German Architecture
for a Mass Audience

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Using a social approach to explain the formal aspects of early twentieth-century architecture, this book demonstrates that the move away from historical styles and towards an engagement with space was predicted in part by a shift in the public for architecture. By the 1910s German architects and their patrons addressed the working and lower middle classes in buildings which they hoped would, by being experienced in the same way regardless of social station, help transcend the country's deep political divisions.

Attaching modernist architecture to mass culture and to the kind of spectacle more often associated with postmodernism, this book also elucidates the way in which these abstract architectural forms were from the beginning enlivened by performances – from political pageantry to religious ritual – and the lighting that accompanied them. The author vividly illustrates the ways in which buildings designed by many of Germany's most celebrated twentieth-century architects, such as Max Berg, Bruno Taut, Peter Behrens, Otto Bartning, Dominikus Böhm, Heinrich Tessenow, Albert Speer and Hans Scharoun, were embedded in widely held beliefs about the power of architecture to influence society. Shared by architects and patrons across the political spectrum, these ideas inspired their attempts literally to build community.

German Architecture for a Mass Audience also demonstrates the way in which these modernist ideas have been challenged and transformed, most recently in the rebuilding of central Berlin; the renovation of the Reichstag by Foster and Partners and Libeskind's Jewish Museum are two of the examples explored.

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Introduction

The pioneers of the modern movement justified their architecture as uniquely expressive of the qualities of new construction materials – above all, steel and reinforced concrete. In 1919 the German architect Erich Mendelsohn declared: 'All architectural forms created since the autonomous achievements of medieval architecture, from the creative epoch of the baroque until the artistic enervation of the present day, are based, strictly speaking, on the outdated formal scheme of antique construction principles', a situation which he interpreted as mandating the invention of new architectural forms.[1] Frame construction opened up spatial possibilities impossible to achieve with load-bearing masonry, while industrial-ization provided, in the words of Hannes Meyer, director of the Bauhaus from 1928 until 1930, 'new building materials for the new way of building houses'.[2] New materials appeared to demand a new clarity of expression, unimpeded by ornament or the symbolism it constituted. For Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Meyer's successor at the Bauhaus, 'Reinforced concrete buildings are by nature skeletal buildings. No noodles nor armored turrets. A construction of girders that carry the weight, and walls that carry no weight. That is to say, buildings consisting of skin and bones.'[3]

The movement's earliest historians Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Nikolaus Pevsner and Sigfried Giedion, understood the new architecture in formal terms. In this they followed the lead of architects (it was Le Corbusier, after all, who defined architecture as 'the masterly, correct and magnificent play of masses brought together in light'), while also adhering to the discipline of art history in which they had been trained.[4] In their book, *The International Style: Architecture since 1922*, first published in 1932, Hitchcock and his co-author Philip Johnson sought to establish the parameters of a new style, one which would replace what they saw as the cacophony of historicist eclecticism.[5] Four years later, Pevsner in his *Pioneers of Modern Design* focused on establishing the intellectual roots of the industrial aesthetic that culminated for him on the eve of World War I in Walter Gropius and Adolf Meyer's Fagus Factory in Alfeld-on-the-Leine and their model factory for the Werkbund exhibit in Cologne.[6] Giedion's *Space, Time, and Architecture*, which first appeared in 1941, was more ambitious in its scope, reaching back as far as Sixtus V's Rome and including the technology of construction as well as lengthy discussions of urban planning. Nonetheless, Giedion's privileging of new

concepts of architectural and urban space, which he tied more closely to recent developments in modern physics than to social change, revealed a strong formalist orientation.[7]

Neither of these two approaches, the technological or the formal, accommodates the range of ways, however, in which the economic, social, and political processes of modernization transformed the built environment, often without or with little reference to modernism, that is the artistic expression of modernization. If one seeks to understand how architecture was affected by industrialization and urbanization, then one must address social issues as well. Nowhere is this more obvious than in Germany. Early twentieth-century Germany serves as our template for understanding the origins of the modern movement and its relationship to political and social divisions.[8] Too often, however, discussions of this relationship between German buildings and the contexts that they both reflected and shaped have focused on style, which is interpreted as having stable political content.[9]

If one looks beyond this simplistic equation, one finds a development that unites rather than divides the architecture inspired by competing political positions and styles and yet responds to a distinctly modern development: the shift in the audience for professionally designed buildings in Germany to encompass a mass public. The emergence of such a public was arguably the single social change that had the greatest impact upon German architecture between 1910 and 1940. By the early decades of the twentieth century the allegiance of the lower middle and working classes was being courted by politicians, impresarios, merchants, employers, and even the church, all of whom recognized the potential of the masses to disrupt the tenuous social order. Many of the aspects of German architecture from these years that are customarily attributed to shifts in technology or style were instead provoked, at least in part, by attempts to reach this expanded public. Furthermore, these shifts were not limited to buildings designed by men affiliated with the modern movement, but instead pervaded German architectural culture as a whole.

Between 1910 and 1940 German architects of various political stripes and the individuals and institutions that hired them sought to ameliorate the country's dangerous social divisions by creating gathering places for a mass public. Following the lead of those who had transformed German theater in the early years of the century, and inspired as well by prominent late nineteenth-century aestheticians and sociologists, they believed that the shared experience of such spaces could help restore what they nostalgically recalled as a premodern sense of community. Spaces that brought people together physically would also, it was hoped, promote the development of a unified society, the creation of which eluded German politicians throughout this period.

The efforts of these architects and those who hired them prompted changes in architecture which were only partially consonant with modernist architecture as defined by Hitchcock, Pevsner, and Giedion, but which were as unquestionably new as the conditions which produced them. First, was the creation of undivided, often circular spaces as the basic requirement for such a social transformation. Second was the use of often highly experimental construction and engineering to

enclose these new spaces. Third, was the elimination of extraneous ornament, and in many cases even identifiable historical styles, from the walls defining the surfaces of these spaces. Each of these first three developments are too often conflated with the emergence of the New Building or International Style, although in fact they had multiple origins. What distinguishes architecture for a mass public from this more narrowly defined modernism is its fourth feature, the degree to which its abstraction was originally shot through with spectacle. Simplicity alone was insufficient. The new architecture had to be made exciting, even enticing. Dramatic lighting techniques, employing brightly colored artificial as well as natural light enlivened the simple expression of structure at the same time as they provided an emphatically up-to-date alternative to more traditional forms of decoration.

One cannot easily separate the carefully constructed geometry of much German architecture built between 1910 and 1940 from the spectacle that originally animated it. In many cases this spectacle was integral to these buildings; that black-and-white photographs provide little permanent documentation does not mean that artificial as well as natural light in particular did not offer a blatantly flamboyant counterpart to what often seems otherwise to have been a coolly rational architecture. This spectacle, and the appeals to emotion upon which it was based, cannot be confined within the Expressionist label.[10] Modernist German architecture was seldom as pristine as its postwar advocates and critics would like us to believe, nor for that matter was it as detached from either the marketplace or the masses.

What were the assumptions that prompted these changes? First were theories that emphasized abstraction's ability to generate universal empathetic responses. Their existence encouraged those who undertook such projects to believe in the power of centralized space to bring people literally together. Second was the idealistic conviction that harmonious societies had once existed and could now be recreated through artistic rather than political means. Finally, architects deemed complicated stylistic and iconographic references irrelevant to their efforts to reach out to a working class that based its claim to rule on numbers rather than education. They replaced allusions comprehensible only to those trained to decipher them with spectacle they believed accessible to all.

The transformation of architecture that resulted from these efforts to reach a larger public did not necessarily entail or represent the empowerment of that public, however. The new public for architecture did not gain more control over the shaping of the environment in which it lived, even as the construction, spaces, and appearance of many of the buildings it used changed in order to engage them. The title of this book, *German Architecture for a Mass Audience*, is intended to convey the passiveness of this relationship. Design remained the purview of architects and those who could afford to hire them (or city planners and those in a position to appoint them). Neither architects, middle class by virtue of their professional training, nor those to whom they answered, consulted the object of their efforts about their architectural preferences. Instead they relied upon theory to tell them how to achieve their goals.

Nor is the emergence of a mass audience for German architecture exactly identical with that of a mass subject, the topic of a fine study by Markus Bernauer.[11] As Bernauer demonstrates, the two concepts have similar sources but were implemented slightly differently. Weimar-era architects and cultural critics, whose allegiance with the left tended to be stronger than was the case for the more heterogeneous group included in this study, conceived of this subject in objective terms.[12] For them, individuals were little different from reproducible cogs in a machine or the mass-produced products of such industry.[13] Such an attitude promoted, for instance, the development of an *Existenzminimum* for workers' housing. The architecture included in this study, by contrast, is less completely rational, based as it was upon an understanding of its audience as composed of human beings with feelings, albeit with emotional responses that varied little, at least within national cultures. At the same time it is important to acknowledge that both were totalizing projects. One cannot insulate the Weimar avant-garde from its fascist contemporaries by limiting, as Bernauer does, the discussion of the implementation of a mass aesthetic to works located securely within the modernist canon.

Nonetheless, architecture for a mass audience had an enormous, although mostly unacknowledged, impact upon twentieth-century architecture, including works located well within this canon. Documenting that impact offers an opportunity to break free from the conventions of much current writing in the field of architectural history. Today the study of the history of nineteenth- and twentieth-century architecture as practiced in the United States is fractured, divided between those on the one hand who espouse social history and those who prefer the lens of intellectual history.[14] The first explores the way in which buildings function as the bricks and mortar of a social order, one which is in turn often challenged by the ways in which they are actually experienced and used. These scholars turn to anthropology and geography to explore the social and economic structures in which building is embedded at the expense of the discipline's historic concern with aesthetics. Their subjects are typically American, vernacular, and urban.[15] The second continues to privilege architects, but focuses upon their writings rather than their designs. This history of ideas ties architecture to philosophy and literature, keeping it the preserve of an intellectual elite.[16]

Both approaches remove us from a direct confrontation with the physical artifact of the building, which each camp tends to associate with an outdated formalism.[17] This deprives historians of their ability to analyze much of what is specific to architecture, in particular the integration of space, structure, and surface fundamental to all buildings, and eliminates much of the actual experience of buildings from discussions of architecture. Furthermore, both positions typecast the architect. Social historians often assume that designers operate as little more than the instruments of real estate developers and, less often, urban planners. Intellectual historians for their part tend to detach the architectural profession from its public in ways that both reflect and contribute to the alienation between author and audience that pervades contemporary architectural culture. Neither approach accommodates what is most needed – a way to contextualize architecture's palpable

physicality, a problem that becomes increasingly acute as the architecture under discussion itself becomes most abstract, that is as this context becomes less and less obviously embedded within the actual artifact.

Two recent books to which this study is greatly indebted illustrate this problem. In *Studies in Tectonic Culture: The Poetics of Construction in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Kenneth Frampton locates in tectonics, the physical and symbolic qualities of construction materials, an antidote to the semiotic orientation of postmodern architecture. Frampton seeks to place structure at the center of architecture's theoretical as well as actual integrity. He offers a series of studies of the place of construction in the design strategies of celebrated architects as an alternative to what he sees as the contamination of architectural rigor by the external forces of populism and commercialism.[18] In contrast, this study shows the way in which architects envisioned tectonics not as end, but as the means with which to craft dynamic responses to the social and political issues of their time. Similarly, in *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments*, Christine Boyer identifies the influence of turn-of-the-century theater upon urban and architectural form of the 1920s but reads that step towards abstraction as inherently alienating. This view ignores two important aspects of the developments Boyer rightly highlights: first, that the abstraction of set design on the part of such directors and producers as Adolf Appia and Max Reinhardt was intended to make their productions more rather than less comprehensible to a mass audience and, second, that the importation of their techniques into modernist German architecture was often accompanied by precisely the theatrical spectacle which she understands as paradigmatically postmodernist.[19]

Equally importantly my results challenge conventional interpretations of the relationship between modernist and/or avant-garde cultural production and a mass public. Contrary to the analyses of many cultural critics, attempts to reach a mass public were not always motivated by either the urge to make money or to establish a fascist regime. Not only did the idealist desire to transform society through the creation of a new communal architecture flourish across the political spectrum, it was as likely to infiltrate the marketplace as to be corrupted by it. Furthermore, the purpose of many cultural theorists is to prevent exactly the kind of identification proposed here between architects and intellectuals of all political stripes. Thus when Dieter Bartetzko acknowledged the modernist precedents for Nazi lighting and spectacle, this occurred in the context of implicitly blaming theater producers and architects, who included Jews forced into exile by the Third Reich, for their unintended contributions to a regime they abhorred.[20]

In fact, the founding moment of high modern German architecture cannot be detached from the mass culture in which it was a willing participant. Although Frederic Schwartz's recent study of the German Werkbund constitutes an important and path-breaking exception, too often the relationship between the two has been theorized in terms of French painting, which was far more embedded in the marketplace at the same time that it attempted to maintain a critical position outside it.[21] German architects, unlike French painters from Edouard Manet to

Pablo Picasso, sought not to represent the relationship between high art and mass culture, an enterprise which indeed prompted wave after wave of formal innovation, but to transform it.[22] They were motivated by an idealistic desire to market ideas rather than goods through buildings whose appearance was intended to reach out to rather than float above the heads of the public as a whole.

The barriers between high and mass culture theorized by Theodor Adorno and Clement Greenberg were directly inspired, as Andreas Huyssen and Thomas Crow have established, by the distrust these critics had for a working class which they saw as susceptible to the blandishments not only of the marketplace but, more dangerously, of fascism.[23] Similarly, the gap between the architectural profession and its public widened as architects, too, became alienated from a popular taste they no longer hoped to control. In particular, the threat that Nazi architectural policies posed to the survival of the modern movement was enormous. If it was going to endure at all, the new architecture would have to be redefined in strong opposition to that built during Hitler's horrific regime. Although scholars have demonstrated the degree to which leading modernist architects, such as Gropius and Mies were willing to work for the Nazis, while many younger ones served the regime without apparent hesitation, during the postwar years the memory of modernist spectacle was purged from accounts of the movement's founding as too dangerous to be tolerated.[24] Even when the study of Expressionist architecture flowered in the 1970s, this aspect of its heritage remained uncomfortable.[25] Expressionism's defenders cherished modernist architecture's supposed detachment from commercialism and mainstream architecture, encouraging a myth of the avant-garde that had little relationship to the often messy reality of the 1910s and 1920s.

The task of fusing social and intellectual history to an account of physical artifacts is rendered particularly complex by the abstract character of most of the buildings that fill these pages. Despite the efforts of those who designed them, the meaning of few of these structures has remained stable over time. This was a crucial failing of the approach chronicled here, one which assisted in the rapid appropriation of its motifs by people who had very different intentions from those who had invented them. To recover the original intentions of their architects and assess the way in which these were originally received, as well as chronicle later distortions, I have turned whenever possible to the writings of contemporaries, journalists and critics as well as architects. The published word is thus prominent in these pages, overshadowing those aspects of architectural design, such as preliminary sketches, that illustrate an individual aesthetic process more than the relationship of buildings to society.

This book does not claim to be a history of twentieth-century German architecture, or even of those buildings erected between the years on which it focuses, 1910 to 1940. Instead it is a study focused on those buildings that best highlight one particular aspect of that history. These are not always the ones most often associated with social change in Germany. Neither the Bauhaus nor the *Siedlungen* of the 1920s appear in these pages as neither contained communal gathering places nor were the politics that produced them identical with those

that inspired the examples discussed below. Instead it is the often overlooked commercial architecture of the Weimar years that best illustrates the overlap between architecture for a mass public and the modern movement, if not always the combination of an industrial aesthetic, rationalized planning, and efficient construction found at the Bauhaus and in the *Siedlungen*.

The five chapters that follow are organized in part thematically, in part chronologically. Chapter 1 sets forth the political problems that the architecture described in the rest of the book was intended to solve and describes the sociological and aesthetic theories that enabled architects and their patrons to believe that buildings could accomplish so much. The political circumstances that made courting the masses increasingly important in late imperial Germany are detailed first. Such appeals were generally based on a idealized view of premodern society developed by the sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies. In conjunction with new theories of universal form, Tönnies's concept of 'organic communities' (in opposition to modern society) inspired art historians such as Wilhelm Worringer to believe that a reformed architecture could be the tool for rebuilding society along such untroubled lines. This political and intellectual history provides the underpinning for what follows. By 1910 these ideas had begun to pervade German architectural culture; many of the assumptions they encouraged would linger for decades.

Chapter 2 focuses on the transformation from the German civic architecture of the nineteenth century, directed at a bourgeois audience, to one which began by the second decade of the twentieth century to be aimed at a mass public. A case study, its focus is a single building, the Jahrhunderthalle (Centennial Hall) in Breslau (now Wroclaw, Poland), designed by Max Berg and dedicated in the spring of 1913. Although enshrined in histories of modern architecture, the political context that inspired the extraordinary engineering of this enormous centralized space and the innovations in reinforced concrete construction upon which it depended have been ignored by scholars. Only minimally more attention has been paid to Berg's close working relationship with the director Max Reinhardt and the playwright Gerhart Hauptmann. Resulting in the last great cultural scandal of the imperial era, the pageant that was the fruit of this collaboration clearly reveals the challenge the Jahrhunderthalle's builders intended to pose to the Wilhelmine status quo.

The subject of the third chapter is the spiritualization of the marriage of space, structure, and spectacle found in the Jahrhunderthalle. Pioneered by Bruno Taut, a utopian socialist, this redemptive approach to architecture was nonetheless embraced during the 1920s by big business and the church. Highlighting the spectacular nature of two exhibit pavilions designed by Taut, the Monument des Eisens (Monument to Steel) and the Glashaus (Glass Building), this chapter chronicles the way in which the fantastical aspects of the latter were repeated in Taut's own subsequent schemes for city crowns. These were closely affiliated with their architect's fervent support for the new Republic and democratic government. That Taut's techniques of centralized spaces animated by sensual lighting effects could be co-opted by more conservative institutions (which nonetheless realized the need to adopt progressive attitudes in order to survive) is demonstrated

through discussions of three buildings erected during the Weimar Republic: Peter Behrens's office building outside Frankfurt for Hoechst Chemicals, Otto Bartning's Stahlkirche (Steel Church) for the Presse Exhibition in Cologne, and Böhm's St. Engelbert Church in the nearby suburb of Riehl.

Chapter 4 traces the continuities between the theater reforms of the last years before the outbreak of World War I and the most prominent aspect of Nazi spectacle, the use of artificial light. Previous analyses of the links between Albert Speer and his teacher Heinrich Tessenow have focused on Speer's loyalty to the neoclassical style, particularly as employed by Tessenow in the Festhalle (Festival Hall) he built for Jacques Dalcroze in the garden city of Hellerau. They have ignored, however, the way in which Tessenow, Dalcroze, and Dalcroze's friend Appia developed new lighting techniques within this building to produce a glowing space different more in scale than effect from Speer's later Lichtdome (Cathedrals of Light) for the annual Nazi party rallies in Nuremberg. An account of the idealistic nature of a single Weimar cinema building, Rudolf Fränkel's Lichtberg (Mountain of Light) in Berlin, which featured the most advanced lighting programs realized in Germany during the Weimar years, provides a bridge between these two examples. Including the Lichtberg raises the issue of the degree to which the idealism of the Festhalle, and for that matter of Taut's Glashaus and city crown schemes, already coexisted with the commercialism of modern mass culture before Speer co-opted it to such dangerous political ends.

The final chapters examine the impact which the retreat from Nazi spectacle had upon the postwar face of the modern movement and upon civic architecture in a divided Germany. Contrasting the Kulturhaus (House of Culture) designed by Emil Leibold for the eastern town of Rüdersdorf with the Philharmonie erected by Hans Scharoun in West Berlin's Kulturforum illustrates the different form that the reaction against Fascist architecture initially took in the two Germanies. Although Scharoun's building was widely praised for its humanism, many postwar architects turned away from engaging with the larger society, which left them vulnerable to the charges of elitism. These began to be leveled in the 1960s. Abstract form expressive of function and construction many now perceived as forbidding, as memories of their connection to an earlier populism faded.

Although modernism's anti-fascist credentials enabled it to flourish unchallenged longer in the Federal Republic than in most other Western European countries or the United States, by the 1980s postmodernism's revival of late nineteenth-century architecture's emphasis upon typology, history, and ornament had won widespread popular acceptance, especially on the part of leftist intellectuals. The differences between the populist approach to architecture documented by this book and the postmodernism which replaced it are clarified through a consideration of the Neue Staatsgallerie (New State Gallery) in Stuttgart by James Stirling and Michael Wilford, the most prominent civic building constructed in the Federal Republic during the 1980s.

Finally, the debate over the appearance of a reunited Berlin demonstrates the way in which the communicative power of architecture continues to be a live issue in Germany. Although the controversy over the form the reconstruction of the

city should take is usually described as being between supporters of postmodern historicism and late modernist abstraction, it can also be seen as one between a presumed bourgeois and a more universalized subject. The architects of many of the city's new buildings – Daniel Libeskind, Norman Foster, and Günter Behnisch in particular – reprise many of the strategies invented by Berg and his successors, while their opponents, above all Hans Stimmann and Hans Kollhoff, share a fear of spectacle, whether civic or capitalist, and the assumption that in rebuilding an essentially bourgeois and to a lesser extent imperial Berlin they are not only being faithful to the city's past but are fulfilling the desires of its present residents and visitors, who are assumed to identify with that past.

The theories of universal form upon which architecture for a mass public were based are no longer in favor. In recent years scholars have rightly emphasized instead the very different ways in which age, ethnicity, class, and gender affect responses to all forms of cultural production. Television and film have been subject to particular scrutiny, but the conclusions drawn from these media certainly often apply as well to architecture.[26] In the early twentieth century, however, many architects, like many painters and theater directors, believed that the appeal of their creations would not be constrained by the diversity of their potential audience. The purpose of this book is not to prove that they were right – indeed, their few triumphs proved more frightening than many of their failures – but to reintroduce their original aims into discussions of the architecture generated by these aims.

German Architecture for a Mass Audience documents not what architecture can actually achieve, but what German architects once hoped it could accomplish. Although the effort it chronicles ended in deep disillusionment, there is much here that can still inspire. Architecture need not be innovative only at the cost of alienating the public who inhabits it, nor should the debate over where its content lies be limited to competing theories of tectonic and semiotic meaning. Instead, it can at its best create buildings whose spaces serve society as a whole and acknowledge rather than evade the range of functions that are too often seen as contaminating pure form. Furthermore, aesthetic quality need not interfere with the dignity of those who are most removed from the economic clout and professional architectural culture that together do so much to shape the world in which we live.

1 Space

In 1938 the German architect Rudolf Schwarz described the way in which the experience of standing in a ring affects those who participate in it:

> In the closed form of the ring the arcing movement which originated it circles incessantly ahead, an inner stream of power which constantly renews and unifies the figure, just as the warmly circulating blood sustains and enlivens the human body. The inner stream, dark and hidden, turns the people into a community and unites their bodies into the higher body. This genuine growth befalls the individual who links himself into the common form. The forms of human community are alive. They are exceedingly potent realities which, standing the test of time, prove true. And of them all, the ring is the strongest.[1]

In this statement Schwarz makes a number of assumptions about the power of form. First, he assumes that all people experience it in the same way, that is, he assumes a universal subject. Second, he takes for granted that form generates emotions in both individuals and, because these experiences are universal, in groups. Schwarz uses organic metaphors ('warmly circulating blood') to explain how the group, or community, can thus be understood as 'alive'. Finally, these are, Schwarz tells us, timeless truths, located outside the shifts in fashion that had done so much within his own lifetime to change the appearance of architecture.

Schwarz wrote during the Nazi dictatorship and described techniques that its supporters relied upon in their own attempts to use architecture to promote community. Nonetheless there is nothing specifically Nazi about these beliefs, nor were they unique to Schwarz. Indeed, they had already been widely held by German architects for a quarter of a century, and they would prove to have enormous consequences for the modern religious architecture of which Schwarz was such an important exponent before and after as well as during the Nazi dictatorship.[2] Schwarz's assumptions had their roots in two interlocking discourses: the explanation German sociologists offered for understanding the social dislocations wrought by modernization, and the aesthetic theories of philosophers and art historians who, at times inadvertently, offered architects a means for addressing and perhaps resolving those dislocations. Writing in the final decades

of the nineteenth century, these thinkers articulated ideas which by the 1910s tended to be taken for granted by the architects who are the subject of this study.

Architecture and politics have been intertwined since the first ruler erected a palace magnificent enough to leave his subjects and foreign guests awestruck. Two aspects of this relationship in Germany between 1910 and 1940 are nonetheless unusual. First, rulers and their audiences alike assumed that style was political.[3] Second, architects like Schwarz believed that the quality of the space of their buildings could resolve social problems that seemed intractable to all but the most extremist politicians. What were these problems and why had they resisted more conventional solutions?

The political background

Between the outbreak of the French Revolution and World War I the public engaged in German politics expanded to include first the bourgeoisie and eventually the lower middle class and the working-class masses.[4] This process, which was exacerbated by the social and economic transformations that accompanied modernization, did not result in empowerment for all those who had gained a voice in German politics, however. While the bourgeoisie eventually became largely integrated into the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century economic and political establishment, the votes that working-class and lower middle-class men cast for the Social Democrats did not produce the political changes they had hoped for until the revolution of November 1918.[5] The strategies developed by the country's elite in order to court the expanding number of participants in the political arena were seldom successful in curtailing the radical aspirations of working-class voters, but their attempts to develop a sense of community which would transcend class divisions did dramatically change the practice of both politics and architecture.

Between 1815 and 1871, the German states that survived Napoleon's reorganization of Central Europe accommodated bourgeois demands for political representation in a variety of ways. While prerevolutionary systems that favored the aristocracy, or at least the traditional urban elites, were restored in many northern states, including both Mecklenburgs, Brunswick, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, new constitutions in Bavaria and Baden provided for more representative legislatures. The powers of these bodies remained severely restricted, however, as did the extent of the electorate.[6]

Following the unification of Germany in 1871, the situation became more complex, as the country's first chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, initially relied upon the enfranchisement of the entire male populace to check the power of bourgeois liberals, at least at the national level. Elections for the Reichstag (the German parliament), unlike those for the parliament of Prussia, the country's largest state, did not weight votes according to the economic status of those casting them. At first universal manhood suffrage produced comfortable majorities for Bismarck's government. Despite Bismarck's creation of what was then Europe's most highly developed system of state-sponsored social welfare, his success in reaching over

the head of bourgeois liberals to appeal to the masses eventually waned. The new nation's rapid industrialization and urbanization, which moved many peasants off the land and into the proletariat, also encouraged them to turn to socialism. Although at the beginning of Wilhelm II's reign Bismarck's successor, Leo von Caprivi, courted popular support through relatively enlightened social policies, no imperial German government included or was sympathetic to the Social Democrats. The Center Party reflected the interests of its Roman Catholic working-class as well as bourgeois supporters, but it, too, remained on the periphery of national governments. Meanwhile, by the 1890s the rising popularity of the Social Democrats encouraged a bourgeois retreat from liberalism, which in any case was never identical with representative government.[7]

By 1912 the situation had reached crisis proportions. In that year the Social Democratic Party became the single largest party in the Reichstag. The socialists garnered 35 per cent of the vote in an election in which every adult German male was qualified to participate. No longer could aristocrats command the loyalty of the people against the bourgeoisie. The danger was twofold. First and most simply the electorate's turn to the left called into question the structure of the Reichstag, a popularly elected body whose leadership was nonetheless appointed by the Kaiser. Germany threatened to become ungovernable. Second, the yawning class divisions exposed by the socialists' strong showing revealed the weak foundations upon which the myths of German unity had been built.[8] What if speaking the same language and inhabiting the same territory did not ensure that people of different social classes shared the same interests? Even if one sympathized with the socialists, one might envision an ideal community in which the many issues which divided Germans were eclipsed by social harmony.

Furthermore, while the emergence of a mass public attracted the attention of German elites primarily because it threatened their control of the nation's political and economic system, it had other important implications. Although they were relatively impoverished in comparison to their employers, German workers still made enough money in the first four decades of this century to be important consumers of mass-produced goods, including such new and ephemeral forms of entertainment as film, radio, and sporting events. The extension of the public realm to include the commercial as well as the civic, indeed, the challenge the former increasingly posed to the latter, was one of the developments that most disturbed cultural commentators from across the political spectrum.[9]

Efforts to reach out to a mass public were largely diverted from partisan politics after Bismarck's system was swept aside by the revolution which broke out in November 1918, following Germany's defeat in World War I. The uprising, which prompted the abdication of the emperor, resulted in a Social Democratic government whose own integrity was in its earliest months most threatened by those further to the left. The communist-backed Sparticist uprising that took place in Berlin in January 1919 was the most serious of the many continuing revolts which were suppressed only by an alliance between the socialists and the notorious *Freikorps*, nationalist remnants of the imperial army. The republican constitution approved in 1919 in Weimar (hence the name Weimar Republic), brought a

measure of political stability, but parliamentary politics never enjoyed the support of a convincing majority. In the absence of popular support for the government, other institutions tried to fill the void. Industry and the church were among those who realized the importance of reaching out to the working and lower classes. Their attempts to stabilize the system from within were quite distinct from more dynamic efforts to build a better society upon the more equitable distribution of consumer goods, including entertainment. Aborted when the collapse of the American stock market in October 1929 triggered a devastating economic crisis in Germany, the rise of mass culture was accompanied in many cases by an alliance with avant-garde artists and architects. The fragile republic endured for just three more years. Nazis and Communists battled in the streets, as well as at the ballot boxes, before Adolf Hitler finally assumed power in January 1933.[10]

Although Hitler governed as a dictator, he eagerly courted the German public, on whose behalf he claimed to rule. Plebiscites, for instance, were a prominent feature of his efforts to demonstrate that the country was united behind him. Equally compelling were events like the annual party rallies held in Nuremberg, in which hundreds of thousands gathered as participants and spectators. Such opportunities for apparently direct political participation masked the degree to which the apparent Nazi unification of German society depended upon state-sponsored violence, but not that the Nazi definition of those to be united was in fact exclusive, barring Jews in particular from a public now defined in racial and religious terms.

The stalemates that characterized German politics during the first four decades of the twentieth century ensured that efforts to promote cultural solutions to political problems had enormous appeal. The approaches already developed before World War I were refined in the following two decades by those from across the political spectrum who saw in them the hope of reconstituting a vision of ideal communities, one whose slim basis in fact in no way hindered its popularity among cultural critics and other intellectuals who agreed about little else. All hoped that ostensibly nonpolitical solutions might heal an increasingly obviously fractured society. Their attempts to enlist architecture and theater in this project were to be shaped as well by long-standing German presuppositions about the relation of art to the society in which it was produced and by new sociological analyses of the process of modernization.

Organic communities: a sociological construct

Contemporaries attributed the political crises spawned by the failed alliance between Bismarck and the masses to what they saw as the socially corrosive forces of modernization. Led by Ferdinand Tönnies, German sociologists explained the alienation of the working class in terms of the unraveling of pre-industrial communities, which Tönnies described as 'organic'. The issue was, quite simply, how one could restore the premodern social organization Tönnies romanticized without compromising the industrial development upon which the country's new economic and political power depended. Beginning in the 1890s, generations of

Germans from all across the political spectrum attempted to exploit the new technology they both feared and cherished to transcend through culture what they understood to be the most destructive effects of modernization, that is, to redeem industrialization without sacrificing what was seen as the nation's fundamental (and hence pre-industrial) character.

First published in 1887, and reissued in 1912 to widespread acclaim, Tönnies's *Community and Society* posited that there were two forms of social organization: communities and societies.[11] Based on the patriarchal family, but extending outwards to encompass village and town society, the community was, according to Tönnies, a unified, inwardly focused form of organization encompassing ties of blood, of place, and of mind. Even when they did not themselves farm, as was for instance the case for those who instead practiced a craft, the participants in this social structure were, according to Tönnies, closely tied to the land. Furthermore, in Tönnies's highly romanticized view, chains of communal authority, although feudal, remained 'natural':

> Within kinship, all natural authority is concentrated in paternal authority; where the social grouping is based on neighborhood, this paternal authority is transformed into the authority of the prince and as such retains its importance. Under this form it is based more upon power than upon age and fatherhood. It is more clearly evident in the influence of a master over his people, of the landlord over his copyholders, of the feudal lord over his serfs. When friendship is based on common devotion to the same calling or the same craft, such dignity and authority expresses itself as the authority of the master toward his disciples, pupils, apprentices.[12]

To community, Tönnies opposed society, the mechanical organization of modern, urban life and – by extension – the nation-state. This he labeled an 'artificial construction of an aggregate of human beings which superficially resembles the *Gemeinschaft* [community] in so far as the individuals live and dwell together peacefully'.[13] Society, in Tönnies's view, lacked the social unity that created meaningful communal bonds. Instead it was based upon a rationalism derived from the exchange of money and commodities. Borrowing from Karl Marx, Tönnies voiced a critique of modern capitalism that established his appeal to generations of leftwing intellectuals:

> To the extent that free workers become deprived of property – as the possession of working tools and consumption goods – the natural rule of free merchants and capitalists over workers in the *Gesellschaft* [society] is realized and becomes actual domination, in spite of the latter's freedom.[14]

Ironically, his claim that the merchant class was 'international' in outlook hinted at a possible anti-semitism, but did not diminish the popularity of his schema among Jewish cultural critics such as Siegfried Kracauer and Theodor Adorno. Similarly difficult to position politically was Tönnies's postulation that in this form

of social organization, the vagaries of public opinion replaced timeless religious truths.

The abstractness of Tönnies's theory, derived from German circumstances but intended to be universally valid, obscured uncomfortable historical facts. Tönnies ignored the very real poverty and social disorder that had always existed in such settings.[15] That he nonetheless had an enormous impact upon both the emerging discipline of sociology and upon German intellectual life more generally demonstrates the nearly universal nostalgia for pre-industrial life on the land and in small cities, if often on the part of those fully embedded in metropolitan culture, and the enormity of the desire to believe social harmony possible. For many Germans on the left and right from the 1890s through to the 1930s, clergymen as well as politicians, merchants as well as artists, the possibility of recreating these mythical communities offered the promise of eliminating social divisions they, like Tönnies, attributed almost exclusively to the processes of modernization. Yet the overriding goal was not turning back the clock, but defusing social tensions without necessarily changing either the country's economic or political system. This could, depending on one's point of view, be accomplished by overlaying past forms on present conditions or – more radically – by inventing new versions of what were understood as timeless ideals.[16]

Art as a path to social harmony

These attempts deployed newly invented symbols of the community in lieu of structural political or economic change. This was especially true in the arts. Critical to the substitution of cultural for political reform was the idea espoused since the end of the eighteenth century by German Romantics and their successors that art was a reflection of the society that produced it. If this were true, then perhaps one could change society by changing its artistic manifestations. Furthermore, before Germany's political unification, a national culture had first been established by intellectuals. The preservation of pre-industrial culture thus assumed unusual political importance to those in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Germany who located within it the core of national identity. At the same time, the Romantic emphasis upon art's expressive, anti-rational characteristics was expanded upon following unification by aestheticians and art historians who increasingly emphasized abstract form rather than the stylistic and iconographic associations integral to Romanticism.

In architecture, art's new responsibility to transcend rather than express the processes of modernization resulted in a shift away from tectonics, that is, theories which emphasized the methods and materials used to construct a building, towards the psychological effect of space.[17] During the middle decades of the nineteenth century two important architectural theorists, Carl Gottlieb Wilhelm Bötticher and Gottfried Semper, had confronted the implications of new construction materials, above all iron, by emphasizing the relationship of architectural form to construction techniques and materials. Semper also stressed the symbolic qualities of architecture, which he believed to be enmeshed in its social role.[18] By the 1870s,

however, art historians and aestheticians were developing theories of formalism and empathy that would lead those writing about architecture at the turn of the century to focus on the ability of form and space to shape human experience. It would not be a large step from here to positing that specific historical forms, at first the centralized Renaissance church and later the Gothic cathedral, offered discerning intellectuals the opportunity to re-experience the social harmony that had supposedly produced them.

In 1873 Robert Vischer proposed that specific forms could engender equally specific emotional responses as the viewer, reacting empathetically, 'projected [his or her] own life into the lifeless form'.[19] Vischer's successors emphasized the importance of space rather than structure or style as the defining characteristic of architecture, and the one which evoked an empathetic response. Writing twenty years later August Schmarsow, for instance, emphasized the importance of form and space. He asked:

> Do the massive piles of purposely hewn stone, the well-jointed beams, and the securely arched vaults constitute the architectural work of art, or does the work of art come into being only in that instant when human aesthetic reflection begins to transpose itself into the whole and to understand and appreciate all the parts with a pure and free vision?[20]

The development of theories of universal form and empathy were closely interlinked. Schmarsow understood the implications of the idea that, at least within individual cultures, contemporaries would have identical empathetic reactions to the same spaces. He inquired:

> Should not architecture also today, in turning back to the time-honored, inner aspect of its creations, once again find its way into the hearts of the general population by becoming the *creatress of space*? It is said that the spirit builds the body in its own image. *The history of architecture is the history of the sense of space*, and thus consciously or unconsciously it is a basic constituent in this history of *worldviews*.[21]

The emergence of this new conception of space rather than structure or style as the subject of architecture, and therefore of its history as well, enhanced the ability of architectural historians to identify and understand earlier efforts to mold space in the image of an ordered cosmos. The details of the mandala-inspired design of Hindu temples and of the relationship of other non-European sacred building types to religious beliefs about the structure of the universe were not yet widely understood in Europe, but there were less exotic examples close at hand. When Heinrich Wöfflin, for instance, rewrote the history of Renaissance and Baroque architecture in Schmarsow's terms, he located this 'harmonious idea' in the centrally planned Italian Renaissance church.[22] Although its primacy was eventually challenged by the counter-paradigm of the Gothic cathedral, this image of obvious

spatial and apparent social and theological harmony remained central well into the twentieth century to German attempts to mold community through architecture.

Beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century, Enlightenment thinkers and the architects they inspired had sought such harmony not only in geometrical perfection but in the origins of architecture. In the process they invented the discipline of architectural history, which in turn transformed the appearance of European architecture.[23] Pre-Roman precedents were found first in Greece and then in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Although it proved difficult to incorporate the more remote of these traditions into the design of modern building types, details of Greek architectural style and construction, in particular, were often used in the early nineteenth century to impart order and expression to new types of civic buildings. More generally, the wide variety of historical styles employed by nineteenth-century European architects helped imbue rapidly changing cityscapes with an aura of permanence.

By the end of the century the new emphasis on form rather than style opened the door to a parallel search for architectural origins in construction and geometry rather than history. This inquiry, rather than the earlier historically motivated one, inspired architects to recreate pre-industrial communities by experimenting with new construction technologies and with forms that recalled in only the most generalized ways the various historical traditions, whether classicist or gothic, by which they continued to be loosely inspired.

The shift towards understanding architecture in terms of form and space contributed as well to a redefinition of its audience. In the years leading up to political unification, German architectural culture had been dominated by debates over style.[24] Although modern alternatives were proposed, all possible styles were derived from and most were defended in terms of historical precedents. Furthermore, meaning in architecture was located not only in style but in iconography applied to buildings in the form of sculptural decoration.

This approach was indivisible from the emergence of the German bourgeoisie as a political force. Throughout much of the nineteenth century, the importance of the well-educated upper middle-class professionals or *Bildungsbürgertum* was often recognized, not in the political arena *per se* but through the creation of an institutional infrastructure of cultural buildings such as art museums, opera houses, concert halls, and theaters. The architecture of this apparently public sphere made clear, however, that it was intended for a relatively elite audience, one which could decode its references to architectural history and to classical and other iconography.[25] Indeed, in these years this group staked its claim to political power largely on its learning. Meanwhile Bötticher's emphasis upon construction as the root of architectural principles privileged a single component of this class – professional architects.

Empathy and abstraction, on the other hand, offered architects and their patrons a path to extend their horizons beyond this narrow audience centered on the architectural profession and the social class to which it belonged. According to these theories, even the lower middle- and working-class audiences were now within reach.[26] Vischer himself recognized that his theory of empathy implied a

universal response to form. For Vischer this universalism was the basis for architecture's spiritual qualities.[27] Universalism was challenged in the early twentieth century by theories that emphasized racial and ethnic distinctions. Nonetheless, this discussion of the way form and space affected those who viewed and inhabited buildings failed to explore the ways in which different genders or classes might experience architecture or the degree to which function – civic, commercial, or domestic purposes – might influence the reception of architecture's more abstract qualities. Instead, the work of two influential art historians, Alois Riegl and Wilhelm Worringer, further developed the identification German intellectuals believed existed between culture and formal expression. At the same time both scholars downplayed the importance of the classical emphasis upon representation.

In his pioneering study *Late Roman Art Industry*, the Viennese scholar Alois Riegl proposed that late Roman art looked so different from earlier Greek and Roman art, not because late Roman artists were less skilled than their predecessors, but because they were trying to express a different worldview.[28] Riegl coined the term *Kunstwollen* (will to form) to describe the relationship between artistic motivation, which he interpreted in terms of the outlook of an entire culture rather than an individual artisan, and the form through which that outlook was expressed. One of the most important implications of his study was that it created an interpretive strategy for understanding and appreciating art which deviated much further from the norms of ancient and Renaissance classicism (and of more recent neoclassicism) than the Baroque art analyzed by Wölfflin. Now the 'primitive' moments in both European and nonwestern art could be interpreted in terms of the religious beliefs of their creators. Equally crucial was the degree to which the close connection his concept of *Kunstwollen* assumed between the production of art and the character of a society reinforced long-held German assumptions. Finally, Riegl offered additional ammunition to those for whom art was increasingly a matter of capturing the spirit of the age (*Zeitgeist*) rather than the expression of structure or materials.

In *Abstraction and Empathy* (1908) and *Form in Gothic* (1912), Worringer developed Riegl's idea of *Kunstwollen* in relation to Germany's own artistic traditions.[29] He was particularly interested in explaining and defending the degree to which this art differed from its Italian counterpart. The German scholars who founded the discipline of art history had derived their paradigms for establishing style and evaluating quality, whether of painting, sculpture, or architecture, from ancient Greek and Roman and from Italian Renaissance and Baroque examples. Worringer defended abstraction rather than empathy, which he equated, as had Schmarsow and Wölfflin, with classicism.[30] For Worringer, abstraction was affiliated with a primitivist alternative to classicism, one in which he located the roots of an antithetical, and specifically German, emphasis on expression rather than ideal form.

Worringer's writings, which were widely read by architects and cultural critics in the last years before World War I, popularized the discussions that had been taking place within German art history and aesthetics in a way which encouraged the contemporary exploration of expressive form in general and renewed interest

in the Gothic in particular.[31] Like so many of his contemporaries, Worringer located in the Gothic cathedral an indigenous alternative to classicism, one which unleashed the spiritualism and mysticism which the chill of nineteenth-century idealism appeared to have purged from the art of southern Europe, but which Germans, especially those who like Worringer had read Friedrich Nietzsche, so ardently sought to revive:

> Now the first thing we feel with the Gothic cathedral is a strong appeal to our capacity for empathy, and yet we shall hesitate to describe its inner constitution as organic. This hesitation will be strengthened if we think of an organic constitution of a Classical Greek edifice. . . . In the Gothic cathedral, on the contrary, matter lives solely on its own mechanical laws; but these laws, despite their fundamentally abstract character, have become living, i.e. they have acquired expression. Man has transferred his capacity for empathy onto mechanical values. Now they are no longer a dead abstraction to him, but a living movement of forces. And only in this heightened movement of forces, which in their intensity of expression surpass all organic motion, was Northern man able to gratify his need for expression, which had been intensified to the point of pathos by inner disharmony. Gripped by the frenzy of all these mechanical forces, that thrust out at all their terminations and aspire toward heaven in a mighty crescendo of orchestral music, he feels himself convulsively drawn aloft in blissful vertigo, raised himself high above the infinite. How remote he is from the harmonious Greeks, for whom all happiness was to be sought in the balanced tranquility of gentle organic movement, which is alien to all ecstasy.[32]

Although nineteenth-century architectural theorists, most famously Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin and John Ruskin in Britain and Eugene Viollet-le-Duc in France, had defended Gothic in terms of its structural integrity, Worringer believed that the emotional power of its forms resided instead in the experience of its soaring spaces. In language which would encourage his contemporaries to exploit the spatial possibilities of monolithic reinforced concrete construction, he specifically criticized the tectonic materialism with which steel had been deployed in the recent past:

> The modern art of steel construction has first given to us again a certain inward understanding of Gothic. Here again people have been confronted with an architctural form in which the artistic expression is taken over by the medium of construction. But, in spite of all external affinities, a powerful internal difference can be observed, for in modern architecture it is the material itself which directly invites this exclusively structural significance, while in Gothic the structural ideas were attained, not by means of the material, but in spite of the material, in spite of the stone. In other words: underlying the artistic appearance of the modern building constructed of steel there is no will to form which, for particular reasons, emphasizes structure, but only a new

material. The utmost that might be said for it is that it is an atavistic echo of
the old Gothic will to form which urges the modern Northern man to an
artistic emphasis of this material and which even allows us to hope for a new
style in architecture dependent on its relevant use.[33]

Worringer's writings were particularly influential because, unlike most of his
nineteenth-century predecessors, his focus was not on justifying the revival of
specific historical styles. Stressing instead the concepts upon which he believed
the Gothic forms he championed were based, he encouraged the emergence of
a specifically modern art whose expressive, almost primal abstraction would offer
an alternative to what many by this time saw as the overly refined realism of
nineteenth-century academic art and architecture. In particular, Worringer's
emphasis upon form rather than content gave increased credence to the belief,
which would begin to flourish during the 1910s, that abstract art could be the
means through which art would deliver social and spiritual redemption to
the masses.

   By 1910 the understanding of architecture as form and space rather than style
and ornament was well established in theory, if not in practice. And although no
one had yet implemented these concepts in terms of expanding the audience for
architecture to include the masses, the reasons for wishing to do so were well
established in cultural criticism as well as the political arena. Furthermore, the
belief that art in general and architecture in particular could play such a role was
already a truism in German cultural criticism, just as the previous – and in
unindustrialized contexts continued – existence of organic communities was in
German sociology. One result would be the fusion of aesthetic theory, political
purpose, and experimental architecture.

2 Simplicity

In August 1913, a year before the outbreak of World War I, Kaiser Wilhelm II traveled to Breslau, the capital of the German province of Silesia (today it is Wroclaw, Poland). His purpose was to visit an exhibit celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the call the Kaiser's ancestor, the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm III, had issued from Breslau to his subjects to oppose Napoleon. A century later this event was understood as having been an important step on the path to the eventual unification of Germany under the auspices of the Hohenzollern dynasty. Gathered to greet the Kaiser inside the exhibit's most prominent building, an enormous circular hall, were schoolchildren ready to sing to their monarch. The mayor stood at the door, ready to escort him inside. The Kaiser, according to a contemporary newspaper report, 'fumed that he would rather skip this serenade'.[1]

And skip it he did. The Kaiser refused to enter the Jahrhunderthalle (Centennial Hall), one of his empire's most prominent new buildings (Figure 2.1). The reason that he spurned this ceremony was that, following the example of his son Crown Prince Wilhelm, he objected to the content of the pageant that had earlier been staged inside the hall during its dedication the previous May. The playwright Gerhart Hautpmann, of whom the Kaiser had long disapproved, had himself described the pageant as pacifist. Many commentators had also found it socialist. Perhaps the Kaiser also sensed in the Jahrhunderthalle's unornamented surfaces, clear interior span, and exposed structure a new approach to architecture, one detached from the rituals of deference paid to him during his visit.

If so, he correctly deduced the intentions of the building's architect Stadtbaurat (City Architect) Max Berg, and of his patrons, Oberbürgermeister (Mayor) Matting and the members of the city council. Berg and the city government of Breslau sought to reach beyond the well-educated bourgeois elite who had dominated German political and cultural life during the nineteenth century to the lower middle- and working-class public who would at almost all times constitute the majority of the 10,000 people who could fit inside the new hall.[2] The architect designed the Jahrhunderthalle to be a place that all visitors, regardless of the details of their personal backgrounds, would experience in the same way, one which would actively encourage the development of a political and social community that crossed class lines. Contemporary critics made it clear that they thought he had been successful. In a prominent review published in both the political and
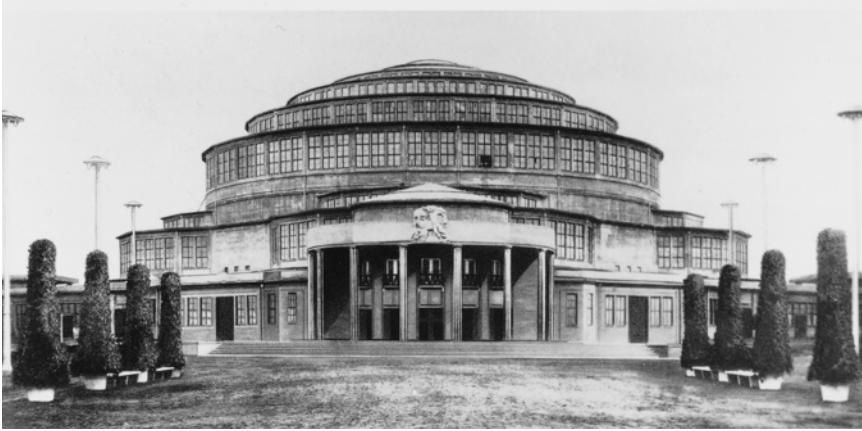
Figure 2.1 Jahrhunderthalle (Centennial Hall), Max Berg, Breslau (now Wroclaw, Poland), 1910–13
(*Source*: Platz, 1927, p. 216)

professional press, Robert Breuer declared after visiting the Jahrhunderthalle that 'concrete and democracy belong together'.[3]

The apparent blankness of the Jahrhunderthalle's architecture has led generations of critics and scholars to focus on its contribution to the history of reinforced concrete construction at the expense of examining the political contexts that prompted its ahistoricist architecture and daring engineering.[4] This very abstraction was, however, perceived at the time to have overt symbolic content, as Breuer's remarks make clear.

The Jahrhunderthalle's circular central space and its enormous scale were both inspired by the example of earlier monuments erected to the events of 1813. Dedicated respectively on the fiftieth and hundredth anniversaries of the Völkerschlacht (Battle of the Nations) at which, in October 1813, the Russians, Austrians, and their Prussian and other German allies defeated the French, Leo von Klenze's Befreiungshalle (Liberation Hall) in Kelheim and Bruno Schmitz's Völkerschlachtdenkmal (Battle of the Nations Monument) in Leipzig addressed smaller publics in more conventional architectural terms (although opened five months later, the design of the Völkerschlachtdenkmal was completed fifteen years before that of the Jahrhunderthalle began). Berg reconfigured this typology, however, to reflect the changing public for such monuments as well as to convey a liberal rather than merely nationalist message.

The technological prowess of Berg's great domed hall, whose clear span of 67 meters was the largest to have yet been built, was also shaped by social considerations.[5] Recent experiments in reinforced concrete construction in Silesia, of which Breslau was the provincial capital, and neighboring Bavaria, as well as Berg's own experience as building inspector for Friedrich von Thiersch's iron-framed Festhalle (Festival Hall) in Frankfurt informed his articulation of the Jahrhunderthalle's concrete frame and his decision to leave it exposed. The series

of record-breaking spans which culminated in the Jahrhunderthalle was understood by contemporaries as uniquely suited to the needs of a new mass public. Furthermore, the architects who designed them were motivated in part by a desire to create interiors whose spatial unity would, they believed, in turn promote social harmony. Buildings like the Jahrhunderthalle would, they hoped, reconstitute the 'organic' communities that most observers believed had only recently been fragmented.

Recent developments in German theater also influenced the belief that architecture, if reconfigured to reach a mass audience, could accomplish so much. They also provided a specific recipe for how this could be achieved. As staged by Max Reinhardt, Hauptmann's pageant not only conveyed a liberal political message but did so through techniques developed specifically to broaden the audience for both contemporary and classical drama. Reinhardt had popularized theatrical strategies in which increasingly abstract sets were juxtaposed against devices for stimulating emotion. Here theories of abstraction and empathy often understood (as for instance by Worringer) to be mutually exclusive were instead tightly intertwined. Exaggerated gestures and spectacular lighting were effective if unsubtle substitutions for the didacticism of the Befreiungshalle and the Völkerschlachtdenkmal. This displaced meaning from the building's surfaces – where markers of style or other symbolism were customarily located – to the events staged within it.

Each of these contexts – that of the patriotic monument, of the experiment in reinforced concrete construction, and of the setting for Hauptmann's pageant – captures an aspect of the way in which the Jahrhunderthalle served a mass audience. Furthermore, each encouraged Berg to believe that he could best do this by stripping his design of the overlay of 'style' which remained standard for monumental civic architecture.

1813 and 1913: expanding the publics for politics and architecture

The Jahrhunderthalle was built to serve multiple purposes. The centerpiece of an exhibit commemorating the most significant political event in Breslau's recent past, it was also designed to be an exhibit hall and public gathering place, a space which could accommodate everything from trade fairs to gymnastic meets.[6] In nineteenth-century Germany this range of functions, to the degree that it could even have been imagined, would have been accommodated in a building ornamented with the decorum which civic governments and architects alike believed appropriate. Instead, Berg limited the Jahrhunderthalle's decoration to a single sculpture over the entrance.[7] Although the cylindrical supports that ring the porch could almost – despite their lack of both bases and capitals – have been classical columns, he also refused to apply a historical style to the building.

Berg's design thus broke with the tradition to which the Jahrhunderthalle otherwise made a prominent contribution, that of the civic monument. Berg did so in order to distinguish his building from others which commemorated anniversaries of the steps Germans had taken in 1813 toward national unity.

Charged by the Breslau city government with erecting a structure which represented a liberal view of these events, he conceived a radical alternative to the representational strategies, if not the basic formal arrangement, of the Jahrhunderthalle's predecessors. Renouncing all the references that might remain obscure to a socially diverse public, he instead offered visitors an excellent view of the clearly exposed bones of his pioneering structure.

The Jahrhunderthalle's circular form as well as its patriotic function nonetheless tied it to two prominent monuments erected to commemorate the other great event of 1813, the Völkerschlacht. Berg both extended and critiqued the tradition of patriotic architecture defined by the Befreiungshalle and the Völkerschlachtdenkmal. Although Friedrich Gilly had proposed a monument to Frederick the Great for Berlin's Leipzigerplatz in 1796, the patriotic monument in Germany all but owed its creation to the immediate aftermath of 1813. In Prussia and Bavaria, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Friedrich von Gärtner, and Leo von Klenze contributed to the designs of buildings commemorating the victory.[8] As an architectural form intended to encourage as well as express national identity, the public monument was particularly integral to the campaign for the solidification of a new German state. Built at enormous expense by individuals and groups who claimed to speak for the whole society, German monuments were distinguished by their vast size and rural settings, which together suggested the 'naturalness' of both the actual buildings and the cause they represented. Dependent upon the emergence of tourism and a popular press to disseminate messages detached from the daily experience of all but a small minority of their intended audience, they embedded modern political messages within architectural forms intended to recall a timeless past.[9]

The Befreiungshalle was erected by King Ludwig I of Bavaria, whose aspirations to lead a united Germany were largely expressed in architectural terms (Figure 2.2). Following his abdication in 1848, Ludwig paid for its completion out of his own pocket. He originally turned to von Gärtner for the design but, following that architect's untimely death, commissioned von Klenze, who had already designed the Walhalla for him. Both buildings stood on the banks of the River Rhine near Regensburg. They were therefore in territory which Napoleon had bestowed upon Bavaria when he elevated it to the status of a kingdom. Here their prominent physical presence might serve as an effective counterweight to inconvenient memories of the benefits the Wittelsbachs had drawn from their temporary alliance with the French. For the Walhalla, which celebrated German heroes, von Klenze erected a Greek temple set into the side of the hill; for the Befreiungshalle sited on a bluff overlooking Kelheim he chose an eighteen-sided form in acknowledgement that two key battles against Napoleon, the Völkerschlacht as well as Waterloo, had been won on the eighteenth day of the month.[10]

In comparison with the frankly historicist architecture of the Walhalla and of the Ludwigstraße in Munich, the Befreiungshalle was almost styleless. The details of its architecture make clear, however, that like Ludwig's other commissions for imposing civic buildings, it was targeted at a public which consisted almost exclusively of members of the *Bildungsbürgertum*. Few others, except the residents
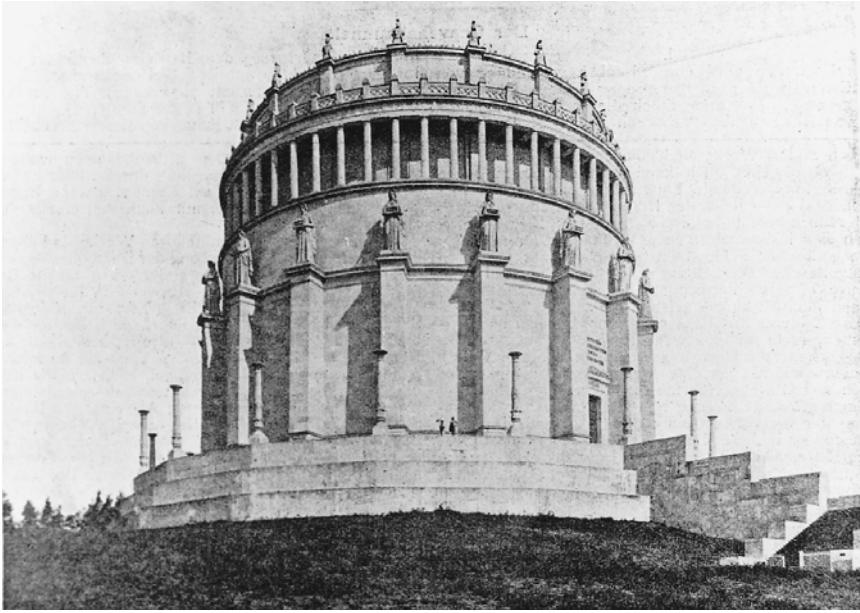
Figure 2.2 Befreiungshalle (Hall of Liberation), Leo von Klenze, Kelheim, 1836–53 (*Source: Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 1900, vol. 34.12, p. 76)

of the small town of Kelheim, enjoyed such easy access to the monument. It required time and money to make an excursion to the site, which was designed to be a place of pilgrimage set apart from the daily experience of its intended visitors. Furthermore, only a well-educated audience could have appreciated the building's complex symbolism. Patriotic students on walking tours could be depended upon to arrive guidebook in hand; their wealthier parents, more likely to arrive by boat, might hire a guide. Without such assistance and the classical learning upon which this system of representation depended, few would have grasped the nationalist meaning embedded in the allegorical female figures that ring both the interior and exterior of the building. Those on the outside represent the German provinces, their counterparts indoors are nikes, winged Greek figures of victory.[11]

Half a century after the completion of the Befreiungshalle, the Völkerschlacht-denkmal and the Jahrhunderthalle offered distinctly different views, each rooted in the events of 1813, of the appropriate political role to be entrusted to a much larger public, the *Volk* (people). The Völkerschlachtdenkmal was built to mobilize an almost tribal sense of German identity, and thus to arrest the process through which, as farmers left the land for factory jobs in the cities, the *Volk* was being transformed from peasants into proletarians – a population open to socialism. Clement Thieme, the leader of the public subscription fund which paid for the Völkerschlachtdenkmal, sought the allegiance of a populace he hoped to lead by example, encouraging patriotic identification with those who had died selflessly on the nearby battlefield.[12] The public fund-raising campaign for the monument

was an early example of conservatives harnessing an emerging mass culture to the goals of national and social unity.

Designed by Bruno Schmitz, the Völkerschlachtdenkmal epitomized the fusion of myth and modernity that was characteristic of contemporary German nationalism (Figure 2.3). Schmitz transformed the rather stumpy cylindrical structure of the Befrieungshalle into far taller tower. This increased the building's visual prominence, but masked the fact that the two interiors were in many ways quite similar. Within the Völkerschlachtdenkmal's enormous mass were a circular crypt, surmounted by a domed second story. Although he eliminated the crypt, Berg otherwise adhered to this basic prototype.

Schmitz excelled in imbuing innovative forms with a sense of permanence.[13] In Leipzig he paid particular attention to making the city's largest structure appear to emerge organically out of a site whose contours were extensively reworked to isolate it from its unremarkable surroundings on the outskirts of the city. This isolation also served another intention: to allow visitors to transcend the scale of the individual. As one walks between the guardhouses flanking the entrance, circles the expansive reflecting pool, ascends to the upper terrace and then the entrance, and proceeds into the crypt and the vast chamber above, one is constantly overwhelmed by the suprahuman scale of the building and its details. Nowhere is this clearer than in the cyclopean-scaled blocks of rusticated stone with which Schmitz faced the building's reinforced concrete core.[14] The arcane iconography of the sculptural program is incomprehensible without guidance. By 1913 this

Figure 2.3 Völkerschlachtdenkmal (Battle of the Nations Monument), Bruno Schmitz, Leipzig, 1895–1913
(*Source*: *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 1913, vol. 47, p. 772)

explanation was available from group tours as well as the illustrated press, which again made clear that the purpose of the building was to encourage identification with the goals of the state. The figural groups surrounding the crypt, for instance, represent the power of the people, strength of belief, bravery, and self-sacrifice (Figure 2.4).[15]

By 1913, when the Völkerschlachtdenkmal was finally completed, Germans were divided in their interpretation of the events that it, the Befreiungshalle, and the Jahrhunderthalle all commemorated. Their arguments reflected the regional and political fault lines that divided German society. Saxons whose ancestors had fought on the losing side resented a monument to Prussian supremacy. Others disagreed about whether to credit the king and his generals, the conservative position and one which tended to ignore the degree to which the generals had had to goad the monarch, or 'the spirit of the people' for the victory.[16] In Breslau a liberal city government wanted to extend the precedent offered by the king's call to oppose Napoleon. The city's gesture was intended to reach out to working-class socialists, in this case by critiquing a militarism identified with opponents of representative government.
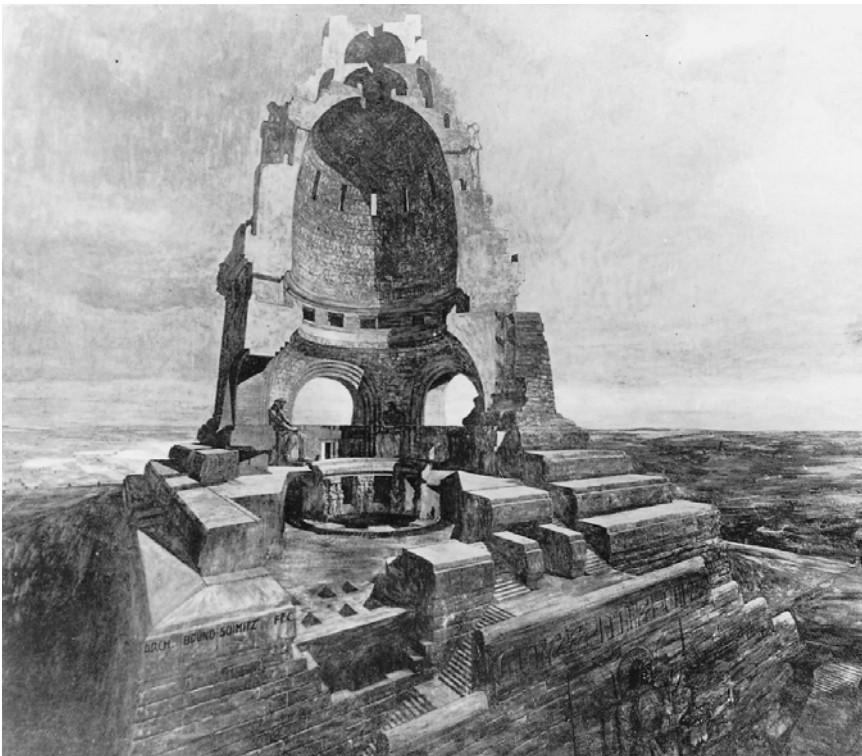
Figure 2.4 Section, Völkerschlachtdenkmal
(*Source: Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 1913, vol. 47, p. 772)

When Friedrich Wilhelm issued his call, he became the first Prussian king to acknowledge the importance of public opinion in civic affairs. Previous monarchs had claimed to rule by divine right; in theory their authority operated independently of the consent of those they governed. When Friedrich Wilhelm belatedly responded to growing public sentiment against the French, his appeal acknowledged their role in the political process.[17] After the crisis passed, the Prussian monarchy refused, however, to cede effective political representation. Nor did the revolution of 1848 inspire Friedrich Wilhelm's descendants to greater magnanimity. Even following German unification, state and local governments throughout Prussia continued to be elected according to a system skewed towards those who paid the highest taxes.[18]

Berg's earliest surviving drawings for the Jahrhunderthalle date to 1910.[19] By this time the populace was increasingly demanding a greater share of political power. In the elections held in 1907 nearly half of Breslau's voters backed the Social Democratic Party.[20] In this context, celebrating the anniversary of Friedrich Wilhelm's proclamation, rather than that of the Völkerschlacht, offered those Germans frustrated in their quest for a genuinely participatory political process the opportunity of fusing patriotic opposition to the French with criticism of the imperial government. Friedrich Naumann, a prominent progressive politician (as well as a founder of the German Werkbund), wrote that 'When in March of 1813 the king of Prussia signed "To my People" drafted by Privy Councillor Hippel, he entered liberal territory, for almost all places in this fruitful document are full of national and bourgeois feelings of liberty.'[21] Dominated by liberals, the Breslau city council used the centennial to refer to the two most important domestic political issues on which the Social Democrats and Left Liberals agreed, electoral reform and military appropriations.[22]

Members of the Breslau city government, while adept at mouthing appropriately patriotic rhetoric, were determined to set a very different tone in the summer-long historical and gardening exhibitions grouped around the Jahrhunderthalle than that which prevailed in Leipzig. In his remarks welcoming the Crown Prince and Princess to the dedication ceremonies and again upon the Kaiser's arrival in the city in August, Oberbürgermeister Matting emphasized peace and prosperity as well as loyalty to the emperor and the state.[23] And in the spirit of the proclamation, the organizers of the historical exhibition stressed the experience of ordinary – by which they meant mostly middle-class – participants in the events leading up to the Battle of the Nations over those of their more famous social betters.[24] Breuer was enthusiastic about the results, which he related directly to the architecture of the Jahrhunderthalle, although the exhibit itself was held next door in buildings designed by Hans Poelzig:

> The Breslau Hall for ten thousand makes obvious that the productive building energy of the present time is rooted in the instincts of the masses. Numberless small objects . . . in the glass cases of [Poelzig's] building display the rise of the people, as does the exhibit in its entirety, especially this daring, tense,

altogether unprecedented mass, that allows the concrete hall to be the sign of the people's victory on their way to power. In no earlier time could this span have been vaulted; it is made possible by first the technical, and, more importantly, the social power of the present.[25]

Finally, the architecture of the Jahrhunderthalle, although identifiable as belonging to the same tradition of centralized monuments as the Befreiungshalle and the Völkerschlachtdenkmal, further established the degree to which the city council, which included several Social Democrats, wanted to reach out to even the working class.

Establishing the political content of abstract form demands an acute awareness of context. Contrasting the Jahrhunderthalle with the Völkerschlachtdenkmal draws attention to aspects of the Breslau building whose importance can otherwise be elusive. For instance, Poelzig's site plan for the Breslau exhibition balanced a formal core against the more picturesque outlying areas appropriate for both a garden exhibition and a city park.[26] Notable only by its omission was any decision to sculpt the land in a way which would imply that the Jahrhunderthalle could be understood, like its counterpart in Leipzig, as a 'natural' feature of the local topography. Equally significantly, Berg stripped his design of any detail that could lead his public to understand the building in nationalistic terms. Instead he quite simply placed a blank cage atop the more expressive interior. A series of stepped rings cap a circular base which sprawls outward to include four semi-circular apses and an entrance porch. Although enormous, there is nothing overwhelming about the Jahrhunderthalle. The building is wider than it is tall, its concrete bulk eroded by extensive glazing.

Berg's most original contribution to the typology of the patriotic monument was the absence at the Jahrhunderthalle of obvious didactic content. While meaning was inscribed, through sculptural decoration, into the very form of the Völkerschlachtdenkmal, the form of the Jahrhunderthalle was apparently absent of content, which was instead established by the specific character of the activities that took place there. In fact, in the context of German architecture of the time, as Breuer's remarks make clear, this very starkness was understood to make a political statement. Certainly the lack of stable meaning also meant that there was nothing here to alienate the mass audience at whom it was targeted. While the sculpture encrusting the Völkerschlachtdenkmal appalled some and remained opaque to others, the Jahrhunderthalle's apparent transparency ensured that no one would feel excluded from entering, unless of course, like the Kaiser, one was angered by its very inclusiveness. From the exterior, where Berg repressed the most dramatic aspects of the building's actually quite dynamic form in favor of an understated image of stability, only the scale of the Jahrhunderthalle established its importance as a local landmark and as a construction feat worthy of international attention. Not until one entered did one find a stage set for overt political expression, and even the effectiveness of this space would prove fleeting, especially in comparison to the solidity of the frame that defined it.

Space and structure: reinforced concrete for the masses

Berg's avoidance of ornament and iconography represented a radical departure from the architecture of the Befreiungshalle and the Völkerschlachtdenkmal, but it accorded with recent German thinking about reinforced concrete. This material's expressive capacities are evident in the building's interior, in which the stability of the exterior tiers gives way to a dynamic display of arches, ribs, and buttresses (Figure 2.5). Concrete also enabled Berg to achieve an undivided space capable of accommodating unprecedented crowds.

Architectural historians have paid enormous attention to Walter Gropius's publication of photographs of American factories and grain silos in the 1914 edition of the *Werkbund Jahrbuch*, which they have credited with introducing European architects to the abstract possibilities of concrete construction, whether the rectilinear frames of daylight factories or the curved monoliths of hollow grain silos.[27] This discussion has obscured the degree to which, for most Wilhelmine architects working in concrete, the almost primitive simplicity Gropius admired in these buildings was not limited to an industrial aesthetic of which they were nonetheless very much aware. Although photographs in the *Jahrbuch* alerted younger architects such as Erich Mendelsohn and Le Corbusier to American concrete construction, German engineers and many of the more experienced architects with whom they worked had been familiar with these buildings almost

Figure 2.5 Interior, Jahrhunderthalle
(*Source:* Platz, 1927, p. 209)

since their construction. Most of them, and many additional examples, were illustrated, for instance, in the principal German handbook on concrete.[28]

For Wilhelmine architects like Berg, the principal advantages of concrete were that it was fireproof, inexpensive, and easily malleable. The new material proved particularly suited to creating spaces which attained a scale and openness impossible to achieve with load-bearing masonry construction, but without the sacrifice of fire safety – characteristic, for instance, of earlier glass and iron-framed exhibit buildings such as the Crystal Palace – or of the appearance of weight and permanence.[29] The secular gathering places of a mass public could now be accorded what was understood to be appropriate, if understated, monumentality.

German architects turned to concrete in order to span vast spaces without losing their freedom to mold the form enclosing them. This allowed them to cast a net of what they saw as artistic expression over the engineering required to build the spaces in which a mass public could gather. Such was the case, for instance, with Breslau's market halls, designed by Heinrich Küster, who worked for the city architect's office. Following the suggestion of engineers from Lolateisenbeton, the local contractors who would later collaborate on the construction of the Jahrhunderthalle with the nationally renowned firm of Dykerhoff and Widmann, Küster substituted reinforced concrete for the skeletal metal frame he had originally proposed for Breslau's two new municipal market halls, designed and built between 1905 and 1908.[30] This shift of materials enhanced the building's fire safety as well as Küster's ability actively to define the interior (Figure 2.6). Parabolic arches

Figure 2.6 Markthalle (Market Hall), Heinrich Küster, Breslau, 1905–8 (*Source:* Platz, 1927, p. 214)

spanning 19 meters (roughly 60 feet and a German record) established a vigorously plastic architectural form entirely at odds with the spindly proportions of ferrous construction. A contemporary critic described the result as 'an excellent example of the way in which expediency and beauty can be united in a functional building'.[31]

Nor were experiments in concrete limited to civic and commercial buildings. The Garnisonkirche in Ulm of 1906 to 1911 briefly held the German record for an interior clear span built of concrete, surpassing Küster's mark by 8 meters (Figure 2.7). Theodor Fischer, one of Germany's leading architects, turned to
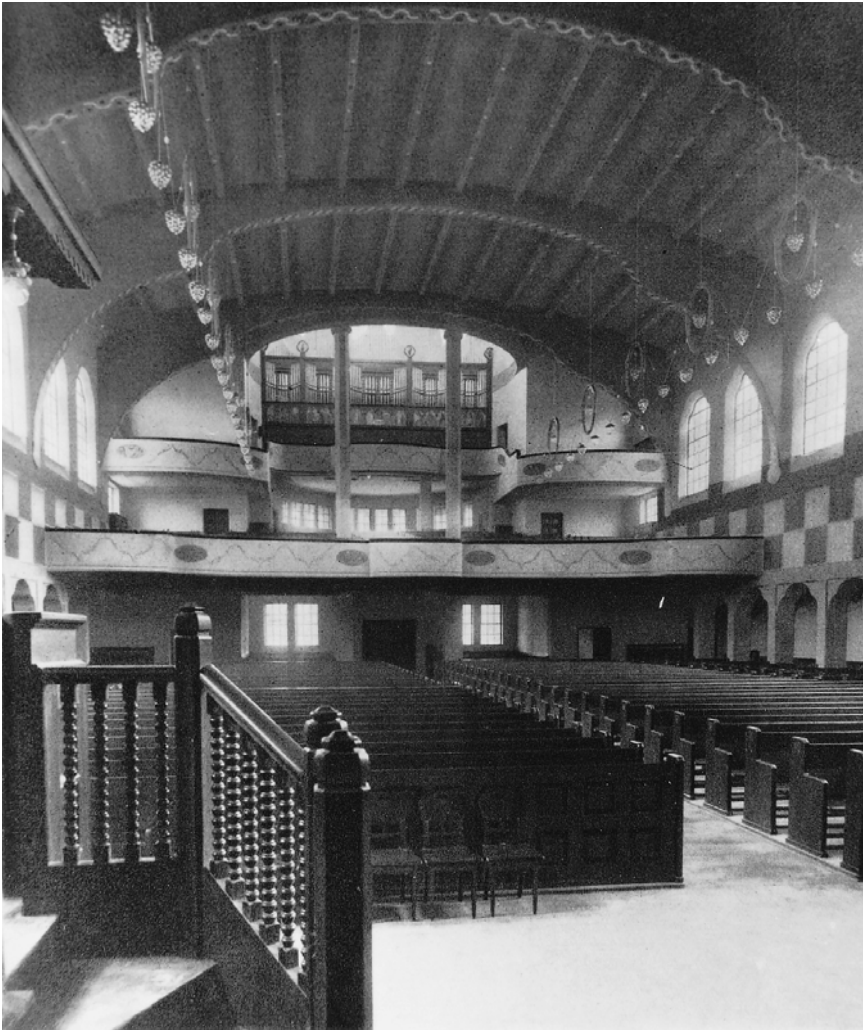
Figure 2.7 Garnisonkirche (Garrison Church), Theodor Fischer, Ulm, 1906–11 (*Source:* Platz, 1927, p. 256)

concrete in order to be able to construct an unusually open interior, an effect he enhanced by placing the free-standing altar just beyond the frontmost pews. Eliminating the supports dividing the aisles from the naves as well as the choir that separated the congregation from the clergy, Fischer gathered the 2,000 worshippers who could be seated within this enormous church together within the understated sweep of the ceiling's great arches.[32] Once again it was Breuer who recognized the link between this new concrete architecture, including the Garnisonkirche and the Jahrhunderthalle:

> The reinforced concrete style is developing out of the vessels and instruments of the new masses, in factories, bridges, train stations, department stores, community halls. The imperative to span prompts the formation of spaces of hitherto unheard of dimensions. . . . One finds then a new construction principle and a new outlook upon the world. The different spaces of churches are laid out more broadly, as it becomes required that the idea of God lends wings to the arches and piers, that the ideal of community expands the breadth of the vaults. One must think of such connections, when one wants to do justice to the Breslau Hall.[33]

the Garnisonkirche stands at the beginning of a new era in German religious architecture, to be discussed at greater length in the following chapter, in which uninterrupted spaces were intended to unify the congregations that gathered within them. Whether built of concrete or iron, civic architecture shared many of the same goals. Berg, by his own admission, drew in his design of the Jahrhunderthalle upon his experience as building inspector for von Thiersch's Festhalle in Frankfurt, whose dual function as an exhibit and concert hall anticipated the program of its Breslau sibling.[34] Designed in 1906, the Festhalle was almost as large as the Jahrhunderthalle (Figure 2.8). Only provisionally complete when it opened to the public in 1908, its iron frame remained visible, and neither von Thiersch's elaborate exterior nor the interior skin were ever built as planned.[35] Without this cladding the Festhalle lacked the sense of structural and spatial definition that were such prominent interlocking features of the Jahrhunderthalle.

While von Thiersch could not initially imagine his building without an ornamental overlay, Berg understood that it was not really necessary. Although new fire codes increasingly required the cladding of metal frames, German architects generally left the concrete surfaces of their buildings exposed or covered them with only a light cement finish.[36] Such was the case, for instance, with the buildings Poelzig, the director of the local school of art and architecture, and, like Fischer, one of the most respected German architects of his day, erected in Breslau. Poelzig quickly grasped the importance of Küster's market halls, recognizing in their arches the tectonic kernel that he posited every built form had before it was dressed up with charming ornament.[37] Poelzig frankly expressed the structural system of his concrete office building of 1911, which still stands on a prominent downtown corner (Figure 2.9). Exposing the edges of each floor slab and its sill, he emphasized the horizontal dimension of his building over the vertical, without
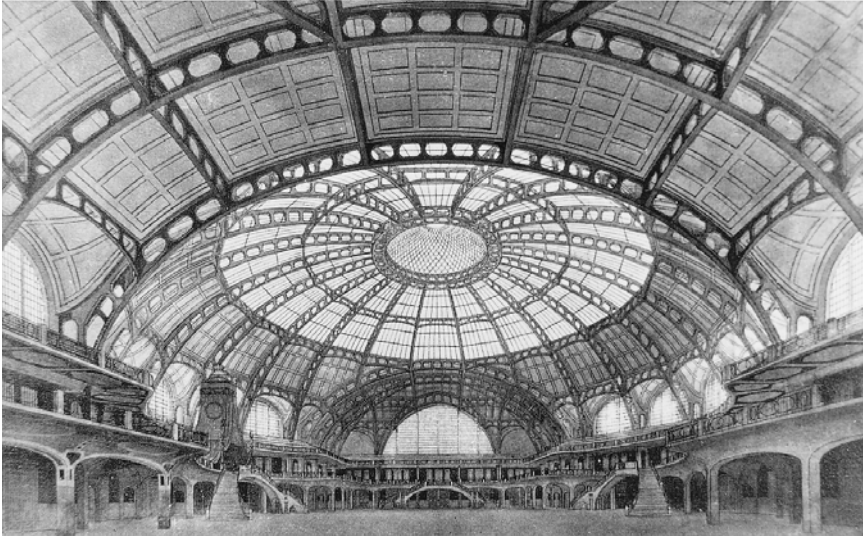
Figure 2.8 Festhalle (Festival Hall), Friedrich von Thiersche, Frankfurt, 1906–8 (*Source:* Thiersche, p. 215)

Figure 2.9 Junkernstraße office building, Hans Poelzig, Breslau, 1911 (*Source: Architektonische Rundschau*, 1913, vol. 30, pl. 171)

interrupting the ever thinner vertical supports between them.[38] Furthermore, although he did not himself design the Jahrhunderthalle, Poelzig was responsible for almost every other aspect of the exhibit held in Breslau in 1913. In addition to laying out its grounds, he was the architect, as has already been mentioned, of the neoclassical buildings, also constructed out of concrete, which housed the historical exhibition.[39]

Berg knew Poelzig and probably Küster personally; he would have seen their concrete buildings almost daily. The Garnisonkirche was one of Germany's most celebrated new buildings and perhaps the most aesthetically ambitious example of the country's thriving concrete architecture. From these examples Berg – and equally importantly, his patrons in the city government and the voters to whom they were responsible – learned that the plastic expression of structure was sufficient, that his building needed no further ornament. Instead he focused on creating a space in which individuals were encouraged to understand themselves as part of a larger social whole, one in which audiences drawn from the entire class spectrum could gather together inside in unprecedentedly large numbers.

In creating a centralized plan whose clear span far exceeded that of the Garnisonkirche, Berg in the Jahrhunderthalle developed an even more effective spatial setting for the recollection in contemporary terms of 'organic' premodern communities. The Jahrhunderthalle is quatrefoil in plan, with four apses buttressing the central dome (Figure 2.10). Berg's emphatic definition of the circular core overwhelms awareness of these apses and distinguishes the Jahrhunderthalle from its sources in the long history of European domed architecture, most of which are square in plan. The low spring of the dome and the mirroring in plan of its circumference emphasize the breadth rather than height of the vast space. Although the plan closely resembles that of the church of San Lorenzo in Milan, laid out in the fourth century, Berg's truncated pendentives spring directly from the floor, without the mediation of a drum. Also absent are the two arcaded stories which separate the dome of the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul from the floorplane of the church.[40]

Accenting uninterrupted breadth over impressive height, Berg diminished the invocation of heaven implicit in domed churches, instead encouraging the audience's awareness of each other. Like Poelzig, Berg accented the horizontal members of his structural frame at the expense of verticals. In place of the soaring vaults of Gothic cathedrals, the main structural drama here is confined to the diagonal braces that spring from the edges of the four apses. These lead our eye only to the curved arches supporting the relatively low first tier of the dome. These arches also define the building's circular core. Their breadth is almost as impressive as that of the span they in turn define. Although Berg stressed the lattice-like quality of the rest of the building, he exaggerated the solidity of these buttresses, masking the openwork of their structure (see Figures 2.5 and 2.11).[41]

Breuer believed that the new spans made possible by concrete construction anticipated the actual enlargement of the public sphere, that is, the expansion of the audience for public space, which he felt had not yet reached the scale of the building itself:
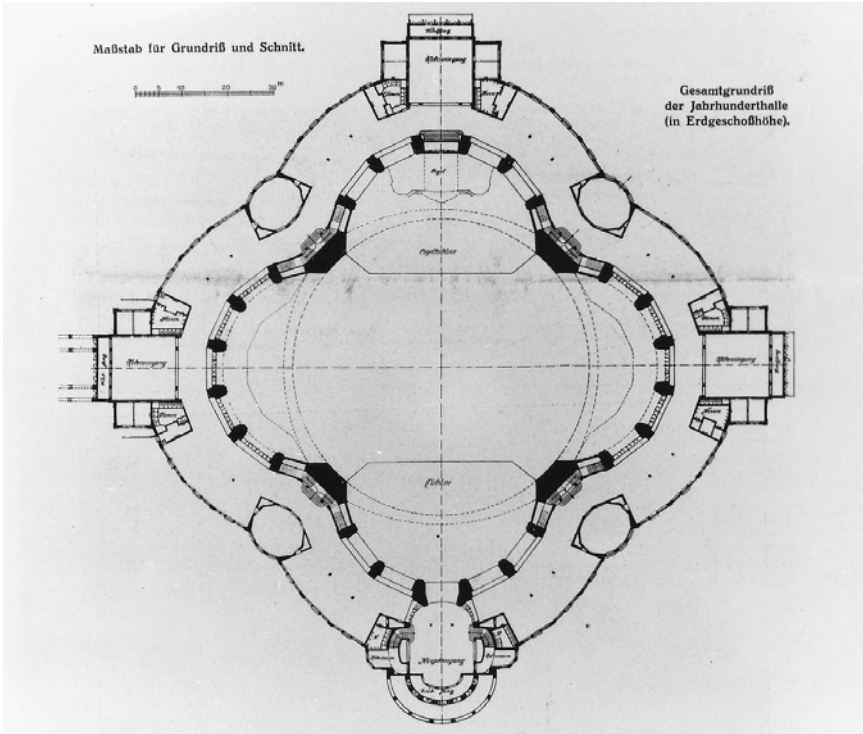
Figure 2.10 Plan, Jahrhunderthalle
(*Source: Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 1913, vol. 47, p. 463)
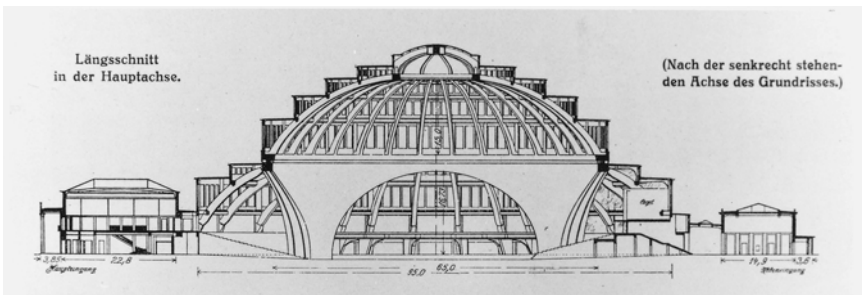
Figure 2.11 Section, Jahrhunderthalle
(*Source*: *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 1913, vol. 47, p. 463)

[The Jahrhunderthalle] is even larger than the locality requirements. When will one find 10,000 people assembled there? . . . This cyclopean frame of concrete and glass, this apotheosis of unemotional construction, is not so much the product of everyday practicality, as a manifestation of the form, and thus of urge towards eternity, of the consciousness of the times.[42]

In fact, audiences of the requisite size could be found in Breslau, especially if the purpose was to further the democracy Breuer celebrated as the inspiration for the building's radically modern engineering. Both the actual content and the truncation of the run of Gerhart Hauptmann's Pageant in German Lyrics made explicit the political content of the centennial celebrations. In turning to Hauptmann the city council ensured that the city's centennial festivities would critique the ruling Wilhelmine order. The text of the Festspiel exposed what the bare bones of the Jahrhunderthalle did not, the political views which inspired its construction. Finally, the way in which the pageant was staged also exposed the debt the new architectural strategies for reaching a mass audience owed to contemporary theater.

In the cause of peace

The abstraction of the Jahrhunderthalle accorded not only with German thinking about reinforced concrete, but with other changes that followed from the increasing importance of the masses as an audience for all forms of cultural expression. By 1913 an effort was well underway in Germany to revive theater as a popular art form. The simplification of set design was integral to this effort to reduce the physical and emotional distance between actors and their increasingly numerous public. Simplified backdrops served to focus attention on gesture and lighting: the aspects of dramatic production which a new generation of theater directors believed to be most likely to reach the lower middle and working classes. No one in Breslau was more aware of these developments than Berg himself. It was he who designed the stage and sets for Hauptmann's pageant, and he who suggested that Reinhardt be hired it direct it.[43]

It was an obvious choice. Sympathetic journalists would later note the degree to which both the thousands of performers in the summer's festivities, including the pageant, as well as its even more populous audiences, were drawn from a broad cross-section of the local population.[44] Reinhardt was already famous for reaching beyond the scripted word to engage audiences in as many different ways as possible, an effort that would culminate in the interwar years in his development of public pageantry on an even vaster scale than that of the Breslau play. Particularly interested in making classic repertory accessible to all, Reinhardt drew upon folk traditions of religious festivals and such modern forms of entertainment as vaudeville to enhance the immediacy of the dramas he staged.[45] At the same time he manipulated new technology, from revolving stages to lighting consoles, to recreate ancient theatrical effects and achieve new ones. He also popularized the innovations of even more radical reformers such as Gordon Craig and Adolphe Appia, both of whom advocated extremely abstract set design.[46] In recent years several scholars have detailed the degree to which Reinhardt's carnivalesque staging of Hauptmann's and other pageants presaged later National Socialist spectacles, but in 1913 Reinhardt, a Jew who fled Germany after Hitler came to power in 1933, was still more vulnerable to attack than to imitation by the right.[47]

In 1913 no two men more epitomized the modernity of the German theater than Reinhardt and Hauptmann. Although Reinhardt was not particularly political,

others saw such theatrical reform as the path to national spiritual renewal.[48] For architects, such as Peter Behrens, who collaborated with Georg Fuchs on the ceremony staged in 1901 for the opening of the artists colony in Darmstadt, theater offered the hope of participating in an art form far more immediate than their own. Such engagement also encouraged them to pay attention to the trend, pronounced by 1913, away from naturalistic sets. The visual aspects of productions mounted by Fuchs, Reinhardt, Craig, and Appia were increasingly stylized, with stage design merely suggesting rather than making explicit the settings. This lack of specificity was thought not to interfere with the purpose of arousing the emotions of the audience. In 1922 Berg wrote in a tribute to Hauptmann, 'If one wants to entice a popular audience effectively through dramatic poetry, it must be done through visual performance.'[49] He continued, 'The way to create images for the masses is not through . . . heaps of decoration and enrichment and technical refinement . . ., but only through the simplification of the environment through symbolic means.' Reinhardt and his set designers relied upon extreme simplicity, discarding the attempts at literal historicism that had been such a prominent part of nineteenth-century theater.[50]

While it was Reinhardt who was most active in changing the way in which plays were produced in Germany for publics as large and diverse as the thousands of performers and spectators who gathered in the Jahrhunderthalle for the opening night of the pageant, Hauptmann's participation guaranteed that the message they received there would be inflammatory. The Breslau city government, which paid Hauptmann an honorarium of 15,000 marks and Reinhardt twice that, did not reserve the right to approve the completed text. Rightwing critics would later cite this as evidence of the city councilors' complicity in the pageant's outspoken critique of Prussian nationalism, arguing correctly that Hauptmann was already notorious.[51] The dedication of the Jahrhunderthalle, almost certainly not by accident, unleashed a maelstrom, as the political position that had inspired its construction was definitively exposed in Hauptmann's text.

Hauptmann's refusal to voice the uncritical patriotism that would characterize the dedication of the Völkerschlachtdenkmal was entirely characteristic. The playwright specialized in biting social criticism in dramas whose historicist settings did little to mask their contemporary messages. In 1892, his most famous play, *The Weavers*, an examination of working-class hardship in his native Silesia, had touched off a scandal over censorship. His ire aroused, the Kaiser had ordered the imperial arms stripped from his box at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin.[52] Just months after accepting the Breslau commission, Hauptmann won the Nobel Prize for literature. Neither international recognition nor the official character of the pageant did anything to moderate the middle-aged playwright's taste for challenging authority. Hauptmann himself wrote to Germany's most famous pacifist, the novelist Bertha von Suttner, 'If you draw upon the pageant to strengthen the idea of world peace, it will represent the most noble citation of my national work.'[53]

Instead of celebrating aristocratic militarism, Hauptmann's pageant lauded the kind of bourgeois-sponsored peaceful progress represented by the Jahrhundert-

halle's own innovative construction and celebrated by Oberbürgermeister Matting.[54] Depicting major historical figures, including Napoleon, Friedrick the Great, and the Prussian military hero Marshall Blücher, as marionettes controlled by an almost god-like director, he gave unusual prominence to anonymous members of the public and to their confusion over which side to take as Prussia exchanged its French allies for Russian and Austrian ones. At the same time, Hauptmann did not romanticize mob rule: in the pageant's second scene he gave a frightening depiction of the Reign of Terror. And in a move guaranteed to arouse the ire of the court and its supporters among both the aristocracy and the middle class, he refused to glamorize the military. The pageant concluded with the director silencing Blücher by placing him back in the toy box from which he came. The director's final speech gave voice to Hauptmann's own critique of Prussian military pomp:

> To your place, you brave gray-bearded sire.
> But your word shall live, though you expire.
> To your country I give it, as destiny's foreword –
> Not your joy of battle, but – your: Forward![55]

Outraged nationalist critics and delighted socialist supporters were both quick to label the pageant 'social democratic', noting that its final word was also the name of the leading socialist newspaper.[56] The pageant's run was cut short after the Crown Prince, the royal patron of the exhibit, threatened to withdraw his sponsorship. By his own admission, the Crown Prince was 'labeled as a war inciter by every blind pacifist in Germany' and had a difficult relationship with his father, but his reaction was hardly unique.[57] Many other conservatives joined him in deploring what they saw as Hauptmann's unflattering characterization of Frederick the Great and the pageant's pacifist conclusion.[58] Not surprisingly, this blatant example of royally-sponsored censorship enraged advocates of democracy and modern art.[59] The resulting controversy filled newspaper columns for weeks.

The difference between the theatricality of spectacles like the Festspiel and the nuanced meanings expressed in more permanent architectural form in the Befreiungshalle and Völkerschlachtdenkmal was not just one of political content, but of representational strategies. The displacement of didactic meaning from the surface of the building – where markers of style or other symbolism were customarily located – to the events staged within the building resulted, at least during performances of the Festspiel, in a far greater immediacy than the mute testimony of the sculptural figures inhabiting and encrusting earlier monuments. Hauptmann's message was also more readily understood. Full of allegorical as well as historical figures, his text was nonetheless much less obscure than the iconography literally attached to earlier patriotic monuments. In a country whose highly literate working class had all learned the basics of recent German history, the pageant required no program notes or other equivalents to the guides who led tours of the Befreiungshalle and Völkerschlachtdenkmal.

Located in absence rather than presence the meaning of the Jahrhunderthalle proved, as will be detailed below, fleeting, or at best fluid. Far more enduring were the strategies Berg used to reach a mass audience. Quickly detached from the specifically liberal conditions in which they were created, this combination of unornamented surface, articulated structure, and overlaid spectacle would be adopted by those to both Berg's left and his right as German architects offered the construction of centralized spaces as a means through which to attempt to gather the mass public into communities. Aesthetic harmony could generate social harmony, and thus might offer a high-minded, that is, spiritual as well as artistic, alternative to conventional politics distrusted by most intellectuals as insufficiently idealistic. Already implied in the Jahrhunderthalle, this project would briefly dominate German architectural culture after the Revolution of November 1918 before transforming the design of Christian sacred architecture, first in Germany and eventually internationally.

3 Spirituality

Scarcely five years after he refused to enter the Jahrhunderthalle, the Kaiser fled a defeated Germany for exile in The Netherlands. The November Revolution of 1918 overthrew the political system crafted by Bismarck, which was replaced the following year by a republican democracy. Even before the new constitution was written in Weimar, architects who rallied to support the republic sought to erect buildings whose spaces they hoped would nurture a community they did not trust politicians to create.[1] Written by Bruno Taut, the manifesto of the Arbeitsrat für Kunst (Working Council for Art), a group founded by Taut, Walter Gropius, and the critic Adolf Behne along the same lines as revolutionary workers' organizations, spelled out the new purpose of architecture:

> Art and the people must form a new unity.
> Art should no longer be the enjoyment of the few but the life and happiness of the masses.
> The aim is alliance of the arts under the wing of a great architecture.[2]

Taut's vision of secular cathedrals, built out of brilliantly illuminated colored glass, in which the masses would be united by a shared spiritual experience, was enthusiastically embraced during the immediate postwar years by most of the talented young German architects who would dominate modern architecture during the Weimar Republic, a group that included in addition to Taut and Gropius, Wassili and Hans Luckhardt and Hans Scharoun. Their architectural fantasies were displayed in the Exhibit of Unknown Architects held in Berlin in 1919 and nurtured in the Crystal Chain correspondence. Although these schemes, most famously Taut's own projects for transforming Alpine peaks into crystalline shapes ornamented with glass and concrete sculptures in the woods, were far more poetic than the Jahrhunderthalle, their architects shared with Berg the conviction that a new architecture could transform society (Figure 3.1). And although they remained confined to paper, they did spur others to build. Ironically, however, it would be industry and the church, institutions deeply threatened by the November Revolution, which would utilize Taut's Expressionist tactics in an effort to stabilize German society through the spiritualization of an overtly modern architecture.
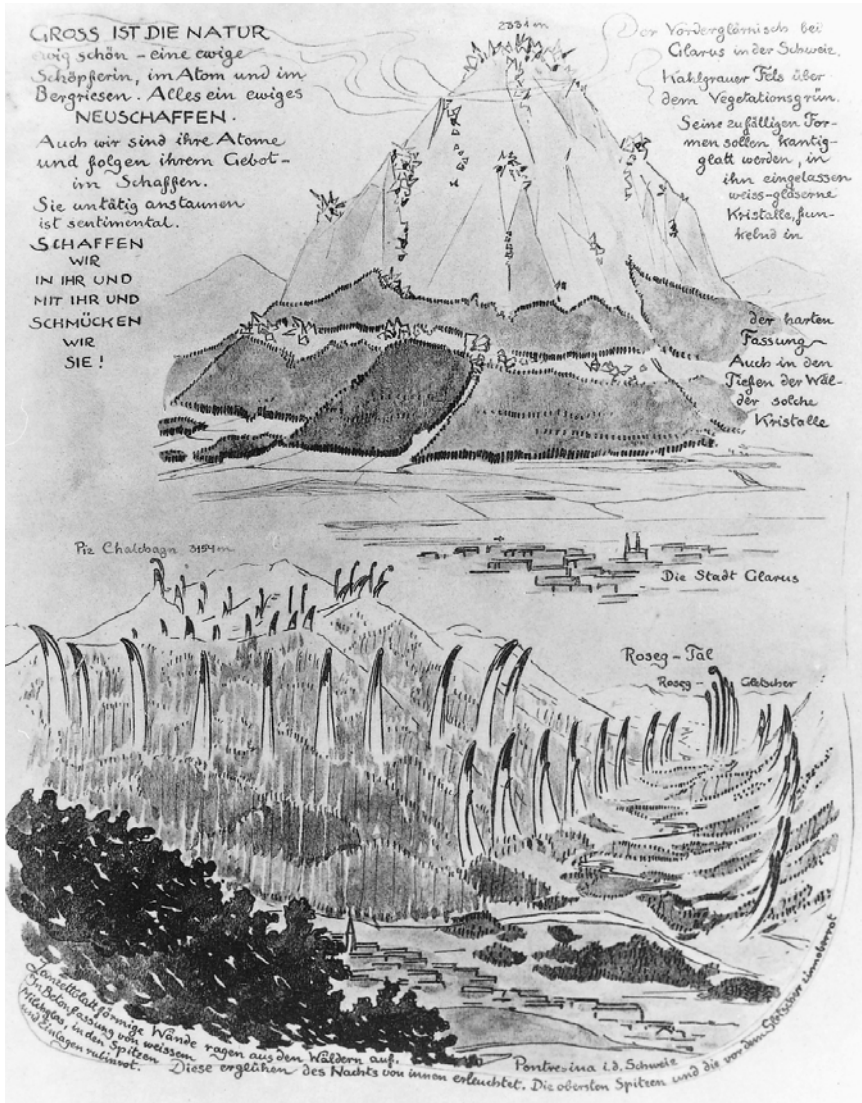
Figure 3.1 Plate from *Alpine Architecture*
(*Source:* Taut, 1919, p. 12)

In 1913 neither Berg nor the others who published articles about the Jahrhunderthalle in the German architectural press equated it with a Gothic cathedral.[3] In the context of its function as a monument to liberalism, such a comparison, discouraged by what Breuer referred to as its 'unemotional' (*nüchterner*) construction, would have diminished the Jahrhunderthalle's distance from the quasi-sacred architecture of the Befreiungshalle and the Völkerschlachtdenkmal.[4]

By the time of the Jahrhunderthalle's dedication in 1913, however, Germans artists and other intellectuals were already embarking on a collective quest to reimbue modern life with spirituality. Believing that the experience of worshipping in Gothic cathedrals had helped bind medieval society into a cohesive whole, architects like Taut sought to create modern counterparts to these communal buildings. For them the Jahrhunderthalle pointed the way towards buildings whose spatial unity was achieved through structural innovation and sustained through spectacle. Now, however, spirituality, and with it a more consistent appeal to emotion, was to be injected into the project of creating an architecture for a mass audience.

This altered that project in important ways. First, glass challenged structure in importance. The writer Paul Scheerbart and his disciple Taut found in this material the locus of the spiritual renewal of architecture. Scheerbart described the transcendent possibilities of glass architecture:

> The face of the earth would be much altered if masonry architecture were ousted everywhere by glass architecture. It would be as if the earth were adorned with sparkling jewels and enamel. Such glory is unimaginable. All over the world it would be as splendid as in the gardens of the Arabian Nights. We should then have a paradise on earth, and no need to watch in longing expectation for the paradise in heaven.[5]

This shift in material emphasis in turn generated one in the relationship between the building and its use. The way in which natural and artificial light passed through glass and was reflected off it made spectacle more integral to architecture than it had been in the Jahrhunderthalle, easily unlinked as that building was from its opening pageant. This spectacle was not entirely sacred, however. Instead its roots lay in part, despite the direction of Scheerbart's remarks, in the transformation of German advertising in the last years before the war. Specifically, Taut's early experiments with glass were inseparable from the German Werkbund's efforts to redeem modern German civilization through the union of art and the design and marketing of industrially produced commodities.

In the aftermath of the November Revolution Taut and his circle altered the way Germans understood the relationship between buildings and the society that produced them. German architects now construed this relationship in more active terms, designing buildings specifically in order to influence emotions in the hope of effecting social change. In *Alpine Architecture*, Taut declared, 'We are but guests upon this earth, and our true home is only in the Sublime: in merging with it and subordinating ourselves to it.'[6] This sense of something far larger than the individual was not confined to radical young architects, however. Expressionist architecture was quickly adopted by those who did not share the utopian socialist politics of its founders. When the new Weimar government refused to sponsor the erection of monumental new community centers, paternalistic rather than egalitarian patrons, including a major corporation and both the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, spearheaded the attempt literally to build community.

   This transformation of simplified architectural forms in order not merely to reach out towards but also to spiritualize the German masses cannot be explained through an account of a single building. The process began in 1913 with the completion of Bruno Taut and Fritz Hoffmann's Monument des Eisens (Monument to Steel) for the International Construction Exhibition held that summer in Leipzig. Here Taut pioneered the experiments with modern materials, light, and monumentality that would inspire the same firm's Glashaus, erected the next year at the Werkbund exhibition in Cologne, and Taut's unbuilt – indeed unbuildable – schemes for a glass city crown that would function as the centerpiece of a new democratic city. While Taut eventually turned his attention to housing, his ideas would infuse the work of those, including Peter Behrens, Otto Bartning, and Dominikus Böhm, who sought to stabilize Weimar society. This occasioned a return to history, as in the easily recognizable if generic, medievalism of Behrens's office building for Hoechst, designed and built outside Frankfurt am Main between 1920 and 1924, and the Stahlkirche Bartning contributed to the Presse exhibition held in Cologne in 1928. Böhm's St. Engelbert Church in the Cologne suburb of Riehl, completed in 1932, featured equally abstract references to Early Christian architecture. The carefully lit centralized nave of this church represents the culmination of the process of the spiritualized, community-oriented architecture for the masses charted in this chapter, while Böhm's dramatic manipulation of reinforced concrete ties it back to the Jahrhunderthalle.

From commodities to community

An ardent polemicist as well as a talented designer, Taut made many of the ideas implicit in the Jahrhunderthalle common parlance among architects of his generation. His Monument des Eisens is an often overlooked prelude to the small but stunning Glashaus that placed Taut on the eve of World War I at the forefront of a new generation of German architects. Following the November Revolution, Taut took the lead in creating a climate of architectural experimentation intended to sustain social harmony within the framework of a genuinely participatory political system. For his contemporaries, much of Taut's appeal lay in his ability to work within the new commodity culture, transforming market forces into means for spiritual expression.

   Taut's two exhibit pavilions inaugurated his interest in an architecture of material integrity and spectacular illumination, which nonetheless referred, as did the Jahrhunderthalle, to what seemed to Germans of the day to be the most mythic of all building types – the centrally planned monument (although from the front the Glashaus appeared to be circular in plan, in fact there was a substantial wing attached to the back of the building).[7] In the Monument des Eisens, Taut demonstrated how architecture and spectacle might be integrated on at least a semi-permanent basis. Here Taut's primary purpose was to advertise the building's sponsors, the steel industry whose product was used to build the pavilion's frame. The reinforced concrete structure of the Glashaus mattered less, however, than its

glass infill and the way that light shone through and was reflected off of its translucent and transparent surfaces. In this design Taut created a modern secular gothic not through the literal imitation of historical forms, but by invoking a similar sense of sacred space, now infused as well with the excitement of the amusement park. Although intended to awaken the aesthetic and spiritual sensibility of individuals rather than serve entire communities, the Glashaus became the template for almost all further German attempts to revitalize the design of public gathering places.

The first of these designs were by Taut himself. In 1919, the architect published two books in which he proposed to enlarge the Glashaus to serve as the focal point for utopian Socialist communities. Although often quite fantastic, Taut's ideas dominated advanced architectural circles in Germany immediately after the War when, in the excitement and chaos that followed the November Revolution, the new expressions of collectivity replaced responses to mass production as the design profession's primary goal. Taut, an enthusiastic proponent of the Revolution, supported the creation of a republic in which the masses had seized much of the power previously held by the monarchy, the military, and their nationalist allies. Although his own forays into politics failed to result in the construction of monumental architecture, Taut inspired his fellow architects to share the dream of public buildings that would fulfill spiritual as well as material needs.

During the 1910s Taut shifted from harnessing modernization through the imposition of aesthetic order upon it to a far more profound effort to redeem industrial materials, one which emphasized their potential for spiritual expression. This change in his thinking was triggered not only by the internal logic of his own increasingly ambitious designs, but also by his interest in Expressionist painting and literature. By the middle of the first decade of the new century, artists and writers in Berlin, Dresden, and Munich were experimenting with new aesthetic forms. Their raw rejection of conventional representation was intended to communicate an emotional charge, one which was often explicitly spiritual.[8] Taut was the first major figure to link these efforts explicitly to architecture. In particular, his friendship with Scheerbart encouraged him to recognize glass as a material with both technological and mystical qualities.[9]

The initial impetus for Taut's experimentation with a balance of revealed structure and innovative lighting was commercial, however. The Monument des Eisens reflected the German Werkbund's campaign to enhance the competitiveness of German industry by raising its aesthetic standards. Founded in 1907 by a coalition of politicians, manufacturers, critics, and architects, the Werkbund paid as much attention to marketing as to product design. The group encouraged manufacturers to sponsor advertising, industrial design, and architecture, whose high quality they believed would enhance German culture as well as prove profitable. Although Werkbund leaders disagreed about whether standardization or the cultivation of individual artistry was the more effective approach and about the degree to which history provided appropriate models, all supported forms whose harmonic proportions and understated decoration, if any, would belie the social dislocations caused by their production.[10]
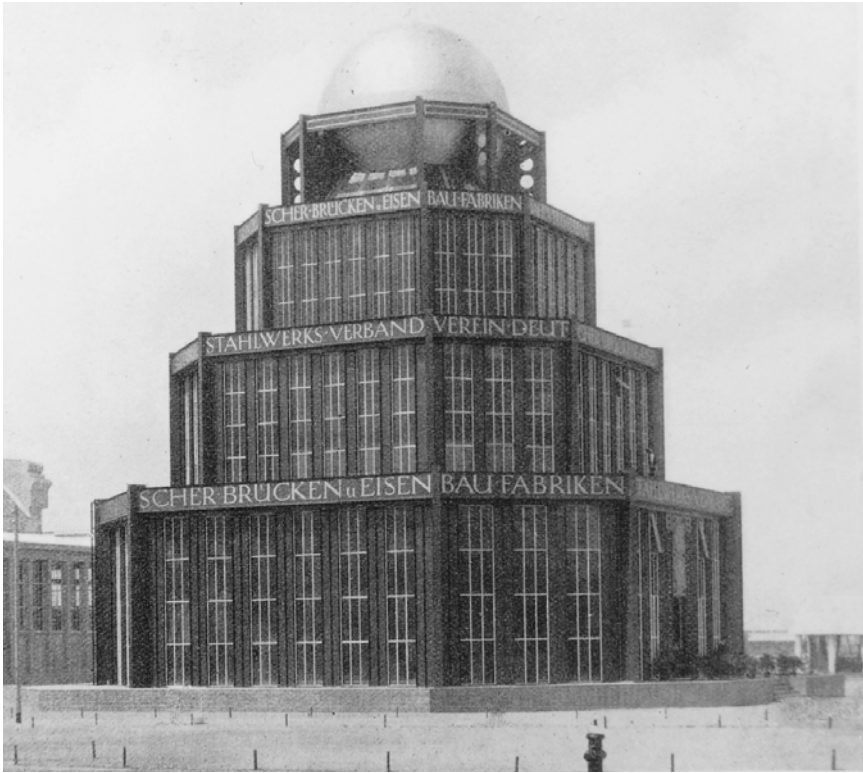
Figure 3.2 Monument des Eisens (Iron Monument), International Building Exhibition, Bruno Taut and Fritz Hoffmann, Leipzig, 1913
(*Source: Der Baumeister*, 1913, vol. 11, p. B 276)

In the Monument des Eisens Taut provided just such a marriage of aesthetic unity and modern materials in a building whose purpose was to advertise the industrialists who had sponsored its construction (Figure 3.2). Erected for the Federation of Steel Factories together with the Union of German Bridge and Iron-Construction Factories, it was the Leipzig exhibition's most widely praised building.[11] Following the example of Poelzig's recent exhibition hall and water tower in Posen (and perhaps of the Jahrhunderthalle, a model of which had been displayed there), Taut designed a centralized pavilion, in his case a three-tiered octagon topped by a golden sphere.[12] Taut found elegantly understated ways of enriching the building's surfaces without detracting attention from the ubiquitous exposed steel frame. Gilding dignified industrial materials, while lettering doubled as signage and ornament.

The Monument des Eisen's centralized form provided the prototype for the Glashaus and for Taut's later designs for community centers. Equally prophetic was Taut's use of natural and artificial light. The extensive glazing of the Monument des Eisens provided excellent natural illumination in addition to

emphasizing the structure's skeletal frame. In the interior, artificial light was integral to displays that drew further attention to steel and its uses. On the upper floor an auditorium doubled as a cinema; in a windowless room below photographs on glass, illuminated from behind, described the industrial processes and achievements of the building's sponsors. It is not clear if these display methods were conceived of by Taut, who had already designed an early cinema, or his patrons, but their purpose was obvious: to dazzle visitors through both their technique and content.[13]

In October 1913, months before its construction was completed, Scheerbart published a description of the Glashaus in a Berlin newspaper.[14] For several years this Expressionist novelist and poet had been describing the capacity of colored glass to be – in an Expressionist formulation of Werkbund dogma – both an emblem of technological modernity and of emotional fulfillment. He prophesied a new glass architecture, one which was as poetic as it was practical.[15] In 1851 Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace, the setting for the first World's Fair, established that the mass production of glass made possible an entirely new kind of building, in which a minimal frame supported its almost entirely transparent walls and roof. For Scheerbart, Paxton's accomplishment was far more than the rational expression of new technology. Looking beyond the familiar, largely commercial, use of vast glass halls for greenhouses, train stations, and even the façades and atria of department stores, he celebrated glass as a symbol of crystal-like purity, an idea which continued a long tradition of first medieval and then Romantic German mysticism.

Published in 1914, Scheerbart's book *Glass Architecture* was the most influential and the most pragmatic of his writings in support of an architecture of colored glass.[16] He opened with a statement of environmental determinism. 'If we want our culture to rise to a higher level,' Scheerbart declared, 'we are obliged for better or worse to change our architecture.'[17] Most of the book consisted of quasi-rational descriptions of the way in which colored glass could be substituted for masonry, with Scheerbart detailing how the new architecture could be constructed, heated, cooled, lit, and even cleaned. Repeatedly, Scheerbart refered to the advantages of setting the new glass architecture in a reinforced concrete rather than in a metal frame, advice Taut was to follow in his design of the cupola of the Glashaus. Scheerbart explained that this shift would eliminate the problem of rust and make glass buildings entirely waterproof, as well as provide a setting for entirely abstract decorative mosaics. For Scheerbart, such ornament was far more appropriate than the figural sculpture it replaced. He declared, 'While architecture is spatial art, figure-representation is not spatial art and has no place in architecture.'[18] The didacticism of the Völkerschlachtdenkmal, in other words, was to be replaced by an abstraction quite similar to that of the Jahrhunderthalle.

Scheerbart's interest in glass architecture arose out of his championship of illumination. While he did not dwell in *Glass Architecture* on the emotional impact of glass, noting merely (in remarks that presume a universal subject) that 'the influence of splendid glass architecture on the nerves is indisputable', he believed as much in expanding the use of artificial colored light as in constructing a new

architecture.[19] Glass architecture would allow parks and mountains as well as streets and towers to be bathed, at least by night, in softly colored light. As a critic of functionalism, Scheerbart's ultimate goal was to imbue daily life with a fantasy-like splendor.

While Scheerbart noted that 'Glass architecture is unthinkable without the Gothic,' he did not focus on either the technical or the mystical aspects of the medieval use of glass.[20] Taut built the Glashaus as a demonstration of Scheerbart's ideas, to which he added his own interest in a Gothic-inspired expression of structure. Taut was so committed to the project that he financed it largely out of his own pocket, hoping to recoup the money through admission fees.[21] Although it was officially sponsored by the German Luxfer Prism syndicate, Taut declared that its only purpose was to be beautiful.[22] Much of this beauty lay for him in its revealed construction, for which he drew not upon medieval forms *per se*, but upon the clarity of their engineering. Writing in 1914, he described the way in which modern materials, used in this way, might promote more than straightforward pragmatism:

> Even in the simplest buildings, strictly defined by economic constraints, the same tendency expresses itself with equal intensity through the quest for utter plainness that exalts the most primitive form into a symbol. Here too there is a kinship of meaning with the Gothic, which at its greatest combines a passion for structure with a quest for the simplest and most expressive combination of practicality and economy. This tendency has a structural intensity that far transcends the complacent classical ideal of harmony. Glass, iron, and concrete are the materials that equip the new architect for this greater intensity and lead him beyond merely material and functional architecture.[23]

In the Glashaus Taut developed a compelling alternative to the adamantly functionalist and materialist character of most progressive architecture of the day, the Jahrhunderthalle included, injecting opulence and fantasy into an apparently objective or *sachlich* vocabulary of minimally decorated ahistoricist forms. Here he subordinated the clear expression of structure to the lighting effects which infused its interiors with an effervescent magic based in part upon the effects achieved in Wassily Kandinsky's quasi-abstract paintings.[24] At night, its colored surfaces lit from within, the Glashaus must have appeared like a finely cut jewel.[25] Even by day, its complexly ribbed cupola gave it a prismatic character (Figure 3.3). The exterior was otherwise less striking than that of the larger Monument des Eisens. The concrete base was somewhat ponderous; the surfaces neither gilded nor as elegantly detailed as they had been in Leipzig. Lettering continued to substitute for conventional ornament, but here rhetoric now propagandized a cause rather than a product. At Taut's request Scheerbart drew up a list of aphorisms proclaiming the benefits of a glass architecture. 'Colorful glass destroys hate' the architect inscribed on the building.[26]

Largely liberated from the need to advertise a particular product, Taut made the building a catalogue of materials and techniques. Erasing the boundary
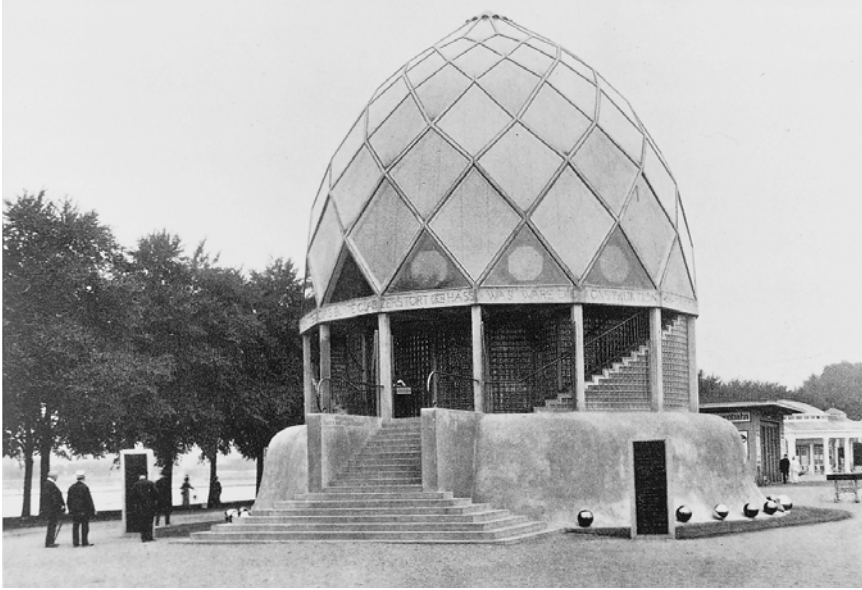
Figure 3.3 Glashaus, Werkbund Exhibition, Taut, Cologne, 1914
(*Source:* Platz, 1927, p. 305).

between wall and window, structure and ornament, he set mass-produced products beside individually commissioned works of art to create a series of increasingly sensual experiences. The most utilitarian of the interiors was the staircase wrapped around the building's outer edge. Here the relative opacity of Luxfer prisms, glass blocks designed to throw daylight into spaces much deeper than this shallow twisting passage, shielded the visitor from intrusive views of the outside world and gave the sense of being within a crystal.[27] Glass block floors further eroded the sense of solid structure in the stair and the double-glazed cupola room, which was filled with glass showcases in which yet more glass was displayed.

   Visitors descended from the cupola to the fountain room, in which light, colored glass, and water came together in a magical evocation of glass's fantastical properties (Figure 3.4). Here the rationalism of exposed construction and the clarity of faceted forms gave way to a celebration of constantly shifting colored light falling onto opulent surfaces, including stained glass windows designed by the Expressionist painters Max Pechstein and Jan Thorn-Prikker.[28] An architectural critic remarked, 'The water in the cascade leads downward in the prettiest different forms, so that in what is meant as a site of fantastical glass production – pearls and so forth – it in part trickles, in part ripples, and also in part artificially smokes.' He was equally impressed with the kaleidoscope, which threw patterns back into the chamber from a location at the bottom of the fountain just beyond the rear exit. It was, he recounted, 'supposed to have been selected in the most careful way by the artist, in order to attain the greatest possible elegant ornament'. He noted

Figure 3.4 Fountain Room, Glashaus
(*Source: Jahrbuch des Deutschen Werkbundes*, 1915, pl. 78)

that: 'It is the intention of the architect – and it seems that he has happily achieved it – to represent in an exhibit pavilion the aesthetic and technical richness of glass, the ways in which glass gives expressive form.'[29]

This successful fusion of *Sachlichkeit* and Expressionism, of structure and spectacle, was as yet, however, targeted only at individuals. In 1913 Taut had declared that 'Any idea of social purpose must be avoided.'[30] World War I, however, inspired him to link his Expressionist experiments with his work as a community planner. An adherent of the Garden City movement, Taut had already built a brightly colored but conventionally constructed housing estate on the eastern edge of Berlin.[31] Now he began to propose transforming Glashaus-like buildings into an architecture for the masses by expanding them into centerpieces of ideal cities.[32]

Two books set forth Taut's vision of a new communal architecture, one which he now hoped would offer a positive alternative to the emotional trauma wrought by world war rather than addressing only the less drastic social divisions characteristic of Wilhelmine politics. The first, *Alpine Architecture*, was written in 1917, but published only in 1919, the same year as *The City Crown*.[33] *Alpine Architecture* was the more fantastic, consisting largely of watercolor drawings of crystalline structures to be sited high in the Alps, themselves to the sculpted into greater conformity with Cubist painting and Expressionist architecture's fascination with faceted forms (see Figure 3.1). Here Taut proposed radical, indeed certainly

unrealizable, change. Abandoning existing cities for the spectacular environments he proposed here would, Taut claimed, change the lives of those who inhabited them, weaning them from the narrow functionalism that he believed had characterized modern urban life before the war and contributed in turn to the horror of the trenches. Society would be respiritualized and the resulting community would live in harmony with each other. In one of the grandest claims ever made on behalf of art and entertainment's ability to transform life, beauty, Taut posited, would preclude war itself. His language, inflected by his awareness of the war's brutality, was as ecstatic as his claims were far-reaching:

> Yes! Impracticable and without profit! But has the useful ever made us happy? – Profit and even more profit: Comfort, Convenience – Good Living, Education – knife and fork, railways and water-closets: and then – guns, bombs, instruments for killing! – Merely to desire the useful and the comfortable without higher ideals spells boredom. Boredom brings quarrelling, strife and war: lies, robbery, murder and wretchedness, blood flowing from a million wounds. Preach: be peaceable! Preach: the social Concept: the Brotherhood of Man. Get organized! and you can all live well, all be well educated and at peace! . . . Harness the masses – for a gigantic task, in the completion of which each man will feel himself fulfilled, to be the humblest or the most exalted. A task whose completion can be felt to have meaning for all. Each man will see his own handiwork clearly in the common achievement: each man will build – in the true sense. All men will serve the one concept, Beauty – as the image of the Earth that bears them. – Boredom disappears and with it strife, politics and the evil spectre of War. – Gigantic tasks stimulate Industry, which quickly gears itself up for them. Engineering is merely a servant – and it will now no longer be called upon to serve base instincts, and the senseless by-products of boredom, but to serve the positive strivings of the human spirit. – There will be no more need to speak of Peace when there is no more War.[34]

Although it opened with an essay by Scheerbart describing a heavenly city built out of glass amidst snow-capped mountains and inhabited by angels, *The City Crown* was a slightly more pragmatic effort than *Alpine Architecture* to address the fragmentation of 'organic' communities. In this second book Taut anchored his still somewhat impractical schemes in both exotic historical precedents and contemporary urban planning reforms. The result were to be city centers crowned by crystal buildings that rather resembled the Jahrhunderthalle and served in part as theaters (Figure 3.5). Taut placed these at the heart of carefully laid out new communities, separated by green belts from existing cities and from the daily lives of those who were to inhabit them.

Although the form of Taut's city crown was similar to that of the Jahrhunderthalle, its central position within the city emphasized the degree to which Taut charged his structure with accomplishing more than Berg had attempted. The Jahrhunderthalle's location on Breslau's suburban outskirts diminished its
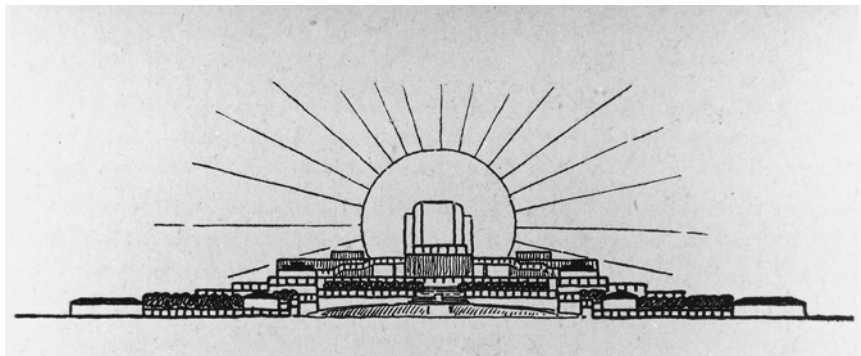
Figure 3.5 City Crown, *Die Stadtkrone*
(*Source:* Taut, 1919b, p. 65).

usefulness as a focal point for the city, which already had a medieval cathedral to serve that function. For early twentieth-century Germans such as Wilhelm Worringer and Karl Scheffler the Gothic cathedral was the highest architectural expression of pre-industrial social integration; inventing its modern equivalent appeared to offer a more high-minded path to social integration than anything accomplished by politicians.[35] Taut was not content, however, with the formal and institutional models offered by Germany's own past. He illustrated *The City Crown* with ancient and Asian temples as well as Christian churches, all of which he believed provided useful precedents for his own conflation of the sacred and the civic. This did not prevent him, however, from also drawing upon entirely secular environments. Taut injected into the Garden City movement's concentration on inexpensive suburban housing surrounded by adequate green space a new level of concern for the institutional core of the community. For this reason he placed photographs of the United States Capitol and the civic centers championed by the American City Beautiful movement beside illustrations of Hindu and Buddhist temples. All were templates for a new urban architecture.

Civic architecture, to Taut, should do more than fulfill a functional or symbolic agenda. He believed that the city crown should provide the public with spaces for the shared pleasures that would create and sustain a sense of community. Relaxation was as important as highmindedness. Cafés and restaurants would coexist with museums and libraries; Taut cited the Tivoli amusement park in Copenhagen as a precedent for portions of his proposed public gardens. Recognizing the ability of commerce as well as culture to entertain, he also included shopping districts. Taut's ultimate goal, however, was the ennoblement of daily life, something that required more than frivolity. He placed a theater at the core of the new communal facilities. Within it, music and drama would provide an abstract art that aroused people's feelings.[36] The pinnacle of the community would be a cross-axial hall whose glazing would bathe spectators in colored light. Here the combined impact of centralized space and theatrical effects replaced historical styles, just as music and theater replaced religion.

During the momentous days following the November Revolution, Taut did not confine himself to writing and publishing, however. Instead he acted quickly to mobilize architects and the general public, hoping that a new architecture would accompany and sustain the new political system. As a leader of the Arbeitsrat für Kunst, he had no success in attaining government support, but he was able to publish manifestos in the leftwing press, and to organize exhibits and exchanges of letters which disseminated his ideas among like-minded young architects.[37] Uniting these diverse activities was Taut's conviction that architects were the ones best able to provide the structure for a harmonious society.

An attempt on the part of artists to organize themselves along the same revolutionary lines as the workers, the Arbeitsrat lobbied the new Social Democratic government to implement new artistic policies which would bring experimental art to the working class. Although they were unsuccessful in their appeal to Friedrich Ebert, the Republic's Prime Minister, the group's many published statements drew attention to their position. Taut repeated the message in declarations published under his own name in the Social Democratic weekly *Vorwärts* and in *Das Kunstblatt*, one of the country's leading art magazines.[38]

In the absence of economic stability or political patronage, however, almost nothing demonstrating what a new architecture might look like was actually built. Nonetheless, Taut's ideas had considerable influence as painters joined architects in a torrent of often wild speculation.[39] Taut's own activities ensured that his colleagues were aware of one other and introduced to a larger public. The Arbeitsrat organized the Exhibition of Unknown Architects, held in Berlin in 1919, which featured many brightly colored watercolors of fantastic community buildings. In the wake of the exhibit's mixed reception, Taut organized the Crystal Chain, a group of artists and architects who exchanged drawings and letters describing their architectural aspirations.[40] He also speculated about the direction that theater should take. And, beginning in 1920, he edited *Frühlicht*, a journal devoted to Expressionist architecture.[41]

Taut's various architectural activities both as a designer and a polemicist between 1913 and 1922, when *Frühlicht* ceased publication, gave substance to a vision of architecture's ability to participate in the shaping of a new mass society that had remained vague in Berg's initial interation of it in the Jahrhunderthalle. Taut made it clear that, experienced empathetically, space formed by glass and concrete and transformed by colored light could promote the recreation of 'organic' communities, erasing the class tensions that had bedeviled Wilhelmine politics. Social harmony would be born out of aesthetic harmony. Furthermore, the architecture that could accomplish so much was not a literal replica of the Gothic cathedral, but a profoundly modern structure, whose construction was made possible only by the technology spawned by the Industrial Revolution. Industrialization would be redeemed by its own products. Finally, this new architecture, despite the entirely modern production processes which necessarily preceded its erection, and the degree to which Taut borrowed from an emerging mass culture of entertainment, would be experienced in spiritual terms. Liberated from a shallow materialism, those who inhabited Taut's organic communities would be able to focus on the transcendent.

Building social unity

Germany's defeat in World War I and the revolution that followed in its wake created a political and social void. The new government, despised by the nationalist right and the communist far left alike, lacked the authority of its predecessor. Civil strife was frequent through 1923, the year in which runaway inflation erased the savings of the middle class. In the absence of the erection of city crowns by the national or local officials, other institutions throughout the Republic's short life implemented their own more conservative versions of Taut's utopian schemes in the hope of stabilizing a fractured society. Religious architecture was transformed, and also the design of office buildings strongly influenced, by the belief that architecture must be made comprehensible to a mass audience. Indeed, many patrons believed architecture to be the most powerful tool available for attracting popular support for their own visions of social order.

Befitting its sponsorship by established elites, the architecture that resulted from these efforts was more deeply anchored in the past than Taut's had been. Suffused with patriotic possibilities, medieval imagery in particular offered a reassuring sense of permanence, as well as proof that architecture could create compelling images of social unity. At the same time, however, more dynamic tactics were necessary to court and tame a volatile public. The daring engineering of many Gothic cathedrals countenanced new tests of the limits of modern materials. Artificial as well as natural light extended the equation of light and spiritualism so powerfully articulated in the twelfth century by Abbot Suger, the builder of the choir of St. Denis, the earliest example of Gothic architecture. Moreover, despite their rarity during the Middle Ages (Charlemagne's Palantine Chapel in Aachen is the most important German example), centralized spaces like the Jahrhunderthalle and the Glashaus continued to be a powerful impetus sanctioning experiments with unusual architectural forms.

It was more than fortuitous that Behrens would in the office building he completed in 1924 for the Hoechst chemical manufacturers realize one of the earliest demonstrations of Taut's city crown.[42] The elder architect had anticipated many of its components. A dozen years before Taut began work on the Glashaus, Behrens, who had trained as a painter, was already using crystalline imagery to illustrate an essay laying out his Nietzschean-inspired equation of artistic and social reform.[43] He had also experimented early in his career with theater as well as architecture as a means to this end, collaborating with Georg Fuchs on the production of the pageant that opened the exhibit 'A Document of German Art', held in Darmstadt in 1901, and designing the Sound and Smoke cabaret in Berlin for Max Reinhardt.[44] Finally, in his role as the AEG's chief designer, he had, in addition to designing the giant electrical manufacturer's factories and much of their product line, been charged with the public presentation of the firm. Considered by his contemporaries to have redeemed industry through the careful control of such mundane consumer-oriented details as posters and shop windows, he was particularly well positioned to persuade manufacturers like those at Hoechst of the combined social and commercial efficacy of the latest architecture. Finally, with a well-established reputation as one Germany's most distinguished architects,

Behrens commanded the respect of patrons with the ability to finance and incentive to realize the less fantastic aspects of Taut's utopian schemes.

During the first two decades of the century Behrens's buildings consisted for the most part of neoclassical evocations of geometric order. Although the balance between abstraction and historicism varied, there was little that anticipated the direction his work would take immediately after the war when the Prussian tradition of Friedrich Gilly and Karl Friedrich Schinkel seemed bankrupt, and he temporarily embraced Expressionism. Yet if his interest in medieval forms and community-oriented spaces was new, the task of fusing ideal form and commercial purpose was one at which he already excelled. Now he would marry the astute corporate image-making of his AEG work to Taut's proposed city crown.

The Hoechst Chemical Company's administration building is prominently sited on what was then the main road from Frankfurt to Mainz. A bridge, also designed by Behrens, links it to the company's older headquarters, located just across the street.[45] On the exterior, Behrens once again reduced a historical tradition, in this case the medieval, to its essentials. The building's massive external brick and stone walls must have offered a reassuring sense of stability to the company's managers and white-collar employees in the politically and economically uncertain years when it was under construction. At the same time, Behrens's restrained medieval references hinted at a spiritual aura which neoclassicism, despite its roots in sacred Greek architecture, no longer conveyed to a twentieth-century European public.

The dignity and the permanence of the street wall give way on the interior to a more experimental architecture, in which Taut's city crown was liberated from the conventional medievalism of the building's brick skin. In the central atrium Behrens realized Taut's vision of faceted crystalline forms (Figure 3.6). Three roughly pyramidal skylights floats above a cave-like space defined by angled brick piers. In place of the colored light filtered through jewel-like glass advocated by Scheerbart and Taut, Behrens tinted not the skylights, but the piers themselves, using the dyes which were Hoechst's first and most famous products. He thus obliterated the boundary between spiritualism and spectacle, communalism and commercialism. The result is a remarkable Expressionist interior, a space where the ethereal experience of color and light was intended to enrich the daily experience of office workers, as well as lend dignity to the neighboring memorial hall commemorating the Hoechst employees who died in World War I.

In organizing the building around such a space rather than a series of utilitarian corridors, Behrens and his patrons acknowledged the social as well as economic dimension of the functionalism to which Behrens, unlike Taut, still largely adhered. At Hoechst, Behrens was charged with representing the firm's paternalist concern for the welfare of its work-force, particularly the white-collar clerks and managers whose offices he was designing. In a leaf taken perhaps as much from Frank Lloyd Wright's Larkin Administration Building of 1902–6 in Buffalo as from Taut, the presence of the lightcourt was intended to illustrate the firm's ability to see its employees as human beings rather than merely cogs in an efficient machine.[46] The gesture was a generous one, although those who made it were far from disinterested in the benefits of a contented staff.
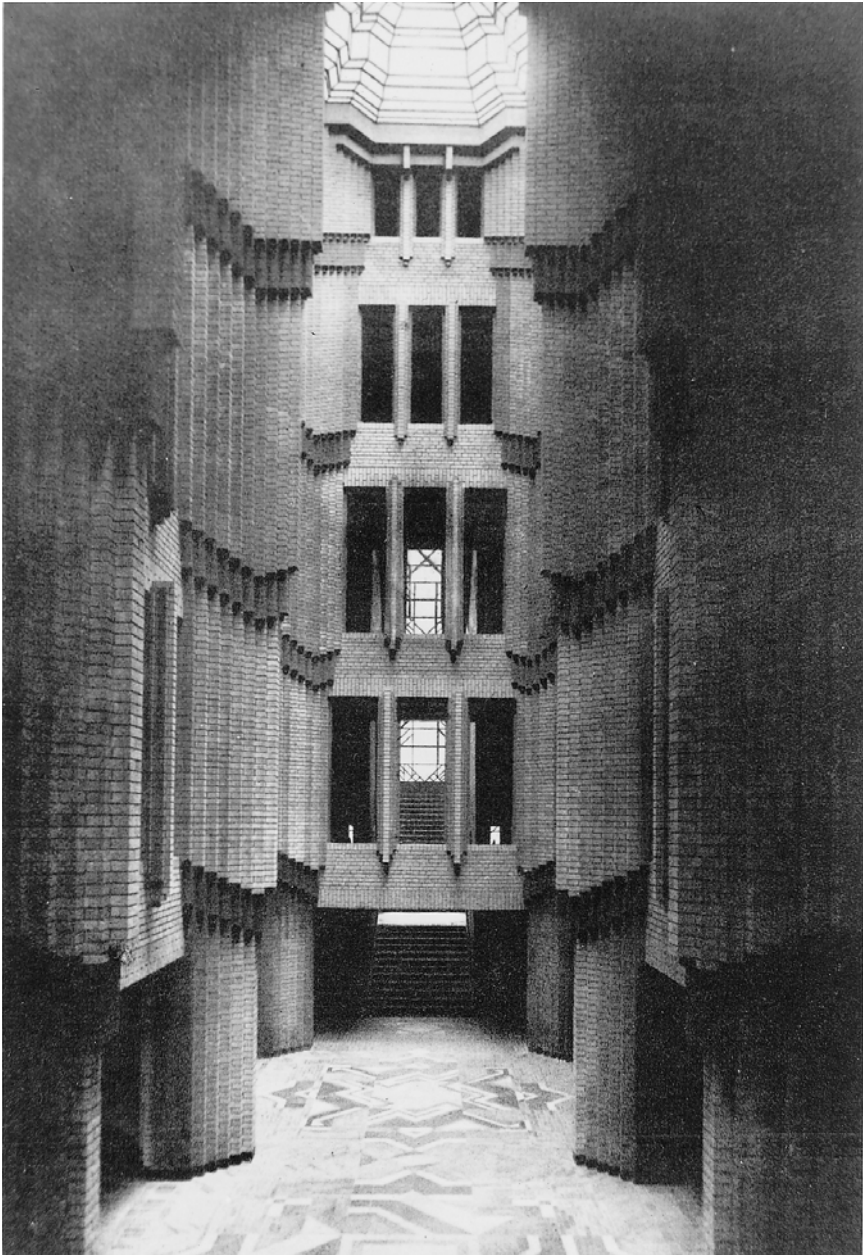
Figure 3.6 Atrium, Hoechst Administration Building, Peter Behrens, Frankfurt-
Hoechst, 1920–24
(*Source:* Müller-Wulkow, 1929, p. 114)

Throughout the rest of the 1920s, German businesses would find in the progeny of the Hoechst Administration Building (most notably Fritz Höger's Chilehaus of 1921–24 in Hamburg) an appealing blend of pragmatism and high-mindedness, and in the regular rhythm of brick-clad piers, an urban order refreshingly independent of discredited Wilhelmine precedents.[47] Far more important, however, was the integration of Taut's utopian vision into the architecture of Germany's Protestant and, above all, Roman Catholic church buildings. Here the sacred dimension of Expressionist architecture, initially inspired by the vacuity of official Wilhelmine culture, was folded back into the institutional setting most likely to cherish it. Here the heightened perceptions of the individual could most easily be joined together into a collective which anchored rather than threatened the established order. Through liturgical and architectural reforms the Lutheran and Roman Catholic Churches sought to cement their position as the country's most widely respected institutions by bringing a new clarity and focus to their most fundamental dogmas.

The result was an explosion of church building, especially in suburban working-class districts. The widespread association of modernity in architecture with progressive secular institutions often obliterates awareness of the ways in which deeply traditional institutions also embraced change. In these churches, even more than in the new housing estates which often surrounded them, state-of-the-art engineering was a crucial aspect of the Church's efforts to improve the quality of life for German workers and their families. Despite the visual cues that their massing offered about their sacred function, naked construction animated only by light and ritual become as pervasive in these buildings as anywhere else in the German cityscape. Housing estates, factories, department stores, and cinemas – the building types most closely associated with emphatically modern functions – none were more completely transformed during the 1920s in Germany than religious architecture.

Otto Bartning, a Lutheran, was almost solely responsible for his denomination's embrace of modern architectural forms and for a shift in the program for religious buildings toward the explicit creation of community. In 1919, he described in his book *About New Church Building* a new approach to church architecture focused on the creation of community.[48] And although it remained unbuilt, his project of 1922 for a nearly centrally planned 'star church' was one of the most widely admired examples of paper architecture from the immediate postwar years.[49]

The Lutheran Church in Germany had strong motivations to embrace both a new role and a new aesthetic. During the Wilhelmine years many Protestant workers deserted the Church. They chose instead to affiliate themselves with the Social Democratic Party, which they believed better able to represent their interests than a clergy compromised in their eyes by its close ties to the Prussian state. Regular churchgoers were increasingly likely either to be members of social elites or at least present themselves as models of middle-class respectability. The collapse of the empire prompted new concern among the Protestant leadership about addressing the needs of society as a whole.[50] Furthermore, Protestants were especially susceptible to Bartning's call for spartan, unornamented surfaces and

spatial proximity between clergy and laity as since the Reformation they had dispensed with much of the decoration and sense of hierarchy that Catholics would soon, too, come to see as distracting.

Inspired by Expressionism, Bartning proposed enhancing the mystical and thus the sacred quality of Protestant church buildings. His ultimate goal was not to bring Protestant architecture closer to its Catholic counterparts, although this was certainly something he advocated, but to use form to heighten the emotional experience of religion. This involved breaking free of historical precedents. More importantly, it depended upon a belief in environmental determinism:

> Is the nostalgia for sacred building maybe merely an architectural nostalgia, an aesthetic reversion to historical types? Will the new church have a new congregation? Do we require in essence only a new shell or do we want an entirely new shell without any essence? Yet only where a new essence is developing, does an organic shell form, only where there is an idea, does a living form arise. But can an essence in its formation really be viable through a visibly coarse surrounding shell; can an idea truly in its tender origin become perceptible through a surrounding form whose outline is full of misgivings?[51]

Paying little attention to issues of material and aesthetics *per se*, Bartning focused on reorganizing the spatial disposition of the Protestant church. For instance, he de-emphasized the choir, in order to increase the focus upon the all-important chancel, which he described as 'the focus of the space', and upon the altar.[52] Finally, Bartning stressed the theatrical qualities of sacred architecture, as well as the sensual role that music in conjunction with architecture played in the experience of congregants.

An active participant in Expressionist circles in the immediate postwar years, Bartning gracefully managed the transition to the more overtly rational architecture of the middle of the decade. He became affiliated with those German architects committed to what they called the New Building, an architecture of far greater formal simplicity than anything espoused by Taut in the 1910s. Bartning joined the Ring, the association of experimentally minded architects founded in 1924 to lobby Berlin's building officials in support of the New Building.[53] In 1926 he became the director of the Bauhochschule in Weimar, the successor to the Bauhaus after the latter was forced to move to Dessau. Gropius later asked him to contribute to the design of Siemensstadt, the settlement in Berlin that was one of that city's most important Weimar-era showpieces of efficiently planned and constructed workers' housing.[54]

Nine years after its publication, Bartning finally received in the commission for the Stahlkirche the opportunity to build the fulfillment of the ideas he had spelled out for the first time in *About New Church Building*. The building was erected in Cologne on the same exhibit grounds upon which Taut's Glashaus had stood fourteen years earlier. With curtain walls whose frankly exposed structure was rivaled in Weimar Germany only by their counterparts at the

Bauhaus, the Stahlkirche contributed as much to the taming for popular consumption of a frank industrial aesthetic as to the reform of Protestant sacred architecture (Figure 3.7).

In the Stahlkirche Bartning maintained a delicate balance between unabashedly modern construction and an equally unsubtle respect for history.[55] Exposing and refining the church's raw steel frame, Bartning achieved the concise relationship between form and construction of which his friends in the Ring could only dream. His choice of infill – stained glass designed by Elizabeth Coester that enveloped the body of the sacred space, and copper panels elsewhere – did nothing to mask the articulation of this skeleton which was, furthermore, entirely demountable (after the close of the exhibition the building was quickly reassembled in Essen, where it was destroyed by bombs during World War II). At the same time, however, Bartning's recall of such Gothic precedents as Notre Dame and Ste. Chapelle in Paris, as well as Germany's own late medieval hall churches tempered the extreme modernity of the church's construction.[56]

Bartning's fondness for Gothic was inspired by a belief that the Renaissance and the Reformation had eroded the church-centered communities of the late Middle Ages by placing undue value upon the individual.[57] His respect for Gothic engineering and for the medieval cathedral and parish church as powerful images of civic unity did not deter him from sculpting his groundplan in accordance with contemporary theories of empathy rather than historical precedent, however
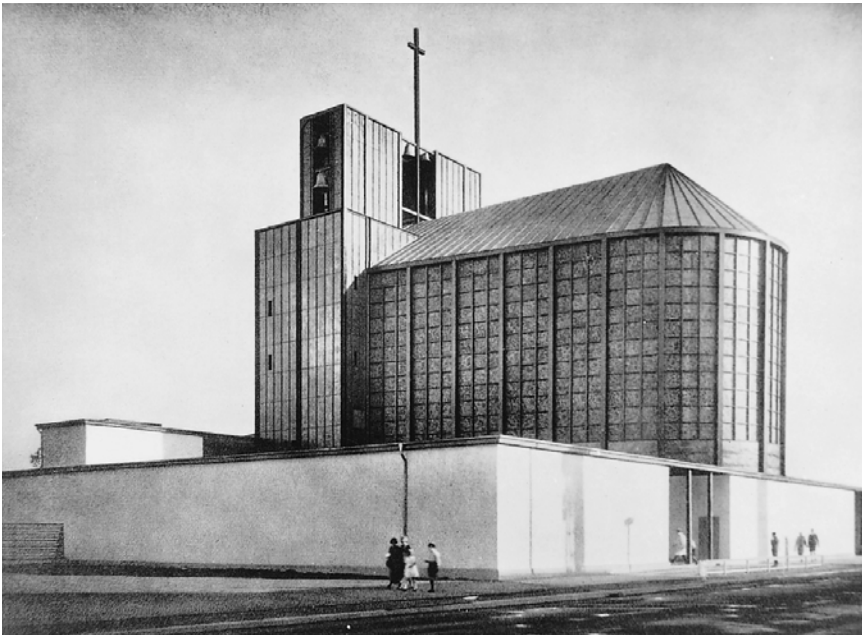
Figure 3.7 Stahlkirche (Steel Church), Otto Bartning, Cologne, 1928
(*Source:* Müller-Wulkow, 1929, p. 98)

(Figure 3.8). According to its architect, the lines of Stahlkirche's unusual parabolic plan, which focused attention on the altar, 'resemble the outstretched arms of the preacher'. Bartning deepened this emphasis upon the plasticity and malleability of space in section, as the floor of the church sloped downward towards a raised chancel. He concluded, 'The form and rhythm of the room are intended to prepare the congregation for the sacrament by symbolizing the uplifting of the community for godly service.'[58]
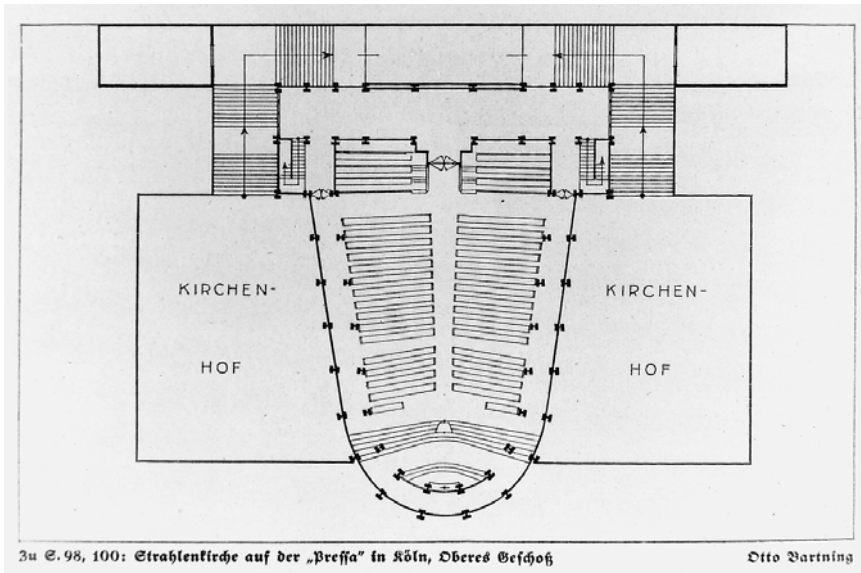
Figure 3.8 Plan, Stahlkirche
(*Source:* Müller-Wulkow, 1929, p. 110)

Both the sloped floor and curved plan were patently theatrical. Bartning himself had compared churches to theaters in his book on church architecture.[59] But it was not enough merely to generate an experience in which the performance of ritual was likely to have an emotional impact upon participants. The point, as Bartning made clear in his own description of the Stahlkirche, was to bind an anonymous modern congregation into a meaningful contemporary community, something he asserted elsewhere had also happened on the worksite as the building was under construction:

> But what is the significance of this gathering of the community? Is it only a congregation of a thousand souls for the reading of the holy writ and prayer? Does it not signify rather that a thousand individuals lose their loneliness to join in harmony before the preacher, unified by prayer and song and holy communion?
>
> When the church structure expresses this spirit, it realizes its higher purpose. It becomes the form, the manifestation, the symbol of Christian unity.

Furthermore, if this gathering of the community be not only a passing historical pageant, but a living force in modern life, the church structure itself must be more than a passing historical display. It must reveal the essential eternity of the Christian ideal in purely modern terms. It must be built in a modern manner with modern materials of construction, using the best and newest methods.[60]

Bartning also supplemented the program for Protestant churches to promote social as well as sacred gathering places. The main sanctuary of the Stahlkirche stood, for instance, atop a community meeting room.

Nowhere did Bartning strike a more delicate contrast between Protestant rationality and the medieval mysticism with which he wished to reinfuse German Lutheranism than in the relationship he established between the building's steel structure and the extensive glazing designed by Coester. On the one hand, the engineering required to open up such vast expanses of windows was a forthright tribute to Bartning's engagement with the modern movement. On the other, the visitor or worshipper surrounded by the brilliant color of Coester's enormous windows must been spellbound by an effect which, if slightly less dynamic than that which Taut had created within the Glashaus, was nonetheless extremely powerful, especially when realized on the more imposing scale of the Stahlkirche (Figure 3.9).

Taut had been fascinated by light's spiritual qualities, which for him remained detached from the teaching of any particular faith. For Coester, however, light served as a metaphor for God. The critic Paul Girkon believed this equation of God and light to be as fundamental to the design of the church as Bartning's emphasis upon community:

> Whereas Otto Bartning wanted to build his sacred space as the embodiment of the community united through worship, Elisabeth Coester created her stained glass manifestation of the eternal light as a powerful symbol of spiritual divinity. This epiphany-like sense of light is stamped for Protestants with the double meaning of the sacred promise: God is holy – God is light. God's self-revelation, that is both holiness and light, appears at present to be the godly promise – that is the meaning which is the functional form of this glass-enclosed space.[61]

Two million visitors toured the Stahlkirche during the summer of 1928, an indication of popular interest throughout the Rhineland in new approaches to religious architecture.[62] The challenge in the Stahlkirche was to design a space whose spiritual qualities would not only enhance organized religious worship but also be apparent when no services were underway. Bartning addressed his building, after all, in part at exhibit-goers who would never become parishioners. To one who had witnessed a performance of Hauptmann's pageant in the Jahrhundert-halle that building undoubtedly seemed like a hollow shell when empty. Designing a template for community-oriented Protestant worship, Bartning was also
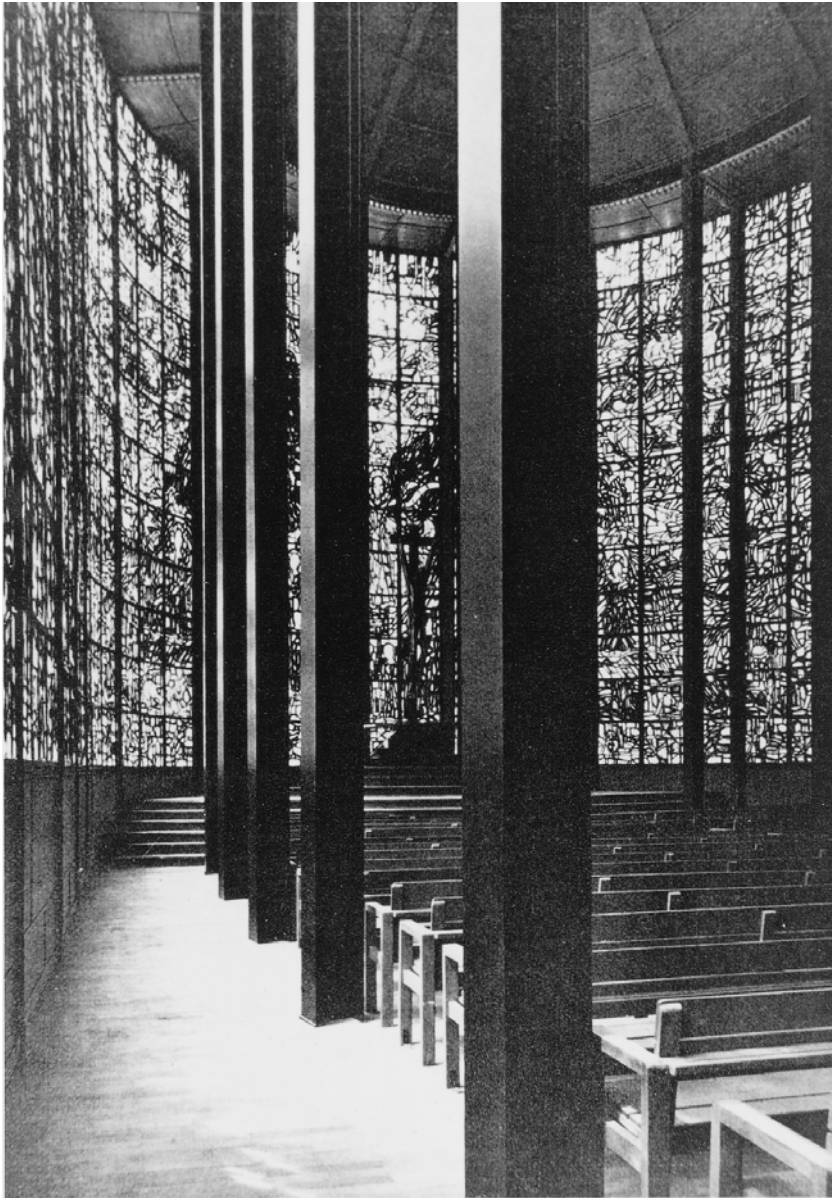
Figure 3.9 Interior, Stahlkirche
(*Source:* Müller-Wulkow, 1929, p. 100)

compelled to create a building which would be a persuasive argument for his position, for an audience composed overwhelmingly of those who would never attend a service within it, yet he could not lapse into the associations with the amusement park that drifted through the Glashaus.

One of the most remarkable things about the Stahlkirche was its presence in largely Roman Catholic Cologne, where construction of the city's first Protestant church had begun only in 1857. The Pressa exhibition, the first international trade show held in Germany since the war, gave Protestants the opportunity to demonstrate their commitment to modern sacred architecture in the city that had already for nearly a century been the center of Roman Catholic attempts to build churches whose designs were fully engaged in the present as well as the past. In the nineteenth century the cooperation of members of the two faiths in the completion of the Catholic cathedral, whose towers were visible from the exhibit fairgrounds just across the Rhine, had been the highpoint of the German Gothic Revival.[63] During the 1920s the Catholic archdiocese of Cologne, and in particularly the nearby monastery at Maria Laach, were at the center of the liturgical movement, which emphasized the collective worship of Christ through the sacrament of the Mass, rather than private devotions that had often focused instead upon the mediating figures of Mary and the saints.[64] Under Dominikus Böhm's direction, the Department of Religious Art at the city's School of Applied Art was the staging ground for the design and decoration of new churches in support of the liturgical movement's ideas.

Before World War I, the Roman Catholic Church had, especially in the Rhineland, had considerable success in keeping workers within the fold. Through religious services, community organization, and political activity – above all the Center political party – the Catholic hierarchy had offered an inclusive alternative to socialism.[65] With the authority of the state in question after World War I, the Catholic Church sought to cement its position as one of the country's most widely respected institutions through liturgical and artistic reforms that brought a new clarity and focus to its fundamental dogmas. The members of the liturgical movement sought to revitalize their faith by refocusing upon the core belief in Christ's sacrifice. In his book *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, first published in 1918, Romano Guardini, the most influential member of this movement, set forth his belief in the universality of the Mass:

> The liturgy is not celebrated by the individual, but by the body of the faithful. This is not composed merely of the persons who may be present in church; it is not the assembled congregation. On the contrary it reaches out beyond the bounds of space to embrace all the faithful on earth . . . Every individual Catholic is a cell of this living organism or a member of this Body.[66]

For Guardini artistic beauty was a useful accompaniment to sacred ritual as its beauty heightened the experience of religion's mystic significance. His treatment of art's appearance rather than its purpose remained quite general, however. Inspired by the prewar success of the German Werkbund, Guardini's followers nonetheless understood the importance of art and architecture as aesthetic means to their theological and social ends. On the one hand, its theologians distrusted the material world and sought to abolish what they saw as the excesses of much religious architecture. They especially abhorred the richly decorated churches of

the previous century, preferring instead the simplicity of the almost mythical gathering places of the earliest Christians. And yet they believed, as Johannes van Acken demonstrated in his book *Christ-centered Church Art: A Design for a Totalizing Liturgical Work of Art*, first published in 1921, in the power of space and light to shape human emotions.[67]

Van Acken mapped out the architectural program that would soon be implemented by his friend Böhm. While Bartning like Guardini had stressed community, van Acken was straightforward about the need to reach out to the working classes and about the contribution that form and theater could make to this effort. Greater social division among parishioners demanded less spatial division in the architecture of Catholic churches:

> In our cities and industrial regions different German and foreign tribes flock together. Men who, detached from native customs, cannot find in rental barracks or workers' colonies any new feeling of home, must at least in the simple space of the church, in the communal service of the mass, be tied together by a sense of belonging and feel united in the same supporting piers. But this is impossible when these piers, lining the side aisles, block their view of the Altar.[68]

The other central tenet of the reformers' approach to church architecture, as van Acken makes clear, was an unmediated view of the altar. Although many Catholic churches had been cross-shaped since the Middle Ages, van Acken was ready to eschew this powerful symbolism in order to provide all worshippers with an unobstructed view of the place where mass was celebrated. Chapels which competed with the primacy of this altar should be tucked behind it or otherwise moved out of sight of the nave, while the altar itself should be drawn forward from the wall, a gesture which restored its resemblance to a table. The choir separating the priest from the congregation should be abolished. Finally, van Acken understood that architecture alone was not enough. He recommended Richard Wagner's staging of operas as a model for the way in which all forms of art could come together in the performance of religious liturgy that would affect an entire congregation.[69]

For Bartning the task of changing German Protestant church architecture was a one-man crusade in which he served double duty as theorist and architect. Van Acken, however, was neither an architect nor was he a lone voice. He and other critics, such as August Hoff, chimed in together in support of the churches designed by Böhm.[70] A student of Theodor Fischer's, Böhm established himself as the liturgical movement's leading architect by building the Schwabian Memorial Church of St. John the Baptist in Neu-Ulm. Located just across the river from Fischer's own Garnisonkirche, Böhm's church, designed in 1921 and completed in 1927, combined overtly medieval forms and modern reinforced concrete construction. The faceted forms of the vaulting and the dramatic 'light turbines' of the adjacent chapels established Böhm's awareness of Taut, but, unlike Bartning, the Catholic architect kept his distance from the New Building and its industrial aesthetic. This did not preclude an active engagement with technology, however.

In his Christkönigskirche of 1926 in the Mainz suburb of Bishofsheim, Böhm for the first time used reinforced concrete parabolic arches like those pioneered by Küster in the Breslau market halls. Much as Martin Luther had translated the Latin Bible into vernacular German, Böhm here rephrased the Gothic in terms of contemporary engineering.[71]

It was in St. Engelbert, completed in 1932 in the Cologne suburb of Riehl, however, that Böhm fully realized the liturgical movement's project of using state-of-the-art concrete construction to shape atmospheric space in a way which would enable a working-class congregation uneducated in the nuances of historical style or complicated iconography to be united by the empathetic experience of architecture and ritual (Figure 3.10). Charged with recapturing an ideal past in terms comprehensible in a troubled present, Böhm produced one of the most innovative churches of the twentieth century.[72] Popularly known as the 'lemon press', St. Engelbert's owes its unusual shape to the importance Böhm placed upon an interior unmarred by the structural supports that he and van Acken believed fragmented the congregation's experience of community. Engineering served here not as a self-referential demonstration of the nature of new materials, but as a means to create a contemporary version of the communities which many Germans believed had once been constituted by the shared experience of worshipping in Gothic churches.

Even more than the Stahlkirche, St. Engelbert can be seen as a sacred counterpart to the Jahrhunderthalle. Although aspects of the church were more conventional than the Jahrhunderthalle had been, both had circular cores constructed out of forcefully sculpted reinforced concrete. Inside St. Engelbert a thin layer of stucco erased the distinction between the structural concrete vaults and the infill walls that, on the exterior, were clad in a reassuringly familiar layer of brick. If the expression of structure was less direct than in the Jahrhunderthalle, the claims made on behalf of the space created by that structure were far bolder. Böhm was quite frank, as Berg had not been, about the effect he expected the circular space to have upon those who occupied it. He wrote later that it 'drew the congregation together under the circular dome in a close unity'.[73]

The eight parabolic arches of St. Engelbert enclose a circular space (Figures 3.11 and 3.12).[74] Here congregants were equal before but not to God; Böhm preserved the hierarchical relationship between nave and sanctuary. He placed the altar, or place of sacrifice as he called it, outside the main volume inhabited by the congregation, appending a small chancel onto the building's round body. Böhm expressed this relationship in a manner which could be understood to be timeless or modern. This ambiguity accounted for much of its effectiveness. Eschewing decoration, he instead used light to emphasize the distinction between the darkened communal space and the light-filled chancel which opened off it. The technique owed as much to contemporary theater as to the Baroque churches that Böhm himself cited as a precedent.[75]

Böhm and the parish priest who was his client aspired to build not just a church, however, but an entirely religious version of Taut's city crown, one which would dominate its immediate environs and support a range of activities. Böhm focused

Figure 3.10 St. Engelbert, Dominikus Böhm, Cologne-Riehl, 1930–32
(*Source:* Habbel, 1943, p. 121)

on situating the church as prominently as possible in relation to the ring road that
ran in front of it.[76] Elevated a full level above the street, the church stood at the
top of a monumental flight of stairs. Böhm set a community room with seating
for 600 (only 200 less than the number who could be comfortably accommodated
in the sacred space above it) and a stage within this plinth. A youth center equipped
for 160 and offices for its staff further enhanced the parish's ability to reach out
into the surrounding neighborhood to which it offered social programs as well as
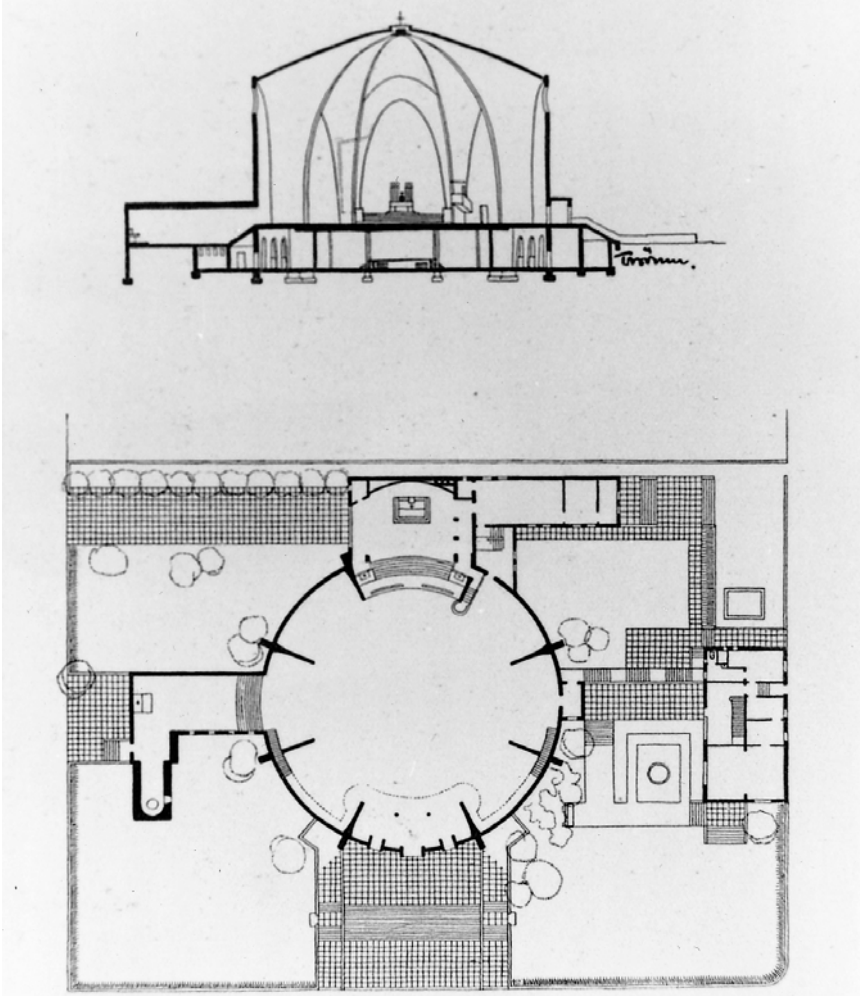
Figure 3.11 Plan and section, St. Engelbert
(*Source:* Habbel, 1943, p. 124)

spiritual sustenance.[77] The new building was a social and architectural as well as religious focal point, not of the entire city of Cologne, but certainly of the largely working-class suburban neighborhood which surrounded it.

Like Berg before him, Böhm eschewed history and iconography, aspiring instead to a universality comprehensible to the church's modestly educated parishioners. Although Early Christian and Romanesque Italian baptisteries and Cologne's own medieval parish church of St. Gereon legitimized his experiments with centralized planning, he refused to quote their particulars.[78] Similarly, Böhm cherished the Baroque and Rococo churches of his native Swabia, whose theatricality provided ample precedent for his more subtle manipulation of artificial as well as natural

Figure 3.12 Interior, St. Engelbert
(*Source:* Habbel, 1943, p. 123)

light, but this reference, too, was generalized enough to appear both utterly timeless and entirely current. Light, Böhm wrote, is 'the most noble, the chastest building material, presented to us by God'.[79] Abbot Suger could not have put it better.

This lack of specificity in Böhm's invocation of a reassuringly stable past and starkly contemporary engineering enabled him to create sacred space appropriate for a modern mass public. Contemporary accounts focused on the modernity of

St. Engelbert. Otto Brües, for instance, noted that although born a Swabian, raised, that is, amidst the richness fantasy of Bavarian Baroque, Böhm was 'a modern man', one furthermore who 'knew that the time of historicism, of speaking in learned formulas, was over' and who 'saw that with the possibilities of iron and concrete came new opportunities for sacred architecture'.[80]

That Behrens, Bartning, and Böhm could, without sharing Taut's socialism and while working for exactly the institutions it most threatened, nonetheless adopt his dream of centralized and/or glazed structures which would promote community indicates not so much the co-option of a revolutionary ideal as a shared faith in the efficacy of architecture as a path to social change. All four architects assumed that their own art provided society with the best single means to reach out to people who, unlike themselves, were not members of a well-trained cultural elite. While Behrens, even more than Taut, remained enmeshed in an attempt to redeem consumer capitalism by converting it into fine art, all four favored the theatricalization of architecture as a means of converting it from an elite into a popular art form, one whose intersection with the daily lives of most people, now that the profession controlled the construction of almost all German buildings, offered them extraordinary possibilities for enhancing everyday experience. Furthermore, none questioned the danger of awakening individual emotion in order to reach a transcendent communal unity, a project that permeated German art and literature during the late Wilhelmine and Weimar years. Although only Taut would flee Nazi Germany, dying in exile in Japan in 1938, none of the others supported Hitler before 1933. Whatever compromises Behrens, Bartning, and Böhm made during the twelve years of Nazi dictatorship, there is no evidence that any of them originally conceived of community or spirituality in Nazi terms.[81]

There were, however, to be few firm boundaries which could be drawn between the tactics developed by Berg and Taut, Bartning and Böhm, and those employed by the Nazis.

4   Spectacle

Eager to maintain the distance between cathedral and carnival, neither Bartning nor Böhm continued the experiments with almost magical artificial colored light that made the Glashaus such an engaging feature of the Werkbund Exhibition. Others did not share their reservations. For Rudolf Fränkel, the architect of the Lichtberg (Mountain of Light) Cinema that opened in Berlin on Christmas Day 1929, for instance, dramatic night lighting established the basic continuity between this building, the centerpiece of a new working-class housing settlement, and Taut's earlier city crown projects (Figure 4.1).[1] In the Lichtberg, Fränkel advertised the movies with the light-based technology of this new form of entertainment that he elevated into an ethereal zone in which the distinction between fantasy and mysticism, the commercial and the idealistic quickly blurred.

Figure 4.1 Lichtberg Cinema, Rudolf Fränkel, Berlin, 1929
(*Source:* Zuker and Stindt, 1931, p. 39)

Light, for Fränkel as for Taut, offered a marvelous substitute for historicist motifs. Inexpensive and up-to-date, it was the most theatrical of all the architectural techniques used to reach a mass audience. As the most literally intangible – as well as the most emotionally immediate – tactic available to those engaged in creating a popular architecture, it was also astonishingly multivalent. It is difficult to distinguish between the quasi-sacred invocation of Taut's city crown and the frankly consumerist utility of this effective advertising as they coexist within a single example of illumination such as the Lichtberg. Futhermore, bold night lighting, one of the most prominent emblems of the commercialization of the Weimar cityscape, became in turn an important component of Nazi efforts to create a civic grandeur that would entirely overwhelm the appeal exerted by commercial architecture.

Indeed, the fluid political identity of architectural attempts to engage a mass audience crested in efforts to use light to captivate a public entranced by the dynamism of modern technology. This did not necessarily conflict with the reassurance the same people found in the stability of a mythic medieval or classical past. This architecture of light was born in the last years before World War I in avant-garde theatre. Its inventors aimed to offer the masses an alternative to what they saw as bourgeois conventions of representation. During the short-lived economic boom of the mid- and late 1920s, the techniques they had pioneered moved out of doors to become the night-time face of Germany's downtowns. Goods and services for sale were now spotlit with the same care as the actors in Gerhart Hauptmann's pageant. As independent of architectural structure as of established indices of wealth and social status, this illuminated architecture has been judged ever since as superficial by those on both the left and right who deplored the commercial culture of which it was a prominent part. Those on the left, as well as its original sponsors, were also frightened by its efficacy when, used on an even grander scale, it became one of the most celebrated ingredients of Nazi spectacles. Albert Speer, in particular, unhitched this architecture of light from its earlier associations with 'Jewish' commerce, erasing the distinction between entertainment and politics.

Unabashedly modern in its reliance upon the constantly upgraded capacities of electricity, this new tool with which to shape space and influence emotion was equally of its time in its inherent abstraction. Here, even more than in the Gothic cathedral, what Worringer initially described as the antithetical qualities of abstraction and empathy fused in a single dazzling gesture. Almost entirely detached from historical precedent, this story of technological development from Adolf Appia and Wassily Kandinsky's first experiments, confined within the four walls of the theater to, less than a quarter century later, Speer's immense outdoor Lichtdom (Cathedral of Light) for the Nazi party rallies in Nuremberg disavows simplistic equations between engineering progress and political evolution towards either a democratic or a socialist ideal.

From the teens through the 1930s, a diversity of political aims coincided with a similiarity of tactics, as many different architects used spectacular lighting to attract a mass public. It was in theater, not the commercially successful spectacle

mounted in the last years before World War I by Reinhardt, but the more experimental efforts – whether actually staged or merely contemplated – by Appia and Kandinsky, that the new approach to lighting developed as an intellectual avant-garde aspired to engage the attention of working-class audiences. Working for Appia's friend Jacques Dalcroze, Heinrich Tessenow designed the Festhalle in Hellerau to be a light-filled box in which the conventional distinction between actors and audience would be largely abolished. In Munich, Kandinsky left the conventional stage intact, but would have, had his performance pieces actually been staged, radically altered the content of what took place upon it. After the war, Hans Poelzig, inspired more by the Jahrhunderthalle and the Glashaus than by Appia or Kandinsky, inaugurated what were for Germany new forms of indirect light in conjunction with an unprecedented immediacy in the architectural form of a theater. A rare effort to build a city crown in the immediate aftermath of the November Revolution, Poelzig's renovation for Reinhardt of the Circus Schumann into the Große Schauspielhaus (Large Playhouse) opened in 1919. Its descendants included more cinemas than legitimate theaters and, in the work of Erich Mendelsohn, carried over as well into the design of shops and department stores. Here the story comes full circle. Mendelsohn had campaigned for the production of Kandinsky's performance pieces, upon which he certainly drew in his sophisticated integration of illuminated advertising into his commercial architecture. Speer, who followed Mendelsohn and Fränkel's example in further expanding the scale of urban night lighting, had studied with Tessenow, from whose Festhalle he learned as much about lighting as about the possibilities of a modern neoclassicism.

The development of this overtly spectacular architecture was directly tied to efforts to reach a mass audience. Hellerau's founders hoped that Dalcroze would be able to spiritualize a public that included the workers in the model garden city's furniture factory. The Große Schauspielhaus represented the first of Reinhardt's attempts since the pageant mounted in the Jahrhunderthalle to create a truly popular theater, a goal very much in keeping with the revolutionary spirit coursing through the veins of Berlin's cultural scene at the time of its opening in 1919. The dramatically lit exteriors of the cinemas and department stores which followed from Poelzig's design for the Große Schauspielhaus comprised an entirely public performance, available at no cost to all who walked down the urban thoroughfares on which they were situated. Cinemas in particular catered to a working- and lower middle-class public to whom they offered affordable entertainment.

All of these efforts to reach beyond a bourgeois audience paled in comparison, however, to the pervasiveness of Nazi spectacles, of which almost no German could have remained unaware after 1933. The numbers of those attending events like the annual party rallies was easily a hundred times that of those assembled within the Große Schauspielhaus. Furthermore, such events were designed not only to be viewed by publics which often came from throughout Germany specifically in order to participate in them, but also to be filmed and thus disseminated to those less overtly enthusiastic spectators who could be expected, for instance, to watch the newsreels that accompanied feature films.

The ways in which German architects who sought to address a mass public defined that public often varied much more than the architectural means they employed to communicate with it. Utopian socialists like Taut focused on an alliance of workers and intellectuals, while theater directors and cinema owners thought about their audience in economic terms. Their effort to sell as many seats as possible distinguished them in turn from Hitler's definition of community in racial and political terms. The conflation of these varied ends with a single set of architectural means rendered the project of a popular architecture suspect, first to Marxist cultural critics ambivalent about Weimar-era mass culture and eventually to all those opposed to the Nazis, whose architecture was for most observers, as Hitler himself intended, inseparable from the regime's political purposes.

Appia and Kandinsky: an avant-garde theater

Beginning in the 1910s, space was the starting point for German architectural attempts to reach a mass audience. The articulation of the structure which framed it was unfiltered by all but the most elementary allusions to history or other symbolism. Starkness alone did not suffice, however. First theater directors and then architects developed light as an immaterial way of shaping space and, even more importantly, of influencing emotion. Tessenow's Festhalle of 1910–12 and the performance pieces Kandinsky hoped to stage in Munich were the two most radical prewar examples of this phenomena. Furthermore, as the art form which first attempted to imbue socially diverse audiences with spiritual content, theater directly inspired the many architects who quickly adopted its goal of transcending class divisions.

Tessenow is best remembered for the understated and highly disciplined approach to classicism displayed in his façade of the Festhalle (Figure 4.2). He conceived its austerity in opposition to Germany's burgeoning mass culture.[2] This was also the motivation for his design, in collaboration with Dalcroze and Appia, of an extraordinarily bare performance space intended to remove both audience and performers from the contamination of the realism that had dominated the previous generation of innovative playwrights and producers (Figure 4.3). Separated spatially by only the most minimal division – Tessenow eliminated the proscenium entirely – audience and dancers shared the experience of inhabiting a glowing box.

Dalcroze's institute for eurhythmy – advancing a novel integration of abstract dance movements and music – served as the centerpiece of the garden suburb of Hellerau, located just outside Dresden. Hellerau's founders hoped that those who worked in the model community's furniture factory and lived in its self-consciously quaint village housing would share with the intellectuals and free spirits from throughout Europe – mostly from bourgeois backgrounds – who came to study with Dalcroze, in the creation of an ideal 'organic' community. Here, Hellerau's founders hoped that the social divisions between the working and middle classes, which they attributed to industrialization and urbanization, would be ameliorated.[3]
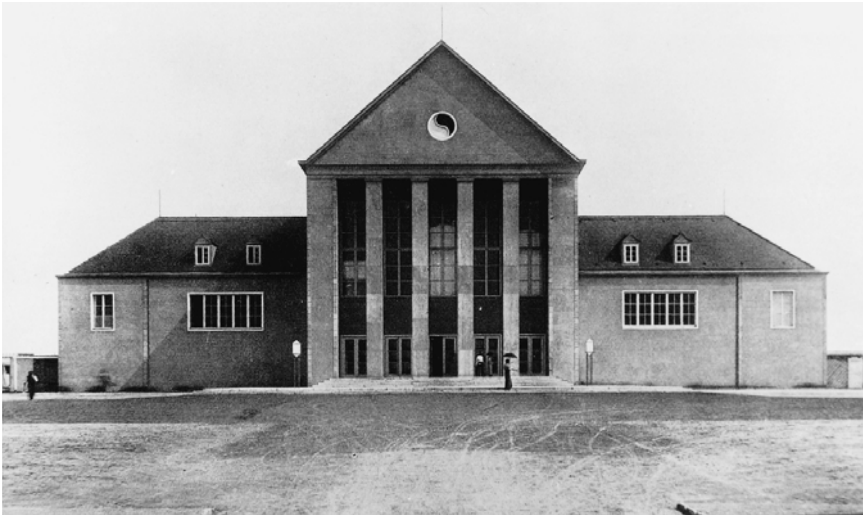
Figure 4.2 Festhalle (Festival Hall), Heinrich Tessenow, Hellerau, 1910–12
(*Source:* Müller-Wulkow, 1929, p. 78)

Figure 4.3 Interior, Festhalle
(*Source:* Seidl, n. d., unpaginated plate)

Although the degree to which laborers actually attended Festhalle performances remains unclear and may well have been slight, the way in which these were staged was intended to accommodate their presence.

Appia participated actively in the Festhalle's design, labeling the results the 'cathedral of the future'.[4] Like Richard Wagner before him, Appia believed in the integration of text, gesture, lighting, costume, and sets in order to produce an aesthetically unified and emotionally compelling theatrical experience. He distrusted, however, the ability of representation to engage the emotions. He was particularly critical of the verisimilitude offered by perspective, instead placing his faith in the expressive possibilities of light, to which he married abstraction in costume and set design. For Appia, indirect ambient light and focused, movable spotlights offered in combination the most effective visual means to parallel the effect upon the emotions awakened by music.[5] He wrote in an early essay:

> Light is to production what music is to the score: the expressive element as opposed to external signs; and as in the case of music, light can express only that which belongs to 'the inner essence' of all vision.[6]

And it was an architecture of light that Appia and Tessenow placed behind the Festhalle's severe neoclassical façade. A simple box, the room lacked any obstacle which would serve to divide up to 250 performers from seating which accommodated an audience of 540. Appia lined the walls and ceiling of the entire space with translucent linen, which he had dipped in cedar oil. Lighting these minimalist walls from behind enabled him to establish a diffuse, glowing light throughout. The room's only ornament consisted of spotlights mounted in the ceiling. These highlighted and echoed the gestures of the dancers and the rhythms of the music to which they moved.[7] The result was a space that gathered all within it into an environment shaped almost entirely by light rather than substance.

Appia's goal of liberating theater from realism was not unique in Germany during the early 1910s. The theatrical aspirations of Wassily Kandinsky, a Russian expatriate painter resident in Munich, surpassed in abstraction anything actually staged during the Wilhelmine period. In *The Yellow Sound* and *Violet*, Kandinsky optimistically proposed to use colored light to imbue a mass audience with spiritually charged emotion. The colors of light, stage sets, and costumes largely replaced dialogue as the bearers of meaning in these anarchic alternatives to bourgeois theater, alternatives through which he intended to restore the harmony and spiritualism he believed had been enjoyed by less materialist premodern societies.[8]

For Kandinsky *The Yellow Sound* and *Violet* were the logical extension of his earlier experimentation with abstraction in painting. As his influential book, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, first published in 1912, makes clear, Kandinsky proposed abstraction in general and color in particular as a universal means of communication, vehicles for delivering the apocalyptic themes of his art to the populace at large.[9] The sources of his attempted immediacy lay, as was so often the case in early twentieth-century German art and architecture, in a self-conscious

archaism. Instead, however, of turning as Tessenow did in the façade of the Festhalle, to the idealized forms of antiquity, Kandinsky's quest to respiritualize modern life led him to the popular traditions of premodern peasants and their contemporary urban working-class counterparts. For Kandinsky popular forms of entertainment – whether the passion plays which continued to be performed in Roman Catholic villages, or the circuses, music halls, and vaudeville patronized by city dwellers – had a vitality that elite theater and salon painting lacked.[10]

The radical abstraction of Kandinsky's paintings and of his proposed theater pieces did nothing to awaken a sense of spiritual renewal among the Bavarian populace, but it did make him one of the most influential artists in prewar Europe. His analysis of the universal power of abstract form helped inspire a generation of younger artists to believe that experimental art need not be a highly personal exploration of individual sensation but could instead support political revolution. During the spring of 1914, Hugo Ball and Erich Mendelsohn campaigned to stage *The Yellow Sound* at Munich's Kunstlertheater. Ball would later be a founding father of Dadaism; Mendelsohn's dramatization of consumer culture would help transform light into urban art for the masses.[11]

There was nothing intrinsically politically progressive, however, about the beliefs Appia and Kandinsky shared. The theme of cultural regeneration as a reaction against modern materialism, in particular, often overlapped in late Wilhelmine Germany with rightwing nationalism.[12] In the last years before the outbreak of World War I, however, experimental theater remained associated with bourgeois artistic reform, distinct from the more literal spectacles mounted by either trade unions or the nationalists who competed with them for working-class support.[13] By the time the war broke out in August 1914, new approaches to a revitalized theater and the society of which it was to be an integral part had pervaded contemporary German experiments in stage design, but had not yet reached the mass audience for whom they were intended. Only when German economic and political instability increased exponentially as a result of the war, revolution, and the economic crisis would the strategies developed by Appia and Kandinsky move out of the theater into the street and the fairground.

A precarious balance: commercial lighting and republican community

Following the November Revolution, the sophistication of the night lighting of German commercial architecture increased markedly, as did assumptions about its cultural as well as commercial efficacy. Only partially attributable to technological innovation, the explosion in *Lichtreklame* (illuminated advertising) and in the use of indirect lighting for the interiors of theater, cinemas, and stores, was also spurred by the belief that light could ennoble what might otherwise have been crass commercialism at the same time that it offered an egalitarian alternative to class-based consumer fantasies. Two entertainment facilities in Berlin embodied the communitarian ambitions of this architecture of light: Poelzig's renovation for Reinhardt of the Circus Schumann into the Große Schauspielhaus and Fränkel's

Lichtberg Cinema. The first opened in 1919 when even the brutal suppression of the Sparticist uprising had not entirely quashed optimistic assessments of Germany's democratic future; the second was completed a decade later at a time when renewed economic crisis already threatened to extinguish this experiment with representative government.

German industrialists and churchmen were not alone in seeking to fill the void left by the new government's refusal to represent itself architecturally. The Große Schauspielhaus and the Lichtberg were apparently designed by supporters of the Republic.[14] The Große Schauspielhaus became the one built demonstration of the euphorically experimental architectural climate unleashed by the November Revolution (Figure 4.4). Although perhaps a superficial substitute for the radical social changes proposed by Taut, Poelzig's giant theater was the progenitor of all interwar German attempts to design for the newly empowered masses.[15] Wilhelm Lotz, Germany's leading interwar advocate of an architecture of light, described it as 'a classic example of the integration of artistic and organic space and form . . . that stands at the dawn of illumination'.[16]

Poelzig's patron was Reinhardt. The two had met in Breslau in 1913 and there is a strong formal connection between the Jahrhunderthalle and Große Schauspiel-haus.[17] In the depleted economic conditions of postwar Germany it was impossible, however, for Poelzig to match the structural integrity of Berg's reinforced concrete construction. Instead the Große Schauspielhaus was a largely plaster confection, in which light rather than engineering was on display. Reinhardt intended the
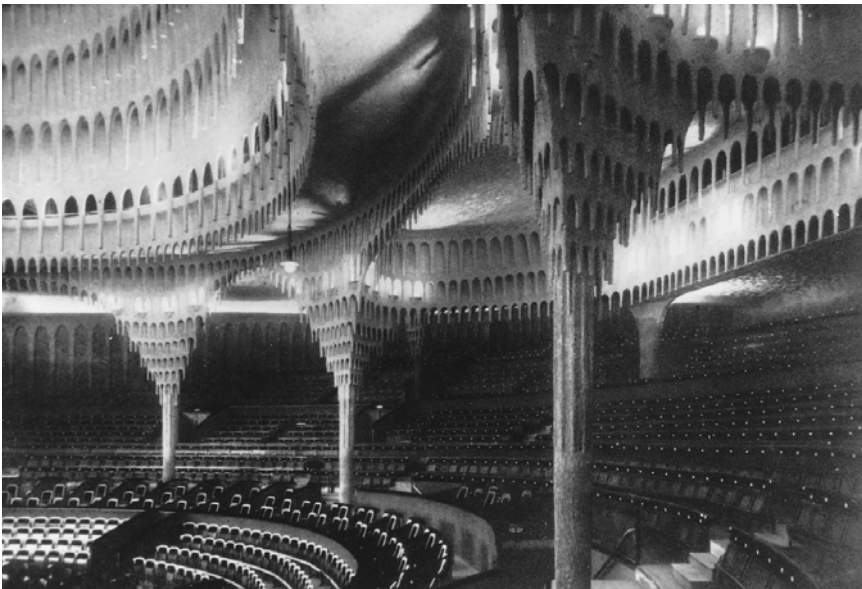

Figure 4.4 Interior, Große Schauspielhaus (Large Playhouse), Hans Poelzig, Berlin, 1919
(*Source:* Platz, 1927, p. 364)

program as well as the architecture of his new theater to extend the mission he, Hauptmann, and Berg had had in Breslau, that of revitalizing contemporary theater by making it immediate to an audience now numbering well into the thousands (it seated 3,500) and drawn from almost all sectors of society.[18]

The building's unusual plan, as well as its lighting, responded to this goal (Figure 4.5). The temporary stage erected in the Jahrhunderthalle for the performance of Hauptmann's pageant had filled one niche, from which it had projected in a semi-circular fashion into the central circle of the interior.[19] In the Große Schauspielhaus, productions could extend beyond the proscenium into the orchestra as well. This centralizing tendency, a pioneering step towards theater-in-the-round, was enhanced by the cupola which Poelzig suspended from the iron superstructure of the roof. Its ten tiers of plaster stalactites improved the building's acoustics at the same time that they gave powerful definition to the circular space at the core of this highly unusual interior. The architecture critic Karl Scheffler described the political implications of this arrangement:

> The theater of the three thousand looks like a structure of the revolution, a symbol of democracy; it is popular theater to a greater extent than any other popular theater to date has been, when every last seat is taken it is like a social institution; and the idea of drawing the stage into the auditorium and making the spectators become actors, as it were, has something very topical about it, something political.[20]

The theater critic Norbert Falk wrote of the crowd scenes with which Reinhardt so often filled the vast stage that 'in the circus dressed up as the Große Schauspielhaus the drama is subordinate and the masses become the leading protagonist'.[21]

The Große Schauspielhaus was criticized from the beginning for its lack of constructional integrity.[22] In a time of economic as well as political upheaval Reinhardt could not afford to provide Poelzig with the bricks and mortar, or even the reinforced concrete, with which to create the sculptural sense of mass characteristic of his architecture. This liberation from materialism, this search for a transcendent emotionalism was inseparable, however, from Poelzig and Reinhardt's ambition to unite audiences of thousands and a cast of hundreds in moments of great spiritual uplift. From the moment one stepped into the lobby one entered a fantasyland. The lobby columns, the work of the sculptor Marlene Moeschke (who later became Poelzig's second wife), immediately established the organic, yet curiously unreal tone. Like trees, they were thicker at the top than at the bottom, but any sense of structure was ultimately belied by the way in which indirect colored light bathed their ever larger rings. Here was a stunning alternative not only to the aristocratic pretensions common to prewar theaters, which were typically built in a neorococo style, but to applied ornament altogether.

Reviewing the theater's inaugural performance, a production of Aeschylus's *Orestea* directed by Reinhardt, the theater critic Paul Fechter devoted nearly half
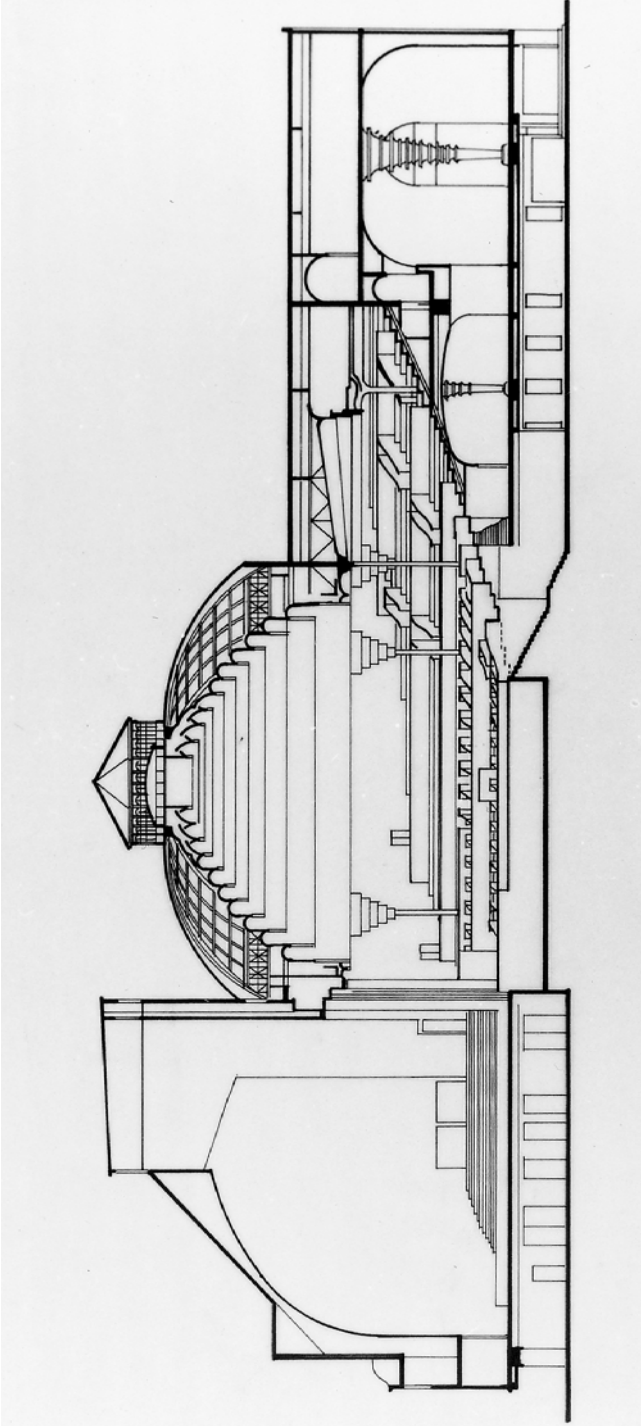
Figure 4.5 Section, Große Schauspielhaus
(*Source:* drawing by S. MacGlashen)

of his text to the new building. His subject was not architecture but effect, the impression above all of indirect colored light which here replaced substance as a shaper of space and with it of experience. Red, blue, and a dark green shimmered through the opening of an arch, and were repeated as well on posters and tickets. The auditorium was ivory. Unable to categorize its style, he invoked Arabian, romanesque, and Gothic styles in an attempt to relay to his readers the spell cast by this 'fantastical grotto'. He concluded with remarks that convey the pride many Germans took in this building:

> [W]hat kind of people are we, that out of a distant gothic we build upward-rising forms out of a sinking world, which is suspended over an empty bowl, and cede finally again willingly to the fairytale charm, in the best sense, that the whole exerts? How these plaster stalactites float in unreal light over the dark ring of the thousands – that lingers in the memory over all objections. One thinks: performed in *this* time – and remembering how it was before the war – what is Paris compared to Berlin?[23]

Fechter's praise acknowledged the insubstantiality of Poelzig's effort but located its appeal precisely in this quality of fantasy. He found in the poverty of defeat a level of imagination unnecessary in what he might have seen as the complacent luxury of Paris. Furthermore, no clear boundaries separated this fantasy world from mysticism or, for that matter, even hindered a positive association with spirituality.

Indeed, others such as Arnold Zweig located the importance of theater in its ability to transform an audience composed of individuals into a community. Zweig wrote of a production of *Antigone* staged in the Große Schauspielhaus in 1920:

> [T]he flame of the spirit sweeps through the audience and rouses a shared feeling in their hearts; the emotion with which she graces the work, the catharsis that transforms thousands, the unity finally attained through awe, the edifying, ennobling, consecrating power of such an evening performs the miracle of retransforming petrified, isolated individuals into a deeply moved, purified community . . . The purpose of theater is the edification of an audience, symbol of a whole people, symbol of mankind, and in this it achieves fulfillment.[24]

Accomplished through emotion, this was understood not as an irrational, but a transcendent goal, one which fulfilled theater's role as one of the foremost vehicles of German cultural achievement. Thus the Große Schauspielhaus, like the churches examined in the previous chapter, was seen by many of its contemporaries as an edifying alternative to consumer culture, even as Reinhardt reconfigured the character of his productions to appeal to a mass audience. That Fechter shared this opinion is hinted at by his competitive reference to Paris. Since the late nineteenth century mass culture had often been derided by German critics as a foreign import

from France or the United States, one which threatened the integrity of an authentically German culture superior to such crass concerns.[25] In this context, emotion, and the spirituality it might inspire, were seen as welcome alternatives to the rational economic forces which drove the market place.

The enchantment of the Große Schauspielhaus's architecture was not enough to make this theater for the masses a commercial success, however. Its economic viability was challenged by the increasing popularity of an inexpensive mass-produced alternative to live theater, the cinema. Both Taut and Gropius, the architects who in November 1918 had called for an architecture for the masses, experimented during the 1920s with designing theaters, while Poelzig attempted to expand upon his achievement through plans for facilities (never built) for another Reinhardt venture, the festival in Salzburg.[26] Taut envisioned a Kandinsky-like performance piece, while Gropius designed the Totaltheater, also never built, for Erwin Piscator, who in the Weimar years replaced Reinhardt as Berlin's most experimental theater director.[27] Meanwhile, Mendelsohn demonstrated that the new architecture of light could be used to advertise commodities as well as a spectacle, entire department stores as well as the goods on display in their shop windows.[28] Nonetheless, it was cinema architecture which developed most directly out of the Große Schauspielhaus.

The stabilization of the German mark at the end of 1923 ushered in a brief period of relative economic prosperity. Lasting until the bottom fell out of the American Stock Market in 1929, this tentative boom saw the dramatic transformation of many German downtowns as new department stores, shops, and cinemas were erected or, more often, old ones were remodeled and expanded. Night lighting was a staple of this new commercial architecture, a cheap and fashionable alternative to outmoded and expensive ornament. It was in this context that a technique born of idealism became associated with fashion.

Poelzig was in the vanguard of developing such an architecture, even as he refused to articulate a theory in support of it. By day the façade of his Capitol Cinema in Berlin of 1925–26 was a restrained exercise in an almost neoclassical articulation of the frame. At night, however, glowing letters spelled out its name and that of the film playing. The interiors were sparer than their predecessors at the Große Schauspielhaus. Simply plastered walls bathed in colored light replaced the stucco ornamentation that had ringed that building's cupola (see Figure 4.6).[29] In its use of light, if not its relationship to the street or its interior organization, the Capitol established the prototype for German cinema lighting for the rest of the Weimar period.

Only a few years earlier, while the Große Schauspielhaus was under construction, Poelzig had distanced himself from fashion. Now he equivocated. In an address delivered in 1919 to the Werkbund, of which he was then president, Poelzig voiced the sort of denunciation of industrialization and its relation to popular taste characteristic of his generation:

> On the whole, trade and industry have done nothing but make a prostitute of art. Their interest is all too often in the attraction of what is fashionable,

always new, by which I do not mean original creation but the emphasizing of some kind of striking gimmick that will charm the masses and entice them to buy. Trade has no interest in the production of something that will last for a long time. Trade is often not interested in supply and demand but in finding ways to stimulate an artificial demand.[30]

Figure 4.6 Capitol Cinema, Poelzig, Berlin, 1925
(*Source:* Platz, 1927, p. 371)

In the immediate aftermath of the war, his opinions were shared as well by younger architects, such as Walter Gropius, who were temporarily enthusiastic about revitalizing craft production. Poelzig's attitude mellowed, however, once the antifunctionalist enthusiasms of the revolutionary period had waned. Within a few years he turned once again to the engineering requirements of modern construction as a source of architectural integrity, but he never adopted an industrial aesthetic. Instead he alternated between designing buildings such as the brick-clad Rundfunkhalle (Radio Headquarters) in Berlin and the stone-veneered headquarters of I. G. Farben in Frankfurt, which he imbued with a sense of solidity and permanence, and cinemas which retained the lighting techniques featured in the Große Schauspielhaus and the Capitol.[31]

Others were far less cautious, choosing instead to celebrate the dynamism of the modern city. This was particularly true of two Berlin cinemas that served as the linchpins of new mixed use developments combining entertainment facilities and apartments, Mendelsohn's Universum on the Kurfürstendamm (1926–28), one of the city's most fashionable boulevards, and Fränkel's Lichtberg in the working-class Wedding district.[32] While Mendelsohn's cinema for Ufa, the leading producer and distributor of German films, was clearly intended to attract film-goers from throughout the city's prosperous Westend, the Lichtberg and its adjacent facilities functioned as the neighborhood, if not city, crown of the new apartment complex and the economically modest, if no less populous, districts that surrounded it. More explicitly than Mendelsohn, or for that matter any other designer of a Weimar-era cinema or department store, Fränkel invoked Taut and Poelzig's legacy of alluringly lit, centrally planned structures in which a community was to come together to be entertained.

The Lichtberg stood at the angled intersection of Behm- and Heidenburger-straße. The latter, like Zingsterstraße a block to the east, were curving streets lined with the new apartment blocks of the slightly earlier Gartenstadt Atlantic (Atlantic Garden City). Also designed by Fränkel and built slightly earlier by the same developer who constructed the Lichtberg, this cluster of 800 apartments, shops, and communal green space shared many of the features advocated by Taut since he had designed his first Garden City-type settlement, built on the eastern edge of the city just before the war.[33] At Falkenberg Taut had painted the plaster surfaces of the exterior walls with bright colors. Fränkel took the logical next step, combining Taut's prototypes for suburban apartments with his schemes for civic buildings. The architect of the Glashaus and author of *The City Crown* failed to provide his own many Berlin housing projects of the twenties with either the community facilities located within the Lichtberg or the bold night lighting he had done so much to pioneer.[34] Fränkel, building for a commercial developer who wanted to take advantage of a site located close to the Gesundbrunnen Station, an important intersection of the city's subway and suburban railway networks, was not so shy. The dramatic illlumination of the Lichtberg's projecting cylindrical corner ensured that the building was noticed by all who passed along Badstraße.

This cylinder tied the Lichtberg to other recent centralized German community buildings, but – unlike theater – cinema is not a form of entertainment suited to
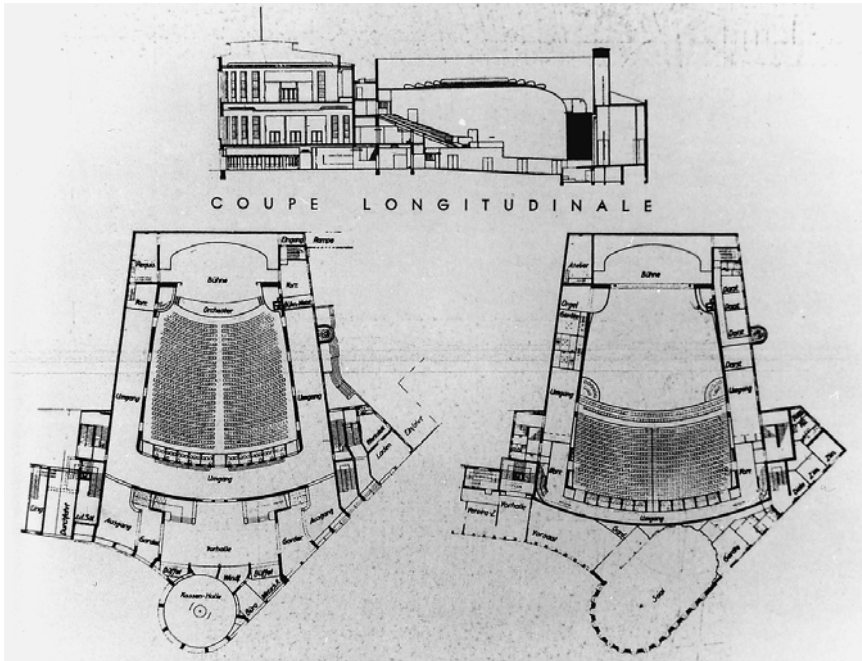
Figure 4.7 Plans and section, Lichtberg Cinema
(*Source: L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, 1933, no. 9–10, p. 51)

being experienced in the round. Only the ground-floor ticket hall was actually circular; the cinema itself was a conventional almost rectangular volume, whose slightly angled walls focused attention on the screen (Figure 4.7). None of this was visible from the street, where the vertical banding of the cylinder and its extention northward along Heidenbrinkerstraße interrupted the emphatic horizontals of the rest of the complex. The promise of the cylinder's symbolic function as a marker of community as well as commerce was fulfilled by the range of activities that took place in what one contemporary reviewer termed a 'Pleasure Palace'.[35] In addition to the cinema itself, which like most of its counterparts of the era also had a small stage for live performances and several places from which refreshments were served, the second floor contained a suite of meeting rooms which could be entered entirely separately from the cinema and which culminated in a ballroom located above the cinema's ticket hall.

Within the cinema itself, the sequence from exterior to ticket hall, lobby, and auditorium offered one of the most literally dazzling experiences available in interwar Berlin. Integrated within an industrial aesthetic that entirely eschewed even the vestiges of ornament that survived at the Große Schauspielhaus, the night-time illumination of the Lichtberg was unprecedentedly bold and abstract. Two searchlights, perched above vertical bands that distinguished the entrance to the cinema from the rest of the housing development and capped by neon lighting

spelling out the Lichtberg name, gave credence to the appelation 'Mountain of Light'. In the yellow vestibule beyond the circular ticket hall, three engaged columns built of glass block and lit from within provided the only note of excitement in the otherwise spare setting for coat checks and a quick glass of beer or cup of coffee. The climax was reached, of course, in the auditorium. There discreet indirect lighting of walls clad in mahogany or drapped in silver velour gave way in the ceiling to a much more dramatic series of rectangular light troughs set within one another and around a single long band of light (Figure 4.8).[36]

An anonymous critic writing in 1930 may well have been thinking of the Lichtberg when he described the way in which new lighting techniques, including floodlighting, were transforming the experience of architectural volume.[37] Certainly the interior attracted attention as a particularly sophisticated example of indirect lighting.[38] By the early 1930s it was the technical achievements behind these innovations, rather than the spiritual qualities which had initially inspired them, which were attracting attention. This shift, which detached electric lighting from the idealism to which it had originally been affiliated, left it vulnerable to attack as self-serving advertising stripped from the purpose of cultural uplift.

During the second half of the 1920s optimism about both mass production and the goods it generated pervaded the architectural circles in which new lighting styles and methods were generated and critiqued in Germany. Reviving an intellectual position held by the prewar Werkbund but now associated with a more radically abstract architecture, the architectural critic Adolf Behne in particular voiced his belief that throwing an artistic harness over consumerism offered the
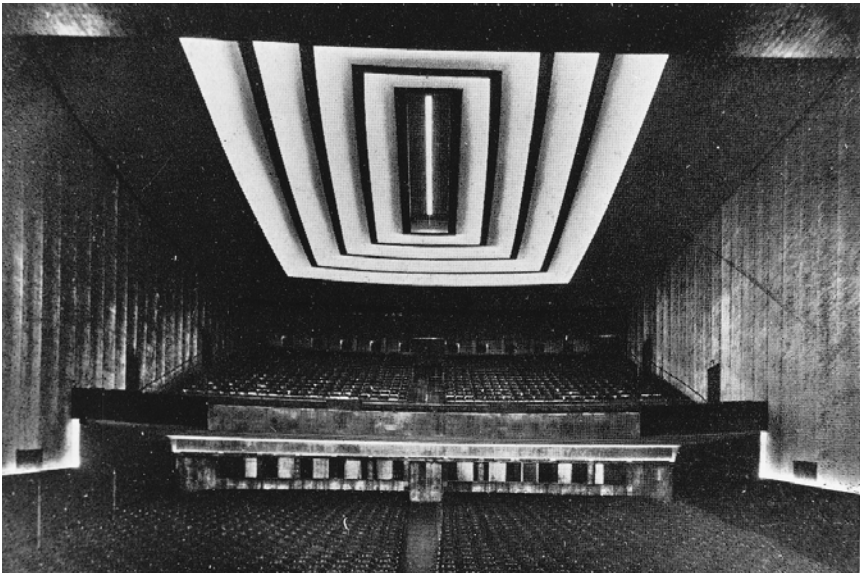

Figure 4.8 Auditorium, Lichtberg Cinema
(*Source: L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, 1933, no. 9–10, p. 50)

best hope of taming the advertising architecture that he praised for integrating art into the daily lives of the masses.[39] Machine detailing grafted onto the geometries of De Stilj and Constructivist art initially produced an architecture that in Germany more often represented enthusiasm over the social benefits of making cheap goods available to all than a critique of bourgeois luxury, to which mass culture now seemed to promise an egalitarian alternative.

Praise for consumerism and for the lighting techniques it spawned came not just from Behne, but from among the most important architects associated with the New Building, as Germans at the time most often labeled buildings like the Bauhaus and Taut's workers' housing settlements. Even before the Lichtberg had opened, Ernst May, the socialist architect responsible for the erection of thousands of units of housing in Frankfurt as well as new advertising kiosks that glowed like beacons in the city's downtown, hailed the cornice light system Mendelsohn introduced in his first Berlin store.[40] Likewise, Ludwig Hilberseimer, who taught city planning at the Bauhaus, although sensitive to the visual chaos unleashed by the new wave of advertising, nonetheless did not object when it was wholly integrated into architectural design, as would be the case in the Lichtberg, rather than just applied to buildings as an ornamental overlay.[41] Hannes Meyer, the second director of the Bauhaus and a Communist, was even more enthusiastic about the architectural manifestations of the new commercialism. He wrote, 'Neon lights glow, loudspeakers screech, sirens scream, billboards advertise, display windows shine: the simultaneity of events expands our concepts of time and space out of all proportion; it enriches our lives.' He added, 'In new display windows, lighting is used to exploit the tensions of modern materials to psychological ends,' a development he viewed as one of the phenomena that produced 'the new artwork', which he described as 'a collective work and intended for all'.[42]

If architects on the left welcomed the emergence of what they understood to be art for the masses, others were not always as willing to detach the new forms of spectacle from the capitalist economy which had funded, if not always designed, them. The cultural critic Siegfried Kracauer, himself trained as an architect, looked beyond what he saw as the superficialities of the new aesthetic to examine the character of the new mass culture. His essay 'Cult of Distraction: On Berlin's Picture Palaces' appeared in 1926 before the opening of the Lichtberg but late enough to contain a reference to Poelzig's Capitol. Here Kracauer acknowledged that the 'so-called educated classes' are being eclipsed. 'They are,' he wrote, 'being absorbed by the masses, a process that creates a *homogenous cosmopolitan audience* in which everyone has the *same* responses, from the bank director to the sales clerk, from the diva to the stenographer.'[43] Kracauer did not welcome this leavening process, however, because for him the unified aesthetic which nurtured the creation of this mass audience also distracted them from the disintegration of the possibility of a culture that brought spiritual fulfillment. That 'Every emotion is accorded its own acoustic expression and its color value in the spectrum – a visual and acoustic kaleidoscope that provides the setting for the physical activity on stage,' no longer held for him the utopian promise it had for Taut, and for that matter Fränkel.[44]

This debate over the redemptive possibilities of technology did not end with the collapse of the building boom of the late 1920s. The Lichtberg was the last new cinema erected in Berlin until after the war, but the utopian qualities of light were to be as important to political spectacle during the 1930s as they had been to its commercial counterpart in the 1920s. Like their 1920s' predecessors, these environments, too, were designed to thrill a mass audience. The differences, however, between Fränkel's Lichtberg and Speer's Lichtdom were not only political. Speer re-attached technology to the overt symbols of cultural continuity – above all neoclassical architecture – that Fränkel had so explicitly rejected in an effort to enhance rather than replace the authority of an undemocratic state.

From 'Jewish' commerce to Nazi Politics: Speer's Lichtdom

In 1928 Wilhelm Lotz, a prominent architectural critic writing in a publication sponsored by the aesthetically progressive and commercially motivated German Werkbund, praised the way that the German-Jewish architect Erich Mendelsohn had used light in three recent store buildings (Figure 4.9):

> The modern store is ever more a light-building. Light is used as a building material. The clear architectural structure that grows out of the disposition of space is highlighted through illumination, while its spatiality is brought to life. One can speak of the crystalline structure of modern architecture, which was first made recognizable through illumination.[45]

Nine years later Lotz's subject was the Lichtdom, the ring of searchlights with which Albert Speer had illuminated the Zeppelin Field in Nuremberg for the stunning conclusion of the Nazi party rally staged there the previous year (Figure 4.10). Lotz remarked, 'The designer has in the service of the requisite image used here one more building material for the first time on this scale, namely directed light in the form of floodlights.'[46] An enthusiastic description of the details of Speer's lighting and of its impact in setting the tone for an address by Hitler followed.

Lotz's ability to praise in turn the work of interwar Germany's most prominent Jewish architect and the setting in which Hitler promulgated the Nuremberg laws revoking the citizenship of the country's Jews cannot be dismissed as merely opportunistic. He was able to maintain a consistent intellectual position, finding in electric light a quality that was simultaneously modern and mystical. Nonetheless, there were important differences. The Expressionists believed in light as a potential force for a spiritual awakening intended to promote a more egalitarian society. The Nazis transformed this utopianism into something far more dangerous. The Lichtdom would have been unthinkable without the Festhalle and the Große Schauspielhaus, but it operated quite differently. Eliminating the barriers between theater and reality, not to mention art and the state, maintained
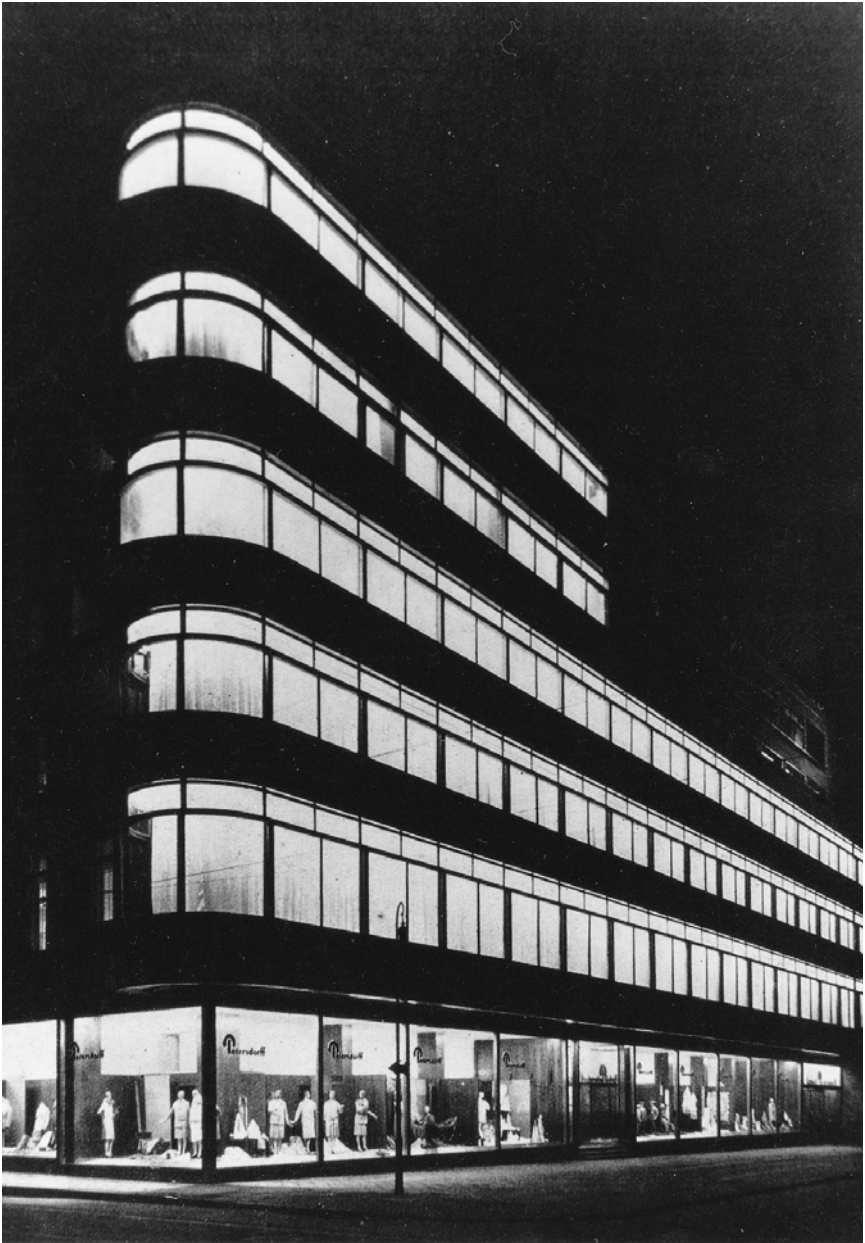
Figure 4.9 Petersdorff Store, Erich Mendelsohn, Breslau, 1927–28
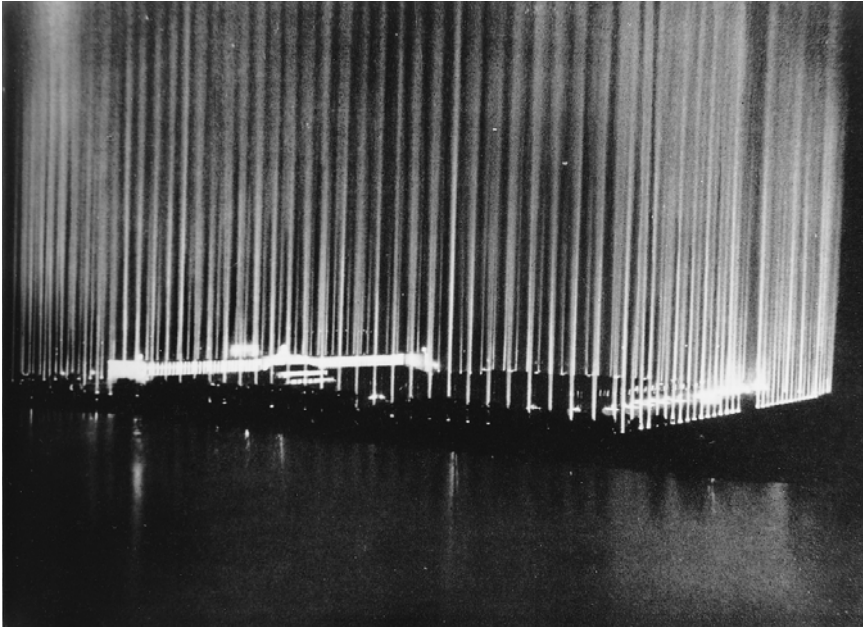(*Source: Erich Mendelsohn*, 1930, p. 202)

Figure 4.10 Lichtdom (Cathedral of Light), Nazi Party rally, Albert Speer, Nuremberg, 1934–38
(*Source: Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 1938, vol. 72, p. B993)

by their predecessors, Speer and the others responsible for the Nuremberg party rallies exploited military technology to enhance rather than challenge the conventions of monumental architecture and the social hierarchy it implied.

The use of light in interwar German architecture to galvanize the emotions of a mass audience originated in an Expressionist climate of experimentation often located outside of, and at times in opposition to, the nationalist politics it would eventually serve. For Mendelsohn light contributed to a newly egalitarian image of capitalism intended to enhance support for Germany's fragile democracy. That abstraction as a means of mass communication was unquestionably progressive from an artistic point of view did not mean, however, that it could not serve the right even more effectively than it had the left. Speer shared Mendelsohn's desire to create a popular architecture whose idealism would transcend its propagandistic function, but his vision of community entailed rapturous support for brutal authoritarianism rather than social equality within a participatory democracy.

Historians continue to debate the extent of the economic rebound of the late 1930s and the degree to which Nazi economic policies should receive credit for it, but certainly Hitler's regime offered a more compelling illusion of certainty than any available during the Weimar Republic. Architecture was integral to this illusion, indeed the place where, by actually being erected of stone, steel, and brick, it became most real and thus most convincing. And yet structure and space were

never enough; drama, too, continued to be necessary, drama infused with a dynamism dependent upon the precedent offered by Fränkel and Mendelsohn.

Perhaps no previous government in modern European history had paid so much attention to ritual. During the Third Reich performance became an effective substitute for the conventions of parliamentary government, eliminating the space for individual expression, and with it, dissent. Converting the avenues and sportsfields of German cities into banner-draped backdrops for parades and other public celebrations, the Nazis offered an image of unity achieved through carefully choreographed spectacles. These provided many Germans with a welcome alternative to the acrimonious public debates, whether expressed in streetfighting or only slightly more sedately on the pages of newspapers and journals, that had during the Weimar Republic divided right from left, and even split Socialist from Communist. Thrilling lighting techniques were among the strategies that diverted attention away from the cost of this unity in the murderous suppression of difference.

Hitler's personal fascination with architecture and theater encouraged his followers to make the fusion of the two a staple of Nazi propaganda. In his autobiography *Mein Kampf*, Hitler deplored the urban prominence of department stores, whose architectural magnificence unjustly surpassed, he believed, that of the Germany's cultural and other civic institutions.[47] Written before the popularization of *Lichtreklame*, Hitler's remarks were probably aimed above all at the palatial premises erected during the last years of the Wilhelmine empire by national chains owned by the Jewish Wertheim and Tietze families (of Germany's leading department stores businesses, before 1933 only Karstadt was owned by Christians). The Nazis did not object either to the widely admired historicist architectural style of these buildings or to Mendelsohn's inventive alternative to them *per se*, but to the religion of the owners, which for Hitler provided the scapegoat for the economic threat these enormous concerns posed to more modestly situated storekeepers, who were also more likely, at least outside the garment business, to be Christian. Nor did Hitler object to modern lighting techniques, whose effectiveness in reaching a mass public the Nazis were quick to recognize. When in 1934 Hitler entrusted Speer with the design of the Zeppelinfeld in Nuremberg, light played as prominent a part in the result as stone.

Hitler had aspired to be an architect, not a theater producer. Nonetheless, as a devoted fan of Wagnerian opera, he was acutely sensitive to the capacity of spectacle to build support for his political policies.[48] Even before seizing power in 1933, the Nazis had gathered in Nuremberg in 1923, 1927, and 1929. From 1933 to 1939, these annual displays highlighted the difference between their mass movement and previous German political parties and abolished the distinction between the party and the national government. Their impact, as documented by film, radio, and newspapers, reached even further than the party faithful, joined by large numbers of youths in their teens, who actually attended. While audiences in Nuremberg numbered in the hundreds of thousands (their feeding and housing providing impressive testimony to Nazi organizational skills), German and foreign

journalists wrote stories carried on front pages around the world. Newsreels also preserved the flavor of the event; the documentary *Triumph of the Will* directed in 1935 by Speer's friend Leni Riefenstahl remains a testament to their emotional impact.[49]

The grounds where the rallies were held comprised one of the earliest Nazi efforts to create an impressive architectural ensemble, one which would symbolize and attest to the permanence and grandeur of the Third Reich. By the time the war broke out in 1939, the Luitpold Arena and Hall and the Zeppelinfeld had been built and construction of the March Hall and the German Stadium had begun.[50] Speer, the architect of all but one of these vast buildings, designed them in the understated neoclassical style which he and Hitler employed in their redesign of central Berlin and which Paul Ludwig Troost had used for the House of German Art on the Königsplatz in Munich. Although in less monumental civic circumstances the Nazis favored vernacular styles, while glass and steel curtain walls continued to connote modern industry and heroic rural sites inspired a medievalizing organicism, the degree to which new and projected party and government buildings in Nuremberg, Munich, and Berlin were neoclassical in style dominated public perceptions of Nazi architecture, as it has done ever since.

Speer's architectural career was closely intertwined with the party rallies. Already in 1933, he designed the decorations for the Zeppelinfeld, an assignment which prompted his first introduction to Hitler. His first major commission came the following year when Hitler asked him to replace with stone seating the temporary bleachers framing the open field. For this assignment, Speer turned for inspiration to the Pergamon altar, a Hellenistic Greek monument re-erected in a Berlin museum. Speer's role extended beyond that of an architect, however, to include tasks more commonly associated with a theater director. He thus fused the responsibilities which had earlier been divided between Tessenow and Dalcroze, Poelzig and Reinhardt.

In 1934 Speer planned the rally at which the party functionaries marched. This was originally scheduled to be at night because these middle-aged men could not be expected to maintain the military discipline displayed by the Army and the SA. Speer turned the situation to his and the party's advantage, ringing the field with 130 searchlights, which proved visible to a height of 20,000–25,000 feet.[51] Speer himself wrote, 'The feeling was of a vast room, with the beams serving as mighty pillars of infinitely light outer walls.'[52] This spectacle became a staple of the annual rallies. By 1936 150 searchlights, requiring 4,000 kilowatts, were assembled, this time focusing, as Hitler entered, on a single point in the sky.[53]

Not only Lotz enthused over the result. Even foreign observers not necessarily sympathetic to the Nazis were spellbound. The British ambassador marveled that 'the effect, which was both solemn and beautiful, was like being in a cathedral of ice'.[54] An American journalist describing the 1936 rally wrote:

> Tonight produced a scene even more beautiful and impressive than any that had gone before . . . [Hitler] ascended the tribune and stood there waiting until there was complete silence. Then suddenly there appeared far in the

distance a mass of advancing red color. It was the 25,000 banners of Nazi organizations in all parts of Germany . . . Simultaneously the minor search-lights along the pillared rim above the grand stands were turned down on the field, lighting up the gilded eagles on the standards, so the flood of light was flecked with gold. The effect was indescribably beautiful.[55]

Precisely because it was so entrancing, the Lichtdom has assumed paradigmatic status among the spectacles whose magic is charged with successfully manipulating Germans into at least tacitly and often enthusiastically supporting Hitler. The distraction identified by Kracauer as the fundamental appeal of Weimar cinema reached far more dangerous proportions when overtly employed to unify the rest of the nation around policies which demonized socialists and, above all, Jews rather than just to draw attention away from unjust economic and social conditions. The ingredients of Nazi spectacle may have been familiar, but the degree to which they were now injected into the daily live of millions of Germans was certainly unprecedented. So was the degree to which they were intended to promote blind obedience to an authoritarian state. Such spectacles could only work if they were comprehensible and thus potentially appealing to the masses upon whose support the ostensible legitimacy of the state depended.[56] The Expressionist character of the Lichtdom encouraged a degree of emotional identification less likely to be found in the quite conventional, albeit unprecedentedly colossal, Neoclassical architecture favored by Hitler and Speer.

Unimaginable without the precedents established by Tessenow, Taut, and Poelzig, the Lichtdom nevertheless differed significantly from previous experiments with Expressionist lighting. Even more than the Festhalle and the Große Schau-spielhaus, the Lichtdom was designed to fuse a crowd into a community, one in which the division between participant and spectator had already been all but erased by the fact that, except for the foreign press and diplomatic corps, all present were assumed to be party loyalists. Everyone was gathered together within the embrace of the spotlights, which focused the attention of all skyward. Although prompted by politics, it was easy to understand the effect as utterly mystical and thus as a modern evocation of the gothic cathedral. From the Nazi perspective, the experience of the Lichtdom represented the transformation of the divided body politic of the Weimar Republic into a single entity, uniting all ethnic Germans (excluding, of course, those German citizens who were Jewish) in an almost mystic enthusiasm for Hitler and the German race.

Furthermore, the audience gathered within the Lichtdom now numbered in the hundreds of thousands, as the scale and public prominence of the spectacle were pumped up more than a hundredfold from that of the Große Schauspielhaus or even Poelzig and Reinhardt's most ambitious schemes for the Salzburg festival. The individual was now far more completely subsumed within a whole crafted by the state than he or she had ever been within one accomplished by a profit-seeking entrepreneur. Because the Lichtdom sheltered an overtly political rally rather than the performances of Greek classics staged in the Festhalle and the Große Schauspielhaus, the experience of being surrounded by its beams also lost the

metaphoric content experienced by the audiences who went to see *Orpheus and Eurydice* in Hellerau or *Antigone* in Berlin. There ancient drama had stood in part for a modern political aspiration. In Nuremberg there was now a one-to-one equation between the spectacle and its overt political content. This abolition of ancient Greek intermediaries further encouraged the symbolic identification of those present with the German people as a whole. These distinctions increased the immediacy, and thus the effectiveness of the Lichtdom as an expression of the mythic community into which the Nazis sought to bind the German race.

When Hitler seized power in 1933, the German nation-state was just over six decades old and the question of who was a German remained open. Divided regional loyalties within the country were compounded by the fact that millions of ethnic German lived outside the country's unstable borders. Furthermore, working-class loyalties had oscillated from the beginning between patriotism and an international identification with their counterparts abroad. The Nazis aimed to unify the country as never before, first by diminishing class loyalties within its borders and then by annexing ethnically German populations in Austria, Czecho-slovakia, Poland, and France. From the beginning the scale and the composition of the Nuremberg rallies were designed to promote this effort. The theme of the 1934 rally in Nuremberg was 'unity and power'. Hitler's address that year to the Labor Front, a youth organization, emphasized the leveling of social and class distinctions and the community of all Germans.[57] During the Third Reich, German architectural critics repeatedly stressed the communal orientation of the new Nuremberg buildings in particular and Nazi architecture in general.[58] Such goals were to be achieved, however, through gatherings like the party rallies rather than actual economic or social reform; the Nazis did not nationalize industry or substantially improve working conditions, although they did continue the Weimar Republic's policy of building subsidized housing.

The political goals which inspired Speer's stunning Lichtdom were as modern as the technological means he used to achieve it, but Speer himself described his architecture as being inspired by twentieth-century Neoclassicism as well as by his admiration for ancient Greek architecture.[59] He thus downplayed the tenuous balance between stability and dynamism that accounted for the effectiveness of his designs. As had also been the case for Tessenow, Speer's innovative lighting was integrated into a quest for neoclassical timelessness quite divorced from the celebration of modern industry and abstract painting with which it had earlier been associated. Certainly Neoclassicism promoted a sense of stability and permanence, even, as in Nuremberg and in the plans for the remodeling of Berlin, it reached new heights of monumentality and imperial splendor. Creatively harnessing modern technology was as important to the expression of German prowess, however, as restating – albeit on an ambitious new scale (the renovated Zeppelin-feld stretched nearly twice the length of the Baths of Caracalla) – the splendors of ancient Greece or imperial Rome.

Nonetheless, lighting had the additional advantage for Speer as it earlier had for Poelzig and Mendelsohn, of being a quick and cheap means of producing stunning effects. While Speer's refurbishment of the Zeppelinfeld took more than

two years to complete, the Lichtdom was realized in a matter of months. The greatest effort probably lay in gathering the necessary searchlights from throughout Germany, rather than in actually installing them. Although Fränkel had perched a pair of searchlights atop the Lichtberg cinema, Speer's reliance on large amounts of military hardware undermined the spiritualism which had infused earlier experiments with light. From the beginning the party rallies were martial events that announced and glorified Germany's rearmament.

That Speer's Lichtdom irrevocably altered the way that the German public in particular experienced spectacular lighting effects, binding such dramatic gestures to Hitler's speeches and the horrors they precipitated, does not mean that earlier experiments with lighting were originally conceived as halting steps towards Auschwitz, a fate Reinhardt and Mendelsohn, as Jews, avoided only by emigrating. Reinhardt and Appia were motivated by the desire to revitalize the theater by recapturing old and creating new dramatic forms. Taut, and to a lesser degree Poelzig, sought to inspire a spiritual awakening which might heal the country's class divides within the framework of a socialist political system. Unintentionally, Tessenow, Taut, and Poelzig unleashed techniques and emotions which they proved unable, or perhaps only unwilling, to master as completely as did Speer, working as they did without the backing of an authoritarian state. In retrospect these architects and the theater directors with whom Tessenow and Poelzig collaborated may seem naïve, but their idealism, unlike that of Speer and those he served, remained refreshingly undogmatic. Appealing – with enough success to spur imitation – to a mass audience, they trusted, as did Taut, that the community they hoped to foster would be a benevolent one.

Like the lighting effects which it spawned, populism is absolutely modern but not inherently affiliated politically with either the left or the right. For three decades, Germans employed light to shape spaces which they hoped would transcend the country's dangerous social and political polarization. Some of these efforts were benign, offering at most an evening's entertainment or wrapping the romance of technological progress around the purchase of a dress or a cooking pot. Others were frankly coercive, using militarism on an unprecedently sublime scale to annihilate any sense of the individual. That the use of light as a building material applauded by Lotz ties these efforts together does not link their larger goals. Each decade generated its own vision of the ideal society. Unlike their artistic means, these remained distinctly different. Democratic capitalism never overlapped with the Nazi institution of a terror which Speer's searchlights, pointed skywards to avoid more than the paunches of party stalwarts, never illuminated.

5   Postwar legacy

The indeterminate meaning of the methods with which German architects had for three decades attempted to reach a mass public ultimately spelled the doom of many of their methods. By 1940 the original sources, for instance, of Speer's lighting techniques were either forgotten or discredited. The modern architecture of the postwar years in Germany and wherever else modernist German architects exerted an influence, which by this time seemed to be almost everywhere, was a very different phenomenon from what it had been in the teens and even the 1920s. Its advocates revised both their theory and practice to inoculate their work against the taint of both actual Nazism and anything that might more generally be associated with German nationalism. Although aspects of architecture for a mass audience would survive, above all in religious architecture, their origins would be ignored in most conventional accounts of a history that was now largely defined instead in terms of the emergence of an industrial aesthetic. This omission was assisted by the very ephemerality of their content.

In Germany itself, now divided between a democratic West and a communist East, new forms of civic architecture emerged. Buildings like Emil Leibold's Kulturhaus (House of Culture) in Rüdersdorf and Hans Scharoun's Philharmonie in West Berlin expressed competing ideas of the contribution architecture might make to the creation of non-fascist communities. Although they drew upon pre-Nazi architectural precedents, both architects were careful to avoid any hint of the spectacle that had once enlivened their sources. Later the collapse of Socialist Realism in the East following Josef Stalin's death left a modernism increasingly denuded of most of its popular appeal unchallenged in either Germany at least until the belated appearance in the Federal Republic of postmodernism's ironic recall of history.

While the question facing Leibold and Scharoun was how to create a new civic architecture, more recently architects building in Germany have focused upon other aspects of the legacy of architecture for a mass audience. The introduction of postmodernism in the late 1970s revived historical precedent as an alternative to the various degrees of abstraction favored by most German architects after 1910. Although many of its early adherents, especially Robert Venturi and Denise Scott-Brown, claimed that postmodernism offered an alternative to modernism's increasingly alienated relationship to its public, in Germany it more often entailed a return to nineteenth-century civic architecture's privileging of specifically

bourgeois knowledge. This is clear in James Stirling and Michael Wilford's Neue Staatsgallerie (New State Gallery) in Stuttgart, which has become a genuinely popular place to the degree that these bourgeois forms have now permeated German society as a whole.

The absence of memory

Speer's successful appropriation of precedent offered by the lighting of the Festhalle for totalitarian political rather than totalizing aesthetical and social ends was more egregious in its betrayal of the intellectual roots of an idea than most examples of architecture for a mass audience. Consequently, although Speer's distortion of Expressionist utopias compromised the use of architecture to unify society, other aspects of architecture for a mass audience survived into the postwar era. Their impact is seldom properly distinguished, however, from that of the modernist canon. After World War II what had once been the modernist avant-garde became the architectural establishment as a new emphasis upon monumentality and even primevalism supplemented, and in some cases replaced, the form-giving roles played by industrial imagery and cubist geometry in the interwar period. This development had been foreshadowed by buildings like Böhm's St. Engelbert.

That such influence was seldom recognized can be attributed in part to a combination of willful forgetfulness and unstable meanings. The interpretation of any cultural artifact changes over time, but vagueness of reference was the greatest weakness as well as the distinguishing strength of the architecture designed for a mass audience in Germany between 1910 and 1940. At the same time that abstraction offered the architectural profession the hope of reaching out to a working- and lower middle-class public, it also ensured confusion about the message to be communicated to them. Indeed, the rewriting of the history of the modern movement necessary during and after World War II in order to ensure its survival was facilitated by the very absence of obvious meaning inherent in the forms that were charged with conveying so much. This rewriting shifted attention away from many of the buildings covered in the last three chapters, towards Hitchcock and Johnson's more narrowly defined International Style. In the process, chronicling the emergence of an industrial aesthetic almost completely blocked out any awareness of the impact that the existence of a mass audience had had upon the appearance of German architecture between 1910 and 1933.

Unlike the text of Hauptmann's pageant, the meaning of Berg's architecture was not, for instance, obvious enough to resist changes in interpretation. The messages communicated within the Jahrhunderthalle in the summer of 1913 were as ephemeral as they were liberal. The building's later history demonstrates that the strategies Berg developed to target a mass audience eventually rendered his building literally meaningless, or at least conveniently absent of the meanings he had intended. This confusion, already apparent in the 1930s, becomes almost poignant when one turns to the history of Breslau after 1945.

In 1913 the differences between the Jahrhunderthalle and the Völkerschlacht-denkmal seemed obvious. As late as 1921 Berg, who the year before had run for

the Reichstag as a Social Democrat, proudly labeled it a 'cathedral of democracy'.[1] By 1938, in the changed political conditions of National Socialism, he had changed his tune. In an article published that year, he equated his own work with the building it had once opposed.[2] Four years earlier the Nazis had proposed remodeling the Jahrhunderthalle, which they interpreted as unfinished, in order to transform it into a more appropriate setting for patriotic festivals in addition to gymnastic, theatrical, operatic, and other musical performances. A writer in the journal *Bauwelt* noted what he or she perceived from a loyal Nazi perspective to be the inadequacies of Berg's design:

> The Jahrhunderthalle should be a symbol of the awakening of the German people in the Wars of Liberation, yet it has still not progressed beyond bare construction. The World War and the years of national decay have only in hindsight served to make the building, which ought to be a national edifice and memorial, useful to all sorts of things, until the National Socialist city leadership brought about a change. As already announced, it is intended to transform artistically the four pillars that carry the dome, so that one really can speak of a 'National Socialist' Jahrhunderthalle.[3]

By the 1930s, the Jahrhunderthalle's abstract qualities were flaws to be corrected. The original function of the Jahrhunderthalle, however, was soon to be bleached completely from public memory by the course of Central European history and by the emphasis that interpreters of twentieth-century architecture placed upon abstract form and innovative structure at the expense of reconstructing the circumstances of its creation. There is no reason for the present inhabitants of the city to celebrate their opposition to Napoleon. Most are Poles; immigrants and descendants of immigrants brought to the city beginning in 1945 from Lvov, which became Soviet territory and is now part of an independent Ukraine.[4] Breslau is now Wroclaw, part of a country whose resurrection after World War I Napoleon's defeat at the hands of those who had partitioned it delayed for more than a century.

Because the meaning of the building had been so opaque in the first place, the Jahrhunderthalle was easily adapted to these new political circumstances. The Communists called it the Halle Ludowa or 'People's Hall'. Inside a small exhibit chronicled a few details of its construction and of Berg's career. The building was eventually used primarily as a cinema, as a basketball arena, and for small trade fairs. Nothing at the site itself described the reasons for its erection.

In contrast, after World War II the far more literally didactic Befreiungshalle and the Völkerschlachtdenkmal retained their roles as places of patriotic commemoration. Located in Bavaria, and thus in what became West Germany, the Befreiungshalle continued to serve as an object lesson in nineteenth-century German history. Modern mass transportation meant, however, that its audience increased enormously. Its expanded public now included, for instance, school children who arrived on buses to listen (not always patiently) to the explanations offered by their teachers or guides. Such tutelage is no longer a bourgeois

privilege.[5] The situation of the Völkerschlachtdenkmal was slightly more complex. When Leipzig became a part of Communist East Germany, this monument to Prussian military superiority was recast as a symbol of the Russian–German alliance (Russian troops had joined the Prussians and other Germans who defeated Napoleon and the native Saxons in 1813). While this new interpretation probably did little to add to its popularity, it did preserve its character as a symbol of the imposition of somewhat unwelcome foreign rule upon the local population.[6] Here, too, tour groups continued to be a prominent sight, although many may have come as much for the view the climb offered out over the city as to be indoctrinated in the monument's political message.

That these older monuments served functions so closely related to the reasons for which they were built, while the Jahrhunderthalle did not, was not necessarily a reason, however, for rejecting modernist architecture. It was modern architecture's absence of obvious content rather than its association with Weimar-era liberalism that accounted for its initial success in postwar West Germany in particular. During the 1950s and early 1960s, the German architectural community expressed little support for either the artifacts or ideas of the Weimar period. In Stuttgart, Erich Mendelsohn's Schocken department store, the finest example of Weimar-era commercial architecture in West Germany and the work of Germany's most prominent Jewish and anti-Nazi architect, was torn down by city building authorities as part of a street widening scheme.[7] Even the Bauhaus, whose curriculum had by then been adopted by art and architecture schools around the world, was by no means sacrosanct. In 1953, Rudolf Schwartz publicly attacked the school's legacy.[8] In Ulm, the attempt made by Inge Scholl to unite in the Hochschule für Gestaltung a revival of Bauhaus principles and a living memorial to the Resistance remained controversial. Like its predecessor the school folded after thirteen embattled years.[9]

Meanwhile, other legacies of architecture for a mass audience proved more quietly enduring. Few have ever claimed that architecture could accomplish so much as those Germans who between 1910 and 1940 hoped to use it as a tool to unite society. Once such claims were made they remained affixed for decades to a single manifestation of the approach that had produced them, encouraging the faith on the part of many around the world that a revolution in architectural forms could substitute for as much as represent social and political change. Although the emergence of new architectural forms had done nothing to bolster the various political positions with which they were affiliated or the welfare of German society as a whole during either the late Wilhelmine or Weimar years, architecture as a symbol of social change that, in fact, often did not occur became a hallmark of its postwar dissemination around the globe, the new cities of Brasilia and Chandigarh being only two of the most obvious examples.

With the end of the war came the triumph of modern architecture in almost all noncommunist countries. This International Style was quite different, however, from that identified by Hitchcock and Johnson in 1932.[10] Already in the 1930s, the industrial aesthetic that during the 1920s had characterized the work of the four architects they championed – Le Corbusier, Gropius, Mies, and their Dutch

counterpart J. J. P. Oud – had been largely replaced by a more plastic approach to form inspired in part by surrealist art, but also by a rhetoric of regionalism that emphasized a connection to the site and to the materials of vernacular architecture. Although it is mainstream modernists, above all Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier, and Alvar Aalto, who are usually credited with what is widely acknowledged as a shift in the direction of modern architecture, in fact many architects also drew inspiration from those like Otto Bartning and Dominikus Böhm who had already established an acceptable middle ground between fresh new forms and a deeply reassuring sense of continuity.

Interwar sacred German architecture in general and St. Engelbert in particular were widely lauded in Europe and the Americas in the immediate postwar years as uncomplicatedly progressive. After the zero hour of May 1945, Bartning and Böhm numbered among the few prominent German architects of their generation apparently little compromised by Nazi sponsorship. Both set to work almost immediately building emergency temporary churches, repairing damaged ones, and replacing those that had been irreparably destroyed.[11] Although in his late work Böhm muted his fascination with monumental archaism in favor of exploring the transparency of Bartning's Stahlkirche, his final churches retain much of the plasticity of St. Engelbert. Foreign architectural critics and theologians joined their German counterparts in praising the qualities of Böhm's architecture, and of St. Engelbert in particular, which they believed offered a template for what a newly democratized sacred architecture. These qualities were social as well as aesthetic, ranging from the antihierarchical organization of the space for the laity and the abolition of the barriers between them and the altar to what was now seen as the uncomplicated modernism of the ahistorical, sculptural form, in which engineering replaced ornament at the center of the architectural drama.[12]

Furthermore, in this changed climate in which modern architecture represented the status quo rather than a challenge to established institutions, Böhm's ability to craft innovative forms that served rather than challenged social stability now enjoyed wide appeal. Nowhere was this craving for a timeless idealism within a technological present more evident than in the postwar success of Mies van der Rohe, who generously described a book by Schwarz, Böhm's slightly younger architectural colleague within the liturgical movement, as 'not only a great book on architecture, indeed . . . one of the truly great books – [but] one of those which have the power to transform our thinking'. Mies penned his generous review despite Schwarz's vehement attack on the Bauhaus, of which Mies had once been the director.[13] By the 1950s Schwarz and Mies were both more interested in the spiritual qualities of spatial absolutes than in maintaining the subversive qualities of their own Weimar-era work.

The postwar labeling of Bartning and Böhm's as a specifically, indeed inherently, democratic architecture did not necessarily represent the architects' original intentions, however. Recent studies of Böhm have, to the contrary, described the obvious monumentality of the same buildings, including St. Engelbert, as both anti-modern and proto-Nazi. While the Jahrhunderthalle proved to be appreciated as a technological marvel easily detached from its original function as a patriotic

monument, in the case of St. Engelbert the same 'iconography of the vague', a term coined by Dieter Bartetzko to describe the archaic modernism of much German architecture from Behrens to Speer, has fostered entirely antithetical interpretations of a building which has been understood to be prescient of National Socialist as well as postwar West German approaches to architecture and to social harmony.[14]

Equating style and politics, Frank-Bertold Raith has argued that St. Engelbert provided an important precedent for Nazi architecture, while Holger Brülls has drawn new attention to the anti-modernist aspects of the austere neo-Romanesque style out of which many German churches were built during the interwar years. For Raith, who identifies the birth of a heroic style in late Weimar architecture, St. Engelbert is part of a revolutionary conservatism characterized by empty rhetorical gestures.[15] Brülls, on the other hand, downplays its innovative character in an account which emphasizes the building's historicism in the context of what he sees as Böhm's social as well as architectural conservativism.[16] Both authors continue to believe in the potency of form. Raith in particular assumes that the meaning of form remains constant, and that style can therefore be a useful index to political positions. He consequently pays relatively little attention to the contemporary reception of the buildings he takes as his subjects. Brülls's more nuanced account identifies understated yet powerful Expressionist buildings like St. Engelbert as part of a troublingly reactionary critique of modern mass culture.

Raith and Brülls rightfully draw attention to troubling aspects of Böhm's career and of the ideology which motivated him. Along with his Protestant counterpart Bartning, Böhm was one of the few prominent German architects whose careers spanned the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, and the early years of the Federal Republic. Although in 1933 he lost his job as head of the School of Religious Art in Cologne (to which he had been appointed by Konrad Adenauer, then the city's mayor and later the first chancellor of the Federal Republic), Böhm otherwise apparently suffered little during the Third Reich. As Brülls points out, Böhm built four of his largest churches during these years.[17] Although he often refrained from signing his personal correspondence with the prescribed party greetings and he built almost exclusively for the Roman Catholic Church, he was nevertheless, like Gropius and Mies, willing to compete, albeit with little more success, for government commissions.[18] Böhm's high standing within Nazi Germany is demonstrated by the fact that in 1943 he was the subject of one of the last architectural monographs published before the end of the war.[19]

In addition to Böhm's architectural aesthetic and personal behavior, there is also the question of the political ramifications of the ideas to which he sought to give built form. As Raith points out, the communal emphasis of Guardini's theology – the inspiration for Böhm's church designs – denies the importance of the individual in ways which accord with a plethora of anti-modern critiques, including Fascism.[20] Guardini wrote:

> The individual is made aware of the unity which comprehends him on many and various occasions, but chiefly in the liturgy. In it he sees himself face to

face with God, not as an entity, but as a member of this unity. It is the unity which addresses God; the individual merely speaks in it, and it requires of him that he should know and acknowledge that he is a member of it.[21]

Moreover, throughout the interwar period the German Catholic hierarchy advocated a conservative nationalism. This hindered the church from becoming an effective source of resistance to the Nazis, even though most bishops were mistrustful of a regime which consistently challenged their authority and the faith upon which it was predicated.[22]

   Although a lack of antifascist credentials would not harm the first generation of modern architects to launch their careers in the Federal Republic, Böhm remained, along with Bartning and Schwartz, a largely unacknowledged precursor of mainstream postwar architecture. While Mies, as well as all who commented upon modern sacred architecture in general, gave full credit to both Bartning and Böhm for their leading role in transforming the design of churches, the two German architects remained outside a narrative according to which almost all aspects of postwar modernism descended directly from the interwar avant-garde.[23] The authors of such accounts downplayed the variety of interwar architecture and treated what they did include as the last gasps of an outmoded historicism or as deviant dead-ends from the incipient triumph of CIAM (the French initials for the International Congress of Modern Architects) and its friends. Significant architectural ideas were assumed to emanate from the world's most famous architects. Thus the authors of survey texts often credited Le Corbusier's pilgrimage church at Ronchamp of 1950–54 with pioneering a sculptural plasticity which in fact made less of a defiant break with the architecture of St. Engelbert than it did with Le Corbusier's own cubistic villas.

   Postwar historians, critics, and architects championed the heroic individual member of the avant-garde rather than constructing a more complex and diverse account of the roots of contemporary architecture. They did this in part to ensure the influence of buildings, whose continued importance had not always been clear. The threat that Nazism and its architectural policies posed to the survival of the modern movement had been enormous. If it was going to endure at all, the new architecture would have to be redefined in strong opposition to that built during Hitler's horrific regime. Although recent studies correctly illustrate the degree to which senior modernist architects, such as Gropius and Mies, flirted with working for the Nazis, while many younger ones served the regime without apparent hesitation, during the immediate postwar years the memory of modernist spectacle was purged from the account of the movement's founding as too dangerous to be tolerated. With the exception of Wolfgang Pehnt, even many of Expressionism's defenders have cherished modernist architecture's supposed detachment from the taint of either commercialism or the architectural establishment, encouraging a myth of the avant-garde that had little relationship to the often messy reality of the 1910s and 1920s.[24]

   Associating style or technique with particular political positions ensured that Gropius and Mies, not to mention a number of less-distinguished architects, could

be seen as staunch anti-Nazis, even by those aware of the compromises they had made during the 1930s. It required, however, sacrificing figures such as Taut, Mendelsohn, and Fränkel, whose antifascist political credentials were better but who had more clearly provided precedents which proved useful to their opponents. The success of Speer's stunning illumination in rallying support for the Nazi regime had destroyed, for instance, the hope that the theatricalization of architecture could possibly be a means toward the creation of a better society. Instead the Lichtdom encouraged antifascists and their intellectual successors to regard populism in general with suspicion, a situation which entirely negated the aspirations of those who had developed the tactics he so perverted. The skepticism of mass culture already displayed during the 1930s by the cultural critics of the Frankfurt School was matched by that of postwar architects and their patrons in both halves of a divided Germany.

The issue of whether or not the Expressionism in which Speer's manipulation of light had its origins and the mass culture of which it quickly became a part were inherently fascist or not had already been the subject of anguished debate in the 1930s.[25] Defending Expressionism against Georg Lukács's attribution to it of fascist tendencies, his fellow Marxist Ernst Bloch noted in 1938 that its manifestations, especially the work of the painters recently denounced by Hitler in the Degenerate Art exhibit, 'directed attention to human beings and their substance, in their quest for the most authentic expression possible'.[26] He also noted its popular content and appeal. 'The Expressionists,' Bloch wrote, 'really did go back to popular art, loved and respected folklore – indeed as far as painting was concerned were the first to discover it.'[27]

Nonetheless other members of the Frankfurt School began to believe that authenticity and populism were mutually contradictory. Although Walter Benjamin had initially, like many Weimar intellectuals, hoped that mass culture might indeed prove to be art for the masses, by the late 1930s the enthusiasm most Germans had for the Nazi regime had left him disillusioned.[28] In exile in the United States, where the culture industry sponsored by the new profit-driven mass media – film, radio, and the recording industries in particular – substituted for the government patronage of the arts that was standard in Germany, Benjamin's former colleagues Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer extended the scope of Kracauer's essay 'The Cult of Distraction' to encompass the ways in which classical cultural forms as well were demeaned by their commercialization.[29] Where classic German sociology had mourned the fragmentation of organic communities, Adorno and Horkheimer instead found a frightening totality. 'Under monopoly capitalism,' they wrote, 'all mass culture is identical.'[30]

The multiple ways in which the memory of architecture for a mass audience was expurgated from postwar consciousness were thus multiple and mutually reinforcing. The circumstances in which those buildings that remained celebrated, such as the Jahrhunderthalle, were constructed were forgotten or glossed over, while work that could not be integrated into a new story of the emergence of the modern movement, such as Taut's or to a greater extent Bartning and Böhm's, was left out of history books, even when it continued to exert an influence upon

the present. Above all, the route through which German architects had once hoped to connect with the masses – spectacle – now lay outside the bounds of elite architectural culture.

Civic architecture in the post-Nazi Germanies

The apparent efficacy of Speer's architecture of light in tempting even Nazi opponents to marvel at the environments it created dissuaded most thoughtful postwar observers from the possibility of uniting, as so many German architects had attempted during the 1910s and 1920s, formal innovation in the arts with efforts to reach a mass audience. Thus the very success of this technique spelled the doom not only of its use, but of the larger cultural effort of which it was so compelling a part. Emotion in postwar avant-garde art and architecture would be individual rather than collective; indeed, many architects would entirely reject dramatic gestures as well as the populism that had once provoked them. This would be true in both halves of a divided Germany, as architects sought within both Social Realism and the International Style to create spaces for cultural performances that might promote community without reawakening dangerous passions.

The issue for postwar German architects on both sides of the Iron Curtain was how to create a public sphere for cultural performances in a way which broke free of the Nazi past. Each of the two Germanies wished furthermore to use the architecture of these new gathering places to represent their aspirations of fostering an improved organization of society, one which would never again sponsor the horrors imposed by the Nazis on fellow Germans and on the rest of Europe. Although the competing visions of the German Democratic Republic in the East and the Federal Republic of Germany in the West were largely imposed by their foreign sponsors, with the East Germans adopting Soviet Union Communism and their western counterparts the democratic form of government found in France, Great Britain, and the United States, new performance spaces remained strongly influenced by the specifically German history of designing for a mass audience and by the belief that such architecture could promote community.

The Kulturhaus 'Martin Andersen Nexö', built in Rüdersdorf between 1954 and 1956 by Emil Leibold, and Hans Scharoun's Philharmonie in West Berlin of 1956–63 demonstrate two different ways in which postwar German architects navigated treacherous shoals, seeking to find a usable German past without running aground by invoking the Nazi era. Both the Kulturhaus and the Philharmonie were highly representative of the states in which they were built. While the Rüdersdorf Kulturhaus was one of dozens erected throughout the GDR, Leibold was a member of the first master workshop of the German Architectural Academy, a group led by Herman Henselmann.[31] This was the same group who designed the Stalinallee in Berlin, the regime's most important declaration during the 1950s of the architecture and urbanism appropriate to German communism. Furthermore, the building was published in the state-sponsored professional organ *Deutsche Architektur*.[32] Finally, the project was initiated by Walter Ulbricht, the

East German Communist leader, himself.[33] The Philharmonie, on the other hand, was the first building erected in West Berlin's Kulturforum, the western showpiece designed in the last years before the erection of the Wall to be easily available to East Berliners and placed atop the ruins of what little had been built of Hitler and Speer's monumental North–South axis.[34] No other building erected in the West in the first two postwar decades attracted comparable international attention and praise.[35]

After a brief period of experimentation in which Scharoun contributed designs for the rebuilding of Eastern Berlin, the German Democratic Republic adopted the architecture of Soviet Socialist Realism. Socialist Realism aspired to be 'socialist in content and national in form'.[36] Architects interpreted this slogan to mean that buildings which housed or expressed the ideology of the Stalinist state were to be clad in the forms associated with precommunist elites, forms which were now understood to belong to the masses. In a radical reversal of the situation in prewar Germany where abstraction was championed as universally comprehensible, Socialist Realist architecture replaced the formal experimentation represented by Constructivism in part because government officials believed that only an appropriation of the traditional language of authority could communicate the ascendancy of the new regime. In Russia proper neoclassicist planning principals and ornamental details popular in the last years of Czarist regime predominated, while in the Central Asian republics regional decoration paid lip service to the region's Islamic heritage. Similarly, ambitious projects like the Moscow subway made what had been the architecture of imperial and aristocratic palaces part of the daily experience of almost all of the city's citizens, few of whom actually enjoyed a share of the political power suggested by the ornateness of such civic spaces.

In the Kulturhäuser erected throughout East Germany during the 1950s the socialist content of cultural facilities intended largely for factory workers coexisted with a national form directly inspired by Tessenow's Festhalle. The Festhalle provided a local precedent for this paradigmatic communist building type, one found throughout eastern Europe.[37] Houses of Culture were designed to make elite culture, still cherished as an important component of national patrimony, available to factory workers, whose leisure time could at the same time be closely supervised by the state. They were also the setting for a wide range of more prosaic activities, many of them overtly political.

In East Germany these institutions were the heirs as well to nearly a half-century of proposals to provide public gathering places for a new society.[38] While Taut provided the more utopian model, the Festhalle could be more easily reconfigured to chime with Soviet-imposed standards of decorative richness. Although the East German architects who rebuilt the centers of the country's major cities paid careful attention to regionalist traditions, buildings inspired by the Festhalle were erected throughout the country. In Rüdersdorf, Leibold followed Tessenow's example by placing a pedimented portico in front of his building (Figure 5.1). Where Tessenow had worked almost abstractly, simplifying each classical element until it became an archetype, Leibold restored some of the ornament Tessenow
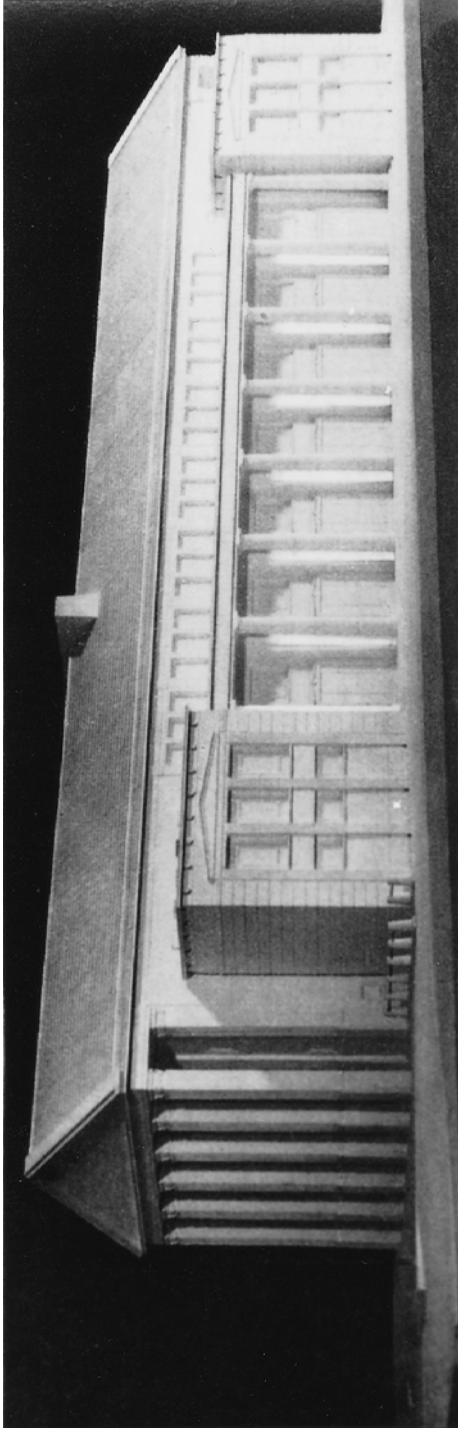
Figure 5.1 Kulturhaus (House of Culture) 'Martin-Andersen-Nexö', Emil Leibold, Rüdersdorf, 1954–56 (*Source:* Wirth, 1956.1, vol. 5, p. 70)

had eschewed. His piers, for instance, are fluted and capped with small swags, while Doric colonnades lined the side façades. This decorative richness, repeated throughout the principal interior spaces, was intended to express the state's regard for its users, the workers from the local cement factory.[39]

As a building type, the Kulturhaus was a direct descendant of Taut's city crown, but its interior organization was far more conventional than that realized by Tessenow and Poelzig or proposed by Taut. Although the East German regime, like all its Communist counterparts, continued to sponsor spectacles whose tens of thousands of participants symbolized popular support for 'people's' states, the most important of such festivities were typically held outside, in urban spaces often specially reconfigured as staging grounds for such events (the Stalinallee in East Berlin is the most conspicuous German example).[40] The plan of the Kulturhaus 'Martin Andersen Nexö' reveals none of the blurring of spatial boundaries that encouraged audiences in the Festhalle or the Große Schauspielhaus to identify with performers (Figure 5.2). Instead, as in all East German Kulturhäuser, the stage located at the far end of the multipurpose ballroom is defined by a proscenium. Rows of fluted piers in both the ample vestibule and the ballroom echo the basilican plan abandoned by Böhm. Nothing in these principal spaces, much less upstairs in the billiard and reading rooms, could unleash the appeal to the emotions which culminated in the thrill of the Lichtdom.

The same was true in the West, where the somber rituals of parliamentary government entirely replaced civic spectacle, now once again limited, as it had been during the Weimar Republic, to the commercial realm. The lights of West
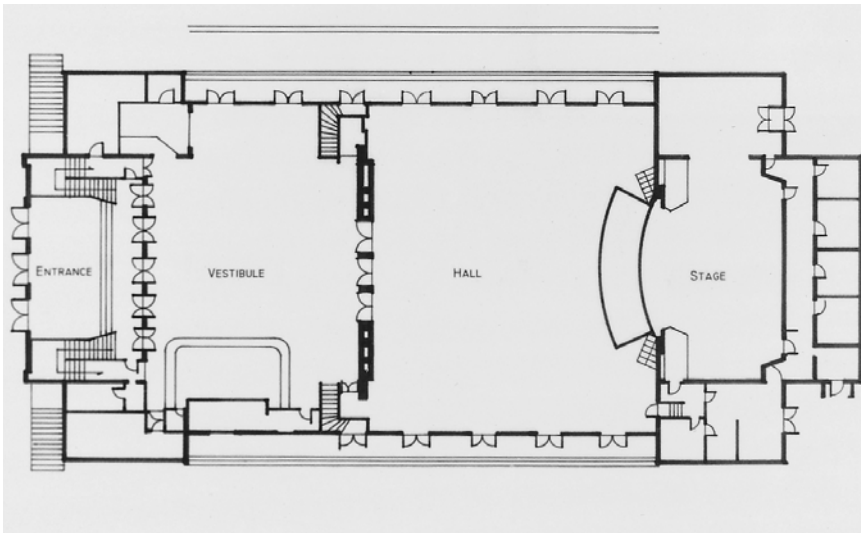

Figure 5.2 Plan, Kulturhaus 'Martin-Andersen-Nexö'
(*Source:* drawing by S. MacGlashen)

Berlin's Europa Center at the head of the Kurfürstendamm served as a beacon of western prosperity, one which was only faintly echoed in the neon of East Berlin's Alexanderplatz, but they were entirely absent from the Kulturforum. This did not mean that Scharoun was unfamiliar with or unsympathetic to Expressionism. A member of the Arbeitsrat and of the Crystal Chain, a friend of Taut and of Mendelsohn's, Scharoun first attracted attention for a series of colorful watercolors of crystalline city crowns. Throughout his career he would remain fascinated by the expressive power of light and by a sculptured monumentality which owed little to historicist precedent.[41]

Few West German architects were as well positioned as Scharoun to participate in the international effort to expand the International Style to encompass the civic commissions rarely available to its adherents during the interwar years.[42] His modernist credentials were impeccable, including participation in the Weissenhof housing exhibit held in Stuttgart in 1927, even as his penchant for curvilinear forms distinguished him from the mainstream enshrined by Hitchcock and Johnson, Pevsner and Giedion. Although he had remained in Germany, his work during the Third Reich consisted largely of eccentric private houses and, during the war years, private drawings whose visionary monumentality fused utopian Expressionism with the scale of Nazi state architecture.[43] Scharoun was never active in CIAM, which represented the postwar international architectural establishment, (at least outside the Soviet bloc), but his city planning schemes often followed the lead of its Athens Charter.[44] Finally his attentiveness to social considerations anticipated the rebellion against orthodoxy mounted by a new generation of European architects, especially the members of Team X. These connections gave Scharoun the credibility, rare among German architects of his generation, to explore Germany's Expressionist legacy in large, willfully emotive buildings like the Philharmonie, which broke free of the quiet self-restraint of other recent cultural facilities in West Berlin such as the Deutsche Oper Berlin by Fritz Bornemann and the Konzertsaal der Hochschule für Musik und the Studiobühne by Paul Baumgarten.

Even more than Berg in the Jahrhunderthalle or Poelzig in the Große Schauspielhaus, Scharoun in the celebrated, nearly centrally planned interior of the Philharmonie, realized a performance space in which the spectators wrapped around performers to form the ring espoused by Schwartz (Figure 5.3). He himself admitted that 'the aim of this architectonic treatment was to give a certain "intimacy" to the hall'.[45] He continued in language that directly recalled the ideas of Appia and Reinhardt:

> For only this 'intimacy' enables a direct participation in the musical event, as an individual rather than a co-creative act. Special effort was made to reduce the distance, in respect of sound from the orchestra to the last row of seats . . . [T]he grouping of the orchestra and the performance of the conductor can be observed from various points in 'essence' and in 'action' – and the uniting aspect of an all-embracing relationship replaces a former stage-like 'picture aspect' only.[46]
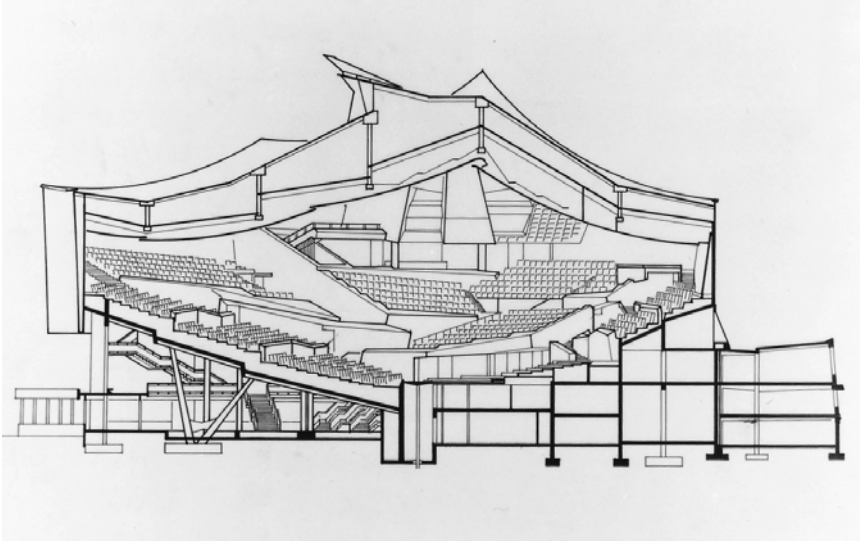
Figure 5.3 Philharmonie, Hans Scharoun, Berlin, 1956–63
(*Source:* drawing by S. MacGlashen)

In his account of the building, Scharoun's assistant, Edgar Wisniewski, detailed the ways in which the Philharmonie paralleled and in many cases was inspired directly by a number of previous centralized buildings. These included the same Early Christian and Baroque churches cited by Böhm (whom Wisniewski did not name, although he did refer to his ideas). For Wisniewski, the auditorium of the Philharmonie could be experienced as a quasi-sacred space, in part because of these resemblances. He also made it clear that Scharoun was aware of the move toward theater-in-the-round, for which he wanted to design a musical equivalent. Wisniewski placed particular emphasis on the importance of Poelzig's collaborations with Reinhardt, including the Große Schauspielhaus, a building Scharoun would have known well.[47]

Nonetheless, there were important differences between the Philharmonie and its predecessors. First, although artificial lighting was key to its success, its effects were understated rather than attention-grabbing. Overt spectacle was as absent here as in the communist Kulturhäuser. Equally important were the ways in which Scharoun's building represented a democratic, capitalist society. He transformed the orchestra hall, which had been a traditional site of aristocratic and bourgeois display, into an antihierarchical environment. The 'vineyard mountains', as Scharoun called them, in which the audience gathered around the orchestra players, were unprecedentedly egalitarian, but even with lavish state subsidies, the building's interior remained largely the purview of the bourgeoisie, who could either afford to purchase tickets in advance or, in the case of students, had the time to wait in the queue for same-day seats.[48] The dream of a community, realized through architecture, which would unite all Germans, was dead.

Scharoun recalled this utopian project, without being able to resurrect it in social rather than merely formal terms. At the same time, there were other aspects of the recent past that he deliberately chose to forget. He ignored the recent history of the site, for instance, of which he was certainly equally well aware. Unlike Mies, whose Neue Nationalgalerie (New National Gallery) is the Kulturforum's other most celebrated building, he made no attempt to integrate his building into one of Berlin's most highly charged landscapes. This was land along whose edge the Berlin Wall was constructed even as the Philharmonie was being completed.[49] For Scharoun the appropriate response was an almost complete divorce from the urban context in a building whose exterior clearly emerged out of the design of its interior spaces.

Without the earlier impetus to reach out to those strolling along the street or to a mass audience inside, the importance of spectacle in animating blank civic space was largely extinguished in the postwar Germanies. Both Liebold and Scharoun used architecture, whether the Doric details of the Kulturhaus in Rüdersdorf or the willfully eccentric (as well as acoustically superlative) fragmented forms of the Philharmonie, to replace what had previously been achieved through colored light. The drama of revealed structure so crucial to the Jahrhunderthalle, the Glashaus, the Stahlkirche, and St. Engelbert was also absent in their buildings, as it already had been in the Festhalle, the Große Schauspielhaus, and the notorious Lichtdom. With these changes, architecture reverted in West Germany to being the province of the upper middle-class elite, although this group was admittedly expanding as a result of postwar prosperity to include an unprecedented proportion of the country's citizenry. Soon even many of them would be alienated by what they saw as the overly grandiose and technological character of the buildings spawned in the 1960's by brutalism and the vogue for megastructures. Meanwhile to the east, the state's claim to represent the people was increasingly frayed by political realities which even architecture failed to disguise. The belief that architectural reform could substitute for political change, like the belief in universal form upon which it was predicated, had finally come to an end.

The appearence of postmodernism in the Federal Republic

By the mid-1960s the postwar status quo was in turn challenged. The relationship between form and content in architecture became once again the subject of lively debate. On the one hand, a new generation, coming exclusively from outside Germany, proposed that architecture's meaning resided in applied symbolism – the position espoused, for instance, by Venturi and Scott-Brown. On the other, many Germans continued to maintain that specific modes of architectural composition, such as axial symmetry, promoted authoritarianism. Less often examined, however, was the issue of to whom postmodern architecture's careful coding was readily comprehensible. Could those outside an academic elite decipher often obscure historicist references? Did the most garish excesses of capitalist consumerism really offer the only hope for a truly popular architecture? Or were there ways in which abstract form could finally be impregnated with clear and permanent content?

In Europe postmodernism's revival of historical concepts of the civic inevitably involved as well the recreation of a specifically bourgeois audience for architecture. Even the pop references included in buildings like Stuttgart's Neue Staatsgalerie, designed by the British firm of Stirling and Wilford, depended upon a familiarity with the recent history of architecture. At the same time this museum, West Germany's first postmodern showpiece, was also obviously intended both by the city and its architects to create an unusually accessible public realm, a goal that could be accomplished only if at least some aspects of the building were almost universally appreciated at least by the residents of the surrounding neighborhood.

Why the break with modernism? Even those postwar architects who most closely approximated the empathetic approach to space favored by those such as Borg, Poelzig, and Böhm, as opposed to the cubist-inspired 'space time' described by Giedion, sought to create a monumental institutional architecture, often in defiance of the mass public whom the Germans had sought to engage. In the United States Louis Kahn, for instance, although deeply committed to creating spaces that would promote community, understood this effort to exist in contrast to what he saw as the crass superfluousness of popular taste.[50] At their best, his buildings, like Böhm's, which they often resemble, especially in their recall of Roman brickwork, appear to be spiritually charged places that exist outside of time, offering a compelling alternative to a more overtly fashionable architecture.[51]

Like many of the more emphatically sociological efforts of his European contemporaries in Team X, however, Kahn's efforts did not always produce buildings that were pleasant – much less efficient – to use. These architects did not reach out to the general public as Berg and his successors had, freely meeting them halfway with buildings that were intended to be easily enjoyed by those untutored in architectural history or theory. The disparity in the reception of Kahn's Richards Medical Research Laboratories at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia (1957–65), highlighted the widening divide between the aesthetic and intellectual qualities of the work of world-renowned architects and the actual degree to which celebrated buildings found favor with those for whom they were ostensibly built.[52] The labs were despised by those whose laboratories and offices they housed but lauded by the professional press and by the Museum of Modern Art in New York, which devoted a prestigious exhibit to them. This gap was encouraged by the degree to which architects like Kahn relied upon a definition of professional expertise according to which they knew better than most clients, especially those without their own elite cultural (not to be confused with economic) credentials.[53] This was to be one of the principal reasons for the backlash against modernism in the 1960s by a public that increasingly distrusted the ability of architects to create humane environments.

Venturi and Scott-Brown were two of the first to challenge modernist orthodoxy. Their critique was aimed at meaning rather than function. In *Learning from Las Vegas*, first published in 1972 and co-authored with Steven Izenour, they distinguished between buildings whose meaning was embedded in their forms (ducks) and those upon which it was applied (decorated sheds).[54] They preferred the latter, which they believed to be intellectually richer as well as more meaningful

than the diagrammatic plans and sculptural plasticity of late modernist architecture. In a successful attempt to shock a profession which they saw as distant from and contemptuous of its public, they chose Las Vegas as an object lesson, offering its palpably economically motivated ornament as an antidote to what they believed was the sterility of abstraction.

Inspired in part by pop art, Venturi and Scott-Brown celebrated blue-collar American taste as an alternative to the often icy reserve with which the architectural and planning professions viewed the ordinary American environment, especially the shopping strips and housing developments of the postwar suburbs. Their original promise to make architecture accessible floundered, however, as the meaning applied to decorated sheds proved more successful in communicating the new wealth of the Reagan years than in creating a truly populist architecture.

For Europeans the appeal of Scott-Brown and Venturi's writings was limited by their not always ironic defense of working-class material culture as populist. Influenced by Marxist critical theorists such as Adorno and Horkheimer, they remained skeptical of forms so firmly tied to the marketplace rather than the avant-garde. The Italian architect Aldo Rossi, on the other hand, appealed to both a younger generation of architects and to a larger mostly intellectual public interested in the design of the environments they inhabited. By the late 1960s these groups associated modernism with established elites, whether multinational corporations, cultural institutions, or state bureaucracies and with their often heavy-handed planning policies. They no longer found modernism's original fusion of technology and progressive politics credible. Even the postwar injection of sociological analysis into architecture often seemed mostly an excuse to avoid aesthetic considerations.

Rossi offered a means for cherishing buildings and cityscapes created under political and social conditions one did not necessarily want to resurrect and a prescription for a contemporary architecture that would respect these remnants of the past. It was the power of their forms rather than the circumstances of their creation, Rossi argued, that enabled the city and its monuments to become the repositories of collective memories, which in turn gave architecture and urbanism a value that transcended its original function. Rossi advocated a typological approach to the design of new buildings, in which consistency of scale and ground-plan outweighed considerations of style or construction.

The political ambiguity of Rossi's architectural position grew out of what was for Rossi the seeming impossibility of designing an alternative to the capitalist city which did not avail itself of the same strategies that informed much fascist architecture in both Italy and Germany. Initially, Rossi's architecture was inspired in part by his loyalty to the Communist Party. In 1973 his close friend and Marxist colleague at the University of Venice, Manfredo Tafuri, argued in his influential book *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development* that attempts to change society through avant-garde form rather than structural political and economic change were doomed to failure.[55] Most architects, including Rossi, took Tafuri's words, not as instructions to man the barricades, but as a license to focus on the purely aesthetic dimension of their craft.

Stirling, the principal architect of the Neue Staatsgalerie, appreciated Venturi and Scott-Brown's wit, Rossi's attention to place and memory, and, although to a more limited degree, Scharoun's faith in the power of centralized space. In his museum building he created a delicate balancing act between the revival of a civic architecture aimed specifically at the bourgeoisie and one that was more populist in character. The result was a building that combined public access and jazzy details with sometimes arcane historical references.

The Neue Staatsgalerie shared one prominent feature with earlier buildings by Berg, Taut, Poelzig, and Böhm. Although rectangular in plan, it was organized around a circular central space (Figure 5.4). This recollection of the ideal geometry that had inspired Stirling's precedent, Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Altes Museum in Berlin (1822–30) as well as Leo von Klenze's Befreiungshalle, was left open to the sky in a gesture that pointed both towards Germany's heritage of monumental neoclassical architecture and the impossibility of recreating such monumentality except as a ruin.[56] It stands at the core of the building, accessible not only to museum goers but, visually at least, also to those who follow a second path through the building, one created to link the neighborhood uphill from the museum to the downtown below.

As the centerpiece of the city's cultural aspirations, Stuttgart's Neue Staatsgalerie in some way reprised the city crowns envisioned more than half a century earlier by Taut. Like Scharoun and Rossi, Stirling sought to craft a place, the experience of which would be shared across time by a community of users, the process through
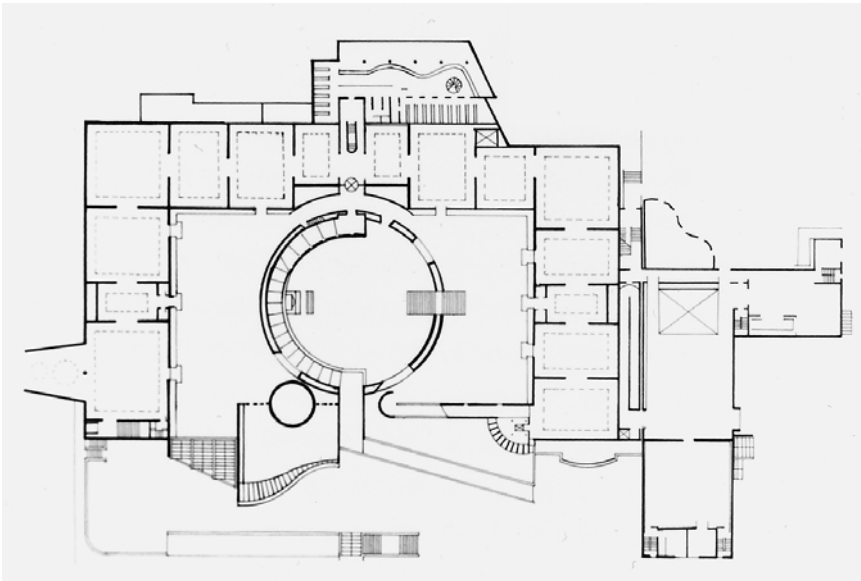
Figure 5.4 Neue Staatsgalerie (New State Gallery), James Stirling and Michael Wilford, Stuttgart, 1977–84
(*Source:* drawing by S. MacGlashen)

which collective memories are created. Like Rossi, but not Scharoun, he also sought to reweave an urban fabric frayed first by the war and then by postwar city planning paradigms. He took his clues from the typology established by the nineteenth-century museum next door. He was encouraged by the city, which mandated the path through the building, to tie the museum to the surrounding neighborhood. This passageway became one of the most widely admired and influential aspects of the Staatsgalerie. Indeed, the building quickly became a popular gathering place for locals as well as tourists, its ramps enlivened by the presence of skateboarders as well as those who have come specifically to look at the art or, as is just as often the case, the architecture.

Stirling's approach to the building's design nonetheless highlighted the degree to which he revived an elitist approach to civic architecture within what was after all the paradigmatic building type of the German *Bildungsbürgertum*. Like its nineteenth-century predecessors, Stirling's museum included a compendium of references legible only to those knowledgeable about architecture and the fine arts.[57] In addition to invoking Schinkel's plan, Stirling quoted from a number of twentieth-century buildings and art movements, repeating for instance the exaggerated scale and bright coloring of the ventilation system of Richard Rogers and Renzo Piano's Centre Pompidou in Paris, the previous decade's most prominent new museum of modern art building. Those inhabitants of the surrounding neighborhood unfamiliar with the Paris museum must have been puzzled by this decorative approach to one of the Neue Staatsgalerie's most functional elements, which are far less legible to the uninitiated than the pop culture of the Las Vegas billboards published by Venturi, Scott-Brown and Izenour.

Nonetheless, their surprise would not have been nearly as great as the incomprehension of working-class and lower middle-class Berliners when faced a century and a half earlier with the façade of Schinkel's Altes Museum. Many neighbors of Stirling's building would have traveled to Paris, where the Centre Pompidou was one of the city's major tourist attractions, or at least seen the building in illustrated magazines. They could also have read about the resemblance, perhaps in one of the Stuttgart museum's own publications, perhaps in a newspaper article. Only a limited number of those who walked past the Altes Museum, however, would have recognized Schinkel's use of the classical Greek stoa as a model, or appreciated that he had chosen a secular alternative to the more popular temple type. Those in a position to recognize such connections would also disproportionately have been those with the leisure to enter the building and study its collections, as well as an interest in doing so, something much less common in Schinkel's Berlin than in Stirling's Stuttgart.

At the same time, however, Stirling's whimsy expressed itself as well in gestures which, if not as frankly commercial as the roadside architecture of the Las Vegas strip, were nonetheless not so exclusively cultured as to appeal only to the increasingly large public trained to appreciate them. A number of anti-monumental gestures diminish the potentially off-putting institutional character of the museum. Oversize acid green and hot pink handrails line the ramps leading from downtown

into the museum, the floor of whose deliberately unmonumental entrance hall is clad in the same bright green. Rejecting modernism's cult of industrialized building materials, Stirling instead clad his building in stone. By leaving out the mortar between the slabs of veneer, however, he accentuated the nonstructural character of this surface. In one of his most obvious witticisms, the only whole stone blocks are those that appear to have fallen out of the wall of the parking garage and lie strewn across the grass in front of the place from which they have apparently tumbled.

Stirling's museum was one of the most heralded new buildings in Europe, especially celebrated by those who enjoyed displaying their newly fashionable knowledge of architectural history. Nonetheless there were Germans who were deeply uncomfortable with what they saw as his postmodernist liberation of form from content. Günter Behnisch, Stuttgart's leading architect and one of the most prominent members of his profession in all Germany, was particularly appalled by Stirling's revival of neoclassical planning principles. He complained that Stirling's axial symmetry was automatically dangerous because it recalled the planning principles of Hitler's state architecture.[58] Many other German architects and even more German architectural historians continue to share Behnisch's belief that the inherent content of form cannot be detached from tainted, particularly Nazi, contexts. They could not follow Stirling's example and separate the playful irony of his jabs at such core modernist doctrines as structural honesty from the plan of the building, in which they continued to believe its meaning resided. This debate over the relationship between architectural form and its content would be rekindled a decade later in the far more charged circumstances of a reunified Berlin.

6   The new Berlin

On 9 November 1989, the Berlin Wall fell. To the amazement of even those involved in making the decision to allow East Germans to travel to the West, the physical fabric of the famous barrier was quickly erased, followed with almost as much haste by the collapse of the regime that had built it. The two Germanies were reunited the following year; in 1991 the Bundestag in Bonn voted by a slim margin to move the capital back to Berlin. By April 1999, when the legislature met for the first time in the refurbished Reichstag, the transfer was largely complete.

The reunification of the city and the establishment of Berlin as the capital of the Federal Republic quickly made the city center Europe's biggest construction site. Not only were plans made to fill the free-fire zone on the eastern side of the Wall, but more governmental functions needed to be accommodated than could be contained within the civic buildings of the former Democratic Republic, were they to be reused. In addition, new market pressures ensured that the prewar downtown, located mostly in the east and largely neglected during the Communist years, would also be refurbished to rival the commercial centers of the divided city, the area around Alexanderplatz to the east and the fashionable Kurfürstendamm in the west (Figure 6.1).

Planners, architects, politicians, real estate developers, and ordinary citizens quickly began to discuss what form the reconstructed heart of the city should take. Although a number of initial steps were taken by the city and national government outside of any regular planning process, a centralized planning structure was quickly put in place, directed by Hans Stimmann, a Westerner from Lübeck who was originally appointed by a socialist city government before serving as a civil servant under subsequent regimes. Stimmann was faced not only with the magnitude of the site, but with the historically charged character of a cityscape that had been successively the capital of the Prussian court, a unified imperial Germany, the fragile Weimar Republic, Hitler's Nazi dictatorship, and a discredited Communist government. All had inhabited the same spaces; many had shared the same buildings, whose associations now ranged from the esteemed to the despised, with opinions about individual structures varying greatly according to the politics and aesthetic taste of the observer.
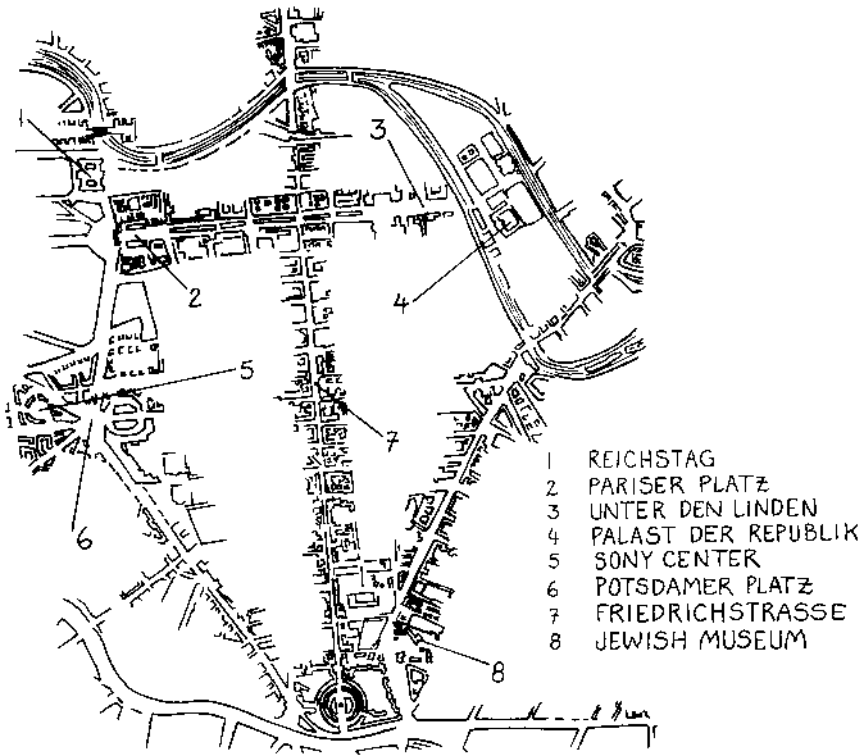
Figure 6.1 Map of central Berlin
(*Source:* drawing by Tracy Farbstein)

Stimmann chose to implement a policy he termed 'Critical Reconstruction'.[1] This approach favored the reconstruction of the prewar urban fabric whenever possible. It was accompanied wherever feasible by the erasure of the built traces of the Communist regime and a return to what Stimmann understood to be a Prussian architectural tradition of low-rise buildings, faced in stone or stucco, their façades featuring punched windows and organized along basically classical principals. Stimmann's policies were quickly challenged, albeit usually with little success, by those uncomfortable with the reuse of Nazi buildings, with his denigration of the modern movement (whether the classical modernism that had flourished in the city during the 1920s or its contemporary high-tech progeny), and with his disregard for most Communist construction.[2]

The general debate, which has been divided into many individual debates over particular sites (not all of them under Stimmann's exclusive control), has focused on the role of history and its more emotionally charged byproduct, namely memory, in the creation and experience of urban and architectural form. Other important issues have been the reintroduction of a capitalist real estate market into

a city whose two halves served during the Cold War years as heavily subsidized showpieces for polarized political positions and the role of the appropriate public face for the government of a distinctly democratic state.[3] This account, however, will focus on the way in which the debate can be seen, not as a confrontation between postmodern history and late modernist abstraction or between Berlin's regional past and an international present, but as a choice between the revival of the universal subject posited by Berg and his successors, on the one hand, and, on the other, an understanding of the audience for the reconstruction as being the same bourgeoisie responsible for building much of the badly damaged original. In this interpretation, both approaches, nearly nine decades after Berg began to sketch the Jahrhunderthalle, are profoundly historicist, but the means through which they are implemented differ in ways that belie simple stylistic labels.

Several sites are key to such an analysis. All are located within or just beyond the boundaries of Friedrichstadt, the eighteenth-century extension of the city that became by the final decades of the nineteenth century the city's downtown. Outstanding examples of the first position include Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum, Norman Foster's rebuilding of the Reichstag, and Günter Behnisch, Manfred Sabatke, and Werner Durth's design for Akademie der Künste (Academy of the Arts), although Jean Nouvel's Galeries Lafayette and Murphy/ Jahn's Sony Center are also important as examples of the limited recent return of emphatically commercial spectacle. To them can be opposed Stimmann's policy of Critical Reconstruction in general, of which the rebuilding of Pariser Platz will serve as a representative example. Although developed partly outside Stimmann's jurisdiction, Potsdamer Platz is important because throughout much of this new commercial and entertainment district, the exterior expression of spectacle has been severely limited by those uncomfortable with the flagrant reintroduction into the city's urban fabric of capitalist mass culture. Finally, the controversy over whether or not to rebuild the Schloss (Palace) that once stood at the very heart of the city or rather to preserve the Palast der Republik (Palace of the Republic) erected by the Communists is the most stark example of the issues at stake here, even though neither alternative exactly reflects the aesthetic divide between a bourgeois and mass public described in the opening chapters of this book.

Reviving empathy: the Jewish Museum

One of the ironies of the debate over contemporary architecture in Berlin is the frequency with which it is characterized as an argument between those who want to preserve the city's architectural traditions and those who would impose in their stead a late modernist architecture seen by its opponents either as placeless or as specifically American. While the first is usually defended as an amalgam of Prussian, Wilhelmine, and postmodern precedents, with Schinkel, Behrens, and Rossi as its most significant exponents, the second is defined more generically to include skyscrapers, glass curtain walls, and exposed metal structure or details. In fact, the first overlaps uncomfortably as well, as its opponents delight in pointing out, with

the Nazi state architecture of Albert Speer, whose Chancellery was conveniently destroyed by the Soviets; Ernst Sagabiel, whose Luftwaffe Ministerium, built for Heinrich Goering now serves as the Finance Ministry; and Heinrich Wolff, whose Reichsbank, the first important Nazi building in Berlin, now houses the Foreign Ministry.[4] At the same time, the architectural vocabulary the city's planners condemn as international was all but invented in Berlin, above all in Ludwig Mies van der Rohe's 1921 competition entry for a crystalline tower on Friedrichstrasse, itself influenced by precedents established by Behrens, for whom Mies had worked, and Taut, then the leader of the city's architectural avant-garde.

The Jewish Museum, which opened for tours in 1999, long before the installation of its exhibits was completed, is usually taken as the representative building of the late modernist position, not least because Libeskind himself has been one of Stimmann's most vocal opponents. Without a doubt, it is the most startling design erected in the city in the generation since the completion of Scharoun's Staatsbibliothek, its zinc-clad zig-zags further deformed by the irregularity of the window openings slashed into them (Figure 6.2). Nonetheless, it also engages with the history of its site and of modern German architecture in order to represent in the strongest possible terms the experience of the people it commemorates, the city's once thriving Jewish community, who between 1933 and 1945 suffered the fate of either being exterminated or forced into exile.

Figure 6.2 Jewish Museum, Daniel Libeskind, Berlin, 1988–98
(*Source:* Author's photograph)

Libeskind's design dates to 1988, that is, to just before the collapse of the wall.[5] Although a well-known theorist, he had never before built a building when he won the competition in 1989 for an extension of the Berlin Museum to be used to house the Museum's substantial Jewish collection. Victory for such an unconventional design would have been impossible a few years later, but during the 1980s the government of West Berlin had become one of the world's premier sponsors of innovative architecture. The International Building Exhibition (IBA or Internationale Bauausstellung) held in the city over that decade had demonstrated that such experimentation could take place within the climate of revived respect for the prewar city's scale and street network encouraged by Rossi. Libeskind's design departed from these New Urbanist principles far more than was the norm. Such a conscious tear, he argued, was necessary to represent the void left in the city by the absence of its Jews. In any case his gesture was confined to the garden of the existing museum.

During the 1990s the building's eccentric appearance, combined with the mounting cost of its construction, repeatedly threatened to result in the cancellation of its construction. This proved politically untenable, however, because of the building's intended function. Even those who most opposed the building's aesthetics believed in the importance of including the commemoration of the city's Jews in the capital city, although disagreements continued about the institutional form this should take. Indeed, reunification prompted reorganization of the Berlin Museum, as West Berlin's facility had duplicated the older Markisches Museum in the East, into which many of its collections were eventually incorporated. Today the eighteenth-century structure to which Libeskind's building was intended to serve as an addition is now little more than an entrance block to the newer structure.

From the beginning Libeskind himself described his design as emerging out of a careful consideration of the city's history and geography. The process by which a complicated plotting of points on a map of the city determined many of the geometries of the ground plan is far too abstract, however, for the uninformed viewer to grasp. This, like the iconography inscribed into the eighteen-sided design of the Befreiungshalle, requires tuition to be understood and appreciated. This entirely contemporary theoretical stance, rooted in literary theory, is not unique in Berlin, as it was used earlier in Peter Eisenmann and Jaquelin Robertson's apartment building at Checkpoint Charlie, completed in 1986. Its postmodern character has, however, overshadowed the ways in which Libeskind revived an empathetic approach to architecture.

Where German architects from Berg to Scharoun built centralized spaces to promote community, Libeskind deliberately created ruptures and displacements in order make the visitor viscerally experience the fate of Berlin's Jews. This happens in the building in three major ways. First, the skewed plan of the galleries is itself repeatedly disrupted by voids which symbolize the absence of the Jews from the contemporary city (Figure 6.3). Second, the Hall of Memory, a hollow tower accessed through an underground link, is an oppressively narrow, tall, dimly, and – at many times of the year – quite chilly concrete-walled slot of space. Here

the visitor's confinement within a sealed environment triggers in many a powerful sense of identification with the gas chambers in which many Berlin Jews were exterminated.[6] Nor is this arcane knowledge, especially as the story of this extermination will be told in the galleries themselves. Third, the displaced groundplane and obscured views in the Garden of Exile create a further sense of identification with the experience of being physically uprooted, one that makes many visitors literally dizzy (Figure 6.4).

Libeskind is virtually alone among architects building today in Berlin in the trust he puts in architectural form and the spaces it shapes to create an emotional rather than a rationally ordered environment. For him the experience of form, rather than the postmodern literary theory or linguistics which led to Venturi and Scott-Brown's revival of applied symbolism, is responsible for meaning in architecture.[7] In the Jewish Museum the result is not an evasion of history, whether that of Berlin's Jews or German architecture. Instead, most visitors depart with an enhanced sense of identification with the first imparted, although they are not generally aware of it, through techniques which have a distinguished German past. Indeed, Libeskind is far more successful than any of his predecessors in uniting the experience of abstract space to a specific set of meanings. His powerful message was quite clear to the many who visited the building even before the didactic exhibitions were installed.

Remaking a public realm: the rebuilt Reichstag

Libeskind has made it quite clear that he presumed a universal subject. Dismissing assertions that museums are inherently elitist, he has asserted that they are now profoundly populist institutions.[8] Indeed, his building will almost certainly become one of the most visited sites in the city; long before its official opening twenty groups a day were touring it by appointment.[9] Even these numbers paled in comparison, however, with that of those who stood in line during the spring, summer, and autumn of 1999 to ascend the new cupola of the rebuilt Reichstag. Foster, the architect whose firm directed the renovation, has been explicit about the need to create a place which was inherently democratic. For him, this entailed transforming a monumental civic building with a checkered past into a place in which the visiting public were literally able to look down upon those who represented them, a result he achieved through marrying an updated version of Berg's structural drama to the transparency advocated by Taut. The glazed dome that resulted became instantaneously one of the most popular symbols of the city, floating lightly in contrast to the Jahrhunderthalle over the ponderous architecture beneath (Figure 6.5).

The reconstruction of the dome was imposed upon Foster by politicians who wished to restore at least a shimmering hint of the building's original profile and who sought to sponsor an obvious symbol of its transformation. The result has been the most overt recall in the new Berlin of the hope that a circular space, whose bare surfaces were supported through state-of-the-art engineering illuminated in
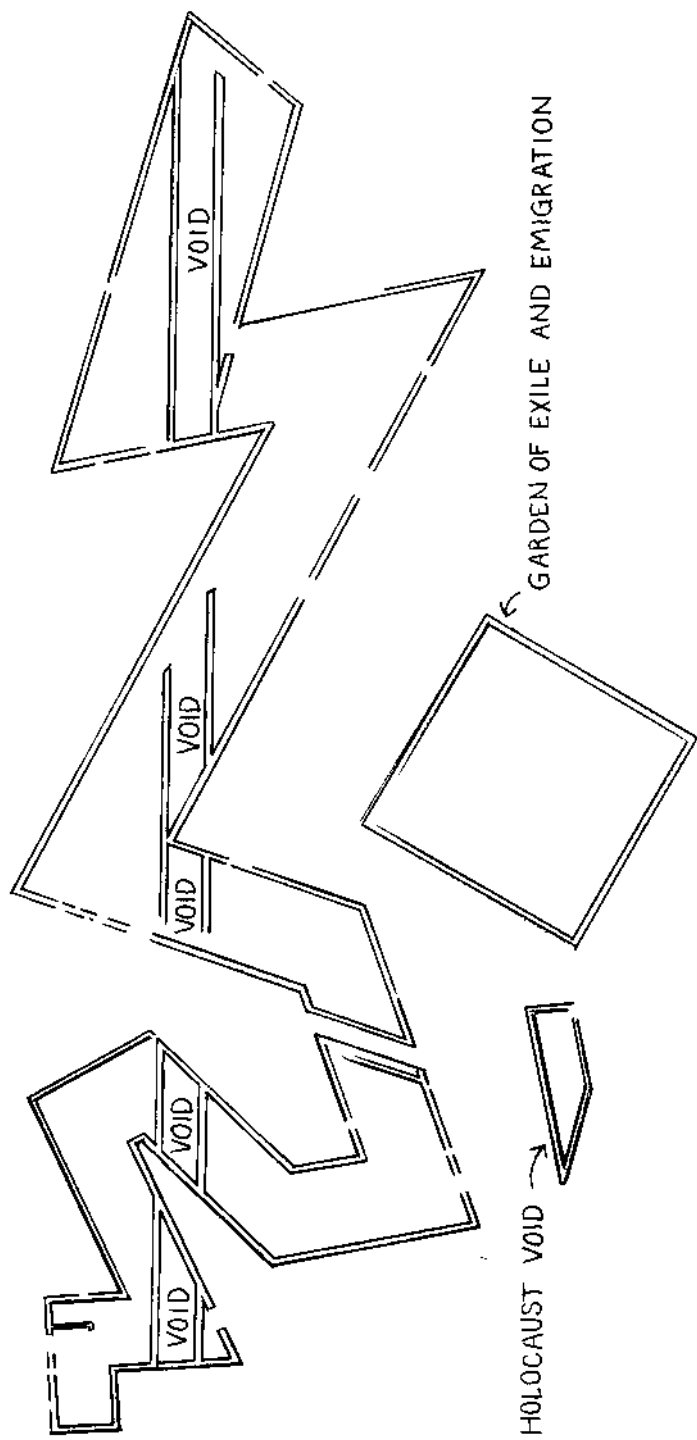
VOID

VOID

VOID

VOID

VOID

GARDEN OF EXILE AND EMIGRATION

HOLOCAUST VOID

Figure 6.3 Plan, Jewish Museum
(*Source*: drawing by Tracy Farbstein)

Figure 6.4 Hall of Memory and Garden of Exile, Jewish Museum (*Source:* Author's photograph)

a spectacular fashion, could create a compelling image of political stability. Yet there are important differences as well between this building and precedents such as the Jahrhunderthalle and the Glashaus.

Most obviously, the Reichstag, although at first glance the exemplar of the kind of architecture in opposition to which Berg designed the Jahrhunderthalle, never really represented a bourgeois public. Instead, it has served throughout its troubled life as an emblem of the instability of German democracy. The product of a competition won in 1882 by Paul Wallot, it was completed twelve years later. Wallot clothed his academic plan in the rich classicism that had by that date become conventional for civic buildings throughout Europe and much of the rest of the world; its ornamentation, much of which was removed after the building was badly damaged in World War II, was rich in arcane symbolism intended to support German national unity. None of these architectural conventions were enough, however, to ensure that the architecture would survive the meanings attached to it by the fate of the institution which it housed.[10]

Figure 6.5 Reichstag, Paul Wallot, Berlin, 1882–1894, dome and other renovations
                    Foster & Partners, 1994–99
(*Source:* Dennis Gilbert, VIEW)

From the beginning, the Reichstag attracted the ire of parliamentarianism's many German opponents. The imperial family sought to contain the challenge its prominence posed to the imperial palace. At its dedication, Kaiser Wilhelm II refused to allude to its purpose. Only in 1916, at the height of World War I, was the populist inscription 'Dem Deutschen Volk' (To the German people) added to the entrance portal (Behrens designed the lettering). During the Weimar Republic, the building was widely despised by those who craved the stability the Republic failed to offer. Torched in a notorious fire in February 1933 that Hitler used as an excuse to impose a dictatorship, it nonetheless served during World War II as a symbol of the Germany the Allies fought to defeat. The raising of the Soviet banner above the building brought the war in Europe to a close.

During the postwar period the Reichstag's importance lapsed. Located just within the British zone of the city, it was unavailable to the East Germans when they created the infrastructure of their own capital, while the West established its seat in provisional buildings in faraway Bonn.[11] Debate raged about whether or not to demolish it; shortly after the decision was made in 1954 to retain it, the damaged cupola was razed. During the 1960s the building was restored by Paul Baumgarten. Even after Berlin was chosen as the capital of the Federal Republic, it was not initially certain that the national parliament would move back into a building whose monumentality was at obvious odds with the glass box designed by Günter Behnisch into which the Bundestag had just moved in Bonn. The

dramatic wrapping of the building by Christo and Jeanne-Claude in the summer of 1995, however, encouraged a sense that the building had emerged from its temporary chrysalis happily purged from the taint of its former associations.

Once it was decided to restore the Reichstag's original function, other problems remained. The Baumgarten renovation now seemed insufficient to accommodate the apparatus of the national government. Should as much as possible of the building's original appearance be restored, including the cupola, or should the new Reichstag be distinguished in obvious ways from the old, thus distancing it from the memory of German democracy's earlier fragility? And to what degree should the democratically elected legislators make these decisions or entrust them to an architect? In the end after a two-stage competition whose German entrants (none of whom made it beyond the first phase) were supplemented by fifteen invited foreigners, the British firm of Foster & Partners was selected.

If Wallot's Reichstag epitomized one face of nineteenth-century architecture, one rejected by most twentieth-century German architects as out of keeping with the spirit of an industrialized state, Foster's architecture has been firmly rooted in an alternative nineteenth-century tradition, that of innovative engineering.[12] Although the technology which makes his building extremely energy-efficient is completely contemporary, the Foster firm's dependence upon technologically generated imagery has deep roots, including most notably Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace for the Great Exhibition held in London in 1851. Although Foster initially resisted capping the Reichstag with a new cupola, he remained resolute in the belief that space and materials could be manipulated to create a specifically democratic experience. From the first, he wanted the public to be able to literally look down upon the democratic process.[13]

In the end, after being required by his clients to add a cupola, Foster designed the present structure. As seen in section, it sits atop the chamber in which the Bundestag, the lower house of the German parliament, meets (Figure 6.6). At its core is a cylindrical plenum that introduces natural light into this space and assists in its ventilation. Public access to the floor of the cupola allows limited views down through reflective glass into the meeting hall below. More dramatically, one is able to pass from here onto the ramps that spiral around the shell of the cupola, offering views out over the city. The result, despite the importance of the activities which occur directly underneath, is a space from which most people look out rather than in upon each other, much less down at the Bundestag. It is thus not experienced as the same kind of focused gathering place as the Jahrhunderthalle, the Große Schauspielhaus, St. Engelbert's, or the Philharmonie. Nor are only Germans brought together within its transparent walls; such community as is created by looking back and forth across this space is an international one, populated by tourists from around the world. The dome does serve, however, as a powerful reprise of Taut's proposed city crown, especially at night, when – illuminated from within – it recaptures the spell that must once have been cast upon visitors to the Glashaus.

Opened to the public only in 1999, the Reichstag dome is unlikely to have the fixed meaning that will probably attach itself to the Jewish Museum. As was the
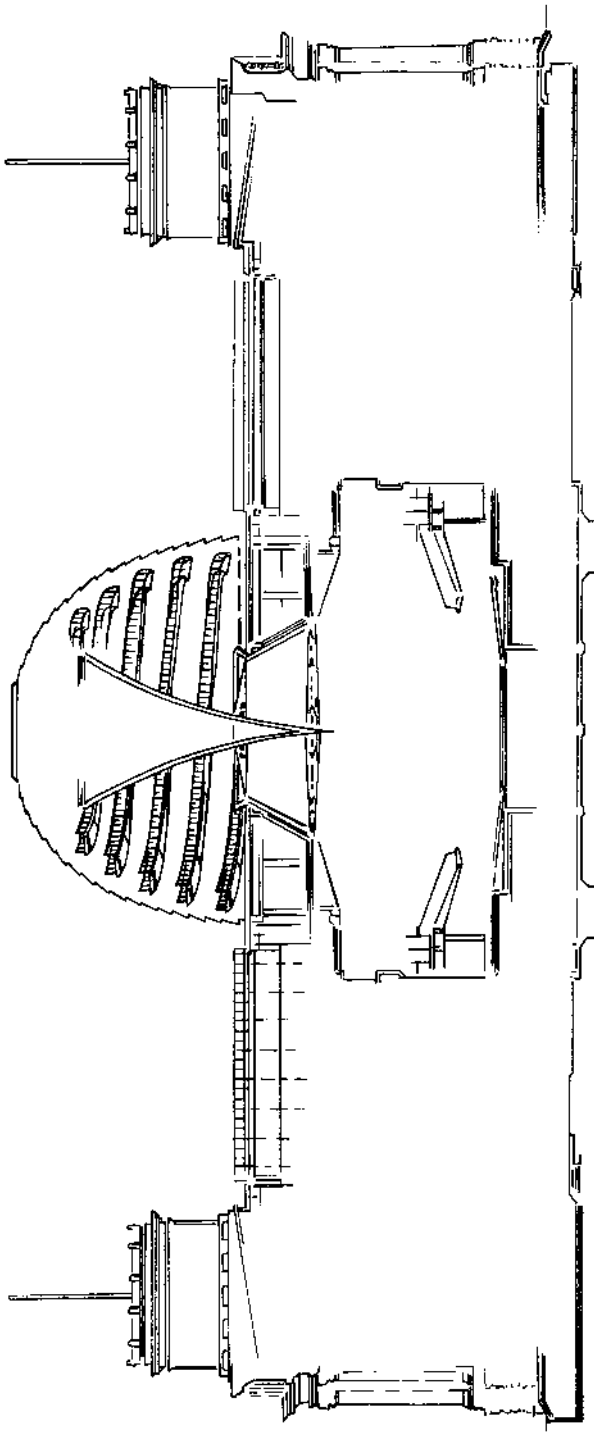
Figure 6.6 Section, Reichstag
(*Source*: drawing by Tracy Farbstein)

case with Wallot's contribution to the building, the dome will acquire whatever connotations adhere to twenty-first-century German democracy. Indeed, the need for powerful architectural symbolism is much more a reflection of Germany and the Reichstag's past than upon its projected future, as few now doubt the viability of representative government in what has finally become one of the world's most stable nation-states.

Stability or openness?: Pariser Platz

The principal reason for this stability is that, despite high levels of unemployment, most Germans are now members of the middle class, especially when their economic and political status is defined *vis à vis* that of even the elites of all but the world's richest industrialized countries. The combination of Communist government in the East and political democracy in the West, lubricated especially but not exclusively in the West by postwar economic development, has eliminated most of the social divisions which originally inspired Berg, Tessenow, Taut, Poelzig, Behrens, Bartning, Böhm, Fränkel, and Speer to seek a mass audience. The question remains, however, of whether or not the public for architecture should be redefined in terms of an emphatically bourgeois subject, or whether this conflation of a bourgeois with a presumed universal subject distorts German history. For Stimmann and many of the architects who followed the city's building regulations in designing the buildings that will soon completely line Pariser Platz, the answer is that the representation of an exclusively aristocratic and bourgeois past does indeed suffice. Others, most notably Behnisch, continue to disagree. This controversy came to a head during the 1990s.

Before World War II, Pariser Platz was one of Berlin's principal public spaces. It is anchored at the western end by the Brandenburg Gate. Finished in 1791 and designed by Carl Gotthard Langhens, the Gate became the pre-eminent symbol of both the city's division (the Wall was located just beyond it to the west) and its triumphant reunification. To the east extends the city's pre-eminent boulevard, Unter den Linden, which runs towards the site of the former Schloss, located at the city's original core. The combined effects of World War II and the erection of the Wall resulted in the destruction and demolition of the mostly nineteenth-century buildings that had once lined the Platz. These had included the French and American Embassies, the Akademie der Künste, the Hotel Adlon, and the family home of Max Liebermann, one of Germany's most distinguished Impressionist painters and one of Berlin's most prominent Jews.

Few decisions regarding the reconstruction of Berlin so clearly reflected the death of a supposed workers' state as that made by the Berlin Senate in 1993 to rebuilt Pariser Platz as the 'Salon of Berlin'.[14] Although not intended to be literally historicist, the rebuilding aimed to restore the scale and character of the prewar Platz, whose mix of functions and proximity to the Reichstag had made it a specifically bourgeois stronghold, a counterpart especially to the Schloss and the other royally sponsored buildings grouped around it at the opposite end of Unter den Linden. Patzchke, Klotz & Partner's rebuilt Adlon, completed in 1997, at

the southeastern entrance to the Platz, and Josef Paul Kleihues's Haus Liebermann and Haus Sommer, which bracket the Brandenburg Gate and were finished the following year, are the most literal of the rebuildings, although neither the proportions nor the details match those of the originals (Figure 6.7). Such conservativism was not universally appreciated, however, by either the many who challenged it in public or the architects left to execute it. Frank Gehry, the architect of the Deutsche Genossenschaftsbank, and Christian de Portzamparc, the winner of a competition to design the French Embassy, have worked within the letter but not always the spirit of the regulations. The foremost challenge has come, however, from Behnisch, who with Sabatke and Durth won in 1994 the competition for the new Akademie der Künste.

For Stimmann, Kliehues, and their allies the indeterminacy of meaning which characterized architecture for a mass audience ceased to be useful once amnesia about the past gave way to a more cherished relationship with its physical traces. Bringing these traces to life once again in buildings whose design largely adhered to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century neoclassicism enriched the present for them by connecting it to a history they not only valued and respected, but with which, as prominent cultural figures in their own right at home in institutions like those originally ranged around its parameter, they could deeply identify. Stimmann

Figure 6.7 Pariser Platz (left to right: Haus Libermann, Josef Paul Kleihues, 1996–98; Brandenburg Gate, Carl Gotthard Langhans, 1789; Haus Sommer, Kleihues, 1996–98; Palais am Pariser Platz, Bernhard Winking with Martin Froh, 1996–98; and Eugen-Gutmann-Haus der Dresdner Bank, gmp von Gerkan, Marg & Partner, 1996–97), Berlin
(*Source:* Author's photograph)

himself was initially appointed by a Social Democratic city government (he later became a civil servant removed from such patronage), and it was the left's critique of the mass culture that he saw as tainting this public realm rather than any populist notion of political participation that motivated his planning decisions. Thus, although the square's tenants include two banks, overt signs of commercial activity are almost entirely absent, as are internal public gathering places.[15]

The one exception will be the Akademie der Künste. Although its architects took care in their competition statement to detail the way in which their design related to its immediate surroundings, the way in which they chose to do this reflected Behnisch's lifelong commitment to forms which he believes expressive of the pluralism and openness of a democratic society (Figure 6.8).[16] The architects placed a glazed façade in front of the remains of the earlier Academy building. Between the two is an open hall. The building's major public space, the locus for receptions and even a café, it is to serve as a transitional area between the entirely public street and the more private galleries and offices located behind it.

Of all German architects, Behnisch had the most to lose from the transfer of the capital from Bonn to Berlin. His Bundestag, commissioned in the 1980s, when few could imagine how quickly the country could be united (indeed its very construction marked the West German acceptance of the status quo), was already obsolete by the time it was dedicated in 1992.[17] Furthermore, Behnisch's preference for asymmetrical planning and large amounts of glass could not have been more at odds with the guidelines for Critical Reconstruction. When the design to which he had contributed won the competition for the new Academy building, he could, however, count on considerable support in his struggles against city authorities, both from western architects of his own generation, among whom he was generally regarded as the country's most distinguished member of the profession, and from the young architects, who appreciated the way in which the recent work emanating from his office combined fashionably fractured geometries with beautifully detailed construction.

The competition statement was explicit about the relationship between form and the quasi-public character of the institution and the site. Behnisch, Sabatke, and Durth claimed that their glass façade would allow the public to see inside the building and thus encourage them to participate in the Academy's activities. This equation of literal with figural transparency, that is of glass with open, accessible institutions, is quite similar to that held by Foster and has a distinguished history in Germany dating back to Scheerbart, Taut, and the modern movement of the 1920s. The architects further claimed that the free plan of the major interior space, for which they cited the Philharmonie as a precedent, encouraged the principle of plurality and 'the harmony of heterogeneity'.[18] Both gestures are, of course, at odds with Stimmann's equally literal attempt to restore social order through the recreation of stable masonry façades with symmetrical punched openings. Here architectural issues become overtly political, whether or not any one form can fulfill the goal attributed to it. Are openness and variety or stability and conformity more important in the creation of a democratic society? Whatever the answer, it is clear that the first approach is more self-consciously inclusive.
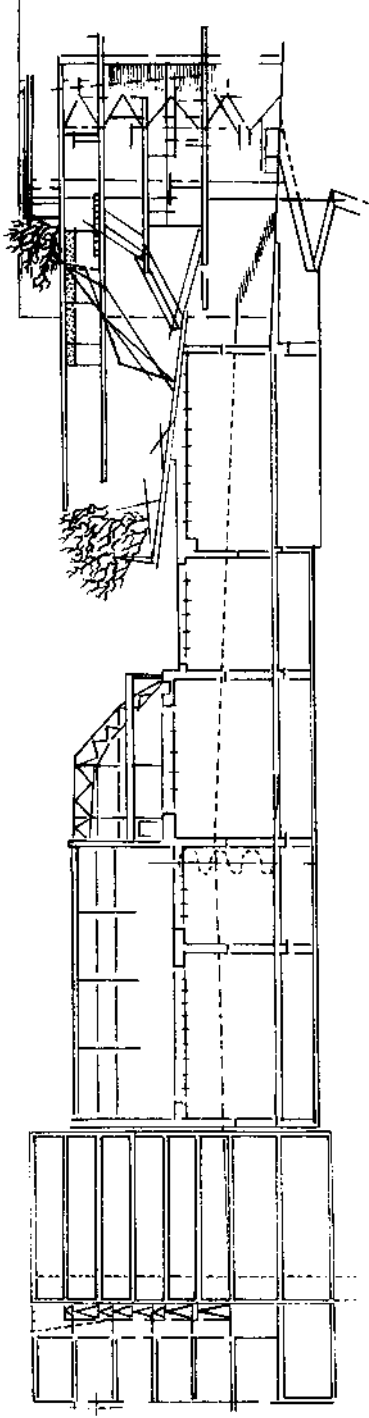
Figure 6.8 Akademie der Künste (Academy of Arts), Günter Behnisch and Manfred Sabatke with Werner Durth, Berlin, plan of competition entry, 1994
(*Source*: drawing by Tracy Farbstein)

Taming commercialism: Potsdamer Platz

Despite its position as a capitalist showpiece, West Berlin was for more than four decades largely spared truly market-oriented development, as parts of the city instead became a gallery of contemporary architecture erected by world-renowned architects whose creations were subsidized by the city and national governments. After the collapse of the Wall and of the German Democratic Republic, it became clear that this would not remain the case. Developers clamored to gain a toehold in what promised to be one of the Europe's most vibrant new real estate ventures. Although their initial hopes of a quick profit were not fulfilled, the attempt on the part of Stimmann and other city authorities to control this phenomenon revealed a continued discomfort with commercial spectacle. This it was hoped, in a revival of Werkbund theories from the early years of the century, 'good' design by internationally recognized architects in conjunction with strict regulations could help control. The result in Potsdamer Platz, the city's newest commercial district, as along Friedrichstraße to the northeast, were buildings whose façades remained largely free of the glitz that might describe their commercial functions and attract customers to them.

Potsdamer Platz had quite a different history from Pariser Platz, one that precluded the simple revival of an earlier architecture on the part of anyone interested in urban order. Located just outside the eighteenth-century walls, it had always been an amorphous space. The proximity of two major railroad stations and its role as an entertainment-oriented commercial district, faced with hotels, restaurants, and stores rather than institutions or residences, made it during the half century before the outbreak of World War II the city's busiest and most chaotic traffic junction, as well as a place which attracted people of all classes. During the Wilhelmine and Weimar years, whatever was most modern – from the city's first traffic light to its most prominent highrise office building, Erich Mendelsohn's Columbushaus, was sure to be found here. Potsdamer Platz inspired planners to dream of conquering the cacophony of metropolitan life, but until Allied bomsbs of the early 1940s joined by Communist bulldozers during the 1950s and early 1960s erased all but a few remnants of its built fabric, no one succeeded.[19]

In 1990 the city sold the site just east of the Staatsbibliothek and the rest of the Kulturforum to three multinational corporations: Daimler-Benz, Sony, and Asea Brown Boveri. A series of often contentious competitions sponsored by the new owners and by the Berlin Senate eventually determined the basic planning of the entire area – which by now encompasses far more than the original plaza facing Leipziger Platz – and the design of its individual pieces, which was undertaken by an international team of star architects assembled from across three continents.[20] The first phase opened to the public in 1998 and quickly became one of the city's premiere shopping and sight-seeing destinations.

The issues that dominated the planning of Potsdamer Platz and of Friedrichstrasse, once the city's prime commercial street and the location of some of the other early sites to be snapped up by developers, were quite different from

those faced by the architects of specific institutions such as the Jewish Museum, the Reichstag, or the Akademie der Künste, or by those who planned the new Pariser Platz, where the prewar buildings had never overshadowed the Brandenburg Gate and debate was largely limited to the appropriate character of new façades. What percentage of new construction should be devoted to residential uses? What height limits should be imposed upon owners anxious to maximize their profits and burnish their corporate images by erecting skyscrapers? What proportion of Potsdamer Platz should be devoted to streets, sidewalks, plazas, and buildings? These were questions to which history offered no clear answers as the area had always lacked Pariser Platz's coherence in this regard. Even more importantly, what should be the face of capitalism and how could planners and architects compete with owners and developers in establishing it?

The results in both cases were compromises. A token number of apartments were included in Potsdamer Platz and throughout Friedrichstadt, but the construction of office space clearly replaced the more usual Berlin pattern of apartments located on the upper floors which still dominated even the Kurfürstendamm, the major boulevard in the city's western end. Except at Potsdamer Platz itself, height limits maintained the scale of the Wilhelmine city, while those new towers that were built were significantly taller than any of the city's prewar structures (postwar highrises had been mostly subsidized apartment buildings rather than office towers). While the traditional street network was retained whenever possible in Friedrichstadt, the destruction of the Potsdamer Bahnhof, once one of the city's major train stations, allowed planners to narrow the area of Potsdamer Platz and alter the street pattern to its west.

The answer to the larger question was more complex. On Friedrichstraße, the French architect Jean Nouvel revived the spectacle of Weimar commercial architecture in his building for Galeries Lafayette, the department store chain who had commissioned Mendelsohn to design a highrise for them on Potsdamer Platz (when city architect Martin Wagner denied permission for such a use, which his office felt would only contribute to the site's congestion, Mendelsohn reworked his original scheme for another group of investors).[21] This department store's entirely glazed façades, whose night-time glow is enhanced by the same illuminated lettering found in such concentration on interwar Potsdamer Platz, remained exceptional, however. Only Helmut Jahn, the German-born architect of the Sony Center whose Chicago firm Murphy/Jahn specialized in skyscraper design, eschewed the masonry cladding favored by city authorities. Jahn was also the only architect to make a gesture towards Scharoun's neighboring buildings (Figure 6.9).

Nowhere is the attempt to control capitalist spectacle more obvious than in the design of the Potsdamer Platz's multiplex cinema, Kino Cinemaxx, designed by the Munich architects Ulrike Lauber and Wolfram Wöhr. This was, after all, the building type in which during the Weimar years commercial spectacle had been most closely intertwined with Expressionist-inspired attempts to fashion a populist sense of community. The location of the main entrance on Voxstraße, little more than a lane, rather than on Potsdamer Straße, offers the first clue that planners

Figure 6.9 Kammermusiksaal (Chamber Music Hall), Edgar Wisniewski, 1984–88, and
              Sony Center, Murphy/Jahn Architects, Potsdamer Platz, 1996–2000, Berlin
(*Source*: Author's photograph).

sought to shield its existence from automobile traffic. Instead it is oriented towards
the pedestrian center of the Daimler-Benz development. Furthermore, the
masonry façade, clad in orange brick, shares the static quality of the other Daimler-
Benz buildings rather than the dynamism of Weimar-era cinemas (Figure 6.10).
Finally, reflecting the atomization of contemporary consumer culture, its 3,500
seats (the same number once contained in the Große Schauspielhaus) are divided
between nineteen separate cinemas. Clearly, the quest for a profit no longer
coincides here with attempts to promote a sense of community. In contrast, the
core of the Sony complex will be a shopping forum dominated by a 25-meter high
IMAX screen.[22] This overtly commercial quasi-public space is not as much the
product of a particularly postmodern condition as it is the direct descendant of
Taut's city crown. It is also thus a close cousin of the Reichstag dome, despite that
structure's purely civic function.

   Equally importantly, both the Galeries Lafayette and the Sony-Center are
straightforwardly populist expressions of the functions they house, which are in
no way disguised from passers-by. In this sense the attempts their architects do
make to achieve empathetic effects are less manipulative than the more general
attempt made throughout the renovation of Friedrichstadt and the reconstruction
of Potsdamer Platz to disguise the increasing commercialization of urban space in
this part of the city. Most notable in this regard is the internalization of shopping
and eating, which in both the Daimler-Benz complex and Friedrichstadt are
organized around interior malls rather than the surrounding streets, which are
thus drained of pedestrian traffic and of a lively mixture of uses. This separation

Figure 6.10 Kino Cinemaxx, Ulrike Lauber and Wolfram Wöhr, 1995–98, Potsdamer Platz, Berlin (*Source:* Author's photograph)

of appearance from reality would seem far more extreme than that critiqued by Siegfried Kracauer in his essay on distraction in Weimar cinema architecture.[23]

Revisiting the past: Palast der Republik versus Schloss

The constant in all four examples discussed so far is that, although rooted in the past, the contrast is between two competing views of the present and the future, both of which are unquestionably intended to promote a stable democracy. Whether this is based upon a return to architectural conventions of bourgeois order or a more inclusive view of society, it does in fact include most Berliners, most Germans, and most visitors to the city. (The prominent exception is the city's large, primarily Turkish, population of resident foreigners, who are certainly not represented in the nostalgia for Prussia promoted by Stimmann and Kliehues; no mosque occupies the prominent position enjoyed by the houses of worship of earlier minority communities: Silesian Catholics, French Huguenots, or Berlin's

own Jews). Moreover, in each case, despite considerable conflicts over the form they should take, buildings have been completed or are presently under construction.

The greatest architectural battle to take place in Berlin in the 1990s remains unresolved, however. The single debate to extend beyond an audience of engaged architects, planners, critics, and intellectuals and instead involve the direct participation of large numbers of the population at large, its subject is the most charged site in the city. Ironically, in view of the huge public interest, here the decision about which version of the past to privilege completely excludes democratic possibilities. Instead the question is whether to rebuild the Hohen-zollern Schloss or to keep the Palast der Republik with which the Communists replaced it.[24]

In historical, aesthetic, and urbanistic terms there is no question which was the more significant building. Begun in the fifteenth century, the Schloss was the stronghold of a family who ruled in succession as margraves of Brandenburg, electors of Prussia, kings of Prussia, and finally the emperors of a unified Germany. Architecturally its most notable features were the Baroque façade contributed by Andreas Schlüter and the dome added between 1845 and 1853 by August Stüler. Standing at the heart of the city, the Schloss's presence conditioned the development of the area around it, creating an urban configuration that lost much of its coherence when the building, badly damaged in World War II, was torn down in 1950–51. This was done at the behest of Walter Ulbricht, who as the head of a Communist state, had no sympathy for maintaining the architectural remnants of what was for him a dangerous precursor of fascism. East Germans were quick, however, to blame American bombers for forcing their hand.

It took a generation for the East German state to replace the Schloss with the much smaller Palast der Republik, built between 1973 and 1976 by Heinz Graffunder and Karl-Ernst Swora.[25] Entirely independent of its actual architectural form, the building had presented the regime's most benign public face. It was a place where rock concerts were held and parliament met, a place many of whose halls, including thirteen bars and restaurants, were open to the general public most of the time. In 1990, just after housing the vote by which the German Democratic Republic agreed to merge with the Federal Republic to the west, the building was condemned as an asbestos hazard. Three years later city authorities decided to demolish it.

The following year the national government held an international competition for the redesign of the Spreeinsel area where the abandoned Palast still stood. The site was to hold the foreign ministry, whose design details were to be fixed in a second competition. The winner was a young Easterner, Bernd Niebuhr, who proposed restoring the basic building block of the Schloss to serve as the ministry, while the firm who came second, Krüger, Schuberth, Vandreike, also of Berlin, proposed a literal construction.[26] This alternative had gained considerably popular support among Westerners in particular when the previous summer a full-scale mock-up, holding an exhibition full of nostalgia for such royal panoply as the wedding of the daughter of the last Kaiser, was erected on the site (Figure 6.11).[27]

Figure 6.11 Palast der Republik (Palace of the Republic), Heinz Graffunder and
            Karl-Ernst Swora, 1973–76, Berlin, and temporary reconstruction of
            Schloss (Palace), 1993
(*Source:* Author's photograph)

The number of visitors to the mock-up and accompanying exhibit was rivaled
only by the number of Easterners willing to express their opposition to demolishing
the Palast. Many were enraged by what they perceived as an attempt to erase their
past from the city's urban fabric only to replace it with a simulacrum of a building
which stood as much for Hohenzollern obstinance towards any meaningful sharing
of political authority as for outstanding architecture and influential urbanism. Only
slightly less popular were the security restrictions that would hamper local traffic
should the foreign ministry be located here. In 1999 the ministry moved into the
former Nazi-built Reichsbank. Ten years after the fall of the Wall, no final decision
has yet been made about the fate of the Palast and with it of the single most
symbolic site in the city.

The many debates over the form that the reconstruction of central Berlin should
take, and the degree to which they have been reported in the popular press and
on television, demonstrate the investment the German public in general now
believes it has in architectural form. In this sense, Taut, in particular, has proved
prophetic even if many involved in the reconstruction are critical of the specific
architectural models he offered, which they exclude from their definition of local
architectural traditions. How this public perceives itself, as bourgeois subjects who
are the direct heirs to those who during the nineteenth-century built and used
Pariser Platz or as part of the more open and pluralistic society proposed by

Behnisch, varies greatly, but to an unusual degree they share the assumption that architecture matters and that decisions about its form are decisions about how the state of which they are citizens should represent itself to them and to the world at large. These decisions consequently rest in Germany as much with the representatives of this citizenry, whether popularly elected legislators or appointed civil servants, as with the developers and architects who are assumed to represent private economic and aesthetic interests rather than the public good.

The specific characteristics of architecture for a mass audience – unornamented surfaces, innovative engineering, soaring spaces, and dramatic spectacle – are visible in the new Berlin only in subdued form. When they are present, they are usually taken to be harbingers of the new and the international, their ties to a specifically German architectural history and to populism often forgotten or ignored by the same cultural elite that continues to pride itself on its ability to appreciate Neoclassical nuance. The debate over the Schloss versus the Palast der Republik is one, however, in which everyone understands what is at stake. This understanding of architectural symbolism is shared by the masses who flocked to the temporary reconstruction of the first or signed petitions and demonstrated in favor of the second. The lack of popular consensus has overruled any efforts by experts to reach an understanding among insiders.

That architecture itself, the built form of the city, no longer constitutes the public sphere, is obvious. The public has no access, for example, to the atriums of the two banks that face each other across Pariser Platz and which they can glimpse only from the dome of the Reichstag. The kind of mass demonstrations which brought down the East German government are almost redundant now that most forms of speech are protected and all adults can vote. Most public gathering places, like the shopping mall designed by Renzo Piano located inside the Daimler-Benz complex, are frankly commercial rather than civic spaces. The discussion of architecture, however, continues to be a prominent component of the public sphere in Germany even though it is located more in newspapers, magazines, journals, televisions shows, and even the Internet (there is a website at which one can check up on the construction of Potsdamer Platz). In Berlin during the 1990s architecture achieved a mass audience, even as many of the forms developed to reach that audience remained controversial.

7 Conclusion

For nearly a century, many German architects have striven to create an architecture whose accessibility in tandem with specific approaches to surface, structure, space, and spectacle would, they hoped, help bind a society fractured along class lines into a unified community. Their efforts changed the shape of twentieth-century architecture, encouraging an abstraction that influenced avant-garde modernism and permeated into a far wider range of buildings. Undeniably modern in motivation and form, in that they responded to specifically twentieth-century social conditions in terms of materials and engineering that were equally unique to their own time, the buildings that resulted could no more be identified with a particular aesthetic style than with a single political perspective. The history of these attempts challenges definitions of modern architecture that associate expressions of the spirit of the time with specific stylistic or technological solutions or that identify modernist art or architecture exclusively with socialist or democratic political goals.

It also challenges some of the most powerful conclusions about the relationship between fine art and mass culture reached by other German intellectuals in response to the same circumstances. The Frankfurt School's critical theorists, for instance, criticized mass culture as inherently manipulative, accusing it of distracting the populace from what should be their own interests, which they understood to reside in the political and intellectual rather than the economic sphere. This view was expounded in classic form by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer in *The Dialectic of Enlightenment*.[1] For Adorno and Horkheimer, capitalism was the culprit, a capitalism they, like most Marxists of their generation, saw as dangerously supportive of fascism. The antidote they proposed was a high culture divorced from the popularization imposed by market forces.

And yet when we turn to architecture we find that many of the fundamental characteristics of what has usually been viewed since the middle of the century as an abstract artistically-oriented architecture, remote from the marketplace if not always from the welfare of the masses, were developed in part in order to reach out to the populace. The rigorous abstraction and clear expression of engineering forces that characterized the Jahrhunderthalle were universally admired, for instance, by the next generation of European architects, who detached themselves from the emotional appeal – if not initially from the liberal political content – of the pageant that had done so much to ensure that building's fame. The ties these

architects had from the beginning to Cubist painting in combination with those several of them would acquire to the proselytizing of the New York Museum of Modern Art's Department of Architecture and Design insured that their efforts would nonetheless eventually be identified with Adorno and Horkheimer's efforts to distance art from mass culture.

Ironies abound, of course. While postwar intellectuals in the west, whether anti-Stalinist Marxists like Adorno and Horkheimer or the liberals, whose activities were often supported overtly by the American State Department and more quietly by the CIA, defended 'difficult' art, several of the most notable architects associated with their position, including Ludwig Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier, had far more questionable socialist or democratic loyalties than those, such as Bruno Taut, whose revolutionary credentials were impeccable.[2] When interest in Taut was finally reawakened in the 1960s, it was his politics as well as the distance between his utopian architecture and what had by then become the architecture of the establishment that accounted for his new popularity. Yet the road not taken was far more blatantly commercial, and certainly less Marxist, than most were willing to admit.

Taut's spectacle, for instance, was seldom detached from the market, while his vision of community was as anchored in premodern Hindu temples or the neoclassicism of the United States Capitol building as in an avant-garde aesthetic of glass and light. What is most important here, however, is not that Taut placed commercial uses at the core of both the Glashaus and his proposed city crown, but that the very development of the specifically abstract capitalist spectacle that flourished in Germany during the Weimar Republic, above all in the illumination that decorated cinemas and department stores, was born, as the case of the Große Schauspielhaus also demonstrates, as much out of the desire to create social unity as to turn a profit. Moreover, it was the earliest of these attempts – those made by Berg, Tessenow, Taut, and Poelzig, for instance – whose liberal, if not always revolutionary character – was clearest to contemporaries. The Jahrhunderthalle, the Festhalle, the Glashaus, and the Große Schauspielhaus were erected to facilitate real social change rather than – as was certainly the case with the Hoechst Administration Building, St. Engelbert, or the Lichtdöme, to forestall revolution.

In the end, German society would be made reasonably whole only after disaster had struck on the horrific scale of World War II and the Holocaust. The postwar social stabilization, followed by the country's eventual reunification in 1990, was without question accomplished in the political and economic – rather than the cultural – arena. Architecture did not change society, only itself. These purely aesthetic changes were nonetheless consequential, however, both for their international influence and for the relationship they sought to create between what was seen by all involved as art and the audience for that art.

Since World War II the kind of spectacle which Wilhelmine and Weimar-era architects fused to abstract form has been overwhelmingly associated, not with its almost forgotten roots in a utopian view of art's ability to effect political and social change, but with Nazism as well as with the subordination of the realities of

capitalist production by the fantasies of consumption they have spawned.[3] While initially the abstract forms and industrial detailing of the International Style were understood, following Adorno and Horkheimer, for instance, as the best defense against such infiltration of architecture by a dangerous irrationalism, more recently many German architects have instead embraced Aldo Rossi's neorationalism, in which the stability of history is invoked instead.

In the 1990s, however, it has been those fighting with great determination for the creation of an effective public sphere rather than the architects of new commercial buildings who have championed spectacle. It is in the developer-built sections of Pariser Platz, Potsdamer Platz, and Friedrichstadt that one finds buildings by Rossi and his disciples, while the Jewish Museum, the Reichstag, and the Akademie der Künste offer an alternative vision that, while also rooted in the past, is detached from the specifically bourgeois connotations of the forms revived by their commercial neighbors. Institutions rather than goods are advertised in the transparent surfaces, glowing from within at night, of Foster's dome and of the not yet constructed Akademie, while the Jewish Museum offers one of the most viscerally physical experiences of architecture designed since Scharoun's death.

The debate over the architecture of today's Berlin demonstrates that even though few today believe architecture to be capable of eliciting with any regularity the powerful sense of empathy experienced by many visitors to the Jewish Museum (or the individual and social healing prompted by Maya Lin's Vietnam War Memorial in Washington, DC), the issue of the relationship between architecture and its audience remains alive. Situations where, as in contemporary Germany, a large proportion of the public is relatively informed about architecture, which is widely covered there by the popular press, remain rare, but the examples presented in this book offer possible precedents for bridging the divide between the art of architecture and buildings that are genuinely useful. Between the elitism encouraged, each in their own way, by Adorno and Horkheimer, on the one hand, and Stimmann and Rossi, on the other, and the uncritical populism of contemporary commercialized environments, whether Disneyland, shopping malls, or the many civic spaces (one thinks of art museums in particular) that seek to serve the public or attract an audience by positioning themselves between the two there should be room for a convincing public sphere.[4]

The attempts German architects have repeatedly made over the course of the twentieth century to reach out beyond their own professional caste and bourgeois class to a mass public range from the appalling to the laudable. Certainly not all are worthy of imitation nor, taken as a group, do these efforts offer a single formula for success, much less one that will be valid in the future. Nonetheless the idea that architects can be inspired to create their best work, as Berg, Tessenow, Taut, Poelzig, Bartning, Böhm, Fränkel, Scharoun, and Libeskind all undoubtedly were, by the need to make their architecture accessible and meaningful to a mass public offers a promising precedent for an architecture that is both great art and genuinely representative of society as a whole.

Notes

Introduction

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3 L. Mies van der Rohe, 'Working Theses', in Conrads, *Programs and Manifestoes*, p. 75.

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11 M. Bernauer, *Die Ästhetik der Masse*, Basel, Wiese Verlag, 1990.

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13 S. Kracauer, *The Mass Ornament*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1995, pp. 75–86.

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Press, 1997; P. Groth, *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in the United States*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 1994; R. Longstreth, *City Center to Regional Mall: Architecture, the Automobile, and Retailing in Los Angeles*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1997; and D. Upton, *Architecture in the United States*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998.

16 This approach is epitomized by the writings of Joseph Rykwert and his student Harry Mallgrave, who has edited the important Texts and Documents series, published by the Getty. See J. Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise: The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1981; and *The First Moderns*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1980.

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20 D. Bartetzko, *Illusionen in Stein: Stimmungsarchitektur im deutschen Faschismus. Ihre Vorgeschichte in Theater- und Film-Bauten*, Reinbek bei Hamburg, Rohwohlt, 1985, and D. Bartetzko, *Zwischen Zucht und Ekstase, Zur Theatrilik von NS-Architektur*, Berlin, Gebr. Mann, 1985.

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1 Space

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11 F. Tönnies, *Community and Society*, New Brunswick, Transaction Books, 1988.

12 Ibid., pp. 44–45.

13 Ibid., pp. 64–5.

14 Ibid., p. 84.

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20 A. Schmarsow, 'The Essence of Architectural Creation', in Mallgrave and Ikonoumou, *Empathy, Form, and Space*, p. 285.

21 Ibid., p. 296. Another early advocate of architectural abstraction and its psychological impact was Adolf Göller, whose *Zur Aesthetik der Architektur* and *Die Entstehung der architektonischen Stilformen* were published respectively in 1887 and 1888. See H. Mallgrave, 'Introduction', to O. Wagner, *Modern Architecture: A Guidebook for his Students to this Field of Art*, Santa Monica, Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1988, pp. 23–4.

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27 Vischer, 'On the Optical Sense of Form', p. 112.

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31 M. Bushart, *Der Geist der Gotik und die expressionistische Kunst: Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttheorie*, Munich, Silke Schreiber Verlag, 1990, pp. 18–52.

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33 Worringer, *Form in Gothic*, p. 107.

2 Simplicity

1 Schluß der Breslauer Kaisertage. Die Abneigung des Kaisers gegen die Ausstellungshalle. – Das Festmahl für die Provinz Schlesien. – Abschiedsserenade', *Berliner Tageblatt*, 31 August 1913.

2 R. Breuer, 'Architektur und Garten Bau auf der Breslauer Jahrhundert-Ausstellung', *Kunstgewerbeblatt*, 1913, vol. 24, p. 183, and F. Engel, 'Vorschau: Die Breslauer Jahrhundertausstellung', *Berliner Tageblatt*, 19 May 1913.

3 R. Breuer, 'Die Breslauer Ausstellung', *Die Hilfe*, 29 March 1913, p. 348. The statement 'Concrete and democracy belong together' also appears in Breuer, 'Architektur und Garten Bau', p. 183. See also E. Haenel, 'Die Jahrhundertausstellung in Breslau', *Kunstwart und Kulturwart*, 1913, vol. 26, p. 309.

4 Since the 1920s the building has been included in almost every survey of modern architecture. Five early German examples are A. Behne, *The Modern Functional Building*, Santa Monica, Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1996, pl. 10; L. Hilbersheimer, *Großstadt Architektur*, Stuttgart, Julius Hoffmann Verlag, 1927, pp. 71–2; W. Müller-Wulkow, *Deutsche Baukunst der Gegenwart: Bauten der Gemeinschaft*, Königstein im Taunus, Karl Robert Langewiesche Verlag, 1929, pp. 42–3; G. A. Platz, *Die Baukunst der neuesten Zeit*, Berlin, Propylaen, 1927, pp. 204, 209, 526; and B. Taut, *Modern Architecture*, London, Studio, 1929, pp. 186, 188, 191. More recent ones include W. J. R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900*, Oxford, Phaidon, 1987, p. 44; K. Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1985, p. 38; and H. Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1977, pp. 463–4. Only J. Ilkosz, who provides the most detailed account of its design and also addresses Berg's sources, and M. Schirren, who has described its influence upon Expressionism, have gone beyond this modernist agenda. See J. Ilkosz, 'Expressionist inspiration', *Architectural Review*, 1994, 194.1, pp. 76–81; J. Ilkosz, *The Centenary Hall (today's Hala Ludowa) and Exhibition Grounds in Szczytniki*, Wroclaw, Studio, 1997; and M. Schirren, 'Festspielhaus und Messegelände – Die Jahrhundert-ausstellung 1913 und ihr Nachwirken im Werk von Hans Poelzig',

in M. Schirren (ed.), *Hans Poelzig: Die Pläne und Zeichnungen aus dem ehemaligen Verkehrs- und Baumuseum in Berlin*, Berlin, Ernst & Sohn, 1989, pp. 32–41.

5   M. Berg, 'Die Jahrhunderthalle und das neue Ausstellungsgelände der Stadt Breslau', *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 1913, vol. 47, p. 466, for the figure of 67 meters, given in many later sources as 65.

6   R. Konwiarz, 'Die Jahrhunderthalle in Breslau, Das bedeutendste Bauwerk neue Baukunst in Ostdeutschland', *Schlesien: Eine Vierteljahresschrift für Kunst, Wissenschaft und Volkstum*, vol. 11, 1957, p. 105.

7   W. C. Behrendt, 'Neuere Bauen in Schliesien', *Architektonische Rundschau*, 1913, vol. 29, p. 49, describes this sculpture as a lion relief by Alfred Vocke.

8   For Schinkel's design see B. Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architecture for Prussia*, New York, Rizzoli, 1994, pp. 40–3.

9   P. Hutter, *Die feinste Barbarei: Das Völkerschlachtdenkmal bei Leipzig*, Mainz am Rhein, Philipp von Saubern, 1990, and J. Traeger, *Der Weg nach Walhalla: Denkmallandschaft und Bildungsreise im 19. Jahrhundert*, Regensburg, B. Bosse, 1987. G. L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars Through the Third Reich*, New York, Fertig Press, 1975, pp. 47–72, describes the political process which produced them as anti-modern, a position that has been critiqued by G. Eley, *Reshaping the German Right: Radical Nationalism and Political Change after Bismarck*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 1980.

10 O. Hederer, *Friedrich von Gärtner 1792–1847: Leben, Werk, Schüler*, Munich, Prestel Verlag, 1976, pp. 171–6; W. Nerdinger (ed.), *Romantik und Restauration: Architektur in Bayern zur Zeit Ludwigs I, 1825–1848*, Munich, Hugendubel, 1987; and Traeger, *Der Weg nach Walhalla*.

11 H. Reidel, 'Die Befreiungshalle bei Kelheim', in Nerdinger, *Romantik und Restauration*, pp. 78–84.

12 Hutter, *Die feinste Barbarei*, pp. 80–111.

13 This synthesis was inspired in part by his familiarity with the work of Henry Hobson Richardson. See D. Tselos, 'Richardson's Influence on American Architecture', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 1970, vol. 39, pp. 156–62, and J. Posener, *Berlin auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur: die Zeitalter Wilhelms II*, Munich, Prestel Verlag, 1979, pp. 81–104.

14 R. Wolle, 'Das Völkerschlachtdenkmal bei Leipzig', *Deutsche Bauzeitung, Mitteilung über Zement, Beton- und Eisenbeton*, 1907, vol. 61, pp. 33, 37–9, on the building's construction.

15 Hutter, *Die feinste Barbarei*.

16 P. Harms, 'Die von 1813', *Berliner Tageblatt*, 2 May 1913, offers the liberal view; the conservative one, as detailed below, formed the backbone of the opposition to Hauptmann's pageant.

17 J. Sheehan, *German History, 1770–1866*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989, p. 315.

18 G. A. Craig, *Germany, 1866–1945*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1978, pp. 43–9.

19 Max Berg Nachlass, Institut für Stadtplanung und Regionalentwicklung, Berlin-Erkner, Drawer 8, 60, is dated 2 February 1910; and Drawer 6, 68b, simply '1910'.

20 W. L. Guttsmann, *The German Social Democratic Party, 1875–1933: From Ghetto to Government*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1981, p. 93.

21 F. Naumann, 'Der Liberalismus von 1813', *Die Hilfe*, 1 May 1913, p. 274. See also Harms, 'Die von 1813'.

22 T. Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866–1918, vol. 2: Machtstaat vor den Demokratie*, Munich, C.H. Beck, 1990, pp. 743, 753–4. For the composition of the city government see 'Das Breslauer "Festspiel" von Gerhardt Hauptmann', *Germania*, 22 June 1913.

23 'Eröffnung der Jahrhundert-Ausstellung in Breslau', *Germania*, 21 May 1913; 'Der Kaiser in Breslau', *Berliner Tageblatt*, 26 August 1913; and 'Der Kaiserbesuch in Breslau', *Germania*, 29 August 1913.

24 J. Folnesics, 'Die Breslauer Ausstellung zur Jahrhundertfeier der Freiheitskriege', *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk*, 1913, vol. 16, pp. 505–24, and 'Von der Jahrhundert-Ausstellung in Breslau', *Der Baumeister*, 1913, vol. 11, p. 134.

25 Breuer, 'Die Breslauer Ausstellung', p. 348.

26 Schirren, *Poelzig*, p. 35.

27 R. Banham, *A Concrete Atlantis: U. S. Industrial Building and European Modern Architecture*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1986.

28 The two editions of F. von Emperger (ed.), *Handbuch für Eisenbetonbau*, Berlin, Verlag von Wilhelm Ernst & Sohn, 1907–09 and 1910–23.

29 E. von Mecenseffy, *Die Künstlerische Gestaltung der Eisenbetonbau*, Berlin, Verlag von Wilhelm Ernst & Sohn, 1911, published as a supplement to Emperger, *Handbuch*. See also K. Scheffler, *Die Architektur der Großstadt*, Berlin, Bruno Cassirer 1913, pp. 72–3.

30 H. Küster, 'Die städtischen Markthallen in Breslau', *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, 1909, vol. 29, pp. 74–8. See also a second Küster account of the buildings excerpted in Mecenseffy, *Künsterliche Gestaltung*, pp. 174–83. These two markethalls have recently been co-attributed to Richard Plüddemann, whose name is, however, not mentioned in contemporary journal articles. See A. Gryglewska, *Richard Plüddemann: Architekt Wroclawia, 1846–1910*, Wroclaw, Archiwum Budowlane, 1998, pp. 57–62, 157–62.

31 'Städtische Markhallen in Breslau', *Schweizerische Bauzeitung*, 1909, vol. 54, p. 310. See also Spangenburg, 'Zwei monumentale Hallenbauten in Eisenbeton', *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 1910, vol. 44, pp. 161–2.

32 T. Fischer, 'Die Garnisonkirche in Ulm', *Christliche Kunstblatt*, 1906, vol. 48, pp. 129–30; Mecenseffy, *Künstlerische Gestaltung*, pp. 50, 62, 96; W. Nerdinger, *Theodor Fischer, Architekt und Städtebauer 1862–1938*, Berlin, Ernst & Sohn, 1988, pp. 103–12, 233–8; W. Pehnt, *Die Architektur des Expressionismus*, Stuttgart, Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1998, p. 269; and Spangenburg, 'Hallenbauten', p. 162.

33 Breuer, 'Die Breslauer Ausstellung,' p. 348.

34 Berg, 'Die Jahrhunderthalle', p. 462.

35 W. Nerdinger (ed.), *Friedrich von Thiersch: Ein Münchener Architekt des Späthistorismus 1852–1921*, Munich, Münchner Stadtmuseum, 1977, pp. 139–43.

36 Mecenseffy, *Künstlerische Gestaltung*, repeatedly returns to this point.

37 J. Posener, *Hans Poelzig: Reflections on his Life and Work*, New York, Architectural History Foundation, 1992, pp. 100–1.

38 Behrendt, 'Neuere Bauen in Schliesien', pp. 50–2; Posener, *Poelzig*, pp. 63–5; Schirren, *Poelzig*, pp. 62–5.

39 Schirren, *Poelzig*, pp. 32–41.

40 Ilkosz, 'Expressionist inspiration', pp. 78–9.

41 Trauer, 'Die Jahrhunderthalle in Breslau', *Deutsche Bauzeitung, Mitteilungen über Zement, Beton-und Eisenbeton*, 1913, vol. 10, pp. 105–9, 115–20, offers the most complete technical description of the building and its engineering.

42 Breuer, 'Die Breslauer Ausstellung,' p. 348.

43 Ilkosz, 'Expressionist inspiration', p. 81.

44 Engel, 'Vorschau', and F. Engel, 'Vom alten und vom neuen Breslau', *Berliner Tageblatt*, 30 May 1913. An advertisement in the 24 May 1913 edition of the *Berliner Tageblatt* announced that the pageant featured 2,000 participants.

45 H. Hass, 'Weltspiel und Todesysterium: Strukturen eines dichterischen Widerspruch gegen die Politische Welt', in G. Hauptmann, *Festspiel in deutschen Reimen; Die Finsternisse*, Berlin, Propylaen, 1963, pp. 92–5.

46 L. M. Fiedler, *Max Reinhardt in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumentation*, Reinbek

bei Hamburg, Rowohlt, 1985; P. Jelavich, *Munich and Theatrical Modernism: Politics, Playwriting, and Performance 1890–1914*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1985, pp. 209–17; and J. L. Styan, *Max Reinhardt*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982.

47 D. Bartetzko, *Illusionen in Stein: Stimmungsarchitektur im deutschen Faschismus. Ihre Vorgeschichte in Theater- und Film-Bauten*, Reinbek bei Hamburg, Rohwohlt, 1985, pp. 189–206; D. Bartetzko, *Zwischen Zucht und Ekstase, Zur Theatrilik von NS-Architektur*, Berlin, Gebr. Mann, 1985, pp. 138–9; and M. P. Steinberg, *The Meaning of the Salzburg Festival: Austria as Theater and Ideology, 1890–1938*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 1990, pp. 46–54, 166–9.

48 Jelavich, *Munich and Theatrical Modernism*, pp. 187–208; Mosse, *Nationalization*, pp. 73–126; and J. Willett, *The Theater of the Weimar Republic*, New York, Holmes & Meier, 1988, pp. 7–50. Mosse posits that the mass movements he studies are as modern as but utterly at odds with parlimentary democracy, an argument undercut by many of his liberal, and even socialist examples.

49 M. Berg, 'Gerhart Hauptmanns Festspiel: ein Weg zum Volksschauspiel', in Ludwig Marcuse (ed.), *Gerhart Hauptmann und sein Werk*, Berlin, Schneider, 1922, p. 209.

50 See A. Kahane, 'Glossen zum Theater der Fünftausend', in F. Hollaender and A. Kahane (eds), *Blätter des Deutschen Theater*, Berlin, 1911–14, translated in H. Carter, *The Theater of Max Reinhardt*, London, Palmer, 1914, pp. 122–3. For the importance of these theatrical experiments to the development of Expressionist architecture see W. Pehnt, *Die Architektur des Expressionismus*, pp. 247–59.

51 'Das Breslauer "Festspiel" von Gerhart Hauptmann', *Germania*, 22 June 1913.

52 E. Hilscher, *Gerhart Hauptmann: Leben und Werk*, Frankfurt a. M., Athenaum, 1988, and W. Leppmann, *Gerhart Hauptmann: Leben, Werk und Zeit*, Bern, Scherz, 1986.

53 R. Chickering, *Imperial Germany and a World without War: The Peace Movement and German Society, 1892–1914*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1975, p. 133.

54 G. Hauptmann, 'Commemoration Masque', in L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The Dramatic Works of Gerhart Hauptmann*, New York, B. W. Hübsch, 1917, vol. 7, pp. 17–98.

55 Ibid., p. 98.

56 'Das Breslauer "Festspiel" von Gerhart Hauptmann', *Germania*, 22 June 1913. The editors of *Vorwärts*, however, saw the play as liberal, even as they supported its performance. See 'Die Jahrhundertschach', *Vorwärts*, 21 June 1913.

57 *Memoirs of the Crown Prince of Germany*, New York, C. Scribner's, 1922, p. 131.

58 Hilscher, *Hauptmann*, pp. 295–9, and Leppmann, *Hauptmann*, pp. 297–9.

59 See the defenses of Hauptmann and his pageant which appeared daily in the *Berliner Tageblatt* between 18 and 24 June 1913, often on the front page.

3 Spirituality

1 I. B. Whyte, *Bruno Taut and the Architecture of Activism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982, pp. 43–92. See also M. Bernauer, *Die Ästhetik der Masse*, Basel, Wiese Verlag, 1990, pp. 170–201.

2 B. Taut, 'A Program for Architecture', in T. O. Benson (ed.), *Expressionist Utopias: Paradise – Metropolis – Architectural Fantasy*, Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1993, p. 279.

3 J. Ilkosz, 'Expressionist Inspiration', *Architectural Review*, 1994, vol. 194.1, p. 78, quotes a letter Berg wrote in 1941, however, in which he did describe the building in Gothic terms. See also V. Slapeta, 'Neues Bauen in Breslau', *Rassegna*, 1989, vol. 70, pp. 25, 28, who reprints in translation 'On the Nature of Architecture', *Eröffnung*, Breslau, 1922, and 'Excerpts from a Letter to Paul Heim', *MA*, 1925, no. 3–4. Writing in the general press F. Engel, 'Zwischen Kuppeln und Säulen: Die Breslauer Jahrhundertausstellung,' *Berliner Tageblatt*, 23 May 1913, noted the mixture of sacred and profane aspects that characterized the exhibition as a whole.

4 R. Breuer, 'Die Breslauer Ausstellung', *Die Hilfe*, 29 March 1913, p. 348.
5 Ibid., 46. I have substituted 'masonry' for the translator's 'brick'.
6 P. Scheerbart, *Glass Architecture*, and B. Taut, *Alpine Architecture*, New York, Praeger, 1972, p. 126.
7 In fact, centralized structures were a staple of German exhibit architecture in the early years of the century. See, for instance, Peter Behrens's Linoleum Pavilion in Dresden of 1906 and Poelzig's water tower in Posen, built six years later.
8 D. Gordon, *Expressionism, Art and Idea*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 1987, and J. Lloyd, *German Expressionism: Primitivism and Modernity*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 1991.
9 Whyte, *Taut*, pp. 32–8.
10 F. J. Schwartz, *The Werkbund: Design Theory and Mass Culture before the First World War*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 1996, esp. 147–91.
11 K. Pincus, 'IBA: Zur Eröffnung der Leipziger Internationaler Baufachausstellung', *Berliner Tageblatt*, 6 May 1913; Adolf Behne, 'Die Leipziger Baufachausstellung', *Die Tat*, 1913, vol. 5, pp. 504–7; A. Behne, 'Das Monument des Eisens von Taut und Hoffmann auf der internationalen Baufachausstellung in Leipzig', *Das Kunstgewerbeblatt*, 1913, vol. 25, pp. 86–9; 'F. E.', 'Die Sonder-Ausstellung des Eisens auf der Internationalen Baufach-Ausstellung in Leipzig 1913', *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 1913, vol. 47, pp. 625–6, 685–90; and H. Schmuckler, 'Die internationale Baufach-Ausstellung in Leipzig 1913', *Bauwelt*, 1913, vol. 4.1, pp. 25–7.
12 J. Posener, *Hans Poelzig: Reflections on his Life and Work*, New York, Architectural History Foundation, 1992, pp. 73–6, for the Posen building; R. Konwiarz, 'Die Jahrhunderthalle in Breslau, Das bedeutendste Bauwerk neue Baukunst in Ostdeutschland', Schlesien: *Eine Vierteljahresschrift für Kunst, Wissenschaft und Volkstum*, 1957, vol. 11, p. 104, for the exhibition there of the Jahrhunderthalle model.
13 W. Pehnt, *Die Architektur des Expressionismus*, Stuttgart, Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1998, p. 105, p. 267.
14 P. Scheerbart, 'Das Glashaus: Ein Vorbericht', *Berliner Tageblatt*, 22 October 1913.
15 R. H. Bletter, 'Paul Scheerbart's Architectural Fantasies', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 1975, vol. 34, pp. 83–97.
16 P. Scheerbart, *Glass Architecture*, pp. 31–74.
17 Ibid., p. 41.
18 Ibid., p. 48.
19 Ibid., p. 62.
20 Ibid.
21 B. Schulte, *Auf dem Weg zu einer Handgreiflichen Utopie: Die Folkwang-Projekte von Bruno Taut und Karl Ernst Osthaus*, Hagen, Neuer Folkwang Verlag, 1994, pp. 61–6.
22 B. Taut, *Glashaus: Werkbundausstellung Cöln 1914*, Cologne, 1914, excerpted in *Bruno Taut 1880–1938*, Berlin, Akademie der Künste, 1980, p. 182.
23 B. Taut, 'Eine Notwendigkeit', *Der Sturm*, 1914, vol. 4, pp. 174–5, published in translation as 'A Necessity', in Benson, *Expressionist Utopias*, p. 282.
24 Taut, 'A Necessity', p. 283, for his comments on the relationship of the new architecture to Kandinsky's paintings.
25 The most complete analysis of the building, from which many of the following details are taken, is A. Thiekötter (ed.), *Kristallisationen, Splitterungen; Bruno Tauts Glashaus*, Basel, Birkhäuser Verlag, 1993.
26 D. Sharp, 'Introduction', Scheerbart, *Glass Architecture*, and Taut, *Alpine Architecture*, p. 14, for the full list of fourteen.
27 D. Neumann, '"The Century's Triumph in Lighting": The Luxfer Prism Companies and their Contribution to Early Modern Architecture', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 1995, vol. 54.1, pp. 24–53.

28 Lloyd, *German Expressionism*, pp. 51–6.
29 'Der Glashaus für die Kölner Werkbund-Ausstellung', *Bauwelt*, 1914, vol. 5, pp. 25–6.
30 Taut, 'A Necessity', p. 283.
31 K. Hartmann, 'The Berlin Garden City of Falkenberg: A Successful Example of Planning from the German Garden City Movement', in J. P. Kleihues and C. Rathgeber, *Berlin/New York: Like and Unlike, Essays on Architecture and Art from 1870 to the Present*, New York, Rizzoli, 1993, pp. 81–91.
32 The details of this process can only be briefly sketched here. For a more complete account, upon which this one in large part depends, see Whyte, *Taut*, pp. 43–92.
33 Taut, *Alpine Architecture*, pp. 75–127, and B. Taut, *Die Stadtkrone*, Jena, Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1919.
34 Taut, *Alpine Architecture*, pp. 125–6.
35 Whyte, *Taut*, p. 58, and M. Bushart, *Der Geist der Gotik und die expressionistische Kunst: Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttheorie*, Munich, Silke Schneider Verlag, 1990.
36 On Taut's abstraction see R. Prange, *Das Kristalline als Kunstsymbole: Bruno Taut und Paul Klee, Zur Reflexion der Abstraction in Kunst und Kunsttheorie der Moderne*, Hildesheim, Olms, 1991.
37 J. Weinstein, *The End of Expressionism: Art and the November Revolution in Germany*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1990, pp. 23–106, and Whyte, *Taut*, pp. 121–208.
38 B. Taut, 'Für die neue Baukunst!', *Das Kunstblatt*, 1919, vol. 3, pp. 16–24, and B. Taut, 'Was bringt die Revolution der Baukunst?', *Vorwärts*, 18 November 1918.
39 Benson, *Expressionist Utopias*.
40 I. B. Whyte (ed.), *The Crystal Chain Letters: Architectural Fantasies by Bruno Taut and his Circle*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1985.
41 Reprinted in slightly condensed form as B. Taut, *Frühlicht, 1920–22: Eine Folge für die Verwirklichung des neuen Baugedankens*, Berlin, Ullstein Verlag, 1963.
42 Pehnt, *Architektur des Expressionismus*, pp. 93–4.
43 Schwartz, *The Werkbund*, pp. 173–6. See also R. H. Bletter, 'The Interpretation of the Glass Dream – Expressionist Architecture and the History of the Crystal Metaphor', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 1981, vol. 40, pp. 20–43.
44 S. Anderson, 'Peter Behrens's Highest Kultursymbol, The Theater', *Perspecta*, 1990, vol. 26, pp. 103–34; P. Jelavich, *Munich and Theatrical Modernism: Politics, Playwriting, and Performance 1890–1914*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1985, pp. 187–208; and P. Jelavich, *Berlin Cabaret*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1993, p. 69.
45 More recently this powerfully iconic image, rather than anything based upon Hoechst's headquarters, factories, or products, has served as one of Germany's most familiar corporate logos. B. Buderath (ed.), *Peter Behrens Umbautes Licht, Das Verwaltungsgebäude der Hoechst AG*, Munich, Prestel Verlag, 1990. See also *The Path from Fuchsine Dye to Hoechst High Chem*, Frankfurt a. M., Hoechst, 1991, and *Hoechst News* p. 97, both published by the company.
46 J. Quinan, *Frank Lloyd Wright's Larkin Building*, New York, Architectural History Foundation, 1987.
47 P. Bucciarelli, *Fritz Höger: maestro anseatico, 1877–1949*, Venice, Arsenale, 1991, pp. 24–31 and 94–101.
48 O. Bartning, *Von neuen Kirchenbau*, Berlin, Bruno Cassirer, 1919.
49 J. Bredow and H. Lerch, *Materialien zum Werk des Architekten Otto Bartnings*, Darmstadt, Verlag des Beispiel, 1983, pp. 12–15; and Pehnt, *Die Architektur des Expressionismus*, pp. 272–3.
50 W. Spohn, 'Religion and Working-Class Formation in Imperial Germany, 1871–1914', in G. Eley (ed.), *Society, Culture, and the State in Germany, 1870–1930*, Ann Arbor, MI, University of Michigan Press, 1996, p. 172.

51 Bartning, *Kirchenbau*, p. 100.

52 Ibid., pp. 55–6.

53 K. James, *Erich Mendelsohn and the Architecture of German Modernism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 115.

54 H. K. Mayer, *Der Baumeister Otto Bartning und die Wiederentdeckung des Raumes*, Heidelberg, Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1951, and Bredow and Lerch, *Otto Bartning*.

55 O. Bartning, *Die Stahl Kirche*, New York, Copper and Brass Research Institute, 1930; W. Distel, *Protestantischer Kirchenbau seit 1900 in Deutschland*, Zürich, Orell Füssli Verlag, 1933, pp. 7–8 and 93–5; P. Girkon and O. Bartning, *Die Stahlkirche*, Berlin, Furche-Kunstverlag, 1928; and K. G. Pfeill, 'Zur neuen Religiösen Baukunst', *Die Christliche Kunst*, 1929, vol. 2, p. 278. See also B. Kahle, *Rheinische Kirchen des 20. Jahrhunderts: Ein Beitrag zum Kirchenbauschaffen zwischen Tradition und Moderne*, Cologne, Rheinland-Verlag, 1985, pp. 33, 39–42; G. Langmaack, *Evangelischer Kirchenbau im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Geschichte – Dokumentation – Synopse*, Kassel, Johannes Stauda Verlag, 1971, pp. 53, 55; and H. Schnell, *Der Kirchenbau des 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, Munich, Verlag Schnell & Steiner, 1973, pp. 34, 45–6.

56 A. Christ-Janer and M. M. Foley, *Modern Church Architecture: A Guide to the Form and Spirit of 20th Century Religious Buildings*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1962, p. 129.

57 Bartning, *Von neuen Kirchenbau*, p. 102.

58 Bartning, *Stahl Kirche*, unpaginated.

59 Bartning, *Kirchenbau*, pp. 69–73.

60 Bartning, *Stahl Kirche*, unpaginated. See also Bartning, 'Vorwort', in Girkon and Bartning, *Stahlkirche*, p. 7.

61 Girkon and Bartning, *Stahlkirche*, p. 17.

62 Bartning, *Stahl Kirche*, unpaginated.

63 M. Lewis, *The Politics of the German Gothic Revival: August Reichensperger*, New York, Architectural History Foundation, 1993, pp. 25–56.

64 E. B. Koenker, *The Liturgical Renaissance in the Roman Catholic Church*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1954, and F. Kolbe, *Die Liturgische Bewegung*, Aschaffenburg, Paul Pattloch Verlag, 1964, pp. 36–62.

65 Spohn, 'Religion and Working-Class Formation', pp. 163–87.

66 R. Guardini, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, London, Sheed and Ward, 1937, p. 37.

67 J. van Acken, *Christozentrische Kirchenkunst: Ein Entwurf zum Liturgischen-Gesamtkunstwerk*, Gladbeck. i. W., A. Theban, 1923, pp. 27–30.

68 Ibid., p. 20.

69 Ibid., p. 12.

70 The communitarian goals of the new movement were seconded in A. Hoff, 'Aufgaben heutiger kirchlicher Kunst', *Die Form*, 1922, vol. 1.4, p. 12.

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4 Spectacle

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5 Postwar legacy

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6 The new Berlin

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3 B. Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1997, offers the best introduction into the issues surrounding the city's reconstruction, while Berliner Festspiele and the Architektenkammer Berlin, (eds), *Berlin: Open City, The City on Exhibition*, Berlin, Nicolai, 1999, is the most complete guide to the new construction.

4 See, for instance, *Arch +*, 1994, no. 122, which was entitled 'Von Berlin nach Neuteutonia.'

5 The Jewish Museum is one of the most widely published of all contemporary buildings. This enormous literature cannot be cited in anything approaching its entirety. This account depends upon *Jewish Museum Berlin*, G+B Arts International, 1999, and J. Russell, 'Proper Diary: Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum, Berlin, speaks to a history that is both rich and tragic', *Architectural Record*, 1999, vol. 188.1, pp. 76–81. It is also informed by two lectures I attended in which Libeskind described the project, one held in Berlin in June 1997 and one the following academic year in Berkeley.

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7 'Resisting the Erasures of History: Daniel Libeskind interviewed by Anne Wagner', in N. Leach (ed.), *Architecture and Revolution: Contemporary Perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe*, London, Routledge, 1999, p. 131.

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9 A figure I was given during my own tour in October 1999. I was also told that originally museum officials had planned upon only one tour a week; the increase was a response to enormous public demand.

10 The definitive history of the building and its checkered history, including its reconstruction by Foster, is M. S. Cullen, *Der Reichstag: Parlament, Denkmal, Symbol*, Berlin, be. bra verlag, 1999.

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12 For a survey of Foster's career see I. Lambert (ed.), *Norman Foster*, 4 vols, Haslemere, Watermark, and Basel, Birkhauser, 1989ff.

13 R. Ivy, 'Norman Conquest: An Exclusive Interview with Lord Norman Foster', *Architectural Record*, 1999, vol. 189.1, p. 98.

14 'Das Modell kritische Rekonstruktion Pariser Platz', *Bauwelt*, 1991, vol. 82, p. 2120.

15 In October 1999 a hotdog stand near the Brandenburg Gate offered tourists on the way from the subway to the Reichstag not only food but the chance to sign a petition supporting its continued existence. Although there are cafés tucked into some of the surrounding buildings, no evidence of them was visible from the Platz itself.

16 For a characteristic statement see G. Behnisch, 'Bauen für die Demokratie', in I. Flagge and W. J. Stock (eds), *Architektur und Demokratie: Bauen für Politik von den amerikanische Revolution bis zur Gegenwart*, Stuttgart, Gerd Hatje Verlag, 1992, pp. 67–75.

17 *Behnisch & Partner, Bauten 1952–1992*, Stuttgart, Gerd Hatje Verlag, 1992, pp. 105–13.

18 *Die Akademie der Künste: Achtzehn Entwürfe, Internes Gutacherverfahren für das Gebäude am Pariser Platz in Berlin*, Berlin, Ernst & Sohn, 1995, pp. 29–30.

19 *Der Potsdamer Platz: Eine Geschichte in Wort und Bild*, Berlin, Nishen, 1991, and V. M. Lampugnani and R. Schneider (eds), *An Urban Experiment in Central Berlin: Planning Potsdamer Platz*, Frankfurt a. M., Deutsches Architektur Museum, 1997, pp. 50–67.

20 Ibid., pp. 11–49, 68–177. For the final allocation of sites, see Berliner Festspiele and the Architektenkammer Berlin (eds), *Berlin: Open City*, pp. 59–61, 67–74.

21 Burg, *Berlin-Mitte*, pp. 106–11; K. James, *Erich Mendelsohn and the Architecture of German Modernism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 126–39.

22 *Berlin: Open City*, pp. 62, 72.

23 S. Kracauer, *The Mass Ornament*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1995, pp. 323–8.

24 See Ladd, *Ghosts of Berlin*, pp. 47–70, for an unusually even-handed account.

25 For a consideration of the Palast in the context of other civic buildings erected by the East German state see B. Flierl, 'Bauten der "Volksdemocratie": Berlin als Hauptstadt der DDR', in Flagge and Stock, *Architektur und Demokratie*, pp. 168–85.

26 *Capital Berlin: Central District Spreeinsel, International Competition for Urban Design Ideas 1994*, Berlin, Bauwelt, 1994.

27 *Das Schloss?: Eine Ausstellung über die Mitte Berlins*, Berlin, Ernst & Sohn, 1993.

7   Conclusion

1 T. Adorno and M. Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, New York, Continuum, 1998, pp. 120–67.

2 A full account of the relationship between Cold War politics and architecture comparable to S. Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1983, has yet to be written. See, however, P. Betts, 'The Bauhaus as Cold-War Legend: West German Modernism Revised', *German Politics and Society*, 1996, vol. 14.2, pp. 75–100, and J. C. Loeftler, *The Architecture of Diplomacy: Building America's Embassies*, New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 1997.

3 G. Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, New York, Zone Books, 1994, for perhaps the most profound postwar critique of capitalist spectacle.

4 See D. Ghirardo, *Architecture After Modernism*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1996, pp. 43–106.

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