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TRADITION, NATIONALISM, AND THE CREATION
OF IMAGE

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SCHULTZE-NAUMBURG'S HEIMATSTIL: A NATIONALIST CONFLICT OF
TRADITION AND MODERNITY

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A B S T R A C T

This paper analyzes the invented traditions created by the early *Heimatstil* writings of Paul Schultze-Naumburg (1869-1949), and the *Siedlungen* they inspired, as part of an ongoing nationalistic discourse between modernization and traditionalism in Germany. From unification in 1871 until 1933 the image most Germans had of their *Heimat*, or "homeland," was that of a ravaged country -- ravaged by foreigners, bourgeois taste, rampant industrialization, and the malaise of the burgeoning city. Calls for an up-to-date, more responsible, German, pure and modern architecture came from all classes and sectors of society. Modernists and traditionalists competed in the quest to invent an appropriate image for the newly unified and industrialized Germany. In an attempt at historiographical self-determinism, historians of modern architecture have almost completely passed over the sizeable *volksch* groups that competed for influence. These traditionalists longed for a romanticized past, before industrialization and liberal bourgeoisie or socialist values had debased Germany. The most active and popular contingent was the *Bund für Heimatschutz*, a watchdog organization for protection of the homeland.

Founded by the social activists Ferdinand Avenarius and Ernst Rudorff in 1904, the *Heimatschutz's* strongest ideologue was Paul Schultze-Naumburg, an architect by training. In his extremely popular series of polemical writings, the *Kulturarbeiten*, as well as other books on traditional domestic housing, Schultze-Naumburg and the *Bund* invented a reformed architecture responsible in equal measure to the environment, the modern world, and the continuity of tradition. With powerful slogans and memorable example/counter-example photos, they created an architectural image that addressed diverse and seemingly irreconcilable interests: advocacy of new materials and technologies, maintenance of tradition, belief in contemporary life, support of indigenous Germanic culture, and a deep concern for the environment and landscape. The books and the image had a tremendous following and a profound influence on a whole generation of architects. In each case the resulting architecture was a constructed hybrid of regional and historical vernacular forms. A typical house was whitewashed, of traditional brick, with a steeply pitched thatch roof and a dark oak interior. Invented German medieval and classical styles cloaked essentially modern housing.

This paper places Schultze-Naumburg's words and the single-family domestic *Siedlungen* it inspired in the struggle for national identity in Germany at the time. In this "age of nationalism" Germany felt pressed to modernize its industrial, economic and cultural potential. Housing had to be modernized -- hygienic, efficient, plentiful for all. As part of the nationalist discourse, however, ideologues started simultaneously to stress the need to develop a distinct and authentic German architecture. Problems "at home" were seen to be unique and demanding local, traditional solutions. In the worst cases this produced an overt, nostalgic use of history in architecture. *Heimatstil Siedlungen* influenced by Schultze-Naumburg, such as those by Schmitthenner and Tessenow, however, managed to combine both the calls for modernizing and the traditional, more rural and historical sensibilities of German nationalism. The *Heimatstil* gained almost universal recognition and success in Germany at the time and has gone largely unnoted by historians of both modern architecture and traditional environments to date.

Schultze-Naumburg's *Heimatstil*:
A Nationalistic Conflict of Tradition and Modernity

This paper analyzes the role of nationalism in Paul Schultze-Naumburg's polemical and popular Kulturarbeiten. It focuses on three distinct aspects of the series: the importance of the whole cultural landscape, the value placed in traditions from "around 1800", and the functionalist stand which Schultze-Naumburg took in his arguments. Together these three themes simultaneously defined the German nation, its culture, and its architecture. Far from being another historicist style, the *Heimatstil* was an image that fully encompassed modern industry and technological progress. Focusing primarily on architecture, this paper analyzes the formation of a nationalistic aesthetic, a *Heimatstil*, which combined the values of tradition with continual development.

One of the primary figures in the heated cultural debates surrounding German architecture at the turn of the century was the architect and critic Paul Schultze-Naumburg (1869-1949).¹ His most influential work was a series of very popular and polemical essays and picture books entitled Kulturarbeiten (Cultural Works) published between 1900 and 1917.² In the first line of the preface of the Kulturarbeiten Schultze-Naumburg explicitly spells out the scope and purpose of the essays: "to work against the terrible devastation of our country in all areas of visible culture" and to offer a hopeful alternative for the future.³

The scope of the "visible culture" that the Kulturarbeiten addressed was an ambitious, all-encompassing view of the entire

cultural landscape--material as well as environmental culture. Landscape referred not to nature, but the whole environment, as one might see it from a high lookout. (Figs.1,2,3) Into this picture fit not only the trees, the streams and the fields, but also the skyline of the city, the small towns nestled amongst the hills, their roofs, the garden pergolas and street pavings. The visible culture, according to Schultze-Naumburg, included "not only houses and monuments, bridges and streets, but also clothing and social life, forests and livestock, machines and national defense."⁴ He attempted to analyze all that had been shaped by human hands, all of culture.

To cover this daunting variety of subjects, Schultze-Naumburg published his studies as a set of serialized, though not always connected, essays in the influential art magazine Der Kunstwart (The Warden of the Arts).⁵ Later the series was published as nine thematic volumes. The first volume, Hausbau, dealt with the German house, a telling decision that indicated the importance of this building type to Schultze-Naumburg's as well as Germany's agenda at the time. Subsequent volumes covered gardens, rural settlements, villages, cities, palaces and finally three volumes on whole German landscape and how it had been affected by man. Earlier essays of Schultze-Naumburg's also published in the Kunstwart had spoken extensively on the domestic interior, on taste in the fine arts, and on women's fashion and thus supplement the Kulturarbeiten.⁶

The Kulturarbeiten addressed Germany's cultural devastation through a simple and persuasive technique of presenting

contrasting paired photographs taken near Schultze-Naumburg's home in Saaleck and throughout Germany. For example, in one pair a traditional eighteenth-century city center with its cobblestoned street, off-center fountain and steep-gabled, whitewashed houses was contrasted with a late-nineteenth-century thoroughfare which was altogether too wide, seemingly endless, and lined with over-ornamented gaudy "boxes." (Figs.4,5) The former was, in Schultze-Naumburg's words, "beautiful," "comfortable," and desirable; the latter "ugly," "inhuman," and therefore to be avoided. The paired images reiterate one of Schultze-Naumburg's continuing themes that the new was almost always bad while the old from around 1800, always good.

The contrasting of photographs was a pedagogical device often verging on the pedantic that made themes clear even to the most unsophisticated reader. The method recalls A.W. Pugin's earlier book Contrasts of 1836. Yet, unlike Pugin who fantasized in pen and ink, Schultze-Naumburg drove home his arguments with a bedazzling array of black and white photographs.⁷ After some initial words of guidance Schultze-Naumburg expected the images to speak for themselves, to let the reader draw his/her own conclusions. He sought only "to encourage the reader to undertake his own observation and criticism."⁸

Introductory Themes

Schultze-Naumburg openly stated that a primary goal of the Kulturarbeiten was to force the viewer not only to make judgements of "ugly and beautiful", but to associate these with a

"right and wrong"--both in the sense of "useful and not useful", but also "morally good and bad."⁹ Creating ugly, bad and unfunctional architecture not only defiled the landscape but also was ethically wrong. Schultze-Naumburg drew on a long tradition of ethical functionalist architectural theory, using arguments similar to those expressed by Cordemoy, Semper, Violet-le-Duc earlier, and later modernists.¹⁰

Schultze-Naumburg's judgements of good and bad were filtered through a functionalist lens. Throughout the Kulturarbeiten he equated functionalism with a moral stance morality to make critical judgements that implicitly advocated one form over another. Schultze-Naumburg defined architecture as an "art of necessity," an art that had to meet functional requirements in order to be successful.¹¹ Thus, the closer a building or any piece thereof came to "objectively" expressing its intended function, the "better" it was. For example, in comparing a rural residence near his home with a typical suburban house recently built in Berlin Schultze-Naumburg noted: (Figs.6,7)

The first is a very simple garden-house... as was self-evident and obvious in the seventeenth century... There was truth in expression, from the door to the topmost rooftile. It is completely without ornament... The tower here, not at all like the turrets that are so often pasted ornamentally onto houses today, represents the complete fulfillment of the need for a lofty, airy room to look out over river and valley. A characteristic addition from our own time, however, are the painted on windows on the second floor...

And the other? Why do we laugh so? It's not funny, but very sad... It is the 'elegant' little house unfortunately found everywhere in our landscape... If we don't watch out, soon our landscape will consist only of working-class barracks [Proletarierkasernen] and such 'elegant villas'... The rooms are smaller than before, the stairs are tighter and steeper. The

windows have stucco frames that are supposed to remind of a palazzo. The attic room is tiny, but a splendid ornament crowns it! Is there anyone in the world that can understand this caricature after one has truly come to grips with its absurdity? I think not. Everyone merely accepts that what is, must be that way.¹²

The scope, the value placed in tradition, and the functionalist viewpoint of the Kulturarbeiten were not unique to Schultze-Naumburg's books. Previous critics such as Ruskin and Violet-le-Duc had espoused similar views and Schultze-Naumburg credited them with providing the initial impetus for his line of thinking.¹³ Where earlier critics had been almost exclusively historicist, Schultze-Naumburg's nationalism embodied a simultaneous reverence of tradition and respect for technology and the future. The Kulturarbeiten used the contrast of old and new to inspire a new fusion, an appropriate German national aesthetic for the future--a *Heimatstil*.¹⁴

Heimatstil literally translates as "homeland style." More appropriate, however, seems the translation "homeland aesthetic" for it conjures up more than just stylistic appearances and suggests a broader way of conceptualizing the significance of the built environment. Schultze-Naumburg and his circle were consciously trying to avoid simply creating another passing fad of the nineteenth-century styles. Rather the Kulturarbeiten sought to revitalize German culture and with it a German nation. Equating architecture, culture and national identity, Schultze-Naumburg's goal was to strengthen, unify and nationalize both culture and the nation.

Schultze-Naumburg advocated neither abandoning the modern nor slavishly copying the past, but blending the best of the two into something new. Out of a discourse of tradition and modernity, Schultze-Naumburg sought to create a uniquely German culture that could serve as both a guide and metaphor for the German nation. By analyzing more closely those elements of the Kulturarbeiten only briefly outlined above--the scope, the recourse to tradition, and the functionalist sensibility--this paper will analyze Schultze-Naumburg's work as a nationalistic piece of architectural theory that encompassed both tradition and development. The paper claims that the Kulturarbeiten brought architecture and culture to the cause of nationalism. It seeks to explicate how architecture played a role in a nationalist discourse of building, defining and strengthening of a unique nation.

Nationalism and Culture

The historian Ernest Gellner has theorized that modern nationalism, particularly nineteenth-century European nationalism, came as a reaction to modernization, industrialization, liberal capitalism, and the well-known ills associated with the forces.¹⁵ Throughout Europe there was an almost inevitable desire for national unity, a desire to claim for certain territorial and cultural features in order to combat a feeling of alienation and homogenization wrought by modernity. Germany was no exception, even bringing nationalistic fervor to extremes not seen elsewhere. Although Bismarck's "Blood and

Iron" diplomacy forged a nation by 1871, the attempts to forge a uniquely Germanic culture were still unfulfilled at the end of the century.

The frustration in failing to create a German national culture led to a widespread malcontent that historians such as Fritz Stern and George Mosse have called the "Conservative Revolution," "Cultural Despair", or "Popular Anti-Modernism."¹⁶ Ferdinand Tönnies claimed that a community-oriented *Gemeinschaft* was being replaced by a bourgeois *Gesellschaft*.¹⁷ Other *Völkisch* intellectuals noted the spiritual impoverishment that German *Kultur* had undergone at the expense an anonymous *Zivilisation*.¹⁸

Many Germans hoped that the formation of shared cultural identity would remedy their alienation. Where force and politics had failed to unite a nation and her culture, spirit and culture would prevail. Instead of party politics, *Kulturpolitik* (aesthetic politics) would prevail.¹⁹ This form of cultural nationalism sought to enlighten, reunify and strengthen the German *Volk* through attention to its culture and not politics. From the resurrection and distillation of Germanic culture, a new German nation would arise.

The Kulturarbeiten were an integral, though infrequently mentioned, part of this new ideology of cultural nationalism. Schultze-Naumburg constructed an image of his *Heimat* as a ravaged country--ravaged by foreigners, by capitalism, liberal taste, by rampant industrialization, and by the malaise brought on by burgeoning metropolis. The solution lay in the revitalization of environmental culture. Culture for Schultze-Naumburg was

integrally tied to national identity. The two defined each other. This romantic conception of culture valued above all three subjective and inter-related factors: landscape, history, and artistic sensibility.²⁰ When taken together these three shaped and defined the spiritual essence of a people, a nation and their culture. It is to these three that we must turn to analyze the nationalistic intent of the Kulturarbeiten.

Landscape as Nationalism

The landscape was central to the romantic sense of culture which Schultze-Naumburg advocated. A people and their nation were shaped by their land, an idea that reached far back into the historical psyche of German people. Reflexively a land and its climate inevitably left their mark on culture. Romans were to the Italian *campagna*, for example, what Germans were to the harsher, nordic landscape of Germany--each was unique and unmistakable. (Figs.1,3) According to Schultze-Naumburg all nations, while shaping their own cultural landscape, were also shaped by their own natural landscape.²¹

Using these assumptions, Schultze-Naumburg equated a ravaged physical landscape with a weak national character and a failed national destiny. He noted that the physiognomy of the German landscape had been undergoing a gradual process of decay, and that if action were not taken, Germany would soon have "the raw and unhappy face of a depraved nation where the purpose of life itself had wasted away."²² Schultze-Naumburg placed a moral imperative on Germans everywhere to take a careful look at their

landscape and observe the repercussions of this decay:

What one loves, one cares for. What one no longer cares for, one no longer loves. And so we have seen that the love of the land and our *Heimat* was dwindled, and that the *Volk* considered the land merely as a medium from which to extract natural resources, which in turn were only valued for their monetary value. No nation has ever flowered and achieved greatness with such a mentality. And so, we can only hope that people will listen to our appeal.²³

The Kulturarbeiten, which offered solutions on how to create a "better," more German landscape thus tackled the grander problem of forging a stronger unique German nation. Architecture was the vehicle to nationalistic ends.

Through architecture and the built environment, every good citizen could play a fundamental role in defining and guiding the nation towards a stronger position. The audience for the

Kulturarbeiten:

we hope to be able to count on the support of all with a like mind.. these books are directed not only to those that call themselves cultivated, our wish is also to win over the people--the townsmen, the farmer, the workers, all those that work most closely in shaping the face of our Land."²⁴

The Kulturarbeiten were a concerted effort to focus the attention of a whole nation on culture, and within that, architecture. The incentive was not merely a superficial, more "beautiful" environment, but a strengthened country and people.

The call was later headed by colleagues of Schultze-Naumburg's at the Kunstwart magazine when Ferdinand Avenarius founded the Dürerbund in 1902.²⁵ The Bund's purpose was to work towards the "aesthetic education of the Volk", but also for nature conservation, for "Heimatschutz and Heimatpflege"

(homeland protection and care). This organization was supplemented in 1904 by the Bund Deutscher Heimatschutz, an organization for "protection of the homeland" for which Schultze-Naumburg was the first president and chief ideologue.²⁶ Its purpose was the care and protection of nature, natural monuments, and the landscape, the conservation of the built environment including vernacular architecture and the associated building methods, and the preservation of traditional applied arts, folk festivals, costumes, objects and manners. As the historian Christian Otto has written, the Bund "espoused a reformed architecture responsible in equal measure to the environment, the modern world, and the continuity of tradition."²⁷

Tradition as Nationalism

In addition to the all-encompassing landscape, the other element which most defined German culture was history, or tradition. For Schultze-Naumburg the answer to present problems in the nation and in the built landscape lay partly in the example of the past, in valued German traditions. As with most nationalistic movements older, more esteemed values and traditions were used to validate new, nationalist causes. Schultze-Naumburg, however, looked for tradition not in the old, venerable classical or Gothic periods as so many of the nineteenth-century revivals had. Rather he drew his inspiration from the vernacular buildings that were built "around 1800."²⁸

Historically, according to Schultze-Naumburg, this was the period had featured Germany's greatest cultural achievements and

heroes--German romanticism and thinkers such as Goethe, Herder and Winkelmann. These thinkers not only left a much revered legacy, but were also among the first to define a unique Germanic aesthetic. The intense nationalism of the period caused intellectuals such as Goethe to define and distinguish their own national culture from others. In front of the Strasbourg cathedral Goethe had proclaimed:

[we] should thank God to be able to proclaim aloud that it is German architecture, our architecture... brought about by the strong, rugged, German soul."²⁹

The romantics provided a tradition of cultural nationalism to be continued by Schultze-Naumburg, though the tradition referred to was not the Gothic of Goethe's estimation, but a simple classicism of Goethe's own era.

In addition, the end of the eighteenth-century and the beginning of the nineteenth was also the economic and political climax before the recent period of cultural decline witnessed by Schultze-Naumburg. He blamed much the "devastation of the visible culture" around him on the poverty and destruction which came during the wars of liberation from Napoleon. Also at fault in the loss of values and quality in German culture was the great "economic miracle" of industrialization that had reshaped Germany.

Architecturally the period from "around 1800", according to Schultze-Naumburg, was the last period of true Germanic architecture. He referred to it constantly as "the German style." In the houses and the handicrafts of the period Schultze-Naumburg admired a simple, "honest" architecture which clearly

and "objectively" expressed its purpose. There was no "senseless ornament," no applied decoration. This functional architecture was naturally beautiful, perfectly expressing its time and functions. This period was also an expedient exemplar: there were plenty of examples left in throughout Germany as inspiration. This "style of our fathers" was close enough to the present that it still felt comfortable, plus modern technology had not completely outdated its usefulness as an example.

The formal legacy of the period was two fold--a Germanic farmhouse, and a vernacular classicism of Goethe's houses. The simple German farmhouse was the descendent of the original, medieval "nordic house."³⁰ For Schultze-Naumburg the farmhouse was the purest expression of German architecture. It responded not only to the harsh nordic climate, but the specific sensibility of the Germanic people of the time--it perfectly fulfilled their fundamental idea of human habitation. Each step in its development had brought changes, but the fundamental had "type" stayed the same.³¹ Each was characterized by "the same simple beauty, a fully complete expression of its total purpose."³² The purest expression of this nordic house remaining in 1900, claimed Schultze-Naumburg, was the German farmhouse--a rural, free-standing, post-and beam structure with brick infill, no ornament, a large pitched roof, covered in clay tile, with eyebrow windows. The house was

of utmost simplicity, the finest proportions, the honest expression of materials, the comforting distribution of rooms and building elements and a sincere expression of comfort and home."³³ (Fig.8)

This expression had developed over time, always renewing itself, accommodating new technology, yet staying within the type. It was precisely this traditional prototype that Schultze-Naumburg advocated for houses all over Germany.

The other traditional form handed down from "around 1800" was a highly refined and simplified classicism traditionally referred to as Biedermeier, or the "Empire Style of the little man."³⁴ Here the prototypes were Goethe's houses, many of which are illustrated in the Kulturarbeiten. The typical Biedermeier house was typically found in a small city or suburban setting, often two-stories high, stuccoed, whitewashed, with simple cubic volumes, the facade was arranged in a classicist, symmetrical, tri-partite division with a protruding center by capped by a pedimented gable. The house was usually wholly without ornament. (Fig.6)

Although classicism was not inherently a nordic tradition, Schultze-Naumburg claims that it was a natural and auspicious combination of a pure German house with the timelessness of antiquity. Since all great cultural developments evolved out of the combination of opposite principles, as when father and mother combine to produce a child, so too the simple, nordic classicism of the late eighteenth century was worthy.³⁵

By advocating a vernacular architecture, Schultze-Naumburg was in essence levelling social differences, or perhaps even elevating the common man, giving him a chance to forge his own national destiny. The prototype was not a monumental building or expensive style, but rather a simple, garden house that in

previous times had graced nearly every German property. It was to be a national style, for everyone, without regard for wealth. It stood in marked contrast to the differences between the *Mietskasernen* and the villa districts of cities like Berlin. The architectural tradition that Schultze-Naumburg looked back to was in all respects a national style, one that would tend to unify and strengthen the culture of Germany.

Functionalism as Nationalism

The sensibility that Schultze-Naumburg most valued in the architecture from "around 1800" was its simple functionalism. It was a trait he found almost wholly missing in the more recent architecture. The honest, moral functionalist aesthetic was for Schultze-Naumburg akin to the somewhat Spartan landscape of Germany which in turn defined the Germanic personality. It was not flamboyant or ornamental but rather simple, efficient, practical and functional.

The central component of the functionalist morality that applied to nationalism was the theory of "type" that he developed through the books.³⁶ This theory of type not only defined a universal functional type, such as "the farmhouse," but more specifically allowed Schultze-Naumburg to theorize a unique, nationalist type, for example "the German farmhouse." The functions included in Schultze-Naumburg's "type" included not only specific technological aspects like keeping out the rain but also psychological ones like lending an air of atavistic familiarity and tradition.³⁷

By highlighting the technological functions imposed by weather, surrounding landscape and the specific economies of the region and combining these with functions of familiarity and traditionalism Schultze-Naumburg argued for "Germanness" as an essential component of his functionalism and typology. He urged a correlation between form landscape and culture and national identity.

Earlier artisans had not simply copied stylistic details, but had restructured them into sleek functional forms so thoroughly, that they created the best buildings that we have in Germany. Had we continued this tradition with some changes and restructuring, we would have today what the English have: the national house. For us then: *the German house*.³⁸

Central also to Schultze-Naumburg's theory of type was its concession to the inevitability of change and progress. After a type was first invented it underwent constant development, employing new technology as it became available, and attempting to achieve an even more perfect fit of form, function and time. The *Heimatstil* that Schultze-Naumburg was advocating was not a historicist application of traditional details, but rather an evolving continuation of a known type.

The primary reason that nineteenth-century architecture had been a failure, according to Schultze-Naumburg, was that form and function did not match. The wrong types and traditions were selected for buildings: "Proletarian houses were like palaces, palaces like Swiss chalets, farm houses like prisons, prisons like churches, churches like train stations."³⁹ The same was true of the "German House." In contrast to the pure "German

house" the nineteenth century had left legacies of a different type, where none had needed to be invented. (Figs.9,10) Of the farmhouse depicted from 1900, for example, he said:

This also shows a type, a new one at that, but it has not evolved organically. Rather it was tortured together by senseless heads who did not take recourse to the experience of the existing traditional forms... only the unavoidable feature of construction have been drawn upon... the only criteria are those of cheap and expensive, and from that the solutions: simple or embellished... the design vacillates between unhappy schematic division of cubic volumes on the one hand and childish playfulness with misunderstood 'motifs' as seen on expensive buildings here and there.⁴⁰

This same "functional" argument applied on at the scale of individual building elements as well. The flat or low-pitched roof, for example, was not considered appropriate for the German landscape and climate. It did not carry snow or divert heavy rains, and more importantly, did not correspond to the traditional physiognomy of the "German House" type. Schultze-Naumburg labeled the flat roof "un-German."⁴¹ Unplastered brick was similarly untraditional, and therefore un-German. Whitewashed brick lent a feeling of cleanliness and care to the landscape. It felt finished, denoted a sense of pride in ones' *Heimat*.⁴² The list goes on. Every architectural detail is analyzed in the Kulturarbeiten, judged on how "objectively" the forms fulfilled their functional requirements and how closely they respected Germanic traditions and types.

Schultze-Naumburg also analyzed ornament details. He claimed that nineteenth-century buildings exhibited a profusion of "senseless ornament."⁴³ He decried the ornamental work used in the exclusive villa districts around Berlin, as well as on the

poor farm around the corner, for it was for the most part merely pasted on. Different motifs and styles were mixed up. There was little regard for statics or actual function. This argument also took on protectionist, nationalistic tones when he declared of the stylistic variety:

All the variety has been amassed through theft from Florence, Athens and Paris; not out of inner need but out of folly because someone has destroyed the traditions of the average man and given him instead an album of foreign lands.⁴⁴

The villa from Berlin we looked at before, for example, contains a mix of Renaissance, Baroque, Rococo, and invented styles.

(Fig.7) The plea for a simple, functionalist architecture was not merely for ethical pride, but was a nationalistic endeavor to define a unique, German aesthetic, a *Heimatstil*.

Heimatstil as Nationalism

Throughout the Kulturarbeiten, Schultze-Naumburg reintroduced the ideals and values of the period from "around 1800" in order to provide a touchstone which future architects could build upon in order to escape the current lowpoint in German architecture. For Schultze-Naumburg the traditional architecture of the eighteenth century had been functional, German, and beautiful--an ideal to be continued. The only architecture which had approached it in quality since 1830, according to Schultze-Naumburg, were some of the more recent factories and technologies created by German industry.

In a competitive world market Germany had been forced to rid itself of its historicist straightjacket and build large,

functional, simple factories. Schultze-Naumburg found Peter Behrens' AEG building, the Krupp Hochöfen smelting plants (Fig.12) and some of the recent armaments manufacturing facilities exemplary, with their perfect fit of form, function and beauty. Similarly, Schultze-Naumburg writes of the modern 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 where powerful function is forced totally into existence.⁴⁵

Schultze-Naumburg lamented the idea that people had simply accepted the idea that nineteenth-century industrial buildings had to look cold, lifeless and ugly. Schultze-Naumburg reminded us that buildings with purely technical functions were not new. yet, earlier technical buildings such as mills, dams and silos had been made with such care and so perfectly expressed their uses. (Fig.10) Even in factories where economics had dictated cheap construction it was not necessary to abandon good design principles, as had been done in a recent factory that was scarred by its jumble of classical motifs and a half-timber clock-tower. (Fig.11)

Schultze-Naumburg was not against modernity and industry per se and certainly not against technology and progress. He was, however, concerned with the tastelessness which it often exhibited in the late nineteenth century. Where functions had not radically changed such as in the German house, the type

should remain. New standards of technology and hygiene, as they were developed by industry should always be included. Where new types had to be invented, care should be taken to fully, simply and objectively express their functions.

Advocates of the *Heimatstil* attempted to revive a unique, German architecture. They sought to incorporate the best traditions from the past and also be attuned to the modern world. Architecture was but a part of a much larger picture that sought to forge a modern German nation. In offering solutions to the devastation of the German landscape left behind by nineteenth-century architecture, Schultze Naumburg was not alone. By the turn of the century the crisis that Schultze-Naumburg was reacting to was everywhere. There was a call for change: for a renewal with a youthful "Jugendstil, for "Secession" from the existing bourgeois, liberal culture that had destroyed Germany, and for "Protection" of valued cultural resources. In response to the crisis, a whole host of individuals, organizations, and activist groups formed to engage in the uphill struggle. In advocating this union of tradition and development Schultze-Naumburg anticipated by several years organizations such as the Deutscher Werkbund, which sought to revive German arts and crafts by combining the best talents from design and industry to manufacture mass-produced wares.⁴⁶

It is ironic that Schultze-Naumburg's own executed designs went against his own ideals of vernacular architecture from "around 1800". They were historicist and monumental, sometimes even foreign in nature, such as the large English tudor Schloss

Cecilienhof in Potsdam. It remained for subsequent architects to enact Schultze-Naumburg's *Heimatstil*. The Biedermeier classicism Schultze-Naumburg first brought back to life was further popularized in Paul Mebes' extremely influential book Um 1800. This book set the tone for most of the reformed, "modern" classicism before the war, including the works of Behrens, Tessenow, Schmitthenner, Mies, and the whole Werkbund. The book also had tremendous influence abroad as a German export. In Scandinavia Asplund and Aalto used the same vocabulary in their Nordic Classicism.⁴⁷ In Germany, nonetheless the *Heimatstil* that Schultze-Naumburg as he proposed it in his Kulturarbeiten never really took hold except in Nazi ideology of the next generation.

A complete story of the conservative reaction in architecture to nineteenth-century modernity has yet to be written, in any language. Those that have tackled the idea of a *Heimatstil*, nationalist architectures, *Völkisch* thought and Schultze-Naumburg have also done so almost exclusively under the rubric of Nazi philosophy.⁴⁸ Despite Schultze-Naumburg's tremendous influence as one of the acknowledged leaders of both avant-garde and conservatives alike before the First World War, it is almost exclusively as a Nazi that he is remembered today. Such a determinist history, however, must be avoided if we are to learn anything from Schultze-Naumburg's example. Although Schultze-Naumburg was not alone, and although nothing he said was completely new, his books embody and foreshadow perhaps better and more comprehensively than any other, the general state of architectural thinking after the turn of the century in

Germany.⁴⁹

Endnotes

1. For biographical information see Norbert Borrmann, Paul Schultze-Naumburg 1869-1949. Maler. Publizist. Architekt (Essen: Richard Bacht, 1989). Schultze-Naumburg was trained in the applied arts, then in painting, and beginning in 1892 took up criticism and writing. In 1904 he began work as an architect, designing primarily large country houses, few of which came close to fulfilling the true *Heimatstil* ideals he had outlined. Schultze-Naumburg's ideas grew ever more extreme after the First World War, carrying the traditionalist and nationalist aspects of the *Heimatstil* to almost religious extremes. See note 21 below for more.
2. The only studies to date on the Kulturarbeiten are a chapter in Borrmann, Schultze-Naumburg, p. 25-61 which describes in detail each volume; and an essay in Julius Posener Berlin Auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur Studien zur Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts, volume 40 (Munich: Prestel 1979), 191-222.

After first being serialized in the Kunstwart magazine (see below for more), the Kulturarbeiten were published one volume at a time as an inexpensive hardcover available at bookstores everywhere. The extremely popular nine-volume set went through at least four editions before World War I, each one slightly revised and expanded, especially the photographs. After the War Schultze Naumburg combined the last three volumes and in 1924 published it as the first volume of what was to be a totally revised seven volume edition but was never finished. After the War Schultze Naumburg combined the last three volumes and in 1924 published it as the first volume of what was to be a totally revised seven volume edition but was never finished. The volumes, as with most of Schultze-Naumburg's work, were published in Munich by Georg W. Callwey, a conservative that later published many of the more conservative German architects such as Tessenow and Schmitthenner.

The editions used in this study along with original publication dates are: Volume 1 Hausbau. Einführende Gedanken zu den Kulturarbeiten (4th ed., 1912, 1901); volume 2 Gärten (1902); Ergänzende Bilder zu Band 2: Gärten (3rd ed., 1910, 1904); volume 3 Dörfer und Kolonien (2nd ed., 1908, 1904); volume 4 Städtebau (2nd ed., 1909, 1906); volume 5 Das Kleinbürgerhaus (2nd ed., 1911, 1907); volume 6 Das Schloß (1910); volume 7 Die Gestaltung der Landschaft durch die Menschen Part I (1916); volume 8 Die Gestaltung der Landschaft durch die Menschen Part II (1916); Die Gestaltung der Landschaft durch die Menschen Part III (1917).

The title Kulturarbeiten (cultural works) is not a self-referential statement on the worth of his own books,

but rather denotes the cultural work that every individual engages in while creating or changing part of his/her own environment.

3. "der entsetzlichen Verheerung unseres Landes auf allen Gebieten sichtbarer Kultur entgegenzuarbeiten." From the preface in Hausbau Kulturarbeiten 1, n.p. Schultze-Naumburg placed the same preface in every volume, as each was supposed to be but an elaboration of his central idea.

Unless otherwise noted, all translation, including terms and passages of text are from the original German by the author.

4. Preface in Hausbau Kulturarbeiten 1, n.p.

5. Much of the text of the Kulturarbeiten and a few accompanying photographs were first published in serial form in Der Kunstwart, starting in October 1900 (14:1, p. 20ff). The magazine had been founded in 1887 in Dresden by Ferdinand Avenarius. It's colophon pronounced that it would be dedicated to "all the important questions and dilemmas concerning the arts of the day." It's view point was strongly for reform, for advocating a uniquely German art, and shared many of Schultze-Naumburg's ideas.

On the Kunstwart magazine and its attendant circle of intellectuals see Gerhard Kratzsch, Kunstwart und Dürerbund. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gebildeten im Zeitalter des Imperialismus. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), as well as the earlier Der Kunstwart in seiner Eigenart, Entwicklung und Bedeutung, (PhD dissertation, Universität Bern, 1934) by the Nazi sympathizer Herbert Broermann. The only English language source so far is Christian F. Otto's "Modern Environment and Historical Continuity: The Heimatschutz Discourse in Germany" in Art Journal 43:2 (Summer 1983), pp. 148-157. It details more specifically with the Heimatschutz (see below), but in its subject matter and viewpoint provided much inspiration for this whole article.

6. See the serialized essays "Über Kunstpflege im Mittelstande" in Kunstwart 11:1 (Jan. 1898) p. 226f, later published in expanded form as Hausliche Kunstpflege (Leipzig 1899) and Kunst und Kunstpflege (Leipzig 1901).

See his essay "Wie man über Frauenkleidung schreibt" in Kunstwart 14:2 (July 1901), p. 266-269 as well as his book Die Kultur des Weiblichen Körpers als Grundlage der Frauenkleidung (the culture of the female body as basis of women's clothing) (Leipzig: 1901). Schultze-Naumburg was one of the first to speak out against the "unfunctional" elements of nineteenth century clothing like the corset, a movement which eventually expanded to the conservative simplicity of post-war fashions.

7. Borrmann and Posener both estimate that there are over 2500 photos illustrated in the books. Most likely there were many more so as to publish only the most pertinent examples. The collection, an invaluable resource of the vernacular landscape in Germany at the time, has unfortunately been lost.

Almost all the photos were taken by Schultze-Naumburg himself, though some were borrowed from the publisher, Muthesius, and others. He was one of the first people to use the more portable, hand-held cameras. Although some have criticized that his photos unfairly represented his own home region, the photos come from every corner of Germany.

8. Preface in Städtebau, Kulturarbeiten 4, n.p. Volume 2:II on gardens and volume 5 on palaces were actually made up exclusively of photographs. Schultze-Naumburg intended them to serve as "further examples of points and issues already discussed." Ergänzende Bilder zu Band 2: Gärten, Kulturarbeiten 2:II, p. 5.

The readership of Kulturarbeiten is difficult to judge. See below for the audience that Schultze-Naumburg hoped to reach. The Kunstwart magazine, in which the Kulturarbeiten were first published was known to be one of the widest circulating art magazines of the day. Its readership consisted primarily of the "cultivated middle-class." See Kratzsch, p. 467 for precise readership statistics.

The historian Julius Posener remembers enthusiastically reading the volumes from age fourteen on, indicating a wider audience than the intellectual elite. Posener, Berlin auf dem Wege, p. 191.

9. Preface to Hausbau Kulturarbeiten 1, n.p.
10. Schultze-Naumburg used the words "Zweck", "Sinn", "Nützlichkeit" and "Funktion" interchangeably. Sebastian Müller, Kunst und Industrie Ideologie und Organisation des Funktionalismus in der Architektur (Munich: Carl Hanser, 1974) pp. 13ff. traces the history of functionalist aesthetics back to the eighteenth century in Germany. See also David Watkin's Morality and Architecture (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1977) for thoughts on the connection of morality and architecture from Pugin through modern times.
11. See "Wo Stehen Wir" in Kunstwart 11:1 (Oct. 1897) where architecture is a *Bedürfnisskunst*, an art of necessity that stood in contrast to the fine arts. Art for Schultze-Naumburg was "nothing more than the simplest and sensible expression of that which cannot be put into words." See Dörfer und Kolonien, Kulturarbeiten 3, p. 43.
12. Hausbau, Kulturarbeiten 1, p. 10-15.

13. England, and especially the circle around Ruskin were frequently cited as inspirational sources. See for example Hausbau Kulturarbeiten 1, p. 171, but also the frequent articles in Der Kunstwart on Ruskin, for example "Bei Ruskin und Jenseits von Ihm" 13:12 (March 1900) p.445-450.
14. The German word *Heimat* has no direct translation, though literally it means "home" or "homeland." It is a larger concept first developed by Justus Möser and furthered by romantics such as W.H. Riehl and the Grimm brothers. For centuries the term *Heimat* has been the center of a German-- and by extension political--discourse about place, belonging and identity. For a current discussion see Celia Applegate A Nation of Provincials: The German idea of Heimat (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1990).
The actual word *Heimatstil* (homeland aesthetic) was rarely, if ever used in the literature before the War, though *Heimatschutz* (homeland protection), *Heimatkunst* (homeland art), and *Heimatarchitektur* (homeland architecture) were. Rather, *Heimatstil* seems to be a National Socialist word referring to their extremist version of earlier ideas discussed in this essay. Historians have continued to use the term, though often to describe the whole range of nationalist *Heimat* architecture. The equating of turn-of-the-century *Heimat* ideals in architecture with those of national socialism has encouraged the determinist history mentioned above, and also led to a great deal of confusion. It is my contention that the two ideas were different. Both were nationalist expressions of a "homeland aesthetic." The earlier *Heimatstil*, however looked to incorporate the "progress" of modernity and industrialization, while the later eschewed modernity and made a "style" in the pejorative sense of the word, out of the earlier aesthetic.
15. Inspirational thoughts on nationalism were drawn from Ernest Gellner's Nations and Nationalism (Ithica: Cornell Univ. Press, 1983), and also Benedict Anderson's Imagined Communities (London: Verso, 1991, 1983). This essay, however, does not ask the question: "Why nationalism?", but rather seeks to analyze the continuation of nationalist feelings on a strictly cultural and architectural level after German unification in 1871.
The topic of German nationalism has an extensive bibliography. See for example Dieter K. Buse and Juergen C. Doerr German Nationalisms. A Bibliographic Approach (New York: Garland, 1985). For an introduction see the review essay by John Breuilly "Nation and Nationalism in Modern German History" The Historical Journal 33:3 (1990), pp. 659-675.
16. The combined critiques of Germany before the First World War can be divided into at least two dominant camps--a left and

a right. Schultze-Naumburg and the conservative critics on the one side, and the marxists and the German SPD on the other, where the later is more an economic and political critique, and the former a cultural one.

Cultural Despair is a phenomenon with a vast literature, very little of it related to architecture or the visual arts. For these expressions see the bibliographic essay by Armin Mohler Die Konservative Revolution in Deutschland, 1918-1932 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1989, 1949); Shulamit Volkov, The Rise of Popular Anti-modernism in Germany. The Urban Master Artisans, 1873-1896 (Princeton: University Press, 1978); and Fritz Stern The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of a Germanic Ideology (New York: Anchor, 1965, 1961)

Much of the ensuing background discussion derives from George L. Mosse The Crisis of German Ideology. Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich (New York: Schocken, 1981, 1964), pp.1-30; but also the introduction in Stern.

The *Kulturarbeiten* are not mentioned in any of the works mentioned, though the Kunstwart, and the *Heimatschutz* organizations which Schultze-Naumburg headed at the time were.

17. *Volk*, or the people, refers to a people united by origin, history, culture and often language. The *Gemeinschaft - Gesellschaft* duality corresponds to the English Community - Society distinction. The former evokes a communitarian, and more traditional spiritual togetherness, while the later comes with implications of anonymity, alienation and more formal interpersonal relations. Although these opposing sociological concepts have been in use since Confucius and Plato, their impact on Germany was made by Ferdinand Tönnies' popular book Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft of 1887, near the peak of the *Heimat* ideology. See his Community and Society, translated by C.P. Loomis, (New York: Harper & Row, 1963).
18. Similarly the concepts of *Kultur* and *Zivilisation* had existed before they were popularized in Oswald Spengler's influential two volume Der Untergang des Abendlandes, of 1918 and 1922. See The Decline of the West, Volume 1, translated by C.F. Atkinson, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962). See also the discussion of the terms in Der Kunstwart, for example "Kultur und Zivilisation", 14:15 (May 1901), p.81-3. Ferdinand Avenarius, in "Wohin" in Kunstwart 13:1 (1913), p. 1-4, defines *Kultur* as the care of our characteristics, and *Zivilisation* as the care and development of our materials.
19. Literally *Kulturpolitik* translates to "the politics of culture." It is used interchangeably with *Kunstpolitik*, which translates as "the politics of art," though Fritz Stern proposes "aesthetic politics" as more appropriate.

Both terms were used constantly by Schultze-Naumburg and critics throughout Germany, with the latter possibly being more comprehensive than the former. Stern also reminds us that the term recalls Ruskin's The Political Economy of Art of 1857, and thus was not unique to Germany. See Politics of Cultural Despair, p. 176.

In this view, the state would be relegated to being the servant that makes possible the use of culture by the people. See a review of a lecture by Martin Rade "Machtstaat, Rechtsstaat, Kulturstaat" in Kunstwart 21:4 (July 1908), p. 111-3; and also "Parteipolitik und Kulturpolitik" 24:2 (March 1911), p. 354-5.

20. These three are loosely taken from an unrelated discussion of *Heimatschutz* in Eugen Bandmann, Heimatschutz und Landschaftspflege (Stuttgart: Strecker & Schröder, 1910) p. 11.
21. Schultze-Naumburg later took this physiognomic correlation of landscape and national identity to extremes in books such as the Gesicht des Deutschen Hauses, though by this time had changed considerably in ideological intent as it started to exhibit an extreme racist nationalism. It is in this context that Schultze-Naumburg is perhaps best known. Publishing works relating race to architecture, art and the natural landscape Schultze-Naumburg became one of the most prolific racist ideologues of Nazi architecture. These ultra-nationalist works included Kunst und Rasse, (Art and race) (1928), Nordische Schönheit (Nordic Beauty) (1943) and the above-mentioned Das Gesicht des Deutschen Hauses.
However, in its less extreme form, this attitude, as with almost everything that shall be discussed, was not completely unique to Germany. See for example Frederick Jackson Turner's extremely influential "Frontier Thesis" for America, which maintained that "western movement into the primitive areas lying always beyond the frontier was the significant fact in the American identity." Americans' interaction with nature on the frontier, he claimed, defined all that Americans were and had done. See Harold P. Simonson's introduction in Turner's The Significance of the Frontier in American History (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1963).
22. Preface to Hausbau Kulturarbeiten 1, n.p.
23. Schultze-Naumburg, "Entwicklung und Ziele des Heimatschutzes in Deutschland" in Heimatschutz 7:4 (1911), p. 131.
24. From the preface to Hausbau. Kulturarbeiten 1, n.p.
25. For information on the Dürerbund see Kratzsch, Kunstwart und Dürerbund. But also the article By Avenarius "Zum Dürerbunde! Ein Aufruf" Der Kunstwart 14:24 (Sept. 1901), p. 469-

474.

The Dürerbund took its name from Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), one of the earliest heroes of Germanic art "for whom nothing was too small to be cared for in his home and people." Dürer was known as the "Leonardo of the North", and was among the first to fuse the "modern"--that is Italian Renaissance style-- with more characteristically nordic art.

26. In 1904 Avenarius and the Berlin musicologist Ernst Rudorff banded together to form the Bund Deutscher Heimatschutz, another offshoot of the Kunstwart Circle. See Otto, "Modern Environment"; Kratzsch, Kunstwart und Dürerbund, 210-226; Gradmann, Heimatschutz und Landschaftspflege; and Schultze-Naumburg, "Entwicklung und Ziele des Heimatschutzes" p. 131-138.
27. Otto, "Modern Environment", p. 148.
28. The expression "Um 1800" derives from Paul Mebes, Um 1800, first published in 1908, and perhaps the most influential proponent of the "style." Mebes was directly influenced by Schultze-Naumburg's writings, which came some ten years earlier, but were probably still not the first. See Mebes, 3rd edition, edited by Walter Curt Behrendt (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1920).
29. Goethe, in his Of German Architecture of 1773 in John Gage editor, Goethe on Art (London: Scholar Press, 1980) p. 108, 109.
30. See the book Das Deutsche Bauernhaus im Deutschen Reich und seinen Grenzgebieten (Dresden: Gerhard Kühtmann) put out by the Verband Deutscher Architekten und Ingenieurvereine, as well as its review in the Kunstwart 15:23 (September 1902), p. 475. The book was one of several appearing in Europe at the time on the farmhouse. It was an attempt to ground a nations culture in local, homegrown origins, and not in a classical or foreign culture. The *Heimatstil* was occasionally referred to as the "Farm style" or *Bauernstil*.
31. The notion of "type" was essential to Schultze-Naumburg. It derived from earlier theory, but through the Kulturarbeiten greatly influenced later architects, including Herman Muthesius. The issue of typology became one of the key components of the Werkbund that influenced all of modern architecture. See the discussion in Joan Campbell, The German Werkbund. The Politics of Reform in the Applied Arts (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1978); and also in Müller, Kunst und Industrie. See below for more on Schultze-Naumburg's conception of type.

32. Städtebau und Kolonien Kulturarbeiten 3, p.19; and Hausbau, Kulturarbeiten 1, p.8/9.
33. Dörfer und Kolonien, Kulturarbeiten 3, p. 33, but see generally pp. 15-33.
34. See Lydia-Lida Dewiel Möbel-Stilkunde (Gütersloh: Prisma, 1985), p. 118.
35. Hausbau Kulturarbeiten 1, p. 35.
36. According to Schultze-Naumburg, each building type was made up of a set of functional requirements along with the most time-tested, "objective" architectural solution to those functions--the tradition behind the type. The type offered a foundation upon which to base future designs, a heritage of known solutions within which craftsmen and architects were given the freedom to accommodate local site conditions and individual artistic considerations. New technology was to be incorporated when available, though without the type actually changing.
- This process, claimed Schultze-Naumburg, led to a rich variety of buildings which all offered the advantage of familiarity, and a perfect fit of function and form. Where functions and type remain the same over time, Schultze-Naumburg claimed, there was no need to change the type. Only where new types were created through cultural change, such as the modern factory, was complete invention necessary. In such case, functionalism should determine the form.
37. See below for more on "type" and nationalism.
38. Hausbau, Kulturarbeiten 1, p. 171.
39. Dörfer und Kolonien, Kulturarbeiten 3, p. 123-5.
40. Dörfer und Kolonien, Kulturarbeiten 3, p. 37.
41. See Hausbau, Kulturarbeiten 1, p. 35, 154-157 and passim. The discussion on the flat roof also appeared extensively in the Kunstwart. See for example Erich Vogeler, "Das flache Dach im Heimatbilde" 25:4 (August 1912), p. 204-205. The question of the flat roof was hotly debated in the first decades of the twentieth century. For an excellent overview see Richard Pommer, "The Flat Roof: A Modernist Controversy in Germany" in Art Journal 43:2 (Summer 1983) p.158-169.
42. On plastering see Hausbau, Kulturarbeiten 1, p. 58-59; and Dörfer und Kolonien, Kulturarbeiten 3, p.61-63. Schultze-Naumburg was careful to point out exceptions to his own rules. For example the rich traditional exposed brick architecture of Northern Germany. Schultze-Naumburg argued

that superior traditional crafts had survived in the north to do this type of work, and more importantly, the exposed brick was considered more appropriate for the wetter Hanse-towns.

This example points to the importance of regionalism in Schultze-Naumburg's arguments, though they need not necessarily go counter to nationalistic agendas.

43. See for example Hausbau, Kulturarbeiten 1, p. 82. For the debate in architecture concerning the eclecticism see the volume In What Style should we build? The German Debate on Architectural Style, translation and introduction by Wolfgang Hermann (Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center, 1992).
The moral fervor with which Schultze-Naumburg attacks ornament often recalls Loos' "Ornament is Crime."
44. Hausbau, Kulturarbeiten 1, p. 49.
45. Hausbau Kulturarbeiten 1, p. 5.
46. One of the primary motives involved in the Werkbund was creating higher quality, cheaper and more beautiful objects for export. Nationalism in this case had an economic justification: Germany had to develop and maintain a unique, high quality German aesthetic in order to be competitive on the world market and to differentiate itself from other countries. On the German Werkbund see Campbell, German Werkbund, and Müller, Kunst und Industrie. Heinrich Waentig's Wirtschaft und Kunst (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1909) was very much aware of the relation between art, quality products and the national economy.
47. See for example Kenneth Frampton "The Classical Tradition and the European Avant-Garde: Notes on France Germany and Scandinavia 1912-37" in Nordic Classicism 1910-1930 edited by Simo Paavilainen (Helsinki: Finnish Museum, 1982); and Simo Paavilainen, editor, Nordic Classicism 1910-1930 (Helsinki: Finlands Arkitekturmuseum, 1982).
48. See for example Barbara Miller-Lane in her essay "National Romanticism in Modern Architecture" in Nationalism in the Visual Arts, edited by Richard A. Etlin (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1991) tackles some of the same issues, but deals almost exclusively with monuments and the overt revivals of the nineteenth century. While acknowledging that this aesthetic formed part of the development of modern architecture, she none-the-less ties it almost exclusively to National Socialism.
See also the article by Joachim Wolschke-Buhlman and Gert Groening, "The ideology of the nature garden. Nationalistic trends in garden design in Germany during the early twentieth century" in Journal of Garden History 12:1 (1992) p. 73-80.

For views of Schultze-Naumburg and the *Heimatstil* only as precursors to Nazi architecture see most histories of modern architecture, for example Kenneth Frampton, Modern Architecture, A Critical History, 3rd edition (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992, 1980); and Leonardo Benevolo History of Modern Architecture (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971, 1960) who claims that "in Germany this culture was not backed by a tradition," p. 380.

49. For a similar opinion see Posener Berlin Auf dem Wege, p. 197. Posener also commented that the influence of the Kulturarbeiten "can hardly be exaggerated," p.191.

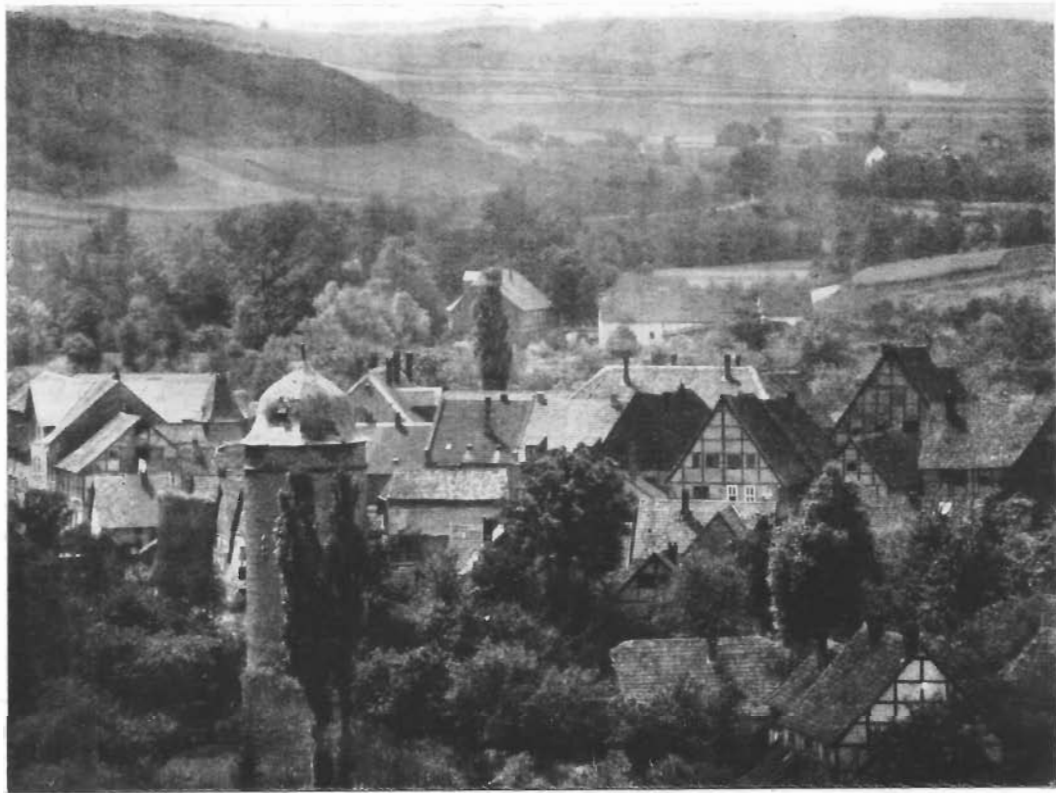


Fig.1. An eighteenth century traditional, anonymous vernacular German landscape with town. Note the half-timber farmhouses arranged organically in a tight cluster as dictated by Schultze-Naumburg and taken from Camillo Sitte, who espoused similar city planning ideas. Compare with Fig.2 & Fig.3.

(Source: Fronticepiece to Hausbau, Kulturarbeiten 1, Munich, 1912)

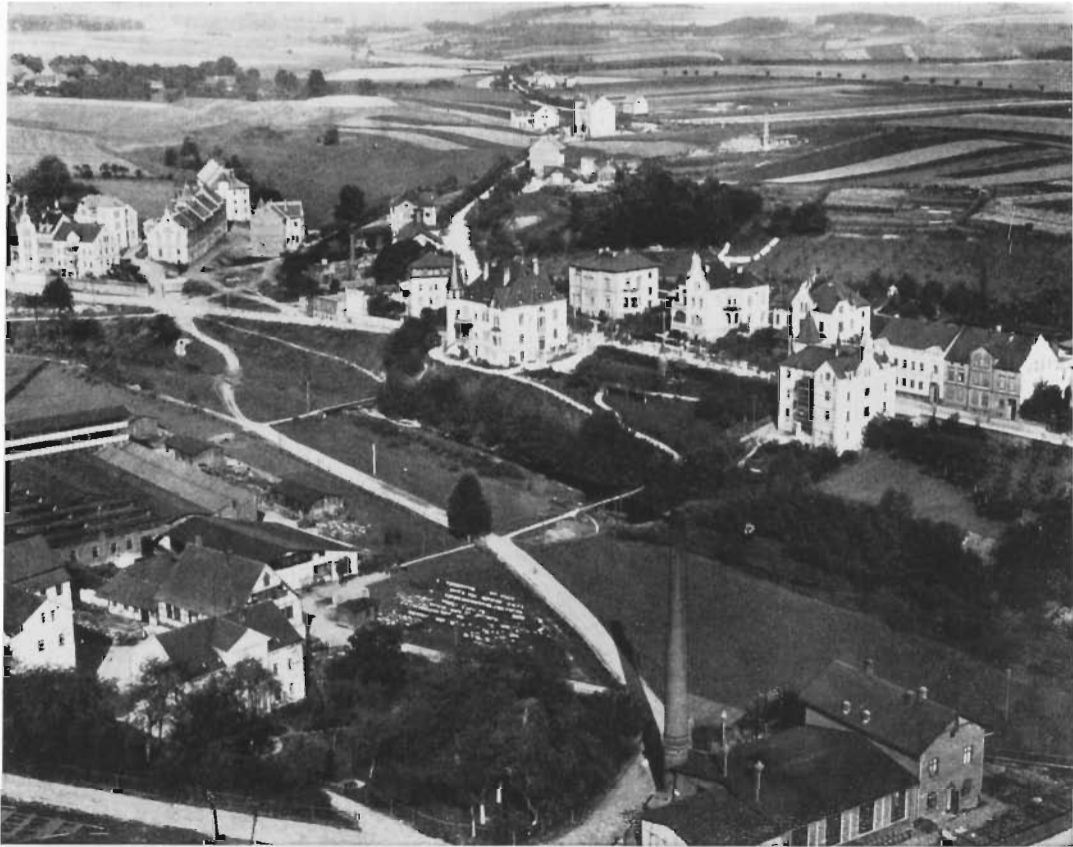


Abbildung 218

Strassen mit zusammen-
hangloser Bebauung

Fig.2. A German late nineteenth century suburban town. The buildings appear randomly strewn about the landscape, with no definite edge or center. Each of the white houses is one of the "elegant villas" so despised by Schultze-Naumburg for the "senseless ornament". Note the factory in the foreground. The caption reads: "Incoherently built up streets." Compare with Fig.1 & Fig.3. (Source: Städtebau, Kulturarbeiten 4, Munich 1909)



Fig.3. An traditional Italian hilltown of brick with tiled flat roofs. Note the contrast with the German town in Fig.1--each is uniquely and unmistakably a part of a separate culture. Schultze-Naumburg used this physiognomy of the environment to connect a nation and its landscape. Compare with Fig.1 & Fig.2. (Source: Dörfer und Kolonien, Kulturarbeiten 3, Munich 1908)

BEISPIEL



Abbildung 22

Strasse in Augsburg. Beispiel für gute gerade Strassenführung mit Abschluss

Fig.4. A traditional, cobble-stoned street in Augsburg. The streets are well defined, lined with carefully maintained, plain stuccoed houses. Note also the "correct" closed street facade which is nonetheless kept lively with setbacks, facing gables, and a protruding lamp and the off center fountain as focus for the square. The caption reads: "Example of proper straight street with ending." See plan and comparison with Fig.5 (Source: Städtebau, Kulturarbeiten 4, Munich 1909)



Fig.5. A German nineteenth century urban street, endless, altogether too wide, without real concern for human scale, and lined with over-ornamented "boxes". The caption reads: "Example of a bad straight street without end." Compare with Fig.4. (Source: Städtebau, Kulturarbeiten 4, Munich 1909)

BEISPIEL



Abbildung 1

Gartenwoh-
haus in Jena

Fig.6. A traditional German garden house in Jena from "around 1800", in a simple Biedermeier classicism almost completely free of ornament except for the trellises. The building volumes are clearly articulated and integrated. The lofty tower room overlooks the valley and river beyond. Note the false, painted windows on the ground floor that were added much later. Compare with Fig.7. (Source: Hausbau, Kulturarbeiten 1, Munich, 1912)

GEGENBEISPIEL



Abbildung 2

Fig.7. An "elegant" suburban villa from the outskirts of Berlin. Note the profusion of "senseless ornament" of intermixed, "foreign" styles all simply "pasted" on. The sides of the house have few windows, are completely unadorned, as all attention and expenses went towards the facade. Compare with Fig.6. (Source: Hausbau, Kulturarbeiten 1, Munich, 1912)

BEISPIEL

4



Fig.8. The typical German farmhouse, the purest remaining expression of the original "nordic house." It is "of the utmost simplicity, the finest proportions, the honest expression of materials, the comforting distribution of rooms and building elements and a sincere expression of comfort and home." Compare with Fig.9.

(Source: Dörfer und Kolonien, Kulturarbeiten 3, Munich 1908)



Fig.9. A modern German farm with very little character or sense of harmony and comfort. The volumes are carelessly assembled, the roofs too flat, the plantings too sparse. Compare with Fig.8. (Source: Dörfer und Kolonien, Kulturarbeiten 3, Munich 1908)



Fig.10. A traditional vernacular German mill. This early, simple technical building fully expressed its purpose, was harmoniously integrated into the landscape unlike later industrial works. Compare with Fig.11 & Fig.12.

(Source: Die Gestaltung der Landschaft durch die Menschen, Part III, Munich, 1917)



Fig.11. A late nineteenth-century factory. Note the mix of styles in the classical details on the left hand gable and the half-timber clock tower. Such buildings were dark, dirty and did not serve their manufacturing purposes well. Compare with Fig.10 & Fig.12. (Source: Die Gestaltung der Landschaft durch die Menschen, Part III, Munich, 1917)

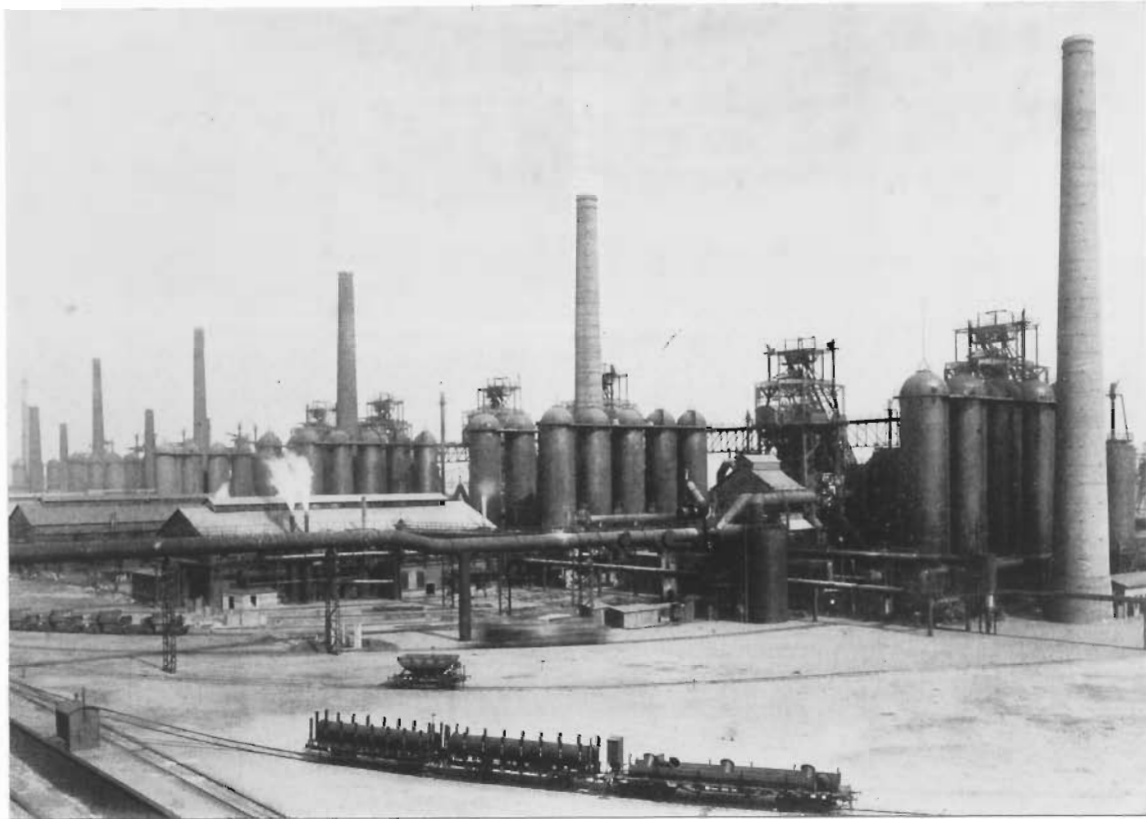


Fig.12. The Hochöfen of the Krupp Steel works with the beautifully functional towers, chimneys, scaffolding, smoke and steam. They represent a completely new "type" and thus necessitated a new form unlike previous traditions to express their functions. Compare with Fig.10 & Fig.11.

(Source: Die Gestaltung der Landschaft durch die Menschen, Part III, Munich, 1917).