3; Joan Campbell, The German Werkbund (1978), pp. 24-26. On the complex politics of the early Werkbund, see Wolfgang Hardtwig, "Kunst, liberaler Nationalismus und Weltpolitik, der Deutsche Werkbund 1907-1914," in Nationalismus und Bürgerkultur in Deutschland 1500-1914 (1994), pp. 246-273; Frederic Schwartz, The German Werkbund (1996); Mark Jarzombek, "The Discourses of a Bourgeois Utopia, 1904-1908, and the Founding of the Werkbund," in Imagining Modern German Culture, 1889-1910, ed. François Forster-Hahn (1996), pp. 127-145; and Werner Oechslin, "Politisches, allzu Politisches . . . : 'Nietzsche'sche', der 'Wille zur Kunst' und der Deutsche Werkbund vor 1914," in Architektur als politische Kultur. philosophia practica, ed. Hermann Hipp and Ernst Seidl (1996), pp. 151-190; also republished in Oechslin, Moderne Entwerfen (1999).

As a means of increasing productivity, but also of expanding the market for consumer products, the association embraced the factory worker and maintained at least rhetorical interest in Socialist causes such as creating better work environments. Naumann's reform-minded journal Die Hilfe, for example, was dedicated to "Workers, Craftsmen and Rural Folk." Naumann saw the Werkbund's mission as "the spiritualization of work, which would lead to the personal and social elevation of the worker as well as the artistic training of aficionado and consumer."⁷³ The common goal of increasing Germany's economic power and image in the world's political marketplace unified the many reform ideas and political appeals of the diverse Werkbund members. Through the creation of company towns and garden cities, as well as reforms in city planning, housing, factory design, transportation improvements, and the creation of new building types such as community centers (*Volkshäuser*), industrial reformers associated with the Werkbund reformers began to shape a built environment that simultaneously insured long-term profits and catered to the psychic and physical needs of the working class and general public.

In addition to his work with the Werkbund, it was above all Behne's interaction with Bruno Taut that began to politicize his art criticism. Taut was deeply sympathetic to working-class and communal ideas, but biographers suggest that his political and social

⁷³ "Vergeistigung der Arbeit, dadurch persönlicher und sozialer Aufstieg des Arbeiters und künstlerische Erziehung der Genießenden und Käufer," Naumann, "Tagebuch," Die Hilfe n.5 (Jan. 30, 1913); quoted in Karin Wilhelm, Walter Gropius: Industriearchitekt (1983), p. 66.

awareness intensified after he beginning to work with Behne and Scheerbart.⁷⁴ What first attracted Behne to Taut's work were not the famous exhibition pavilions or the industrial architecture, but what Behne called the "more important" apartment buildings such as those under construction in middle and working-class Berlin neighborhoods such as Charlottenburg and Rixdorf.⁷⁵ In both his first article on Taut in March 1913, as well as one in which he introduced Taut to the Sturm circle a year later, Behne highlighted the straightforward, functional, yet artistically inspired nature of Taut's apartment designs as particularly modern.⁷⁶ Behne recognized in these apartments many of the same expressive form making that he had seen in the paintings in Walden's Sturm Gallery, a concordance that had inspired Behne to label Taut's architecture as "Expressionist."⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Tilmann Buddensieg, "Schinkel wird nicht erwähnt," Neue Heimat 5 (1980): 15; also cited in Brigitte Lamberts, "Das Frühwerk von Bruno Taut (1900-1914)," (Diss. 1994), pp. 112-116. Lamberts warns against seeing Taut as too much of a Socialist before World War I, and that Behne was undoubtedly more political than Taut. Taut's son Heinrich Taut, who later claimed his father was not a political man, quoted his father as saying, "The more a person is an artist, the more distant he is from politics; a good architect is a very bad politician"; cited in *ibid.*, p. 115. Johanna Kutschera goes even further, labeling Taut a "spiritual aristocrat," for his extreme positions regarding the role of the artist in leading society to new culture before the war, and identifies a turn to true Socialism only after 1920; see Kutschera, Aufbruch und Engagement (1994), pp. 1581-166. On Taut's politics, see also Weinstein, End of Expressionism, p. 78; Richard Sheppard, Avantgarde und Arbeiterdichter in den Hauptorganen der deutschen Linken 1917-1922 (1995), p. 103-104; Whyte, Bruno Taut, pp. 144-145.

⁷⁵ Behne, "'Ein neues Haus!'," März 8, no. 1 (Jan. 1914): 32.

⁷⁶ Behne, "Bruno Taut," Pan 3, no. 23 (Mar. 7, 1913): pp. 538-540; and Behne, "Bruno Taut," Der Sturm 4, no. 198/199 (Feb. 1914): 182-183; identical to the earlier article Behne, "'Ein neues Haus!'".

⁷⁷ Buddensieg has argued that Taut borrowed elements and approaches in the

For Behne, the work of the celebrated Berlin architect Alfred Messel had provided a useful reference point when interpreting Taut's architecture. Behne had discerned a similar simplicity and straightforward approach to architectural form-making. Messel represented not only a continuation of the respected, innovative and functional "Berlin School" of architecture, but also part of the turn-of-the century housing reform movement so crucial to Socialist thinking about reform. In the context of several non-profit building societies dedicated to improving the housing situation and over-crowding in Berlin, Messel had sought more humane housing for the metropolitan masses than the notorious rental barracks (*Mietskaserne*) built by for-profit developers to maximize profit with minimal expenses. His designs for several rent-subsidized apartment buildings for the Berlin Savings and Building Society (Berliner Bau- und Sparverein) were some of the first working-class apartments to be designed by an architect of standing in Berlin.⁷⁸ [Figures 4.2, 4.7, 4.29, 4.30, and 5.1] Taut, Buddensieg has speculated, borrowed from Messel's apartments a refined asymmetry

facade design of his Kottbusser Damm apartments directly from Expressionist paintings and theory he had encountered in Walden's Sturm Gallery; Buddensieg, "Berlin, Kottbusser Damm," Frankfurter Zeitung n.100 (Apr. 30, 1977). See also chapter 3; and Whyte, Bruno Taut, p. 27-29.

⁷⁸ Examples of Messel's apartment buildings are in the Proskauerstraße in Berlin-Friedrichshain (1887-1898), and the Sickingenstraße 7-8 in Berlin-Tiergarten (1893-1894). On Messel's apartment buildings, their relationship to Taut, and their political significance, see Tilmann Buddensieg, "Messel und Taut," Archithese 12 (1974): 23-29, 55; substantially repeated in Buddensieg, "Bruno Tauts Versuche einer gemeinschaftlichen Architektur. Das 'Gesicht' der Arbeiterwohnung," Neue Heimat 27, no. 5 (1980): 48-53, 98-100, with a list of contemporary sources in notes 4,5; Posener, Berlin, the chapter "Das Mietshaus wandelt sich," pp. 319-368; and Bettina Zöller-Stock, "Facade und Haus," in Manfred Speidel, ed. Bruno Taut: Natur und Fantasie, 1880-1938 (1995), pp. 108-109.

that subordinated the articulation of individual apartments to a unified, communal block design. Both architects strove to knit simple, identical apartments into a cohesive whole without subjecting the design to controlling devices such as monumental symmetry or a single ornamental "order" of classical derivation. They sought to harness the art of architecture to create contemporary socially-oriented, high-quality dwellings for the lower and middle classes. Recognizing and defining an appropriate form of social housing would also become one of the central themes in the careers of both Taut and Behne, and of modern architecture more generally.

Referring both to contemporary critics and to Taut's pre- and post-war writing on social housing, Buddensieg has argued convincingly that Messel and Taut both designed their pre-war apartments according to the classical idea of *convenientia*, seeking to relate their designs to the character and social position of the inhabitants.⁷⁹ They had sought to find an expression for the communal social structure of the residents. As early as 1907, Scheffler had written in reference to Messel's apartments, "From the social requirements of the identical apartment plans comes the aesthetic. . . . The desire to create unity from the individual pieces," derives from "the contemporary

⁷⁹ Buddensieg, "Messel und Taut," p. 26; Buddensieg, "Bruno Tauts Versuche," pp. 49-50; see also Whyte, "Bruno Taut und die sozialistischen und weniger sozialistischen Wurzeln des sozialen Wohnungsbaues," *Neue Heimat* 27, no. 5 (1980): 28-37, 100, here p. 29; much of which is translated in Whyte, "The Politics of Expressionist Architecture," *Architectural Association Quarterly* 12, no. 3 (1980): 11-17. Taut scholars such as Buddensieg rely a great deal on Taut's *Architekturlehre* (1977), translated from the Turkish edition of 1937, though the thoughts expressed here more accurately represent his post-war experiences and ideas.

democratic spirit, with its tendency to equality."⁸⁰ Messel biographer and architectural critic Walter Curt Behrendt supported the same design ideas from an urban perspective, arguing for the need to create more unified street facades in order to develop a greater "feeling of community."⁸¹

Taut's effort to find an aesthetic expression or design ideas to correlate with the lifestyle and political sensibilities of the apartment dwellers led him to emphasize simplicity, "In its appearance the house had to pay tribute to the local milieu of the working-class metropolis. For that reason, the architecture had to strive to a simple solution, employing continuous lines and clear contrasts. . . . In order to find economic and social solutions to these [housing] problems, one must proceed with utmost simplicity."⁸² Behne supported Taut's drive for simplicity by arguing that all great architecture of the past had been "honest, unprejudiced and simple . . . *sachlich*," with artists always striving to create "forms that were communal."⁸³ Behne insisted that

⁸⁰ Karl Scheffler, "Das Mietshaus," in vol. 1 of Moderne Kultur, ed. E. Heyck (1907), p. 189; and Scheffler, Moderne Baukunst (1908), pp. 23ff.; both cited in Buddensieg, "Bruno Taut's Versuche," p. 99n5.

⁸¹ See Walter Curt Behrendt's dissertation Die einheitliche Blockfront als Raumelement im Stadtbau (1912), p. 14; cited in Buddensieg, "Bruno Taut's Versuche," p. 99, n.5. See also Behrendt, Alfred Messel (1911), republished (1998).

⁸² Bruno Taut, "Zu den Arbeiten der Architekten Bruno Taut und Hoffmann," Moderne Bauformen 12, no. 3 (Mar. 1913): 121; Bruno Taut, "Äusserungen über die Gartenstadt Falkenberg bei Bahnhof Grünau," in Flugblatt der Gemeinnützigen Baugenossenschaft der Gartenvorstadt Groß-Berlins (1914); cited with incomplete citation in Whyte, "Bruno Taut und die sozialistischen," p. 29; and Bettina Zöller-Stock, Bruno Taut: Die Innenraumentwürfe des Berliner Architekten (1993), p. 108.

⁸³ Behne, "Die ästhetischen Theorien der modernen Baukunst," Preussische Jahrbücher 153, no. 2 (Aug. 1913): 274-283.

Taut's architecture "cleaned architecture of all traditionalism and conventionalism."⁸⁴

The straightforward, or *sachlich* nature of Taut's design, according to Behne, implied that it was free of pre-conceptions and thus open to enjoyment and understanding by a wider scope of people, including workers.

Taut later gave these ideas more overt political references when he wrote of his apartments that a "Socialist-proletarian spirit" led him to string simple elements together into an economical series, reducing the isolation or individuality of any piece in favor of a "collective spirit."⁸⁵ Through this approach, Taut claimed, architects become "social organizers," and architecture becomes "didactic," representing or "expressing" the political ideology of the residents and eventually of the era, countering the self-absorbed symmetry and monumentality that had characterized previous capitalist design. The economy, simplicity and efficiency of Taut's Socialist *Siedlungen* after World War I were in many ways thus pre-figured in Taut's Wilhelmine apartment blocks.⁸⁶ Although the forms, materials and layout would change, this emphasis on simplicity, *Sachlichkeit*, and repetition remained part of the program of modern architecture until well after World War II.

⁸⁴ Behne, "Bruno Taut," *Illustrierte Zeitung* 154, no. 3994 (Jan. 15, 1920): 81; similar thoughts in Behne, "Bruno Taut," *Pan*; and also Behne, "Bruno Taut," *Der Sturm*.

⁸⁵ Bruno Taut, "Genossenschaftsarchitektur," *Wohnungswirtschaft* 3, no. 1 (Jan. 15, 1926): 13; and Taut, "Von der architektonischen Schönheit des Serienbaus," *Der Aufbau* 1 (1926).

⁸⁶ Kurt Junghanns, "Über die Stellung der revolutionären Arbeiterbewegung zu den Fragen der Architektur zwischen den Weltkriegen," in *Kunst im Klassenkampf. Arbeitstagung zur proletarisch-revolutionären Kunst*, ed. and intro. Hans Olbrich (1979), pp. 120-129.

One feature of Taut's apartment building at Kottbusser-Damm 2-3 (1910-11) in the working-class suburb of Rixdorf is particularly worth commenting on in the context of politics: a cinema, or as Berliners called it, a "*Kintopp*".⁸⁷ [Figures 5.1 and 5.2] As Peter Mänz has shown, the origins of the cinema before World War I in Germany were decidedly populist, concentrated at first in working-class districts such as Rixdorf.⁸⁸ The appealing visuality of film, the fascination with a technology of moving images, and the cinema's familiar origin in acting and variety shows, made it an attractive and powerful medium that reached across class. Before moving indoors in the first years of the twentieth century, movies were frequently part of traveling shows that set up on the empty lots and fair grounds (*Rummelplätze*) of working-class districts. They provided low-cost, sensational entertainment that allowed workers to experience vicariously the

⁸⁷ Taut built apartments at Kottbusser Damm 90 (1909-10), and Kottbusser Damm 2-3 (1910-11). For more see the bibliography in Nerdinger et al, Bruno Taut, p. 323-324; Zöller-Stock, Bruno Taut, p. 18; and Lamberts, "Das Frühwerk," pp. 42-54; Buddensieg, "Berlin, Kottbusser Damm." Andres Janser curiously does not deal with this earliest cinema in her essay, "'Die bewegliche kinematografische Aufnahme ersetzt beinahe die Führung um und durch den Bau,' Bruno Taut und der Film," in Nerdinger et al, Bruno Taut, pp. 267-274. The working-class Berlin suburb of Rixdorf, called "the largest village in Germany" by its inhabitants, grew exponentially in the last third of the nineteenth century, spreading to such an extent that it eventually merged with the city. It was renamed Neu-Kölln in 1912, and annexed into Greater-Berlin in 1920. "Kintopp" was an elision of "Kino" and "Topf" in the local Berlin dialect used among the working class, and referred to the joining of a cinema with a bar or greasy-spoon type eating establishment; Peter Mänz, "Frühes Kino im Arbeiterbezirk: ein neues 'Volksvergnügen' im Spannungsfeld von Kulturindustrie, Arbeiteralltag und Arbeiterbewegung," Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften 2, no. 2 (1990): 81-101, here p. 85.

⁸⁸ On cinemas in Rixdorf, see Mänz, "Frühes Kino"; and more generally on the origins of film see Sylvaine Hänsel and Angelica Schmitt, eds., Kinoarchitektur in Berlin 1895-1995 (1995); R. Pabst, ed., Das deutsche Lichtspieltheater (1926); Guttsman, Worker's Culture, p. 263-274.

streets of New York, the temples of India, and other flights of fancy. By 1912, when Behne met Taut, the popularity of cinema among workers had drawn the attention of SPD politicians. Although fans of the cinema extolled the "untold masses of *geistig* light that finds its way through the cinematic lens into the giant masses of the people, into the millions of the working class," SPD officials were critical of these "breeding grounds of bad taste," and worked to prevent the cinema from becoming a part of the official Socialist sub-culture.⁸⁹ The politicians understood the mass attraction of the film and its potential as a means of education (*Volksbildung*), though not yet as a means of mass revolutionary propaganda.⁹⁰

Details of why Taut's Kottbusser-Damm apartment included a cinema or who was responsible for its inclusion are lost, but it is clear that Taut was accommodating the latest trends of working-class culture. The building, Taut explained, specifically "addressed the local milieu of the working-class metropolis."⁹¹ Mänz has shown that the neighborhood of Rixdorf where Taut's apartment was located had twenty-seven cinemas by 1912, most with fewer than 200 seats, and as Behne later explained, many were installed in retrofitted rooms.⁹² A few were designed in pre-planned spaces

⁸⁹ E. Perlmann, Das Kino als modernes Volkstheater (1912), p. 5, cited in Mänz, "Frühes Kino," p. 92.

⁹⁰ See Sheppard, "Artists, Intellectuals and the USPD," p. 211n91.

⁹¹ Taut, "Zu den Arbeiten," p. 121.

⁹² Statistics in Mänz, "Frühes Kino," p. 84 The city of Berlin, meanwhile, had over 200 cinemas by 1912. In Behne, "Kinoarchitekturen," Bild und Film 4, no. 7/8 (Apr./May 1915): 133, Behne lists three phases of theater design: 1) retrofitted rooms; 2) purpose-built rooms in apartments; and 3) separate movie palaces, usually downtown,

within apartment buildings. Behne claimed that Taut's cinema was the first theater in Berlin to be intentionally built to show film.⁹³ But the inclusion of a cinema in new apartments was also rapidly becoming more popular in working-class, strongly "red" towns such as Rixdorf. A piece of fiction in Kinematograph magazine from 1912, for example, celebrated that a much needed new apartment building was being built in Rixdorf to house over 140 worker families, "more than enough," the author suggested, to warrant that the architect should include a cinema in the building for residents.⁹⁴

Behne was an early fan of the cinema, an enthusiasm that may have begun before 1905 when he and his parents lived in the working-class district near the Centralviehhof of Berlin, a neighborhood similar to Rixdorf. After becoming interested in his friend Taut's ideas and architectural practice (including the Kottbusser Damm apartment and cinema, Behne began writing regularly on the cinema in the summer of 1913. He was one of the first trained art historians to recognize the importance of the cinema for modern visual culture.⁹⁵ Before World War I he wrote reviews and commentary on film in his regular column "Stage Arts" in the Sozialistische Monatshefte. His polemical pieces in the new magazine Bild und Film often dealt with

intended more for the middle-class, who began viewing films in large numbers only after 1910.

⁹³ Behne, "Kinoarchitekturen," p. 133. Behne's claim is still supported today; see Nerdinger et al, Bruno Taut, p. 324.

⁹⁴ Der Kinematograph 267 (Feb. 7, 1912), cited in Mänz, "Frühes Kino," p. 83.

⁹⁵ Behne's contributions to the development of modern cinema have not been explored, and lie outside the scope of this work; see Bushart, p. 8. See bibliography for cites to his well known, frequently republished and translated essays on cinema.

the architecture of cinemas, including extensive discussion of cinemas design by in Taut in the Kottbusser Dam apartments, the Leipzig Steel Pavilion and the projection device in the Glashaus.⁹⁶ As cinema became ever more popular in Berlin after World War I, especially the late 1920s, Behne wrote enthusiastically about the role of film in modern life and art, arguing that film was as much an art form as painting or literature, but with a decidedly more contemporary and modern sensibility.⁹⁷

As early as February 1914 Behne connected the modernity and metropolitan mass appeal of the cinema with the new art of Expressionism. In response to a conservative critics' attack on Futurism and modern culture more generally as overly loud, fast, nihilist, "technical . . . and artificial: like cinema," Behne turned the tables on

⁹⁶ On Bild und Film, see Behne's the two articles "Kinokunst," in the "Bühnenkunst" columns of Sozialistische Monatshefte 19.2, no. 14 (July 24, 1913): 885-888; and Sozialistische Monatshefte 20.1, no. 4 (Feb. 26, 1914): 266-268. On film and architecture, see Behne, "Der Kino im Leipziger Monument des Eisens," Bild und Film 2, no. 11/12 (Aug./Sept. 1913): 269-271; and Behne "Kinoarchitekturen," Bild und Film 4, no. 7/8 (Apr./May 1915): 133-139. Janser discusses in detail Taut's proposals for including an exhibit of "film-buildings"--films of existing buildings--at the Werkbund exhibition in Cologne in 1914. The experiment, which drew good reviews from the "cinophile" Peter Behrens but was ultimately rejected by the Werkbund, was seen as a new means of representing architecture more dynamically and realistically than the still photograph. See Janser, "Die bewegliche kinematografische Aufnahme," pp. 269-270.

⁹⁷ See, for example, A. Behne, "Das denkende Bild," Die Weltbühne 21.1, no. 22 (June 2, 1925): 816-818, republished with responses by Rudolf Arnheim in Arnheim, ed., Kritiken u. Aufsätze zum Film (1977); Behne, "Die Stellung des Publikums zur modernen deutschen Literatur," Die Weltbühne 22.1, no. 20 (May 18, 1926): 774-777, republished in Anton Kaes, ed., Kino-Debatte (1978), pp. 160-4, and in Anton Kaes, ed., Weimarer Republik. Manifeste und Dokumente (1983), pp. 219-22; and Behne, "Der Film als Pädagoge," Das Neue Frankfurt 2, no. 11/12 (Nov./Dec. 1928): 203-205, republished in Heinz Hirdina, ed., Neues bauen, Neues Gestalten (1984): pp. 275-276, and transl. in Mare de De Benedetti and Attilio Pracchi, eds. Antologia dell'architettura moderna (1988), pp. 436-438.

the bourgeois critics and the pejorative connotations of film. He celebrated Expressionism (which included Futurism in his mind) as the art of a time of grand change, of youthful exuberance, of freedom and hope for the future for all people.⁹⁸ He suggested that architects be encouraged to create dynamic, playful forms for cinemas "that readily demonstrate connections to the tents of traveling troops."⁹⁹ After the upheaval of the German revolution, in the waning days of Expressionist art, Behne called for more artists to emulate the energy and pure joy of life that emanated from the *Rummelplätze* that had spawned cinema, as Dada artists were beginning to do.¹⁰⁰ Behne and Taut, from early on, were aware of the energy and working-class spirit that the cinema and its accompanying counter-establishment milieu could bring to the development of both modern art and architecture.

Garden Cities

While the design of working-class apartments or the inclusion of a cinema did

⁹⁸ Behne, "Expressionismus," p. 249. Behne was responding to the Hamburg critic Kurt K  chler, "Ein Wort zum Futurismus," *Allg. Beob.* 3, no. 18 (Jan. 15, 1914): 249. K  chler was the critic who elicited Walden's grand defense of Kandinsky in *Der Sturm*; see Kurt K  chler, "Kandinsky," *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* (Feb. 13, 1913); and "F  r Kandinsky," *Der Sturm* 3, no. 150/151 (Mar. 1913): 277-279; with addenda in vol. 3, no. 152/153 (Mar. 1913): 288; and vol. 4, no. 154/155 (Apr. 1913): 5-6; as well as Bushart, *Der Geist der Gotik*, pp. 89-90.

⁹⁹ Behne, "Kinoarchitekturen," p. 139.

¹⁰⁰ Behne, "'Zirkus,'" *Freiheit* 2, no. 210 (May 3, 1919): 2-3. The emphasis on playful spirit emulates the spirit of the "Glasgapa" Paul Scheerbart, as well as Taut's own manifesto "Down with Seriousness" in the first issue of his magazine *Fr  hlicht*, a supplement to the new journal *Stadtbaukunst Alter und neuer Zeit* 1, no. 1 (Jan. 1920): 13-16.

not constitute a political stance per se, Taut's architectural work became ever more socially and politically committed, just as he was getting to know Behne in 1913. That spring Osthaus had arranged for Taut to replace the Swiss architect Hans Bernouilli as consulting architect to the German Garden City Association.¹⁰¹ This led to Taut's commissions for a small housing settlement (*Siedlung*) in Falkenberg, southwest of Berlin, and for the *Siedlung* Reform outside of Magdeburg, the city where Behne was born. The German Garden City Association, founded in 1902 as a "propaganda society" with the principle aim of "winning over the public" to the causes of "internal colonization" and "industrial decentralization," was based on the English group founded by Ebenezer Howard. The German group, including the brothers Bernard and Hans Kampfmeyer, promoted strongly educational, liberative and communal ideals, and allied themselves prominently with the reformist branch of the SPD.¹⁰² Rather than revolution, they sought "peaceful path to reform" by improving housing and living

¹⁰¹ Taut had been associating with the German Garden City Association since at least 1910, when he took part in an official tour with the association of English garden cities. On Taut's work with the German Garden City Association, see Whyte, Bruno Taut (1982), pp. 11-12, 29-32; Iain Boyd Whyte, "Bruno Taut und die sozialistischen"; Kristiana Hartmann, Deutsche Gartenstadtbewegung. Kulturpolitik und Gesellschaftsreform (1976) 122-124; Kristiana Hartmann's essay in Nerdinger et al, Bruno Taut, pp. 137-135; and Speidel, Bruno Taut, pp. 116-124.

¹⁰² Iain Boyd Whyte, "The Politics of Expressionism," Architectural Association Quarterly 12, no. 3 (1980): 11-17. John Maciuika has discussed a profound change that took place in the Garden City Association when Muthesius, Riemerschmid and Karl Schmidt joined in 1907. The organization reoriented its utopian tendencies towards the more pragmatic goal of creating places "for the fusion of modern business, a conservative and *bürgerlich* Wilhelmine social hierarchy, and healthy suburban living through neo-traditional design"; Maciuika, "Hermann Muthesius," pp. 354-355.

conditions for the working class.¹⁰³ The reformist and centrist tendencies of the Garden City association led them to embrace and harness capitalism to create the cheapest possible housing with the highest possible standard of living for residents using non-profit building associations strongly supported by the unions.

Behne, working ever more closely with Taut as publicist and intellectual partner, was able to publish an article on Taut's innovative polychrome designs for Falkenberg in the Garden City Association's official journal Gartenstadt in December 1913 even before Taut contributed one.¹⁰⁴ [Figure 5.3] Architectural and cultural reformers as far back as Ferdinand Avenarius in 1896, Alfred Lichtwark in 1899 and Fritz Schumacher in 1901 had called for a reintroduction of bright color into architecture as a means of fighting "our grey times" and the drab, schematic building developments of the late nineteenth-century.¹⁰⁵ Taut, who at one point early in his career had seen himself

¹⁰³ This was an explicit reference to Howard's first book, Tomorrow--a Peaceful Path to Real Reform (1898), which was retitled Garden Cities of Tomorrow in 1902. Whyte highlights the fact that many of the goals of the Garden City Association were shared by anti-semitic associations on the extreme right, as well as the *Bodenreform* group on the far left. He identifies the Garden City Association as "left of centre" in this context, closely allied to the SPD; Whyte, Bruno Taut, p. 11. Taut's Choriner Kreis had similarly mixed ties to both the conservative Wandervögel movement, as well as the anarcho-Socialism of the Friedrichshagener Kreis. Whyte paints Taut, the Garden City movement, and Activism more conservatively than many historians; see Bletter, "Introduction," p. 6; and Whyte, p. 7-11.

¹⁰⁴ Behne, "Die Bedeutung der Farbe in Falkenberg," Gartenstadt 7, no. 12 (Dec. 1913): 248-250.

¹⁰⁵ Fritz Schumacher, "Farbige Architektur," Der Kunstwart 14, no. 20 (1901): 297-302; republished in Fritz Schumacher, Streifzüge eines Architekten (1907), pp. 111-125. See also Alfred Lichtwark, Palastfenster und Flügeltür (1899), republished in Lichtwark, Eine Auswahl seiner Schriften, ed. Wolf Mannhardt, intro. Karl Scheffler (1917) p. 256.

primarily as a painter, reflected in his diary in 1905, "Colorful spatial compositions, colorful architecture, these are areas in which I personally might say something."¹⁰⁶ His first use of vivid color in independent commissions came in two church renovations in 1906 and 1911. Similar to the efforts by Die Brücke and Blauer Reiter Expressionist painters to incorporate vernacular imagery and bright color into their paintings, Taut worked to introduce vivid color on the interiors through the restoration of original vernacular color schemes, and a collaboration with his friend and later Expressionist painter Franz Mutzenbecher.¹⁰⁷ Taut's designs, as Manfred Speidel has shown, resulted in a unique use of color as an independent rather than merely applied element that helped "dematerialize" architectural elements in ways that foreshadow his own use of color in the Glashaus, and even the work of De Stijl artists a decade later.¹⁰⁸

Behne did not explicitly link Taut's use of color to early Expressionism or the art

¹⁰⁶ Taut, diary entry from Mar. 17, 1905, quoted in Manfred Speidel, "Farbe und Licht. Zum malerischen Werk von Bruno Taut," in Speidel, ed., Bruno Taut, p. 50; also cited in Eckhard Herrel, "Farbe in der Architektur der Moderne," in Moderne Architektur in Deutschland 1900 bis 1950: Expressionismus und Neue Sachlichkeit, ed. Vittorio Magnano Lampugnani and Romana Schneider (1994), pp. 99; and Kurt Junghanns, Bruno Taut, 2nd ed. (1983), p. 17.

¹⁰⁷ On Taut's early church interiors and the use of color see Manfred Speidel, "Ornamente," in Speidel, Bruno Taut, p. 78-98. Taut describes the colors in Taut, "Zu den Arbeiten." Speidel suggests connections of Taut's work to early Expressionism as well as to the Stuttgart School of painters around Alfred Hölzel, to which Mutzenbecher belonged briefly; see Speidel, "Ornamente," p. 92.

¹⁰⁸ Speidel, "Ornamente," p. 78. Speidel quotes a 1919 article by Behne that identifies dematerialization (*Auflösung*) as a major theme in Taut's architecture; see Behne, "Bruno Taut," Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung 2, no. 1 (Apr. 1919): 13-15; excerpt in Achim Wendschuh and Barbara Volkmann, eds., Bruno Taut 1880-1938 (1980), p. 186; and republished in Ochs, Architekturkritik, pp. 55-59.

that he was simultaneously promoting at the Sturm gallery, but he did claim that "the exuberant use of color in art is again growing everywhere, in sculpture as much as in painting and the applied arts," and that architecture had no reason to be left behind. The reason for Taut's innovative use of color, Behne explained, was not merely formal, but primarily economic and social.¹⁰⁹ The very essence of the garden city concept, he felt, required architects to reconcile two opposing factors: the need to minimize building expenses by using the repetitive rowhouse type, and the need to accommodate the desires of the inhabitants to have individualized residences. Taut's use of color, Behne explained, bridged these two concerns. "The danger of uniformity is happily removed through the aid of color! And exactly this application of color . . . seems to me to be a perfect expression for the freedom of the garden city resident, which is not the arbitrary will of a villa owner, but rather the self-determination of a member of a social organism!"¹¹⁰

Behne saw Taut's search for more ideal housing and a communally-oriented future as inherently "political." "Politics," as Behne defined it at the time, involved not so much "the grabbing of material power," as the "daring" act of defining a better future, "reaching out amidst the richness of one's own time to find the inspiration for freedom,

¹⁰⁹ On Taut's use of color, see also Herrel, "Farbe in der Architektur," pp. 99-105; Winfried Brenne, "Wohnbauten von Bruno Taut. Erhaltung und Wiederherstellung farbiger Bauten," in Nerdinger et al Bruno Taut, pp. 275-289.

¹¹⁰ "Die Gefahr der Uniformität wird durch das Hilfsmittel der Farbe sehr glücklich beseitigt! Und gerade die farbige Abwandlung . . . scheint mir ein treffender Ausdruck zu sein für die Freiheit des Gartenstädtlers, die doch nicht die Willkür etwa eines Villenbesitzers ist, sondern die Selbstbestimmung des Mitgliedes eines sozialen Organismus!"; Behne, "Bedeutung der Farbe," p. 250.

expansive development, and a future that leaves behind all conventions."¹¹¹ For Behne, the use of color at Falkenberg was both an artistic gesture related to Expressionism, and a political gesture that addressed the new communal spirit of reformist Socialism in the garden city. Behne even considered moving into Falkenberg, but the housing development was not finished in time for the newlywed Behne.¹¹²

In his own articles, Taut embraced the garden city as one of the most important means of creating a more equitable, Socialist architecture for the working masses, and of re-invigorating and renewing modern architecture. In a critique of the architectural competition to expand Berlin's royal opera house published in the Sozialistische Monatshefte--a publication to which, not coincidentally, Behne frequently contributed--Taut complained about how difficult it was for contemporary architects to develop appropriate designs given the confused and contradictory concerns of the day to which they had to respond, "modern empire, caste-society, and populism."¹¹³ He suggested

¹¹¹ Referring to Roman art as both symbolizing brute force, and a relationship to the Orient, Behne wrote, "Sie ist politisch, soweit man Politik ausschließlich als Prozeß des Strebens nach äußerer Gewalt anerkennt. Aber sie ist keineswegs mehr politisch, wenn man unter Politik versteht: aus dem Reichtum der Stunde die Regung zu schöpfen, die, weit alle Konventionen überfliegend, Befreiung, Erweiterung, Zukunft bedeutet"; Behne, "Rom als Vorbild," Sozialistische Monatshefte 23.1, no. 6 (Mar. 28, 1917): 306, emphasis in original.

¹¹² In a post card to Taut, Behne mentions that he will move from his parent's apartment in the Schillerstr. 103, to Steglitz or Lichterfelde before Falkenberg is complete; Behne, letter to Taut (Apr. 30, 1913). Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Abt. Baukunst, Bruno Taut Nachlaß, BTA-01-467. By the fall, Behne had moved to Grünstr. 16, also in Charlottenberg; see, for example, Max Taut letter to Behne (Jan. 28, 1914), Nachlaß Behne, SBPK. Behne married Elfriede Schäfer on June 5, 1913, and their daughter Karla was born Dec. 1, 1913.

¹¹³ Taut, "Das Problem des Opernbaus," Sozialistische Monatshefte 20.1, no. 6

architects find direction in the Socialist ideals of the garden city, "Every epoch develops its typical building problems that correspond to the central questions of the day and develop innovation in architecture. The typical idea of our day, the idea with which every person is engaged, one must see as *social engagement*. Royal operas will not give us a new architecture, only people's theaters, new garden cities, and all buildings that evolve from our social idealism can do that."¹¹⁴ Using ideas on the "organic" related both to those Behne had developed after reading the biologist Uexküll, as well as those Hausenstein had developed using Saint-Simon's dialectical history, Taut insisted that a truly modern building had to be "organic," a completely integrated and synthesized body of functional elements. Such organic architecture, he claimed, could only develop when all levels of society and civilization came together to realize "the social," a form of organization in which the individual was subordinated to the whole community. Rather than stifle the individual, however, Taut reassured his readers by invoking the American poet Walt Whitman, suggesting that such social unification would result in a renewal and empowerment of the individual conscience.¹¹⁵

(Mar. 26, 1914): 355.

¹¹⁴ Taut, "Das Problem des Opernbaus," p. 356; translated slightly differently in Whyte, Bruno Taut, p. 29. Taut had expressed nearly identical thoughts in a lecture to the German Garden City Association in the fall of 1913, where he stated that in architecture "a new idea has arisen, a truly modern idea that promises to become part of our worldview, accepted by all. . . . This is the *social conscience*"; Taut, "Kleinhausbau und Landaufschließung," pp. 9-12; also republished in part in Wendschuh and Volkmann, Bruno Taut, p. 174.

¹¹⁵ Taut, "Das Problem des Opernbaues." Taut did not actually quote any words by Whitman, though Whitman was a very common reference at the time, especially in the Socialist press, many of his works excerpted in cultural journals or serialized in

Behne summarized many of the ideas that he and Taut shared on the garden city in the 1915 annual yearbook and calendar of the Mosse publishing house, one of the three largest publishing houses in Berlin. The very wide and diverse audience embraced by the Mosse publishing program would assure that this book had a much wider and more populist distribution than the professional journals in which Taut published his ideas on the garden city.¹¹⁶ Building on the art historical ideas of Riegl and Worringer that tied a society's architecture to the general spirit of the times or a communal will to form (*Kunstwollen*), Behne stated that there were two new tasks that architects were tackling in architecture: industrial buildings and garden cities. While the former provided primarily a new functional type of building problem, he wrote that the latter was accompanied by "a completely new spiritual force . . . the social conscience."¹¹⁷ Behne insisted that "much as the Gothic had the idea of the kingdom of God," modern social consciousness would be the singular inner driving force that would generate a new architecture of the day.¹¹⁸

Behne argued that architects such as Taut had the power to shape society through the social conscience expressed in their designs. The architects' charge was to

German newspapers.

¹¹⁶ Behne, "Gartenstadt-Architekturen," Illustriertes Jahrbuch. Kalender für das Jahr 1915, ed. V. Band (1915), pp. 196-209.

¹¹⁷ "So kommt bei der Gartenstadt-Architektur eine neue geistige Kraft, eine neue Gesinnung zur technischen Neuheit hinzu: die soziale Empfindung"; Behne, "Gartenstadt-Architekturen," p. 196.

¹¹⁸ On the influence of Riegl and Worringer on Behne, see chapters 1 and 3, as well as below.

find an appropriate expression for the garden city--"a quintessentially modern building program"-- which had the worker at its core, but also included the modern factory and the infrastructure that connected it all. Taut, he claimed, had devoted himself passionately to meeting the functional needs of Falkenberg's residents, not dictating their lives, but subconsciously shaping and educating them. "The residents have everything at hand," Behne declared, "and the architect has the residents in his hand. . . . In the end, every art is a shaping of people. Architecture does this most strongly and visibly."¹¹⁹ Taut's architecture, Behne theorized, had the potential to shape people and by extension culture directly. In this way, Art was a kind of politics, art would lead people to a new society.

¹¹⁹ "Die Bewohner haben alles zur Hand--und der Architekt hat die Bewohner in der Hand, durch die Zwecke. Jede Kunst ist letzten Endes Menschenbildnerei. Die Architektur ist es am stärksten und sichtbarsten"; Behne, "Gedanken über Kunst und Zweck, dem Glashause gewidmet," Kunstgewerbeblatt 27, no. 1 (Oct. 1915): 4.

Chapter 5 Illustrations



Figure 5.1. Bruno Taut, Kottbusser Damm 2-3 Apartments and Cinema, in Berlin-Neu-Kölln, 1910-1911, restored 1977-1878 by Inken and Hinrich Baller Architects. Photo 1994. Source: Collection of Kai Gutschow.

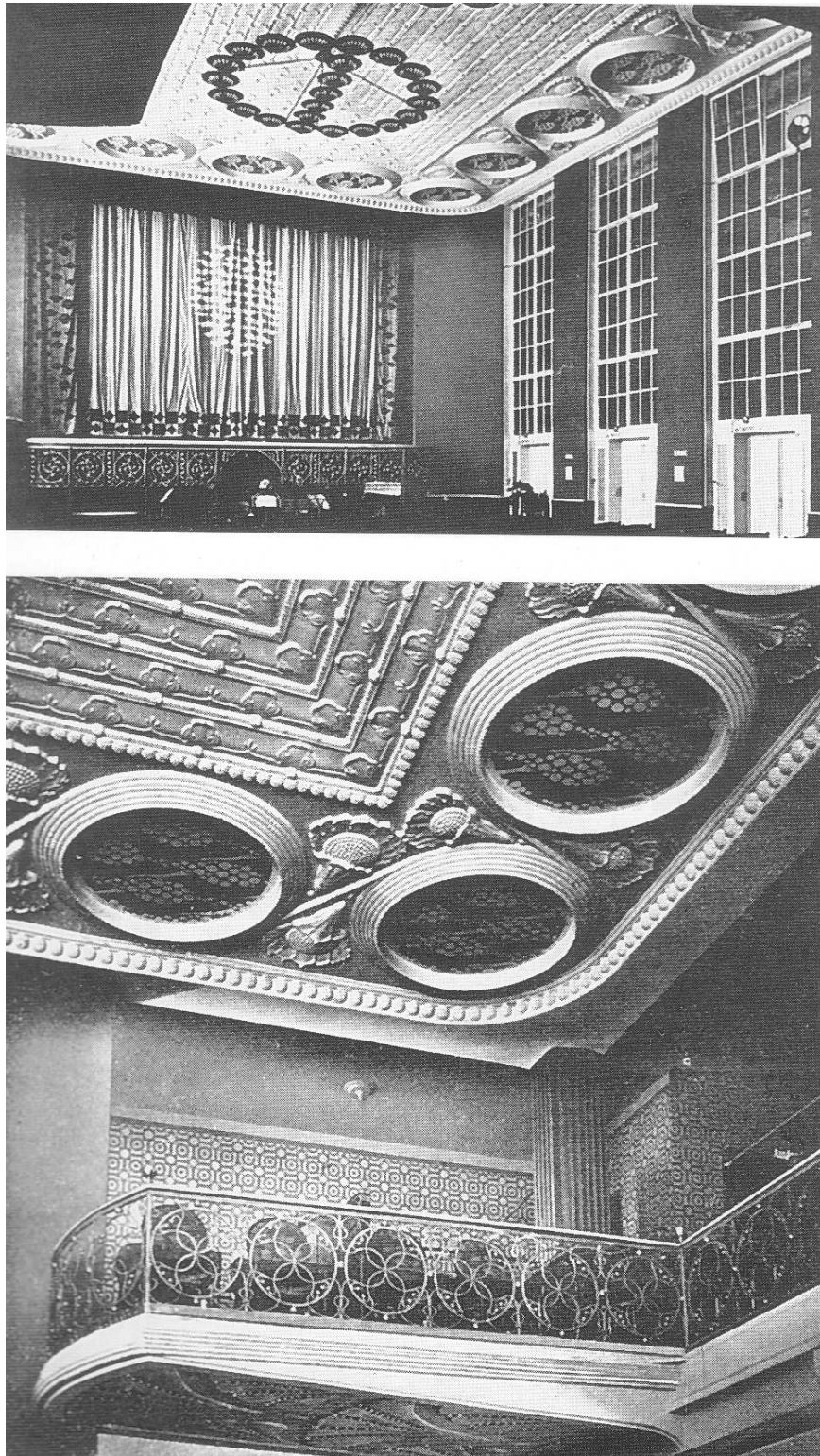


Figure 5.2. Bruno Taut, Kottbusser Damm Apartment Cinema. Source: Bettina Zöller-Stock, Bruno Taut: die Innenraumentwürfe des Berliner Architekten (1993), p. 18.



Figure 5.3. Bruno Taut, Apartment houses at Falkenberg Garden City, 1910-1911, outside of Berlin, showing the bright colored panels in blue, white, yellow and orange. Photo 1997. Source: Collection of Kai Gutschow.