



1 HERMANN AND ANNA MUTHESIUS AT "THE PRIORY,"
HAMMERSMITH, ENGLAND, 1896. PHOTO: COLLECTION OF ECK-
ART MUTHESIUS.

INTRODUCTION

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STYLE-ARCHITECTURE AND BUILDING-ART: REALIST ARCHITECTURE AS THE VEHICLE FOR A RENEWAL OF CULTURE

ALTHOUGH THE SMALL BOOK PRESENTED HERE, Hermann Muthesius's *Stilarchitektur und Baukunst* (Style-architecture and building-art), 1902, was one of many turn-of-the-century programs calling for a renewal of culture, it deserves special attention for its effectiveness in architecture prior to the First World War.¹ In this book Muthesius established, early in the century and early in his career, the themes that would carry his advocacy of cultural renewal for a decade or more—themes that still deserve consideration. Even the Austrian Otto Wagner, one of the most prominent of the progressive architects of that moment, paid homage to this work by a younger German colleague. In 1896 Wagner published *Moderne Architektur*, his inaugural lecture as a professor at the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Vienna. Under the influence of *Stilarchitektur und Baukunst*, however, he changed the title of his fourth edition of 1914 to *Die Baukunst unserer Zeit* (The building-art of our time). Thus Wagner, despite a career notable for its devotion to a high architecture with evident references to past styles, found a polemical advantage, as did Muthesius, in preferring the German word *Baukunst* (building-art) to the Latin-based *Architektur*. Connected with this shifting perspective was the emphasis on the art of building "of our time." The three key words of Wagner's revised title sum up the major advocacy of Muthesius: a realistic approach to building in the service of new societal forces, an approach that Muthesius felt must leave stylistic precedent behind. Most

particularly, classical paradigms, with their emphasis on ideal form, were to be abandoned in favor of a northern, process-oriented attitude toward building that was claimed to be manifested in the Gothic.

BORN IN 1861 IN GROSS-NEUHAUSEN IN THURINGIA, Hermann Muthesius was the son of a mason and small building contractor.² A good student, he nevertheless trained as a mason before attending the Realgymnasium (higher secondary school) in Weimar. From 1881 to 1883 he studied art history and philosophy at the University of Berlin, followed by one year of military service. From 1883 to 1887 he studied architecture at the Technische Hochschule in Berlin and also worked for a period in the office of Paul Wallot, the famed architect of the German Reichstag.

Muthesius worked in Japan from 1887 to 1891 supervising contracts for the architectural firm of Ende and Böckmann. After this he returned to Germany and took state examinations. He then entered the Prussian Ministry of Public Works. In 1895 a state stipendium allowed him to make a study trip to Italy, which resulted in his first book, *Italienische Reise-Eindrücke* (Italian travel impressions), 1898.³ At this point Muthesius already denied that contemporary artistic production stemmed from either the continual adoption of past styles or the invention of a new style. While respecting Italian art, he rejected its claim to universality and insisted that German architecture had to be built on a healthy, indigenous artistic tradition—though the periods he risked mentioning as still capable of allowing independent development were the Early Christian, Romanesque, and German Renaissance.

In 1896 Muthesius renewed his work at the ministry and also married Anna Trippenbach, a concert singer. In October of that year he was commissioned by the kaiser as cultural and technical attaché to the German Embassy in London (fig. 1). He was to report on British art, architecture, and technical achievements. In the course of his assignment, he developed an exceptional expertise on English crafts and architecture, which resulted in three major publications and simultaneously laid the ground for his own polemical positions on contemporary culture and architecture, as exemplified in the translation presented in this volume.⁴

The first of Muthesius's books on English architecture, *Die englische Baukunst der Gegenwart* (Contemporary English architecture), was an extraordinary folio on governmental, institutional, and commercial buildings of all types; it included as well a section on domestic architecture, which focused on larger urban houses and housing. Following an informed and discerning introductory essay, Muthesius presented a large selection of well-chosen examples, discussed and illustrated with plans, in a catalog accompanying handsome, large photographic plates. In this vol-

ume Richard Norman Shaw received particular attention. The second work, *Die neuere kirchliche Baukunst in England* (Recent religious architecture in England), was of equal intelligence but less elaborate; it treated recent English church building, tracing its development from the Gothic revival to Muthesius's own time. Here John Loughborough Pearson was singled out for his revival of true masonry vaulting. The third work, produced after Muthesius's return to Germany and following the publication of *Stilarchitektur*, was the magisterial three-volume study of the English house *Das englische Haus*, which to this day remains without equal. After surveying earlier British domestic architecture, it presented an extensive study of nineteenth-century English residential architecture, notably the "free architecture" of the later part of the century. Every aspect of the English house was considered; the entire third volume emphasized technical issues. In addition to these major works, Muthesius, who wrote indefatigably throughout his life, prepared numerous articles for journals, periodically collecting some of these essays in small volumes.⁵

When he returned to Germany, Muthesius entered the Prussian Ministry of Commerce where he became a prime mover in educational innovation connected with the crafts and architecture and in promoting the relation of artistic culture to industrial society. He was central to the founding of the Deutsche Werkbund in 1907. When released from his duties in the Prussian ministry in 1904, he established his architectural practice, which was most notable for villas, often of considerable proportion and usually situated in the wooded, elegant western fringe of Berlin.⁶

The First World War all but upended the career and program of Muthesius, including his efforts for the Deutsche Werkbund. He continued to write and propagandize about the house and domestic culture but no longer from a leading position. Nevertheless, *Wie baue ich mein Haus?* (How do I build my house?), an elegant handbook of 1917, was his most popular book,⁷ and *Kann ich auch jetzt noch mein Haus bauen?* (Can I still build my own house?), 1920, sought to maintain the endeavor in more straitened times and included consideration of row houses and housing estates (*Siedlungen*).⁸ Hermann Muthesius died in 1927.

THE NECESSITY OF CULTURAL RENEWAL

AS SEEN IN *STILARCHITEKTUR*, Muthesius was a well-informed admirer of English architecture of the last half of the nineteenth century. Through his work as a cultural attaché of the German Embassy in London and as an architect, he gave careful attention to every aspect of English architectural culture. An avid student of English architecture, he knew its history from the Gothic revival to his own time.

He studied and wrote on all building types, distinctive and new techniques of building construction, new mechanical services, English cities, and the training of architects. His attention to handicrafts was extensive, for he respected and drew inspiration from the careers and work of John Ruskin, William Morris, and the Arts and Crafts Movement in general. Yet in a fundamental way, Muthesius parted company with his English mentors. With the advantage of a temporal and cultural distance and at a moment of renewed attention to the crafts in progressive circles on the Continent, Muthesius saw clearly that Morris's guild activity necessarily led to a condition that defeated his own principles. Morris's work and that of his followers became the possession of a cultural elite and even of the modern industrial culture that the Arts and Crafts Movement had sought to deflect.

Although Muthesius was critical of the nineteenth century, he would not deny its dominant forces: reason, science, technology, industry, and commerce. For him the problem was the one-sided dominance of these forces. Writing at the turn of the century, he observed the popular and academic desire to characterize the previous century. Rejecting global descriptions based on its positive features, he instead settled on "the inartistic century." The dominant forces of science and industry had contributed to this result, but Muthesius's extended account of this lamentable state was internal to the world of art and culture.

Muthesius pointed to the "second artistic revolution" in Western culture (the first having been the Italian Renaissance), which for him was the discovery, or indeed the idealistic fabrication, of Greece. The prime movers of this most recent period of art, which extended through the nineteenth century, were perceived to be Johann Joachim Winckelmann and the classicizing search for stylistic purity: agents undermining artistic creativity by elevating the imitation of ideal models.⁹ Even the reactions against Neoclassicism partook of similar faults, for resistance came not in the call for artistic invention but in the claims for a superior precedent—most notably in northern Europe and the Gothic revival. In works of major theoreticians and practitioners of the Gothic revival, Muthesius recognized valid arguments and indeed practices based on principle, that is, arguments that were still instructive. Nonetheless this retrospective position recalls not only the nineteenth century's failure to cope with the new productive forces but also, as already noted with Morris, its devolution into style imitation as an end in itself. From Muthesius's perspective, art and handicrafts lost their footing and survived only in the imitation of an ever broader range of historical forms. A degenerate battle of the styles ensued, leading to an inevitable—yet at that moment only recent—arrival at nothingness.

Muthesius's general orientation, and certainly that of *Stilarchitektur*, was to direct attention to the failure of the arts, and thus to promote heavily the renewal of

artistic culture as the vehicle for cultural and social reform more generally. It is such a program that allied Muthesius with Morris and the English Arts and Crafts Movement. The difference for Muthesius, and the German movement of which he was to be a significant figure, was the relationship of art and culture to the system of industrial and technological production. Where the English program broke under its self-imposed demand to resist modern change, Muthesius looked to restore a whole culture through an aspiring artistic production consistent with the emerging industrial society.

Muthesius opened the second and programmatic part of *Stilarchitektur* with a recognition that the conditions and seeds of a new spirit already existed in the recent example of England and now on the Continent, quite particularly in Germany. Architecture should be central to this new development, but because of its ponderous nature it had thus far not been able to take the lead. The new movement in the arts and crafts, with its beginnings in England, had prepared the way not only in the reestablishment of the relation of production to product but also in a social transformation consistent with larger political forces. A "spiritual aristocracy" that stemmed from and represented the new primacy of the middle class now took the lead. The expanded goal of the new movement would be "the creation of a contemporary middle-class art," characterized by sincerity, *Sachlichkeit*,¹⁰ and a purified artistic sensibility. The crafts and the "free architecture" of England (liberated from canons) offered precedents; the challenge was to achieve this art under modern conditions without sliding into "secondary considerations and superficialities," which Muthesius already discerned within the contemporary movements of Art Nouveau. If art was to avoid such superficialities and ever again aspire to the position it had held in the great epochs, then architecture, still properly the mother of the arts, must assume leadership in the community of the arts.

Such programs for cultural renewal were, of course, frequently advanced after Friedrich Nietzsche mounted his brilliant attack on the positivistic science and history that he saw as so dominant within the cultural fabric of nineteenth-century Germany. When Nietzsche envisioned a better German society, he reckoned that the first generation of this new society would have to be brought up with the "mighty truth" that Germany could not build a culture on the basis of this positivistic education. In contrast to mere knowledge about culture (the German's desire "for the flower without the root or the stalk"), art and a genuine culture must spring from a natural ground. "Life itself is a kind of handicraft that must be learned thoroughly and industriously, and diligently practised," Nietzsche wrote. "Give me life, and I will soon make you a culture out of it—will be the cry of every man in this new generation, and they will know each other by this cry. But who will give them this

life? No god and no man will give it—only their youth."¹¹

Nietzsche was the idol of many young artists at the end of the nineteenth century, and even though his words echoed across Europe, his appeal was especially strong in Germany.¹² Just at the time when Nietzsche's writings were becoming common intellectual property, there appeared in 1890 another book that created extraordinary excitement, especially in artistic circles: *Rembrandt als Erzieher* (Rembrandt as educator), written by Julius Langbehn but published anonymously.¹³ Langbehn's thought, though certainly influenced by Nietzsche, could hardly compare with the latter's brilliance. Nevertheless, in the decades around 1900 the ideas and influence of these two men commingled. The comparatively shallow and prosaic program of Langbehn, which urged the synthesis of an artistic culture capable of resolving the antinomy of a lost age of faith and a spiritless age of science, could be more easily and purposively grasped than the writings of Nietzsche. Muthesius himself, on the first page of *Kultur und Kunst* (Culture and art), 1904,¹⁴ mentioned the works of both Langbehn and Konrad Lange.¹⁵ He then named the Darmstadt Artists' Colony as a demonstration of the early fruition of these ideas. As late as 1911, Muthesius cited the generative influence of Langbehn's book in an address to the Deutsche Werkbund.

Young enthusiasts for the new artistic movement appropriated these critiques in response to what they felt was a fragmented, incoherent, and artless civilization. Such negative characteristics were seen in the divorce of the artist from society. The dominance of easel painting and of sculpture intended for solitary contemplation in the laboratory atmosphere of museums and salons was interpreted as Western civilization's tendency to render art submissive. Proponents of the new movement felt that the work of art must be removed from its aesthetic, physical, and psychological isolation, even if this endangered the independence of the artist. Creating decorative design that would foster a meaningful environment was considered a higher calling than producing individual works that lacked a social role. The artist might become an architect in order to control his environment; painting and sculpture should be made to play a part in this larger program. The effort to realize such goals brought about an emphasis on the decorative; the very words *decorative* and *ornamental* took on exalted meaning. These artists thus turned away from the culturally divisive fine arts, taking up the decorative arts, which were then acclaimed for contributing to the formation of a superior culture. It was in just such a general cultural ambience that Muthesius, with his exposure to the English movement, began to challenge specifics of the Continental movement—especially the formalist reliance on "decorative" embellishment.

MUTHESIUS'S CRITIQUE OF THE ENGLISH MODEL

ONE MUST LOOK MORE CAREFULLY at Muthesius's asserted English model to understand his advocacy. At this time no one, not even in England, had examined nineteenth-century English crafts and architecture with the depth of Muthesius. The path, however, had been opened by others, as was extensively demonstrated by Stefan Muthesius, Hermann's grandnephew. He used the chapter title "Deutschland unter englischen Einfluss, 1880–1897" (Germany under English influence, 1880–1897) in his book *Das englische Vorbild* (The English Model), thus referring to the period prior to Hermann Muthesius's arrival in London.¹⁶ The most significant publication of this earlier phase was Robert Dohme's *Das englische Haus*, 1888, which exalted as principles the attributes of the emerging suburban and rural English house: the selection of site; orientation of rooms to sun and wind; light and air; cheerfulness; and above all, comfort, convenience, and privacy.¹⁷ Dohme preceded Muthesius in his favorable regard for the Queen Anne style, especially the work of Shaw. Dohme even anticipated the argument of bringing the rational thinking of distinctively modern production to the house, as when he claimed that the English in their architecture emulated what was achieved internationally in the efficient outfitting of ships and railroad cars.¹⁸

As Muthesius pushed forward in his documentation of the English dwelling, however, he was compelled by events to develop his related advocacy for Germany. He then found it necessary to criticize the English model and offer alternatives. Nonetheless, the underlying appreciation of the English accomplishment was not lost because Muthesius found at the root of the English movement a social and indeed an ethnic position that he deemed to be common to the peoples of northern Europe. The successful efforts of Inigo Jones and a century later the Palladians to impose on the English a foreign, Mediterranean, and classical architecture of purist standards provided a natural immunity to a powerful Neoclassicism such as that which had dominated Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁹ Furthermore, England had never fully lost its competence with the Gothic—notwithstanding the prominence of Palladianism in high architecture and as both an urban and rural vernacular. Then, too, the Romantic Movement in literature and art blossomed early and in a manner unique to England. Consequently the "Romantic building-art," which Muthesius equated with the appreciation of the Gothic, was early, strong, and dominant over the classic in England.²⁰

Significantly allied to religious reform and renewal, church building in England thrived under bourgeois patronage, supporting the development of a major Gothic revival. With Pearson, who was particularly important for the revival of

masonry vaulting, Muthesius saw the achievement of a “genuinely Nordic building-art.”²¹ Muthesius nonetheless faulted the English Gothicists’ search for Gothic handicrafts and their attempts to adapt Gothic architecture to secular buildings. Quite simply, he noted, “no new Gothic tradition would develop.”²²

Through yet another twist, Muthesius argued that the English did indeed create “a modern and national art.” With this claim, we return to Ruskin and Morris, who built a genuine popular enthusiasm for art with ideals derived from the Gothic. This was accomplished, above all else, by shifting attention away from high art and representation and toward the domestic interior—a humble genre that promoted the ideals of sound workmanship, reasonableness, and sincerity. The primacy of the domestic interior to the entire reformulation of modern culture and art, as established by Morris, reached a freer and fuller level in the houses of Shaw and the Queen Anne revival. It is here that Muthesius found the beginning of the new architectural movement. To observe this larger vision, we can do no better than to recite Muthesius’s enthusiastic and programmatic assessment of the Queen Anne.

It was nothing other than a rejection of architectural formalism in favor of a simple and natural, reasonable way of building. One brought nothing new to such a movement; everything had existed for centuries in the vernacular architecture of the small town and rural landscape . . . one found all that one desired and for which one thirsted: adaptation to needs and local conditions, unpretentiousness and honesty of feeling; utmost coziness and comfort in the layout of rooms, color, an uncommonly attractive and painterly (but also reasonable) design, and an economy in building construction. The new English domestic building-art that developed on this basis has now produced valuable results. But it has also done more: it has spread the interest and the understanding for domestic architecture to the entire people. It has created the only sure foundation for a new artistic culture: the artistic house. And as everyone connected with the Arts and Crafts Movement in England certainly knows, it produced that for which everyone labored: the English house.²³

Thus in this innovative establishment of a high architecture based upon the house, Muthesius found the key to artistic and cultural renewal allied both to his convictions of social change under modern industrial society and to his desire for an appropriately distinctive culture of the northern, particularly the Germanic, peoples.

With this northern European emphasis on the domestic interior of the middle-

class home, we may recognize an ambiguity in the historical saga of the first part of *Stilarchitektur*. In England, as in the German-speaking lands, the late eighteenth century and the time around 1800 constituted an important period for the development of middle-class, and even lower middle-class, society. For this time and this social class, the locus of art and culture was the house and the domestic interior—in the more vernacular versions of Neoclassicism and in what is known as Biedermeier. Notwithstanding his efforts to distinguish a proper northern culture from that of the Mediterranean, Muthesius appreciated this classicizing domestic culture of the esteemed epoch of Goethe. For Muthesius, an important aspect of this culture in England had been the development of a distinctive, indigenous, middle-class furniture: Chippendale, Hepplewhite, and Sheraton. In England, as in Germany, this eighteenth-century, middle-class art had collapsed by 1850. Muthesius saw this rupture as significantly related to the advent of the machine and the decline of handicrafts, particularly in furniture production but also in architecture.

Yet it is also at this point that Muthesius sought to pick up a thread of development different from that of his admired English predecessors. Despite the debasement of taste engendered by the surfeit of machine-made surrogate objects, and despite the consequent suppression of the crafts and of artisanal authenticity, the machine was not the necessary evil that the English movement claimed. In the appropriation of the machine, as in the economical advantages offered by transportation, constructional technologies, new materials such as iron and glass, and new building types, Muthesius found the components for an emerging new architecture. The English failure to embrace these new realities had not only limited its reformational development but also defeated its social agenda. Inevitably, the Arts and Crafts Movement became an artistic production for the elite; middle-class interests were not served. In contrast, Muthesius envisioned higher standards of quality through industrial production and predicted the desired reestablishment of the integrity and pride of the worker.

ART NOUVEAU AND JUGENDSTIL

BRUSSELS IN THE 1890S ENERGETICALLY EMBRACED and assimilated new artistic forces, whether from Postimpressionist painting in France or from arts-and-crafts production in England. Distinctive new directions emerged in Belgium with the architecture of Victor Horta and with the designs and architectural essays of Henry van de Velde. By the late 1890s van de Velde had also established a strong base in Germany, both associating with and competing against new tendencies there. In

Munich, Vienna, and Berlin, the Secessionist Movements supported new art, increasingly identified with crafts and architecture. Glossy new magazines that were particularly devoted to the “decorative arts” appeared in these cities and in Darmstadt where, by the turn of the century, the prince became a major patron of the new movement through his creation of the artists’ colony and its distinctive environment, which was conceived as *Ein Dokument Deutscher Kunst* (A document of German art).

Even this abbreviated list of the events in Germany circa 1900 indicates that Muthesius’s advocacy of reform fell on well-prepared soil. But this was also a problem. By 1902 these new movements (known in Germany, somewhat ambivalently, as *Jugendstil*, or “youth style”) were being rapidly depreciated, and not solely by the philistines. The Darmstadt Artists’ Colony was severely criticized, rather than becoming a formative event, it established at best a plateau deserted by one of its luminaries, Peter Behrens. The International Exposition of Decorative Arts held in Turin in 1902 suffered an even harsher critical assessment. In this critical climate, Van de Velde’s position was put on the defensive and never again achieved its earlier degree of conviction or influence.

Since the doubts about the *Jugendstil* and Art Nouveau movements centered on premature and excessively individualistic attempts at new artistic form-making, or even at defining a style, Muthesius’s preferred precedents and his position could be taken as a tonic. Yet if his envisioned movement were to succeed, he needed the energy of these forces for renewal and, conversely, could not afford to be associated solely with a conservative resistance to the new.

The negative pole of the title of Muthesius’s book, *Stilarchitektur*, asserted again a resistance to the “battle of the styles” of the nineteenth century, a battle that had resulted in the devaluation of all earlier modes of building and finally left the architect with “nothingness.” If nothingness was to be avoided, this stylistic pursuit could only seek to offer a “new style.” There had been a famous and often-derided attempt at a new style in the competition for the Maximilianstrasse in Munich in 1851,²⁴ and there were related discussions in the later decades of the nineteenth century. Now it was possible, and in this Muthesius joined, to see the *Jugendstil* as just what its name seemed to indicate: the proffering of a new and already failing style. For many of its practitioners the danger for the new movement in the arts and crafts was, in fact, the search for new forms, and thus for a new style, before a fundamental reassessment of the condition of contemporary artistic production had been achieved or even attempted.

So the *Jugendstil* and, quite explicitly, the thought and work of van de Velde, came under the criticism of Muthesius, who interpreted it as the last and least supportable version of “style-architecture.” Worst of all was the contemporary phe-

nomenon whereby lesser artists and manufacturers took to imitating such new, individual styles. The historical styles at least possessed a currency based on known and shared conventions; nothing could contribute less to art or to society, Muthesius reasoned, than casting into the popular market exemplars of “art for art’s sake.” Upon reflection, he noted with satisfaction that the nineteenth century as the century of styles had altogether devalued the style instinct.²⁵

So Muthesius asserted that the genuine values of the crafts and the building-art were wholly independent of style and of this forced form-making; for him it was just as well that the whiplash line—Muthesius’s shorthand for *Jugendstil* formalism—had been so quickly debased.²⁶ He doubted that such formal systems were intrinsically allied to any modern sensibility, and if they were, he questioned who would tie new forms of production to the fleeting moments of this shifting ground. What might be appropriate as accomplished poetry, music, or even unique ornament could not serve the prosaic needs of the everyday to which the crafts and the building-art must be directed. Muthesius argued for a production appropriate for the majority of the population, one endowed with the attributes of the matter-of-fact (*sachlich*), rational, and realistic. At the point of acknowledging that crafts were still a matter of form, he also pointed out that unornamented form was not necessarily inartistic. “What we need is not an emotion-laden furniture and a luxurious art but decent household artifacts for the ordinary man.”²⁷ As he argued more generally: “The well-being and the hope of the future lies in this: in the conceptual bonding of arts and crafts to subdue ‘art’ in the recovery of a suitable craft production.”²⁸

If Muthesius had clearly sought to distinguish his advocacy from the formal excesses of *Jugendstil*, he required other distinctions within his own models and program: those of production and of social construction. The debasement of *Jugendstil* may have been hastened in its adoption by industry, but in its origins it was not closely tied to any argument for or against industrial production. Muthesius’s English references required a reformulation to elude the anti-industrial thrust of that movement. He found an argument that addressed both these issues: “The machine does not exist in order to produce art. This is a privilege of the human hand . . . the human hand can use tools. . . . The machine is, however, only an improved tool.”²⁹

Allied with this shift in attitude toward industrial production is the ambiguity of Muthesius’s social advocacy. Despite references to improving the ethos of industrial work or addressing the environmental needs of the greater number, Muthesius’s viewpoint was far from Morris’s socialism. Muthesius was also aware of, and indeed took no pleasure in, the irony of English arts-and-crafts production becoming the property of an elite, which offered little, even indirectly, to the working class or lower middle class.

In contrast, it is through his attention to the environmental needs of the larger population in everyday life and the allied exploitation of modern means of production that Muthesius sought a more effective social program than that which the Arts and Crafts Movement had achieved. Even if it is a reflection of his *realpolitik*, one must note that Muthesius framed this issue explicitly in terms of the middle class.

Despite these distinctions, England remained a positive model for Muthesius for two major reasons. First, if he argued that unornamented form could still be artistic, exemplars continued to be helpful in resisting the formalism of the *Jugendstil*. In England's free architecture, from Morris and Philip Webb, down to the high achievements of Shaw and the young practitioners of his own day, Muthesius perceived a formal restraint that fortified his resolve and provided models. Second, the centrality of domestic architecture to the English movement offered evidence that the new movement (in England as well as on the Continent) could affect social and cultural conditions quite generally, not only for an elite and not only in matters of high art. Muthesius spoke to both these issues.

[Germany can do what] was done in England: to return our vernacular building-art to simplicity and naturalness, as is preserved in our old rural buildings; to renounce every architectural trinket on and in our house; and to introduce a sense of spatial warmth, color, natural layout, and sensible configuration instead of continuing to be restrained by the chains of formalistic and academic architecture-mongering. The way in which the English achieved this goal, namely, by readapting vernacular and rural building motifs, promises us the richest harvest—precisely in Germany where the rural building manner of the past is clothed in a poetry and a wealth of sentiment that few old English buildings can match. If we restrict ourselves to the homegrown, and if each of us impartially follows his own individual artistic inclinations, then we will soon have not only a reasonable but also a national, vernacular building-art. Nationality in art need not be artificially bred. If one raises genuine people, we will have a genuine art that for every individual with a sincere character can be nothing other than national. For every genuine person is a part of a genuine nationality.³⁰

Although the title and content of *Stilarchitektur* emphasize art and architecture, it is apparent that Muthesius's position takes root in his assessment that German life and culture—the everyday culture of all citizens—had been displaced and debased during the nineteenth century. A new architecture would help to heal these

wounds. The role and the character of that architecture was established by this more fundamental cultural concern.

In earlier periods, that is, before the nineteenth century reduced architecture to “styles,” Muthesius observed that it was evident how one would live and build through the social and artistic conventions that were so widely shared in those societies. If the nineteenth century was the “inartistic century,” Muthesius claimed that no factor was so decisive in judging a time to have been artistic “as the degree to which art is the property of the entire people—to what extent it is an essential part of the cultural endowment of the time.”³¹ On the evidence of ethnological museums Muthesius found that aboriginal tribes must be termed artistic. From this he argued “that the artistic instinct belongs to the elementary powers of mankind and casts a still more peculiar light on a time such as ours, which has left these powers to wither.”³²

Muthesius saw his society as dominated by parvenu pretension, spending its life in a sham culture, and called for it to divest itself of ostentation. “A genuine art can only rest on genuine feelings. Art is not solely a matter of ability and the exercise of aesthetic feelings but, above all else, a matter of character and sensibility. They must be maintained especially in architecture, the art of daily life.”³³

The endorsement of industrial production was, therefore, more than just a realistic assessment of the conditions of the times. If there were to be an improvement in artistic culture and environment that reached everyone and the everyday, then both the ethos of industrial production and its products had to be engaged. In Muthesius's analysis, using the machine to produce surrogate and shabby objects that compete only by quantity and price forced workers to earn less while demoralizing them in their work. The machine had been misused; it was neither omnipotent nor driven by its own inexorable forces. It was a tool and its products would satisfy when they departed from imitation and became typical machine forms; this had happened with the bicycle, machine tools, iron bridges. The working class, rather than being the producers and consumers of sham objects, must be affected by, indeed enlisted in, the drive for quality in the design and production of objects and the environment in general.

In railroad stations, steamships, and bicycles were to be found the modern ideas and new principles of design that indicated our aesthetic progress: a rigorous, even scientific objectivity (*Sachlichkeit*) with its product, the undecorated *Sachform*. Process and product alike were marked by rationality and the direct satisfaction of need. That this could be observed in modern clothing, and in the generalization of clothing across class, was evidence that a more functional approach to design was characteristic of the time and offered the potential for a shared, authentic culture.

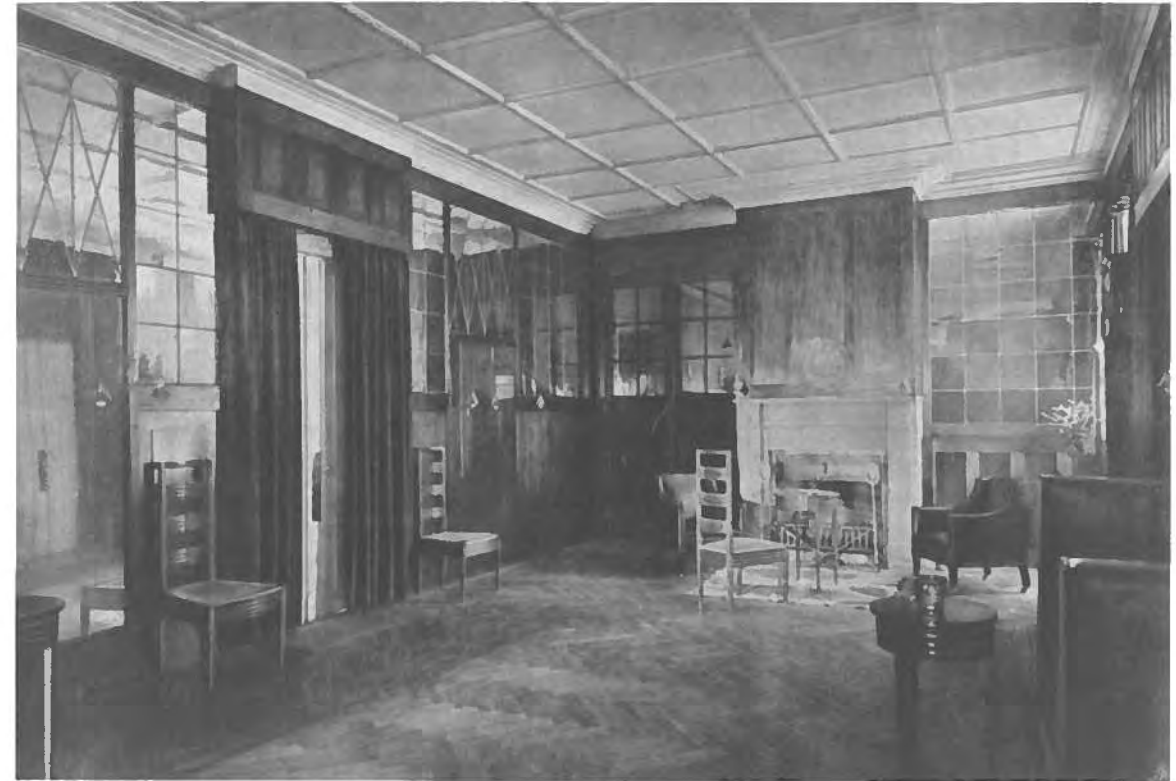
Yet Muthesius was not arguing for a naive functionalism; the satisfaction of purpose alone was insufficient. In both modern clothing and machines he observed a coincidence of aesthetic and sanitary concerns. There was also a retention of details explained not by necessity but by their symbolization of all that “is neat and in the best of order,” that is, “a handsome elegance and a certain clean conciseness of form.”¹⁴ Indeed Muthesius found this attitude to be universal in modern design; in architecture it was revealed especially in the English house.

MUTHESIUS'S PROGRAM OF *SACHLICHE KUNST*

THE TRANSITION FROM IRON-AND-GLASS railroad terminals to the English house requires an explanation, which may be found in Muthesius's own words. Expounding on his belief that historicist architecture occupied a retrogressive position, he observed:

While Mother Architecture found herself on a wrong path, life never rested but went on to create forms for the innovations it had produced, the simple forms of pure practicality [*Sachlichkeit*]. It created our machines, vehicles, implements, iron bridges, and glass halls. It led the way soberly in that it proceeded practically—one would like to say purely scientifically. It not only embodied the spirit of the time but also fitted itself to the aesthetic-tectonic views that were reformed under the same influence. These views, ever more decisively than the earlier decorative art, demanded a corresponding, straightforward [*sachlich*] art.¹⁵

Muthesius thus makes a distinction and a connection between his admiration for the characteristic works of industrial culture and his own position. The former are marked by a pure *Sachlichkeit*, which stems from a nearly scientific design process. This process and these works establish norms for our aesthetic-tectonic views, but he does not expect or advocate an unmodulated transposition of either the process or the forms to other realms of life and design. For him the domestic interior is more fundamental than the railroad shed. Within his vision of an artistic culture, these dissimilar environments must have a correspondence but not an identity. English “free architecture” offered the best exemplars of domestic interiors possessing such a correspondence. The year before the publication of *Stilarchitektur*, Muthesius had already joined the noted critic Julius Meier-Graefe in praising a new suite of interiors by Rudolph Alexander Schröder in Munich (fig. 2) that not only provided



2 RUDOLF ALEXANDER SCHRÖDER WITH MARTIN DÜLFER AND PAUL LUDWIG TROOST, VESTIBULE, HEYMEL APARTMENT, MUNICH, 1899–1901. FROM *DEKORATIVE KUNST* 4, NO. 7 (APRIL 1901): 249. SANTA MONICA, THE GETTY CENTER FOR THE HISTORY OF ART AND THE HUMANITIES

a concrete example on German soil but might even be seen to have advanced the cause.³⁶ In Muthesius's assessment, these interiors "appear to realize all the ideals of a genuine new art and in their simple comfort and unornamented amplitude represent a true reinvigoration."³⁷

Harry Mallgrave has pointed to a text by Richard Streiter of 1896 that reads as a theoretical basis for Meier-Graefe and Muthesius:

Realism in architecture is the comprehensive consideration of the real constituents of a building, the most complete fulfillment of the demands of functionality, comfort, and health—in one word: practicality [*Sachlichkeit*]. But this is not all. Just as realism in poetry views as one of its central tasks the delineation of character in relation to its milieu, so the parallel program in architecture sees as its most desirable goal of artistic truth the development of the character of a building not only out of the determination of its needs but also from the milieu—from the qualities of local materials and from the environmentally and historically conditioned atmosphere of the place [*Stimmung der Oertlichkeit*].³⁸

In advocating simplicity and a straightforward approach to design, especially in comparison with the excesses of late historicism or the ornamental tendencies of the Jugendstil, Muthesius, as Streiter before him, employed such concepts to signify the generation of form from need, health considerations, materials, and construction. Proponents of this position also advocated artlessness and elimination of ornament. Even though they could often appreciate engineering works of a pure objectivity (*Sachlichkeit*), as was the case with Muthesius, they asked for something more: something real not haunted by the apparition of the ideal but rather the interplay of invention, or convention, with the material world, facilitating a creatively evolving cultural setting. It is this which Streiter called character and milieu, Meier-Graefe atmosphere and milieu, and it is this which Muthesius found in English interiors.³⁹

It is precisely because the program of Muthesius had its roots in this search for conventions shared by the entire society, and thus was at base a social advocacy, that he placed the domestic interior and the house above all else in the definition of a new movement in architecture. Muthesius sought to establish this type of domestic culture, already well advanced in England, in its own indigenous form in Germany. Yet he wavered between the possibilities and difficulties of this enterprise. To the extent that this cultural work might depend on models in the vernacular of the preindustrial town and the countryside, we have already seen that he considered Germany

to have a number of more profound models. In Germany on the other hand, there was not a culture of the house to compare with that of England. He lamented that Germans of his time characteristically lived in rental apartments, often moving from one to another, and thus experienced little or no connection with their surroundings or concern that these be artistically designed. Nonetheless, he concluded that "a change in our German artistic situation can only take its start in the German house, which essentially is yet to be created."⁴⁰ He preferred to move from the small to the large. People could design their individual rooms in a reasonable and artistic (second edition: "tasteful") manner. From this nascent sensibility Muthesius felt that a more genuine and popular feeling for the house could be awakened in the German people. It is first by successfully addressing this problem that society could bring this sensitivity for art⁴¹ to the street and larger environment and ultimately to the public at large, not only in the multiplicity of its individual dwellings but also in its public realms. He argued that architecture must serve social life, everyday problems.

Patronage, as much in the new movement (Jugendstil) as in the historicism against which it fought, was dominantly motivated by a desire for pomp, display, and admiration. On the contrary, "The new art cannot be engaged with such patronage. If it wants to better the world, it must turn to broader circles."⁴²

While Muthesius's advocacy was not alienated from industrial production, it was also not complacent or uncritical. He insisted that the public must comprehend quality and require it in resisting the tendencies of factory owners. Progress in the arts and in a reinvigorated culture necessitated that people again acquire an understanding of quality, a yet uninaugurated matter of fundamental public education. Quality resided in what was essential: "authenticity of form in the conception, material, and production of the arts and crafts," a condition necessary before one could even speak of raising the object into the realm of art.⁴³

Muthesius sought this same authenticity for architecture, both for its own integrity and because it could win the public approbation necessary for cultural advance. First in the epigraph from Morris and then recurrently in *Stilarchitektur*, the proper models for a new and genuine architecture could only be "necessary, unpretentious buildings." Such were the simple, matter-of-fact (*sachlich*) burghers' houses of the time around 1800, "which still could serve as a model for our contemporary conditions."⁴⁴ Such also was the vernacular building-art of preindustrial times when there was a proper distinction between the non-monumental and the monumental. Such were also the structures of nineteenth-century commerce and transport.

It was Muthesius's view that in such works were to be found the signs of an aesthetic progress that can only be achieved by paying strict attention to matters of

fact (the *Sachlichen*). Yet contemporary architecture for the most part refused that which was valid elsewhere, thus alienating itself from life. This is what he meant by the terms *architecture-mongering* and *style-mongering*. The painterliness of the German Renaissance revival was as much in error as the artificial symmetry of the Italian style. A master builder should attend only to what a particular type of building required:

When he seeks only to do justice, and indeed in every detail, to those demands presented by the site, the construction, the design of the rooms, by the ordering of the windows, doors, heating and lighting sources—then we would already be on the way to that strict straightforwardness [*strengen Sachlichkeit*] that we have come to recognize as the basic feature of modern sensibility.¹³

According to Muthesius, the new movement took account of every circumstance, fluently adapting to every need, to the inner essence of the problem, and it sought to express these demands outwardly. Instead of a pedantic, academic, and generalizing approach, the new movement individualized the process. For Muthesius, such individualization was characteristic of the contemporary spirit that the movement embraced. Rather than style, the new movement should treat materials according to their nature and with sound workmanship and continue its pursuit of a unity of form and color. Muthesius's opposition to style thus had at least three sources: a concept of expression that he associated with the new movement, the exemplars of objectivity (pure *Sachlichkeit*), and his most synthetic constructions of realist art (*sachliche Kunst*).

Muthesius saw one positive influence extending from the rehearsal of styles in the nineteenth century to the new movement. The very eclecticism of that time introduced an appreciation of matching formal attributes with the use of a space or a building. If under the sway of the styles this matching was done primarily through association, the new movement could nonetheless draw on this positive, individualizing drive and freely seek a reasonable relation of building type or function of individual spaces to innovative systems of form and color.

Recurrently in *Stilarchitektur* the only source for a generalizing characterization of the visual culture of modern times is found not in any style but rather in the objects, machines, and constructions in the service of new systems. But even these works cannot be distilled into a style of the time, for the lesson they teach is that of process, and once this process was itself adapted and employed for different social purposes—the dwelling, for example—it would yield different forms.

It is this last step—the move to a *sachliche Kunst*, or a realist architecture—that most engaged Muthesius. Here, not only the particularities of the site, material, climate, and occupant but also the differentiations of region and nation preclude the definition of a style.

Thus while Muthesius recognized a “pure” *Sachlichkeit* in the machines and iron constructions of the nineteenth century, he was not advocating this pure *Sachlichkeit* but the *sachliche Kunst* that he respected in English domestic architecture. Muthesius was, therefore, consistent with Streiter's realism and with Meier-Graefe's and his own endorsement of Schröder's interiors when he commended “the now-apparent need to acknowledge the special attributes of a building, to characterize the particular kind of space *architecturally*.”¹⁴

COMPARISON OF THE TWO EDITIONS

THE PRECEDING EXPOSITION of *Stilarchitektur und Baukunst* has treated the text as if it existed in a single edition and has made only occasional reference to the second edition of 1903. This seems justified on two grounds: the quick succession of the two editions and, more importantly, the maintenance of the principal argument in the two editions.

In the foreword to the second edition Muthesius stated that *Stilarchitektur* conveyed the content of two lectures delivered in the winter of 1901. Indeed, although the title page of the first edition is dated 1902, the cover of that edition bears the date 1901. The foreword of the second edition was dated August 1903.

Notwithstanding the brief interval between the editions, these years represent a period of dynamic change for matters of concern to Muthesius. In 1901 the Vienna Secession was at the peak of its activity; during this time even the work of the Viennese master Wagner was marked by the decorative approach of that movement. Also in 1901 the living and working environment of the Darmstadt Artists' Colony, built to the designs of the Viennese architect Joseph Olbrich but also incorporating the house and theatrical program of Behrens, opened and commanded attention. Its ambition was to influence the future artistic environment of Germany quite generally. The theoretical and formal programs of van de Velde seemed still in ascendancy. Art Nouveau was a significant aspect of the International Exposition held in Paris in 1901. The success of these programs was, of course, also the occasion for reassessment and criticism, including strong criticism among the leading figures who regretted the effects of the popular success of this work among lesser artists and producers. Muthesius's lectures of winter 1901, which formed the basis of



3 COVER FROM THE FIRST EDITION OF HERMANN MUTHESIUS'S *STILARCHITEKTUR UND BAUKUNST* (1902; THE COVER INCORRECTLY BEARS THE DATE 1901). SANTA MONICA, THE GETTY CENTER FOR THE HISTORY OF ART AND THE HUMANITIES

HERMANN MUTHESIUS

STILARCHITEKTUR UND BAUKUNST

WANDLUNGEN
DER ARCHITEKTUR IM XIX.
JAHRHUNDERT UND IHR
HEUTIGER STANDPUNKT

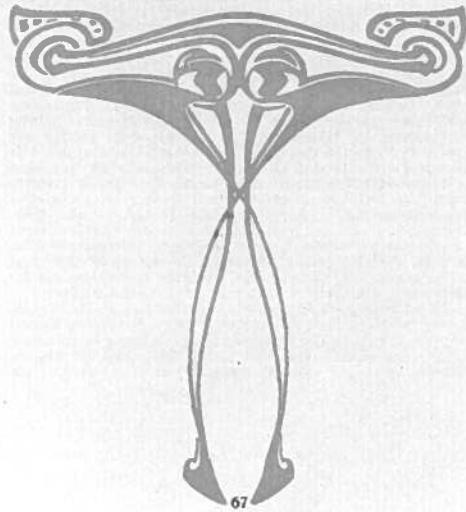


MÜLHEIM-RUHR 1902
VERLAG VON K. SCHIMMELPFENG

4 TITLE PAGE FROM THE FIRST EDITION OF HERMANN MUTHESIUS'S *STILARCHITEKTUR UND BAUKUNST* (1902). SANTA MONICA, THE GETTY CENTER FOR THE HISTORY OF ART AND THE HUMANITIES

Ich glaube, dass das Gedeihen unserer Maler- und Bildhauerschulen in erster Linie von dem Gedeihen unserer Architektur abhängig ist. Alle Künste müssen solange im Schwächezustande verharren, bis diese bereit sein wird, die Führung wieder zu übernehmen.⁴

Wann wird unsere Architektur hierzu bereit sein?
Nicht eher jedenfalls, als bis sie sich aus den Fesseln des Stülgeschichtspunktes, in denen sie während eines Jahrhunderts festgebannt lag, zu neuer goldener Freiheit emporgerungen hat, nicht eher, als bis sie aus einer schemenhaften Stilarchitektur wieder zu einer lebendigen Baukunst geworden ist.



5. DECORATIVE DEVICE FROM THE FIRST EDITION OF HERMANN MUTHESIUS'S *STILARCHITEKTUR UND BAUKUNST* (1902). SANTA MONICA, THE GETTY CENTER FOR THE HISTORY OF ART AND THE HUMANITIES

Stilarchitektur, count among such early criticisms both in their general mistrust of the formalism and decorative excess of this new movement and in their specific criticism of van de Velde. Still, the most likely agents of Muthesius's own position would emerge from among these same practitioners, and if there were to be cultural change in wider circles, Muthesius could not encourage a general mistrust of innovation. Thus his criticisms of Jugendstil were directed to perceived excesses while at the same time he extolled the potential of the new movement.

This is an appropriate place to note changes in the graphic style of the two editions of *Stilarchitektur und Baukunst*. The first edition surprisingly bears Jugendstil ornaments on the cover, title page, and beginnings and endings of the text sections (figs. 3–5). The colors of the cloth cover, blue ornaments and gold lettering on green fabric, are also characteristic of Art Nouveau. Since the most elaborate of these ornaments, that seen on the cover, features the initials of the publisher, I suggest that the graphics are owing to the publisher rather than revealing an inconsistency between Muthesius's thought and presentation. In any case, the second edition of only about one year later,¹⁷ is printed without ornaments; the cover is of blue boards (figs. 6, 7). Admittedly this was an inexpensive edition, but the changes are surely owing to Muthesius's position and the rapidly declining fortunes of the Jugendstil.

By 1902 conditions had changed. The Viennese architects restrained their more decorative instincts and began to take a more abstract and tectonic approach. The bloom of the Darmstadt Artists' Colony very quickly wilted; criticism intensified as Behrens accepted a teaching post in the arts and crafts at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Düsseldorf. Van de Velde was also retrenching and found little success in his scientized exhibition called *Linie und Form* (Line and form) held at the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Museum in Krefeld in 1904. The International Exposition of Decorative Arts held in Turin in 1902 was conceived in the manner of Art Nouveau and suffered in critical acclaim precisely because of that fact.

Consequently, when Muthesius reworked *Stilarchitektur* in 1903, his *sachlich* alternative to Art Nouveau was more compelling and was aided by the forceful decline of enthusiasm for Jugendstil. He took complete advantage of the situation, as we see in the foreword to the second edition. Acknowledging that the new movement began in the applied arts, he noted the continuing success of journalism in "the field of the wrongly termed 'decorative art.'" Without rejecting such journalism, which could be of the greatest assistance, he sought to move it away from the "decorative," and even to move beyond something that had appeared significantly in the first edition of *Stilarchitektur*, the "artistic interior." He now insisted that "the central issue of the new artistic movement is architecture."¹⁸

These terminological changes and the shift away from Jugendstil and even



6. COVER FROM THE SECOND EDITION OF HERMANN MUTHESIUS'S *STILARCHITEKTUR UND BAUKUNST* (1903). BIBLIOTHEK WERNER OECHSLIN.

HERMANN MUTHESIUS
**STILARCHITEKTUR
UND BAUKUNST**

WANDLUNGEN DER ARCHITEKTUR
UND DER GEWERBLICHEN KÜNSTE
IM NEUNZEHNTEN JAHRHUNDERT
UND IHR HEUTIGER STANDPUNKT

ZWEITE STARK VERMEHRTE AUFLAGE

MÜLHEIM AN DER RUHR 1903
VERLAG VON K. SCHIMMELPFENG

7. TITLE PAGE FROM THE SECOND EDITION OF HERMANN MUTHESIUS'S *STILARCHITEKTUR UND BAUKUNST* (1903). BIBLIOTHEK WERNER OECHSLIN.

from the arts and crafts are notable in the revised text. Already in the second paragraph what had been a positive reference to “the controlling decorative rule” that ordered the arts under architecture becomes simply “the controlling rule.” More startling are other changes in that same paragraph: “The minor arts, even with the happy impulse they received [second edition: ‘in Germany’] at the end of the nineteenth century, spin helplessly this way and that, and will do so as long as the refuge of the great Mother Architecture—in this case the artistic [second edition: ‘German’] dwelling—is lacking.”⁴⁹ These two references to Germany are new: the first is the notably chauvinistic claim for the “happy” development of the minor arts; the second is the redirection of Muthesius’s cause from the “artistic dwelling” (admittedly to be reconceived within German culture) to the emphatically “German dwelling.” Toward the end of *Stilarchitektur*, where Muthesius previously had lauded the English for the centrality to their movement of “the artistic house,” he now recognized “the national house.” This is followed by a sentence in the first edition that reads: “In contrast, our new Continental movement will have to wander in journals and exhibitions until we Germans will finally have an artistic house.” This becomes simply “a house,” effectively replacing “artistic” with an implicit “German.”⁵⁰

The only major addition to Part 1 of *Stilarchitektur* is a new paragraph that brings Muthesius’s historical account more into line with this increased mistrust of artistic formalism and the appreciation of a simple and German architecture. In both editions the Rococo of the eighteenth century is admired for providing a system of forms such that all arts and crafts and all social classes shared in a common sensibility. In the second edition a new sentence emphatically assures us that the classical (thus Mediterranean) roots of the Rococo had been fully assimilated to the place and time of German Rococo. More important is the addition of a new paragraph under the heading “Middle-Class Art.” This is an appreciation of the vernacular classicism of the period following the Rococo, acclaimed as “simple, *sachlich*, and reasonable,” an architecture as common and widespread as the burghers of Germany and “which still could serve as a model for our contemporary conditions.”⁵¹

The only extensive textual change in Part 2 of *Stilarchitektur* is the reworking of three paragraphs from the first edition into thirty paragraphs in the second edition. In the foreword to the latter edition Muthesius, despite his increased insistence on architecture, characterized this addition as “a supplement on the condition of the arts and crafts.” Here he is at pains to distinguish what is good in the new movement and “the new interior,” for example, color; a greater abstraction; and simplicity as opposed to the whiplash (or Belgian) line, the ornament craze, and the pretensions of Jugendstil. In the latter he recognizes a sham culture that is then extended to the masses through machine-made surrogates. Such production, shoddy in its concep-

tion and fabrication, depreciates not only the artistic movement but also the ethos of the working class and living conditions of the citizenry in general.⁵²

This misuse of machine fabrication leads Muthesius into his analysis of the machine as a tool that, when controlled by the pursuit of quality in design and production, can be a positive force for the cultural transformation he seeks. He nevertheless returns to an analysis of a present German culture that is more marked by its difficulties than by its positive qualities: the disjuncture between art and life even among the advocates of the new movement, the search for pomp and display, an art of emotion ridiculed in its reduction to “emotion-laden furniture,” and a fundamental absence of a German understanding of the house, which is only partially explained by the prevalence of the rental apartment. The obverse of these complaints is his insistence that a *sachlich* sensibility must be the possession of the middle class and inform the desired transformation of German culture.⁵³ A notable summary of that position follows:

If [the new art] wants to better the world, it must turn to broader circles. Its particular goal can only be our middle class. The wind that today blows across our culture is middle class. Just as today we all work, just as everyone’s clothing is middle class, just as our new tectonic forms (insofar as they are not the work of architects) move in the track of complete simplicity and straightforwardness [*Sachlichkeit*], so also we want to live in middle-class rooms whose essence and goal is simplicity and straightforwardness. No limits are set to good taste within these forms of straightforwardness; indeed here it can be engaged more genuinely than in the worn out, ostentatious cramming of our houses today.⁵⁴

STILARCHITEKTUR IN THE LITERATURE OF THE TIME

IN A CONTEMPORARY REVIEW of *Stilarchitektur und Baukunst*, the Viennese critic Joseph August Lux found this small tract to speak volumes in defining the decisive turning point at which the new movement in art and architecture had arrived.⁵⁵ Muthesius’s book was an engaged and economical draft of a history and a preferred tendency for a later movement that proved to be significant especially in its attention to the machine and industry. Nevertheless, it was more the economy of the text and its timing than its originality that gave the work its currency.

There is no point in attempting to trace the genealogy of specific arguments in Muthesius, but it is possible to present aspects of the context from which they

developed. First, of course, is the English contribution. *Stilarchitektur* begins with an epigraph from Morris, and the text makes ample and positive reference to Augustus Welby Pugin and to Ruskin in particular. These were the key and already well-recognized figures behind the development of late nineteenth-century English thought on artistic culture and architecture. Muthesius rarely mentions figures close to his own generation, so it is perhaps not surprising that we find no reference to William Lethaby, although it is in his thought that this English tradition was freed of much of its decorative excess and oriented toward simpler design and a more accepting attitude toward industrial society. Lethaby was specific in his distaste for "style" and "art," and looked for a straightforward address of life and work. Lethaby's position would be as close to an adequate precedent for that of *Stilarchitektur* as we shall find, but one must still recognize that Muthesius was the leader in giving exposition to English architectural thought and work at the turn of the century.⁵⁶ Lethaby himself acknowledged this in a famous lecture given at the Architectural Association in London during World War I, while also acknowledging that England could learn from contemporary German architecture.⁵⁷

Of Muthesius's rare, specific comments on contemporary positions in architecture, the most notable and positive was his commendation of Wagner. "Only in Vienna, where the architecture school of Otto Wagner has already for some years worked toward an architecture that is both artistically freer and more considerate of the demands of purpose, was the building-art both able and inclined from the beginning to form an alliance with the newly arising crafts."⁵⁸ There was, however, another tradition in German architectural thought still closer to the position advocated in *Stilarchitektur*. We have already noted this in Muthesius's high regard for the Munich interiors by Schröder, as he came to know them through their publication by Meier-Graefe. Meier-Graefe, wishing to promote related work in an unornamented style, commented: "The movement apparently and hopefully will follow Schröder's path. . . . The Viennese already begin, notably Loos makes furniture without ornament in Vienna and is not without influence."⁵⁹ This invites the question of whether Muthesius was or was not one of those with "deaf ears" with regard to the polemical journalism of Adolf Loos in Vienna at the end of the nineteenth century. Although Loos's writings were disseminated more widely only with their publication in book form as *Ins Leere gesprochen* (Spoken into the void), 1921, there was clearly a continuing currency of Loos's thought, which already included many themes found in *Stilarchitektur*: for example, depreciation of the imitative use of styles, early and radical dismissal of the search for a new style in the Secession and Jugendstil, and even such comparative references as their shared attention to modern clothing.⁶⁰ But aside from the witty, acerbic, and even pessimistic framing of

Loos's argument, there are also differences in position.⁶¹ Rather than look for Muthesius's direct borrowings from Loos, it is more appropriate to see in this potential relationship one aspect of a concomitant German theoretical and—to a lesser extent—practical tradition favoring a realist architecture. Streiter was also an important theoretician for this position, a fact that has recently received elucidation.⁶²

MUTHESIUS AND THE DEUTSCHE WERKBUND

IN MUNICH IN OCTOBER 1907 a group of artists (mainly architects) and producers (at the scale of craft production but soon to be joined by fully industrialized firms) founded the Deutsche Werkbund. This movement was to have wide effect in Germany for the next decade and continues even now.⁶³ It embodied principles learned from Morris, including the importance of the satisfaction, if not the joy, of workers in their production and the coherent relation of process and product. For the people of the Werkbund, however, it was both possible and necessary to extend Morris's principles to processes entailing a division of labor: the work of the artist-designer, the craftsman-producer, and even the industrial producer.

The Werkbund brought these motifs together under the concept of *Qualität*. Its members believed that by raising the standards of design, using the finest quality materials and the best manual talent (thus creating meaningful work), they would promote a reintegrated cultural environment, which, through the excellence of its products, would allow Germany to compete internationally on the basis of quality rather than quantity.

Such a program will sound familiar to readers of *Stilarchitektur*, and not surprisingly, for Muthesius was among the most active of the founders of the Werkbund. He continued to play a strong role down to his involvement in the famous Werkbund debate just before the outbreak of the First World War. This is not the place to examine the Werkbund in detail, although it deserves notice for it is obvious that much of the Werkbund's important cultural emphasis was already present in the turn-of-the-century thought of Muthesius. Among the group's themes were the extension of arts-and-crafts principles to industrial production; advocacy of a *sachlich* approach to design and production rather than a reliance on style, an emphatic stress on *quality* as the vehicle for restoring meaningful work under industrial conditions, thus alleviating the dissatisfaction with degraded goods; the establishing of a viable industrial economy; the necessity of public education and propaganda to advance this concept of quality; and all of this in the search for a harmonious culture.

The Werkbund debate of 1914 resulted from a set of theses advanced by

Muthesius for its direction.⁶⁴ His key word *Typisierung*, a word that caused such concern among some members that van de Velde offered his famous countertheses, does not appear in *Stilarchitektur*. In most interpretations of the debate, *Typisierung* has been taken to mean "standardization" in the sense of conformity to the exigencies of industrial production, and Muthesius's position in the theses has been taken to be a commitment to industrial norms at the expense of the creative power of artists or designers. It may be argued, however, that in the debate itself, neither Muthesius nor van de Velde attributed such a meaning to *Typisierung*. Rather, it meant "type," or the formulation of types or norms that could be applied to all the concerns of the Werkbund: crafts, industrial products, and architecture. For Muthesius it was a heightening of his concern for shared conventions that might provide a unified and harmonious culture. For van de Velde it represented precisely the dangers of the same phenomenon: a premature closure on creative propositions about modern culture; a false and deadening system of conventions and norms. Understood as a search for shared norms, Muthesius's position is sympathetic with his earlier stance, but it does implicitly recognize or clarify the ambiguity in his turn-of-the-century thought. How could one simultaneously honor and stress individualization as a trait of the new movement and modern times while also looking for conventions that could be the basis for a genuinely shared culture? In 1914, by advocating shared norms, Muthesius took the conservative exit from this dilemma.

ARCHITECTURE AS ART

THE THRUST OF *Stilarchitektur und Baukunst* leaves no doubt as to the disjunction of the two nouns in the title: Muthesius's advocacy is for the building-art and against style-architecture. The term *style-architecture* for him meant high style and the established architectural profession, exacerbated by too much history and the malign influence of professors of art and aesthetics. All this is seen as a characteristic product of modern urban culture, such as that proliferating in Berlin. In contrast, building-art is allied with vernacular buildings, guilds, the lower and middle classes, and humbler dwellings. Even the "art" in building-art should be understood more in its archaic sense of *metier*, craft, artifice.⁶⁵

Yet Muthesius also insisted on retaining architecture's status as the Mother of the Arts. He, like many of the architects, professors, and theoreticians against whom he railed, could not help but endorse Schinkel as the last great architect practicing a unified art and architecture.⁶⁶ With "architecture as the Mother of the Arts," both the Latin root word *architectura* and the vision of the highest of the arts returned.

Perhaps a reconciliation of this with building-art would be possible. Clearly Muthesius was not describing a current state of affairs. The building-art he wished to see was yet to be won and was sought under a vision of emerging conditions of production, society, and culture. It is the asserted historical correctness of this vision of a building-art and its desired proximate realization that would win for it the right to once again be the Mother of the Arts. Furthermore, this enterprise is seen as winning art away from the rationalizing historicists and aestheticians, restoring it to its proper realm as a matter of "effects" [second edition: "feelings"], not explanation.⁶⁷ Nonetheless, there is ambiguity on this point in Muthesius's exposition—still more if one considers how this cause would be advanced within the complexities of the world. This difficulty is readily observed in Muthesius's career in these years. He was engaged with bureaucrats, politicians, industrialists, large craft producers, craftsmen, artists, architects, and critics, all of whose agendas could hardly have been aligned. Yet Muthesius could be surprised, as he was at Cologne in 1914, when one such group perceived his thought and work to be unduly weighted toward other groups.

The social vision embedded in this text must begin, as already noted, with the recognition that the idealistic socialism of Morris was of little or no political effect. Moreover, in the matters of work, craft, and product, whatever success Morris and his allies achieved had to be seen as ironically sustained by the aristocracy and the social classes created by the new industrialism. Morris found himself in the service of an elite despite himself. Additionally, industry and its products, of whatever quality, became ever more prevalent and so, too, the constrained conditions of an industrial working class who knew nothing of Morris's ideals.

A recurrent and, I think, correct commendation of the German artistic movement of the first decades of the twentieth century is that it acknowledged this defeat of Morris yet reconceived parts of his program as an experiment *within* industrial society. Muthesius played a major role in this, and *Stilarchitektur* was an early contribution. Thus we find Muthesius arguing for restoring to the worker a sense of authenticity and integrity in his production through quality in design, manufacture, and work. He believed that factory owners would be brought to such production by the pressure of an enlightened public's demand for quality.⁶⁸ Yet just as often Muthesius felt that the masses, or the public, were lacking in discrimination, thereby undermining reform and indeed supporting the negative conditions that caused his concerns.⁶⁹ German workers were said to take no notice of their rental apartments and, therefore, were unlikely agents of his envisioned reforms. The disagreeable state of German physical culture was shaped primarily by "parvenu pretension" and "sham culture."⁷⁰ In the end, Muthesius carved out the middle class and, dominantly it should seem, the lower middle class as the agents and beneficiaries of his envisioned

change. Even this group would require the reformation and education that only another elite could bring: Muthesius noted with regret that the artistic German house would emerge only from a nurturing period in journals and exhibitions.⁷¹ Later there were educational programs created by the elite figures of the Deutsche Werkbund. This was an attempt to adapt successfully to industrial culture and bring change to a much broader spectrum of the population than could be envisioned or attempted in earlier preindustrial or anti-industrial models. Nonetheless, it was also a program that did not invest trust in the classes characteristic of industrial society but rather in those of preindustrial times.

The identification and cultural investment of this middle class owed much to the historical assessments of German culture that make up the first part of *Stilarchitektur*. The Gothic was seen as the first example of a coherent Western artistic system independent of the Mediterranean and shaping the entire cultural production and everyday life of the medieval town and its burghers. It became the ultimate precedent and touchstone for a unified culture appropriate to northern societies. According to these views, the eighteenth century was the last period in which there was a commonly understood culture reaching across classes and genres, from artists through high patrons to the burgher, and from the monumental to the everyday. Muthesius was most comfortable in aligning this with the Rococo, for this was a classicism so radically transformed as to be distinctively northern, in some sense even gothicized. Nonetheless (and somewhat more strongly in the second edition), Muthesius, like other architects and critics, could also recognize these traits in the simplified classicism around 1800—in the work of Schinkel but preferably in the generalized and often anonymous work of the Biedermeier period from 1815 to 1848.

Despite the restrictions imposed by imitation, the Gothic revival in England initiated the reassertion of northern cultural values according to Muthesius. It opened doors that yielded the success of the new architecture. The very possibility of these exemplars offered for consideration by Muthesius was owing to a middle class free of Italianate pretensions: the argument is that classicism insists on its universality and eternal standards and thus also embraces formalism and imitation. In contrast the variant northern periods are “an expression of the inner nature . . . of contemporary developments”,⁷² they are individual and recognize “that there can be only one standard for art, namely that which expresses the life and culture of the time.”⁷³ For Muthesius it was a distinctively northern and even particularly Germanic (or as he prefers, Nordic) opportunity to realize a historically justified reform through an empowered middle class enjoying a freedom of taste. For him this individualistic German conception of art is what can, in the best sense, be designated

as “modern.”⁷⁴ It is not surprising, then, that we find Muthesius led into increasingly nationalistic, and finally chauvinistic, regard for the German middle class to whom he addresses his message and from whom he expects so much. With the claim that the ascendant new art was created basically by Germanic peoples, he observes the decline of the Latin peoples and their arts,⁷⁵ and asserts:

If we restrict ourselves to the homegrown, and if each of us impartially follows his own individual artistic inclinations, then we will soon have not only a reasonable but also a national, vernacular building-art. Nationality in art need not be artificially bred. If one raises genuine people, we will have a genuine art that for every individual with a sincere character can be nothing other than national. For every genuine person is a part of a genuine nationality.⁷⁶

He expanded on this concept in the second edition of *Stilarchitektur*.

As the bearer of the new ideas, a new spiritual aristocracy arises, which this time stems from the best of the middle class rather than the hereditary aristocratic elements, and this especially clearly signals the new and enlarged goal of the movement: the creation of a contemporary middle-class art. A strong artistic current, unimaginable ten years ago, streams through the German heart, and a deep desire for a purer state of art moves the whole of Germany.⁷⁷

It is also this wholehearted embrace of the middle class as the agent and the destination of the new art that leads Muthesius, despite a more general set of assumptions, to a unique focus on the single-family house. Notwithstanding that the common dwelling in Germany of his time was the rental apartment; notwithstanding his own opinion that the culture of the house was still little developed in Germany; notwithstanding his regret that not even the wealthy often enough sought out the comforts of the villa, still Muthesius draws the conclusion that “a change in our German artistic situation can only take its start in the German house,” adding “which essentially is yet to be created.”⁷⁸

It would appear that Muthesius polemically underestimated the appeal of the single-family house for the Germans of his own day and the following decades, but it was this emphasis that prevented Muthesius’s architectural thinking from engaging the problems and potentials of housing the greater number or of rethinking the industrial city.

On the other hand, a matter that was only an aside for Muthesius, but of which he was critical and prescient, was that of the restoration of ancient—in this case mainly medieval—buildings. He was keen in recognizing the obvious modernity, and soon even the ability to recognize a history within this modernity, of the manners of “restoring” old buildings. Recognizing that such works are documents better known in a ruinous state than in a ruined reworking, he preferred a halt to all restoration.⁷⁹

CONCLUSION

MUTHESIUS'S INORDINATE EMPHASIS on the house and middle-class culture, his nationalism and chauvinism, his neglect of social housing and the city—all these matters give pause and distance one from his position. Nonetheless, these aspects of his argument are not intrinsic to his fundamental program. That program centers on the concept of *sachliche Kunst*, which in this context might be termed “a realist architecture,” the posited extension and transformation of pure *Sachlichkeit* to the full range of architectural production. That Muthesius focuses that extension almost wholly on the house does not limit the generality of the argument; it could be directed to housing, to civic institutions, to the city.

We can now draw some conclusions from this and other material.⁸⁰ It was commonplace to recognize the engineering achievements of the nineteenth century, from tools or instruments to the great bridges and railroad sheds. Whether the critics saw these works as exemplary achievements or, resignedly, as the representative objects of a materialist epoch, they agreed that such works and the processes that produced them were marked by rationality, functionalism, and the direct satisfaction of need. Muthesius subsumed such qualities under the term “pure” *Sachlichkeit*. Other authors, at least in speaking of architecture, gave the term *Sachlichkeit* further extension, incorporating within it the needs to be satisfied, the demands of local atmosphere or milieu, recognizing that an arbitrariness of formal invention is not eliminated even if one recognizes the constraints within which it operates. Muthesius was, after all, in accord with this move when he distinguished between pure *Sachlichkeit* and a *sachlich*, or realist, art and architecture.⁸¹

Sachlichkeit is, then, a convenient umbrella term that invokes simplicity, a rational and straightforward attention to needs as well as to materials and processes. In the realm of art and architecture, at least at the turn of the twentieth century, the range of needs was extended, however, and in such a way that none of these authors would expect a calculus of their realist architecture. A realist architecture

imposes certain desiderata and constraints, but it still requires conventions or inventions that are not to be incorporated by a mechanical processing of a unique stipulation of needs.⁸²

Reason is imperative, but reason that is guided by our affections. *Sachliche Kunst*, a realist architecture, unlike the positivism of pure *Sachlichkeit*, is realism that points to interaction between the actor and the world—a theoretical position descending from inquiries into the sources of knowledge conducted in England and Germany around 1800. Whether by received custom or by our challenges to received conventions, we frame the conditions of our knowing and our existence—accepting, with Clifford Geertz, the view of Max Weber: we spin the webs of our own understanding.⁸³ Denying any certainty to this web, to this framework, relishing its hypothetical character, we can entertain its metaphysical propositions as much as its material implications.

A realist architecture mistrusts universalist claims, such as those voiced by the Darmstadt Artists' Colony, in which art and the great artist magnanimously were to impose forms that would dictate to life. A realist architecture rejects a necessary, organic relation of cultural production to blood and soil (even if this claim is clearer in the thought of Loos than in that of Muthesius). Realist architecture respects but subsumes the pure *Sachlichkeit* of the calculation of mechanical needs. It establishes a condition of knowing and association that cannot maintain its balance without speculative innovation; but this too will ordinarily appear within a framework that is the fruit of earlier speculations. Within a realist architecture there is an impetus to understand and use our received condition as much as to criticize and change it.

I would not like to end this introduction without recognizing certain dangers into which this program of realist architecture may slide. While it is one of the strengths of this type of architecture to concern itself with the cultural life of its generation, one is thereby also implicated in that cultural life. A *sachlich* search of this cultural life may incline one to take the status quo as a given. Certain forms or conventions may not be raised to consciousness. Others may be accepted or even “realistically” endorsed simply because they are there. Thus can emerge the uncritical appreciation of anonymous or vernacular forms of a place or of the social as well as physical conventions of that place. Still more problematically these concerns may be employed to pose a nostalgic and, finally, a coercive program of a rooted, totalizing culture. The definition and appreciation of regional differences can escalate into nationalism and, finally, into racism. Muthesius's formulations contained this evident nationalism, which he employed to resist French influence, to delimit even that which might be learned from his much-studied English works, and to impel a chauvinist dimension within his program for the German arts. Still more emphatic

commitments to the invention of a rooted German culture were briefly mentioned at the beginning of this essay, and indeed such efforts were part of a broad and sustained program in the architectural culture of Germany before and after 1900. The name of Paul Schultze-Naumburg may suffice to evidence the possible transition from an inquiry into local architectural culture to a racist program.⁸⁴ It is this problematic aspect of German architecture to which Francesco Dal Co gives valuable and concerted attention—and also rightly notes the close ties between these appeals to rootedness and the ambitions for a true *Wohnkultur*, or culture of dwelling.⁸⁵ Yet, I think it is correct to note that the form of *Wohnkultur* that one may recognize in the advocacy of Meier-Graefe, in Loos, and in the best of Muthesius's work is both critical and projective, making no appeal to rootedness but rather to an interactive transformation of both architecture and social and cultural life.

It is possible, I think, to identify where the faulted programs transgress the position advanced as *sachliche Kunst*, or realist architecture. As opposed to pure *Sachlichkeit*, I would argue that a strength of *sachliche Kunst* is its acceptance, but properly a critical acceptance, of a cultural setting as a necessary and enabling condition for its realist inquiry. This is the acceptance of a metaphysic, of certain speculations, of an arbitrariness at the very beginning of the inquiry. To avoid the slide from this critical acceptance of convention to an acceptance of the status quo, or still more problematically to positions of nationalism and racism, it is imperative that one does not lose sight of the arbitrary basis of conventions—that they be weighed in the light of alternatives and innovations, be as much the focus of criticism as of exposition. Here is the crucial difference between the work of Loos and that of Schultze-Naumburg or, less dramatically, even between Loos and Muthesius.

NOTES

References of the type "Style-Architecture and Building-Art [56]" direct the reader to the appropriate page of the translation of Muthesius's text that appears in this volume. The translation is based on the first edition of 1902, which appears in bold type. Additions made to the second edition of 1903 appear in nonbold type. The use of a typographic device—a dotted underscore—and explanations in the accompanying endnotes indicate variants between the 1902 and 1903 editions of Muthesius's text. Indications of variants are only furnished in the Introduction when they are relevant to the discussion.

1. Hermann Muthesius, *Stilarchitektur und Baukunst: Wandlungen der Architektur im XIX. Jahrhundert und ihr heutiger Standpunkt* (Mülheim an der Ruhr: K. Schimmelpfeng, 1902, 2nd ed., Mülheim an der Ruhr: K. Schimmelpfeng, 1903). The second edition was subtitled *Wandlungen der Architektur und der gewerblichen Künste im neunzehnten Jahrhundert und ihr heutiger Standpunkt*.

2. The biographical data in this section are from Wiltrud Petsch-Bahr, "Hermann Muthesius," in Wolfgang Ribbe and Wolfgang Schäche, eds., *Baumeister, Architekten, Stadtplaner: Biographien zur baulichen Entwicklung Berlins* (Berlin: Stapp, 1987), 321–40.

3. Hermann Muthesius, *Italienische Reise-Eindrücke* (Berlin: W. Ernst & Sohn, 1898), 51–52.

4. The three publications are: *Die englische Baukunst der Gegenwart: Beispiele neuer englischer Profanbauten* (Leipzig: Cosmoz, 1900); *Die neuere kirchliche Baukunst in England: Entwicklung, Bedingungen und Grundzüge des Kirchenbaues der englischen Staatskirche und der Secten* (Berlin: W. Ernst & Sohn, 1901); and *Das englische Haus: Entwicklung, Bedingungen, Anlage, Aufbau, Einrichtung und Innenraum*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1904–1905, 2nd ed., Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1908–1911, one vol. English ed., New York: Rizzoli, 1979).

5. See Hans Joachim Hubrich, *Hermann Muthesius: Die Schriften zu Architektur, Kunstgewerbe, Industrie in der "Neuen Bewegung"* (Berlin: Mann, 1981).

6. A convenient compendium of Muthesius's architecture is Silvano Custozza, Maurizio Vogliazzo, and Julius Posener, *Muthesius* (Milan: Electa, 1981). Julius Posener is a major interpreter of Muthesius, both in English and German. See his "Muthesius," *Architects Year Book* 10 (1962): 45–51; *From Schinkel to the Bauhaus* (London: The Architectural Association, 1972); "Muthesius als Architekt," *Werkbundarchiv* 1 (1972): 55–80; "Muthesius as Architect," *Lotus* 9 (Feb. 1975): 104–15; and, with Sonja Günther, eds., *Hermann Muthesius, 1861–1927* (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1977). See also Stefan Muthesius, *Das englische Vorbild: Eine Studie zu den deutschen Reformbewegungen in Architektur, Wohnbau und Kunstgewerbe im späteren 19. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Prestel, 1974); and Wiltrud Petsch-Bahr (see note 2).

7. Hermann Muthesius, *Wie baue ich mein Haus?* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1917). A second, revised and enlarged, edition in the same year—less elegantly produced—gave more consideration to modest houses.

8. Hermann Muthesius, *Kann ich auch jetzt noch mein Haus bauen? Richtlinien für den wirklich sparsamen Bau des bürgerlichen Einfamilienhauses . . . Mit Beispielen* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1920).

9. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (Dresden: Walther, 1764).

10. The concepts embodied in the word *Sachlichkeit* are central to Muthesius's argument in *Stilarchitektur*. *Sachlichkeit* is often translated as "objectivity" or "reality." It and its adjectival form, *sachlich*, may also connote the "functional," "practical," "pragmatic," "material," "factual," "matter-of-fact," "artless," and "straightforward." In almost any German context a single English word cannot provide an adequate translation. Additionally, the intended meaning has shifted with different authors and in different periods of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century discourse on art and architecture. This Introduction attempts to build a nuanced view of the use of this word at the turn of the century. As it is introduced in the first part of the essay, what seems to be the most adequate English translation is offered. When *Sachlichkeit* appears in Muthesius's advocacy, I have usually translated it as "straightforwardness," both for the similarity of construction and because this term properly avoids the too demanding claims of "objectivity" (for Muthesius, "reine [pure] *Sachlichkeit*") and the too narrow and too worn connotations of "practicality" or "functionalism." As the argument of the Introduction unfolds, the more complex connotations are assumed to be developed and clarified through context and the German word is presented without translation. The argument can be anticipated by referring to pp. 34–35 of this Introduction.

11. The material in this paragraph is drawn from the essay "Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben" (The use and abuse of history), which first appeared in 1874 in Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche's *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen*, translated into English as *Thoughts out of Season* (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1949), 73–75, and more recently as *Unmodern Observations* (New Haven: Yale, 1990), 87ff.

12. See, for example Henry van de Velde, *Laienpredigten* (Leipzig: Seemann, 1902), 16. The influence of Nietzsche in the revolutionary art movement in Belgium around 1890 is specifically mentioned. Van de Velde later designed the Nietzsche-Archiv in Weimar (1903).

13. [Julius Langbehn], *Rembrandt als Erzieher, von einem Deutschen* (Leipzig: Hirschfeld, 1890).

14. Hermann Muthesius, *Kultur und Kunst: Gesammelte Aufsätze über künstlerische Fragen der Gegenwart* (Jena: E. Diederichs, 1904; reprint, Nendeln: Kraus, 1976).

15. Konrad Lange's *Die künstlerische Erziehung der deutschen Jugend* (Darmstadt: Bergstrasser, 1893) was a book of related significance, influenced by Langbehn; it urged an artistic education for all German children.

An early enthusiast for feeling and the "heart" as opposed to reason and the mind was Heinrich Pudor, a constant advocate of the movement in the arts discussed here. See, for example,

his *Die Welt als Musik* (Dresden: Albanus, n.d. [a lecture given in 1891]), and *Kaiser Wilhelm II und Rembrandt als Erzieher* (2nd enlarged ed., Dresden: O. Damm, 1891).

In his *Der Weg der Kunst* (Jena: Diederichs, 1904), Albert Dresden draws upon Nietzsche and Langbehn to put his case against modern science, Impressionism, and the corset, and in favor of the dance, artistic education, etc. Both this work and Muthesius's *Kultur und Kunst* were published by Eugen Diederichs, as were a series of related volumes by Ludwig von Kunowski. Diederichs could, and did, write prospectuses for his press, which, in leading from one of his publications to the next, formed not just an essay but a coherent program for cultural reform. Some of his authors might cite Langbehn favorably, but the total program was broader. Diederichs considered himself the leading publisher of what was termed the *Neuromantik*. Under this term were grouped those artists, poets, essayists, historians, and philosophers who sought a comprehensive view of life such as that pursued by the early nineteenth-century Romantics. Goethe may be mentioned as one of the great models, but there were others, too, and of other eras: for example, Paracelsus and Albrecht Dürer. Diederichs felt that this admirable desire for an adequate *Naturphilosophie* had been lost in the materialism, naturalism, and specialization of the latter nineteenth century. See, for example, Diederichs's program for his press in 1900, which appears in Lulu von Strauss and Torney-Diederichs, ed., *Eugen Diederichs: Leben und Werk* (Jena: E. Diederichs, 1936), 52–53.

For an excellent consideration of Langbehn and other strongly nationalistic ideologists, see Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1961).

16. Stefan Muthesius, "Deutschland unter englischen Einfluss, 1880–1897," in idem, *Das englische Vorbild* (Munich: Prestel, 1974), 96–118.

17. Robert Dohme, *Das englische Haus: Eine kultur- und baugeschichtliche Skizze* (Braunschweig: G. Westermann, 1888).

18. *Ibid.*, 42.

19. Inigo Jones (1573–1652), English architect.

20. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [66].

21. See *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [66]. See also the monograph by Anthony Quiney, *John Loughborough Pearson* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1979).

22. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [67].

23. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [96–97].

24. After an international competition in 1851, Friedrich Bürklein (1813–1872), the favored architect of King Maximilian II of Bavaria, was charged with conceiving a new architectural style to be demonstrated in the Maximilianstrasse, an eastward extension from the old city of Munich. The enterprise was conducted under criticism that new styles were not "made" but developed. See Gerhard Hojer, "München—Maximilianstrasse und Maximilianstil," in Ludwig Grote, ed., *Die Deutsche Stadt im 19. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Prestel, 1974), 33–65, and,

in a more general context, Klaus Döhmer, "In welchem Style sollen wir bauen?": *Architekturtheorie zwischen Klassizismus und Jugendstil* (Munich: Prestel, 1976).

25. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [98].
26. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [87].
27. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [95].
28. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [89].
29. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [90–91].
30. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [97].
31. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [50].
32. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [50].
33. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [98].
34. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [80].
35. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [98].
36. Julius Meier-Graefe, "Ein modernes Milieu," *Dekorative Kunst* 4–8, no. 7 (April 1901): 261.
37. Hermann Muthesius, "Neues Ornament und neue Kunst," *Dekorative Kunst* 4–8, no. 9 (June 1901): 364–66. "... dieses Beispielen, das fast alle die Ideale einer echten neuen Kunst zu verwirklichen scheint und in seiner schlichten Behaglichkeit und ornamentlosen Grösse eine wahre Erquickung bedeutet."
38. Richard Streiter, "Aus München," *Pan*, no. 3 (1896): 249; also in idem, *Ausgewählte Schriften zur Aesthetik und Kunst-Geschichte* (Munich: Delphin, 1913), 32: "Realismus in der Architektur, das ist die weitgehendste Berücksichtigung der realen Werdebedingungen eines Bauwerks, die möglichst vollkommene Erfüllung der Forderungen der Zweckmässigkeit, Bequemlichkeit, Gesundheitsförderlichkeit, mit einem Wort: die Sachlichkeit. Aber das ist noch nicht alles. Wie der Realismus der Dichtung als eine seiner Hauptaufgaben es betrachtet, den Zusammenhang der Charaktere mit ihrem Milieu scharf ins Auge zu fassen, so sieht die verwandte Richtung in der Architektur ein vor allem erstrebenswertes Ziel künstlerischer Wahrhaftigkeit darin den Charakter eines Bauwerkes nicht aus seiner Zweckbestimmung allein, sondern auch aus dem Milieu, aus der Eigenart der jeweilig vorhandenen Baustoffe, aus der Landschaftlich und geschichtlich bedingten Stimmung der Oertlichkeit heraus zu entwickeln."
39. Stanford Anderson, "Sachlichkeit and Modernity, or Realist Architecture," in Harry Francis Mallgrave, ed., *Otto Wagner: Reflections on the Raiment of Modernity* (Santa Monica: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1993), 339.
40. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [85].
41. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [96].
42. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [94].
43. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [93].
44. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [48, 53].

45. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [81].
 46. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [99], emphasis mine.
 47. The date on the cover of the first edition is 1901, but 1902 appears on the title page.
 48. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [47]. All quotations in this paragraph are taken from the second paragraph of Muthesius's foreword to the second edition.
 49. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [50].
 50. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [97].
 51. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [53].
 52. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [85–91].
 53. This paragraph summarizes an addition to the second edition of *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [91–96].
 54. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [94].
 55. Joseph August Lux, "Stilarchitektur und Baukunst," *Der Architekt* 8 (1902): 45–47.
 56. William R. Lethaby, *Form in Civilization: Collected Papers on Art and Labour* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1922, 2nd. ed., 1957).
 57. William R. Lethaby, "Modern German Architecture and What We May Learn from It," in idem (see note 56), 96–105.
 58. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [82].
 59. Meier-Graefe (see note 36), 264: "Die Bewegung wird wahrscheinlich und hoffentlich den Schröder'schen Weg gehen, ... Die Wiener fangen schon an, Loos macht ostentativ in Wien Möbel ohne jedes Ornament und bleibt nicht ohne Einfluss." For his part, Muthesius sustained his call for artistic production devoid of artfulness: in his *Kunstgewerbe und Architektur* (Jena: Diederichs, 1907), Muthesius ends the chapter titled "Das Moderne in der Architektur" with the words of Hamlet's mother to Polonius: "More matter with less art."
 60. Adolf Loos, *Ins Leere gesprochen, 1897–1900* (Paris: Crès, 1921; reprint, Vienna: G. Prachner, 1981). Translated by Jane O. Newman and John H. Smith as *Spoken into the Void: Collected Essays, 1897–1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1982).
 61. This was overtly manifest in 1907 when Muthesius played a lead role in the establishment of the Deutsche Werkbund while Loos quickly dismissed this enterprise for making the error of the Jugendstil again: the overarching definition of form for all scales of production by an elite of artist-designers. See Adolf Loos, "Die Überflüssigen (Deutscher Werkbund)" (1908), in *Trotzdem, 1900–1930* (Innsbruck: Brenner, 1931; reprint, Vienna: G. Prachner, 1982), 71–73.
- More generally, despite his attention to English domestic architecture, Muthesius was decidedly nationalist, polemicizing a distinctly German artistic production. Loos was critical of the Viennese situation, honing his arguments by international awareness and advocating the acceptance of certain foreign innovations. I have elsewhere argued that Loos's thought and production, being more consistent and more critical as well as more innovative, would provide

the preferred basis for a characterization and evaluation of a program of realist architecture.

62. Richard Streiter, *Architektonische Zeitfragen: Eine Sammlung und Sichtung verschiedener Anschauungen mit besonderer Beziehung auf Professor Otto Wagners Schrift "Moderne Architektur"* (1898), in idem, 1913 (see note 38), 55–149 and the notes on 325–27. See also the essays by J. Duncan Berry, Harry Mallgrave, and Stanford Anderson in Mallgrave (see note 39).

63. Joan Campbell, *The German Werkbund: The Politics of Reform in the Applied Arts* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1978), and Kurt Junghanns, *Der Deutsche Werkbund. Sein erstes Jahrzehnt* (Berlin: Henschel, 1982).

64. See Stanford Anderson, "Deutscher Werkbund—the 1914 Debate: Hermann Muthesius versus Henry van de Velde," in Ben Farmer and Hentie Louw, eds., *Companion to Contemporary Architectural Thought* (London: Routledge, 1993), 462–67.

65. Muthesius's polarization of "style-architecture" versus "building-art" required a gross simplification, a polemically narrow interpretation of nineteenth-century architectural thought and practice. This combative position, understandable in a small tract, came to characterize much of the criticism and historiography of modern architecture until the last third of the twentieth century.

66. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [54–55].

67. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [56].

68. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [92].

69. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [87].

70. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [89].

71. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [96–97].

72. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [76].

73. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [61].

74. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [99].

75. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [76–77].

76. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [97].

77. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [100].

78. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [85].

79. *Style-Architecture and Building-Art* [63–64]. See also Hermann Muthesius, "Die 'Wiederherstellung' unserer alten Bauten," in idem, 1904 (see note 14), 117–55.

80. This concluding material is modified from Anderson (see note 39).

81. With the term *realist art*, I do not intend to subsume all other uses of that term, from nineteenth-century French painting to socialist realism, but rather to avail myself of an English term, here used with specific reference to the concept discussed in this essay.

82. A similar interpretation of architecture may already be recognized in Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation*, trans. E. F. J. Payne (Indian Hills, Colo.: Falcon's Wing Press, 1958, reprint, New York: Dover, 1969), esp. vol. 1, sec. 43.

83. Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 5.

84. Barbara Miller Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918–1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1968), esp. 133ff.

85. Francesco Dal Co, *Figures of Architecture and Thought: German Architecture Culture, 1880–1920* (New York: Rizzoli, 1990). See especially the chapter "Culture of Dwelling."