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THE ANTI-MEDITERRANEAN IN THE LITERATURE OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE

Paul Schultze-Naumburg's *Kulturarbeiten*

Kai K. Gutschow

In the heated battles to define modern architecture in Germany at the beginning of the twentieth century, well-chosen propaganda images played a vital role in shaping public opinion as well as the profession.¹ Architects on all sides of the debates used the nascent media culture of the day to make their often complex arguments memorable and easily understood. Many of the most potent images were created in the wake of Stuttgart's large Weissenhof housing exhibition of 1927, designed by an all-star cast of modern architects from around Europe. Walter Curt Behrendt's well-known book from the same year, for example, used a heroic, flag-waving view of the Weissenhof Siedlung to pronounce the "victory of the new building style."² Similar images were strategically placed on the covers and title pages of books by Ludwig Hilberseimer, Adolf Behne, and the German Werkbund to celebrate the arrival of modern architecture.³

Although less well known, German adversaries of the new style of architecture were just as effective in promoting their opposing messages, often with similar images, though in very different contexts. In his popular book, *Das Gesicht des deutschen Hauses* (The Face of the German House, 1929), for example, the German architect and critic Paul Schultze-Naumburg contrasted a view of the Weissenhof Siedlung with a picturesque view of a seaside village on the Greek island of Santorini.⁴ For readers in search of the Mediterranean ideal in modern architecture, the images offer evidence of how closely related the whitewashed, asymmetrically sited, flat-roofed, rectangular prisms of modern architecture in Germany were to timeless forms of the Mediterranean vernacular. Similar comparisons with Italian vernacular architecture were later used by Italian modernists such as Giovanni Michelucci to demonstrate the Mediterranean roots and timeless values of their forms.⁵

But the context of Schultze-Naumburg's illustrations produced a very different reading. He offered the comparative photographic images as proof of the "foreign" and stylized forms of modern architecture. The new architecture, he argued, was "un-German" in its physiognomy, and incompatible with the rainy, snowy, and cold northern climate. He claimed that the flat roofs and simple cubic forms had been developed in the "Orient," in the heat of the Mediterranean, and that they were culturally inappropriate and functionally unfit for the hills of Stuttgart.⁶ The parallels of modern architecture to foreign forms were, for Schultze-Naumburg, signs of a "disruption" or "derailment" of the natural evolution of good German architecture, and perhaps even indications of the "demise" of the soul of the German *Volk*.⁷ His critique aligned with other conservative critics who lambasted the modernist housing development as an "Arab Village" or a "Little Jerusalem," or as "Bolshevik" in

¹ Parts of this essay were delivered at the 2001 SAH conference in Toronto; at "The Other Modern" conference in Capri, Italy, in 1998; and at the 1992 IASTE conference in Paris, France. Portions were published as "Schultze-Naumburg's *Heimat*: A Nationalist Conflict of Tradition and Modernity," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements: Working Papers* 36, 1, 1992: 1-36.

² Walter Curt Behrendt, *Der Sieg des neuen Baustils*, Stuttgart, Akademischer Verlag Dr. Fritz Wedekind, 1927; translated by Harry Francis Malgrave as *The Victory of the New Building Style*, Santa Monica, Getty, 2000.

³ Ludwig Hilberseimer, *Internationale Neue Baukunst*, no. 2, Stuttgart, Verlag J. Hoffmann, 1927; Adolf Behne, *Eine Stunde Architektur*, Stuttgart, Akademischer Verlag Dr. Fritz Wedekind, 1928; Deutscher Werkbund (ed.), *Bau und Wohnung: die Bauten der Weissenhofsiedlung n Stuttgart*, Bücher der Form, Stuttgart, F. Wedekind, 1927.

⁴ Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Das Gesicht des deutschen Hauses*, Stuttgart, G. W. Callwey, 1929.

⁵ Richard Etlin, *Modernism in Italian Architecture, 1890-1940*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1991, pp. 297-312; Giovanni Michelucci, "Fonti della moderna architettura italiana," in *Domus August* 1932, pp. 460-461. See also in this volume the essay by Michelangelo Sabatino.

⁶ In German, the "Orient" tended to mean the Near and Middle East, synonymous with much of the Arab-Islamic cultural world, and in the context of this book, the Eastern Mediterranean. Unlike the English

7.1 (Far left) Postcard of the Weissenhof as Arab Village, highlighting the "foreign" and "Mediterranean" nature of modern architecture.

Source: © Stadtarchiv Stuttgart, Sammlung Weissenhof.



word, it does not usually include East Asia, Southeast Asia, or South Asia. As Schultze-Naumburg used it, it often had an even more general meaning of "East," and seemed to include all that was east of the German and Austrian-Hungarian empires, down to the Caucasus and the eastern Mediterranean. For the influences of "the Orient" on modern architecture, see Simone Hain, "Ex oriente lux," *Deutschland und der Osten*, in Romana Schenider and Vittorio Magnano Lampugnani (eds.), *Moderne Architektur in Deutschland 1900 bis 1950: Reform und Tradition*, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Hatje, 1992; Francesco Passanti, "The Vernacular, Modernism, and Le Corbusier," in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56, no. 4, 1997, pp. 443, 449 n. 27; revised slightly in Maiken Umbach and Bernd-Rüdiger Hüppauf (eds.), *Vernacular Modernism: Heimat, Globalization, and the Built Environment*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2005.

⁷ Schultze-Naumburg, *Das Gesicht des deutschen Hauses*, p. 5.

⁸ Karin Kirsch, *The Weissenhofsiedlung. Experimental Housing Built for the Deutscher Werkbund*, Stuttgart, 1927, New York, Rizzoli, 1989, pp. 199–200; Richard Pommer and Christian Otto, *Weissenhof 1927 and the Modern Movement in Architecture*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1993, pp. 238ff.; Barbara Miller-Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918–1945*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1985 (1st edn. 1968), pp. 125ff.

⁹ Paul Schultze-Naumburg and Walter Gropius, "Wer hat Recht? Traditionelle Baukunst oder Bauen in neuen Formen. Zwei sich wieder-sprechende Ansichten," in *Der Uhu* 2, no. 7, 1926, pp. 30–40, 103–123, here p. 40.

¹⁰ Magdalena Bushart, *Der Geist der Gotik und die expressionistische Kunst*, Munich, Silke Schreiber, 1990.

¹¹ Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, Kulturarbeiten 2, Munich, G. W. Callwey, 1903 (1st edn. 1901), p. 35.

spirit.⁸ A famous photo montage sold as a postcard made visible these critiques, showing an "Arab" street market, complete with camels and lions, in the streets of the Weissenhof development.

These and other anti-Mediterranean critiques of modern architecture were but part of a long-running media campaign that Schultze-Naumburg had been maintaining both individually and in unison with some of Germany's most influential cultural reform organizations. As will be discussed in the essay below, the origins of these attacks, both the content and the graphic techniques, go back to the nineteenth-century discussions about German identity and national character, and in the case of Schultze-Naumburg, to the start of his career as an Arts and Crafts artist. What began as an attempt to work against the eclecticism and "soulless" design in the 1890s, soon took on profound implications for shaping the development of modern architecture in Germany. The attacks against foreign influences, and the associated propaganda techniques, became ever more harsh and polarizing after 1925, as the seemingly alien modern architecture and design gained footholds in Germany, not just with the avant-garde, but with municipal governments, non-profit housing associations, worker-clubs, and the general public. Although often framed in the modernist arguments about form and function, protests against the "New Building" (*Neues Bauen*) increasingly revealed a deep-seated nationalism, racism, and anti-Semitism, even where there were no overt Jewish or Mediterranean connections.

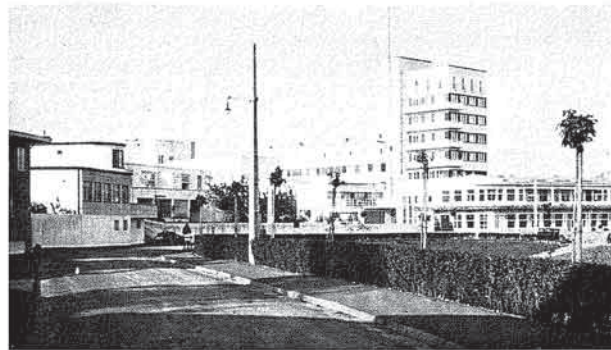
Just a few months before the Weissenhof exhibition, for example, the populist journal *Der Uhu* commissioned Schultze-Naumburg and Walter Gropius to debate their different positions on modern architecture in the article "Who is Right? Traditional building-art or building in new forms?" Schultze-Naumburg claimed that German architects had divided into two camps: those that consciously rejected their Nordic heritage for exotic precedents, and those that sought to rekindle time-tested German building conventions. The two positions were clearly illustrated in the comparative images throughout the article, pitting the "New Building" of Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, Le Corbusier, and Karl Schneider against some of Schultze-Naumburg's own country-house designs. In his text, Schultze-Naumburg, expressed frustration at seeing how many German architects "did not feel drawn through their bloodline, to the Nordic family of forms," and that so many modern houses around him were based on what he felt were "East Asian, Indian, or Negro" precedents.⁹ The many modern artists and architects inspired by cultures from the "Orient," from the Far and Near East, and from the Mediterranean basin, only confirmed Schultze-Naumburg's opposition to the new architecture and bias against the Mediterranean.

Instead, Schultze-Naumburg implored Germans to reconnect to their own Nordic traditions. But what was "German" or "Nordic" architecture? The question has a long, complicated history, and is one of the key – but now often overlooked – questions that helped define the development of modern architecture in Germany. Germans since Goethe had promoted the Gothic as homegrown and suitably nordic in character, a sentiment revived in the twentieth century by Expressionist artists, Gropius's early Bauhaus, and others.¹⁰ But Schultze-Naumburg conceded that Germans had always had a fascination with, and even a special penchant for, assimilating aspects of foreign and even exotic cultures, beginning with classicism in the Renaissance. He himself favored a simplified, bourgeois classicism, which he claimed had, over time, been "made German."¹¹ His single-minded attempt to revive local vernacular conventions



7.2 The Greek island of Mykonos above a view of the Weissenhof Siedlung, Stuttgart, with Hans Scharoun's house to the left. To the right, the large apartment building designed by Stuttgart-School architect Karl Beer, begun after the official Weissenhof project.

Source: Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Das Gesicht des deutschen Hauses*, 1929.



for a modern German architecture caused him to overlook the fact that other critics saw classicism as a "Southern" import, not unlike Santorini. The Jewish modernist architect Erich Mendelsohn, who came under increasing attack by conservatives, later chided Schultze-Naumburg for conveniently "overlooking" the fact that the Mediterranean was the basis for all Western culture.¹²

The Search for a Modern Architecture

Schultze-Naumburg's indictment of Mediterranean architecture arose from a host of interrelated theoretical and personal beliefs. During the first decades of the newly established German Reich, a pervasive romantic nationalism led many artists and ideologues such as Schultze-Naumburg to "invent" traditions for the new country.¹³ As a leader in the German Arts and Crafts movement, and the director of an important regional applied arts workshop, he also had a cultural and business interest in promoting local craft traditions. In a rapidly globalizing world, organizations such as the German Werkbund and the German Heimatschutzbund (Homeland Protection Association) – both of which he helped found – sought to define the hallmarks of what it meant to be "Made in Germany."¹⁴ This trend eventually overlapped with a rising interest in cultural anthropology as well as eugenics as a way of sorting out what was "local" and "authentic."

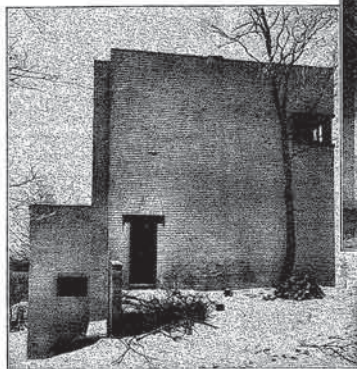
¹² Erich Mendelsohn, "Neu-Athen," in *Berliner Tageblatt* no. 261, June 5, 1931; republished in Ita Heinze-Greenberg and Regina Stephan (eds.), *Erich Mendelsohn. Gedankenwelt. Unbekannte Texte zu Architektur, Kulturgeschichte und Politik*, Ostfildern-Ruit, Hatje-Kantz, 2000, pp. 128–129. See also the essay by Ita Heinze-Greenberg in this volume.

¹³ Barbara Miller-Lane, *National Romanticism and Modern Architecture in Germany and the Scandinavian Countries*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000; Jacek Purchla and Wolf Tegethoff (eds.), *Nation, Style, Modernism*, Cracow, Munich, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, 2001.

¹⁴ Frederic Schwartz, *The Werkbund*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1996; Mark Jarzombek, "The Kunstgewerbe, the Werkbund, and the Aesthetics of Culture in the Wilhelmine Period," in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 53, no. 1, 1994, pp. 7–19; Mark Jarzombek, "The Discourse of a Bourgeois Utopia," in Francois Forster-Hahn (ed.), *Imagining Modern German Culture*, Studies in the History of Art, 53, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, 1996.

WER HAT RECHT?

Traditionelle Baukunst oder
Bauen in neuen Formen
Zwei sich widersprechende Ansichten
von
Prof. Schultze-Naumburg
und
Walter Gropius, dem Leiter des „Bauhauses“ in Dessau



Moderne Baukunst: Straßenseite des Wohnhauses Mies van der Rohe in Hamburg in gelblichem Baustein. Von Architekt Karl Schröder



Traditionelle Baukunst: Lantlhaus Otto von Mendelssohn bei Potsdam
Von Professor Schultze-Naumburg

Der Kampf um die Entwicklung der Baukunst wagt lin und her. Vertreter einer traditionellen Architektur stehen Architekten gegenüber, die grundsätzlich jede überlieferte Form verworfen. Während die neue Form sich für neue Schöpfung der Technik von selbst ergibt, ist z. B. die Frage noch unentschieden, ob auch unsere Wohnhäuser radikal in neuen Formen gebaut werden müssen. Wie gehen sie einem prominenten Vertreter beider Richtungen das Wort.

7.3 Cover page of the article “Who is Right?” by Schultze-Naumburg and Gropius comparing the *Neues Bauen* to a more traditional country house.

Source: *Der Uhu*, vol. 2, 1926.

Schultze-Naumburg's own attempt to define a German modern architecture began just before the turn of the century, when as a 29-year-old German painter, designer, and critic he complained, “We have no modern house.”¹⁵ By modern he meant “realistic . . . [in tune with] the ideals of our own time.”¹⁶ In contrast to the sham architecture of the mid- to late nineteenth century, which he felt too often merely copied historical architecture, he sought modern (from the Latin *modo* meaning “of the day”) buildings that were functional, clear, contemporary, and local. Set on his mission, Schultze-Naumburg launched a thirty-year propaganda campaign to create a reformed architecture specific to, and appropriate for, modern Germany.

He began with the premise that good art and architecture grow naturally out of a specific combination of place, culture, and time. He speculated that over a long period of time, generations of anonymous designers, craftsmen, and end-users defined a vernacular tradition that derived from the most fundamental physical as well as spiritual ideals and needs of the local people (*Volk*). Where architectural elements could not be tied to specifically German traditions, Schultze-Naumburg postulated affinities to a broader “Nordic” race, culture, and climate that included England, Scandinavia, and greater Germany. In the course of this natural evolution, specific forms were adapted constantly to changing needs and conditions, but the overall essence resisted the swings of style, fashion, and the willful manipulation by individuals. Functional and material needs of the moment were always met, he proclaimed, balanced with the immaterial qualities necessary to create an appropriate home.

¹⁵ Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Häusliche Kunstpflege*, Leipzig, Eugen Diederichs, 1899, p. 1.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 1–3.

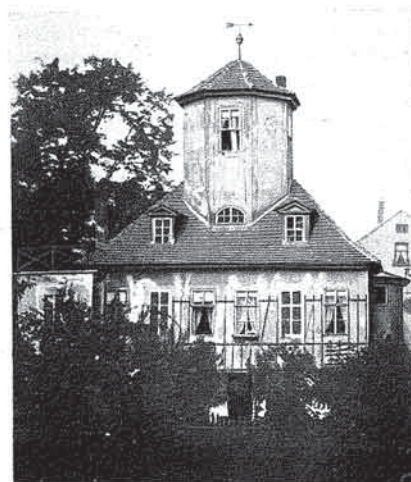
At the heart of Schultze-Naumburg's early campaign to define a modern architecture lay his multi-volume *Kulturarbeiten* (Cultural Works) books, begun in 1900, and which opened with the following statement:

The purpose [of these books] is to work against the terrible devastation of our country in all areas of visible culture. Through a constant repetition of good and bad examples, the books are to force even the most untrained eyes to compare and to think. Furthermore, they are to reawaken an awareness of the good work done before the mid-nineteenth century, and in such a way help to re-connect and to continue the clear working methods of *tradition*.¹⁷

For Schultze-Naumburg, the way to a modern German house could be found by using local traditions as a guide, and not images from abroad, as he proposed modern architects had done at the Weissenhof. Clues for continuing traditions were to be found in the most recent “healthy” epoch of German architecture, the vernacular architecture from “around 1800,” before the onset of eclectic styles in the mid-nineteenth century.

He made his point more forcefully with a graphic and didactic comparison of two ordinary houses. In considering an older residence near his own home in Saaleck, in central Thuringia, he wrote:

The one is a simple garden house, no architectural masterpiece, just a plain, friendly house as was completely natural in the eighteenth century [when it was built]. But what grace, what presence, what a *truthful* expression throughout, from the door to the topmost rooftop . . . [The roof's silhouette] is the complete reflection of its function, the bearer of a lofty, airy chamber from which to look out over river and valley beyond.¹⁸



7.4 The first didactic comparison from Schultze-Naumburg's *Kulturarbeiten*, showing a garden house from “around 1800” that Schultze-Naumburg admired on the left; and a suburban villa from the outskirts of Berlin that he abhorred on the right.
Source: Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, *Kulturarbeiten* 1, 1904.

¹⁷ Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, n.p. A nearly identical preface was inserted into every volume of the *Kulturarbeiten*, as each was intended to be but an elaboration of the central idea. For biographical information on Schultze-Naumburg and the only extended investigations to date on the *Kulturarbeiten* see the very uncritical Norbert Borrmann, *Paul Schultze-Naumburg 1869–1949. Maler. Publizist. Architekt*, Essen, R. Bacht, 1989; Vittorio Magnano Lampugnani, “From the ‘Kulturarbeiten’ to the Deutscher Werkbund,” Part I of “A History of German Modern Architecture,” in *A+U*, no. 259, April 1992; Julius Posener, “Kulturarbeiten,” in *Berlin auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur: das Zeitalter Wilhelms II*, Studien zur Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts, vol. 40, Munich, Prestel, 1979, slightly revised in “Kulturarbeiten,” *Arch+*, 72, pp. 35–38.

¹⁸ Paul Schultze-Naumburg, “Kulturarbeiten I,” in *Der Kunstwart* 14, no. 1, 1900, pp. 23–24, later in Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, pp. 14–15.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 24.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Stanford Anderson, "Introduction: Style-Architecture and Building-Art: Realist Architecture as the Vehicle for a Renewal of Culture," in Hermann Muthesius, *Style-Architecture and Building Art: Transformations of Architecture in the Nineteenth-Century and its Present Conditions*, Santa Monica, Getty, 1994, pp. 5ff, 14ff.

²² Schultze-Naumburg's work has been compared to the work of Christopher Alexander, Robert Stern, and Leon Krier; see Borrmann, *Paul Schultze-Naumburg*, pp. 226, 241 n. 898–900; P. Peters, "Robert Stern und der moderne Traditionalismus," in *Baumeister* 83, no. 7, July 1986, pp. 44–61.

²³ On the modern and seemingly prescient environmental ideas espoused by Schultze-Naumburg and the *Heimatschutz* organizations, see William H. Rollins, *A Greener Vision of Home: Cultural Politics and Environmental Reform in the German Heimatschutz Movement, 1904–1918*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1997; Matthew Jefferies, "Back to the Future? The Heimatschutz Movement in Wilhelmine Germany," in *Politics and Culture in Wilhelmine Germany. The Case of Industrial Architecture*, Oxford and Washington, DC, Berg, 1995; B. Ringbek, "Architektur und Städtebau unter dem Einfluß der Heimatbewegung 1918–1945," in Edeltraud Klüeting (ed.), *Antimodernismus und Reform. zur Geschichte der deutschen Heimatbewegung*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1993; Christian F. Otto, "Modern Environment and Historical Continuity: The Heimatschutz Discourse in Germany," in *Art Journal* 43, no. 2, 1983, pp. 148–157.

²⁴ Borrmann, *Paul Schultze-Naumburg*; Stephanie Barron (ed.), *Degenerate Art. The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany*, Los Angeles, LACMA, 1991.

²⁵ Rolf Peter Sieferle, "Heimatschutz und das Ende der Romantischen Utopie" *Arch+*, no. 81, 1985, pp. 38–42.

²⁶ "Cultural Despair" is a phenomenon with a vast literature, very little of it directly related to architecture or the visual arts. On cultural criticism in Germany see the bibliographic essay by Armin Mohler, *Die Konservativ Revolution in Deutschland, 1918–1933*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1989; George L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology. Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich*, New York, H. Fertig, 1981 (1st edn. 1964); Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of a German Ideology*, New York, Doubleday, 1961. The *Kulturarbeiten* are not mentioned in any of these works, though Schultze-Naumburg, *Der Kunstwart*, and the *Heimatschutz* organizations were implicated.

²⁷ Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture, A Critical History*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1992, pp.

He admired the straightforward, honest craftsmanship, the functional forms, the fitting relation to the surrounding German landscape, and what he considered a timeless beauty. His analysis of the house covered every level of detail, always in a praiseworthy tone, luring the reader into trusting the inherent goodness of the older, local vernacular architecture of central Germany. He was careful to point out that the two *trompe-l'oeil* windows painted on the upper floor were unfortunate, though characteristic, late nineteenth-century additions.

In comparing the older garden house with a typical villa recently built in one of the mushrooming suburbs of metropolitan Berlin, he decried:

And now the other. Why do we laugh so? It's not funny, but terribly sad. . . . It is the type of house that is visible everywhere, hundreds and thousands of them ruthlessly sprouting out of the ruins of a fine, honest, civil, common culture. Yes, it is this "elegant" little house that can be found here in the suburbs of Berlin and nearly everywhere else today.²⁸

He proceeded to criticize its abundant and "useless" ornament, rebuking the mixture of "foreign" classical styles that had been "pasted on" by the greedy, speculative builder, and also condemned the smaller, less pleasant, and less functional rooms inside.²⁹ He commented on a lack of *Sachlichkeit*, or straightforwardness in the design, by which he meant that ideals of clarity and common-sense function had not been rigorously applied in determining the forms of the house.³⁰ His critique also extended to the siting of the houses: the one rooted in the German landscape, the other part of a carelessly organized subdivision.

This leading comparison introduced the major architectural themes and propaganda methods that Schultze-Naumburg promoted throughout the populist and polemical *Kulturarbeiten*, which he published between 1900 and 1929. His critical view of the international architectural profession, his advocacy of local craft and tradition to combat contemporary architectural ills, and his proselytizing manner have led some historians to see the *Kulturarbeiten* as important links from the vernacular classicism of the nineteenth century to postmodernism and the present.³¹ Others have praised the books for first helping draw public attention to the beauty of ordinary, vernacular cultural landscapes, as well as the environment. Schultze-Naumburg's writings were, in fact, instrumental in efforts to establish some of the earliest grassroots national historic preservation movements as well as *Heimatschutz* (homeland protection) organizations supporting the conservation and rehabilitation of man-made and natural environments.³²

Most often, however, the *Kulturarbeiten* are analyzed in the dark light of Schultze-Naumburg's later, more ideologically motivated writings that made him one of the most rabidly conservative and influential ideologues of Nazi art and architecture.³³ Historians see these early books either as the last gasps of a romantic, backward-looking nineteenth-century historicism,³⁴ or as proto-Nazi keystones of German anti-modernism, suffering from what Fritz Stern has called the "pathology of cultural despair."³⁵ Standard histories of modern architecture find Schultze-Naumburg's entire life work, even the early *Kulturarbeiten*, infected with a reactionary, conservative thought that led in a deterministic manner to Nazi architectural ideology.³⁷

As part of an effort to trace the anti-Mediterranean sentiments in Schultze-Naumburg's later works, I will argue against interpreting the *Kulturarbeiten*

deterministically as cases of "cultural despair" or as Nazi architecture *avant-le-lettre*. Although the *Kulturarbeiten* were without a doubt important precedents to the Nazi ideology that Schultze-Naumburg later helped formulate, their content and format set the stage for a whole range of modern architects and critics who worked during the heyday of the modernist avant-garde in Weimar Germany. They illustrate perfectly one of the paradoxes of this period in Germany: that reformers who maintained very similar architectural theories around the turn of the century went on to espouse radically different ideological and architectural positions by 1933. The line dividing the progressive, forward-looking camp of modern architecture from the conservative, reactionary backward-looking camp, was not nearly as neat as historians working under the specter of Fascism, Stalinism, and the Cold War have at times led us to believe.³⁸

By focusing on Schultze-Naumburg's earlier written works, rather than his traditionalist architectural designs or the context of his late eugenic writings, this essay relocates his embrace of local culture and latent anti-Mediterranean attitude within turn-of-the-century debates about modern architectural reform in Germany, in the crux between tradition and progress that led *not only* to a conservative nationalism, *but also* to a functionalist modern architecture after World War I.³⁹ It demonstrates how Schultze-Naumburg's theories developed out of, and in the long run were instrumental in shaping, a trend in German modern architecture away from foreign traditions and eclectic styles, and towards a valuation of region and place as an important determinant of modern architecture. It thus forms part of a growing body of literature that questions the dominant narrative of modern architecture as based primarily in "functionalism" and "internationalism," and reinforces the revisionist thinking that has begun to reevaluate the importance of place and the vernacular in the formation of modern architecture.⁴⁰

I will focus on three themes to make this point. The first is Schultze-Naumburg's criticism of the contemporary built environment, which he saw as contaminated by "foreign" elements and equated with a weakened national psyche. The second theme involves the identification of a set of timeless ideals and a healthy national tradition within the German *Heimat* (homeland) upon which to graft further development. Third is the need to harness the positive advances wrought by modernization in order to create an architecture both respectful of timeless German tradition and culture, and able to embrace the modern, contemporary world.

Criticism in the *Kulturarbeiten*

Schultze-Naumburg shared with contemporary advocates of a realist and *sachlich* architecture, as well as with later modernist architects and propagandists, a disgust of late nineteenth-century architecture and design. The *Kulturarbeiten* combated three interrelated developments through a concerted effort of criticism and negation. First and foremost, they worked against the stylistic historicism, ornamental eclecticism, and foreign influences that reached its high point in Germany during the building boom of the *Gründerzeit* (founder times), the prosperous years immediately following German unification in 1871. As a new country, and a mix of many cultural groups, he felt Germans were particularly susceptible to being enamored and influenced by foreign ideas.⁴¹

Instead of imitating the Gothic or the Renaissance styles of the distant past or distant shores, Schultze-Naumburg advocated adopting "realistic" ideals in

217–218; Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design: From William Morris to Walter Gropius*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1960.

³⁸ Miller-Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918–1945*.

³⁹ On architectural reform in turn-of-the-century Germany see Kai Buchholz (ed.), *Die Lebensreform: Entwürfe zur Neugestaltung von Leben und Kunst um 1900*, 2 vols., Darmstadt, Institut Mathildenhöhe, Häusser, 2001; Kevin Repp, *Reformers, Critics, and the Paths of German Modernity*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2000; Gerhard Kratzsch, *Kunstwart und Dürerbund. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gebildeten im Zeitalter des Imperialismus*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1969.

⁴⁰ Umbach and Hüppauf (eds.), *Vernacular Modernism; Purchla and Tegethoff, Nation, Style, Modernism; Jennifer Jenkins, Provincial Modernity: Local Culture and Liberal Politics in Fin-de-Siècle Hamburg*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2003.

⁴¹ Schultze-Naumburg, *Das Gesicht des deutschen Hauses*, p. 15.

³¹ Schultze-Naumburg, *Häusliche Kunstpflege*, pp. 1–3.

³² Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Dörfer und Kolonien*, Kulturarbeiten 3, Munich, G. W. Callwey, 1908 (1st edn. 1903), pp. 123–125.

³³ Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, p. 23; Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Die Kultur des weiblichen Körpers als Grundlage der Frauenkleidung*, Leipzig, Eugen Diederichs, 1901.

³⁴ Schultze-Naumburg, *Dörfer und Kolonien*, p. 37.

³⁵ Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, pp. 35, 154–157. He later published a book on the flat roof controversy: *Flaches oder geneigtes Dach?* Berlin, Seger and Cramer, 1927; see Richard Pommer, "The Flat Roof: A Modernist Controversy in Germany," *Art Journal* 43, no. 2, 1983, pp. 158–169.

³⁶ Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, n.p. The German Werkbund later attempted to reform a similarly vast spectrum of cultural artifacts when Muthesius sought to reform everything "vom Sofakissen zum Städtebau" (from pillows to cities); Muthesius, "Wo stehen wir?," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Werkbundes* 1912, Jena, Eugen Diederichs, 1912, p. 16.

³⁷ All volumes of the *Kulturarbeiten* were published by the official Kunstwart publisher G. W. Callwey in Munich: volume 1, *Hausbau*, editions 1901, 1904, 1907, 1912; volume 2, *Gärten*, editions 1902, 1905, 1909; *Ergänzende Bilder zu Band 2: Gärten*, editions 1905, 1910; volume 3, *Dörfer und Kolonien*, editions 1903, 1908; volume 4, *Städtebau*, editions 1906, 1909; volume 5, *Kleinbürgerhäuser*, editions 1907, 1912; volume 6, *Das Schloß*, 1910. The last three volumes together were also titled *Die Gestaltung der Landschaft durch die Menschen*: volume 7 = Part I, "Wege und Strassen," "Die Pflanzenwelt," editions 1915, 1928; volume 8 = Part II, "Geologische Aufbau der Landschaft," "Wasserwirtschaft," editions 1915, 1928; volume 9 = Part III, "Industrie," "Siedlungen," editions 1917, 1928. All three parts were also published together as a single volume in 1922 and 1928.

³⁸ These earlier serialized essays, much like the *Kulturarbeiten*, were first published in *Der Kunstwart*, and later as books. They brought Schultze-Naumburg fame and the large readership which made the *Kulturarbeiten* so successful. See Paul Schultze-Naumburg, "Über Kunstpflege im Mittelstande," in *Der Kunstwart*, 11, no. 1, 1897, pp. 226ff; later published in Schultze-Naumburg, *Häusliche Kunstpflege*; and Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Kunst und Kunstpflege*, Leipzig, Eugen Diederichs, 1901.

³⁹ Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Der Städtebau*, Kulturarbeiten 4, p. 442.

⁴⁰ Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, n.p.; Paul Schultze-Naumburg, "Entwicklung und Ziele des Heimatschutzes in Deutschland," in *Heimatschutz* 7, no. 4, 1911, p. 131.

accord with the present and the local.³² He complained repeatedly about the *unsachlich* (non-straightforward) forms that were invented for situations where none were needed in recent architecture. The misapplication of pseudo-historical ornament, he felt, had led to a confusion of building types and styles throughout modern Germany and led him to complain: "Workers' houses were like palaces, palaces like Swiss chalets, farm houses like prisons, prisons like churches, churches like train stations."³³

Second, Schultze-Naumburg railed against the many experimental attempts to concoct totally new architectural styles at the turn of the century such as Art Nouveau, the Secession style, and the German Jugendstil. These styles avoided overt copying of past forms and were ostensibly attuned to the modern world, but he saw them as arbitrary, unnatural, and inorganic developments on German soil. By completely skirting all conventions of established, and what Schultze-Naumburg called "*wahrhaftig*" (truthful) architecture they became superficial fads, superseding each other in rapid succession, like insipid changes in clothing fashions, and thus inappropriate for a modern national architecture.³⁴ By the time Schultze-Naumburg published the last editions of the *Kulturarbeiten*, he would come to see the abstract, white forms of the modern movement or "New Building," as it was called in Germany, in the same light: as an artificially concocted style that had little relation to local functional and cultural needs.

Third, Schultze-Naumburg confronted what he perceived to be the low quality and impoverished "schematic" architecture that characterized the vast majority of ordinary buildings recently constructed through the German landscape.³⁵ As he walked around his home town he felt the newer architecture lacked the spirituality, harmoniousness, and honest functionality of older buildings. The ugly, mass-produced, artificial building materials and ornament emoted an uncaring, cold-hearted sense of expediency. He felt unnatural forms such as the flat roof ignored sound craft traditions and were doomed to fail in the German climate.³⁶

Schultze-Naumburg's critique extended well beyond merely architecture, to a particularly broad implementation of the romantic philosophy of *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total work of art) and the Arts and Crafts movement that had infiltrated Germany from England. The *Kulturarbeiten* addressed "all areas of visible culture," the whole German landscape, built and natural, the material, environmental, and cultural.³⁷ Beginning with a volume on the German house, the central theme of architectural reform efforts of his day, he divided his comprehensive analysis into a variety of sub-fields, each covered by one volume.³⁸ When combined with earlier essays on the domestic interior, taste in the fine arts, and women's fashion, the spectrum covered nearly all that had been shaped by German hands.³⁹

This all-encompassing approach led Schultze-Naumburg to deduce from two photographs of a bridgehead in Saale taken from the same spot fifteen years apart, for example, that the physiognomy of the whole German cultural landscape had been gradually decaying. He urged his readers not to be complacent, to fight against the tendency to see all existing developments as "equally logical and therefore justified," a mentality that he claimed would "lead to the mentality of the Oriental, who merely passively awaits his fate."⁴⁰ If these developments persisted, he felt, Germany would soon have "the raw and unhappy face of a depraved nation where the purpose of life itself has wasted away."⁴¹ Although targeting the exotic and Arabic "Orient" more than

the Mediterranean, such attempts to separate the Germanic "North" from the lazy "South," and the active and artistically passionate "West" from the "primitive" and passive "East," were common in the writings of reformers of the day, although often reversed in terms of their biases.⁴²

Such early physiognomic correlations of visual culture and national identity implicated not only aesthetic, but also social values. Schultze-Naumburg took his cues from German cultural critics such as Ferdinand Tönnies and Julius Langbehn, as well as English Arts and Crafts reformers such as Augustus W. N. Pugin, John Ruskin, and William Morris, whose writings were widely translated in Germany. He equated the ravaged built environment with a weak national character and failed national destiny. He blamed the decay in the German landscape on a whole array of societal forces: the unscrupulous greed of building speculators, the rampant modernization associated with industrialization and laissez-faire capitalism, bureaucratic building and planning officials, overly academic architectural schooling, and the importation of styles from the South, particularly the Renaissance. He attacked the rise of a soulless and alienating *Gesellschaft* (society) and materialistic *Zivilisation*, and blamed them for the destruction of an organic *Gemeinschaft* (community) and harmonic *Kultur* that had characterized the old German *Heimat* he so cherished.⁴³

The Um 1800 Vernacular

Seeking more timeless, cultured principles in contrast to the deplorable eclecticism and over-ornamentation of the materialistic late nineteenth century, Schultze-Naumburg insisted in 1905 that:

true architectural design must be possible *without* ornament. The worth and significance of our buildings is totally independent of the ornament applied. The only important points are the layout of the overall building complex, proper use of good materials, and simplicity and honesty of expression.⁴⁴

Anticipating some of the aesthetic asceticism and functionalism of later modern architecture, he aspired to an architecture that was unornamented and straightforward. Much like the contemporary ideas of Adolf Loos and museum director Alfred Lichtwark, he sought a "realist" and "*sachlich*" (objective) architecture that would act as a "seed" for the development of "modern" design.⁴⁵

He found such a seed in the simple, tectonic forms and distilled classicism of the vernacular architecture of the late eighteenth-century Baroque or Biedermeier period still visible in the landscape all around them. Building on the nostalgic concepts of *Heimat* first developed by Romantic writers such as W. H. Riehl and the Grimm brothers in the late eighteenth century, he felt that traditions from the period between 1780 and 1840 provided the most recent, and therefore most accessible, example of a timeless way of building that was truthful and German, pure and functional.⁴⁶ With clear nationalist undertones, Schultze-Naumburg claimed that German Biedermeier traditions from this period around 1800 were natural, integrated into the common culture, and more accessible to the ordinary citizen than contemporary architecture.

Perhaps the single most widely referenced example of vernacular classicism from the period around 1800 was Goethe's unassuming but culturally resonant garden house in Weimar, just up the river from Schultze-Naumburg's own

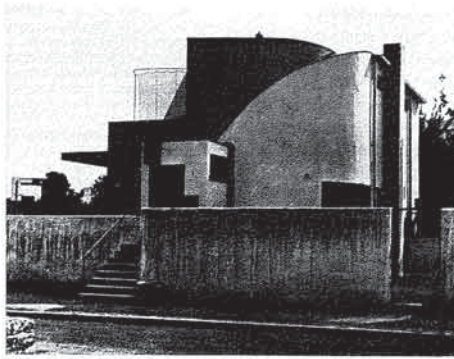
⁴² Expressionist architects such as Bruno Taut, by contrast, ascribed great creativity and communal fortitude to Eastern art in comparison to the moribund and decadent art of the West; see Simone Hain, "Ex oriente lux." Deutschland und der Osten."

⁴³ On the *Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft* dichotomy see Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Society*, trans. by C. Loomis, New York, Harper and Row, 1963 (*Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, 1887). The related *Kultur/Zivilisation* split had its origins in German idealist thinkers around 1800, such as Kant and Wilhelm von Humboldt. See Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair*, p. 246.

⁴⁴ Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Die Entstellung unseres Landes*, Flug-schriften des Bundes Heimatschutz, 2, Meiningen, Bund Heimatschutz, 1908 (1st edn. 1905), p. 60.

⁴⁵ Mannhardt, *Alfred Lichtwark*, Mail-grave, "From Realism to Sachlichkeit," pp. 298–304; Harman and Hermand, *Stilkunst um 1900*, pp. 440–464.

⁴⁶ *Heimat* (root of the related terms *Heimatschutz*, and *Heimatsstil*), is a difficult term that can best be translated as "homeland" or "hometown." The nostalgic term connotes a Germanic past that encompasses a whole world view that was at the core of Schultze-Naumburg's conception of a healthy culture. The stable, almost unchanging form of the pre-industrial German *Heimat* was neither urban nor rural but somewhere in between. It was a closed system—nested webs of relationships that nurtured a harmonious culture and a society with an intimate sense of tradition and values. A strong sense of self-sufficiency led to a pride in regional identity and differentiation. A natural pragmatism avoided excess and constantly adapted to changing forces, although the primary purpose of the hometowns seemed to be to uphold conventions: drastic change was anathema. See Peter Blicke, *Heimat: A Critical Theory of the German Idea of Homeland*, Rochester, NY, Camden House, 2002; Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990.



Wohnmaschine



Goethe's Gartenhaus

7.5 Paul Schmitthenner's comparison of Hans Scharoun's house at the Weissenhof Siedlung, labeled "Machine for Living," on the left, and Goethe's beloved garden house in Weimar, on the right.

Source: Paul Schmitthenner, *Baugestaltung: Erste Folge*, 1932.

⁴⁷ Goethe's garden house in the royal park in Weimar was actually an earlier Baroque construction, first occupied by Goethe in 1776, and modified only slightly by the cultural hero. Schultze-Naumburg referred often to Goethe and his houses, but never actually illustrated the garden house in the *Kulturarbeiten*. Its popularity after the turn of the century can be traced to the importance of Weimar as a place of artistic and cultural reform. See Paul Mebes, *Um 1800: Architektur und Handwerk im letzten Jahrhundert ihrer traditionellen Entwicklung*, Munich, F. Bruckmann, 1908; Wolfgang Voigt, "Vom Ur-Haus zum Typ: Paul Schmitthenner's 'deutsches Wohnhaus' und seine Vorbilder," and Hartmut Frank, "Heimatschutz und typologisches Entwerfen. Modernisierung und Tradition beim Wiederaufbau von Ostpreußen 1915–1927," both in Schneider and Lampugnani, *Modern Architektur in Deutschland 1900 bis 1905*. Paul Schmitthenner popularized the building in his teaching in Stuttgart as well as in his book *Baugestaltung: Erste Folge, Das deutsche Wohnhaus*, Stuttgart, K. Wittmer Verlag, 1932.

⁴⁸ Schultze-Naumburg, *Enstellung unseres Landes*, p. 10.

home in Saaleck.⁴⁷ Its pure forms, elegant proportions and detailing, neat and tidy appearance, and general informality revealed a natural serenity, honesty, and logic. Like so many of Goethe's writings, his garden house embodied the core values of the old bourgeois culture that Schultze-Naumburg feared was being destroyed in Germany. It was neither flamboyant nor ornamental, but rather efficient, practical, and functional, akin to the somewhat Spartan landscape of Germany, and therefore still appropriate, according to the twentieth-century critic. Goethe's house was used by tradition-oriented critics as an ideal to oppose both nineteenth-century eclecticism and modern architecture after World War I. But the minimal, unornamented, white stucco house was no doubt an important precedent for traditionalists and modernists alike. The connections to the universally admired cultural hero Goethe, as well as to the period around 1800, when German nationalism and the awareness of a unique German, bourgeois culture first began to emerge in the face of Napoleonic oppression, were key to its appeal. Not unlike the Colonial Revival in the Americas around this same time, the vernacular architecture from around 1800 had important political undertones in the newly unified Germany still in search of its own cultural identity.

Although Goethe's house was seen as a prototypical example of the German Biedermeier, Schultze-Naumburg focused primarily on more anonymous, vernacular examples in order to arrive at general principles, not individual expressions. He sought the typical, not the extraordinary. He avoided "those art historically catalogued monuments that have been recognized as the pinnacle of higher artistic development" in favor of the "inconspicuous and daily fare used by the Volk."⁴⁸ Schultze-Naumburg's contemporary, Adolf Loos, had a similar distaste for "fashionable" design and maintained a reverence for, and trust in, the timeless traditions and styles of the ordinary craftsman over the willful styles of any artist or architect.⁴⁹ Both reformers felt that a modern house would arise not through the experimentation of high-style architects, but rather by connecting to a simple, tectonic building tradition that was completely connected to the common culture. Where Schultze-Naumburg focused on local German culture, however, Loos professed culture to be evolving

towards more uniform and international ideals, borrowing freely from England, the United States, as well as ancient Egypt. This bias towards the local and ordinary was visible in all of Schultze-Naumburg's early work. The domestic reform movement and grassroots *Heimatschutz* organizations that he helped found sought to revive a German culture from the bottom up. They recognized the need to reach beyond the small circle of cultured professionals who already understood these ideas and to convert the ordinary *Volk*. In line with his content, Schultze-Naumburg targeted the common man, and wrote:

Our wish is also to win over the people – the townsmen, the farmer, the workers . . . from the street paver, to the old lady who cultivates flowers on her window ledge . . . all those that work most closely in shaping the face of our nation.⁵⁰



BIELEFELD

KL. KESSELSTRASSE



STUKSHOF BEI LANGFUHR

⁴⁹ Burkhardt Rukschcio and Roland L. Schachel, *Adolf Loos. Leben und Werk*, Vienna, Residenz Verlag, 1987, pp. 50–51, 115–121; Adolf Loos, "Architektur," *Der Sturm*, 1910, excerpted in A. Opel (ed.), *Über Architektur: Ausgewählte Schriften die Originaltexte*, Vienna, Georg Prachner Verlag, 1995.

⁵⁰ Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, n.p., 2–3.

7.6 Two vernacular houses from "Around 1800".

Source: Paul Mebes, *Um 1800*, 1920, 3rd edition.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 23.

⁵² Stanford Anderson has described this "covert," "domesticated," and "quotidian" classicism in great detail; see Stanford Anderson, "The Legacy of German Neoclassicism and Biedermeier: Behrens, Tessenow, Loos and Mies," *Assemblage* 15, 1993, pp. 63–87; Stanford Anderson, "Architecture in a Cultural Field," in Taisto Makela and Wallis Miller (eds.), *Wars of Classification: Architecture and Modernity*, New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 1993; see also Heyden, *Biedermeier als Erzieher*.

⁵³ Hermann Muthesius, *Style-Architecture and Building Art. Transformations of Architecture in the Nineteenth Century and Its Present Condition*, Santa Monica, Getty, 1994 (orig. 1902), p. 53.

⁵⁴ Mebes, *Um 1800*; Frank, "Heimatschutz und typologisches Entwerfen"; Edina Meyer, *Paul Mebes. Miethausbau in Berlin 1906–1938*, Berlin, Seitz, 1972, pp. 148ff.

⁵⁵ Mebes, *Um 1800*, vol. 2, p. 15 n.1.

⁵⁶ Kenneth Frampton, "The Classical Tradition and the European Avant-Garde: Notes on France, Germany and Scandinavia 1912–37," in Simo Paavilainen (ed.), *Nordic Classicism 1920–1930*, Helsingfors, Finlands arkiturmuseum, 1982.

⁵⁷ Anderson, "The Legacy of German Neoclassicism and Biedermeier"; Anderson, "Architecture in a Cultural Field."

⁵⁸ Heinrich Tessenow, *Der Wohnhausbau*, Munich, G. W. Callwey, 1909 (2nd edn. 1914, 3rd edn. 1927); Marco de Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow, 1876–1950. Das architektonische Gesamtwerk*, Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1991.

⁵⁹ Walter Curt Behrendt, *Kampf um den Stil im Kunstgewerbe und in der Architektur*, Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1920, p. 81; Walter Curt Behrendt, Preface, in Paul Mebes, *Um 1800*, pp. 11–12; Kai K. Gutschow, "Revising the Paradigm: German Modernism as the Search for a National Architecture in the Writings of W. C. Behrendt," M.Arch. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1993.

⁶⁰ Behrendt, *Kampf um den Stil*, pp. 80–83. Schultze-Naumburg attended an applied arts college and the art academy in Karlsruhe from 1886 to 1893, when he moved to Munich to start his own private painting school. In 1895 he joined the Munich Secession, and in 1897 moved briefly to Berlin before moving to Saaleck in Thuringia in 1901.

⁶¹ Behrendt, preface, in Mebes, p. 11.

More so than the German Werkbund he later helped found, Schultze-Naumburg sought to reach beyond training consumers and reforming high art and industrial production. He insisted that true cultural reform begins at the grassroots level, with the design of ordinary houses, "the only object on which the average person is artistically engaged."⁵² Far from being merely private matters, the vernacular houses and interiors of the *Heimat* were the ultimate embodiment of a nation's culture.

The anonymous, domesticated classicism from around 1800 that Schultze-Naumburg promoted and helped reintroduce in his *Kulturarbeiten* soon became a standard reference in a flood of publications by designers, critics, and reformers throughout Germany.⁵³ Hermann Muthesius, in his important book *Style-Architecture and Building Art* from 1902, concluded that the architecture from around 1800 "could serve as a model for contemporary conditions."⁵⁴ The movement received a name and a tremendous popularity boost with the publication of Paul Mebes's 1908 picture book *Um 1800. Architektur und Handwerk im letzten Jahrhundert ihrer traditionellen Entwicklung* (Around 1800: Architecture and Craft in the Last Century of their Traditional Development), which illustrated vernacular and high-style architecture from this period.⁵⁵ Like Schultze-Naumburg, Mebes intended his book as a didactic tool to help contemporary architects "re-connect" to the spirit of simple, honest construction around 1800. He cited the *Kulturarbeiten* as one of the central forces that brought this period of architectural history back into contemporary consciousness, and he republished several of Schultze-Naumburg's photographs.⁵⁵

The *Um 1800* vernacular that Schultze-Naumburg helped reintroduce was part of a more generalized "call to order" coursing throughout Europe in all the arts before and after World War I, and key to the development of modern architecture.⁵⁶ But Schultze-Naumburg's far-reaching influence on these developments is unmistakable. Heinrich Tessenow, who began his architectural career working in Schultze-Naumburg's Saalecker Werkstätten workshops in 1904, was one of the first to implement what Stanford Anderson has called a "covert classicism."⁵⁷ Tessenow's drawings, including many of Goethe's garden house, his popular book *Der Wohnhausbau* (House Building) of 1909, and actual built works such as those in the garden city of Hellerau, helped set the tone for the reformed, modern classicism that dominated the work of architects as diverse as Peter Behrens, Paul Schmitthenner, Bruno Taut, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and others in the Werkbund before and after World War I.⁵⁸ The similarity of their early work is astounding in light of the divergent paths these architects took in the 1920s.

In an early appraisal of this *Um 1800* architecture, Walter Curt Behrendt praised Schultze-Naumburg and the movement he helped spawn.⁵⁹ This unity of architects working towards a common goal, Behrendt observed, was the first step towards a new, modern style for Germany. Moreover, the logic and rationality of this simple classicism provided basic rules of proportion, tectonics, and construction techniques that were easily followed, especially by the many artistic reformers who were not architects by profession such as Henri Van de Velde, Behrens, and even Schultze-Naumburg himself.⁶⁰

For Behrendt, although the *Um 1800* architecture had close connections to Goethe and the rise of German nationalism, it was at its core a foreign "import," from the Mediterranean "South."⁶¹ He complained that Classicism had become a meaningless "international style," a "world language," reaching beyond all



7-7 Mies van der Rohe's Riehl House in Potsdam/Babelsberg, 1907, in the style from "Around 1800."

Source: *Moderne Bauformen* 9, 1910.

borders, even to the colonial style of America. As a result, he saw the *Heimatstil* and *Um 1800* classicism as signs of the unfortunate "cosmopolitan" and "international-izing" tendencies growing in Germany. Echoing Schultze-Naumburg's *Kulturarbeiten*, he lamented that local, regional, and national identities were slowly being destroyed in favor of this "Großstadtstil," and that "instinctive, folk traditions of art are no longer tenable," no longer "able to uphold long-standing national art traditions." He lamented that in the hands of inferior, academically trained architects, the classicism inspired by *Um 1800* was too often only a meaningless simplification of nineteenth-century styles, a dignified reaction to eclecticism but not a model appropriate for the modern world.⁶²

To justify his taste for the Biedermeier in the face of such critiques, Schultze-Naumburg provided a complicated argument that classicism had been "Germanized" by the great Prussian architects Gilly and later Schinkel. In the resulting "Prussian Style," as it was later christened in a book by Arthur Moeller van den Bruck, the classicism of the ancient Greeks was appropriated, fused with indigenous forms and ideals, and converted to a Germanic ideal.⁶³ Nordic simplicity and power had been combined with classical rule and proportion. Such a translation from a "Southern" to a German style was possible, according to the author, since all truly great cultural developments evolved out of the combination of opposite principles, "as when father and mother combine to produce a child."⁶⁴

⁶² Walter Curt Behrendt, "Die deutsche Baukunst der Gegenwart," in *Kunst und Künstler* 12, no. 5, 1914; Behrendt, *Kampf um den Stil*, pp. 81–83.

⁶³ Arthur Moeller van den Bruck, *Der Preussische Stil*, Munich, Piper, 1916.

⁶⁴ Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, p. 35; Behrendt, preface in Mebes, pp. 9–11.

⁶⁵ Schultze-Naumburg, *Die Entstellung unseres Landes*, n.p.

⁶⁶ Wilhelm Bode, "Paul Schultze-Naumburgs Bauten," in *Dekorative Kunst* 16, 1908, pp. 234–237.

⁶⁷ Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, p. 5.

⁶⁸ Borrmann, *Paul Schultze-Naumburg*, p. 60; Andreas Knaut, "Paul Schultze-Naumburgs Kulturtheorie um 1900," in Jürgen John (ed.), *Kleinstaaten und Kultur in Thüringen*, Cologne, Böhlau, 1994, p. 547; Ludwig Barning, *Paul Schultze-Naumburg. Ein Pionier deutscher Kulturarbeit*, Munich, G. D. W. Callwey, 1929, p. 5.

⁶⁹ Bode, "Paul Schultze-Naumburgs Bauten."

Although there are formal similarities, the principles outlined in the *Kulturarbeiten* differed on some key points from much of the *Um 1800* and much of the *Heimatstil* architecture actually built, including by Schultze-Naumburg himself. He was adamant that his books not be thought of as promoting "antiquarian ideals" or as pattern books of examples to be copied.⁶⁵ Instead he hoped that his readers would study the pictures and comparisons and derive from them an appreciation of the rich *Heimat* tradition. Through the photographs of the German *Heimat* in the *Kulturarbeiten*, he attempted to recapture an older spirit or method, and transfer its vitality in the creation of a renewed modern architecture. Both Mebes and Schultze-Naumburg, at least in their rhetoric, insisted on the *approach* and conventions of such buildings from 1800, not on the borrowing of *forms* or styles. Although Schultze-Naumburg eventually became fervently anti-modernist, and his architecture was revivalist, contemporaries were aware that the earlier *Kulturarbeiten* demonstrated a clear embrace of contemporary ideas.⁶⁶ They were not advertising another revival or a historicist application of traditional details, but rather a sympathetic, evolving *continuation* of known local building traditions and national types.

Progress, Type, and Modernity

Although the *Kulturarbeiten* did react to and draw attention to many of the negative developments of modernity and the perceived loss of German bourgeois *Kultur*, they were not wholly anti-modern or merely reactionary. Despite his love for tradition, Schultze-Naumburg often turned to the modern world for design answers and inspiration. In the preface of *Hausbau* from 1901, for example, he wrote poetically of the technological sublime he saw in the railroad locomotive:

Is there a truer or more powerful expression of energy functionally harnessed than the train? When this monstrosity approaches with glowing eyes; when it shoots through the large curve in the track, and later in the station sits coughing and all out of breath as it takes on the additional loads . . . is this not beautiful? Beauty is everywhere that powerful function is forced totally into existence.⁶⁷

These words recall the fascination with trains by the Impressionists a few years earlier, but also anticipate the glorification of speed and power by the Italian Futurists and the rest of the machine aesthetic of the avant-garde that coalesced a decade later.

Schultze-Naumburg's admiration for modern technology translated to his personal life as well. He outfitted his houses with all the most modern electronics, and was one of the first people to own an automobile in Germany, replacing it regularly with the newest model.⁶⁸ Living not far from Jena, he was a great fan of Zeiss cameras and lenses, the most modern in the world. One critic even hypothesized that some day Schultze-Naumburg would be the first artist to travel in his own airplane.⁶⁹ These new industrial products satisfied his demands of *Sachlichkeit*: they achieved a perfect fit of form, function, and beauty.

His admiration of functional, technological products is fundamental to understanding the primary purpose of the *Kulturarbeiten*: to determine and re-establish a specifically German cultural heritage built on tradition that might serve as a basis for a similar sense of modern design in architecture. Schultze-

Naumburg sought to: "*reconnect* to the last good traditions, not in order to substitute for further development, but precisely to make possible this development from a solid foundation." Only when this foundation was secured would further true, organic, and modern development be possible, "based on the updated circumstances of the times."⁷⁰

These views were in many ways typical of the most progressive reformers and architects of his day. Adolf Loos, for example, maintained a similar trust in convention when he insisted that the Egyptian stool was a perfect resolution of its function, and thus did not need reinventing or redesigning.⁷¹ As a result, several of Loos's chair designs from 1899 on were based on copies of Egyptian originals produced by Liberty & Co. in England, and his essays consistently praise the traditions of craftsmen's work.⁷² In the Berlin Expressionist journal *Der Sturm*, Loos in 1910 seemed to echo Mebes and Schultze-Naumburg when he wrote of "the need to *reconnect* to the interrupted chain of development [around 1800]."⁷³

As a means to this end, Schultze-Naumburg searched for origins, what he called the "*Ur-haus*," that would be the foundation, or "seed," to which the further development of German architecture could be "re-attached."⁷⁴ He became fascinated by what he considered to be a unique and powerful building type, the "German farmhouse." According to Schultze-Naumburg, the original German farmhouse was a rural, free-standing, half-timber structure, no ornament, a large pitched roof covered in clay tile, often with eyebrow windows:

The house was of utmost simplicity and of the finest proportions, the honest expression of materials, the comforting distribution of rooms and building elements, and a sincere expression of comfort and home. Had we continued this tradition with updates and adaptations, we would have today what the English have: the national house. For us then, that would be: *the German house*.⁷⁵

The late eighteenth-century German farmhouse, according to Schultze-Naumburg, responded not only to the harsh Nordic climate, but also to the specific sensibility of the semi-rural German *Heimat* and its people. Although the primary purpose of the farmhouse and the *Heimat* seemed to be to uphold tradition, a natural pragmatism avoided excess and constantly adapted to changing forces. New standards of technology and hygiene, as they were developed by industry, were always incorporated into the original. He contended that "earlier artisans did not simply copy stylistic details, but restructured them into sleek, functional forms so thoroughly, that they created the best buildings that we have in Germany."⁷⁶ This anonymous evolutionary process also provided lessons about avoiding experimentation for novelty's sake: "earlier artisans were wary to invent on their own that which could only be the product of communal work, the type." Fanciful inventions such as those of the Jugendstil, or later the *Neues Bauen*, were seen as counterproductive to a natural historical evolution and thus to a modern house.⁷⁷

The idea of an anonymous, local architectural type that insured the stability of traditions but evolved naturally to include alterations, modernizations, and perfection over time has its roots in nineteenth-century German theory going back to the Biedermeier epoch and the work of Goethe and Schinkel, but also in Gottfried Semper's theories and late nineteenth-century reformers such as Lichtwark and Richard Streiter.⁷⁸ Interest in national and vernacular typologies was also part of the European-wide Arts and Crafts movement to invent traditions

⁷⁰ Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, pp. n.p., 10–11; Schultze-Naumburg, *Dörfer und Kolonien*, pp. 38–39, 204–205.

⁷¹ Stanford Anderson, "Critical Conventionalism in Architecture," in *Assemblage* 1, 1986, pp. 7–23.

⁷² Hubert Locher, "Enough of the Original Geniuses! Let us Repeat Ourselves Unceasingly! Adolf Loos, the New and 'The Other,'" *Daidalos* 52, 1994, p. 79; Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos. Leben und Werk*, pp. 32, 33.

⁷³ Loos, "Architektur," p. 82.

⁷⁴ Schultze-Naumburg, *Dörfer und Kolonien*, pp. 16, 19.

⁷⁵ Schultze-Naumburg, *Dörfer und Kolonien*, p. 33; Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, p. 112.

⁷⁶ Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, p. 112.

⁷⁷ Schultze-Naumburg, *Dörfer und Kolonien*, p. 32.

⁷⁸ Barry Bergdoll, Karl Friedrich Schinkel: *An Architecture for Prussia*, New York, Rizzoli, 1994; Werner Oechslin, *Stilhülle und Kern: Otto Wagner, Adolf Loos und der evolutionäre Weg zur Modernen Architektur*, Zurich, Berlin, ETH, Ernst and Sohn, 1994; translated as *Otto Wagner, Adolf Loos, and the Road to Modern Architecture*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002.

⁷⁹ Umbach, "The Deutscher Werkbund"; Purchla and Tegethoff, *Nation, Style, Modernism*; Miller-Lane, *National Romanticism*.

⁸⁰ Muthesius, *Style-Architecture and Building Art*, p. 90; Passanti, "The Vernacular, Modernism, and Le Corbusier."

⁸¹ Winfried Nerdinger (ed.), *100 Jahre Deutscher Werkbund, 1907–2007*, Munich, Prestel, 2007; Frederic Schwartz, *The Werkbund*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1996.

⁸² Giuliano Gresleri, *Le Corbusier, Viaggio in Oriente*, Venice, Marsilio Editori, 1984; Beatriz Colomina, "Le Corbusier and Duchamp: The Uneasy Status of the Object," in Makela and Miller (eds.), *Wars of Classification*, p. 47.

⁸³ Julius Posener, "Müller-Wulckow: Deutsche Architektur und die Suche nach einer nationalen Kultur," in Gerd Kuhn (ed.), *KonTEXTe*, Walter Müller-Wulckow und die deutsche Architektur von 1900–1930, Königstein im Taunus, Langewiesche, 1999; Werner Oechslin, "Politisches, allzu Politisches ... 'Nietzschlinge,' der 'Wille zur Kunst' und der Deutsche Werkbund vor 1914," in Hermann Hipp and Kurt von Beyme (eds.), *Architektur als politische Kultur: philosophia practica*, Berlin, D. Reimer, 1996.

⁸⁴ Schultze-Naumburg, *Häusliche Kunstpflege*, p. 2; Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, pp. 11, 12.

⁸⁵ Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, pp. 88–89.

7.8 Comparison of Richard Riemerschmid's "modern" house near Munich that updated timeless traditions (left) and a typical historicist farmhouse (right).

Source: Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau, Kulturarbeiten 1*, 1904.

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and to codify the various national houses in order to counter foreign influences and the anonymity of mass production through regional differentiation.⁷⁹

As Francesco Passanti has shown, this idea of an anonymous vernacular type had profound implications for the development of modern architecture.⁸⁰ Muthesius's turn-of-the-century analysis of the English house and his call for the development of a specifically German house were part of this same effort as Schultze-Naumburg's. A few years later, the idea of the "type" would become central to Muthesius and other Werkbund reformers in their attempts to influence German design towards a modern, exportable standard.⁸¹ After being adopted by the Werkbund, an institution Schultze-Naumburg helped found, it was transformed slightly by Muthesius into an active rather than a passive process, whereby architects purposefully created conventional types. It was in part Le Corbusier's familiarity with these German architectural ideas, including Schultze-Naumburg's, that led him and others to reject the elitism of high art in favor of an anonymous, collective production as the basis upon which to theorize the *objet type* and modern architecture more generally.⁸² Indeed, this need to determine a modern, national architecture was behind much architectural reform in Germany until well into the 1920s.⁸³

Although he gave credit to William Morris and the English Arts and Crafts movement for starting international reform efforts towards simpler, more vernacular forms in domestic architecture, Schultze-Naumburg demanded as early as 1899 that the Germans develop their own national house and architecture.⁸⁴ The *Kulturarbeiten* advocated picking up where such honest, German *Heimat* buildings had left off in 1840, appropriating the advances wrought by industry since then, and continuing the German traditions. Where functions had not radically changed, as was the case with the "German house," he felt the basic type should be maintained. This was the case with one of the few positive examples of contemporary architecture illustrated in the early *Kulturarbeiten*, Richard Riemerschmid's own house near Munich. Schultze-Naumburg praises how this "good modern house . . . fits perfectly into the *Heimat* conditions, develops old traditions but with new forms in which the old traditions have been updated for new conditions."⁸⁵

When new building types had to be invented, Schultze-Naumburg insisted that care should be taken to express their functions fully, simply, and objectively. This had been the case, he claimed, with the concrete grain silo, a relatively

new building type, at least with this massive scale and new material. Much as he admired the modern locomotive, Schultze-Naumburg praised the modern industrial vernacular of concrete silos as early as 1908, well before Gropius, Le Corbusier, or even the populist *Illustrierte Zeitung* heralded the *Sachlichkeit* of these simple, functional volumes.⁸⁶

By the time Schultze-Naumburg published the last volume of the original *Kulturarbeiten* series in 1917, and certainly by the time the last editions were released in 1929, he announced that the architectural situation had begun to improve in Germany. Influenced by the nationalism and technological pride of a country at war and the modern developments of Wilhelmine Germany,

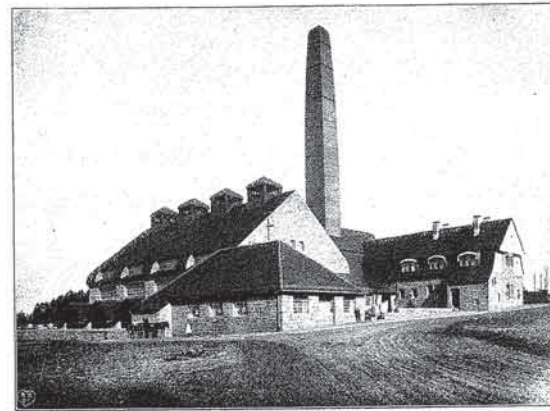


Abbildung 31. Molkereizentrale in Bad Nauheim. Entworfen von der Großherzoglich. Baubehörde unter Leitung des Großherzogl. Baupolitors Jost und unter Mitwirkung des Reg.-Baumstr. Kraft und Reg.-Bauführers Marx.

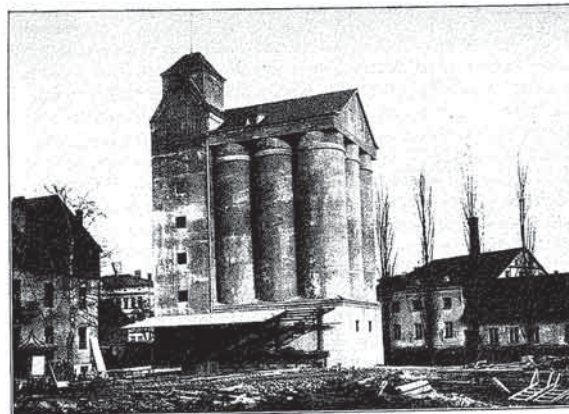


Abbildung 32. Getreide-Silo in Randsbüttel. Entworfen und angeführt von der Firma Luitpold u. Schneider, Stuttgart.

⁸⁶ Schultze-Naumburg, *Entstehung unseres Landes*, pp. 25, 35; Paul Schultze-Naumburg, "Industrie," part V of *Die Gestaltung der Landschaft durch die Menschen*, Kulturarbeiten vol. 9, Munich, G. W. Callwey, 1907, p. 40; Jarzombek, "The Discourse of Bourgeois Utopia," p. 133. The popular image of German concrete grain silos in Landshut was first published in *Süddeutsche Zeitung*; and in W. Klatte, "Zur Umgestaltung des Fabrikwesens," *Heimatschutz* 4, 1–3, 1908, fig. 9. The idea of celebrating the "beauty" of technology was becoming increasingly common, as Henri van de Velde, Alfred Gotthold Meyer, and Josef August Lux all wrote books and essays expressing similar views.

7.9 Positive examples of recent industrial buildings, including concrete grain silos in Landshut, designed by Luitpold & Schneider of Stuttgart.

Source: Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Die Entstehung unseres Landes*, 1908.

⁸⁷ Schultze-Naumburg, "Industrie," pp. 29–32.
⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37.
⁸⁹ See the chapter in this volume by Benedetto Gravagnuolo.
⁹⁰ Passanti, "The Vernacular, Modernism, and Le Corbusier."

Schultze-Naumburg illustrated the concrete silos, Behrens' AEG Turbine Factory, and several Krupp industrial works as exemplars of a new, praiseworthy architecture.⁸⁷ In these situations, he argued, Germany had been forced by a competitive world market to rid itself of the historicist straightjacket and to build simple functional buildings. He praised Behrens and other designers for helping elevate these designs beyond the merely functional, turning them into valued artifacts of *Kultur*, rather than merely products of *Zivilisation*. For Schultze-Naumburg, true design and the creation of authentic architecture was not the domain of overly rational engineers and purveyors of *Zivilisation*, but rather in the realm of *Kultur*.⁸⁸ An effort by cultured architects and the entire German nation was now necessary to develop the same purity and simple functionalism in a modern German house and the rest of the German landscape.

Schultze-Naumburg's fascination with modern technology is key to understanding his contribution to the development of modern architecture. His love of vernacular architecture, both new and old, industrial and domestic, is part of a long architectural tradition that stretches back to Schinkel's trips to England and Italy, and Adolf Menzel's paintings of industrial Berlin, and extends forward to Josef Hoffmann's trip to Capri and Le Corbusier's "Voyage d'Orient."⁸⁹ But Schultze-Naumburg fundamentally changed the lessons to be taken from the vernacular. In the past, architects had absorbed primarily aesthetic lessons such as the informal, variegated massing of Italian hill towns, or the unadorned structural rationalism of Manchester factories. Schultze-Naumburg, however, focused on process and the development of authentic architecture that continued the architectural typologies and culture of the *Heimat*, rather than on mere form. It was this lesson that Le Corbusier and the moderns would take from him.

The emphasis on process over form in Schultze-Naumburg challenges some of the dichotomies that several scholars have proposed to understand the pre-war period's difficult mix of modernity and tradition. Passanti, for example, has differentiated the "vernacular modernism" of Muthesius and the *Heimatstil*, from the "modern vernacular" of Le Corbusier and the modern movement.⁹⁰ The former, he claims, sought to update strictly local conventions and typologies to accommodate modern lifestyles, but for the most part retained the formal model of the local vernacular. In contrast, the latter rejected the forms of the local vernacular, but sought to emulate their evolutionary process to create a new, modern vernacular, a family of functional forms that were constantly updated and built on each other. In the context of the essays in this volume, the former sought to continue German and Nordic formal traditions as the path to modern architecture, while the latter took their lessons from the Mediterranean and Southern vernaculars and applied them more abstractly to generate an "international" architecture. Although Schultze-Naumburg's conservative architectural designs, as well as the photos of *Um 1800* architecture that fill the *Kulturarbeiten*, identify him as part of the Muthesius camp, his fascination with modern technology and the associated forms clearly also aligns him with aspects of Le Corbusier's "modern vernacular."

In his insightful studies of the subtle variations in the use of tradition and convention in pre-World War I architecture, Stanford Anderson has created a similar dichotomy between the ideas of Schultze-Naumburg and Muthesius, and modern architects such as Loos and Le Corbusier. He contrasted Schultze-Naumburg's embrace of only a single cultural patrimony – and with

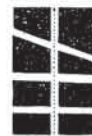


Abbildung 22

Strasse in Augsburg. Beispiel für gute gerade Strassenführung mit Abschluss



Grundriss zu Abbildung 22



Grundriss zu Abbildung 23



Abbildung 23

Beispiel für schlechte gerade Strassenführung ohne Abschluss

it the rejection of foreign influences – with Loos's more critical approach that he calls "critical conventionalism," which embraces elements of multiple traditions and conventions according to modern needs.⁹¹ Although Schultze-Naumburg was clearly more conservative and less catholic in his studies of precedents than the dominant architects of the international avant-garde, the fundamental lessons he drew from the vernacular and modern technological products were nearly identical. Schultze-Naumburg's admonition against copying the past, or even the neighbors, and against the arbitrary and willfully new fashions of much modern design, even foreshadow critiques expressed only much later by modernists such as Adolf Behne and Le Corbusier, as the fascination with the machine started to blend with interests in the natural and the local.⁹²

7.10 A comparison of two urban streetscapes: the human-scaled and bounded alley of the Fuggerei in Augsburg, above, and the endless and dreary modern street, below.

Source: Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Städtebau, Kulturarbeiten 4*, 1906.

⁹¹ Anderson, "Critical Conventionalism in Architecture"; Anderson, "The Legacy of German Neoclassicism and Biedermeier."

⁹² Adolf Behne, "Dammerstock," in *Die Form 5*, no. 6, 1929; reprinted in Kristiana Hartmann (ed.), *Trotzdem Modern*, Brunswick, Vieweg, 1994.

³¹ A contemporary review by Muthesius raved about the simple, powerful format and message of the book which could be understood and should be read by all; Hermann Muthesius, "Kulturarbeiten" [sic] *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 22, no. 103, December 27, 1902, p. 641. Le Corbusier too acknowledged their "enormous" influence, even on his own work; see Leo Schubert, "Jeanerret, the City, and Photography," in Stanislaus von Moos and Arthur Riegg (eds.), *Le Corbusier before Le Corbusier. Applied Arts, Architecture, Painting, Photography, 1907–1922*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2002. Another review in the *Berliner Tageblatt* by Fritz Stahl from 1910 reads, "I wish a million copies of this book would go in circulation," cited in Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Das Schloß*, Kulturarbeiten 6, Munich, G. W. Callwey, 1910, p. 310. Lewis Mumford contended that the *Kulturarbeiten* were "A work of fundamental importance upon the artful and orderly transformation of the environment by man. One of the original documents of its generation"; Lewis Mumford, *City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects*, New York, Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961, p. 622. Posener commented that their influence "can hardly be exaggerated"; Posener, *Berlin auf dem Wege*, p. 191.

³² A similar example is Le Corbusier's essays in *L'Esprit nouveau* that culminated in his book *Vers une architecture* (1923). See Maria Renhofer, *Kunstzeitschriften der Jahrhundertwende in Deutschland und Österreich 1895–1914*, Augsburg, Bechtermünz Verlag, 1997.

³³ Ferdinand Avenarius, editorial, *Der Kunstwart* 10, no. 1, 1896, p. 1.

³⁴ See Maria Renhofer, *Kunstzeitschriften der Jahrhundertwende in Deutschland und Österreich 1895–1914*, Augsburg, Bechtermünz Verlag, 1997.

³⁵ Annette Ciré and Haila Ochs, *Die Zeitschrift als Manifest*, Basle, Birkhäuser, Ciré and Ochs, 1991; Jacques Gubler (ed.), "Architecture in Avant-garde Magazines," special issue of *Rassegna* 4, no. 12, 1982.

³⁶ Kratzsch, *Kunstwart und Dürerbund*; Bernd Kulhoff, *Bürgerliche Selbstbehauptung im Spiegel der Kunst: Untersuchungen zur Kulturpublizistik der Rundschauzeitschriften im Kaiserreich (1871–1914)*, Bochum, Brockmeyer, 1990.

³⁷ Schultze-Naumburg, *Die Entstehung unseres Landes*.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 64; Schultze-Naumburg, "Entwicklung und Ziele des Heimatschutzes in Deutschland," p. 135.

³⁹ Schultze-Naumburg, *ibid.*, p. 236.

Aligning Medium and Message

Arguably the most modern aspect of the *Kulturarbeiten* and the feature that had the most influence on the development of modern architecture was the publication format. These books were not typical nineteenth-century treatises, historical discourses, or theoretical essays for architectural professionals or elite art lovers. They were propaganda: inexpensive picture books, mass media with some populist shock value, intended to make simple points to a very large audience. The handy, octavo-sized books were available in either soft or hard cover, purchased through subscription or at news stands. More like cheap novels than traditional architectural texts, they enjoyed almost instant success and set an important precedent for modern architectural publishing.³³ By adding images and rearranging the basic material into different editions, Schultze-Naumburg was able to publish nine volumes in at least seven different editions between 1902 and 1929, making it one of the longest running architectural titles of its day.

In order to insure a large readership for his ideas, Schultze-Naumburg published the first sections of the *Kulturarbeiten* books in serialized format in the popular magazine *Der Kunstwart* (Warden of the Arts), where he himself served as art editor.³⁴ Founded in 1887 by Ferdinand Avenarius, this magazine's nationalist edge assured a sympathetic audience, as it too was dedicated to "all the important questions and dilemmas concerning the arts of the day," and tried to combat "all that was false, artificial, and spurious in German art."³⁵ It was part of a late nineteenth-century explosion of bourgeois art and cultural magazines throughout Europe that provided key fora in the fights for the renewal of culture and insured the eventual success of modern art and architecture in Germany.³⁶ These journals were the direct antecedents to the many avant-garde architectural publications that helped promote modern architecture after World War I.³⁷

The *Kulturarbeiten* and *Der Kunstwart*, in turn, were but pieces of a larger group of interrelated publications and organizations that circulated Schultze-Naumburg's ideas. As a founding member and leading ideologue of many of the important pre-war reform organizations such as the Dürerbund, the Heimatschutzbund, the Munich Secession, the Deutsche Gartenstadt Gesellschaft (German Garden City Association), and the Werkbund, he was in a key position to disseminate his message as widely as possible.³⁸ While publishing the *Kulturarbeiten* series, he wrote many articles with similar messages in other newspapers and magazines, often referring readers back to the series. In a small booklet called *Die Entstellung unseres Landes* (The Devastation of our Country), part of a popular pamphlet series produced by the Heimatschutzbund, for example, he voiced nearly the same arguments as in the *Kulturarbeiten*, using some of the same photographs and comparisons.³⁹

As part of his widespread, grassroots campaign to save the German cultural landscape and establish a modern house, Schultze-Naumburg announced in 1905: "the main emphasis of our work in the future has to be propaganda, to insure a better understanding and vision."⁴⁰ His propaganda educated a broad public about his ideas, maligned opposing views, and countered allegedly false "counter-propaganda." He waged real press wars, replete with a bellicose vocabulary, which featured "campaigns," "fighters," "enemies," and "strikes" against contemporary architecture and forces such as the tar roofing-paper manufacturers, who opposed his calls for more aesthetic roof shapes and roofing materials.^{40a}

The divisiveness of these battles was echoed in the discursive method of his books: a simple and persuasive technique of contrasting paired photographs. He stated explicitly in the preface that the "propagandistic and didactic power of these books was based exclusively on the example/counter-example method."^{40b} Each pair was labeled "*Beispiel*," (example)—usually older buildings from around 1800—and "*Gegenbeispiel*," (counter-example)—usually more recent architecture. Each pair was meant to demonstrate a specific point with clear lessons. He admitted that he wanted to force the viewer not only to make judgments of "ugly and beautiful," but also to associate these with a "right and wrong"—both in the sense of "morally good and bad," and "useful and not useful."^{40c} The pedagogical contrasts were repeated and often verged on the pedantic, but the themes were clear even to the most unsophisticated reader. After some initial words of guidance the author expected the images to speak for themselves.^{40d}

Schultze-Naumburg's use of photographs, technical images, mechanically reproduced as mass medium, proved to be a powerful and effective means to capture and promote the valued aspects of the traditional *Heimat* and the modern house. An avid amateur photographer and one of the first people to use the new portable camera developed by Zeiss, he created one of the largest photographic collections of German vernacular architecture of his day, some 2,500 images from which appeared in the *Kulturarbeiten* alone.^{40e} The use of countless, carefully chosen paired photographs rather than difficult prose, architectural plans, or hand drawings allowed him to reach the large, diverse audience he targeted with a definite and easily understood message. Although photographs had been used in large architectural pattern books before, they were still novel in such inexpensive books in 1900, especially to his lower- and middle-class readers. The medium and sheer number of photographs of ordinary, familiar buildings from all over Germany reinforced his message with reassuring, seemingly objective, evidence.

The comparative technique afforded many value-laden variations, including before–after, old–new, right–wrong, and rural–urban, all supporting the central thesis. As a painter who took most of his own photographs, Schultze-Naumburg felt free to alter and improve his photographs in order to achieve maximum effect. Viewing angle, lighting, context, and at times even retouching of the images, subtly reinforced his arguments. The positive examples tended to be inviting, frontal views of older buildings in rural or natural settings, on a sunny day with dappled shadows, a hedge and a beautiful tree framing the view and site. The negative examples were often awkward, oblique views of new, historicist structures on a gray day or in full shade, with unsightly advertising or utility lines marring the view, and visual access to the image and the site often impeded by ugly paving or industrial fencing in the foreground. When he added short captions in later editions, he usually gave the name and hometown of the positive image, like a familiar friend, while leaving the negative one anonymous and placeless, with the connotation that it could be anywhere in Europe and did not belong in Germany. In the positive examples he defined the materials and forms more clearly, cleaned blemishes, and made the buildings literally more "painterly," a quality he admired in the actual buildings of the *Heimat*.^{40f} In negative views he emphasized the crass ornament and ugly fencing with aggressive scratches of his pen.

Such a graphic, comparative method was, of course, not new or unique to Schultze-Naumburg. Its origins in architecture go back at least to French and English architectural theory of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Pugin's moralizing book *Contrasts* (1836), which Schultze-Naumburg may have

^{40a} Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, n.p.

^{40b} *Ibid.*

^{40c} Schultze-Naumburg, *Dörfer und Kolonien*, n.p. The *Kulturarbeiten*'s volume 2 on gardens and volume 5 on palaces were actually made up exclusively of photographs. Schultze-Naumburg intended them to serve merely as further examples of points and issues already discussed.

^{40d} Schultze-Naumburg, "Künstlerische Photographien," in *Der Kunstwart* 13, no. 18, 1900, pp. 202–203. Some photos in the *Kulturarbeiten* were borrowed from the publisher, others from Hermann Muthesius and Otto Bartning. Most likely this was only a selection from a much larger collection, an invaluable resource of the vernacular landscape in Germany. Unfortunately the collection has been lost; Borrmann, *Paul Schultze-Naumburg*, p. 26; Posener, *Berlin auf dem Wege*, p. 190. Knaut, "Paul Schultze-Naumburgs Kulturtheorie um 1900," p. 545, notes that Schultze-Naumburg was given his first camera by his publisher Avenarius.

^{40e} Schultze-Naumburg, *Hausbau*, p. 96.

³⁰⁷ Pugin's books may have been influenced by the famous "Red Books" of Humphry Repton, showing before-and-after views for his landscape designs, which also sought to fight against the ills of the industrialized landscape; Stephen Daniels, *Humphry Repton: Landscape Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1999. Interesting examples parallel to Schultze-Naumburg occur in the *American Ladies Home Journal* (e.g. Feb. 15, 1911), part of the American domestic reform movement, also with roots in Pugin and the English Arts and Crafts movement.

³⁰⁸ Wölfflin's first comparative work was *Renaissance und Barock* (1888), with subsequent editions, and other books such as *Klassische Kunst* (1899) and *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (1915) all based on the comparative analysis of form. Wölfflin was listed as a board member of Schultze-Naumburg's Dürerbund, along with an impressive list of prominent German intellectuals. See Kratzsch, *Kunstwart und Dürerbund*, p. 466.

³⁰⁹ Ulyz Vogt-Göckni, "Polarisation der Stile als Methode der Architekturrepräsentation," in V. Rentsch (ed.), *Das architektonische Urteil: Annäherungen und Interpretationen von Architektur und Kunst*, Basel, Birkhäuser, 1989; Paul Brandt, *Sehen und Erkennen: Eine Anleitung zur vergleichenden Kunstbetrachtung*, Leipzig, F. Hirt & Sohn, 1911; Werner Oechslin, "A Cultural History of Modern Architecture," *a+u*, 235, 1990, pp. 50–64.

³¹⁰ Martin Warnke, "Bau und Gegenbau," in Hipp and Seidl, *Architektur als politische Kultur*.

³¹¹ Kai K. Gutschow, "Example-Counterexample: The Role of Visual Comparisons in Creating a Modern German Architecture," unpublished paper at 23th Berkeley Symposium "Interdisciplinary Approaches to Visual Representation," March 16, 2002.

³¹² Paul Schultze-Naumburg and Walter Gropius, "Wer hat Recht? Traditionelle Baukunst oder Bauen in neuen Formen. Zwei sich widersprechende Ansichten," pp. 30–40, 103–113; Werner Hegemann, "May und Schultze-Naumburg," in *Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst* 11, 1927, pp. 108–127.

7.11 Aerial view of Bruno Taut's Hufeisensiedlung in Berlin-Britz, with the conservative *Heimat* architecture crossed out as unacceptable, although Taut's rowhouses had similar pitched roofs.

Source: Bruno Taut, *Bauen*, 1927.

known through Muthesius and a general interest by German reformers in the English Arts and Crafts movement, contains both similar graphic comparisons and an ideology of nostalgia for a more wholesome past.³⁰⁷ But Schultze-Naumburg did not look back exclusively to a pre-industrial past as did Pugin, and his plethora of real-life photographs drove home the points much more realistically than Pugin's pen and ink fantasies.

The philosophical dichotomies *Kultur/Zivilisation* and *Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft* that Schultze-Naumburg delineated also made comparisons a natural tool. The influence of the art historian Heinrich Wölfflin, who was developing the comparative method of art historical research used to determine the development of formal stylistic traits during these same years, cannot be discounted.³⁰⁸ In her analysis of the contemporary architectural and cultural historians Josef Strzygowski, Wilhelm Worringer, and Oswald Spengler, the historian Ulyz Vogt-Göckni has even suggested that the comparative method was indispensable to any critical discussion of architecture during this period.³⁰⁹ Martin Warnke has suggested even more broadly that most architecture through history has been built in "competition" or "ideological opposition" to other buildings, making comparisons fundamental to the design process, and to interpretation.³¹⁰

Schultze-Naumburg and Modern Architecture

In the heated ideological battles to redefine German culture and promote distinct visions of modern architecture, architects and writers of all convictions increasingly resorted to simple juxtaposed photographs and eventually the related technique of photo-collage to reinforce their architectural ideas.³¹¹ The techniques reached their most provocative extremes in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Popular illustrated magazines such as *Der Uhu* as well as professional journals such as Werner Hegemann's *Wasmuths Monatshefte* ignited public opinion and fanned the flames of these battles.³¹² In a clear



Abb. 155

GEHAG-SIEDLUNG BRITZ, Hufeisen. — Gärten und Straßen unfertig

response to the *Heimatschutz* campaigns, for example, the progressive architect Bruno Taut edited an aerial of his own housing development to highlight where the enemy camp lay. The critics Adolf Behne and Sigfried Giedion used similar techniques. The more conservative Stuttgart architect Schmitthenner maligned Hans Scharoun's mechanistic "machine for living" at the Weissenhof housing exhibit, and compared it unfavorably to Goethe's beloved garden house.³¹³

As Schultze-Naumburg's message and technique of reform began to take hold after the first decade of the century, however, he himself relied ever less on such straightforward visual comparisons.³¹⁴ As his colleague Ferdinand Avenarius wrote, the "crass technique" which "had been necessary to open people's eyes," was by then no longer quite as essential because of the changes that it had already begun to effect.³¹⁵ In the greatly revised and reissued edition of the last three volumes of the *Kulturarbeiten* from 1929, for example, Schultze-Naumburg juxtaposed the Weissenhof with Santorini, or Ernst May's and Bruno Taut's housing developments with old prisons and more "schematic" developments. Rather than good-bad comparisons, these pairs operated through guilt by association – both were seen as negative. The book's cover, however, still contrasted Le Corbusier's "foreign" looking Weissenhof duplex with a grand old house from the *Heimat*. Either way, his antipathy towards the stylized *Neues Bauen* was obvious.

It was, in part, in reaction to the effectiveness of Schultze-Naumburg's publicity effort that many modern architects launched their own campaigns. More than just promoting certain reforms, I contend that his early use of photographic comparisons and partisan arguments played a decisive role in pushing German architects – including himself – into the opposing and increasingly polarized camps described in his 1926 *Der Uhu* article. Modern architects of all persuasions mined his propaganda for disparate causes. Conservatives clung to the romantic, nationalist, and anti-Mediterranean spirit recalled by the early nineteenth century, to the values of handcrafted construction, and to the forms of older German vernacular traditions such as the pitched roof. More progressive architects valued the emphasis on international trends, tectonic construction, the lack of ornament, and simple functional forms, but also the vernacular's tendency constantly to update itself to accommodate new conditions, even industrialization.

Eventually, the German architecture from "around 1800" represented for both camps not just an aesthetically and symbolically appropriate past, but the basis for a homegrown, modern German architectural aesthetic that no longer relied on history and a classical, Mediterranean precedent. In rebuttal to Schultze-Naumburg's article in *Der Uhu*, for example, the young modernist Hugo Häring sought to claim the mantle of "homegrown" for modern architects. He even stooped to the same kinds of racist arguments, but now in reverse. He proclaimed that Schultze-Naumburg's *Um 1800* classicism represented an intrusion into Nordic culture, "a foreign element, derived from the Orient, Greece, and Rome," and thus "more closely associated with Mongoloid and Negro blood," than the architecture of the New Building.³¹⁶ Häring complained that traditional house builders were in fact the purveyors of a "Greek and Latin" heritage, and as a result were "outfitting the Nordic landscape with an architecture of Mediterranean peoples" that did not belong in "our Nordic cultural landscape." The "purism" and purity of modern architecture was now closely associated with cultural and even racial purity. Both camps, modernists and traditionalists, were increasingly anti-Mediterranean.

³¹³ Schmitthenner, *Baugestaltung*.
³¹⁴ Schultze-Naumburg, *Gesicht des deutschen Hauses*; Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Kampf um die Kunst*, Nationalsozialistische Bibliothek, vol. 36, Munich, Frz. Eher Nachf., 1932.

³¹⁵ Avenarius, editorial; Ferdinand Avenarius, "Beispiel und Gegenbeispiel," in *Der Kunstwart* 25, no. 12, 1911, p. 410.

³¹⁶ Hugo Häring, "Die Tradition, Schultze-Naumburg und wir," in *Die Form* 1, no. 8, May 1926, p. 180.

¹⁴⁷ His proto-Nazi writings after World War I include: *Kunst und Rasse*, Munich, J. F. Lehmann, 1928, 1935, 1938, 1942; the official Nazi pamphlet *Kampf um die Kunst, Rassegebundene Kunst*, Erfurt, K. Stenger, 1934; *Die Kunst der Deutschen*, Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1934, 1936; *Kunst aus Blut und Boden*, Leipzig, E. A. Seemann, 1934; and *Nordische Schönheit*, Munich, J. F. Lehmann, 1937, 1943. On eugenics, see for example the advertisements for books on eugenics by the conservative J. F. Lehmann Verlag in Munich in the back of Schultze-Naumburg, *Kunst und Rasse*, such as H. Günther, *Rasse und Stil* (1926); the very popular H. Günther *Rassenkunde des Deutschen Volke*, which was continually reprinted from 1923–43; L. Clauß, *Rasse und Seele* (1926); and *Siedlungskunde des deutschen Volkes* (1927). The American social activist Margaret Sanger and many others used similar theories of eugenics in her arguments for birth control and other social ills; e.g. Margaret Sanger, *Women and the New Race*, New York, Brentano's, 1920.

¹⁴⁸ Bormann, Paul Schultze-Naumburg, Konrad Norn, "Die Kulturarbeit Schultze-Naumburgs," in *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, 59, no. 23, 1939, pp. 633–639.

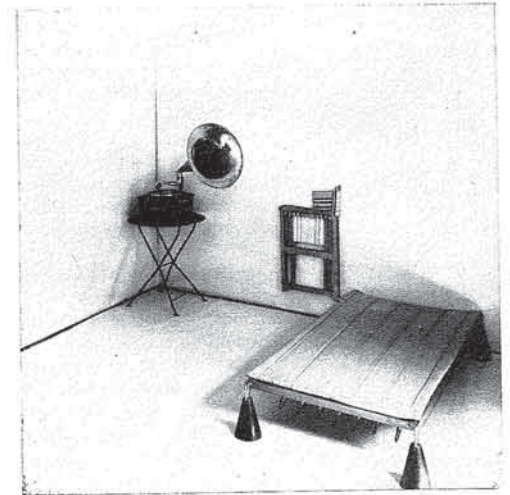
¹⁴⁹ Jarzombek, "The Kunstgewerbe, the Werkbund, and the Aesthetics of Culture in the Wilhelmine Period"; Jarzombek, "The Discourse of a Bourgeois Utopia."

¹⁵⁰ K. Michael Hays, "Tessenow's Architecture as National Allegory: Critique of Capitalism or Proto-fascism," *gH: On Rigor*, 1988, pp. 54–71; also in *Assemblage* 8, Feb. 1989, pp. 105–124.

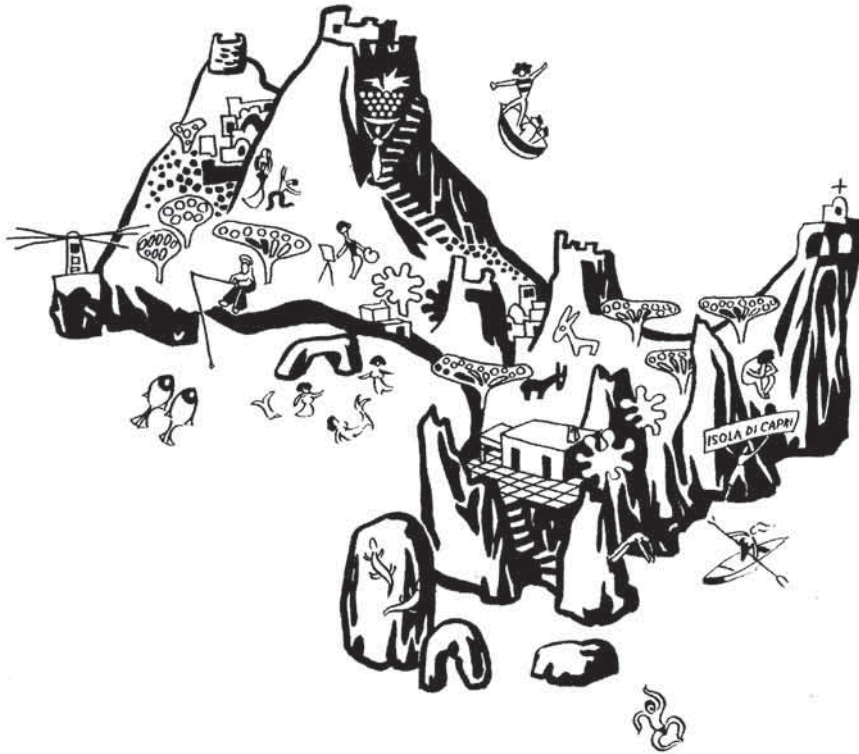
Although Schultze-Naumburg's propaganda techniques and the rejection of the stylishly modern and the Mediterranean in 1929 were similar to the messages in the *Kulturarbeiten* from 1900, the message of late books such as *Das Gesicht des deutschen Hauses* had begun to change dramatically. Eventually a growing xenophobia, outright racism, and blatant anti-Semitism led Schultze-Naumburg to condemn diversity and all foreign ideas in favor of Germanic "purity." His pre-war writings did refer to a German nationalist architecture and a common Nordic spirit, and did make connections between architecture and bourgeois nationalist politics in the *Um 1800* period. But, as we have seen by looking occasionally at the work of Muthesius and Loos, similar ideas could be found in a broad spectrum of reformers of the day. After World War I, Schultze-Naumburg's ever greater politically motivated conflation of architecture, physiognomy, and national identity began to alter not just the tone of his writings, but his target audience. He found increasing ideological support in popular theories of eugenics that were circulated all over the world, and financial and political support in the right-wing factions that were blossoming in Germany.¹⁴⁷ These eventually led him to close personal associations with Adolf Hitler, Alfred Rosenberg, and the top Nazi ideologues.¹⁴⁸ His writings changed from focusing on architectural and cultural reform, to promoting specific political and racial agendas.

But even with the dogmatic adherence to German traditional rural forms and an extremely racist and nationalist ideology in his late writings and in his architectural designs, attempts to bind his turn-of-the-century reform efforts to the Nazi ideology that actually crystallized only decades later can be greatly misleading. Mark Jarzombek, for example, awkwardly sidesteps the well-documented progressive influence of the Werkbund and publications such as the *Kulturarbeiten* on modern architecture, when he implicates the reformers in a carefully scripted bourgeois plot to find a suitable nationalist identity for modern Germany through the applied arts.¹⁴⁹ The attention to quality, craft, and a harmonious design culture promoted by the Werkbund, Jarzombek claims, helped set in place and legitimate highly stereotypical ideas about art, architecture, and an aesthetic culture which, in the decades after World War I, were exploited by reactionary cultural critics such as Schultze-Naumburg and other Nazis. Here Muthesius and Behrens are analyzed alongside Schultze-Naumburg as examples of Stern's "cultural despair." Similarly, by labeling Tessenow's earliest pre-World War I ideas "proto-fascist" rather than simply a popular and romantic "critique of capitalism," K. Michael Hays risks making his history more operative than factual.¹⁵⁰ Such arguments are easily tainted by anachronisms and teleological arguments. They overlook changing political and cultural contexts, and minimize the role of changing contexts and audiences.

Schultze-Naumburg's nationalist rhetoric and polarizing use of stark contrasts in the *Kulturarbeiten* helped set the tone and direction for subsequent architectural polemics in modern Germany. By focusing his critiques exclusively on Germany and denigrating foreign imports, especially those from the Orient and the Mediterranean, Schultze-Naumburg's *Kulturarbeiten* were instrumental in shaping a trend for much of German modern architecture away from classical and foreign traditions and eclectic styles – many of which were associated with the Mediterranean. Instead German architects increasingly valued region and place as prime determinants of modern architecture. Although clearly influenced by precedents and developments from abroad, the development of modern architecture in Germany remained at its core a nationalist and anti-Mediterranean one. ■



7.12 Adolf Behne's comparison of a stuffy Wilhelmine-era parlor and women's fashion, the functionally furnished "Co-op Zimmer" by Hannes Meyer, and the "New Man" in sporty tennis outfit. Source: Adolf Behne, *Eine Stunde Architektur*, 1928.



Bernard Rudofsky.
Caricatural drawing of the
island of Capri, 1933.
Source: *Die Insel der
Verrückten*, The Bernard
Rudofsky Estate, Vienna.
© Ingrid Kummer.

Like the best cultural history of our day, this book follows people and forms, ideals and myths, across distances large and small. I have no doubt that this will quickly become a key book among architectural historians, as well as geographers and cultural historians. It will also have great appeal for present-day architects and landscape architects, all of whom are grappling with these themes.

Gwendolyn Wright, Professor of Architecture,
Columbia University

This extensively-illustrated collection, which ranges across well-known and little-known cases (from Le Corbusier, Dimitri Pikionis and Louis Kahn, to Luigi Figini, Aris Konstantinidis or Sedad Eldem), summarizes existing research and opens new avenues, thereby establishing itself as a critical reference point not just for the architectural notion of the Mediterranean, but for modernist architecture in general.

J.K. Birksted, The Bartlett School of Architecture,
University College London

MODERN ARCHITECTURE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN

Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities

Edited by Jean-François Lejeune and Michelangelo Sabatino

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