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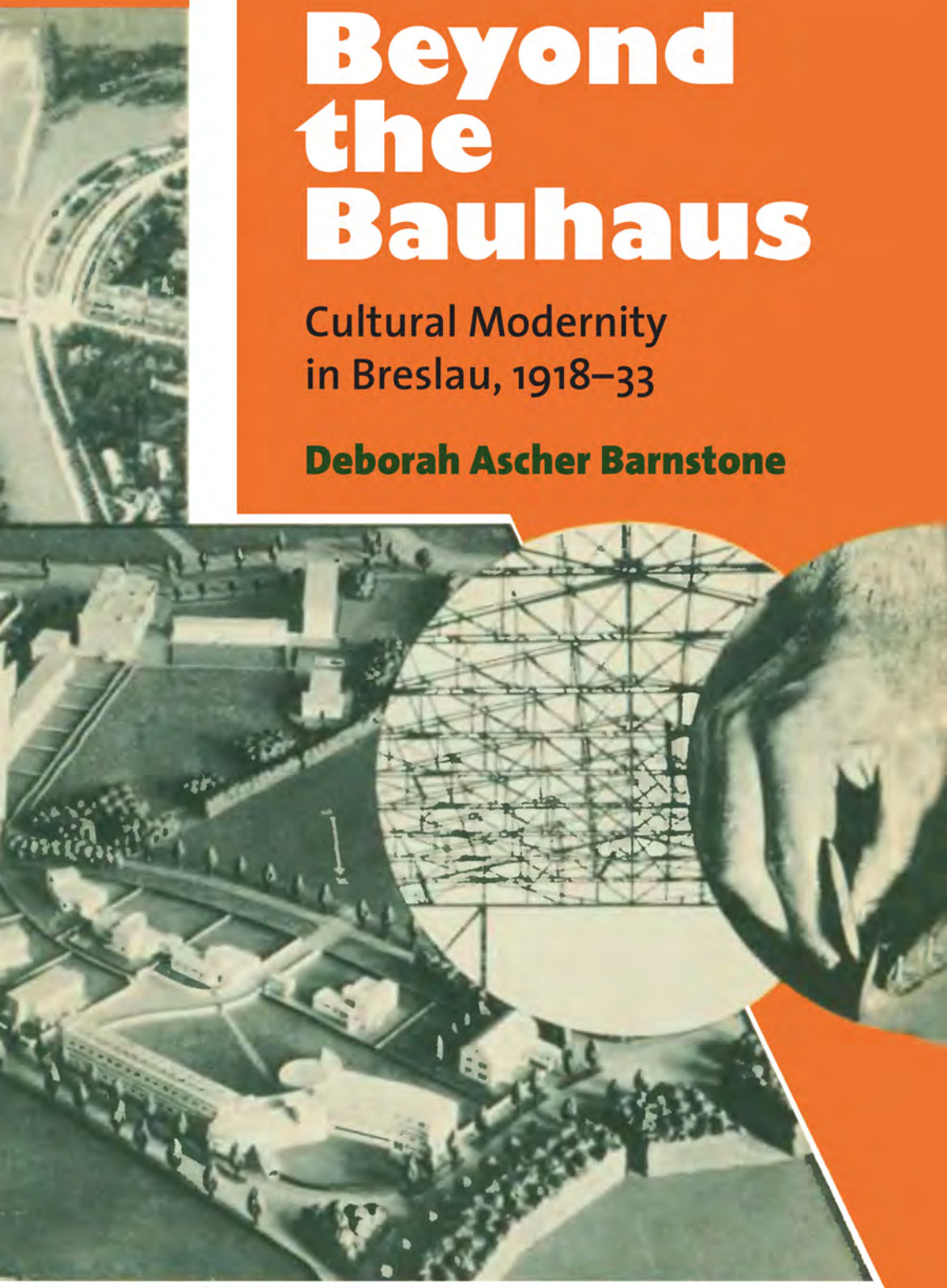
Beyond the Bauhaus

Cultural Modernity in Breslau, 1918–33

Deborah Ascher Barnstone



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Cultural Modernity in Breslau, 1918–33

Deborah Ascher Barnstone

University of Michigan Press
Ann Arbor

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To my beloved husband, Robert, and children,
Alexi and Maya

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Acknowledgments

I first heard of the city of Breslau as a child from my father, Abraham Ascher, who was born there. I must confess, however, that for decades the city remained only a remote name since my father's family had all fled or been murdered by the Nazis, and Breslau after the war became Wroclaw, a Polish city situated behind the Iron Curtain that was virtually inaccessible to those of us in the West. Indeed, I knew shamefully little of my father's Heimatstadt until my father decided to author his own study on the city, specifically on the Jewish community that had resided there during the Nazi period between 1933 and 1941. It was, in fact, toward the final stages of producing his book that my father called one day to inform me that he had discovered material of art historical interest that might prove interesting to me. He sent me a small collection of official Nazi correspondence from 1935–37 about the extraordinary art Nazi officials had discovered in private Jewish collections in Breslau. My father was correct; the letters were a revelation, although not precisely for the reasons that he had anticipated. For, as I researched Breslau, I soon discovered that it had been home to an extraordinary community of forward-thinking people during the 1920s who were arts patrons but also artists, architects, and urban designers, many of whom are still world renowned today. Equally exciting was the discovery that almost none of this history had been documented or disseminated in any language, much less in the English-speaking world. Thus, I have to thank my father first and foremost for this project.

As with any book-length study there are innumerable people who offered support, advice, and expertise along the way. Franziska Bollerey enthusiastically encouraged me to pursue the project when I was formulating the idea for the book. The German Academic Exchange Service, Washington State University Saupe Fund for Excellence, the Technical University Delft, and University of Technology Sydney Centre for Contemporary Design Practice helped defray

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the costs of traveling to Germany and Poland in order to conduct the necessary archival research. The archivists at the Wroclaw state archive, University of Wroclaw Library, the Ethnographic Museum, and the Architecture Museum in Wroclaw gave me invaluable help locating materials and permitted me to photocopy enormous quantities of material relevant to my work. I owe a special thanks to Jerzy Ilkosz, Piotr Łukaszewicz, and Juliet Golden. Juliet was indomitable chasing down images and permissions for me. Beate Störtkuhl at the Bundesinstitut für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa pointed me in the right direction at the beginning of the research and generously shared some excellent resource material from her institute with me. The archivists at the German National Museum in Nuremburg; *Staatsbibliothek* in Berlin; the Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz; the Werkbund Archive; the Bauhaus Archive; and the Academy of the Arts, in particular Heidemarie Bock; Petra Albrecht; Tanja Morgenstern; and Dr. Eva-Marie Barkofen went beyond the call of duty in order to offer assistance.

In addition to sitting in archives and libraries, I was fortunate to be able to interview several people who offered vital perspectives on Breslau; the interview with Brigitte Würtz, Oskar Moll's daughter, helped me understand the cultural milieu in Breslau during the 1920s as well as the outstanding art made by both her parents; the interview with Chaim Haller about his wife Ruth's father, Ismar Littmann, provided me with important insights into collecting in Breslau; Walter Laqueur shared some key memories; and the lawyer Willi Korte helped me understand the complex nature of looted art research and recovery.

Portions of three chapters were previously published as articles. Part of chapter 4, "The Breslau Academy of Fine and Applied Arts," was published in the *Journal of Architectural Education*; part of chapter 6, "Between Idealism and Realism: Architecture in Breslau," was published in the *New German Critique*; and part of chapter 5, "Dissemination of Taste: Breslau Collectors, Art Associations, and Museums," was published in *The Art Journal.* In addition, much of the material in this book was initially tested in academic conference presentations, from which I received detailed and valuable feedback. These included the German Studies Association and the Association of Art Historians of Great Britain.

The two readers for University of Michigan Press, professors Elizabeth Otto and Claire Zimmerman, both gave the manuscript a thorough reading, delivering extremely insightful and helpful criticism and direction at a crucial time in the project. Without their tough but thoughtful comments, the book would have been far weaker indeed. Lastly, I would like to thank my husband,

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Robert, and my children, Alexander and Maya, who all tolerated my obsession with Breslau, my frequent absences, and hours upon hours spent glued to my computer. My children are convinced that I cannot survive without my laptop! Without their love and support, I would not have completed this book. As with every such endeavor, the strengths exist because of the many people who supported me. As to the faults—I have no one to blame but myself.

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Introduction: Breslau and the Culture of the Weimar Republic

"*The very intricacy and variety of Weimar culture, and the tensions it contains, have made it the archetypal emblem of what we understand by modernity*."

—Detlev Peukert, *The Weimar Republic*

In 1899, a Prussian official approached Theo von Gosen, a young sculptor who was to become one of Breslau's most important artists, to suggest that he consider a teaching career at the Breslau Academy of Fine and Applied Arts.[1] Von Gosen politely refused, thinking, as he recalled decades later, "So far back there? Somewhere? Never!"[2] But Breslau's lure proved more powerful than von Gosen expected. Twice more, in 1903 and 1905, architect Hans Poelzig, a "strange looking, out-of-place, black haired" man, tried to recruit him to the Academy. By Poelzig's third attempt in 1905, von Gosen reluctantly decided to give Breslau a try, largely because it was proving impossible to break into Munich's art market. Like many of his contemporaries, von Gosen saw Breslau as a remote backwater at the fringes of civilization, where no art of consequence was—or could be—produced. But when he got there, he discovered a rich, varied, and supportive arts community whose composition illustrates the diversity of the era's German culture, along with its complex and diverging paths to cultural modernity.

The connection between Weimar Germany and cultural modernity has been axiomatic since Walter Laqueur, Peter Gay, and, more recently, scholars like Detlev Peukert and Eric Weitz penned their seminal studies.[3] Despite a recent explosion of scholarship on Weimar cultural history, however, much remains to be explored.[4] What were the different paths to "cultural modernity"? How did modern German cultural expression vary? Was that variety consistent throughout Germany, or were there differences between Berlin, the

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capital, and regional cities like Breslau? What was the relationship between Berlin and other German cities in the realm of cultural production? To answer these questions and more, this study explores the polyvalent and contradictory nature of cultural production in Breslau, in order to expand the cultural and geographic scope of Weimar history.

As Andrew McElligott, John Bingham, and others affirm, Peukert's description of the multiplicity of experiences and the complex nature of modernity in Weimar Germany continues to suggest new avenues of scholarly exploration. Recent work by historians Kathleen Canning, Young-Sun Hong, and Adelheid von Saldern explores overlooked dimensions of Weimar modernity such as the changing roles of women, alterations in the social welfare state, and the relationship between social reform and housing programs. Contributors to *Weimar Germany* question visual and mass culture, open Weimar studies to investigations of transnational aspects of German culture, and probe the role that the body and nature played in German society.[5] McElligott and the contributors to his *Weimar Germany* take the presence of "ongoing tension between the different paths to modernization" as a central condition of Germany in the 1920s.[6] Ultimately, as Karl Christian Führer argues, the representation of Weimar as a "golden age" of German avant-garde culture ignores certain realities. Rescuing the world of lowbrow culture, conservative tastes, and tradition from obscurity, he persuasively asserts that "the cultural life of the republic emerges as less spectacular and less experimental than it appears in many accounts."[7] While Führer clearly has a particular form of culture in mind, his statement nevertheless holds true for other areas of Weimar culture, which were far more varied and less spectacular than many previous accounts suggest.

The subject of this book, the arts community in the city of Breslau, Germany (now Wroclaw, Poland), was one of those sites of variety. While Breslau was never as popular among artists as smaller cities like Dresden and Hamburg, by the late 1920s it had morphed from von Gosen's unappealing and ambiguous "somewhere" to an important center for art and culture. Yet its history remains virtually unknown. Breslau's sheer size as the sixth largest German city after Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, Dresden, and Cologne, with a population exceeding 600,000 by the end of the Weimar era, presents a strong argument in favor of critical attention. The abundance of talent that gathered there between 1918 and 1933, the variety of its experimentation, and the activities of its arts institutions cement that argument.

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Breslau

Breslau was the capital of the eastern Prussian province of Silesia, a distinct region at the margins of East Prussia. The city is located approximately 180 miles east of Berlin, on the Oder River at the junction of two major historic trade routes, the Amber Road and the Via Regia (Royal Highway).[8]

The Amber Road was the north/south riverine route along which amber was shipped from its origins in northern territories to ports in the south, while the east/west Via Regia connected the eastern regions that produced fur, honey, and wax with coastal Europe to the west. The earliest residents of what became Breslau seem to have settled on islands in the Oder, which likely served as staging points for river crossings but also offered natural defenses against enemies on both banks. From the early Middle Ages, if not earlier, Breslau's location made it a center for regional and international commerce and trade.

Breslau sits at the intersection of several principalities and empires but is the seat of none. For much of the city's early history, it regularly changed hands between Bohemian, Piast, and Polish princes; Germanic people began to settle there after the expulsion of the Mongolians in 1241.

The city's location, coupled with its commerce-oriented economy, attracted people with different ethnic backgrounds from all over the region. By the late Middle Ages, these political fluctuations and their attendant population shifts had given Breslau a multiethnic character, which it retained into the twentieth century. This ethnic mix likely helped make Breslau more accepting of outsiders than other German cities.

Breslau, Germany, and Art

Breslau became part of what would later be Germany in 1741, when Frederick the Great of Prussia annexed the city during the War of the Austrian Succession. This initially led to over a century of territorial conflict between Prussia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which may be one reason so little art was produced there, as Breslau residents were preoccupied with basic survival amidst the turbulence. The territorial disputes subsided only after German unification in 1871, making Breslau a late addition to Prussia, a fact that helps explain the city's long history of marginal identity in relationship to the rest of Germany.[9]

This sense of marginality haunted Breslau throughout the 1920s and continues to haunt its status as a subject of historical inquiry. As late as the mid-

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Fig. 1. Downtown Breslau looking at Adolf Rading's Mohrenapotheke (1927) on the right and historic fabric.

1920s, art historian and critic Franz Landsberger still felt the need to defend his home against disparagement, though by then Breslau, its artists, and its cultural institutions had received national and international attention. Landsberger and his contemporaries felt that Breslau would not overcome its stigma as a marginal city until it was recognized as a German cultural center, or *Kunststadt*. In 1925, Landsberger wrote, "That Breslau is altogether an art city [*Kunststadt*], and an art city of the highest rank, is known by very few people outside of Silesia. 'Colony' is what one says in the West and understands by that a region whose art is the product of the old Germany of decades past and that quality also lags far behind."[10] Landsberger's lament resonated, despite the growing national attention bestowed on Breslau after 1918, when Breslau art news began to be regularly included in national journals like *Kunst und Künstler* (Art and Artists) and *Das Kunstblatt* (The Art Paper) and art from Breslau collections was displayed in exhibitions at major Berlin, Dresden, and Hamburg mu-

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Fig. 2. View of Breslau's historic downtown. Much is as it was in the 1920s (photo by Klearchos Kapoutsis / Flickr).

seums and galleries. Still, most Germans outside Silesia viewed Breslau as an unsophisticated hinterland well into the late 1920s.

Because Breslau was ceded to Poland after the Second World War, its place in German cultural history has been little examined until recently, especially by non-German scholars.[11] This lacuna is partly due to the difficulty of accessing Polish archives during the Cold War; only since 1990 has Breslau and its archives truly opened to scholars from the West. But art historians, in particular, have also overlooked Breslau precisely because of its history: for centuries Breslau and Silesian artists of note left for cities like Berlin, Munich, Dresden, and Düsseldorf, which had prestigious arts communities and long traditions of aristocratic patronage of the arts. Breslauers who made their careers elsewhere include the painters Adolf Dressler and Adolf von Menzel, and the architects Martin Dülfer and Carl Gotthard Langhans. But if Breslau did not have a significant arts community before the twentieth century, its status altered dramatically for a brief period between 1918 and 1933, when the city was able to retain local artists and attract talent from all over Germany.[12]

If John Bingham's assessment of Weimar Germany as the "republic of cities" is correct, then an examination of the cultural scene in major regional

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cities like Breslau is fundamental to a full understanding of the period. Bingham is referring to the central role played by urbanization and the urban experience in the German state during the 1920s.[13] Demographic data supports his claim. In 1870, two-thirds of the German population lived in the countryside, and one-third lived in cities. By 1925, those proportions had reversed: two-thirds of Germans lived in urban areas, half of them in a *Großstadt* (city with over 500,000 residents) like Breslau.[14] But although urban living was the norm for most Germans in the 1920s, and, as Bingham points out, contemporary demographics and politics made Weimar cities the locus of social reform, housing innovations, important arts academies, ground-breaking exhibitions, exciting public and private collections, and local cultural activities, there is no comprehensive literature to date on the cultural character of cities other than Berlin even though Germany's population was highly urbanized by the late 1920s. Approximately two-thirds of all Germans lived in a city at that time. Jennifer Jenkins's outstanding *Provincial Modernity* examines the relationship between culture and liberal politics in a single city, Hamburg, but its historical purview is pre-Weimar. Existing studies of Breslau have a limited focus, concentrating on one aspect of its culture, like Petra Hölscher's history of the Breslau arts academy or a single artist, like Dieter Posselt's book on Otto Mueller, rather than providing a broad overview of the city's cultural context.[15]

Although it is tempting to view the cultural scene in Breslau as a regional phenomenon, that would be too simplistic. Self-conscious regionalism certainly existed in Breslau, just as it did in many parts of Germany from around 1890, as demonstrated in recent studies by Celia Applegate, Alon Confino, and Jennifer Jenkins.[16] The *Heimat* movement, with its focus on local and regional crafts, folklore, landscape, and history, was an integral part of the Breslau cultural landscape between 1918 and 1933. Like other German cities such as Hamburg, Breslau also created a myth of unique identity, used by politicians during the 1920s to argue for increased federal funding for everything from housing estates to special exhibitions, and to try to attract newcomers. After 1945, a spate of nostalgic books about the city—including Niels van Holst's *Breslau—ein Buch der Erinnerungen* (1950) and Ernst Scheyer's *Breslau—so wie es war* (1975)—reinforced that identity myth.[17] However, looking at the Breslau case purely through the lens of regional identity overlooks the important role played by avant-garde and experimental work, as well as the influence of the strong connections between Breslau and Berlin.

Though the avant-garde never comprised a majority of Breslau's artists, by the 1920s a sizeable avant-garde community had collected there, counting

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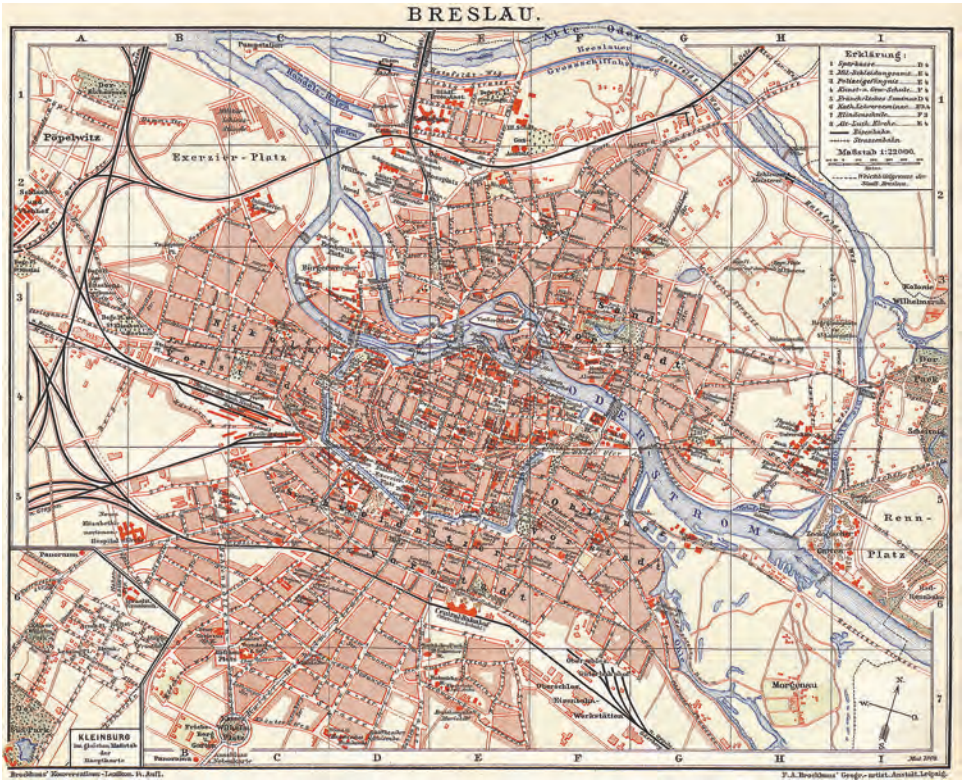

Fig. 3. Map of Breslau (Wikipedia).

among its members artists, architects, urban designers, musicians, composers, poets, dramaturges, and novelists. This community tended to keep strong professional ties to Berlin: the architects Hans Scharoun and Adolf Rading maintained an office there; artists like Otto Mueller and Oskar Moll worked with Berlin galleries and publishers; architects and urban designers like Scharoun and Ernst May submitted designs to national competitions and exhibitions; artists, architects, and urban designers held memberships in national organizations like the Berlin-based *Bund Deutscher Architekten* (Society of German Architects); and many Breslau artists depended on Berlin for commissions, sales, and exposure, even when they lived and created in Breslau. Although the local and regional cultural press published articles about Breslau projects, they also appeared in national journals like *Kunst und Künstler*, *Das Kunstblatt*, *Die Form* (Form), and *Deutsche Bauwelt* (German Building World), many of which

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were based in Berlin. Thus, the relationship between Breslau and Berlin, not to mention the rest of Germany, always played a part in determining the nature of Breslau modernism.

Some aspects of Breslau cultural production did have a regional dimension. In the context of national cultural politics, for example, Breslau argued that the unique identity of both city and region justified enhanced federal support for cultural events.[18] The contemporary literature is full of articles about the East and how unique it is. At the same time, Breslau presented itself as a bastion of German cultural values pitted against a threatening Polish neighbor. The underlying message was mixed: Breslau was both different from and similar to other German cities, unique because of its location in East Prussia yet representative of German-ness itself. Breslau thus fits recent models of regionalism, which, as Eric Storm points out, consider regional identity as a constituent part of national identity rather than a totally separate construction.[19]

These models frame Breslau less as a distinct regional phenomenon than as one piece of a larger national condition with regional inflections. As scholars like Sabine Hake and Eric Weitz have argued, "intricacy and variety" were themselves the national norm during the 1920s.[20] It is thus more accurate to speak of regional tolerance for a variety of approaches to modernism in Breslau than of a regionally determined modernism. Many of the artists who congregated in Breslau, like Hans Poelzig, Adolf Rading, Hans Scharoun, Oskar Moll, and Oskar Schlemmer, remarked on this tolerance.[21] Poelzig attributed it to Breslau's marginal status, distance from Berlin, and history as a multiethnic location, which he believed made the average Breslau citizen more comfortable with difference.[22] However, it is equally likely that what passed for tolerance was simply lack of interest. The city's indifference to culture and cultural institutions was legendary and a constant topic among the cultural elites of the 1920s.

But if ordinary Breslauers were either tolerant of or indifferent to the artists in their midst, those artists and their supporters nevertheless epitomized the rich and heterogeneous cultural innovation of the period through extraordinary achievements like Ernst May's early Weimar housing developments, extensive art collections like that of Ismar Littmann, nationally recognized exhibitions like the 1929 *Werkbund*-sponsored *Wohnung und Werkraum Ausstellung* (Living and Workspace Exhibition), and the international reputation of the Breslau Academy of Fine and Applied Arts. Furthermore, the visual culture produced in Breslau, which ran the gamut from traditional to avant-garde, shows the great variety of the time and demonstrates that experimentation was taking place across Weimar-era Germany, not just in Berlin.

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Much of the most interesting work, however, reflected a cultural variety that neither pushed the boundaries of experiment nor conformed to the expectations of tradition. Breslauers negotiated a set of cultural dichotomies that are familiar to historians: tradition and modernity, city and country, center and periphery, local and regional, regional and international. To these, we can add two other dichotomies that Karl Ditt observed in the production of German culture: the divides between high culture and the avant-garde, on the one hand, and high culture and regionalist culture, on the other.[23] High culture comprises the cultural products with the highest status and is usually synonymous with the culture of the intelligentsia and aristocracy. The avant-garde pushes the boundaries of art and culture by attacking their norms and conventions. According to Ditt, the German avant-garde attacked high culture in order to destroy outmoded aesthetic norms and open the way for experimentation. At the same time, regionalists reacted against the elitism and internationalism of high culture to advocate a local- and tradition-bound *Volkskunst* (People's Art). The resulting three-way tug-of-war led, in cities like Breslau, to heterogeneous art and culture, threaded with varying degrees of avant-garde, high art, and regional values.

Modernization and Art in Breslau

The story of Breslau's brief ascent from unimportant outpost to *Kunststadt* begins as early as German unification in 1871 but intensifies with the changes brought about by the end of World War I, albeit at different rates in different fields. The modernization of art education can be said to begin with the hiring of progressive architect Hans Poelzig as director of the Academy of Fine and Applied Arts, as Heinrich Lauterbach asserts in *Poelzig, Endell, Moll und die Breslauer Kunstakademie 1911–1932*. 1916 stands out as a marquee year for collecting: at least two key figures, Ismar Littmann and Max Silberberg, began to purchase art that year; the Museum of Fine Arts hired a progressive director, Heinz Braune, in part to expand its contemporary holdings; and from that point onward, collecting contemporary art became increasingly popular. Across the board, change accelerated and magnified after the signing of the Armistice. Breslau's descent back into cultural obscurity corresponds with the crash of 1929 and the resulting economic austerity measures in 1932 and 1933. These correlations are not coincidental: the interwar political and economic situation in Germany as a whole, and Silesia and Breslau in particular, created opportunities for artists, arts organizations, and patrons and then took those opportunities away.

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Across the country, the economic stress before currency stabilization in 1924 had a profound effect on the arts. Architects had neither public nor private commissions and building construction came to a virtual halt. With little capital available for luxuries like art, the private purchases of the well-to-do stalled, while public museums were so strapped for cash that they too ceased collecting. For the first six years of the Republic, it was difficult to earn a living as an artist anywhere in Germany, and it was even harder in traditional art centers like Munich and Berlin, where there was stiff competition for reduced funds.[24] These challenges made Breslau more appealing than it might have been in better economic times.

Paradoxically, the economic difficulties also created opportunities. World War I generated tremendous population dislocations, especially among the least economically advantaged. Breslau's population surged after 1918, creating an intense demand for new and affordable housing. The Weimar federal government supported public housing efforts and passed national policies designed to increase the affordable housing stock. Between 1919 and 1929, the Silesian provincial government and Breslau municipal government joined a series of provincial and local housing initiatives. The resulting demand for municipal architects drew talented people to the city. The first important city architect, progressive Max Berg, actually arrived in 1908, before the First World War; he was quickly followed by Richard Konwiarz, Albert Kempter, and Paul Heim, but the surge in commissions only occurred after 1918. In 1919, Theo Effenberger left private practice to work with the city since there was more work available for municipal architects. Internationally acclaimed architect Ernst May accepted his post at the Silesian Homesteads in 1919, beginning a series of highly significant but little-known experimental housing developments in and around Breslau.

The altered political landscape after 1918 also affected the Breslau cultural scene. Programs like the Campaign to Resettle Silesia in the early 1920s were a direct response to the new political reality in Silesia and reflected the German government's desire to populate the region with more Germans.[25] The resettlement campaign added to the existing housing demand and created even more need for civic architects and urban planners. This work was relatively new, with few existing precedents and tremendous potential for innovation and experimentation.

In the 1920s, Weimar political turbulence generated hopes for cultural renewal and change. Beginning in 1918, the *Rat Geistiger Arbeit* (Council for Intellectual Work), a group of Breslau artists and architects, agitated for citizens' working councils and arts reform.[26] Their program called for the reform

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of arts education and museums, the opening of public commissions to freelance artists and architects, more public support of the arts, and the conjoining of art and life. In light of Germany's altered political situation, members envisioned the birth of a totally new art that would reflect the values of democratic society and serve all Germans, not just the elite. "Only with democracy as the foundation for our public life is the political, economic and spiritual development of man possible," they proclaimed, in one of the series of papers they produced, whose central theme was the role Silesian art and culture might play in improving Silesian life and rebuilding Silesia.[27] The group's focus was Silesian art and architecture; they hoped to use the postwar reconstruction as an opportunity to elevate Silesian artistic production from the inferior status they believed it held in Wilhelmine Germany. While the *Rat Geistiger Arbeit* initially seems to have had a broad cultural agenda, from the fine arts to handicraft to manners and social behavior, in later manifestoes (after 1919) the group advocates removing any "public institutions that inhibit or fragment intuitive powers" and is concerned with "creative idealism" and raising "spiritual values over material ones," rather than concepts more commonly associated with progressive thought, like rationalism, technology, and economy.[28]

The Breslau group was not the only such group in Germany, but it was more explicit about the connections between art, political reform, and the reinvention of Germany as a democracy than similar organizations. The *Rat Geistiger Arbeit* was both broader and narrower in its interests than, for instance, the Berlin-based *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* (Workers' Council for Art). On the one hand, the *Rat Geistiger Arbeit* was concerned with a wide range of cultural activities, including public education; public access to cultural assets through libraries, cultural centers, and theaters; and the preservation of art and cultural capital.[29] In contrast, the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* was primarily interested in issues related to fine art. On the other hand, the *Rat Geistiger Arbeit* was parochial; it was only concerned with art and culture in Silesia, not greater Germany.

After 1918, Breslau artists, patrons, and art professionals operated in the space between the progressive and traditional aesthetic positions that competed in Weimar cultural debates. Contemporary artists and architects identified specific conditions in Breslau that made it possible to produce art with such an immense aesthetic range. Hans Poelzig, Adolf Rading, and Hans Scharoun pointed to the atmosphere, climate, and cultural tolerance of eastern Germany, which they thought fostered a different approach to contemporary challenges.[30] Poelzig describes Silesia as a "unique territory, a different atmosphere, that has to do with the certain disposition of the people—who without much, are quick

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Fig. 4. Adolf Rading House for the Weissenhofsiedlung Stuttgart (1927) (Akademie der Künste, Berlin).

to fathom, friendly and accommodating."[31] Poelzig paints a picture of Silesians as affable but independent people, neither susceptible to nor threatened by outside influences. Mario Krammer writes, "On the ground of this eastern Germany a different wind blows and a different man matures here from that in the West . . . there is no tradition-bound world like in the old *Heimat* rather there is space for the ordering and constructing will."[32] This sense of openness and acceptance distinguished Breslau from cultural centers like Munich and Berlin, where artists often felt constrained by tradition, which they either had to conform to or react against.

Breslau's size may also have made it a desirable place to live and work. It was difficult for young artists to get started in cities like Berlin and Munich, which had large and well-known art establishments.[33] Ignatius Taschner, who briefly taught in Breslau, writes that in "Munich, none of the young people landed on their feet," whereas in Breslau there were opportunities for young artists.[34] Landsberger points out that Breslau also offered a measure of quiet in which artists could contemplate their work and develop their talents.[35] This was not so much a consequence of size, for Breslau was a large city, but of the

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Fig. 5. Adolf Rading's house on Stifterstrasse in Breslau (1920) (Akademie der Künste, Berlin).

cultural scene, which was less active and thus allowed more time and space for artists to do their work and make their mark.

Breslau never hosted a "movement." Practitioners of expressionism and *Neue Sachlichkeit* and members of *Blaue Reiter* and *Brücke* rallied in other German cities. Some members of these groups eventually went to Breslau, like *Brücke* artist Otto Mueller and *Neue Sachlichkeit* artist Alexander Kanoldt. But they were often at the fringes of their movements. Mueller never fully conformed to *Brücke* ideology or aesthetics and was something of an eccentric loner. Kanoldt too kept to himself: cantankerous and combative, he was not the sort who fit well into groups and his art was idiosyncratic. Furthermore, these artists went to Breslau to assert their independence. Oskar Schlemmer left the Dessau Bauhaus for Breslau because he objected to the direction the Bauhaus was taking and wanted greater freedoms.[36] Breslau's tolerant attitude, underscored above by von Gosen, Poelzig, and Rading, made such freedoms possible.[37]

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Fig. 6. Erich Mendelsohn's Petersdorff department store (1929) (Wikipedia courtesy of Arch2all).

Breslau artists did not suffer from lack of imagination or daring. They simply did not believe in the absolutes represented by the opposing positions in Weimar cultural debates. Breslau art historian Franz Landsberger may have correctly appraised the situation when he wrote in 1927 that "art advances itself through oppositions."[38] In Landsberger's opinion, artists vacillate between ideas as a way of exploring options and discovering new modes of expression, often using one idea as a foil for developing fresh approaches. Thus, we might define artists equally by what they do and what they *do not do.* Marg Moll, an accomplished sculptress and wife of painter Oskar Moll, observes that "in Breslau at that time there was a hotly contested artistic climate," characterized both by open conflicts between artists and by the ideological struggles of individual artists. [39] Adolf Rading in particular left a detailed record of his personal battles and changing outlook over time.[40] But while Breslau artists took differ-

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Fig. 7. Alexander Kanoldt, *Still Life* (Schlesisches Museum zu Görlitz).

ent positions relative to Weimar debates, they did share certain core beliefs: they were generally uncomfortable with technological advances, but accepted that technology was here to stay; they believed in rational thinking, but not at the expense or exclusion of intuitive insight; they had faith in the present and future, but in connection with, not separate from, the past; and they shared a worldview that privileged natural human impulses over mechanistic metaphors. In other words, Breslauers were profoundly uneasy with the changes brought about by modernity and modernization even as they embraced the new possibilities they ushered in.

Tensions in Breslau: Case Studies

In *The Weimar Republic,* Peukert argues that if "abrupt changes and sectoral imbalances can be expected to occur as the complex set of modernization processes unfolds, then the crucial factor governing a society's stability and sur-

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vival is going to be the way in which that society deals with these broadly inevitable tensions."[41] If Peukert is correct, then those very tensions, and the ways in which people come to terms with them, offer insights into the workings of the society. The challenge, as Ben Lieberman and John Bingham assert, is to identify which tensions are important and to "exploit their explanatory potential."[42] In the cultural milieu of Weimar Breslau, three areas of tension were particularly evident: the conflicts between tradition and modernity, center and periphery, and regional pressures and international trends.

Most historians agree that the diversity of Weimar German culture resulted from the struggle between tradition and modernity that accompanied industrial modernization in Germany, accelerating after 1871; Hans-Ulrich Wehler dubbed this struggle the "idiosyncratic stress ratio between Tradition and Modernity."[43] This tension was a primary concern for many Breslau visual artists. A raft of new conceptual approaches to art, coupled with experimental methods and new materials, challenged old ways of thinking and making. Much early historiography of the modern movement celebrated the supposed break with the past, but Breslau attracted a cohort of artists who refused either to break with tradition or to reject innovation, but instead worked with any and all available aesthetic ideas.

Members of the German avant-garde, especially the *Novembergruppe* (November Group), *Arbeitsrat für Kunst,* and *Rat Geistiger Arbeit*, called for a revolution in the arts and arts education. Walter Gropius advocated "a radical solution to our problems."[44] One aspect of the "radical solution" was to begin anew, rejecting the old methods and traditions. Of course, as late twentieth-century art historians such as Colin Rowe and Francesco Dal Co have shown, this was neither practical nor possible.[45] Rather, artists pushed against tradition but still worked with it, in myriad ways. Rosalind Kraus and others have noted that those ways are either conceptual or methodological.[46] One approach was to abstract classical principles using new materials, like Adolf Rading's architecture. Another was to use traditional subject matter, like the figure, in an abstracted manner, as Oskar Schlemmer did in his figural painting. These are just two of the numerous combinations and recombinations that could—and did—occur both at the fringes of the German avant-garde and in less experimental work, the possibilities determined only by the vast range of degrees to which individual artist accepted or rejected both tradition and modernity. Breslau artwork, architecture, and urban design, in particular, undermine the myth of avant-garde originality by showing how blurred Weimar aesthetic positions actually were, how rooted in tradition modernity really was, how nuanced contemporary aesthetic approaches were in all media, and how regional cities par-

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ticipated in Weimar-era modernism. The six chapters in this book explore specific ramifications of these complexities.

Chapter 1 discusses several post-1918 urban design and resettlement schemes in and around Breslau. Housing cooperatives and development associations were subject to complex interwar politics, in particular tensions between local, regional, and national imperatives, which played out most clearly in large-scale housing projects. This complicated political context makes it easier to recognize the interplay of traditional and modern tropes in these projects than in, say, the visual arts or architecture, and thus makes them a good introduction to Breslau's struggles with Weimar-era cultural modernity, as well as the geographic and political forces that shaped those struggles.

Chapter 2 turns to the 1929 *Werkbund*-sponsored *Wohnung und Werkraum* exhibition (*WuWA*). As the multidisciplinary apotheosis of Breslau cultural achievement during the period, the exhibition was inevitably a site where the contemporary tensions in Breslau culture played out. At *WuWA,* regional imperatives competed with international ambitions, local and national interests jockeyed for primacy, and the aesthetic forces of tradition and modernity were both in play. *WuWA* was a different enterprise from its more famous predecessor in Stuttgart: rather than a vehicle to exhibit and promote *Neues Bauen* (New Building or New Architecture, the more radical branch of 1920s German architecture), it was a showcase for regional architects and alternative approaches to progressive architecture and design.[47] One of the things it demonstrated, then, was that divergent forms of modernism could and did exist side-by-side in Germany. *WuWA* was also a truly collaborative effort, which brought together many different Breslau creative minds, including local artists, designers, and architects, along with businesses, politicians, and community groups. In spite of its more conservative approach to design, the exhibition received national and international attention. Indeed, the very fact that the *Werkbund* selected Breslau as the site for its second model housing exhibit attested to the city's rising profile as an important German *Kunststadt*. It was therefore unfortunate, even tragic, that it opened just months before the stock market crashed in New York, precipitating a worldwide economic crisis whose reverberations in Germany would ultimately result in the collapse of Breslau's art scene. Thus, *WuWA* was both a highpoint and a turning point.[48]

If *WuWA* was the pinnacle of Breslau cultural achievement, the Breslau Academy was the engine that drove much of the city's cultural activity and helped build its modern arts community. Chapter 3 charts the history of the Academy's rise and places it in the context of arts education in Weimar Germany. The Breslau Academy of Fine and Applied Arts was instrumental in

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fostering a climate receptive to contemporary art in the city. For one thing, it provided the steady income and relative professional stability that artists needed. The Academy enjoyed its greatest prominence during the 1920s, reaching a pinnacle of national and international repute in 1929, the year of *WuWA* and worldwide economic disaster. Chancellor Heinrich Brüning closed the Academy, along with academies in Kassel and Königsberg, in 1932 as part of his fiscal response to the economic crisis, leaving only two art academies in all of Prussia.[49] But during its brief period of national and international success, the Academy served not just as an educational center but as a nexus for talent and artistic activity of all kinds, including exhibitions, publications, association work, and other art patronage. Under the direction of August Endell (1916–25) and Oskar Moll (1925–33), the Academy recruited a cadre of progressive artists who refused to repudiate tradition. As in so many artist communities, a cohort of good artists helped attract even more talent, both directly affiliated with the Academy and independent.

Chapter 4 introduces the complex matrix of individual artists, arts associations, museums, and other patrons, who comprised the support system for the greater Breslau arts community. Art patronage was as important as the Academy in making Breslau a place for artists; exhibition venues and patrons were key incentives for artists to live and work in Breslau. These support networks played a crucial role in lobbying politicians in Breslau and Berlin on behalf of the community, raising funds for arts organizations and exhibition venues, and purchasing work for private and public collections. The presence of this patronage network, which took root around 1916 and steadily improved as the 1920s progressed, helped underpin the contemporary arts community. For these collectors, who were faced with the tension between tradition and modernity in the visual arts, the question of what to collect was influenced by the desire to lift the marginal profile of Breslau and its citizens in the national consciousness. In a country so identified with cultural production, where achieving the status of *Kulturstadt* was a key goal, art collections were an instrumental tool for raising a city and region's national profile.

Chapters 5 and 6 examine some of the key figures in 1920s Breslau visual art and architecture to provide a picture of the variety, scope, and quality of the work they and their colleagues produced. Their focus is artists and architects who were considered important in the 1920s but have since been overlooked or whose Breslau production has received little or no attention. Visual artists were particularly concerned with the tensions between tradition and modernity in their work, but they relied on the center/periphery relationship between Breslau and Berlin for recognition and, often, for sales. Understanding their work

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contributes to the current scholarly reassessment of modernism, in particular the nature of formal innovation and the extent of radical change.

Finally, the Epilogue discusses the increasingly hostile climate toward what was perceived as modern art after 1930, including the forced closure of the Academy and its effect on the arts community. Although much of the historiography of Weimar recognizes "the promise and the tragedy" of the period, the disintegration of the Breslau community is framed here as a new beginning rather than simply the end of an era. Today, the teaching method and organizational schema of the Academy are common throughout the Western world; the pluralistic terrain of art practice is not unlike that of Weimar; there are similar uncertainties about the place of art in a globalizing world; and the sense of boundless possibilities for conceptual and methodological experimentation gives a sense of limitless horizons for modern culture.

Why Breslau Matters

The story of the arts and cultural community in Breslau between 1918 and 1933 has implications beyond the history of Germany; it also depicts the variety of cultural production that historians such as Detlev Peukert, Walter Laqueur, and Marshall Berman consider fundamental to modernity. Berman located the beginning of modernity in a maelstrom of changes: scientific advances that altered humanity's understanding of the universe, industrialization, urbanization, mass communication, and mass social movements.[50] We can round out Berman's list with political conflict and new political systems. These changes were not unique to Breslau or Germany, but as Andrew McElligott asserts, while the *Sonderweg* thesis no longer holds weight, certain aspects of the German case were different from other countries, especially the "attenuation" of the modernization process.[51] One characteristic of this attenuation was the prolonged and multifarious engagement of German artists with the seemingly binary values of tradition and modernity, exemplified in the art, architecture, and urban design created in Breslau during the 1920s.

Berman views modernity as a time of tremendous and often contradictory flux. In Breslau, that flux helped to create a cultural scene in which conflict and contradiction determined form. Breslau's artists, architects, and urban designers worked with concepts, forms, and structures usually seen as incongruous elements of different aesthetic systems. Breslau thus gives lie to the understanding of aesthetic systems as discrete, sequential units. In fact, aesthetic systems, and the ideas that inform them, emerge slowly over time. New ideas

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coexist with older ones and jostle for attention in an overlapping simultaneity. Modernity thus did not abolish tradition but instead added a new set of conditions for artists to consider and respond to.

Although the Breslau case is representative of the ways Germans grappled with modernity, it also had specific local and regional inflections. Breslauers were influenced by Silesian vernacular art and architecture and regional handicraft traditions. The combination of vernacular design tropes and modern spatial planning in Ernst May's designs for public housing estates are one example of this influence. Breslau-based artists and architects also adjusted their work to respond to local taste and markets. One reason the *Deutsche Werkbund* included a range of aesthetic approaches at the Breslau *WuWA* was local pragmatism, which dictated pluralistic curating. Another reason was the local desire, loudly expressed, to exhibit the aesthetic scope of Silesian practice. For many in Breslau, modernity was synonymous with neither new nor innovative.

Although there is a difference between the historical and aesthetic concepts of modernity, they have certain commonalities, including progress-oriented thinking, an interest in scientific method, and devotion to rational thought.[52] The current concept of cultural modernity arose as a rejection of antiquity, in general, and, in the arts and architecture, of classicism and its value system. Furthermore, the Enlightenment notion of modernity was characterized by a future-oriented perspective that considered progress and its attendant technologies possible, desirable, and goals for all human endeavors. "Modern" was a positive value, in contrast to "ancient" and "traditional," which held negative value. From this perspective, artists, architects and urban designers who vocally embraced the ideals of both modernity and traditional art would have been considered pariahs, or at the very least, second-rate. But this was not the case in Breslau.

The sense of "modern" and "modernity" shared by most Weimar-era Breslau artists dates to the turn of the twentieth century, when the term assumed other nuances. As von Saldern asserts, "The modern world, which still shapes the society in which we live, emerged in the decades between 1880 and 1930, when the mood varied between a euphoric belief in progress and the melancholy conviction that the world was bound to collapse. The rise of modernity pitched contemporaries into a very different world, in which new ways of perceiving and behaving were emerging."[53] Opposition was deeply implicated in "modernity" and "modern" from the start; both terms depend on a foil, understood as much by what they are not as what they are. Being modern means not being old fashioned or traditional, while being traditional means not being modern. In contrast, Berman points to "the sense of living in two worlds simul-

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taneously" as a central quality of modernity.[54] According to this view, to be modern is to be *both* modern and traditional, at the same time. This was the essential nature of Weimar and Breslau modernity and the art produced—an art that was simultaneously past and present, local and regional, regional and international. Following this line of reasoning, modern art and culture in Breslau was not marginal to but epitomized Weimar modernity.

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Chapter 1

Tradition and Modernity: Urban Planning in Breslau

> "*Nothing harms the essence of housing more than the exaggerated single-minded fanatics who find satisfying form for housing only in the village idyll or palace-like large city residence*."
>
> —Fritz Behrendt, "Städtebauliche Entwicklung, Wohnwesen, u. Bodenpolitik"

While it can be difficult to distinguish traditional and modern tropes in visual art or architecture, the economic, political and social dimensions of 1920s urban design make it easy to recognize them in Breslau's large-scale Weimar-era planning projects. Unlike private houses, these developments were funded through municipal housing authorities or semi-private housing cooperatives. With public funds at stake—and often severely limited—project designers had to consider economics at every level, including spatial, material, and construction-related. Wherever public institutions have a hand, politics play a role: in Silesia, the borderline nature of the province, its political instability, and the dynamics of postwar German/European relations all affected development and aesthetic decisions. After the First World War, Breslau and Silesia suffered from the combined effect of prewar under-construction and a postwar population influx that accelerated when Germans fled eastern regions awarded to Poland in 1921.[1] As a result, urban designers had many opportunities, but they were also pulled in different directions, toward innovation, modern aesthetics, and new construction methods on the one hand and traditional expression, typically inspired by regional building types, on the other. Weimar debates over the roles of traditional and modern aesthetics in large-scale public works put additional ideological pressure on their work.

A number of important urban designers worked for the Breslau municipality between 1918 and 1933, among them Max Berg, Theo Effenberger, Paul Heim, Albert Kempter, Richard Konwiarz, Ludwig Moshamer, and Hermann

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Wahlich, who were employed by the Breslau *Siedlungsgesellschaft A.G.* (Breslau Municipal Planning Office), and Ernst May, who worked for the *Schlesische Heimstätte* (Silesian Homesteads), one of the housing cooperatives founded after the war. This group of planners utilized a pragmatic mix of traditional and modern aesthetics and planning strategies as they negotiated the imperatives of public funding and taste, tempered by economic realities. Their projects reflect a split between a romantic worldview that revered local and regional culture and realistic responses to contemporary challenges.

Housing: A Need and a Challenge

Germany in the 1920s needed at least a million units of additional housing, while Breslau and Silesia were short tens if not hundreds of thousands of units.[2] Breslau's need predated the war, for the city, in part due to poor planning, simply could not build quickly enough to absorb the exceptionally rapid population growth between 1871 and 1910.[3] The housing problem was furthered by the city not expanding geographically, but instead absorbing the extra population into the same 4,917-hectare area it occupied in 1871. Yet another blow occurred after 1918, when approximately three million Germans were displaced from eastern territories. Although it is difficult to know how many emigrated to Breslau, the welfare rolls increased 422 percent between 1913 and 1927, from 7,441 people to 44,275, suggesting that the vast majority of newcomers were poor and in dire need.[4] In 1926, Breslau was the densest city per hectare in Germany, with 114 people per hectare and 381 per constructed hectare. Berlin was second, with 46 and 308 respectively.[5] Existing housing in Breslau was substandard, with more single room apartments than any other city in Germany by a factor of 1.5 compared to Berlin, 2.4 in comparison with Bremen, and 3 compared to Dresden.[6] Few apartments had kitchens with daylight or proper sanitary accommodations, which probably accounts for Breslau leading the country in tuberculosis deaths in 1912.[7]

Economic and social dislocations caused by the war compounded the housing stock issues. From 1918 onward, Breslau and Silesia had unusually high unemployment rates.[8] At the same time, changes in the political structure of Germany affected all aspects of the social structure. As the old moneyed classes lost some of their power, wealthy industrialists and upwardly mobile members of the new white collar class vied for social status, political power, and control. As political unrest shook other foundations of the German world, Silesia made the initial transition to democratic government quite

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peacefully, but in 1919 suffered Spartacist rioting and succumbed to the Kapp Putsch in 1920.

The partition of Silesia was a particularly provocative event. Silesia had two parts: Upper Silesia, which was rich in coal, and Lower Silesia, where Breslau was located. After the war, Germany and Poland haggled over Upper Silesia, large portions of which were populated by ethnic Poles. Germany did not want to cede the resource-rich territory, especially in the face of the draconian reparations set out in the Treaty of Versailles. In an attempt to mediate between the two countries, the League of Nations mandated a plebiscite two years after the signing of the Treaty, to decide which country should control Upper Silesia. In 1919, the Prussian government mounted a Campaign to Resettle Silesia, initially as an effort to shift the population distribution in Silesia toward ethnic Germans for the coming plebiscite, but also to help alleviate the housing crisis elsewhere.[9] Although 60 percent voted for Germany in the 1921 vote, after the Third Silesian Uprising later that year, the northernmost portion of Upper Silesia was awarded to Poland, at which point huge numbers of ethnic Germans fled the region, exacerbating the existing housing crisis in Lower Silesia and Breslau.[10]

Seen against this backdrop, many of the interwar resettlement and housing efforts were aimed at forestalling popular rebellion, maintaining civil order, and consolidating support for the state in an unstable political climate. As Michael Harloe points out, the private market collapse in the aftermath of the war, coupled with social unrest and heightened demand, prompted state and municipal action.[11] Adequate, affordable, hygienic housing was deemed a human right, without which the people would become restless and perhaps dangerous, and Breslau adopted a series of policies to alleviate these social and political problems, including targeted housing developments for displaced persons, returning soldiers, low-income residents, and homeless rural residents who emigrated to the city.

To ease demand as quickly as possible, Breslau initially renovated basements, cellars, storage structures, and attics, creating close to 9,000 units of emergency housing.[12] The long-term goal was to add 3,500 units per year for the foreseeable future. Although these numbers were not realized, they speak to the gravity of the housing shortage. In 1922, Breslau sponsored an urban design competition to address planning and housing needs by rethinking the outline of the city limits. The city intended to absorb neighboring small villages to add land for development, but a history of poor planning in and around the periphery made this even more challenging than it otherwise would have been. According to city architect Fritz Behrendt, Breslau had no true close-in

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suburbs, no streetcar network connecting outlying villages with downtown, and no water or gas service beyond the city limits.[13] In short, the urban infrastructure did not penetrate beyond the city border, which hindered economic and geographic growth. Recognizing that better infrastructure was as important as new housing, officials set out to improve both as they expanded the city's territory to make space for development.

In 1919, the city established a Housing Commissariat to manage the housing commissions it needed. Before 1919, development was privately financed and managed, but by the end of the First World War it became clear that the situation was too dire and the economic circumstances too complicated to leave development in private hands. However, the city quickly discovered the advantages of partnering with private companies, and eleven stakeholders, including heavy industry, trade, trade unions, and interested citizens, united to form the Municipal Housing Authority, with the city retaining half of the company's shares.[14] The Authority was part of the city bureaucracy and, like the provincial authority, *Schlesische Heimstätte*, was linked to the housing welfare societies established by the Prussian Housing Law of 1918.

As instruments were developed to facilitate the financing and construction of mass housing, reformers and architects struggled with questions of design. What were the goals of mass housing and what models best served the new needs? At the end of the nineteenth century, a series of housing schemes had been published and disseminated throughout Europe. Ebenezer Howard's *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* had a wide popular readership in Germany. Although his specific ideas did not become policy, his emphasis on healthy communities, access to green space, limiting growth and sprawl, and pedestrian-friendly city planning, as well as his belief in the importance of small cottage or low-rise development, were very popular. In Germany, plans submitted to the 1910 urban design competition "*Gross-Berlin*" were particularly influential models. Proposals were initially exhibited at the General Town Planning Exhibition at the Royal Arts Academy in Berlin, which was visited by over 65,000 people, attesting to its impact.[15] The show then traveled to Düsseldorf and London. The plans in the exhibition addressed a host of urban challenges. Hermann Jansen examined spatial planning, including the expansion of city limits, parklands, other open spaces, and rail networks, while Bruno Schmitz imagined improvements to the city center's cultural and civic amenities. Others looked at housing and green space.

Max Berg assessed the competition's importance to urban planning in a 1910 article, and it clearly influenced his work in Breslau. In his own competition entry, Berg envisioned a tripartite division for the city: a work district di-

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vided into areas for commerce and industry, a monumental district comprising cultural and governmental functions, and a residential area.[16] In Breslau, Berg advocated for the city's design and expansion to be planned according to these basic zoning principles. Rudolf Eberstadt's radial city proposition was particularly influential in Breslau, where the *Magistrat* approved a similar approach in 1921.[17] Eberstadt's model organized new housing developments outside the existing historic core in green areas laid out in a radial pattern, connected to the center by public transit networks. Many of the housing projects planned in the 1920s were on the outskirts of Breslau where, as in Eberstadt's scheme, newly built public transit would make them easily accessible to the urban core.

Along with the Garden City ideals, architects designing mass housing had to consider economy of means. The fiscal crises most European governments faced after the war ranged from mild to severe, and many countries suffered material scarcities and deficiencies in production that lasted at least until 1920–21, if not beyond. Furthermore, mass housing of the scale needed demanded new, cheaper building techniques. Prefabrication and mass production methods, standardization of parts and even sections of buildings, and the development of easy-to-reproduce models were becoming common across Europe.[18] Architects responded to these pressures and developments by exploring two basic approaches, what the Germans called the *Kleinwohnung*, or small home, and the *Existenzminimum*, or minimum for existence. The *Kleinwohnung* was a rationalized series of spaces small enough to be economical but spacious enough to feel comfortable. In contrast, the purpose of the *Existenzminimum* was to discover the absolute minimal spatial requirements for different combinations of occupants—a single adult, a couple, a couple with one child, and so on—in order to minimize construction costs while maximizing efficiency in the dwelling.

Architectural Debates

Between 1919 and 1933, architects grappled with the outward expression of these projects, as well as their inward organization, that is, with "form." Throughout the nineteenth century, European architects searching for appropriate ways to accommodate contemporary habits in house design had experimented with historic styles, but the results were unsatisfactory. These styles seemed like superficial dressing rather than true reflections of new modes of living. The struggle over style continued into the twentieth century, where it coalesced over interwar housing developments, lining up traditionalists against

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progressives. Sometimes they fought over individual architectural elements: pitched roofs or flat; small windows or large surfaces of transparent glass; brick, stone, and colored stucco versus white stucco; wood against steel; small, differentiated rooms versus the open plan, to name just a few. Richard Pommer has written about the famous War of the Roofs or Flat Roof Controversy, which began before the First World War but increased in vehemence in the 1920s.[19] The conflict occurred at the Onkel Tom's Hütte and Am Fischtal Colony housing developments in Berlin, where the Hütte architects constructed flat roofed units directly across from the pitched roofs of Am Fischtal. A famous contemporary photograph shows the two developments juxtaposed in an aesthetic face-off. The controversy was important enough to engage most of the significant German architects of the day, including Walter Gropius, Ludwig Hilberseimer, Heinrich Tessenow, and Mies van der Rohe, all of whom weighed in at one time or another.[20]

Roofs were only one of many contentious aesthetic issues that divided architects. A related debate focused on the outward expression of the new architecture and its mass housing projects. Positions ran the gamut: some supported vernacular architecture, others proposed a combination of vernacular and modern, and still others wanted totally modern buildings, free of historic references. As Barbara Miller Lane demonstrates, the battles were aesthetic but carried political stakes that increased over the 1920s.[21] Urban designers in Breslau and Silesia had to contend with both local and national funding politics. By visibly mixing vernacular and modern design elements, they could appeal to parochial local and regional tastes, while also engaging national priorities to design housing appealing to a broad constituency. Members of Breslau's *Heimatschutzbewegun*g, like Theo Effenberger, along with designers working for the Municipal Housing Authority, like Heim, Kempter, and Moshamer, and on large-scale developments for housing associations, like Ernst May, initially advocated an aesthetic mix for public housing projects, reflecting local and regional architectural heritage. What this mix meant in practice in and around Breslau varied, but more often than not it meant buildings whose appearance referenced local or regional vernacular architecture. Some projects used pitched roofs inspired by Silesian farmhouses and barns, or traditional building materials like thatch and exposed wooden supports. Others added modern adaptations of traditional ornamentation like the hex.

The question of space was practical as well as ideological. Aesthetic debates were concerned not only with how buildings looked but with their spatial organization and use. Urbanization altered where people lived, but it also changed how they conducted their daily lives and thus how they needed to orga-

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nize their homes. For instance, it was more and more common for people to purchase goods like food as they needed them, rather than to store them for long periods, so the need for large storage areas and attics diminished. As May later wrote, "one didn't need the steep roofs to dry onions or plums anymore."[22] These lifestyle changes did not necessarily do away with steep roofs; rather, they allowed architects to rethink the space under the roof for different functions, such as bedrooms and smaller living units. With more women entering the workforce, less time was available to prepare food, which led to interest in more efficiently organized kitchens, timesaving machines, and easy-to-prepare foods. Life before the twentieth century had been formal, with social groups separated and spaces compartmentalized, but the twentieth century introduced the open plan and free-flowing spaces to complement the new social mobility.[23]

By the interwar period, a consensus had developed among most German social reformers that the mass housing ideal was detached single-family houses, though that model was often economically infeasible.[24] Still, the single-family home seemed to have many more benefits than the hated nineteenth-century German *Mietskaserne* (tenement house), including the opportunity for ownership; improved hygiene; contact with fresh air, light, and green space; and privacy that supported family life. Given the difficulty of constructing inexpensive freestanding homes, architects developed models that combined the economies of scale found in multistory housing with elements of the detached home. Two to five story row houses of varying lengths were the most typical solution, although architects like Effenberger and May experimented with two-, three-, and four-family buildings, among other variations. Across Germany, architects designed small, multifamily developments in parks and tree-lined neighborhoods, like those in and around Breslau. Although not precisely Garden City designs, the new neighborhoods certainly borrowed ideas from the Garden City.

Ernst May

Ernst May had first-hand experience with the Garden City. After studying at University College London, he apprenticed in Garden City designer Raymond Unwin's office in 1910. As a young architect, he also worked on Hellerau, the first Garden City built in Germany. Born in Frankfurt in 1886 to an industrialist who owned a local leather factory, May enjoyed a privileged childhood. Besides University College London, he studied at the Technical Universities in Darmstadt and Munich, where his most influential teachers were Friedrich von

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Thiersch and Theodor Fischer, from whom he likely learned to appreciate modern town planning.[25] In Munich he also became lifelong friends with several young architects who would later become key players in Germany, including Paul Bonatz, Hugo Häring, Erich Mendelsohn, J. J. P. Oud, and Wilhelm Riphahn. May came to Breslau in 1919 to direct the *Schlesische Heimstätte*. His primary responsibility was to oversee housing construction in unincorporated suburbs and towns, homesteads, and rural settlements.

The scholarship on May's work has focused primarily on his later *Neues Frankfurt* projects, paying little attention to Breslau. When Breslau is mentioned, it is usually in the context of the facts behind his employment there, rather than critical assessment of his work and its aesthetics.[26] One exception is Susan Henderson, who sees May's work in Breslau as "a missing link between pre-war reform efforts in housing and the heroic Modernism of the later 1920s."[27] However, May's work can just as easily be understood as typical of Weimar urban design practice, with its juxtaposition of conflicting ideas.

In Breslau's strained economic climate, new housing had to be as inexpensive as possible, so May focused his attention on design and construction strategies that would reduce costs, like building smaller, more efficient units. At the same time, May strongly objected to the hated *Mietskaserne*, which typified nineteenth-century urban low-income housing; he intended his designs to be an antidote to their cramped, unhygienic conditions.[28] Sometimes his designs included structures that could easily be built by a layperson, a strategy that aligned with the growing self-help construction movement in Europe. May also combined his rational economic reasoning with an appeal to nostalgia and the romance of *Heimatgefühl* (feeling of home), which had a powerful hold on many Silesians. *Heimatgefühl* is difficult to translate into English, which has no word that captures the deep emotional ties to place implicit in the German concept of *Heimat*. *Heimat* architecture tended to capitalize on attachment to local traditions by using aesthetic elements common to the local and regional vernacular.

May's interest in vernacular types dates to his student years at University College London, where his early sketches and watercolors capture the ornate detail of the architecture around him.[29] His sketchbooks from the period in Unwin's office include views of quaint English country cottages and romantic landscapes. During the First World War, he preferred drawing studies of the historic buildings in France to scenes of battle.[30] In 1921, May published a series of pencil impressions of vernacular Romanian architecture that included earthen huts in Caracal, farmhouses in Stroani, a cloister in Sinaia, and a corn shed in Stroani. The images show simple but elegant gabled wooden roof struc-

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tures, with exposed beams and imaginatively shaped columns, topped by thatch. The corn shed, composed of alternating horizontally stacked wooden members that cross at the outer corners, has a wonderful visual texture. These sketchbooks reveal a deep and longstanding fascination with traditional building types, construction materials, and methods, which suggest that his use of traditional architecture in his Silesian projects was more than opportunistic.

May seems to have disliked skyscrapers as much as he loved vernacular buildings. He felt the skyscraper was an excellent building for commerce, but he argued that people needed their "own home and garden . . . where the family circle could find peace and relaxation," so he advocated for cottages and other low-rise public housing solutions.[31] May took his responsibilities seriously and enthusiastically, convinced that he was charged with accomplishing an important social good: "The first condition underlying housing reform of every kind is the acknowledgment of social and economic efficiency, that is, of an economic policy that recognizes its limits at the point where the well-being of human beings is threatened."[32] His beliefs and approach were a tidy fit for the settlement push to populate the countryside.

May laid the groundwork for his design approach in a series of articles published in *Schlesisches Heim*, the journal he founded, edited, and wrote for, beginning in 1919.[33] The articles were primarily directed at clients, not architects, an important factor to consider when examining his language and arguments.[34] The housing projects May was working on in and around Breslau were predominantly for the poor and working class, not the architect's usual educated bourgeois clientele. Because the projects required government support, both political and financial, May's aesthetic had to appeal to the average German or they ran the risk of not being built.[35] May chose to use the *Kleinwohnung* as a foundation for his projects because it was a "primary form" developed from the "living requirements and habits of the segment of our folk that live in such dwellings."[36]

The *Kleinwohnung* was a type of architecture that, true to its name, was small and economical, but had a broad range of aesthetic expressions in buildings as varied as traditional farmhouse, village dwelling, and urban apartment. In a series of design experiments, May pushed the limits of the *Kleinwohnung* by trying to discover "how far the living area of the small house can be shrunk."[37] Many of May's contemporaries developed modern versions of the *Kleinwohnung*, as did May himself later in Frankfurt. But in Silesia, he chose to base his aesthetic on the traditional Silesian vernacular farmhouse, an iconic building type, centuries old and familiar to most Silesians, that provided a "primary form" with enough variety to make it a good source of design tropes. The

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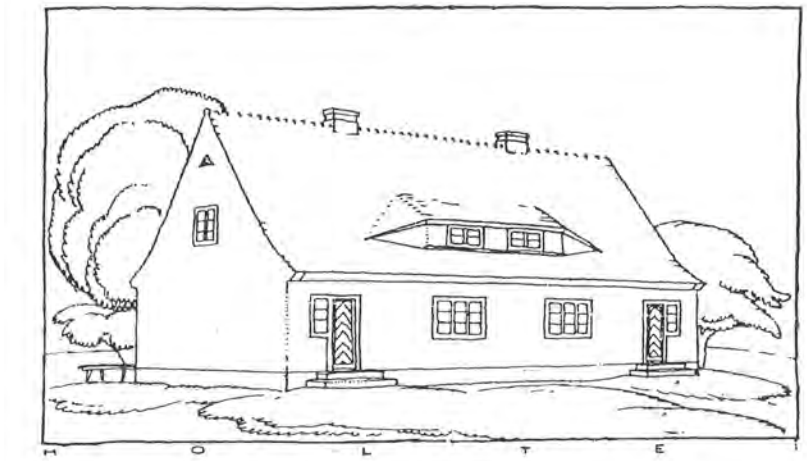

Abb. 12 Typ **Holtei** Schaubild.

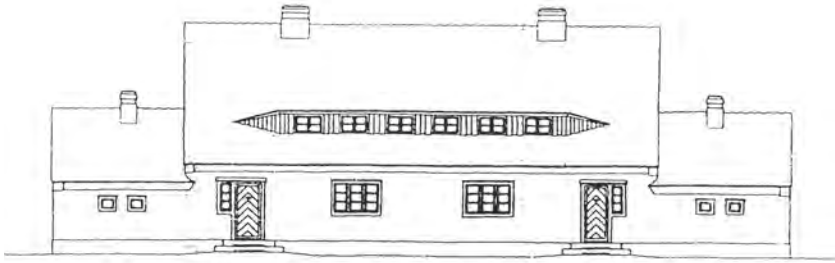

Abb. 13. Typ **Ulih** Vorderanſicht M. 1 : 200.

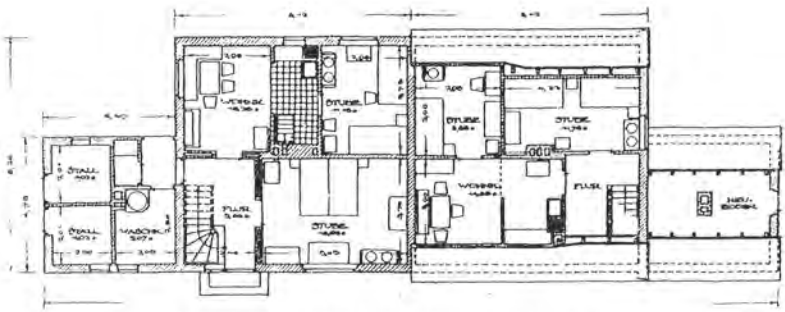

Abb. 14. Typ **Ulih** Erd- und Obergeſchoß M. 1 : 200.

Fig. 8. Ernst May plans and elevations for typical house, *Schlesisches Heim*.

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use of vernacular forms also supported the nationalist rhetoric of the resettlement campaign, although May's devotion to the aesthetic seemed to go well beyond political exigencies.

May summarized his design philosophy in a 1924 essay in *Schlesisches Heim*:

1. The path to the New Man
2. The path to an essential floor plan
3. The path to straightforward household effects
4. The path to honest form and with it a new style
5. The path to joyful cladding for the small house
6. The path to modern building technology
7. The path to scientific business operation
8. The path to unity of small house and garden
9. The path to a federal law for comprehensive regional planning[38]

By "path to the New Man," May meant that architecture should reflect the new ways people were living in the twentieth century, provide better living conditions, and be educational. May's ideas fit squarely into the reform-minded 1920s, and points 2 through 8 read like a list of the period's progressive tactics. "Essential floor plan" meant efficient spatial planning, but also the adoption of *Typisierung* (type forms), reusable design patterns. Related to this, and key to developing scientific modern building techniques, was *Normierung* (building design and construction standards). In Germany, the *Deutsche Institut für Normung* (DIN) (Institute for Standardization) was founded in 1917 to create standards for manufacturing in order to rationalize production, improve industrial quality, and enhance interchangeability between parts and systems fabricated by different companies.

Today, the DIN is still the European production standard. "Modern building technology" referred to new materials and construction systems as well as *Typisierung* and *Normierung*. The eighth point on May's list reflects the interest in finding new ways to bridge interior and exterior spaces and connect architecture to landscape, a common concern throughout Europe in the 1920s. The final item reflects the increasing awareness among urban planners and architects of the necessity for better planning legislation if they were going to provide improved living conditions for more people.

The adoption of *Typisierung* and *Normierung* was a linchpin of May's design strategy for the *Schlesische Heimstätte* projects because together these approaches could ensure speedier, more economical construction. *Normierung*

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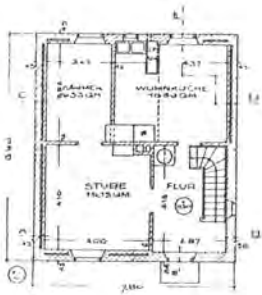

Abb. 1
Erdgeschoßgrundriß des Types Gruppe I, Typ 1, Maßstab 1 : 200.

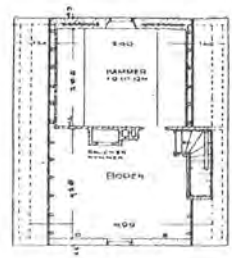

Abb. 2.
Dachgeschoßgrundriß des Types Gruppe, I, Typ 1, Maßstab 1:200.

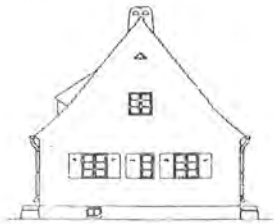

Abb. 3.
Giebelansicht des Types Gruppe I, Typ 1, Maßstab 1 : 200.

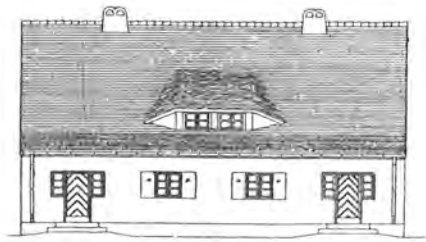

Abb. 4.
Straßenansicht des Types Gruppe II, Typ 1, Maßstab 1 : 200.

zwischen dem direkt nach außen entlüfteten Nahrungsmittelschrank und der Schornsteinwand schürzenartig um ½ Meter heruntergezogen wird. Die so entstehende Kochnische wird mit einer Ziegelflachschicht ausgelegt. Unter einem besonderen Entlüftungsfenster ist der Spülstein so angebracht, daß er von dem Wohnteil der Küche aus durch den Speiseschrank verdeckt wird. Der Kachelherd beheizt gleichzeitig durch die Wand hindurch den Kachelausbau in der kleinen Kammer. Die Kochnische, die bei sämtlichen Typen des „Schlesischen Heimes" in dieser oder einer ähnlichen Weise angeordnet wurde, hat den erheblichen Vorteil, die beim Kochen entstehenden Dämpfe und Dünste am Eindringen in den Wohnteil der Küche zu verhindern, da

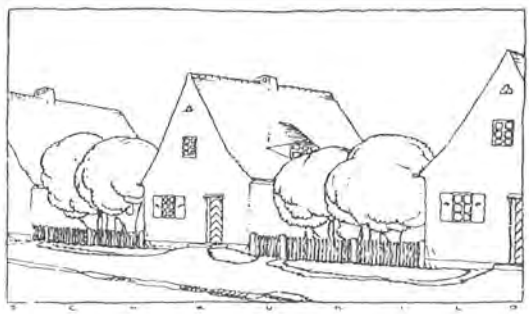

Abb. 5.
Schaubild einer Häusergruppe, gebildet durch Aneinanderreihung mehrerer Bauten von Gruppe I, Typ 1. Der Trennzaun ist zwischen die Häuser gesetzt. Vor demselben ist ein 1½ m breiter Rasenstreifen liegen geblieben.

Fig. 9. Ernst May plans and elevations of a typical house, *Schlesisches Heim*.

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allows construction companies to prefabricate many components, which, in turn, dramatically reduces costs, as site work is more expensive than factory work and repetitive standard components are easier to assemble than unique elements. Similarly, having construction companies repeat a design by using a type was economical since it saved money on engineering and prefabricated elements by reusing already existing plans. Debates over *Typisierung* and *Normierung* raged in the architecture press during the interwar period. Proponents argued for the economic benefits of standardizing design and construction as well as the historic importance of architectural types. May himself wrote, "it is significant for today's compromised architectural culture that we have to struggle for such evident things [as type and norms], whereas in the times of elevated building art there was never a building without a type."[39] Opponents railed against the loss of individuality, the destruction of German building heritage, and the heartlessness of a technology-dominated society. May's strategy, which combined traditional German architecture tropes into types while normalizing construction, successfully undermined much of the critique. People seemed to accept standardization if it applied to the "invisible" aspects of architecture.

May developed his arguments for design in articles such as "Ersatzbauwesen" and "Typen für Landarbeiterwohnungen," which charted the design methods as well.[40] To begin with, he scrutinized the traditional Silesian vernacular farmhouse inside and out, dissecting it into discrete design elements for reuse and adaptation. A large part of the exercise involved abstracting and simplifying vernacular architecture to distill its design essentials, like the steeply sloped roof, thatch roofing material, stucco façades, vertically clad wooden gable ends, painted gable ornaments, longhouse plan, and eyebrow windows. May believed that type should "crystallize the origin's most essential, [qualities]."[41] In "Typ und Stil," he articulates his basic principles of good design: "integrative," "refusing ornamentation," and "the archetypal, essential form," which together will create a style. In "Wohnungsfürsorgegesellschaften und Baukultur," he points to "truth in the plan and outer design of the building envelope, conformation to the particular surroundings" as essential, by which he means that architecture should be responsive to the geography and cultural character of its site.[42] In another set of articles, May describes the new building technologies, materials, and spatial arrangements that *Schlesische Heimstätte* would employ. "Ersatzbauwesen" delineates several new building systems, including the 30-centimeter brick cavity wall, loam rendering, and sand/lime brick. These were all variations on the masonry block construction that was far

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cheaper in the 1920s than wood, concrete, or steel because of postwar shortages and attendant price escalation.

As well as embracing new building materials and systems, May worked assiduously to rationalize the construction process so he could reduce costs, speed up building time, and make construction sufficiently easy that inexperienced builders could erect their own homes. In "Die bewegliche Bodentreppe im Kleinhaus," May explains the surprising "wasted space" typical of prewar "*Kleinwohnungen*," which of course defies the logic of the small dwelling. In this and other articles, he sets forth new design strategies such as: reducing the number of rooms and spatial needs to a minimum; eliminating corridors; using every space in the house including those that would otherwise be wasted, like under the stairs; moveable stairs; double functioning kitchens and living rooms; and so on.[43] In yet another group of articles, May proposes a series of new building types based on combining vernacular design tropes with new spatial strategies and building technologies. May introduces the new "types" with a seemingly scientific classification system that groups the variants into *Gruppen* and *Typen* with accompanying subdivisions. He hopes that by using this design system, he can avoid "superficial" styles.[44] He writes, the building design is "simple," "using primary forms," and "like the old farmhouses there is supposed to be a harmonious effect, not through motives of some kind or through un-'*sachlich*' additions but through the relationship of the building volume, size and position, with windows and door openings, as well as material colors."[45] Ultimately, the new model would be a modern, scientifically determined adaptation of the best traditional and contemporary architectural elements. By 1924, May and his team had developed a catalog of sixteen building types ranging in scale from a modest fifty-two square meters to as large as 144 square meters, although most of the constructed projects were in the middle range, with about seventy square meters.[46] May initially identified the types by number, but eventually he named them after Silesian cultural figures like poet Gerhart Hauptmann, painter Adolf Menzel, and architect Carl Langhans, once again using regional culture to appeal to romantic *Heimat* sentiments.

May tested his ideas in numerous drawings but also in realized projects. Between 1919 and 1928, *Schlesische Heimstätte* constructed over 11,000 units of rural settlement housing, expanded even more existing settlements, and created emergency housing in the cities. Goldschmied (1919–20) and Oltaschin (1921) were two of May's first large-scale urban planning and design projects, and they are representative of his planning and architectural strategies. Goldschmied was May's very first project, designed for a group of self-help farmers

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on a site just south of Breslau. The site on a former estate comprised 3.5 square kilometers and was meant to accommodate about 750 homes, although in the end only a small portion of the original plan was executed.[47] As in many of May's subsequent projects, the houses were two-family cottages with steeply pitched saddle-backed roofs and stucco siding, arranged in large swathes of green space. May developed three variations of this double house, all constructed on slab-on-grade, which is cheaper than building a basement, with a single main floor and habitable attic space. The settlement began with a group of houses situated around an oval public space from which the main street extended. The lots were long and narrow to accommodate individual farm plots for each family. Each house had a small private front garden area that acted as a buffer between the street and sidewalk and the home. Although the homes were modest in scale, May created a sense of private ownership. The built area was to connect to a network of gently curving streets that terminated in public squares, and at the heart of the development May planned to construct a large civic area with three connected public spaces in a deliberate nod to the traditional village layout with its centrally located square or green. With the exception of the public squares, which were ringed with buildings, houses lined the streets and were parallel to them, in another typical village layout.

Located seven kilometers outside of Breslau, Oltaschin was a typical small medieval village constructed around a public commons. At the beginning of the twentieth century, most of its residents were herb farmers. Its proximity to Breslau and ample open space made Oltaschin an excellent site for a satellite community, and in 1920 it became the location for a new affordable housing project when Baron Richthofen-Boguslavitz donated a 12-hectare plot for development. The clients were not urban commuters, however, but local farmers. In Oltaschin, May opted for the traditional farmhouse type with a steeply pitched saddle gable with a large eyebrow window in the roof and small, square windows on the stucco façades. The gable end sported a modern adaptation of the traditional farmhouse hex decoration designed by Lotte Hartmann, May's sister-in-law, who designed similar decorations for the homes in Goldschmied. But in a departure from the historic farmhouse and May's Goldschmied designs, the roof covered a two-family house, with rental units under the eaves. May experimented with the layout of the individual units, discarding the traditional four-room model separated by a corridor and joining spaces together in a more modern corridor-free, spatially efficient plan. His professed goal was to create a more "*sachlich* and functional" dwelling.[48] He did so by rationalizing the spatial organization to minimize the building footprint while maximizing usable space and increasing spatial efficiency, through such strategies as placing the kitchen

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Fig. 10. Ernst May, Oltaschin Housing Project (1921).

in the under-utilized space under the stairs. The construction system at Oltaschin was the new mud-block wall system May wrote about in *Schlesisches Heim*, which could easily be assembled by nonprofessional builders. Outer walls were covered with stucco, which was readily available, cheap, and relatively easy to apply. Like Goldschmied, Oltaschin was planned to engage nature as much as possible. The houses were laid out in u-shaped configurations around a north-south oriented courtyard, with green space between and around the units. The site planning helped provide good lighting for the units as well as outside spatial variation.

At least one contemporary, the critic Werner Hegemann, was highly critical of May, though he appreciated the traditional elements in his Breslau-era projects.[49] Although Hegemann was not trained as an architect, he was at the center of Weimar debates over urban design and regionalism. He argued for the reinstatement of the nineteenth-century master of bourgeois villa design, Alfred Messel, as a fundamental inspiration for contemporary design, citing his work as the backbone of German architectural heritage. Hegemann vehemently dismisses architects who wish to ignore or bury their heritage: "He

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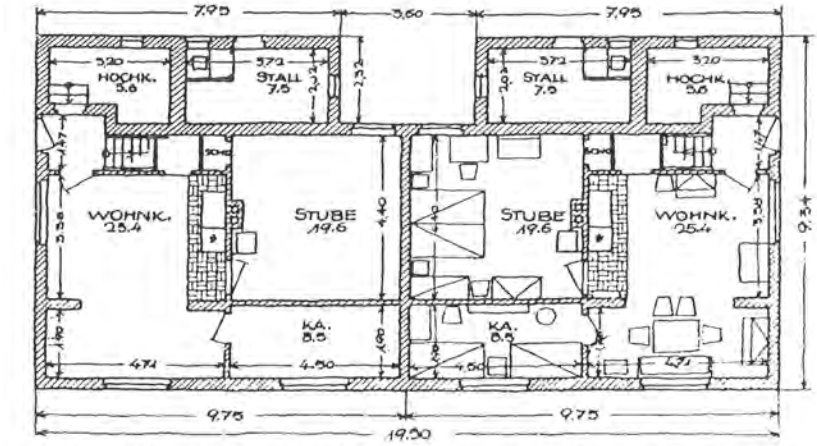

Abb. 12: Erdgeſchoßgrundriß des Doppelhauſes Gr. II, Form 14 ½, M. 1 : 200.

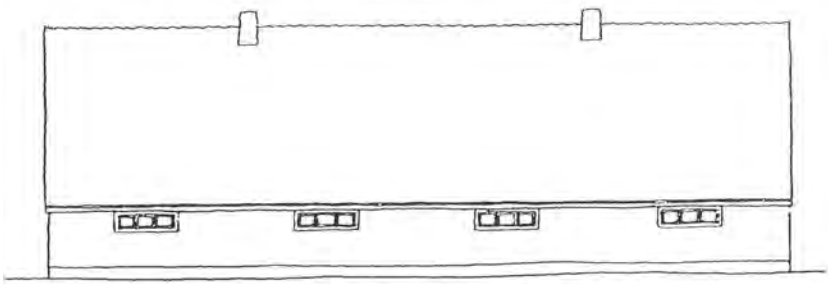

Abb. 13: Straßenanſicht zu Abbildung 12, M. 1 : 200.

Fig. 11. Ernst May, plan for a house at Oltaschin (1921).

who consciously wants to give up our proven construction methods . . . is like a man who wants to invent a new language . . . because he has discovered that our language is spoken badly by most, and because important modern terms like vacuum cleaner, telephone, water closet, radio, cinema or airplane are missing."[50] For Hegemann, architecture cannot turn its back on the past or present but must incorporate or fuse the two. Hegemann found May's Frankfurt work—and the rhetoric he uses to defend it—hypocritical, accusing him of "turning his back on the past" and "inconsistency" in his aesthetics, since at the time Hegemann was writing May had relocated to Frankfurt and was designing work quite different from what he had done in Breslau. Dismantling May's explanations of his Frankfurt work, Hegemann shows that despite his

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claims otherwise, May is unable to escape the legacy of traditional design. He bemoans the fact that in 1927 critics were already overlooking May's "dignified" work in Silesia in favor of the "modern experiments of great style" in Frankfurt. For Hegemann, May's Silesian projects were not anomalies but mainstream, and the combination of traditional regional tropes with new design elements created rich results that were as modern as anything designed during Weimar.

Theo Effenberger

In contrast to May who worked all over Silesia, most of Theo Effenberger's work with the Municipal Housing Authority was inside or very close to the Breslau city limits. Unlike May, Effenberger was a native Breslauer. He studied architecture first at Breslau's technically oriented *Baugewerkschule* (Building Crafts School), where he was introduced to the *Heimat* movement, and then at the more aesthetically oriented Technical High School in Darmstadt, under Karl Hofmann, Friedrich Pützer, and Georg Wickop. Pützer was interested in historical work, and his projects draw on traditional Germanic tropes like the stepped gable and use regional materials like brick. Effenberger credited his education in Darmstadt with wide-reaching influence on his work, especially his close collaborations with artists, applied arts masters, and other architects.[51] He returned to Breslau in 1907 to join the Breslau City Building Department, then under the direction of Richard Plüddemann, where he helped design a number of hospitals and schools. In 1910, Effenberger left the city to establish a private practice, but he had a change of heart in 1919, when he joined the Municipal Housing Authority as one of its principal architects.[52] In 1919, Effenberger also became head of the *Hochbaunormung Schlesien*, the department responsible for construction standards in the province.[53] There is almost no scholarship on Effenberger, probably because, although he was an important figure in Breslau and Silesia, he did not play a national role, though he was well known across Germany during his lifetime. Christine Nielsen's 1998 dissertation and a 1926 monograph published by Gebrüder Mann are the only publications to date. Nielsen rightly focuses on recovering the history of Effenberger's achievements, situating him within German efforts to mitigate regional cultural impulses and politics with national and international ones.[54] From the start, Effenberger was very involved in Breslau cultural politics, partly because Breslau was his home but also because of an abiding interest in improving its cultural milieu. In 1907 and 1908, he was a founding member of

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the *Künstlerbund Schlesien* (Artists' Association) and the *Schlesische Bund für Heimatschutz* (Silesian Alliance for Protection of the Homeland), for which he served as business director for many years.

Effenberger's active membership in both the *Künstlerbund* and the *Schlesische Bund für Heimatschutz* is revealing, for between them they supported the most progressive and most traditional regional art and architecture. Effenberger was particularly involved with the *Bund*, for which he kept copious records that can still be found in the archives. If May's work in Silesia responded to local and regional building culture as well as regional cultures of domesticity, Effenberger's work was even more consumed with these issues. His education at both the *Baugewerkschule,* with its tradition-oriented curriculum, and the Technical High School, under the historicist Pülzer, contributed to his interest in tradition. Whereas May brought an outsider's perspective to Breslau, Effenberger was the consummate insider with a passionate commitment to Silesia and a strong interest in all aspects of its culture. Breslau was a stage in May's professional career from which he moved on to his home city, Frankfurt, where his most famous housing projects would be built. Effenberger was heavily invested in his home city, Breslau, where he spent most of his professional years.

Before the First World War, Effenberger's architecture already engaged with both local and regional types, on the one hand, and simple, rational planning and new technology, on the other. In a 1914 article, the eminent critic Walter Curt Behrendt cites Effenberger, alongside Tessenow and Schmitthenner, as one of a small group of German architects pursuing new aesthetics that are rooted in the past without imitating historic styles.[55] That group was actually much larger and included Erwin Gutkind, Bruno Taut, and Martin Wagner, to name its best-known members. Behrendt illustrates his article with three projects by Effenberger: rural cottages in Schreiberau im Riesengebirge and in an unnamed location and an addition to a school in Schmidtsdorf. From the images and Behrendt's text, it is possible to see how Effenberger's architecture combines traditional elements, like steeply gabled roofs and wooden siding, with modern streamlined volumes, simple unadorned surfaces, and rational spatial organization. This earlier work seems to prefigure his interwar housing projects, but more importantly it situates his work between tradition and modernity.

Effenberger clearly articulates his regional concerns, which he believes should be central to national cultural policy. In an undated note to Mr. Ulitska at the Ministry of Culture in Berlin, he emphasizes the "reputation of the 'German cultural achievements' in contrast to those of the eastern border neighbors," but also points out that "local, competent building arts" are necessary to preserving German culture, even in technical structures like railroad terminals

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or factories.[56] In his letters to Berlin during the 1920s, Effenberger repeatedly stresses the tactical and cultural significance of the "borderlands" as bastions of German values, not just remote edges of the country.[57]

The Municipal Housing Authority had extensive design and construction responsibilities, despite its complicated financial and legal status. Although not quite as productive as *Schlesische Heimstätte*, it completed 7,300 units between 1919 and 1931, a formidable contribution to the local housing stock.[58] Although the Authority was part of the municipality, it hired private architects to design its projects and direct their construction; the initial group was Effenberger, Paul Heim, and Hermann Wahlich. In this capacity, Effenberger oversaw one of the two largest housing developments the Authority constructed, Breslau Pöpelwitz (1919–20).

In public housing projects like Breslau Pöpelwitz, Effenberger united traditional and modern design tropes and tested some of the *Bund*'s ideas. Dr. Konrad Hahm, writing about Effenberger in 1929, described him as an architect who combined modernity with tradition. He writes, "The loudly proclaimed push towards the so-called objectivity is the unpunished force behind an impoverishment of ideas," the "dilettantism," the "cliché individualism," and the "misunderstood rationalization" of contemporary architecture.[59] With these and other epithets, Hahm criticizes 1920s architecture for irrationally and seemingly willfully dismissing a centuries-old design tradition in favor of new ideas. His condemnation rests on his belief that it is unnecessary to reject tradition in order to adopt modern approaches. In contrast, Hahm hails Effenberger, whose "buildings show themselves as quite organically developed from a solid, indigenous, traditional building art into a modern formal language, in whose clarity and decisiveness something elemental from the present is apparent."[60] He notes Effenberger's commitment to housing reform, construction, and the development of construction norms and architectural types. In other words, Hahm underscores Effenberger's modern approach. He also makes connections between Effenberger's work at the SBH and at the *Siedlungsgesellschaft* Breslau. But most importantly, Hahm recognizes the interrelation between traditional and modern architecture in Effenberger's work: "Theo Effenberger appears today in the ranks of modern architects who did not mature on the back of a (ideological) program but on the ground of a land and its tradition."[61] In other words, Hahm finds Effenberger's marriage of traditional and modern architecture to be highly successful.

Effenberger published his views about Silesian architecture as early as 1910, when he analyzed the historic strengths and weaknesses of building practice in his home province in "On Silesian Building Art." Revealingly, al-

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though Effenberger points to vernacular architecture as an example of Silesian design excellence, he acknowledges the dearth of good buildings, both in classical masterpieces in general and after 1870, ascribing the more recent absence to the rapid growth Silesian cities experienced after 1870 and the government failure to enact adequate building codes to regulate it. He admonishes the professional and lay audience alike for the lack of sophisticated discourse on architecture, which he feels contributes to the weak building culture. In the end, though, Effenberger cites grounds for hope: he believes the younger generation has begun to construct buildings of merit. He concludes the article with the promise that, "in further issues we will show the reader what we can learn from the old buildings," making it clear that he saw vernacular architecture as a precedent for contemporary work, much as May did, and implying a direct relationship between old and new, traditional and contemporary design.[62]

In 1919, Effenberger outlined his approach to large development and *Kleinwohnung* house design in an article on Garden City planning. The article reveals additional similarities to May's work, but also some distinct differences, especially in the boldness of the designs. Effenberger begins by asserting that "before we discuss building, we need to be clear for whom we are going to build." That is, design requirements differ according to the client or user. Effenberger mentions profession, income, social status, and age as factors the architect needs to consider, along with the site, whether the property will be owned or rented, and who is funding the project. Implicit in his list of considerations is an understanding of the client's cultural orientation, lifestyle, and aesthetic preferences. Pragmatic thinking permeates every aspect of Effenberger's argument. He feels that form should express function in a simple and straightforward manner and advocates a no-nonsense approach to design in which, he asserts, "art has nothing direct to do."[63] He does admit, however, that "it would certainly not be an artwork when it was obviously planned as one." In other words, art in architecture arises from good, functional design, not the architect's purposeful efforts to turn a building into a piece of art.

Effenberger extols simple, basic form-making that is free of ornament and has economical construction and minimal spatial planning without being oppressively reduced. He points out that if a plan is reduced too drastically, as in the fashionable *Existenzminimum*, the resulting space will be uncomfortable and undesirable. The house types he mentions are almost identical to those May wrote about over the years, including single family detached, double family, row, and group houses. Even more interesting, the drawings in the article look remarkably like those May published. For instance, Effenberger's *Haustyp II*, "a double house after the Dutch system," strongly resembles May's

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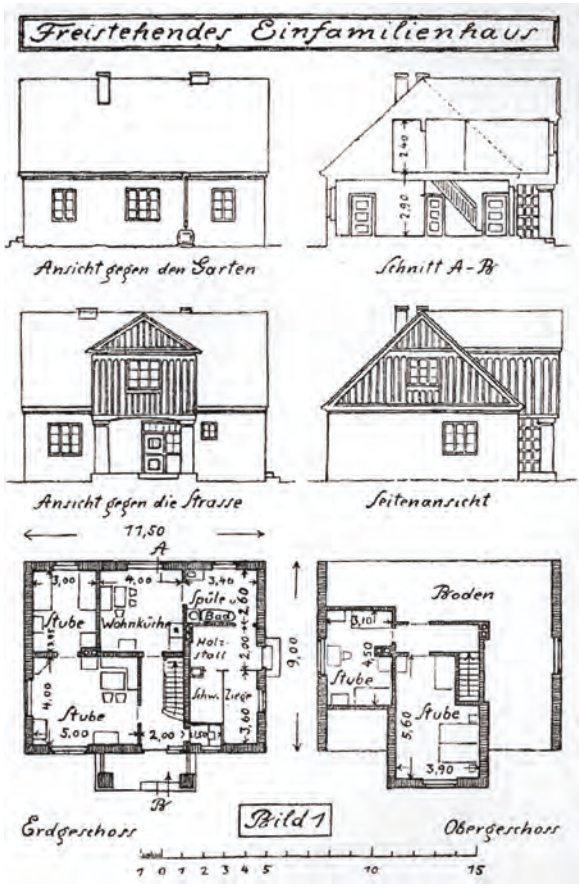

Fig. 12. Theo Effenberger, design for a small house (1919).

"Gerhart Hauptmann" *Haustyp*. Like May, Effenberger uses traditional motifs like the steeply pitched roof, eyebrow windows, accentuated entries, and stucco and wood siding. However, they are often less streamlined than May's work, with more volumetric and planimetric play and a bit more ornamentation, so that they appear less rationalized and more conservative. Effenberger's intentions clearly aligned with May's, even if, as his biographer Christine Nielsen suggests, he was a progressive, but not a member of the avant-garde. As a local and regional leader, he was interested in combining the best of new building with the best of tradition.

Planning for the *Siedlung* Pöpelwitz began in 1919. The site was in the western part of Breslau, on land the Municipal Building Authority acquired from private owners. The Authority chose this site because the housing short-

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Fig. 13. Theo Effenberger, Breslau Pöpelwitz.

age was particularly acute in the West, where many industrial plants were located, including the Linke-Hofmann Works, a steel fabricator. Linke-Hofmann had close to 7,000 employees, in part due to wartime expansion. Nearby housing was bursting at the seams, as typified by the Nikolai City Quarter just to the north of Pöpelwitz with its badly overcrowded five-story *Mietskaserne*. The density demanded relief.

The initial 1919 sketches for the project show a low-rise settlement in a Garden City, but by 1920 Effenberger had revised his proposal, increasing building height and density as well as proposed amenities. The development plans arranged different scales of housing in different relationships to street and garden in order to avoid monotony.

All the small and mid-size units had private garden space, while the large

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blocks had balconies and shared parks. Some sections, like the units along Polsnitzstrasse, feature closed perimeter blocks parallel to the street. Others, like the area on Hellerstrasse, have smaller multifamily buildings separated by green space. Although divided into a grid, the blocks vary in size, offering spatial relief from the potentially oppressive uniformity of the grid planning favored by modern architects. Effenberger also allows the streets to bend gently in some places and alters planning patterns throughout to create visual interest. At the center of the development are public services like shops, schools, a bakery, a bank, and a library. Thus, from the start, Effenberger envisioned the development as a miniature village within the larger city, an approach similar to many of May's developments although at a larger scale (Effenberger planned for 2,000 units, while most of May's projects were several hundred).

Like May, Effenberger also worked to rationalize planning in spatial organization, finish choices, and construction techniques. The Municipal Building Authority developed a list of minimum requirements for all its projects that specified room sizes according to function and required direct access to light and air, which Effenberger addressed by orienting units east/west and providing for natural cross ventilation. All the types included a separate bathroom in almost every unit, an indicator of the importance of hygiene to the Municipal Building Authority, since separate and interior bathrooms were still not standard. Effenberger kept the building size at a minimum for the sake of economy but also to make the building function more efficiently. Large repetitive blocks of housing kept costs down, attached row construction facilitated shared utilities and services (which also contributed to affordability), and the absence of ornament and use of stucco façades kept construction relatively cheap. Effenberger worked with a series of type models similar to those May used at the *Schlesische Heimstätte* to speed construction and economize on labor and material costs, but he stuck to more traditional building materials like brick. The project was also an example of *Kleinwohnung* planning: over 60 percent of the units had only two rooms, most of the others had one or three, and only a handful had four. The only exceptions were sixty-six single family homes planned for larger nuclear families. The floor plans were as rational and simple as possible. Typically, rooms opened onto a small service corridor minimized to avoid wasted space. The spatial planning was not radical, just functional and economical. In some instances, adjacent rooms opened onto a corridor and each other, a first gesture toward open spatial arrangements, but Effenberger, like May, kept the rooms in a more traditional individuated relationship.

The initial perspective drawings for Pöpelwitz display an idyllic vision that is hardly compatible with the intended clientele or the dire need for housing, though it does present a traditional notion of domesticity. The drawings

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show pristine tree-lined streets with traffic-free roads, lawns, and open spaces. One depicts two immaculately dressed young ladies with shopping baskets slung over their arms deep in conversation. Both wear bonnets and floor-length dresses that harken back to nineteenth-century peasant dress and have little to do with current fashions. A lone male figure sporting a hat and cane walks in the distance. The three figures suggest a traditional, even romantic, village scene, although the height and scale of the buildings is urban. The architecture has a pitched roof, no surface ornament, the divided light windows and dormers of traditional Silesian architecture, and façades that appear to be stucco.

Photographs of Pöpelwitz reveal Effenberger's design strategies at work. Each housing type had distinctive features: some roofs were pitched and others flat, entryways varied in location and treatment, windows of differing sizes were arranged in facade patterns that changed from block to block but also on each façade in single blocks, some had unique eyebrow window and dormer forms, and there were different colors and textures of stucco. The blocks also had varying relationships to the sidewalk and street, with some aligning perpendicular to the sidewalk and others parallel, a changing orientation that creates a pattern of public outdoor spaces in unexpected locations that act as relief to the flush façades.

Unfortunately, the surviving photographs were taken early on, when the planting was young, so the full effect of the landscape design is not visible. Nonetheless, the sheer variety of architectonic elements from traditional and modern architecture is fully evident. Writing about the combination of pitched and flat roofs, Konrad Hahm says Effenberger "attains in his row houses an understated unity between the two forms without discrepancy."[64] But Hahm recognizes that Effenberger's achievement extends well beyond the Battle of the Roofs to his overall design solutions. He praises Effenberger for avoiding "the stale modern individualism or un-modern." Another writer praises the success of Pöpelwitz where, instead of "modern at all costs," the *Siedlung* is "purposeful and pleasant."[65] In other words, Effenberger's pragmatic combination of design elements is in logical harmony rather than at aesthetic odds, a fine statement of his principal achievement: successfully combining tradition and modernity.

Breslau Zimpel

While Pöpelwitz did not survive the Second World War, Breslau Zimpel, another great Breslau housing development of the 1920s, still stands.

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Fig. 14. Theo Effenberger, Breslau Pöpelwitz.

Although designers Paul Heim and Hermann Wahlich did not leave a wealth of documentation like Effenberger and May, it is possible to visit Zimpel. Located in the east of the city, in the "triangle between the Oder, old Oder, and the Ship Canal," not far from Scheitniger Park, the project is a masterpiece of planning ingenuity.[66] The site is approximately one hundred hectares of which, according to the architects, 7.8 percent is covered with roads and pathways, 79.5 percent is built, and 12.7 percent is green space, though the 79.5 percent includes constructed green spaces such as front and rear gardens. Zimpel houses about 10,000 residents in 2,600 units of varying sizes.[67]

The architects combined garden city planning ideas with traditional and modern aesthetics in an extremely comfortable manner. The overall site plan is asymmetrical, though some of the blocks have local symmetries. Rather than impose an abstract geometry on the site, the architects let its outer boundaries dictate circulation and plot geometries, in much the same way that traditional villages developed. The roads they designed run almost parallel or almost perpendicular to older streets, with embellishments here and there to create spatial interest. Heim and Wahlich describe the street arrangement as "crooked."[68] A large play area lies more or less at the center of the plan, with public buildings flanking it on both sides, including a community house, church, schools, child-

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care facility, swimming pool, stores, and office space. Even today, large expanses of green surround the development, giving the sense that Zimpel is situated in a gigantic park. Heim and Wahlich's design choices make Zimpel feel like an isolated and special place, a kind of urban oasis, and create a lively center that recalls typical German villages. As in the traditional village, this center is the administrative, cultural, and public heart of Zimpel—Heim and Wahlich referred to it as the "cultural center" and expected it to be a place for people to congregate and cultivate "spiritual culture."[69] Yet despite their age-old origins, Heim and Wahlich chose a modern design language for most of the public buildings, then further shook up the mix by using traditional Silesian brick for the façades. The brick community house typifies this design strategy, with its simple, unadorned volumes, flat roofs, and thin, cantilevered entry canopy.

The school, however, was not such a success. Heim and Wahlich planned it to be relatively low-lying and to relate to the surrounding green space. They were extremely upset when the city decided against their design proposal, instead opting for a compact "four-story, school bunker," likely for cost savings.[70] Heim bitterly writes, "For the family: out of the tenement house and for the child: into the school barracks."[71] It makes no sense to him to improve living conditions without addressing the state of all the buildings in the community, and he points to advances in education research that categorically reject the old-fashioned, multistory school as a model for effective education. Heim and Wahlich approached the block arrangement by combining more traditional German planning schemas with Garden City principles. The blocks vary in size, as does their orientation to the street and garden; on principal avenues, blocks run parallel to the street with a minimal front garden; on secondary avenues, they are set back from the street; and in the interior of the development, every other block turns perpendicular to the street to create lovely outdoor spaces and an incredible spatial dynamism. To further animate the outside spaces, Heim and Wahlich alternated the scale of front and rear gardens, small in the front and generous in the rear.

The main housing styles are quite traditional. Every block has a rectangular footprint, and the architects resisted "protruding bays and porches," noting, "This is the most minimal, cheapest form, allows light and sun freely in, and leads to lasting solutions."[72] There are several basic types in the development, with standardized plans and construction systems, as in May and Effenberger's projects. The blocks range from semi-detached row houses to multifamily dwellings. They have pitched roofs, occasionally punctuated by eyebrow windows, small multipane windows in stucco façades, and symmetrically arranged

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elevations. Thus, the planning is rational and modern, even if the appearance is not. Like Effenberger in Pöpelwitz, Heim and Wahlich employed a number of design strategies to create visual excitement in what is otherwise an inexpensive mass housing project. Corner treatments vary and dormer window designs are sometimes the traditional eyebrow, other times triangular forms, other times square. Walls and picket fences alternate along the street, flanked by trees, to vary both the view and the spatial enclosure.

Although Zimpel has a similar approach to many of May's housing estates, May cannot be credited with directly influencing Heim and Wahlich, for they began designing Zimpel in 1919, when May had just started to work in Breslau. Instead, Zimpel demonstrates the prevalence of certain ideas at the time. Writing about Zimpel in 1927, Heim says, "Our times are riven, nevertheless though the disruptive, something is there, and when there is a will it is possible to lead a simple, healthy, natural life, in spite of the stone confusion of the large city. The transformation of the dwelling and placement outside the city in green alters the context."[73] Erich Landsberg calls Zimpel the "ideal, of the possible [architectural] connection with nature."[74] Zimpel succeeds because it is a pragmatic mix of aesthetics and planning principles that respond to the functional imperatives, social needs, and site restrictions. Heim and Wahlich did well to heed Fritz Behrendt's warning about the pitfalls of housing design by avoiding "single-minded fanaticism" in any part of their design. Their willingness to combine the comforts and familiarity of the village with the efficacy of *Neues Bauen* planning and construction makes Zimpel epitomize the best of Weimar-era housing design in and around Breslau. Zimpel's success, though, should not be measured by claims made in the 1920s by its architects and contemporary critics, but rather by how it has fared over the decades. Today, Breslauers proudly take visitors to visit Zimpel, telling them that it is the most desirable neighborhood in the entire city, because the green space makes it a wonderful area to live in, despite the relatively small units.[75]

The social and architectural aims of Breslau's housing developments resembled other 1920s housing projects across Germany, like Hellerau in Dresden, Milkmädschen in Poll, and Onkel Toms Hütte and Staaken in Berlin. The interest in providing low-cost, efficient solutions to housing the masses was central to the reform movement. German architects and urban designers grappled with combining green space with better site planning, integrating public amenities into large-scale projects, and improving transit infrastructure and access to the urban core.[76] May's attempts to standardize construction systems, floor plans, and building types were also in keeping with his contemporaries. The "Taylorist" hope of creating more functional architecture at every level is

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evident in projects like Dammerstock in Karlsruhe, while the pages of German architectural journals such as *Bauwelt* and *Schlesisches Heim* were full of schemes to rationalize architectural design and construction. The struggles with traditional and modern planning and aesthetics were equally common, as the Flat Roof Controversy and varied aesthetics at developments like Onkel Toms Hütte demonstrate. Seen in the broader German context, Breslau's housing developments in the 1920s were well-designed local inflections of national trends.

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Chapter 2

Another Way to Understand Modernism: Breslau *Wohnung und Werkbund Ausstellung* 1929

> "*This house naturally satisfies high modern demands but the unforced connection to centuries-old requirements is comfortable, because the familiar, the everyday commodities, are connected to sentimental values*."
>
> —*Bauwelt*, "Wohnung und Werkraum: Versuchs-Siedlung der Werkbundausstellung in Breslau" June 1929

"The spirit and conviction of the times, also gives the building arts their tasks, which are only recognized in the context and as part of the great cultural problems," wrote architecture critic Alfred Krüger in a critique of the recently opened Breslau *Werkbund* exhibition *Wohnung und Werkraum* (*WuWA*).[1] For Krüger, *WuWA* was the physical manifestation of contemporary modern culture in its most positive forms. *WuWA* projects, he noted, searched for an appropriate expression of the *Zeitgeist* by reacting to conditions of modern living. He cited machines, trains, the automobile, the airplane, and radio as recent inventions that had a profound impact on the way people live, an impact that could be read in the exhibition designs. Krüger related the exhibition, located in a remote corner of Germany, to national cultural concerns, to make it clear that *WuWA* had local, regional, and national dimensions. As the crowning achievement of the Breslau arts scene, and the turning point after which that scene rapidly declined, *WuWA* epitomizes the complex Breslau engagement with modernity and 1920s cultural debates.

An Exhibition for Breslau

Heinrich Lauterbach put forward the initial proposal for a model housing estate, likely in 1926. It coincided with the appearance of a municipal study on

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Fig. 15. Johannes Molzahn, advertisement for *WuWA* (1929).

the housing crisis, *Siedlung und Stadtplanung in Schlesien* (Housing and City Planning in Silesia), which suggested that city officials had an interest in promoting more aggressive housing policies long before *WuWA* was conceived. Statistics in the study revealed the significant housing crunch in Breslau after the war: where Köln had a density of 27.3 people per hectare and Frankfurt am Main had thirty-five people per hectare, in Breslau, 560,000 people lived in a space of 4,920 hectares at a density of 114 people per hectare.[2] Unlike cities in western and southern Germany, Breslau had not expanded into the surrounding area, which was largely agricultural. Breslau wanted to reduce its density to thirty-nine people per hectare, which would require an estimated 3,550 new apartments per year, a goal that took into account the shortfall of approximately 11,500 units and added annual increases of about 2,400 units (see chapter 1).[3] City authorities estimated that at least 130,000 people were "making a mockery of basic health requirements" because of substandard housing and overcrowding.[4] According to a 1916 survey, 156 apartments in Breslau had no heat whatsoever; 15 percent of all apartments had only one heated room and no kitchen; 30 percent one heated room and a kitchen; 28 percent two heated rooms and a kitchen; 21.4 percent three to four heated rooms and a kitchen;

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only 5.6 percent had more than five rooms.[5] The bulk of the demand was therefore for small, inexpensive apartments with basic amenities, an area that *WuWA* was well suited to explore.

WuWA was broad and comprehensive, designed to appeal to both lay people and experts. Along with model housing, it included numerous exhibitions related to domestic and workplace design, held in several buildings on the grounds of the 1913 Centennial Jubilee. The *Messehalle* (1925), designed by Max Berg and Ludwig Moshamer, featured exhibitions about design and construction, including contemporary furniture and home furnishings, lighting, raw materials, new construction materials and systems, new building technologies, architectural details and surfaces, paints and color design, the historical development of mass housing, the development of the living room and its furnishings, green spaces, everyday life, art by local figures, and model work places. The work shown in Hans Poelzig's Pavilion (1913) traced the historical development of the apartment, the housing estate, and contemporary landscape architecture. Berg's Centennial Hall (1913) presented exhibitions on *Neues Bauen* architecture, the Breslau Eichborngarten housing cooperative, and the *Bauhaus* educational system. Although *WuWA* had no art exhibit, four art exhibitions were held in Breslau that year to capitalize on the expected increase in tourism. Other cultural events that coincided with the exhibition were the *Künstlerbund*'s release of the book *Silesian Artists*, as well as the national *Werkbund* Days and the Association of German Architects annual meeting, both held in Breslau that year. Twenty-one participants worked on *WuWA*, including architects Heinrich Lauterbach, Adolf Rading, and Theo Effenberger; graphic designer Johannes Molzahn; product designer Josef Vinecky; and poet Hans Nowak. The Municipal Housing Authority of Breslau, *Deutsche Werkbund*, the Breslau Chamber of Industry and Commerce, the Breslau Chamber of Agriculture, the Breslau Chamber of Craft, the Homemakers Alliance, labor unions, and the Exhibition and Fair Association all collaborated on the exhibition.[6] These collaborating organizations were as broad in their orientation as the architecture and exhibitions themselves, with the *Werkbund* representing the more liberal side and the Homemakers Alliance decidedly more conservative.

The Exhibition Catalog captured *WuWA*'s intentions and purpose: "Every modern exhibition is a tactically considered totality . . . each modern exhibition speaks for specific ideas,"[7] it noted, and the goal of the whole was "to propagate in wide circles the thinking behind modern living culture and contemporary workspace organization."[8] In other words, *WuWA* was a didactic effort to promote contemporary design in domestic and work environments to an uneducated and possibly hostile audience. *WuWA*'s objectives were decidedly

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forward-looking: it sought "1) the alteration of housing methods and housing culture and, 2) the improvement and standardization of work methods, rationalization of work with its reorganization in the workshops of construction as well as business."[9] The organizers clearly had the 1927 Stuttgart Weissenhofsiedlung Exhibition in mind, identifying it in the exhibition program as a starting point for developing a new approach to housing design. They intended to capitalize on Stuttgart's achievements, while correcting its shortcomings. Marg Moll, the sculptress and wife of Academy director Oskar Moll, wrote, "the *WuWA* in 1929 was created by architects and artists at the Academy, [and] proved that these men in the 'province' were trying to demonstrate new ideas with audacity and panache."[10] Her comment affirms the central role played by the Academy, but also highlights how conscious Breslau artists were of their provincial status, implying that one of the goals of the *WuWA* organizers was to show that they were *not* provincial, but rather were as sophisticated and knowledgeable as their counterparts in other parts of Germany.

As scholars like Karin Kirsch and Richard Pommer have pointed out, Stuttgart included an international array of famous architects who were required to use the signature elements of *Neues Bauen*: flat roofs, simple rectangular volumes, terraces and roof gardens, and white stucco, steel, and reinforced concrete construction, qualities that gave the development an intentionally uniform appearance.[11] The narrow aesthetic range at Stuttgart reflected the desires of Mies van der Rohe, who oversaw the project, and the *Werkbund*, but it did not please the city councilors who, as in Breslau, attempted to pressure the *Werkbund* to include local talent.[12] By contrast, the Breslau organizing committee had a mandate to restrict participants to Silesian architects and included a variety of work to reflect the richness of local and regional design.[13] On the surface, many of the aesthetic choices in Breslau looked similar to Stuttgart, but on closer examination the work was markedly different, for it mixed progressive and traditional aesthetic elements, featuring buildings with flat and pitched roofs; white and colored stucco; "cigar box" and curvilinear forms; stucco and wood; open and compartmentalized plans; punched windows and large, expansive glass walls; plain interiors and brightly colored ones; symmetrical and asymmetrical arrangements; and more.[14] How and to what degree contradictory values came together varied from project to project, for design choices were left up to participating architects.[15] Since the Breslauers as a group inclined toward an alternative view of progressive art and architecture, one that bridged the divide between traditional and modern, diverse work was to be expected.[16]

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The Vision

Several factors shaped the pragmatic approach of the Breslau *WuWA*: the nature of cultural politics in Breslau, with its minimal sympathy for avant-garde art; the prevailing attitudes in Breslau arts circles; and the beliefs of Heinrich Lauterbach and Adolf Rading, the Breslau-based *Werkbund* planners, especially Lauterbach, who was heavily involved in conceiving and promoting the initial idea. From the start, the rationale for the Breslau exhibit was different from Stuttgart. Local government and business interests saw it as an opportunity to improve Breslau's national commercial profile, especially in light of the city's postwar circumstances. In 1926, when Lauterbach began to lobby for a *Werkbund* exhibition in Breslau, the city was still struggling with the political and economic aftermath of losing Silesian territories after World War I and facing new economic pressures from the commercial competition between Germany and Poland that heated up in the late 1920s. Silesia wanted to demonstrate industrial superiority over its eastern neighbor, and *WuWA* was an attractive way to showcase its industrial products to Germans and Poles alike.[17]

For Breslau architects like Lauterbach, the *WuWA* offered an unprecedented opportunity to showcase local and regional design in a nationally and internationally visible forum. Architects and artists in the East had long been marginalized; the national press rarely noticed even their most outstanding achievements. Lauterbach wrote that when he first approached Oskar Moll at the Academy to request the Academy's support, its staff was skeptical about his plans.[18] Lauterbach wanted their help because they were "natural allies," with shared aesthetic and philosophical biases, who could help him counter any local resistance that might arise, given the notoriously conservative taste of many city officials and residents. As Hans Poelzig once described Breslauer attitudes towards new art and architecture, "The land around Breslau is hard, and the cultural ground is even harder to till."[19]

Breslau's arts and municipal leadership was initially divided over the project. Moll backed it fairly early on, as did Rading and Academy architecture professor Hans Scharoun. Mayor Dr. Otto Wagner and Municipal Housing Authority official Hugo Althoff also championed the idea, but Fritz Behrendt, city building director, opposed it. The insistence of the Berlin-based *Werkbund* executive board on appointing Rading as joint manager of the exhibition may have been the catalyst for Behrendt's opposition. In contrast to Lauterbach, Rading, a Berlin native, belonged to the Weimar avant-garde and had strong ties to Berlin-based groups like The Ring and the *Werkbund.* But although

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Behrendt was a conservative architect in every way, economic arguments and assurances that the exhibition would feature local talent and disavow radical aesthetics eventually won him over. Lauterbach was a native son whose design work was more restrained than Rading's. The joint directorship ensured that *WuWA* would be shaped by a balanced representation of local and national interests as well as multiple aesthetic viewpoints.

The Financing

Lauterbach approached Breslau's city council with a proposal for a *Werkbund* housing exhibit early in 1926 (the exact date is not known), from which we can infer that he secured *Werkbund* support late in 1925.[20] In July 1926, the city sent a delegation, which included Wagner and Althoff, to the Prussian Ministry of Commerce in Berlin to ask the ministry to share the cost of mounting the exhibition. This was the first of many such excursions, as Breslau's lobbying efforts eventually included the State Ministry of Labor, State Ministry of Economics, State Ministry of the Interior, State Ministry of Welfare, Prussian Ministry of Labor, Prussian Ministry of the Interior, and Prussian Ministry of State, as well as the chancellor and the president.[21] Althoff reported to officials in Breslau, "There are still no concrete plans over the contents of the exhibition. But it should not be only about Silesia, but representative for the entire East. It should serve to illuminate the economic meaning of the East in the totality of the German economy . . . in order to give a better understanding of the economic needs of the East."[22] He went on to note that although Breslau expected to sign an economic agreement with Poland in the near future, the exhibit would not be an appropriate vehicle for German-Polish cooperation, since most visitors would be German.

Breslau's request fell on deaf ears. The Ministry of Commerce representative, Mr. Muhle, felt that the ministry had financed too many recent exhibitions and could not foot the bill for any more, so the city would have to finance the venture on its own. City officials persisted. A note to the file dated August 1927 records the local and regional support for the proposed exhibition, especially among industrial concerns who saw it as an opportunity to improve their profile, but the main obstacle to moving forward was financial: the city could donate a tract of land near the 1913 Centennial Hall, but did not see a way to raise the five million marks needed to cover the projected shortfall between ticket sales and contributions. City representatives argued that if the exhibition succeeded in improving the Silesian economy, it would help stabilize Silesia,

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which remained politically shaky. Despite the region's dire need, the federal and Prussian governments had thus far done little to support Silesia, so its turn had come.[23] Once again, however, the Ministry of Commerce informed the city officials that they no longer offered financial support to exhibitions.[24] Records show that the Breslauers were skeptical about Berlin's rationale, and some believed their lack of interest was less a policy change than the usual federal government marginalization of their province.[25]

As late as January 11, 1928, articles in the Breslau press contained contradictory reports about the exhibition's status: some wrote that it would not occur, while others reported that it was a fait accompli.[26] The press coverage may have reflected internal debates since the city did not definitively decide to mount the exhibition until the following month. Later correspondence shows that the Ministry of Commerce and Industry continued to waffle on funding until December 1928, when it seems to have been promised to the Breslau representatives, though the amount was still unclear.[27] A note in the files lists five exhibitions the Reich Ministry of Economics planned to support financially: Barcelona (the famous exhibition pavilion designed by Mies van der Rohe), Leipzig, Munich, Breslau, and Königsberg.[28] Barcelona was to receive the lion's share (750,000 RM) of the two million RM allocated for exhibition funding, with Breslau slated for a meager 100,000 RM. By late 1928, the state governments of Upper and Lower Silesia had also committed funds to the exhibit, and in a letter dated January 1929, the national government—the Ministry of Commerce and Industry—finally committed 150,000 RM to *WuWA* "so that the State at least participates in the sponsorship action in the same amount [as the provincial governments]."[29] It appears, however, that the money never arrived. The Breslau Housing Authority paid the architects' fees, the city absorbed the exhibition deficit, and Breslau once again felt overlooked and underserved by the federal government in Berlin.[30]

The Architects

A portion of the June 30, 1928, Breslau Municipal proposal for the upcoming exhibition survives in Berlin. It reveals the arguments that eventually convinced reluctant Breslau and Berlin politicians to support the exhibit. According to the document, "the changes in the condition of the area of Silesia, that lost its hinterland, was divided into two provinces, and the years-long disturbance of its commercial contacts has affected the total economic life [of Silesia] and worst of all in Breslau." A list of Silesia's troubles followed:

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From the abundance of difficulties that the aftermath of the war brought we would like to refer to the following:

1. Breslau has the worst housing conditions. 17% of all families live in one room, another 34% in 1–2 rooms, a kitchen and a room. The influx of refugees from Posen and West Prussia, who according to experience always stop in the first large city, substantially increased the housing crisis.
2. The greater portion of industry either migrated or shut down, because the eastern market was lost and the unfavorable freight relationships make the establishment of new markets in the west and south very difficult.
3. For similar reasons, wholesale business lost the larger houses or was reduced to regional significance.
4. Unemployment in Breslau is very high. It is far beyond the average in Germany; it was established very early on [after the war] and has lingered unabated already for years and burdens the municipal budget terribly.
5. Small businesses are distressed by the constrained purchasing ability of the people, especially agriculture, that like industry and commerce had to adjust to and struggle with a shrunken market and unfavorable freight conditions.
6. Entrepreneurship and craft suffered in a similar way from the reduced purchasing ability of the people and from the poor economic situation of commerce, industry, and agriculture.
7. Year after year commerce and industry hope for an end to the German-Polish commercial war, and are always disappointed anew. A deep despondence afflicts the wider circles of our people, a despondence that has had unhealthy consequences in our cultural and artistic milieu. Our cultural institutions are desolate; our musical life lays abandoned.[31]

The program was thus a pragmatic response to Silesian circumstances.

A note to the files indicates that the *WuWA* agenda was later revised to focus on small houses, especially the newly fashionable *Existenzminimum* (existence minimum). A letter from Breslau city officials specified that the exhibition "will feature small and tiny housing only. It will therefore benefit the less well off in the population. Experiments, like those in Stuttgart (*Weissenhofsiedlung*), are to be avoided, therefore it is going to be limited to 10 architects who know local affairs well, Tessenow and Poelzig have been taken on as advisers and as-

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sistants."[32] This account makes it crystal clear that the Breslau exhibition was intended to be less radical than Stuttgart. According to Lauterbach, Poelzig and Tessenow were brought on to mediate between the Breslau Housing Authority and the *Deutsche Werkbund* because Behrendt, the head of the Housing Authority, did not trust the *Werkbund* representatives to choose "appropriate" architects. Behrendt may have feared that the *Werkbund* representatives would choose private architects, ignoring his employees, or he may have been concerned about style, since Breslau tastes were more conservative than *Werkbund* tastes. In the event, the compromise candidates were all *Werkbund* members with modernist sympathies though few would be considered members of the avant-garde.[33] The practical Breslauers accepted Behrendt's conditions in order to advance their project. The final roster included architects across the spectrum of 1920s German modernism, making the composition of the group very different from Stuttgart and a reflection of Breslau cultural politics.

Lauterbach's pointed criticism of Stuttgart served as one starting point for Breslau. Lauterbach saw the Stuttgart exhibition as an important attempt to test the new approach to architectural design, to see whether "the new building art was far along enough for different individuals, as they struggled with the problem of housing, [to] finally create a cohesive image." However, as he put it, "the spiritual side of housing has been ignored. One is busy mostly with technology, norms, procurement of funding, and so on . . . we hope that the exhibition will bring us a bit further forward."[34] In other words, Stuttgart was too concerned with aesthetics and building technology, and not concerned enough with how people live in their houses. He hoped that Breslau would better balance these two important value systems. The balancing act began with the choice of participants.

Unfortunately, the *Werkbund* Archive records of the architect selection were destroyed in a bombing raid during the Second World War, so only sketchy evidence of the process remains. However, according to Lauterbach, who mentioned the process in an article he wrote for *Schlesische Monatshefte*, Behrendt asked Poelzig to mediate between the city and the *Werkbund* to find a compromise for selecting participating architects. Poelzig "made the suggestion that Effenberger and Heim, who had built a great deal with the city (Pöpelwitz, Zimpel and other housing estates), might mediate between the City (namely the Housing Authority), and the ten involved architects, because they stood closer to Behrendt in their building outlook than Rading and me. In order not to have the thing collapse we accepted this solution."[35] It is not clear whether ten specific architects were already under discussion at this point or whether ten was the target number for participation, or whether this compro-

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mise resulted in Effenberger and Heim participating in the selection with Lauterbach and Rading or simply meant that Lauterbach and Rading agreed to divide their choices between city employees and others. It is interesting to note, however, that there were no strictly traditionalist architects on the final list, which ultimately numbered twelve: five from the city—Theo Effenberger, Paul Heim, Albert Kempter, Richard Konwiarz, and Ludwig Moshamer—and seven others—Moritz Hadda, Paul Häusler, Emil Lange, Lauterbach, Rading, Scharoun, and Gustav Wolf.

The *WuWA* architects had varied backgrounds. Many of them were connected to the Breslau Academy: Effenberger, Hadda, Lange, Lauterbach, and Wolf were graduates; Rading and Scharoun were professors; and Effenberger and Lauterbach later taught there as well. During their tenures with the city, Heim, Kempter, Konwiarz, and Moshamer collaborated with progressive architects Max Berg and Ernst May. The five city architects were among the most forward-thinking in the municipality, although much of their work for the city was closer to *Heimat* architecture than *Neues Bauen*, suggesting that the compromise effected by Poelzig merely ensured a wider range of progressive viewpoints. Interestingly, when presented with the opportunity to design their own buildings, all five worked in a more contemporary idiom than they had used for publicly funded projects.

Heim came from an extremely conservative arts background. He studied under Bernhard Pankok at the *Baugewerkschule* (Building Trade School) in Stuttgart then worked for the reactionary architect Paul Schultze-Naumburg before moving to Breslau. Schultze-Naumburg is famous for his work on traditional looking architecture and *Heimatschutz*. He was vehemently antimodern, led the charge against the *Bauhaus*, and was an active member of the Nazi party. As a student, Heim met Albert Kempter, who became his brother-in-law and business partner. Kempter also studied at the Stuttgart *Baugewerkschule*. He entered the city architect's office in Breslau under Max Berg in 1909, a year before Heim. The *Baugewerkschule* was far more conservative and practically oriented than the Academy, with a strong contingent of *Heimatschutz* activists, giving Kempter a traditional grounding.

Moshamer and Wolf graduated from the Technical University (TU) in Munich, though Wolf first completed a degree in art pedagogy in Breslau. The innovative architect Theodor Fischer was a professor in Munich at that time and trained many of the leading lights of the German avant-garde, including Hugo Häring, Ernst May, Erich Mendelsohn, and Bruno Taut, as well as more conservative architects like Paul Schmitthenner. Wolf collaborated with Schmitthenner on the Karlowitz Housing Estate in Breslau and the Staaken Housing Estate in

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Berlin before becoming director of the *Städtische Handwerker- und Kunstgewerbeschule* (Municipal Handwork and Applied Arts School) in Breslau in 1927. Moshamer moved to Breslau in 1911, right after completing his studies. He worked in the communal building department of the city under Max Berg and Hugo Althoff, so his professional experience was quite progressive. With Berg, Moshamer designed the Breslau Waterworks building, a landmark modernist structure that still stands in downtown Breslau. Moshamer was the only *WuWA* architect who had participated in the Centennial Jubilee in 1913, where he helped Berg with the design for the Centennial Hall.

Lange received his architecture degree from the Breslau Academy in 1909. He began working for Poelzig in 1904, while he was still a student, and stayed until 1924, when he went out on his own as an independent architect. Poelzig is considered a progressive, but not radical, architect. His factory design was ahead of its time, but much of his other work was steeped in traditional building modes. Hadda also graduated from the Breslau Academy and studied with Poelzig. In 1917, he opened an independent practice in Breslau with Ludwig Schlesinger that was known from the start for its modern designs. Perhaps most interestingly, Hadda was a founding member of the Young Silesia group of artists who came together to create a forum for young artists who were not included in Academy, *Kunstverein, Gesellschaft der Kunstfreunde*, and *Künstlerbund* exhibitions. Of all the *WuWA* architects, only Effenberger, Lauterbach, Rading, and Scharoun had national reputations, while only Rading and Scharoun were internationally known. Rading and Scharoun were also the only ones considered members of the radical avant-garde, although this was not actually an accurate assessment of their design philosophies.

The Site Design

Although the Breslau organizers did not want a uniform design approach, the architects still needed guidelines. The exhibition program lays out their thinking. It praises the Stuttgart *Weissenhofsiedlung* for its pioneering efforts to explore housing reform but criticizes its failure to foreground the "technical and economic side of housing."[36] In contrast, *WuWA* will explicitly address construction techniques and costs, as well as the economics of time and space, that is, minimizing design time, streamlining construction, and making spaces as efficient as possible. In Breslau, as in Stuttgart, the goal of the exhibition was to display "prototypes and quality," rather than fully developed mass production elements.

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The Homemakers Alliance had been disappointed with Stuttgart, so the Breslauers included them in the planning from the start. The Homemakers Alliance developed a "*Negativer Wunschzettel* (Negative List of Desires)," from which we can infer both their complaints and their desires. Their general requirements included a healthy environment for children, more than one room, sound isolation, better spatial planning with minimal circulation space, storage rooms and pantries, and larger kitchens. In response to Stuttgart, they called for terraces with protection against the weather, roof gardens and terraces with railings, and glass surfaces of reasonable size. Evidently, the challenge of cleaning inordinately large glass surfaces trumped the bright light they afforded.[37] Tending to the pragmatic, the Alliance seemed wholly unconcerned with aesthetics.

The *WuWA* site was at the edge of the fairgrounds used for the 1913 Centennial Jubilee celebrating the German victory over Napoleon, outside the city's historic center. Long and thin, with a bend at the middle, the site was flanked by the Grüneicher Weg to the south, the small side streets Uechtritzweg and Zimpelerstrasse to the east and northeast, the Pinkenweg to the northwest, and undeveloped building lots to the west.

The neighborhood beyond the undeveloped lots contained large, traditionally designed mansions and *Jugendstil* villas, both on spacious green grounds. Across Uechtritzweg and Zimpelerstrasse was the public park Grüneiche. The area was thus a logical location for a "green" development, but the organizers wanted to go even further than the Garden City Movement by experimenting with other progressive environmental elements as well as material, technological, and spatial innovations.[38]

Rading and Lauterbach were primarily responsible for the site design of the housing estate.[39] The rest of the exhibition was installed in the adjacent Centennial Hall and Exhibition Pavilion from the 1913 Centennial Jubilee. The realized plan consisted of low-rise row houses, medium-rise single-family detached houses, two slightly taller housing blocks, and a kindergarten. A planned restaurant/café and high-rise apartment house were never constructed, but their inclusion in the plans attests to Rading and Lauterbach's vision of a mixed development that explored the full range of housing options.[40] Mixing the types actualized a philosophical approach to urban design, which held that variety was necessary to good public spatial planning. In keeping with the green concept, there was a large public park at the center of the site, behind the row houses, plus generous green space in front of and behind each building. Most of the designs included terraces, balconies, and roof gardens to give residents private outdoor space. The planning itself com-

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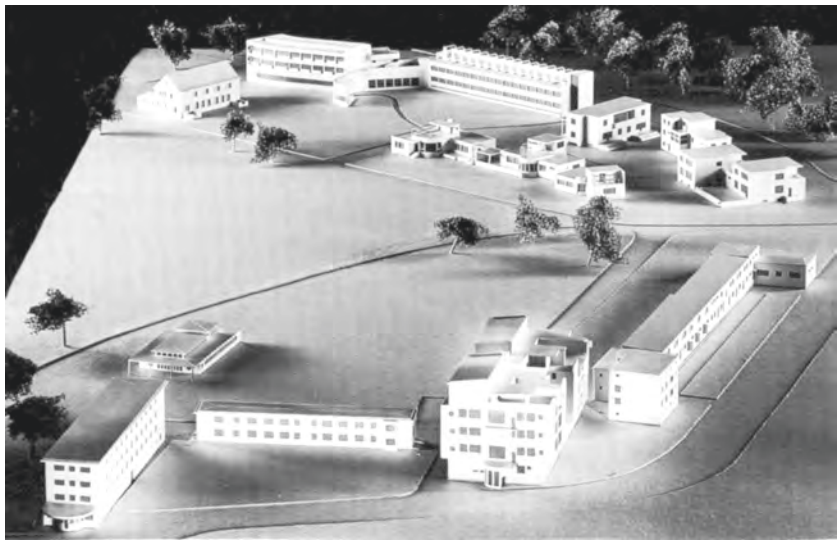

Fig. 16. Model of the projects at *WuWA* (Schlesisches Museum zu Görlitz. Universität Stuttgart, Institut für Darstellung und Gestalten [DG], Prof. W. Knoll, M. Hechinger; Institut für Architekturgeschichte [IAG], Prof. D. Kimpel, Dr. D. W. Schmidt, Maßstab 1:250, Gesamtansicht von Süden, 163 x 83 x 28 cm, Fotografie. Hans-Joachim Heyer, Stuttgart).

bined rational and romantic traditions. Individual buildings were laid out in picturesque fashion, rather than on a "rational" grid, in order to capitalize on the natural features of the site and make the urban plan less contrived. Thus some buildings, such as units 9–22, lined the street like typical German perimeter blocks, albeit set behind small strips of garden, while private villas were turned and set back, and the kindergarten sat inside the block, surrounded by green space. A common heating plant used the relatively clean fuel gas rather than coal. The consolidation of heating functions in one location meant that only one building needed a chimney, so pollution into the atmosphere could be concentrated and hopefully controlled. Effenberger, Heim, and Rading supervised construction, completing the estate in an impressive three months from start to finish.[41]

The completed model housing estate attracted a diverse community of progressive artists, many of them Academy professors. Molzahn and painters Robert Bednorz and Georg Muche moved into Adolf Rading's *Turmhaus*; the

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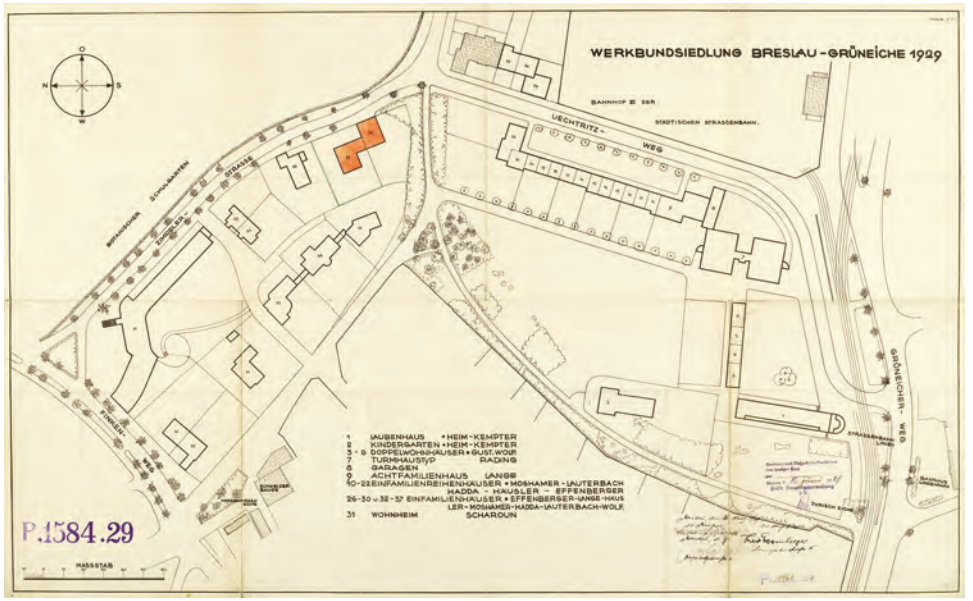

Fig. 17. Site plan for *WuWA* (Museum of Architecture in Wroclaw).

painter Günter Grundmann installed himself in Scharoun's *Ledigenheim*; Johannes Drobek and others lived in Heim and Kempter's building; and Heinrich Lauterbach and Oskar Schlemmer occupied row houses 13 and 14.[42] Along with Breslau's creative community, lay people also embraced the architecture. Long after he left Breslau, Rading pined for the close community at the *WuWA* housing.[43] Today, its buildings are still fully occupied.

The Buildings

The exhibition guidelines and the backgrounds and architectural politics of the selected architects inevitably led to a degree of uniformity in the *WuWA* designs. Minutes of meetings between Breslau municipal authorities and Rading and Lauterbach, as representatives of the *Werkbund,* detailed the exhibition guidelines, but they were relatively vague and did not address aesthetics.[44] In Breslau, what constituted the "modern" was less restricted—broader in both formal range and material palette—than *Neues Bauen* dictates: pitched roofs, colored buildings, and animated forms accompanied the simple forms,

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Fig. 18. Heim and Kempter's Kindergarten Building, recently destroyed by fire (Museum of Architecture in Wroclaw).

ornament-free surfaces, and flat roofs of *Neues Bauen*.[45] Ernst May's lament that "really very talented artists . . . forgot the clear, sober economic efficiency and succumbed to the temptations of the exhibition devil" may be extreme, but it does speak to *WuWA*'s movement away from orthodoxy toward aesthetic variety.[46] Building 2, the one-story kindergarten designed by Paul Heim and Albert Kempter, had wood-frame construction and was clad in wood siding, a marked departure from the stucco-clad exteriors favored by *Neues Bauen* architects.

The central roof was raised to create clerestory windows that opened onto the main space. The massing was symmetrically arranged around the front entrance and the interior plan was also symmetrical, meaning that the play between symmetry and asymmetry that characterized innovative design of the period was totally lacking. Indeed, Heim and Kempter's work had more in common with the Scandinavian modern of Alvar Aalto, Sigurd Lewerentz, and Erik Gunnar Asplund than with their German counterparts. Although flat roofs dominated the development, Gustav Wolf's designs for 32 and 33 had pitched roofs, generally considered a traditional element, although some modernists, like May and Effenberger, used them in housing estates.

While Wolf's houses also featured more traditional small, punched win-

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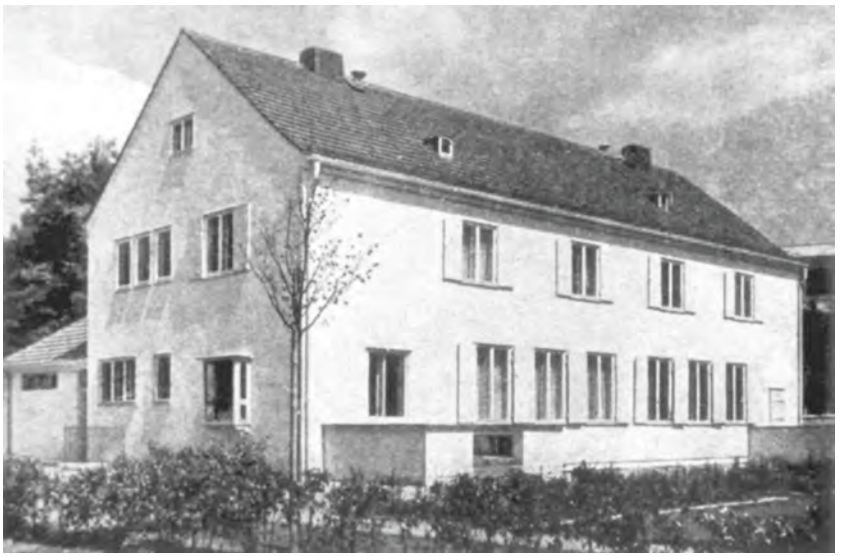

Fig. 19. Wolf's pitched roof housing block at numbers 32 and 33 *Ostdeutsche Bauzeitung* 27 (1929), 460).

dows, his spatial planning was simple and functional and his facades were white stucco with no ornamentation, both hallmarks of new architecture, which he, like others, combined with traditional German architectural tropes.

The exhibition guidelines called for experimentation with color, a mandate the architects seem to have embraced enthusiastically. The call for color dated back to Bruno Taut's 1919 "Aufruf zum farbigen Bauen" (Call to Colored Buildings), which posited visual sensuousness against technological and mechanical sterility. In contrast to the almost willful application of color in *Jugendstil* architecture, Taut and his contemporaries attempted to understand the relationship between color and human perception and emotions: they believed that color embodied human emotion and therefore could counter the cold, rational machine aesthetic, so they sought to develop a system for applying color in architecture based on its evocative powers. Hans Scharoun supported Taut's call to color, and a group of devotees to color formed in Breslau in the early 1920s, with Effenberger and Rading among its members. In Breslau, there was a committee of more progressive architects at the *Schlesische Bund für Heimatschutz*, which was dedicated to research on the architectural use of color.[47] One of the exhibition booths in the Centennial Hall was also

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Fig. 20. Hans Scharoun's *Ledigenheim* today.

devoted to this issue. The discussions in Breslau revolved around the appropriate way to use color in contemporary architectural design, particularly how bright colors could reflect a building's tectonics but also emotional values. The "decorative painter" Max Streit was largely responsible for the exhibit, as well as more generally for color at *WuWA*. His emphasis on the emotional power of color is evident in a 1929 article, where he wrote, "Delight in color is particular to man and as old as delight in nature, his need for amusement, cheerfulness, and vitality."[48]

Color was used on exterior and interior surfaces at *WuWA*, often in bold ways. Scharoun's *Ledigenheim*, for instance, had pale yellow stucco façades accented with bright yellow columns and metal ornamentation, while orange-red panels divided the units. Interiors were yellow, red, orange, dark and light blue, purple, and pink—very different from the neutral palette of many 1920s buildings—with color used on many different surfaces, not just walls, as in the waiting room, which had blue and pink-peach columns and pink furniture.

As Franz Landsberger pointed out in *Schlesische Monatshefte*, Scharoun also used color to delineate space, letting the meeting of two colors mark a functional boundary in place of a wall.[49] Even carpeting was sometimes col-

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ored: red on a stair, blue in a circulation space and hallways. Scharoun was not the only *WuWA* architect who used color: Effenberger's villa was olive green; Paul Heim and Albert Kempter's housing was ochre; Rading's building was pinkish yellow; and the kindergarten was bluish green. If the visual purity associated with *Neues Bauen* was not a priority for color, neither was it a major concern for volume. Massing was sometimes simple, as in the row housing designed by Lange, Moshamer, Lauterbach, Hadda, Häusler, and Effenberger. But projects like the *Ledigenheim*, Rading's multifamily housing, and villas by various architects had animated and complex massing.

These projects responded to the site and programmatic agenda, rather than a singular design imperative. They freely incorporated curvilinear forms, a choice that had earned Scharoun the epithet "*Kurvenromantike*r" (curve romantic) at the *Weissenhofsiedlung*, a label that implied that curves were irrational and unscientific. Effenberger, Hadda, and Lauterbach stepped their house forms to indicate internal programmatic differences and to better scale buildings to people.

The unbuilt restaurant had a similar design. The restaurant plan was a rectangle with a circular outdoor "room" that cut into its southeast corner. The *Ledigenheim* is a modified pinwheel with protruding wings that also cascade, albeit less dramatically. One section of the building is strictly orthogonal, while the main wing is a curved rectangle that counters the turn in the road. Its walls and other garden features similarly juxtapose straight lines and orthogonal forms with curvilinear ones. Rading's multifamily house has an orthogonal footprint with the occasional curved wall or protrusion. The building is divided into two regular blocks, but odd roof volumes defy its regularity.

WuWA facade design also exhibited a compositional freedom at odds with the rational *Neues Bauen*. The animated facades on the *Ledigenheim*, with their alternating rhythms, circular windows, and odd variety of shapes, and the quirky composition of Rading's multifamily units, intended to convey individuality, are examples. Rading bragged that he had managed to create an individuated series of facade treatments on a prefabricated pattern building; he did so by juxtaposing local asymmetries with larger symmetries.

The facades of the unexecuted restaurant structure were similarly animated: each elevation is different and all are asymmetrical; two thirds of the east elevation, for instance, consists of thin, horizontal windows, while the rest is floor-to-ceiling vertical windows. The purposeful approach to differentiating facades is perhaps most starkly apparent in 9–22, the row houses. The block begins with a simple, repetitive pattern typical of *Neues Bauen*, but Hadda disrupted the rhythm in 16 and 17, putting 16 at a greater distance from 15 and

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Fig. 21. The row houses by Effenberger et al. The flatness and uniformity of the block is apparent (Museum of Architecture in Wroclaw).

Fig. 22. Aerial photograph of the *WuWA* showing Gustav Wolf's project in the lower left-hand corner and Scharoun's Ledigenheim above (Museum of Architecture in Wroclaw).

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Fig. 23. Curved form and stepped massing at Lauterbach's House (Museum of Architecture in Wroclaw).

Fig. 24. View of the Lauterbach House from the side (Museum of Architecture in Wroclaw).

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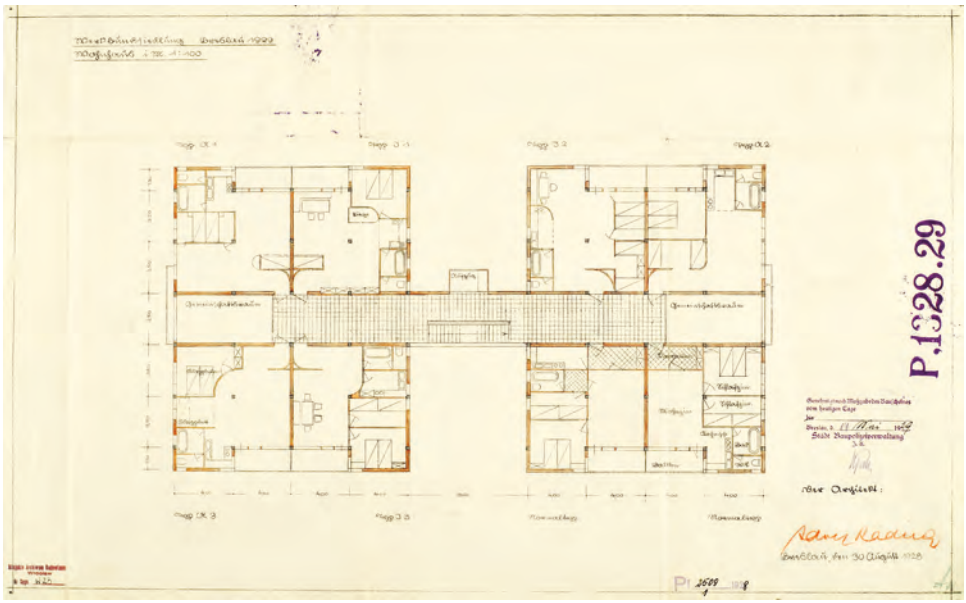

Fig. 25. Rading's *Turmhaus*, typical floor plan (Museum of Architecture in Wroclaw).

17 closer to 16. He also added two quirky small circular windows, one downstairs and one up, adding to the facade's asymmetrical irregularity, which is the only instance thereof in the entire contiguous block. In this case, the outer expression is designed for visual interest, a clear departure from the function-related facade design typical of *Neues Bauen* and the rest of the block.

Social Innovations

Although *WuWA* was supposed to explore housing challenges particular to the "Eastern borderland," its buildings failed to address any of the region's specific climatic, site, or cultural conditions. In fact, this premise was flawed from the start, as neither politicians nor architects ever articulated clear distinctions between the eastern territories and the rest of Germany. The weather environment in the East was hardly unique, and the social and economic circumstances architects hoped to address in their work were also found elsewhere in Germany. As Alfred Rothenberg, writing for the *Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung*, waggishly

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Fig. 26. Rading's *Turmhaus*. Originally planned to be eight stories it was only built up to the third. The animated facades featured windows of many sizes and shapes. (Museum of Architecture in Wroclaw).

observed, "Breslau has the strangest climate that one can imagine: namely, it has none at all!"[50]

One place where architects did manage to make some original contributions, however, was in the realm of the *Existenzminimum*. Rading and Scharoun, in particular, stood out. Rading's project plays with notions of individuality and community or *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*.[51] As a multifamily scheme, it was designed for a community of residents, but Rading hoped to avoid the usual pitfalls of mass-produced prefabricated systems and instead give the units as much individual expression as possible. He designed a building with eight apartments that used prefabricated construction elements and systems. The building was divided into four equal sections delineated by the structural grid, but within the four quadrants floor plans varied so that each unit was distinct. The apartments were approximately sixty-four square meters (640 square feet), but they could sleep up to four people in minimalist bedrooms that held little more than beds. Designs for the children's bedrooms, for instance, show two beds head to foot between the walls, with no space for other furniture.

The apartment layouts are all variations on a basic type: a sort of courtyard plan, with the living room at the center serving as the communal space, and surrounding rooms along its perimeter functioning as individual spaces. A

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Fig. 27. Scharoun's *Ledigenheim* viewed from the garden side (Technical University Berlin).

central communal circulation area large enough to double as an interior street provides access to the units. These corridors terminate in communal rooms at either end, intended as play areas for children during the day and as reading rooms for adults in the evening. The roof is also accessible and designed to be a protected outside space for residents. Each unit has a private balcony that provides individual access to the outdoors. The design thus balances the communal with the individual throughout.

Whereas Rading designed for typical nuclear families, Scharoun imagined a new client for the *Ledigenheim*: the single, childless adult. The building was an effort to create a new kind of living space for single people by combining design models from hotel accommodation and apartment living. In Scharoun's hands, this daring experiment fused social and communal ideals, as embodied in his use of shared public spaces—restaurant, public garden terrace, roof terraces—to create a sense of community among those who chose to live in its small residences.

Scharoun achieved remarkable economy of scale by splitting the apart-

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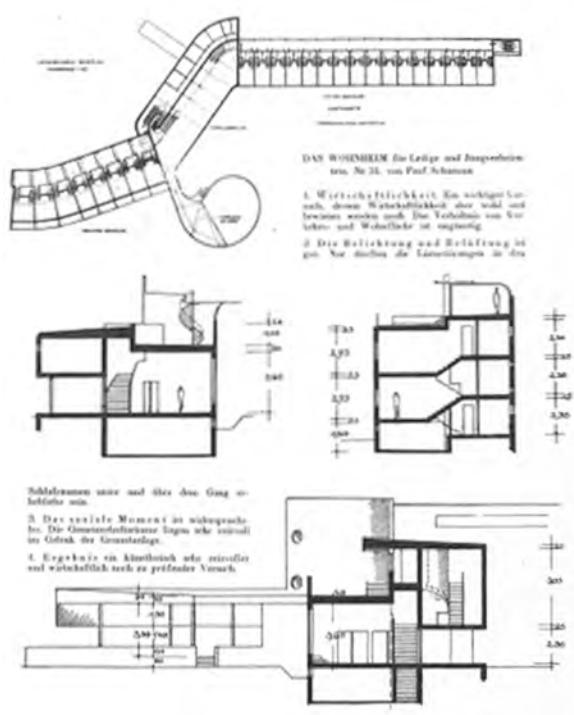

Fig. 28. Plans and sections of the *Ledigenheim*. The famous scissor section is shown in the middle right-hand drawing.

ments into two floors then sliding part of the scissor section of each unit either underneath or over the public corridor. Each residence is just twenty-seven square meters (270 square feet). The visitor enters into a tiny vestibule, then ascends or descends into the living room, before descending or ascending, respectively, into the bedroom. No interior doors separate the rooms except for the bathroom, which is situated next to the stair, between the living room and bedroom. Scharoun takes the *Existenzminimum* to its extreme limits. The living room is the size of a child's bedroom in a small house, and the kitchen is a nook in the living room wall, as wide as a stove. But the size was countered by the double exposure and cross ventilation afforded by the split section, which Scharoun believed were "psychologically important" achievements.

Scharoun's and Rading's buildings can be understood in the context of other efforts to develop new models of collective housing in the 1920s. Interest in affordable housing dates to the second half of the nineteenth century but accelerated after the First World War, due to acute housing shortages. Beginning in 1920, proposals for rationalized, mass-produced housing—like Le Corbusi-

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er's Maison Citrohan—proliferated. They often included mass-produced rational structural components, improved spatial efficiency, and new approaches to hygienic planning and construction.[52] Having participated in the *Weissenhofsiedlung* project, Rading and Scharoun were familiar with its various innovative designs and methods. Peter Behrens's *Weissenhof* design, a pioneering project in the "integration of social concern with the art of architecture," may have inspired Scharoun.[53] Behrens proposed a "Terraced Housing Complex" that maximized access to outdoor space, one way of creating healthier living conditions, since fresh air was thought to help cure diseases such as tuberculosis. Le Corbusier's Double Villa featured a single-loaded corridor along the back of the building, so that all the primary rooms were oriented towards the view. Behrens used a reinforced concrete structure, as did Le Corbusier, while Mies built with steel frame. While Rading chose reinforced concrete for Breslau's *Turmhaus*, he subtly varied standard spatial arrangements within a prefabricated structural system, which suggested that it was possible to individualize units within the economies of repetition and mass production. His work echoed Ernst May's experiments in Silesia and Frankfurt am Main.[54] Scharoun was even more daring, materially and conceptually. He used a reinforced concrete with light brick infill made of concrete and pumice aggregate, a precursor of today's Bredero.[55] His design also anticipated later developments in mass housing. In Moscow, between 1928 and 1930, Moisei Ginzburg and Ignati Milinis completed the Narkomfin Housing, a new paradigm for collective workers' housing that combined shared facilities with minimal housing units and, like Scharoun's project, had duplex units. However, the corridors at Narkomfin were buried in the section, located on the middle floor of a three-floor model, at a midpoint in a design Le Corbusier would later adopt for his Unité d'Habitations constructed between 1947 and 1952.

Beyond the Houses

The exhibitions at *WuWA* were arguably as important as the housing units themselves. In Stuttgart, the introductory exhibition served as a visual argument for the new approach to design. It (and its accompanying catalogue) featured designs for 531 projects from around the world.[56] By contrast, the first part of the Breslau exhibition, "The Development of the House," illustrated the design process from idea to completed building, in a series of booths that moved from conception to construction to furnishing, in ten stages that included materials, color, outer walls, HVAC, lighting, furniture, and household

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gadgets.[57] This section was followed by model workspaces for offices, workshops, and "intellectual workers." Thus, rather than a pro-modernist polemic, the exhibition embodied the organizers' vision of the *WuWA* as a public education project, subtly injecting the contemporary design agenda into its wider design information.

Even Johannes Molzahn's advertising graphics conveyed *WuWA*'s aesthetic diversity and mix of modern and conservative elements (see fig. 15). The foreground of the placard featured a white-sleeved hand holding an old-fashioned pencil atop an engineering measure, while in the background appeared images of a steel-frame building under construction and a curvilinear building model, akin to an Erich Mendelsohn design. To the left, a hand held a trowel above two hands engaged in clay handwork. In this series of juxtapositions—the old hand trades and the modern steel industry, the blue collar and the white, the architect's creativity and the engineer's calculations—the element that ties old and new together is the human hand, suggesting that human agency connects tradition and modernity. Molzahn's graphic design thus symbolized the agency of the *WuWA* architects, while also alluding to the oppositional forces that shaped the model housing estate, where traditional trades and crafts complemented industrial production.

The Year of the *WuWA*

Breslau in 1929 was one long cultural celebration, before, during, and after the *WuWA*. The Academy held the first exhibition of the year in January at the *Christophoriplatz* gallery. Franz Landsberger called the show of "high importance" because it demonstrated the strength, breadth, and depth of talent in Breslau's arts community, offering a balance between more traditional artists, like von Gosen and Bednorz, and contemporary art, where it also engaged the division between abstraction and the more pictorial *Neue Sachlichkeit* (because Academy shows included faculty and students, they presented a formidable range of artistic perspectives).[58] *Das Junge Schlesien*, which opened at the *Generalkommando* on March 3, 1929, and ran through the end of the month, was a response to *WuWA* and a venue for younger, less established artists. The exhibition, whose notable participants were Isi Aschheim, Joachim Karsch, Thomas Myrtek, Georg Nerlich, and Wolfgang von Websky, was modest in size, including only paintings and sculpture. The Academy also mounted its annual end-of-year show in the summer to run parallel to *WuWA*, capitalizing on the presence of *WuWA* visitors.

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In contrast to the Academy's shows, which were meant to complement *WuWA* and its accompanying exhibitions, *Die Schlesische Kunstausstellung, Breslau 1929 Am Zoo* was a counter exhibition, organized as an overt protest against what some saw as the closed group at the Academy that dominated *WuWA* planning and *Das Junge Schlesien*. Participants were not members of the *Künstlerbund* but belonged to a motley group of local arts organizations: Association of Silesian Women Artists, Free Artists Association of Breslau, Breslau *Kunstverein*, Artists' Guild of Waldenburg, Association of Fine Artists St. Lucas Ober-Schreiberhau, and the Alliance of Silesian Textile Artists.[59] Although the list of participants is impressive, there is no evidence that the protest received much attention or had much of an affect on the Breslau arts scene.

The Response

Contemporary critics, both within and beyond Silesia, had mixed reactions to the *WuWA*. The national architecture magazine *Stein, Holz, Eisen* (Stone, Wood, Steel) covered the event consistently, from its initial phases to the open exhibition, but although its articles were supportive, they were not enthusiastic.[60] By contrast, the articles in *Schlesische Monatshefte,* an organ of the *Schlesische Bund für Heimatschutz*, and the *Schlesisches Heim* were unabashedly positive, reflecting the hopes and aspirations of the organizers and participants, many of whom were involved in the journals.[61] The Silesian outlier was the *Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung*, which presented a critical and skeptical voice from the Silesian perspective. More typically, the reviewer for the conservative journal *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung* offered surprisingly balanced criticism, commenting favorably on the "painterly" aspect of the urban plan but disparaging its organization as detrimental to an overall visual effect, and disdaining the unoriginal planning of the mid-sized units while praising Scharoun's *Ledigenheim*.[62] Meanwhile, *Die Form*, the official journal of the *Deutsche Werkbund*, criticized the *WuWA* for a lack of originality, accusing the architects of merely replicating Stuttgart. Reviewers for *Die Form* also noted the technical failures and what they felt was a lack of imagination in many of the designs, except for those by Rading and Scharoun (who happened to be the only architects who had also built for Stuttgart). They pointed to Wolf, Heim, and Kempter's projects as examples of uninspired conservative design. In contrast, *Wasmuth*'s writer Georg Münter preferred the straightforward work of Wolf, Effenberger, and Hadda and felt that Rading and Scharoun were impractical and inaccessible to the tastes of the normal German.[63]

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The Breslau Housewives Association wrote one of the *Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung*'s most critical articles, eviscerating the architects for their many impractical ideas, including large glass surfaces that were difficult to clean, lack of adequately placed kitchen storage, and unsafe roof gardens.[64] The housewives bemoaned furniture "not designed to accommodate the living needs of the users" and architecture unsuitable for German families. They did, however, approve of Scharoun's project, which they saw as an appropriate venue for experimentation since it had a different purpose than the typical apartment or single-family home. The housewives' complaints suggest that the new ideas about design may not have been so palatable to the clients for whom they were intended. But the sheer variety of responses to *WuWA* shows how fragmented German architecture and design had become. Writing for *Die Wohnung,* Gustav Wolf concluded, "The Breslau buildings demonstrate that even in the realm of the contemporary, there is no consensus. And likewise that in spite of the general 'scientific' theme in most [projects] formal approaches are still based on feeling."[65] Whether or not he was right about the impact of personal judgment on aesthetics, Wolf was correct that there was no consensus. But in *Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung,* Alfred Krüger explained that the architecture exhibited at *WuWA* aspired to be more than a reflection of contemporary civilization and was "about the deepening of inner life, enhancement of ethics, an essential character formation . . . it is about the enrichment of culture and not its impoverishment."[66] In other words, Krüger anticipated the audience critique of *WuWA* as emblematic of an international, anti-German aesthetic and argued the opposite.

The claim that the exhibition was an expression of regional modernism ultimately falls apart, as Alfred Rothenberg pointed out in the *Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung*.[67] Rothenberg began by ridiculing the selection of Silesian architects as more appropriate than "outsiders." Supposedly, natives were better equipped to understand the local climate, but, as noted above, Rothenberg reminded his readers that "Breslau has the strangest climate that one can imagine: namely, it has none at all."[68] "Climate" here had a double meaning, relating to the weather conditions in Breslau and Silesia and the prevailing attitudes of Breslau's artistic community, neither of which Rothenberg saw as distinct or unique. He blamed what he perceived as the paucity of innovations at *WuWA* on this lacuna: "There are new ideas, yes . . . but it remains to be seen how far our architects have realized their goal."[69] Crediting Rading's aesthetic to "American ideas," he praised only Scharoun and, by implication, condemned the others for lack of originality. Although he never said it directly, Rothenberg was clearly comparing Breslau and Stuttgart: Stuttgart, in his view, was innovative; Breslau was not.

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The struggle between innovation and convention at the *WuWA* was not lost on the contemporary audience. It found perhaps its most eloquent expression in the writing of Rudolf von Delius for *Dekorative Kunst*. Von Delius asserted that "in the struggle for the new style in the building arts this event is certainly of the highest meaning. . . . The danger here is clear: it lies in the victory of the machine moderated . . . but happily we see here in Breslau how every architect does actually search for the individual tone so that the richness and warmth are not lost."[70] Von Delius captured the essence of the problem: how to give form to new ways of living without descending into a cold, mechanistic, and formulaic architectural language. He saw the complexity of artistic expression at *WuWA* not as a sign of weakness or indecision but as a marker of strength. Allowing overt and varied expression of the tensions in contemporary culture made for a true reflection of the times: the *Zeitgeist* in built form.

Thomas Mann, the great German novelist and essayist, often wrote about the clash between *Kultur* and *Zivilisation*, which he believed was central to the Weimar-era experience. In Mann's view, what he called the "big K" and the German "cultural idea" were intrinsic to the interwar German character. Mann blamed this binary worldview for many of Germany's struggles after 1900, in particular the country's inability to embrace modern democracy and romantic attachment to outmoded traditions, but also its hostility to new art and resistance to recognizing nuances in any realm.[71] Mann believed in a more complex world, where polarities existed but were also mitigated. He illustrated his point with the popular German distinction between *Dichter* (poet) and *Schriftsteller* (writer). The poet, Mann asserted, was seen as the "naïve genius," while the writer was the "mere intellectual," critical and factual, rather than imaginative. Poets could no more be rational thinkers than writers could be creative sparks, and the two could not overlap. For Mann this dichotomy was yet another wrongheaded manifestation of the *Kultur* and *Zivilisation* divide that plagued Germans.[72] He felt that lyrical, creative expression not only could but must go hand-in-hand with critical thinking if writing is to be uplifting and outstanding, not just mechanical. In its marriage between creative freedom and rational functional planning, *WuWA* can be seen as an exemplar of Mann's artistic vision.

Mann was not alone. As Eric Weitz, Sabine Hake, and Detlev Peukert demonstrate, Weimar culture was characterized by a confrontation with modern life in all its aspects. Weitz uses the examples of Martin Heidegger, Sigfried Kracauer, and Walter Benjamin to illustrate the complex responses Weimar-era cultural figures had to modernity, revealing the combination of skepticism and fascination with which Germans reacted to the trappings of urbanized "mass society."[73] The creative minds at *WuWA* confronted modernity at many levels:

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urban, building, and room design; construction materials and methods; social conventions; new technologies; and more. Neither the challenges nor the solutions were particular to Breslau and Silesia, but their variety definitively demonstrates that the attitude toward modernity in Breslau was not monolithic.

Scholarship on Weimar culture has underscored its simultaneous preoccupation with the meaning of the present and visions of the future.[74] In this sense, *WuWA* was typical: in addressing pressing contemporary housing and urban design problems, emerging environmental issues, questions of domestic space, and the challenges of construction economies, it combined the real and the ideal, what was feasible in the present and what might be possible in the future. The fact that the realized projects were not all equally revolutionary—or equally successful—does not undermine their value as confrontations with the conditions of modernity.

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Chapter 3

The Breslau Academy of Fine and Applied Arts

"*The [Breslau] academy, once the petrified embodiment of all that was mediocre in popular taste, is now the avant-garde of art, and often in conflict with the same public to whose wishes it once pandered . . . .*"
—Adolf Behne, *The Studio*, June 1931

"*In the Breslau Academy one worked from . . . the relationship to man, solved the task from the point of view of the individual and sought to respond to the temporal context with a critical comparison to history.*"
—Hans Scharoun, *Poelzig, Endell, Moll*, *1965*

Once deemed the foremost arts academy in Germany by the likes of esteemed cultural critic Adolf Behne, the Breslau Academy of Fine and Applied Arts has been eclipsed over the decades by its more famous contemporary, the *Bauhaus*. But in 1983 Hartmut Frank, a professor of architecture theory, asked, "Was the Breslau Academy a Bauhaus before the Bauhaus?"[1] Frank discovered that Breslau had instituted workshop-based arts education and combined fine and applied arts curricula at the turn of the twentieth century, long before the *Bauhaus*. Although Frank rightly concluded that the answer to his question was "no," Breslau nonetheless remains significant, not as another example of Bauhaus-style arts education, but for offering an alternative progressive model, at a time when there were many experimental approaches to arts education in Germany.[2] As architects Hans Scharoun and Heinrich Lauterbach explained several decades later, the Breslau Academy helped pioneer and develop a model for arts education that is still in use today, a pluralistic arts education whose goal was to develop each student's individual creative expression.[3] In other words, the scholarly and popular focus on the *Bauhaus* has negated the reality of Germany's diversity, and in particular the importance of Breslau in embodying that diversity.

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As at other progressive art academies between the wars Breslau Academy faculty and students were encouraged to interrogate aesthetic norms and traditional ways of making art. But in Breslau this mandate did not translate to "Out with the old, in with the new!" Rather, faculty explored a myriad of new, experimental, and traditional approaches, while also combining old and new methods. Breslau faculty and student art displayed a variety of aesthetics based on different formal approaches, but that variety was itself founded on an underlying common philosophy, for Breslau artists believed in the primacy of individual expression and aesthetic freedom, rejecting both dogma and fashion. Perhaps most importantly, the Breslau Academy faculty lacked the enthusiasm of their *Bauhaus* colleagues for new technology, mass production techniques, and machine-driven objectivity, preferring the more traditional emphasis of arts education: the creation of unique works.[4] This, however, was the only vestige of traditional arts education the Academy maintained. Like the *Bauhaus*, Dresden Academy, and other German academies after the First World War, Breslau did away with most of the trappings of nineteenth-century academic arts instruction, as Nikolaus Pevsner emphasizes in his history of the art academy in Europe.[5]

The Academy is central to any history of Breslau's cultural community because it acted as a magnet for young creative talent from Silesia and across Germany. Beginning in 1918, the Academy created a nucleus of first-rate artists, who in turn attracted their peers to the city, noticeably energizing the art scene. Public art events and exhibitions increased in number, art patronage blossomed, and art associations stepped up their activities, drawing new attention from the national arts press.[6] When the Academy closed in 1932, most of the artists left for other cities in Germany and abroad, dissipating the group that had energized the city and ending Breslau's presence as an important German *Kunststadt* (arts city). Any story about Breslau's cultural scene during the Weimar era thus begins and ends with the Academy.

Pluralism was a fundamental principle of the Breslau Academy. Writing decades after its heyday, Hans Scharoun pointed to Breslau's range as one of its central and defining strengths:

> There was Otto Mueller, of the vegetative, and [Alexander] Kanoldt, who espoused the Objective. Oskar Schlemmer was occupied with the rich relationship between the interval and [Georg] Muche with lyrical structures. [Carlo] Mense showed the expressive, Paul Holz the strength and power of origins, [Konrad] von Kardorff the representative-typical. [Johannes] Molzahn construed the connections of the heroic, [Paul] Dobers

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> showed the character of intimacy. Oskar Moll himself followed the congruence between colors. As sculptors, [Robert] Bednorz structured the everyday and [Theo] Gosen the special and monumental.[7]

In his diary, Schlemmer remarked similarly on the variety of aesthetics represented by Breslau faculty, while Johannes Molzahn wrote in a letter that "the Breslau Academy under Moll has been a prime example of an educational institution in the contemporary world, and considering the *Bauhaus* organization far superior, but not so lopsided, but broader with all currents reflected, was a faithful mirror of the contemporary debates."[8] The three directors who served from 1903 till the Academy's demise—Hans Poelzig (1902–16), August Endell (1918–25), and Oskar Moll (1925–33)—all focused on maintaining a faculty with diverse perspectives, but the hiring of talented artists from all over Germany accelerated after 1918. The deprivations of the interwar period and the steady income the Academy could offer made Breslau more attractive than ever before, and between 1918 and 1930 the Academy was able to recruit a varied group of important artists whose work represented the spectrum of contemporary practice. Some were local, like Breslau natives Heinrich Lauterbach and Robert Bednorz, while some came from other parts of Germany, like Karlsruhe native Alexander Kanoldt and Rhein-born Carlo Mense. The faculty thus came to mirror the gamut of German art and architecture practice, rather than a narrow set of regional interests.

The history of the Breslau Academy offers a compelling picture of the fault lines of the German avant-garde and progressive arts education during the 1920s, as Germany wrestled to come to grips with modernization. What distinguished the Breslau Academy was not its originality but the quality of its instruction and the particulars of its pedagogical approach. Rather than invent a new type of art school, Breslau slowly reconstituted the old academy model along modern, progressive, and ultimately more effective lines.[9] The school remained committed to the fine and applied arts as separate but related fields of study and upheld the old-fashioned notion of art as an endeavor focused on the creation of unique beautiful objects. Thus it favored High Art over commercial art and singular designs over mass-produced models. Academy faculty and students considered technology and machine production not as ends in themselves but as means to be used where appropriate. They did not repudiate history but studied and used it, as a basis on which to build new models or an example against which to react. Although faculty believed in the value of finding new forms that represented the *Zeitgeist*, they felt those forms had multiple sources, including the historic continuum. Thus they assimilated aspects of

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Fig. 29. Breslau Academy of Fine and Applied Arts ca. 1920 (postcard courtesy of Robert Wohnner).

traditional art into new methods and forms, rather than dismissing them wholesale. In short, the Breslau approach was fundamentally dialectical. The juxtapositions of old and new and the contrasts between faculty points of view allowed new syntheses to emerge for each artist. This individualism was also central to Breslau's model of pluralistic arts education, which based studio instruction on the particular interests of the instructor rather than a general area of study (the norm in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century German art and architecture programs). This makes Breslau as important an antecedent for contemporary arts education as the *Bauhaus*, especially since most art and architecture schools follow its organizational model today.

But if Breslau represents such an important aspect of arts education, why has it largely disappeared from histories of art and design? In comparison with the *Bauhaus*, in particular, the Breslau Academy has received very little attention since it closed in 1933. One explanation for this discrepancy is the vigorous proselytizing of Walter Gropius, aided by first generation historians like Herbert Bayer, Siegfried Giedion and Reyner Banham.[10] In the 1920s, Gropius developed a sophisticated propaganda campaign, which included ideological rallying points. The number of former *Bauhäusler* who went abroad, especially to the United States, helped further disseminate the *Bauhaus* myth. At the time,

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Breslau directors did not mount such purposeful campaigns. Subsequently, the Academy's profile has suffered further because of its location, which is now part of Poland and was largely inaccessible during the Cold War.

Until quite recently, scholars have continued to see Breslau as marginal to mainstream art history. While the *Bauhaus* was receiving wide attention by the 1930s, Berlin's Akademie der Künste only mounted the first postwar exhibition about the Breslau Academy in 1965. Poelzig and Endell died before the Second World War and Moll died in 1947, leaving the Academy without a Gropius-like figure in the postwar period. Of the other candidates capable of keeping Breslau in the public eye, only Lauterbach and Scharoun remained in Germany. Both were involved in the *Poelzig, Endell, Moll* exhibition and were themselves the subjects of Akademie der Künste exhibitions and subsequent books. Art historian Ernst Scheyer, who was born in Breslau then immigrated to the United States, wrote about Breslau during the 1960s and 1970s, but his books were not widely circulated and did not have much of an impact. Since German unification in 1990, interest in Breslau and the Academy has surged in Germany and Poland, but scholarship in English remains sparse.[11] The sole exception is a piece by Vladimir Slapeta, an architect trained in Breslau, who authored a special series of articles on Breslau in a 1989 issue of *Rassegna.*[12] Although Slapeta emphasized the pedagogical importance of the Academy, recent scholarship has been more interested in recovering the factual record, focusing on the history of the Academy and its artists rather than their significance. Even the most recent comprehensive study of German academies continues the marginalization of Breslau and other eastern academies by not discussing Breslau, Dresden, or Königsberg.[13] Yet as Slapeta, Scharoun, and Lauterbach assert, Breslau has a significant place in the lineage of arts education.

Early History

King Friedrich Wilhelm II of Prussia founded the Breslau Provincial Art School in 1791, along with four other provincial arts and crafts schools, as part of an effort to broaden access to arts education in Prussia and specifically to improve the quality of work in cities with substantial manufacturing capacity.[14] The Breslau School thus served a dual mission from its start: to train fine artists and to train designers for industry, in recognition of the importance of applied arts education to the development of high-quality industrial projects. Given the history of applied arts education in Europe, the Prussian decree of 1790, which paved the way for founding the Breslau Provincial Art School,

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was extraordinarily forward thinking, as most German territories and principalities did not pay attention to applied arts education reform until well into the nineteenth century. The Breslau School was renamed several times over its history: it became the Art, Building and Handworkers School in 1816, the Royal Art and Applied Arts School sixty years later, and finally the State Academy for Art and Applied Arts in 1911. This progression reflects changing attitudes toward both fine arts and crafts education, as Germany industrialized and sought to compete favorably in international markets.[15] The names also evoke increasing national ambitions, as well as the school's eventual need to distinguish itself from the Breslau Municipal School for Handwork and Applied Arts, founded in 1899. The final name appropriately stuck. The Academy was always tied to the ministry in Berlin; its directors had national, if not international, reputations; and its mission was to educate artists of the first rank, not craftsmen for local industry.

From the beginning, the Municipal School was in continuous and often acerbic conflict with the Academy. The two schools competed for funding and students and had very different approaches. The Academy increasingly viewed itself as the purveyor of high culture in contrast to the commercial mission of the Municipal School. The difference arose in part from the unique political and financial situations of the two institutions. The Municipal School was under the purview of the Prussian Ministry of Commerce but ran largely on city funds, whereas the Academy was a nationally funded institution under the Ministry of Culture. In the 1920s, the Ministry of Culture oversaw only two fine arts programs, the Breslau Academy and the Royal School of Applied Arts in Berlin, while the Ministry of Commerce controlled the thirty-four other schools of arts, crafts, and trade in Prussia, including the Municipal School. The Academy's location in the Ministry of Culture made a clear statement about its role as a purveyor of highly valued *Kultur* rather than lowly commercial production.

The historic split in authority between the Prussian Ministry of Commerce and Ministry of Culture complicated reform efforts. The two ministries were in open tension by the end of the nineteenth century. Their "administrative dualism," remarked on by art historian and Prussian senior civil servant Wilhelm Waetzoldt, was reflected in the very different approaches of schools under their respective jurisdictions. The Ministry of Culture emphasized the aesthetic aspects of art, manifest in good design, while the Ministry of Commerce valued the economic viability of commercial products, which meant that its sense of design merit rested on a product's salability. These philosophical differences can be summed up as high versus low, elite versus popular, fine art versus craft,

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and singular versus mass-produced. The fact that the Academy's curriculum had a strong applied arts component only exacerbated tensions, since even in this realm its approach was decidedly aesthetic rather than practical.

The rivalry between the two institutions came to a head between 1918 and 1920. The postwar economic crisis made the idea of combining the two schools attractive to some members of the ministries, who sought to realize the budgetary savings such a merger would precipitate. The Academy resisted strongly, but Richard Heyer, the director of the Municipal School for Handwork, seems to have exploited the situation as best he could, evidently hoping to supplant the Academy and thereby increase enrollment in the Municipal School. Heyer recognized both the ministerial interest in conserving funds and the new interest in supporting practical education, represented by Hermann Muthesius. The Ministry of Commerce had sent Muthesius to England from 1896 to 1903 to observe and report back on English manufacturing techniques, as England was at the forefront of industrial production at the time. Upon his return to Germany, Muthesius continued to work at the Ministry of Commerce, where he began agitating for reform in the handicrafts and applied arts education systems, although he developed a point of view quite different from British reformers John Ruskin, August Pugin, and William Morris. Rather than advocating a return to traditional handicraft as they did, he sought a new model in which craft would serve industry. When he returned to Germany in 1903, he was appointed Inspector of the Prussian Schools of Arts and Crafts at the Prussian Board of Trade.[16]

Muthesius's efforts put him in conflict with a succession of directors at the Breslau Academy because one of the reforms he favored was combining the academies and trade schools to create what he believed would be a more effective education system for future employees of German industry. In Breslau, this would have meant closing either the Municipal School for Handwork or the Academy. For at least two years, Muthesius and Academy director August Endell sparred in the local press and at the ministries, jockeying for sympathy and support. Ultimately, both schools remained as they were, and the Academy retained its role as the institution for noncommercial, creative work.[17] As such, and given the rivalry between the two schools, the Academy emerged as a home for progressive artists who were skeptical about industrialization and new technology. Previous Academy director Hans Poelzig wrote often on the subject of technology and art, articulating the fundamental attitude shared by many of his colleagues: technology was a necessary evil but should not be the driving force behind art or design. For Poelzig, technology was tied to nature and natural law, whereas art was "outside nature," beyond and superior to its

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purview.[18] The Academy therefore developed its curriculum to promote the supremacy of creative imagination over technological know-how.

German attitudes toward modernization, industrialization, and new technology varied widely during the early years of the twentieth century. Germany's rapid industrialization had produced a backlash among members of the *Mittelstand*, the traditional middle class of small producers, who saw their traditional way of life disappearing as more and more white-collar clerks, secretaries, and office workers entered the middle classes. Among progressive artists, industrialization produced a full range of reactions. Some enthusiastically espoused new technologies and industrial production, and some rejected new technology outright, but others were more cautious and tried to find a middle ground. This cautious group dominated the Breslau Academy from 1902 on, beginning with Poelzig's directorship and continuing under Endell and Moll.

The Beginnings of Reform

The story of reform at the Academy must be understood in the context of changes that began toward the end of the nineteenth century. Without these earlier interventions, the Academy of the Weimar Republic years would not have been possible. As Petra Hölscher demonstrates in her history of the Academy, the changes begun in the late nineteenth century set in motion its slow rise to prominence.[19] Hermann Adolf Kühn became the director of the Academy in 1881. A little-known craftsman who had trained as an architect, Kühn proved to be an administrative visionary. He hired Breslau's first important progressive artists, taking on Max Wislicenus, a member of the Munich Secession; internationally acclaimed Munich landscape painter Carl Ernst Morgenstern; and then-unknown young Berlin architect Hans Poelzig. Master weaver Wanda Bibrowicz soon followed.

The name change from "Art, Building and Handwork School" to "Art and Applied Arts School" occurred under Kühn's watch, and he understood the new name to speak to the combination, not separation, of the two spheres it brought together. As he put it, "They must follow the purpose of making the total applied and industrial occupations useful, they must make these valued, elevating meaning and understanding of form and color to purposefulness."[20] Uniting fine and applied arts had long been a goal of reform-minded educators and bureaucrats hoping to improve Germany's industrial production, so Kühn's intentions were not unusual. Under Kühn, the Breslau school also successfully argued to become an "academy" rather than a "school," on the basis of how its curriculum compared to Kassel, Königsberg, and Düsseldorf.[21] The new desig-

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nation elevated Breslau's stature tremendously, though it did not turn it into a traditional academy. Although the Academy began as an art school, it soon added applied art courses with a mandate to educate handworkers for regional industry, so it was never deeply steeped in the outmoded and rigid European academic tradition. Thus, when Hans Poelzig became director in 1903, he could begin the transition to a modern academy fairly easily, despite some resistance from the faculty.

Kühn also oversaw several curricular changes that clarified and modernized the Academy's teaching and smoothed the way for later reforms.[22] One of his changes was to combine handwork and fine arts courses, in order to bring more art to craft, but also to bring more craft to fine art by widening the techniques students learned. In 1897, Kühn organized the curriculum into three broad stages: a combined first-year foundation course taught to all students, followed by free and applied arts, and finally master ateliers or workshops.[23] While this tripartite division resembled the nineteenth-century model common in German academies, Kühn modified the course content to eliminate ossified methods like drawing from plaster casts in the Greek manner and approaching drawing and painting as imitative rather than creative acts.[24] To learn to draw human figures, students observed live models; to learn to draw landscapes, they went out into nature. By taking nature as their source, rather than Greek or Roman statues, students were supposed to learn to draw what they saw as it actually appeared, rather than as a previous artist had already represented it. From this, they could develop their own personal way of applying line, shade, and color, rather than producing stylized copies. The most revolutionary aspect of Kühn's program was his attempt to open workshops: a forge; an enamel, glass, and porcelain firing facility; a cabinet-making shop; a woodturning atelier; and an artistic weaving workspace. Kühn was familiar with the ideals of the English Arts and Crafts Movement and its emphasis on the workshop as a site for arts education. However, although he recognized the benefits of the English model, he did not see the workshop as a vehicle for reinstating medieval crafts, but rather as a way to help designers learn the dual skills of technical and aesthetic design, so they could both create for industry and work with an expanded set of material options. In other words, the workshops were to enhance student artistry and creative ability, not prepare them for careers in mass production.

Poelzig

Poelzig was not the Ministry of Culture's first choice to replace Kühn in 1903. Hoping to appoint a better-known artist, the Ministry offered the post first to

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realist painter Leopold von Kalckreuth (1855–1928) and then to the distinguished architect Fritz Schumacher (1869–1947). After they both refused the position, Poelzig was proposed, apparently due to the intercession of minister and famous reformer Ludwig Pallat, with whom Poelzig worked during a brief stint at the Ministry in the 1890s.[25] Poelzig extended and transformed Kühn's work, but he had his own profound effect on the institution and many of his core convictions—like his belief in pluralistic arts education and the importance of individual creativity and his suspicion of art fashions and machine technology—permeated the Academy long after his tenure. Poelzig's impact rested on his national reputation, his involvement in regional and national cultural matters, and his continued involvement in the Academy, even after he left Breslau. Several key instructors like Heinrich Lauterbach had strong and lasting personal connections to Poelzig, but Endell and Moll were both hired after he left Breslau, put in place by Ministry officials in Berlin, which suggests that ministerial priorities also helped ensure continuity. Indeed, Endell and Moll hired most of the Weimar-era faculty after 1918, so the persistence of Poelzig's philosophical beliefs cannot be attributed to his direct influence alone.

One of the first changes Poelzig made in Breslau was to require that all prospective students display a "pronounced artistic talent," whether they were headed for fine art or applied arts.[26] The emphasis on individual genius and creativity supported the notion that success in even the more technical, handcraft-oriented professions now relied on artistry and invention. Poelzig's structural reforms included discarding the old three-part curricular division in favor of seven and eventually thirteen so-called daily classes. These included freehand drawing, decorative drawing and decorative painting, decorative model drawing and decorative model painting (soon broadened to drawing from nature, textile arts, figurative drawing and painting, landscape drawing and painting, and plastic modeling), then divided into figurative, ornamental and decorative sculpture, and architectonic drawing and design (later renamed space planning, then architecture).[27] Because Poelzig's system did not put fine and applied arts students into separate courses of study, the program had even more fluidity than during Kühn's tenure. In addition, Poelzig broadened both the support classes and workshop offerings, adding workshops for embroidery, textile, and garment design; cabinet-making; lithography; and enameling and glass painting, as well as a bronze foundry with engraving and etching.[28]

During Poelzig's directorship, the workshops operated under the collaborative supervision of a professor and a master. The professor was responsible for design instruction and the master helped with execution of the design, an innovation that recognized the division between artistic imagination and tech-

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Fig. 30. Metal workshops in the Breslau Academy (Schlesisches Museum zu Görlitz).

nical execution and preceded the *Bauhaus* division of Form Instructor and Master Instructor.[29] Students were permitted to enter the workshops immediately, rather than having to wait until they passed a preliminary course.

Along with modernizing the Academy's pedagogy, Polzeig hired new young faculty to implement the curriculum, including Wanda Bibrowicz and Else Wislicenus for the textile workshop, Karl Mühl for bronze work, Ignatius Taschner and Tillman Schmitz for engraving, Hans Rossmann for glass painting, Arnold Busch and Anna Gritschker-Kunzendorf for graphics and ornamental art, and the painter Karl Hanusch, who is remembered for incorporating the latest artistic ideas into his teaching.[30] Most importantly, many of the new faculty members had strong backgrounds in both art and applied art so they could effectively teach to both constituencies. Because Poelzig also kept many of the older faculty, like Carl Ernst Morgenstern, Edward Kaempffer, Heinrich Irrman, Wilhelm Schwarzbach, and Albert Werner-Schwarzburg, the Academy came to present multiple artistic viewpoints rather than a consistent single one.

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Students could develop their individual artistic voices through exploring the many options available to them.

Poelzig believed in historic continuity but not historicism. Karl Schäffer, his teacher at the Technical University in Berlin, taught him to respect historic building types and forms. Schäffer taught a famous course on medieval architecture but was known for repudiating the imitation of historical form. Instead, he insisted that young architects study historical examples to learn from them. "The flight from all that history has given," Poelzig wrote, "can so little rescue us as the purely decorative use of past forms."[31] For Poelzig, then, the point of studying history was to gather source material for developing new forms.

His distinction between studying historical forms to learn design principles and copying them was a key break from the old academic approach and a central tenet at the Breslau Academy through the 1920s. Poelzig's innovations did not mean artist and craftsman lost their identities:

> All of the workshops were conceived merely as experimental, and to a certain degree, teaching workshops, not as replacements for true apprenticeships. Herein I found myself in the strongest contradiction to Muthesius, who, finally through the renaming of the municipal Hand worker schools in his department [at the Ministry of Commerce] into Handworker and Applied Arts schools, wanted to take the name Academy for Art and Applied Arts from the establishment I directed.[32]

In other words, where Muthesius tried to blur the boundaries between craftsman and artist, Poelzig always intended to keep them distinct, with the designer the conceptual mind behind the work and the master craftsman the technical executor. The artist's principal crafts were drawing and painting—except when their art, as in the case of, say, sculpture, called for other skills—and the craftsman's were use of tools and machines.[33] Both art and craft required a spiritual foundation for good form-making. The technical aspect of making was a separate problem from creating form, and both needed to be taught.[34]

Poelzig's skepticism about avant-garde values and "isms" (like functionalism) was also highly influential in Breslau, even after his tenure. Poelzig viewed the functionalist approach as a dangerous worship of technology and machines, asking, "Is *Sachlichkeit* so absolutely factual?"[35] For Poelzig, form, absolute in the Platonic sense, was the key to good art. He believed, "Through art man places himself outside nature, with the technical, he places himself inside nature," so using function or machine analogies to inspire form did not make sense. [36] Indeed, technology could not achieve the status of art: "All tech-

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nical forms, in contrast to the absolute meaning of art, only contain a relative meaning."[37] Art, by definition, was symbolic and therefore could not be relative. In a letter to Bruno Taut about a draft program for the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst*, Poelzig warned that contemporary architects should not hold the machine sacred lest they fall into the trap that swallowed their nineteenth-century predecessors who worshipped styles.[38] When Taut wrote, in the draft, "Art begins first of all with the technical," Poelzig asked him to remove the sentence because it would make people think that practicality in a design was sufficient.[39] In the end, Poelzig did not sign either the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* declaration or the *Novembergruppe* Manifesto. His objections were not merely theoretical: he was highly suspicious of the popularity of design tropes like steel-frame windows, tubular handrails, white stucco, and flat roofs, seeing them as technological fashion and the dangerous beginnings of a style. One reason he promoted a pluralistic approach to art pedagogy was to avoid teaching a style or encouraging the students to develop a style, by demonstrating the complexity and richness of art.

Poelzig questioned the very notion of "*Sachlichkeit*" or "Objectivity," both because he saw it as a style and because the very notion of objectivity in art was inherently contradictory:

> Is Objectivity so truly objective? . . . In place of hand-wrought and machine-made ornament is now mostly expensive material: lacquer, glass, metal, stone. They are supposed to replace animated ornament with their surface play, and there is no doubt that they snuggle up better with the naked, stratified forms of modern building, that the uniformity of forms truly is raised through the shine and color . . . This type of *Sachlichkeit* is just as false as Romanticism and in the end as "*Unsachlich*" as any other period that was enamored of a catchword.[40]

In other words, Poelzig did not believe ornament was dead, only that modernism had altered its form, favoring integral over surface ornament, a view which echoed that of the great Viennese architect and theorist Adolf Loos. Integral ornament was found in facade elements, material color and texture, columnar arrangements, handrails, lights, handles and other fixtures, and volumetric massing. More to the point, Poelzig saw little difference between the two approaches to ornament. Many advocates of *Neues Bauen* would have found Poelzig's opinion about *Sachlichkeit* heretical.[41] The curriculum at the Breslau Academy reflected Poelzig's attitude toward ornament, replacing "ornament" as a subject with "material style," thereby anticipating the connection between

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abstraction and ornamentation in modern design.[42] Poelzig himself admitted that the name of the new course did not say much. It focused on architectonic principles, and students occasionally participated in Silesian competitions to get an introduction to real-world design problems and a taste of "real" practice.

Another innovation Poelzig put in place was individualized educational programs tailored to each student's talents and needs. This seemingly minor alteration had enormous implications, for it shifted the Academy's educational emphasis from the acquisition of general skills to the development of individual creativity and invention. Poelzig's aim as a teacher was "to bring each student to recognize his special qualities."[43] This drive to identify the individual's unique imaginative ability was akin to the artistic pluralism he held so dear. Poelzig believed his role was to critically assess student work, contemporary buildings, and architectonic principles, and thereby help students develop the critical faculties that would allow them to discover their own voices.[44] Years later, his students remembered him affectionately as a passionate and inspiring teacher who could not tolerate mediocrity, demanded independence, and had no patience for students who copied their teachers.

Poelzig's focus on developing student talents extended beyond the classroom. Believing they ought to test their ideas in real world projects, he employed Academy students for his private commissions. Walter Gropius later implemented a similar program at the *Bauhaus*, formalizing the apprenticeship idea by providing a space for collaborative work on the upper floor of the Dessau building. Poelzig brought together students from fine and applied arts to work on projects like the renovation of the medieval Löwenberg *Rathaus* (1905).

The students collaborated with Poelzig on the design and execution and fabricated custom furniture and fittings in the Academy workshops. Löwenberg demonstrated Poelzig's sensitivity to historic architecture. His addition complemented the medieval architecture rather than imitating it, drawing on elemental aspects like the steeply pitched roof as inspiration for design.

Poelzig emphatically believed that the Academy's strength lay in its ties to Breslau and Silesia. He encouraged students and faculty to participate in local and regional competitions, volunteer for local associations, exhibit locally, and be active in local government. He instituted a practice of mounting regular student and faculty exhibitions that were open to the whole community, later maintained by both Endell and Moll. At the same time, he encouraged Academy faculty to participate in local exhibitions. In 1908, Poelzig and Theo von Gosen founded the *Künstlerbund Schlesien* to support contemporary art and artists in Silesia. The original group included Kalckreuth, Graf Harrach, Fritz and Erich Erler, Wislicenus, Max Berg, and Nickisch, along with other

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Fig. 31. Hans Poelzig renovated the Laski (Lowenberg) Town Hall. Contemporary photograph (Wikipedia image, courtesy of Oslm).

"emigrated Silesians who still had strong connections to their *Heimat*."[45] After he left Breslau, Polzeig bitterly criticized his successors for distancing themselves from the community, although his criticism may not have been entirely fair.[46] Both Endell and Moll were very involved with local cultural associations. Poelzig also blamed Endell and Moll for the closure of the Academy, which he directly ascribed to their abandonment of local priorities. He believed that hiring artists from all over Germany and pursuing national and international status had isolated the Academy from Breslau and Silesian cultural life, thereby removing the province's incentive to keep financing it.[47] Ironically, however, he had made similar moves. Endell and Moll, along with less biased observers like Alfred Behne and Adolf Rothenberg, viewed the situation differently, believing that by raising the Academy's profile, they had made it attractive both to students who otherwise would have left Breslau and to private artists who, likewise, would have settled in other parts of the country.

When Poelzig stepped down from the directorship in 1916, he served as an advisor for the search for a new director. In a series of letters to the Ministry of Culture, he struggled with the question of who should take his place. The candidates included a number of leading figures in German culture: the archi-

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Fig. 32. View of the medieval town hall with a modern building in the background showing the juxtaposition of tradition and modernity in the city itself.

tects Friedrich Lahrs, Bruno Taut, Heinrich Tessenow, and Gropius, along with Endell. Gropius was very eager for the position and corresponded with Poelzig about it at some length. But despite his efforts, Poelzig eventually backed Endell. He feared that Gropius was too enamored of technology and industrial production to be a good fit for Breslau.[48] This was prescient, as Gropius did not adopt a strong pro-technology stance at the *Bauhaus* until 1923. In a 1916 letter, Poelzig commented on Gropius's proposal for establishing an art school that would be a consulting entity for industry, applied arts, and handwork: "I am naturally rather skeptical and know, from experience, how difficult it is to mediate between a school and industry. In my opinion, one ought not to keep the schools in their current favored form. One ought to found privileged workshops so the concerned supervisors—architects, sculptors, etc.—can give consecutive state or city assignments."[49] He further articulated his position in an essay about technical and arts education: "Any technical [education] as subject in an . . . art academy cripples . . . the best proof of this is the increasing tendency towards a pseudoscientific approach to the architecture profession."[50] Poelzig believed Endell was committed to art and creativity first and foremost

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over technology and industrial production. Marg Moll later observed, "When Poelzig left Breslau in 1916, he esteemed Endell and his art, for his clear ideas and integrity. Poelzig held the conviction that Endell was not ready for any concessions, and therefore suggested him as his successor."[51] Poelzig seems to have believed Endell was a kindred spirit, someone who would continue to steer the school in the direction Poelzig had pointed it, preserving the emphasis on individual genius and invention.

Endell

Endell was educated in philosophy, psychology, and aesthetics at Tübingen but never formally studied art or architecture. When he moved to Munich, he attended philosopher Theodor Lipps's lectures on "empathy theory," which were groundbreaking excurses on the importance of human empathy to understanding objects and especially to aesthetic appreciation. The lectures apparently had a profound effect on Endell's way of seeing the world. In 1896, he published "On Beauty," a tract in which he described how line, color, form, and proportion outwardly manifest inner beauty.[52] His professed goal as a designer was to use these tools to realize beautiful objects.[53] In Munich, Endell also befriended several pioneers of the German new art and architecture, including Hermann Obrist, Richard Riemerschmid, Martin Dülfer, and Bernhard Pankok. This group exposed him to the latest ideas, aesthetics, and pedagogical directions for art instruction. Endell apparently turned to design at Obrist's encouragement. He made his initial splash with the 1898 design and construction of the Atelier Elvira facade and interiors in Munich. The project was an unabashed sally into the *Jugendstil* with its animated forms and highly colored elements. Atelier Elvira received a tremendous amount of attention in Germany, bringing Endell into the national limelight. He followed the Elvira project with several others, including the well-known Berlin *Trabrennbahn* (Race Track, 1911–12), though his work quickly departed from the stylized *Jugendstil*, becoming more and more *sachlich* (objective), arguably in adherence to contemporary German design trends.

Endell's lack of formal art or architecture education experience made him a controversial choice in Breslau, although the range of his work on buildings, furniture, and objects certainly qualified him to head an art and applied arts school.[54] According to Rading, Endell met with bitter resistance at the beginning of his tenure, especially among older faculty members, several of whom left the Academy shortly thereafter.[55] In spite of the opposition, Endell made

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substantial changes. He assumed his position in 1918, just after the November Revolution, when the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* in Berlin and *Rat Geistiger Arbeit* in Breslau published calls for arts education reforms.[56] Endell was particularly sympathetic to abolishing bureaucratic privilege, firing unimaginative teachers, teaching new artistic ideas, and opening instructional workshops.[57] Although he does not seem to have belonged to either revolutionary group, many of his faculty members did: Mueller and August Grisebach signed the Berlin *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* manifesto, and von Gosen, Wislicenus, Moll, Bednorz, Hanusch, Paul Heim, Franz Landsberger, Friedrich Pautsch, and Heinrich Tischler signed the Breslau document.[58]

Endell responded to the calls for reform by altering Poelzig's organizational system, which his predecessor never forgave, and reinstating the three-tiered structure: preliminary course, free and applied arts, and master ateliers or workshops. Following the model implemented several months earlier in Dresden, he then changed the course names from subject matter to faculty member. Thus, in place of courses on Material and Style, Form-making, or Decorative Arts, students chose between the Mueller, Moll, and Von Kardorff studios. This change in nomenclature had enormous philosophical implications, for it suggested the preeminence of artistic concepts and personal vision over general knowledge and skills. Practically, the new system reinforced the central role of individual creativity and imagination. Teachers taught their own personal methods, leaving students to amalgamate what they learned into their personal styles.[59] This model built on the nineteenth-century Master class, first implemented at the Düsseldorf Academy, but with important modifications. Whereas the Master class was fashioned after the medieval workshop where students learned their craft by working on paintings with the master, in his style and under his signature, in the new approach students worked on their own canvases under the master's tutelage.

During his first two years as director, Endell concentrated his energies on improving the quality of the faculty, a necessary step if the new personality-dependent system was to be effective.[60] He hired several distinguished artists, including Matisse-trained Moll, *Brücke* member Mueller, Berlin Secessionist Von Kardorff, Berlin-trained Rading (who became a leading figure in the *Neues Bauen*), well-known art historians Wilhelm Pinder and August Grisebach, and sculptor Robert Bednorz, whose work exemplified abstract figural realism. This faculty brought together a broad range of aesthetic approaches, styles, and techniques, which also helped ensure that the system worked.

Under Endell, the architecture program expanded to include instruction in

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general design as well as building conversions, country cottages, urban housing, and housing estates. The addition of housing estates was in direct response to Germany's postwar housing demands, especially in Breslau, where shortages and substandard conditions persisted into the beginning of the 1930s (see chapter 1). However, the architecture program had only one full-time faculty member, Adolf Rading, because it was not an accredited program, despite the efforts of Endell and his successor, Oskar Moll, to gain accreditation. Students could begin their architecture studies in Breslau but had to continue elsewhere to qualify for exams and the professional title of "architect."

Endell shared Poelzig's skepticism toward technology. As one scholar put it, "he accepted the need for the machine, but demanded logic and considered application. He also understood the artistically motivated use of technology."[61] Thus the workshops retained their function as places to test ideas, and Endell added two more, the printing and plaster casting facilities. Like his predecessors, Endell was active in local arts associations and maintained an active public exhibition program. Overall, his reforms continued to propel the Academy forward, and historians credit him with paving the way for Moll, under whom the Academy reached its zenith.[62]

Moll

Although Oskar Moll had no formal arts education in a school or academy, he was not an autodidact like Endell. Moll began studying biology at the University of Hannover but soon realized he wanted to become a painter, not a scientist. Rather than enroll in an academy, Moll studied in various master ateliers, including those of two famous German painters, Hans Leistikow (1892–1962) and impressionist Lovis Corinth (1858–1925) in Berlin and Henri Matisse (1869–1954) in Paris. Moll quickly narrowed his focus to landscape and still life. Although he joined the Berlin Secession in 1897, he was, as Breslau architect Heinrich Lauterbach later recalled, "a man of the best education, a Grand Seigneur, no Bohemian, and no revolutionary."[63] In keeping with this stance, Moll did not invent new approaches but modified the innovations of his peers. By his own admission, Moll was less interested in a painting's subject matter than in exploring color as a medium for expression. By the time he joined the Breslau faculty, Moll was a well-known painter who had exhibited at the progressive Paul Cassirer Gallery in Berlin, alongside the great Norwegian symbolist painter Edvard Munch (1863–1944).

From his appointment in 1925, Moll continued to reform the Academy.

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The greatest structural change he made was to abolish the distinction between students pursuing careers as fine artists and students studying for teaching careers. This change implicitly recognized the critical importance of art teachers to the profession and their resulting need to be as versed in technique and craft as practitioners. Moll maintained Poelzig's individual study plans but had students work with two instructors simultaneously, so they were always under the influence of at least two different masters. This ensured that students were exposed to multiple points of view, while diminishing the authority of individual instructors. Moll strengthened the master atelier system because he believed "the many-sided aspects of the masters encouraged the students to develop their own strengths and hindered them from simply copying [their professors]"[64] Capitalizing on positions vacated by an inordinate number of retirements, Moll lured leading figures of German progressive art to Breslau, among them Paul Dobers, Paul Holz, Alexander Kanoldt, Carlo Mense, Josef Vinecky, Li Vinecky-Thorn, Johannes Molzahn, and, later, former *Bauhäusler* Georg Muche and Oskar Schlemmer. These artists and architects, who came from every corner of Germany and had varied educational and professional backgrounds, also represented very different positions within avant-garde and progressive art. This diversity made for a dynamic educational atmosphere but also led to conflict and tension, as Marg Moll later recalled.[65] Moll purposely tried to balance differing viewpoints within the school, rather than bolster one camp or another. He wrote, "the Breslau Academy is not a school in the true sense of the word, with pre-set teaching methods but rather an expression of personalities who do not impart their knowledge to the students according to a plan but each in his own particular way."[66] Like his predecessors, he believed that arts education is best served by offering students a plurality of artistic positions from which to develop their individual ideas, an approach supported by both the two-mentor system and the workshops.

Moll also managed to slightly expand the architecture program. In 1925, Rading convinced him to fill Endell's vacant position as director of the applied arts with a second architecture instructor.[67] The position went to Rading's friend and associate Hans Scharoun, which meant that close collaboration between the two teachers was easy to achieve. With Heinrich Lauterbach, who was hired as a part-time assistant, Rading and Scharoun proceeded to overhaul and expand the depth and range of subjects offered in architectural design. The architecture faculty seems to have compensated for its limited size by offering a variety of building types studied, imaginative design challenges, and open-mindedness.

One interesting aspect of the Breslau ateliers was the unusually high num-

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bers of women artists employed as teachers and at work as students.[68] In 1896, the Academy hired Gertrud Daubert as director of the technical assistants in the artistic embroidery and weaving classes. In 1903, when Poelzig assumed the Academy directorship, he promoted Daubert to director of the entire workshop for embroidery, fabric and fashion arts.[69] When Daubert passed away, Charlotte Marquardt took over.[70] In 1903, the Academy also hired Wanda Bibrowicz as a technical assistant for the textile design class and Anna Gritschker-Kuzendorf to teach the course in flower painting. Bibrowicz, who was known for her experiments with textile design, particularly tapestries, eventually became director of the textile workshop. When she stepped down in 1911, another distinguished woman artist, Else Wislicenus, replaced her.[71] Wislicenus was followed by Li Vinecky-Thorn, a former student of Henri van de Velde in Weimar, who assumed directorship of the textile workshop in 1926 and remained until the Academy closed. In 1906, Margarethe Pfauth became technical assistant in the workshop for enamel art. Anni Adelmann taught in the paper workshop after it opened in 1925. Moll also opened workshops for fabric printing and paper fabrication, run initially by Edith Rischowski, then by Anna Rading, wife of architect and professor Adolf Rading.[72] Rading, Vinecky-Thorn, Bibrowicz, and Wislicenus all exhibited widely and had national reputations. But although approximately 27 percent of students in all subjects were women, there were no women teachers in the fine arts.[73] It is unclear whether Breslau's relative openness to women faculty was an extension of its aesthetic tolerance or an expediency. It was difficult enough to convince talented artists to come to Breslau; discriminating against women would have narrowed the prospects even further.

For Moll, the most important attribute shared by his faculty was "belief." He called artists "the dreamers with great belief,"[74] presumably referring to belief in art itself, but also to self-belief, a necessary quality for the distinctive personal approach to art and personality-driven approach to teaching that he espoused.[75] For Moll, belief was not "simply truth, in the sense of rational, thoughtful belief, but a secure knowledge of the heart," by which he perhaps also meant the intuition and intuitive knowledge that were so important to his own art.[76] Like Poelzig, Moll believed in the continuity of art, stating explicitly, "We do not break the bridges to the past."[77] If "belief" entailed the self-confidence to go against the grain, in Moll's case that meant the personal strength to hold onto traditional art practice along with new methods. Although he was considered progressive, Moll was hardly radical; while he was open to just about everything, his flirtations with contemporary ideas were usually tentative or temporary. He was interested in abstraction but combined it with figu-

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ration; he toyed with cubist principles but never fully embraced them; he departed from reality in his use of color but not too dramatically. Many of his faculty members were far more innovative and experimental than he was, but his claim that "what matters is not style but, quality" led him to support a variety of aesthetic approaches, both traditional and progressive.

Under Moll, the Academy's workshops retained their importance as places for trial and experimentation. As noted above, he opened a paper workshop modeled after the *Bauhaus*, where Josef Albers and Johannes Itten had successfully used paper modeling as a design tool.[78] He also lobbied the Ministry of Culture for permission to start a bookbinding workshop but was refused, though he was allowed to add typography to the roster, for which he hired Molzahn. The addition of Scharoun enabled Moll to further broaden the architecture program, which had become quite advanced by the late 1920s, according to study plans and notes. Instruction covered architecture history; design principles; typological study; and technical, practical, economic, psychological, and spiritual aspects of design, though the courses were framed as artistic rather than technical endeavors.[79] The Academy thus remained a school for building creative talent rather than technical expertise.

The institutional and pedagogical structure in Breslau was designed by Poelzig, Endell, and Moll to reinforce ideological and creative independence. Thus, even where the Academy seems similar to other academies like the *Bauhaus*, the intent was different and therefore so were the results. Both schools, for instance, had two teachers responsible for workshop instruction—the master craftsman and the formal teacher—and at both institutions students rarely used production machines. The reasons for this, however, were different. Whereas the *Bauhaus* initially used workshops to fuse fine art and crafts practice, based on Gropius's understanding of the medieval workshop, Breslau used workshops primarily to test design schemes. In both cases expert machinists helped students execute their designs, but at Breslau the point of this was to stress the creative aspect of design over the making, keeping a distance between the mind and hands involved in the project and separating students from craftsmanship. Hands-on experience, when permitted, was not meant to lead to hands-on practice, but rather was a way of becoming familiar with materials and methods in order to improve the quality of design.[80] By 1922, the *Bauhaus* was moving toward teaching type-forms (or standardization) for industrial manufacture as its mode of artistic production; Breslau rejected this approach.[81] In Breslau, students learned that all design was art and that objects should be conceived on the basis of design, not production, and thought of as unique handcrafted artifacts. The *Bauhaus*, then, empha-

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sized creating useful objects, while Breslau focused on individual expression and imaginative form.[82]

The Academy's understanding of imaginative form was as broad as possible. In the drawing and painting departments, for example, there was the figurative work of Oskar Schlemmer and Otto Mueller, the abstract work of Georg Muche, the traditional still life of Oskar Moll, and the new subjects of Alexander Kanoldt. In sculpture, Robert Bednorz used traditional materials, like wood and bronze, to treat the figure in abstract ways, whereas Schlemmer used nontraditional materials, like wire, for figurative work. Although Marg Moll, Oskar's wife, was not a member of the faculty, her work, which used the human body as the basis for cubist abstractions and truncated forms, was well known in Breslau. Buildings designed by Breslau Academy faculty ranged from Lauterbach's public housing projects, which played with traditional form and spatial arrangements, to Rading's streamlined glass-clad Mohren Apothecary Building (1929). In short, the Academy's varied talents produced varied work throughout the 1920s.

The Academy and the Community

Most historians and local observers, whether writing in the 1920s or more recently, hail the meteoric rise of the Academy as the primary catalyst for the progressive art scene in Breslau. The Academy brought talented and energetic young artists and architects to the city, offering them free atelier space, a stable livelihood, and a support network of colleagues. Academy faculty participated in every aspect of local cultural life, including serving as active, often leading, members of the various Breslau and Silesian art associations. Von Gosen chaired the *Künstlerbund* from 1908 to 1930, when Kanoldt assumed the directorship. Members included Scharoun, Rading, Karl Hanusch, Holz, Kanoldt, Von Kardorff, Mense, Moll, Marg Moll, Mueller, and Hans Zimbal.[83] Moll was also on the boards of the Society of Friends of Art, the Applied Arts Association, and the Silesian Alliance for Protection of the Homeland, where he was joined by Rading, von Gosen, and Academy graduate Theo Effenberger.[84] Lauterbach, Rading, and Scharoun belonged to the *Deutsche Werkbund*'s Silesian chapter, which Lauterbach headed for many years. Academy faculty also judged local and regional architecture competitions, served on the boards of the Museum of Fine Arts and Museum of Applied Arts, and advised the city on cultural matters. They helped organize the biannual public exhibition at the Academy and exhibitions sponsored by the *Künstlerbund* and *Gruppe 19*, a group of artists for whom inclusiveness was more important than merit. These

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exhibitions, instituted by Poelzig and continued by Endell and Moll, helped raise the school's profile and educate Breslauers about contemporary art. By 1918, they had largely supplanted the commercial galleries and were often covered in national art magazines like *Kunst und Künstler* and *Das Kunstblatt*.[85] Rading, Grisebach, and Landsberger contributed regularly to local, regional, and national magazines and journals like *Bauwelt, Die Form*, *Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung*, *Schlesisches Heim,* and *Schlesische Monatshefte.* Although Breslau residents often resisted new art, the Academy faculty was instrumental in bringing it to the city, disseminating it, and thereby helping to develop local taste.[86] Not surprisingly, the Academy's inclusiveness permeated other Breslau cultural institutions.

Dr. Erich Wiese, director of Breslau's Museum of Fine Arts, noted that, after 1925, "The majority of the best artists working in Silesia are employed by the Breslau Academy or somehow connected to it. Today, this institute mirrors most clearly of all German establishments the situation of art and its many-sided countenance, from expressionism of gesture to abstract form, from Impressionism to *Neue Sachlichkeit.* And everything in the entire field moves between these poles."[87] Wiese was not alone in his high estimation of the Academy and its faculty, but his emphasis on the value of Breslau's diversity is telling. Rather than criticizing the Breslau approach as confused and unclear, Wiese extolled it for precisely its variety, even arguing that it reflected the arts situation in Germany as a whole. In other words, Wiese painted Breslau during the 1920s as a picture of Weimar-era modernism, in all its richness. Of course Wiese lived and worked in Breslau, so he may not have been the most objective observer. But well-known architecture critic Adolf Behne had a similar opinion, asserting in 1931 that the "Breslau Academy was the first to become reanimated with the new, fresh contemporary spirit . . . a teaching body which, while not unmindful of or ignoring the many diverse tendencies of modern art, yet contrives to achieve a unity of purpose and outlook."[88] At Breslau, unity manifested not as a style but in intention and, indeed, diversity itself.

The 1930 Exhibition

The 1930 Academy Student Exhibition, held from June 11 to July 6 at the school building on Kaiserin Augusta Platz, epitomized the Academy's diversity of faculty interests and student expression. It was the last exhibition the Academy mounted before it closed and possibly the most complete picture of the Academy at the end of the 1920s, since it seems to have assembled work

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from every class. The catalog included three essays: an introduction by Moll, a discourse on the "Biophysics of Form" by Molzahn, and a piece on the "Academy and Theater Studio" by Schlemmer.

Moll introduced and situated the student work by acknowledging the responsibility of his faculty to the future of art and the difficulties facing educators, given the "tough contemporary battles."[89] He clearly has in mind not just the student work but German art more generally and the growing hostility toward modernism. As he often did in the 1920s, Moll asserted the connections between modern and traditional art, writing, "We will not break the bridges to the past; we ourselves are standing on them . . . we will all belong to the past for others. . . . artists are normally inseparable from their times."[90] Placing modernism in a continuum with traditional and classical art, he justifies the modern work of the contemporary artist who, because of his place in history, must engage with current ideas. Moll ended his introduction by asserting that life is the model for art, not its subject or object, but its inspiration. Here he differs from the more radical German notion articulated by the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* and others that art is life, which is to say, that art and life should be inseparable. Instead, reiterating the connection between modernism and traditional art, Moll shifts the ground slightly: traditional art imitates nature and life, whereas new art uses nature and life as inspiration for new forms.

Molzahn begins his essay with an affirmation of nature as the source of form: "form is only understood biologically, never aesthetically."[91] He brackets the article with images of natural phenomena: the division of a cell, the structure of a snowflake, electrical discharge, and radio signals. He explains that art is neither "content" nor "material" for the intellect, but "is a sign, symbol for a material, for the process itself."[92] The projects that illustrate the essay are all works on paper that experiment with optical phenomena, basic forms, and structures in an abstract way. Molzahn divides them into two primary categories, the physics of the surface and a black/white scale. Molzahn explains the first image, six drawings of black lines on a white square, as "the activating of the surface" with lines, since surface is passive by nature. The second image shows a series of oppositional line drawings in which black lines of differing thickness and direction divide the white squares. The last image is also black and white and is comprised of three rows of rectangles of varying thickness progressing from thin to thick, thick to thin, and thin to thick. Molzahn describes these as "the course of an evenly progressive rhythmic movement."[93] In four other exercises, Molzahn has students experiment with optical abstraction using linear elements to differentiate direction, scale, and form. There is nothing recognizable, realistic, or natural in any of the images, only abstract geo-

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metric forms manipulated in different compositions. Molzahn explains that his exercises in the "Biophysics of Form" are designed to teach young artists the "ABCs" of form, since "art is not teachable but rather the means and the elements" are.[94]

Schlemmer discusses how art has broadened its scope from traditional to new media, including the theater.[95] By the beginning of the 1930s, Breslau embraced both aesthetic pluralism and pluralism in media. Schlemmer positions theater as the most comprehensive art after architecture because it incorporates all the other arts, using three-dimensional architectural constructions, painting, and sculpture in its sets, and music, dance, and poetry in its book. As Schlemmer notes, "Form, material structure and commitment, color, light, lighting, transparency, projection and film attest to the complex shapes being adopted and used as controlling elements for the scenic stage."[96] He argues that architects should participate in theatrical productions to, at minimum, enhance their design skills and, at best, learn how to design for human movement in space. Theater also allows students to engage with real problems of production, since so much of what they "design" in school never leaves the page, whereas in theater productions they can realize their ideas. Schlemmer illustrates his essay with student designs for a set, a festival, and Igor Stravinsky's ballet, *Nightingale*. All three are highly abstract, nontraditional designs in which abstract forms like triangles or linear elements are arranged to evoke a mood rather than to represent a real place. A photograph on the catalog's last page, of the Production Machine designed by the theater class for the 1929 festival, shows a stage crammed with an array of objects, ranging from abstract forms, like a rectangle, to recognizable objects, like a bicycle wheel. The objects are totally out of scale, with no recognizable spatial hierarchy, and text and symbols adorn some of the forms. Students clearly treated the stage as a fantasy space to test new ideas about form-making.

The work represented in the Exhibition Catalog demonstrates the aesthetic range at the Academy and its "bridges to the past." Hermann Sanne's line drawing *Kopfschema* (Head Scheme) is actually two measured drawings of the front and side of a head. Walter Ebelings's *Studie* (Study) is a delicate line drawing of two shoes. Both Sanne and Ebelings use realistic rendering techniques. In contrast, Artur Bonk's *Im Kaffee* (In Café) is a stylized line drawing of a couple drinking coffee and wine. Gerhard Hein's freely rendered *Portraitstudie* (Portrait Study) uses impressionist strokes to evoke character. Studies of natural things, like Richard Seidel's *Dekorative Malerei* (Decorative Painting), show flowers, stalks, and leaves. At the same time, there are numerous abstract compositions, such as the work of Molzahn's students and Gerhard Neumann's

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painting *Komposition* (Composition), whose fractured image demonstrates clear cubist influences.[97] Landscapes like Charlotte Arndt's dreamlike aperspectival *Landschaftsimpression* (Landscape Impression), with its misty atmosphere floating among odd, almost surreal, trees, show the influence of Magic Realism. Alongside the fine arts pieces, the exhibition displayed work from the architecture studios, weaving and paper-making workshops, and industrial design courses. Woven pieces feature abstract linear patterns and varying textures. Kurt Vogt's proposal for an artist's house has the open spaces, functional planning, clean facades, and modern tubular steel furniture typical of *Neues Bauen.* In short, the student work reflected the pluralistic outlook of the Breslau Academy faculty, spanning the possibilities from traditional to modern means of expression.

It is interesting to consider the Breslau Academy in relationship to contemporary historiography of the *Bauhaus*, which attempts to dismantle the mythology and construct a more balanced view of its curriculum, faculty, importance to arts education in the 1920s, and legacy. The story of Breslau compliments this historiography in several ways. By demonstrating the continuities between Weimar-era arts education and its predecessors, it helps to undermine the myth of a definitive break between modernism and tradition. Breslau also underscores the broad diffusion of innovation in Weimar-era German arts education, the role women played, and the existence of alternative educational options for progressive-minded artists and architects.[98] The development of Breslau's curriculum was no accident. Both Endell and Moll wished to distinguish Breslau from other German academies, including the *Bauhaus*. Comments by their contemporaries suggest that these differences were commonly known. Schlemmer, for one, reveled in the "wonderful relaxation [in Breslau] after the boiling cauldron in Dessau," due not to lack of rigor but to an atmosphere of emotional support and pedagogical acceptance.[99] If the *Bauhaus* was an experiment in a new coordinated arts curriculum, the Academy was a paradigm of the antistyle, pluralistic approach to art education. Today, the undefined nature of most art school curricula is similar to the Breslau model; contemporary curriculum is intended as a guideline for teachers, not a set of prescriptive instructions. Perhaps most importantly, we can now recognize that Breslau's approach was as central to the development of progressive art as the *Bauhaus*. Breslau's emphasis on art as an individually creative act supports one of the fundamental tenets of modernism: challenging authority and accepted practices of all kinds.

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Chapter 4

Dissemination of Taste: Breslau Collectors, Arts Associations, and Museums

> "*It is rare that patrons in our poor times . . . give their help for cultural purposes*."
>
> —Franz Landsberger, *Neue Breslauer Zeitung*, 27 November 1931

As important as the Academy was to the rising status of the arts in Breslau, without patronage the city would not have had a contemporary art community. Breslau's patronage network functioned at many levels. It sponsored public education about art and its value, which was particularly necessary in Breslau, given its notorious cultural backwardness. An important part of this public education was the establishment of exhibition and sales venues, lecture series, and publications. Patrons also created forums for artists to meet each other and develop the support networks that enabled them to flourish artistically. Patrons supported local artists but were also instrumental in bringing nationally and internationally known art to the city. Although they were closely tied to local and regional interests, Breslau patronage networks relied on connections to larger cities like Dresden, Munich, and Berlin. For patrons as much as for artists, recognition by national art journals and Berlin art institutions was a powerful imprimatur of worth. The relationship between patrons and artists is similarly reciprocal, and in Breslau artists and patrons served together on boards and as members of local arts organizations. Before 1918, Breslau patrons and patronage organizations focused all these efforts on traditional art, but as the Breslau scene became more varied after 1918, they too shifted to a more balanced portfolio, which included everything from the most conservative to the avant-garde.

The history of Breslau patronage is little known today, examined only in a few recent articles in the scholarly press and an essay in a German book on col-

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lecting and Jewish collectors.[1] One reason for this dearth is the lack of archival material, much of which was destroyed or disappeared during World War II and its aftermath. Another reason is Breslau's still marginal cultural status. Histories of collecting and art patronage in Germany mention Berlin, Dresden, Hamburg, and Munich, but not Breslau. As already mentioned, in 1925, Franz Landsberger lamented, "Breslau is a city of art of the highest quality [but] is known by only a few outside Silesia. 'Colonial' area one says in the West and understands from that an area in which *that* art that is the result of decades of old Germany [does not exist] and also that [when he is in Silesia] he has left quality behind."[2] Landsberger was calling attention to the fact that the rest of Germany acknowledged neither the artwork produced in Breslau nor the quality of the city's arts scene. Today, gatekeepers and scholars, not to mention the general public, still see Breslau as provincial and therefore tangential to the story of art in Weimar Germany.

Arts patronage in Breslau began in earnest only at the end of the nineteenth century, with the establishment of museums, arts and cultural associations (*Bunde* and *Vereine*), and private collections. Breslau's development in this area was late in comparison with other major cities like Berlin and Munich, and even smaller cities like Hesse and Weimar where, beginning in the eighteenth century, royal and aristocratic patrons spent vast sums to accumulate art.[3] Breslau did not host a major annual exhibition, like Munich's Glaspalast or the Berlin Academy's annual show, nor did it have any true salons until the end of the nineteenth century.

Breslau patrons were initially quite conservative, tending toward historical and traditional art with a regional bias. Contemporary art had a very limited following until 1918, at which point a series of events helped lift its profile, although even then the number of contemporary art supporters was relatively small.[4] Several developments helped increase local attention to contemporary art, including improvements at the Academy, an influx of young artists working in all media, and new directions at the city building offices and building cooperatives. In 1916, the Museum of Fine Arts hired Heinz Braune, a protégé of the innovative Berlin National Gallery director Hugo Von Tschudi, as its director, giving him a clear mandate to improve collections generally and, more specifically, to build up its virtually nonexistent contemporary collections.[5] Around 1918, a group of private Breslau collectors began to aggressively acquire contemporary work and organize regular public exhibitions of contemporary art, working with local galleries, the museums, and the Academy.[6]

Though the pace of arts activity began to accelerate in 1918, only a small group of people seems to have been directly involved in art patronage in Weimar-era Breslau. In 1929, Erich Wiese, director of the Museum of Fine

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Arts, noted, "Breslau has, in relationship to other cities its size, a truly small circle that is interested in art and that demands artists and art."[7] The same names appear on the rosters of numerous arts associations, museum boards, and lists of private individuals interested in contemporary art.[8] The arrival of a group of artists, arts administrators, and educators who were invested in contemporary art (albeit pluralist in their approach) thus had a profound effect on the nature of art patronage in the city. During the Weimar period, Breslau museums, arts associations, and private collectors tended to bridge the same middle ground as Breslau artists, focusing on a mix of old and new, regional, national, and international art. Of course, there was a spectrum, from patrons interested only in traditional art to those who collected only contemporary work to supporters of both. Most commonly, though, major Breslau patrons collected a range of work. Buying artists of local and regional importance bolstered pride of place, while purchasing work of national and international repute helped elevate Breslau as a cultural hub. Collecting patterns therefore paralleled the profiles of artists, architects, and urban designers at work in the city, staking a moderate pluralistic position in contemporary culture debates.

Origins

Post-1871 socioeconomic developments contributed to the rising interest in art in Breslau.[9] Under the old feudal system, social advancement was virtually impossible because it was tied to birth and inherited status, but in the new capitalist structure, advancement hinged on education, job performance, and wealth.[10] The *Bildungsbürgertum* of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was an urban, nonelite, upper middle-class citizenry active in the professions, business, and civil service.[11] With their improved social and economic status came a raft of new aspirations. In particular, the *Bildungsbürgertum* sought to emulate the older moneyed classes, and they therefore adopted many upper-class principles and habits, such as cultural education, self-improvement, and cultural involvement. Their children typically learned music, drawing, painting, philosophy, and art appreciation, as well as social dance; they visited museums, attended concerts and opera, and, when income permitted, collected art. As Breslau's middle class grew, so did the number of its arts organizations and the events they sponsored. Involvement in the arts became an expected sign of sophistication and refinement, regardless of actual interest.

Not only the middle class but the upper classes, as defined by income, grew after 1870, with perhaps the most remarkable income gains among Bres-

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lau's Jews.[12] The growth of a Jewish upper middle class is particularly important to the history of art and art patronage in Breslau because well-to-do Jews enthusiastically and generously patronized the arts, especially contemporary art. An unusually large percentage of Breslau collectors and patrons were Jewish, even by German standards.[13] Peter Paret discusses the disproportionate involvement of German Jews in cultural activities, especially in large cities like Hamburg and Berlin, pointing, for instance, to the pivotal role Berlin Jews played in building the Berlin National Gallery collections.[14] As Paret notes, collecting and donating art was a way for assimilated Jews to fit into German society, showing that they had "arrived" and belonged. Till van Rahden has demonstrated that Breslau's Jews made even more substantial economic gains between 1870 and 1920 than other groups in the city, as newly granted rights and privileges opened professions hitherto closed to them, on top of generally improving prosperity. As in Berlin, Breslau Jews made gifts to the city's museums, were active in its cultural organizations, and amassed important private art collections. As in other cities, the number of prominent Jewish collectors in Breslau may have reflected the particular desire of Jews to demonstrate their cultivated status and overcome their historical position as outsiders in German society, while their interest in modernist, often avant-garde, artists could have derived from empathy for other outsiders.

Galleries

As disposable income grew in Breslau, so did the number of arts organizations, which can be divided into four rough groups: privately owned galleries with a commercial mission, private associations of artists and patrons, private collectors, and publicly supported museums. The galleries were the least impressive group. Breslau never supported many galleries, perhaps because of its comparatively small wealthy community, lack of interest in culture, or relative proximity to Berlin, Germany's undisputed art center after 1918. The critic Karl Scheffler argued that "Breslau was too obedient to Berlin officials, was too loyal" to develop an independent cultural scene.[15] He continued, "The struggles for modern art have, in spite of Richard Muther [the distinguished art historian who taught at Breslau University], found no echo in Breslau."[16] Indeed, until the 1920s, Breslau had few contemporary artists of note and no real artistic milieu, with few galleries, exhibition spaces, arts cafes, or salons. The first commercial art gallery, the Theodor Lichtenberg Gallery, opened in 1868, and the Bruno Richter Gallery followed in 1879–80. Neither gallery special-

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ized in contemporary work, though for many years Lichtenberg mounted an annual contemporary art show at the Museum of Fine Arts, which was one of the rare instances that contemporary work was exhibited in Breslau. The Gallery Franz Hancke opened its doors in 1908, featuring members of the Wiener Secession along with German artists like Adolf von Menzel, Max Liebermann, and Hans Leistikow. In 1909, the Dresden-based Gallery Arnold opened a Breslau branch at the recommendation of sculptor Theo von Gosen.[17] Arnold, which already had a connection to Breslau, for it represented Max Wislicenus and Wanda Bibrowicz, exhibited such artists as Paul Gaugin, the *Brücke* painters, and Van Gogh, in Dresden and Breslau. None of these galleries lasted long, however, which suggests a lack of public interest in purchasing art. In comparison with other German cities in the mid-1920s, like Hamburg with twenty-five galleries, Dresden with twenty-one, and Munich with 101, Breslau was severely lacking.[18] By the mid-1920s, Breslau arts societies were lamenting the lack of active galleries and exhibition space for contemporary art.[19]

Arts Associations

Without commercial venues, arts and cultural associations and the Academy fulfilled the roles usually played by galleries. In this arena, too, Breslau lagged woefully behind other German cities, though it improved steadily from 1870 onward. By 1870, Breslau housed the *Verein für Schlesische Geschichte und Altertümer* (Association of Silesian History and Antiquities, founded 1818), *Schlesische Gesellschaft für vaterländische Kultur* (Silesian Society for Culture of the Fatherland, founded 1824), Breslau *Künstler Verein* (Breslau Artists Association, founded 1827), *Schlesische Kunstverein* (Silesian Art Society, founded 1827), and *Verein für Geschichte der bildenden Künste* (Association for the History of the Fine Arts, founded 1862).[20] The *Schlesische Kunstverein* was notoriously conservative in its taste, so in 1907 a group of Breslau artists and architects founded the Silesian *Künstlerbund* (Artists Alliance) to bring together artists, architects, and patrons devoted to mounting contemporary art exhibitions.

By 1926, Breslau had a total of about twenty-six arts and culture associations, in keeping with other cities of similar size: Hamburg had twenty, Dresden twenty-three, and Munich thirty-six.[21] The most important, as judged by membership and scope of activity, were the *Künstlerbund*, *Gesellschaft der Kunstfreunde* (Association of Friends of Art), and *Schlesische Kunstverein*, which all had between 600 and 1,000 members, although compared with the

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Kunstvereine in other German cities, these figures were low: in 1894, the Munich *Verein* membership numbered 6,012; in 1896, Saxony had 2,524 and Württemberg had 2,113; and in 1902, Hannover counted 11,212 members.[22] Although many of the new Breslau associations were interested in contemporary work, only two approached a radical stance, the *Rat Geistiger Arbeit* and *Untergruppe 1919* (Fraction or Subgroup), which both dated to 1919 but petered out by 1921. The avant-garde program of both groups was closely tied to revolutionary hopes after the declaration of the new republic in 1918, but it was soon clear that those hopes would go unrealized.

The arts and cultural associations were the first collecting and exhibiting entities with public missions with members from the bourgeoisie, rather than the aristocracy.[23] By the Weimar era, the *Künstlerbund*, *Gesellschaft der Kunstfreunde*, and *Schlesische Kunstverein* (fine and applied arts) and the *Schlesische Bund für Heimatschutz* (general culture) were four of the largest, most influential, and active groups, though their membership composition and activities seem to have been typical of the others. Indeed, it can be difficult to ascertain the differences between the various arts groups, given the numerous overlaps between their goals, functions, and memberships. The associations had various roles that included collecting art, exhibiting art, supporting public art lectures, publishing about art, and supporting local museums with purchases, contributions, and joint exhibitions. Their missions and activities during the 1920s suggest a balanced interest in traditional, modern, local, regional, and national art, even at the historically conservative *Kunstverein* and modern *Künstlerbund*. Though surviving records offer no explanation of this more egalitarian post-1918 approach, it was likely the result of a growing desire to raise Breslau's status as a *Kunststadt* to the level of other German cities, given that it coincides with similar changes like the hiring of Heinz Braune at the Museum of Fine Arts. Art was a powerful form of cultural capital and strong cultural institutions were proof of a certain status among German cities. The mission of the *Schlesische Kunstverein* was to "care for artistic interests in Silesia" and "support the fine arts and awaken and strengthen love for them in wide circles."[24]

This mission makes particular sense because the group formed in 1827, as an offshoot of the 1818 Silesian Society for Culture of the Fatherland, at a time when Breslau had no public arts institutions. Its initial purpose was to found a permanent art collection in Breslau, but also simply to foster interest in the arts.[25] To this end, the *Verein* began to purchase artworks, mount public exhibitions, host art history lectures, and lobby actively for a standalone museum building. The provincial government eventually agreed to construct and fund

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Fig. 33. ***Schweidnitzerstrasse*** **looking at the home of the Breslau** ***Künstler Verein*** **in the** ***Generalkommando*** **on the left (1906). The Breslau Opera is just beyond (Wikipedia).**

the Museum of Fine Arts. When the Museum opened its doors in 1879, many of its most valuable pieces came from the *Verein*, including paintings by Adolph von Menzel, Willy Dressler, Lovis Corinth, and Max Slevogt, although a catalog of works owned by the *Verein* and permanently exhibited at the Museum of Fine Arts lists many artists from Breslau and Silesia who are unknown today and were likely unknown in most of Germany in the 1880s.[26] These names betray the reverse chauvinism typical of Breslau cultural institutions well into the 1920s. Their work is largely traditional and unremarkable, as was usual for *Kunstvereine* across Germany, which tended to be conservative and see their mission as promoting local and regional culture.[27]

From 1879 to 1917, the *Kunstverein* and the Gallery Lichtenberg jointly sponsored an annual exhibit of contemporary Silesian art at the Museum of Fine Arts.[28] The *Verein* had a renewable ten-year contract to rent rooms for these annual exhibitions, until 1919 when it signed a new contract whose terms were biannual and identified its dual function: to mount its own exhibitions and to loan artwork to the Museum. The contract also reaffirmed the Society's long-

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term curatorial independence for its exhibitions.[29] The Society distinguished itself from similar groups with its open statement of aesthetic neutrality: "In our exhibitions we show equally masterpieces of earlier artistic phases with the results of the newest arts developments; we believe that the members will be best served if they form their own opinions about the strong oppositions in modern art. The society hopes that by giving every [art] direction its say, it makes its impartiality known."[30] In other words, the *Kunstverein* viewed its mission as educational, pluralistic, and apart from aesthetic debates. Still, younger artists and newcomers to Breslau, like Hans Poelzig, Theo von Gosen, and Max Berg, found the Society closed to younger talent and the latest directions in art and especially deficient in more daring contemporary work. This was apparent in the Museum's pre-1918 collections, which had virtually no late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century pieces or work by non-German artists.

The *Künstlerbund* was initially established as an alternative to the *Kunstverein.* Founded with support from the Gallery Franz Hancke, which later became Gallery Stenzel, it was intended to promote contemporary art.[31] As stated in its bylaws, the *Künstlerbund*'s principal purpose was to "care for and support art in Silesia," which sounds very similar to the *Kunstverein*'s mission, and, indeed, the primary difference between the two was the periods they focused on.[32] Theo von Gosen called the *Bund* "the child of the Academy" because six of the original nine founding members—Hans Poelzig, Theo von Gosen, Hans Rossmann, Max Wislicenus, Fritz Erler, Max Berg, Eugen Burkert, Alfred Nickisch, and Heinrich Tuepke—were Academy professors and students. Poelzig, von Gosen, Rossmann, and Wislicenus taught at the Academy, while Burkert, Nikisch, and Tuepke were Academy graduates and local artists. Poelzig and Berg were architects, von Gosen was a sculptor, Erler was an interior designer, and the others were painters. Many younger members left the *Kunstverein* to join the *Bund* because they were dissatisfied with the established group's politics and aesthetic interests. The *Künstlerbund*'s goals were to mount exhibitions of Silesian artists, reach out to friends of the arts in order to improve patronage, raise the profile of Silesian artists outside the province, and discuss art amongst themselves. Of all these goals, raising the profile of Silesian artists in Germany seems to have been uppermost, though the definition of "art in Silesia" was quite loose, apparently encompassing art of any style and medium made by artists who were born in or moved to Silesia, but also art whose subject was Silesia.

The *Bund*'s membership similarly consisted of artists living and working in Silesia, artists who were born there and moved away, artists who once lived there, and patrons. In 1927, for instance, the membership numbered 186, of

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whom six were lifetime members, 106 were arts patrons, and eighty were artists. The lifetime members were Guidotto Fürst Henckel von Donnersmark, Jakob Molinari, Otto Nicolaier, Carl Sachs, Ernst Schlesinger, and Otto Schweitzer. Von Donnersmark was a local aristocrat and avowed conservative who was quite active in the Breslau cultural scene, Molinari was a prominent Breslau businessman, and Carl Sachs was a successful entrepreneur and well-known collector. The membership included other distinguished art patrons known for their contemporary collections, like Emil Kaim, Leo Lewin, Ismar Littmann, Max Silberberg, and Leo Schmoshewer, to name just a few. Among the artists were prominent figures in all media. With the likes of Isi Aschheim, Paula Grünefeld, Alexander Kanoldt, Carlo Mense, and Oskar Moll, the painters covered the gamut of aesthetic approaches. Sculptors included the quite traditional Theo von Gosen and the untraditional Marg Moll, as well as Robert Bednorz. Among the architects were Max Berg, Theo Effenberger, Adolf Rading, Hans Scharoun, and Hans Poelzig, while urban designers included the conservative city architect Fritz Behrendt alongside the more progressive Ernst May and Ludwig Moshamer. August Grisebach, a specialist in Renaissance and nineteenth-century architecture; Franz Landsberger, who wrote about expressionism; and Bernhard Stephan, who covered new art, were the art historians. In short, the *Bund*'s roster reads like a who's who of 1920s Breslau art, from conservative voices like Fritz Behrendt and Karl von Kardorff to the cutting edge of German art with Hans Scharoun and Carlo Mense. Unlike the *Kunstverein*, the *Bund* truly reflected the diversity of artistic interests in Silesia.

The *Bund* was established to promote art in eastern Germany through an annual exhibition that featured all kinds of art, but especially regional artists.[33] Most importantly, the association wished to establish Breslau as a "*Kunststadt*" (art city) to bolster its national reputation. It is not surprising that an influential sophisticated native like Effenberger would wish to alter the negative perceptions of Breslau, but newcomers like Hans Scharoun and Carlo Mense also knew that the higher the city's reputation, the more respected its artists would be, both at home and nationally. Although the *Bund*'s priority was supposed to be local artists, it brought national and international figures to Breslau at the same time as it created a forum for Breslau and Silesian artists. A typical exhibition from 1920 included oil paintings, drawings, watercolors, sculpture, graphic arts, applied arts, and architecture. It featured impressionist and expressionist masters alongside unknown newcomers, conservative art next to experimental, internationally known figures like Austrian painter Oscar Kokoschka with lesser-known local artists like Paula Grünefeld, and work in almost every imaginable style: Max Liebermann's impressionism; Lovis

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Corinth's expressionism; *Brücke* artists Otto Mueller, Erich Heckel, Max Pechstein, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff; and more traditional artists like Hans Thoma, impressionist Ulrich Hübner, and realist Wilhelm Trübner. The exhibition's broad aesthetic and geographic scope epitomized the *Bund*'s vision.

In 1921, the *Bund* opened its own exhibition and office rooms on Christophori Platz, renovated according to a design by Theo Effenberger. The space enabled the group to mount more frequent exhibitions, publish exhibition catalogs, and produce a monthly magazine devoted to Silesian culture, *Schlesische Monatshefte*. Between 1925 and 1929, the *Bund* assembled a three-volume monograph, *Künstler Schlesiens* (Silesian Artists), which recounted the story of modernism in Silesia. Unfortunately, however, the *Bund*'s efforts had little to no effect on Breslauer enthusiasm for the new art. Newspaper articles and correspondence between the *Bund* and the mayor underscore the difficulty of generating interest and support for art of any kind, outside of a small group of art enthusiasts, but particularly for contemporary art. Even in 1926, the *Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung* wrote, "the majority of people stand incomprehensibly before 'modern art.'"[34]

Perhaps the most revealing record of the *Bund*'s efforts can be found in the three volumes of *Künstler Schlesiens*, which showcase regional artists but also demonstrate the *Bund*'s lack of stylistic and aesthetic bias.[35] Volume I features artists as different as bas-relief master Alfred Vocke, whose castings borrow from primitive forms, and sculptor Marg Moll, whose work was influenced by French cubism. Volume II highlights architects Hans Poelzig and Adolf Rading, who represent two different generations and, despite their mutual empathy, quite different aesthetics. Poelzig drew on the local vernacular in an obvious readable way, whereas Rading tended toward abstraction and the aesthetics of *Neues Bauen*, albeit tempered by less radical spatial planning. Volume III presents Paula Grünefeld's naïve canvases next to the realist work of Paul Plontke. As art historian Ernst Schremmer described the series, diversity "reigns, as at the Academy, niveau, but also variety and broad-mindedness without stylistic dogmatism."[36] Writing in the 1920s, historian Bernhard Stephan remarked upon the "lack of constraints" in the collection of talents who together demonstrated the breadth of Silesian modernism.

The *Gesellschaft der Kunstfreunde* shared many members with both the *Kunstverein* and the *Künstlerbund*, including Littmann, Molinari, Sachs, Silberberg, and Smoschewer, among others. However, the *Gesellschaft*'s mission differed from the others in that it intentionally looked beyond Silesia to contemporary work from other parts of Germany and abroad. Like the *Kunstverein*, the *Gesellschaft* served the Museum of Fine Arts as a purchasing and col-

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lecting agent as well as an exhibition curator, but it focused on art from a very different period, namely the present, and from all over the world. It seems to have had a broader educational mandate as well, organizing regular museum evenings with guest lecturers and professional evenings for artists, curators, and collectors. By the mid-1920s, it was also lobbying for an independent, city-funded space so it could open an "art salon."[37] The *Gesellschaft* argued that Breslau was the only German city of any size without a gallery dedicated to contemporary German art. By the time it made this argument, the Museum of Fine Arts had withdrawn the use of its rooms for an annual show of modern work, and, in any event, the *Gesellschaft* felt that one contemporary exhibition per year was inadequate for a city of Breslau's size, home to a major art academy, an art school, and many working artists.[38]

In several letters to the mayor, the *Gesellschaft* argued persuasively that Breslau needed a place to exhibit contemporary German art, both to bolster its cultural profile and to educate Breslauers. The *Gesellschaft* pointed to a cultural crisis marked by decreasing membership in existing arts societies and poor attendance at public art exhibitions. In contrast to Berlin, where the average attendance at a Gallery Tannhauser show was 25,000, and over 100,000 people visited Edvard Munch and Lovis Corinth retrospectives, Breslau mustered fewer than ten people a week for a 1926 exhibit.[39] The hope was to create not only an exhibition space but a location for intellectual exchange, a place where "artistically interested circles can find [a place to discuss] mutual ideas."[40] In other words, the *Gesellschaft* membership envisioned a salon not unlike those of previous eras, except funded by a combination of public money and membership fees instead of a private sponsor. Two of the motivating forces behind the new salon were museum director Heinz Braune and private collector Max Silberberg.[41] Although there were discussions about using the *Künstlerbund* space at Christophori Platz, it seems to have been fully occupied with the *Bund*'s programs and activities, and in 1929 the *Generalkommando* was made available instead.[42]

By the late 1920s, the *Gesellschaft*'s activities shared a range of perspectives on contemporary art. In 1928, for instance, it hosted three lectures: the eminent art historian Dr. Franz Roh spoke on "Main Currents in Contemporary Painting," Dr. Paul Hübner discussed "The Prussian Palaces and their Gardens since the Radical Political Change," and Professor Voss spoke about "American Collections and Collectors."[43] Lectures were broad in content, covering art of all ages, countries, media, and styles, to appeal to a broad constituency of specialized and lay audiences. The same was true for the group's exhibitions, which ranged in subject from Silesian art collections to Paul Klee's work to

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paintings by Emil Nolde, Wassily Kandinsky, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff. A Breslauer who followed the *Gesellschaft* would have been knowledgeable about the full range of contemporary art in Germany and abroad.

Whereas local and regional artists with established reputations governed the *Kunstverein*, *Künstlerbund*, and *Gesellschaft der Kunstfreunde*, the renegade *Gruppe 19* (Group 19) was one of two societies formed by artists during the 1920s that pushed at the fringes of contemporary art.[44] The *Künstlerbund* and *Gesellschaft der Kunstfreunde* promoted art that has become part of the twentieth-century canon, the work of accomplished painters and sculptors whose theoretical and technical interests reflected those of their times. Their exhibitions were always juried in a formal process. By contrast, *Gruppe 19* took an antiestablishment stance, opening its exhibitions to anyone who wished to participate, regardless of background, training, or skill. Their annual exhibition had no jury; instead, would-be exhibitors simply showed up and hung their work. *Gruppe 19* believed that anyone could create art and that art and life were inseparable, the latter a central tenet of the Weimar-era avant-garde, enshrined in the manifestos of Berlin-based organizations like the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* and *Novembergruppe.* Although *Gruppe 19* took the acceptance of all art to an extreme, its openness to multiple aesthetic approaches nonetheless mirrored the broader art scene in Breslau. The other arts organization for nonmainstream artists was *Junge Schlesien*. Like *Gruppe 19*, *Junge Schlesien* assumed an antiestablishment position, promoting younger modern artists because its members felt that the more established associations ignored Breslau's youth.

The *Schlesische Bund für Heimatschutz* (SBH) was a cultural organization with a broad mandate, rather than an arts association, but it was still influential in the Breslau arts community during the Weimar period. From its inception in 1907–08, the *Schlesische Bund für Heimatschutz* was consciously nonpartisan and nonideological, embracing causes of the right and left.[45] In the 1920s, it had approximately 1,000 members, making it the largest cultural association in Silesia.[46] Its membership included artists, architects, urban planners, graphic designers, and landscape architects, along with concerned citizens from every profession imaginable. One of the SBH's key platforms was the "preservation of Silesian culture," by which it meant every aspect of culture, from folk art and handicraft to contemporary painting, new architecture, and urban planning, making it far more culturally inclusive than any other contemporary arts or cultural association in Breslau.[47] Equally important, after 1918, the SBH adopted an aggressive pro-arts platform: "In the future Silesia will play a larger role than formerly as mediator between western and eastern culture . . . from all organizations and endeavors of our province, that enter into

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the formation of the culture, the SBH is the most comprehensive."[48] This statement asserts that residents of Breslau and Silesia did not want to be seen as marginal, perched on an edge between two cultures in the East and West, but rather as culturally distinct. The SBH platform put the organization at the center of questions of regional identity and modern art patronage at every level. As Eric Storm points out, such constructs of regional identity were one side of nationalism.[49] By demarcating Silesian culture, the SBH hoped to simultaneously affirm the idiosyncratic identity of the region and show how it was integral to German national identity.

The SBH defended its mission on several fronts. It repeatedly argued for the national significance of Silesia, due to its geographic location on the edge of Germany, adjacent to Poland and Austro-Hungary, which its members felt made it the imperiled frontier of German culture. At the same time, Silesia was positioned to defend German culture from negative eastern influences in Poland and beyond, and, in turn, to disseminate German culture to the East. In a publication just after the First World War, the SBH asserted the province's importance: "Silesia stands before its future. We lie on the border of the eastern states, we are the transfer harbor for German and Slavic culture. . . . Our future depends on uplifting the *Heimat*. Where the impoverishment of our outer culture fails us we must develop inner culture."[50] The SBH saw itself as both the guardian of local and regional culture and the organization that could rebuild that culture through public education: "We must guard and lift our *heimatlich* culture and bring it to the consciousness of our *Volk*. Everyone should come to us that loves the *Heimat*. Whoever believes in Silesia's future, wants to help, to develop the past in the life of the future, a prodigious goal!"[51] Interestingly, the SBH seemed to believe that not all Silesians were aware of the unique aspects of the *Heimat*, so they proposed to inform the community about the exceptional qualities of Silesian history, landscape, products, crafts, and arts.

Beyond its pragmatic interventions into Breslau and Silesian culture, the SBH embarked on an ambitious public education program that included publications and exhibitions. Like most of their activities, these were broad-based. Exhibitions during the 1920s began with "*Arbeit und Kultur in Oberschlesien*" (Work and Culture in Upper Silesia, 1919–20), which was followed by an exhibit on urban planning, housing, and estate design in 1921, an exhibition on color in architecture in 1921–22, and an exhibition on industry and the landscape in 1925. In 1929, the SBH mounted "*Schlesien aus der Vogelschau*" (Silesia from a Bird's View), a traveling exhibition of aerial photographs. The SBH also offered a continuing lecture series on topics of general and specialized interest related to culture or art, though not necessarily to *Heimatschutz*. Talks in

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1927 included "*Die neue Siedlung*" (The New Housing Estate), delivered by *Stadtbaurat* Hugo Althoff on the latest developments in *Siedlung* planning; "*Schlesische Volkskunst*" (Silesian Folk Art), given by Dr. Günter Grundmann; and "*Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz in alter und neuer Zeit*" (Conservation of Monuments and Heritage Protection in Ancient and Modern Times), by art historian Stephan Bernhard on the general principles of monument and *Heimat* preservation.[52] There was even a lecture on streetcars, trains, and the design requirements of their stations. The breadth of subject matter seems to have been calculated to demonstrate the richness of Silesian cultural heritage.

SBH publications ranged from books on contemporary and historic art in Silesia, to the *Mitteilungen des Schlesische Bund für Heimatschutz* (Releases from the SBH), a regular newsletter that reported the SBH's activities, to the monthly journal *Schlesisches Heim* (Silesian Home), jointly produced with the *Siedlungsgesellschaft*, to the monthly periodical *Schlesische Monatshefte* (Silesian Monthly). *Schlesisches Heim* tracked work on new housing estates and the latest ideas about planning, individual unit design, and construction techniques. The journal also reported on new regulations and codes governing housing and various financial instruments available to support new construction. By contrast, *Schlesische Monatshefte* covered the entire scope of Silesian culture with a decidedly forward-looking focus. Subtitled "Pages for Culture and Literature of the Heimat," its contents reflect the broad understanding of "culture" and the *Heimatschutz* movement's goals at the time. The subtitle does not really do justice, however, to the incredible range of cultural activities it reports on, among them theater, music, architecture, and fine arts. Each issue included reviews (of exhibitions, books, and lectures), a schedule of ongoing and upcoming cultural events, and articles about current issues in German and Silesian culture. A typical issue of *Schlesische Monatshefte* from the 1920s offers articles on contemporary architecture, the mission of the SBH, the relationship between industry and nature, and urban planning concerns, as well as reviews of exhibitions by regional artists, from Paul Plontke, whose traditional paintings featured religious themes in an almost medieval style, to new artists like Paula Grünefeld, whose paintings were executed in a naïve, symbolist manner. *Schlesische Monatshefte* was published by a consortium of cultural organizations that included the SBH, *Künstlerbund Schlesien*, *Kunstgilde* Breslau, *Kunstgewerbeverein der Provinz Schlesien*, and *Gesellschaft der Kunstfreunde*. From 1925 until the National Socialists took power, the progressive cultural critic Franz Landsberger was the editor-in-chief, assuring a liberal-leaning bias. *Schlesisches Heim* had a circulation of about 1,500 at its peak, and the *Schlesische Monatshefte* boasted a circulation of 2,500 in 1927.[53] Although the print runs

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were not enormous, they were large enough to reach an audience more than ten times the size of the membership in most arts associations at the time.

Collectors

Much of the activity sponsored by Breslau's arts and cultural associations was directed at increasing the numbers of people interested in art and culture of any kind.[54] Breslau artists complained often and bitterly about the meager support for their work in the city, even after the founding of the SBH, *Bund,* and *Gesellschaft*. Before the Weimar era there were only a couple of important collectors in Breslau, most notably Albert and Toni Neisser. After 1918, purchasing art became fashionable in certain professional circles and several wealthy Breslauers, like Max Silberberg and Carl Sachs, amassed important collections, but the number of collectors remained relatively small. Like later collectors, Neisser, a dermatologist, was a self-made man whose professional success gave him the financial wherewithal to build an art collection. His collection was a mix of contemporary work from Germany and abroad, including pieces by Stanislaus von Kalckreuth, Hans Thoma, and Franz von Stuck, as well as Giovanni Segantini, Constantin Meunier, and Anders Zorn.[55] The Neissers commissioned noted Berlin architect Hans Grisebach to design their villa as an architectural showpiece to house their collection, and they hired brothers Fritz and Erich Erler to decorate it. The Neissers bequeathed their collection and the villa to the city for a museum, but it was only open until 1934.[56] Although some later collectors lent artworks to local museums and donated to their permanent collections, such bequests were rare, as direct patronage occurred more frequently through the arts associations than individual initiative. Nevertheless, the growing number of private collectors during the Weimar period meant that there was an audience for art.

Breslau's art aficionados counted among their number several nationally known and many minor collectors, even if, as local artists complained, their overall numbers, like the numbers of galleries and exhibition attendees, were few compared with other German cities. Breslau had sixty-seven registered collectors and bibliophiles, as compared to 106 in Dresden, 289 in Munich, and 290 in Hamburg.[57] Collectors represented a cross-section of Breslau's educated and moneyed classes, but a disproportionate number were Jewish, perhaps as many as 80 to 90 percent (Jews were also key figures in the Berlin arts scene, but in nowhere near the proportion in Breslau).[58] According to Walter Laqueur, many medical professionals collected, whether they were truly rich or

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simply middle class; he cited his dentist and his physician, both Jews, as examples.[59] Apparently, purchasing art was one way of displaying your financial success and cultural sophistication to your friends and acquaintances.

Four Breslau Jews assembled particularly important, nationally recognized collections: Carl Sachs, Leo Lewin, Max Silberberg, and Ismar Littmann.[60] At least three of the four, Sachs, Lewin, and Silberberg, donated to the Breslau Museum of Fine Arts, while Littmann and Silberberg lent to other museums and galleries across Germany. All four received attention from the contemporary German arts press, most notably the national journal for contemporary art, *Kunst und Künstler,* edited by Karl Scheffler and published by Bruno Cassirer, scion of a famous Breslau family. Although each collection was unique, they all focused on contemporary art in a range of styles. None of the Breslau collectors ever explained the rationale behind his acquisitions, at least in surviving form, but they may have focused on contemporary art because it was less expensive and more available than old masters, or perhaps because they enjoyed supporting living artists.

Businessman Carl Sachs was one of the few Breslauers for whom collecting was a passion. Sachs was a self-made millionaire who made his fortune managing Forell & Company, the haberdashery and undergarments concern belonging to his wife Margarete's family. Sachs was extremely involved in Breslau cultural life. He sat on the boards of the opera, orchestra, and Museum of Fine Arts and had active memberships in the SBH, *Bund*, and *Gesellschaft der Kunstfreunde*. We do not know for certain when Sachs began to purchase art, or what sparked his interest in collecting, but he already had a collection in 1916, when the Gallery Ernst Arnold exhibited a selection from his holdings. Over the years, Sachs amassed over 1,000 varied works from masters like Anders Zorn, Edvard Munch, Whistler, Toulouse-Lautrec, Renoir, Picasso, and Matisse, as well as German artists like Wilhelm Trübner, Ernst Barlach, Wilhelm Leibl, Max Liebermann, and Lovis Corinth.[61] Some of his more important paintings were Renoir's *Portrait of Countess Pourtales*, currently in the Sao Paulo Museum of Art, and Monet's *Portrait of Victor Jacquemont Holding a Parasol*, now at the Zurich *Kunsthaus*.[62] The Sachs Collection was recognized in Germany and abroad, in part because Karl Scheffler wrote about it, but also because Sachs lent works to museums and exhibitions in Breslau and throughout the country, which both drew national attention to the collection itself and raised Breslau's profile as a home to cultivated people. Sachs had a particular passion for prints and owned prints and works on paper by a range of artists as different as Adolph von Menzel, Käthe Kollwitz, and Hans van Marées.

He donated many of these to the Museum of Fine Arts in 1932, shortly

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Abb. 1. Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld. Bleistiftzeichnung. (Stiftung Carl Sachs.)

DIE STIFTUNG CARL SACHS FÜR DAS SCHLESISCHE MUSEUM DER BILDENDEN KÜNSTE IN BRESLAU

VON

ERICH WIESE

Mit 3 Abbildungen

Im November vorigen Jahres ist die Sammlung internationaler Graphik von Carl Sachs bei Boerner versteigert worden. Damit ging ein Werk auseinander, das sehr persönlich und mit großer Kennerschaft in Jahrzehnten aufgebaut worden war. Das Interesse des Sammlers konzentrierte sich vor allem auf die großen europäischen Meister des Griffels im 19. Jhdt.: Daumier, Lautrec, Whistler, Zorn. Er blieb bei dieser Generation nicht stehen. Seine Munch-Kollektion war bedeutend; Matisse und Picasso fehlten nicht. Höchste Qualität des Druckes war sein nie aus dem Auge gelassenes Ziel.

Fig. 34. Article on Carl Sach's collection from *Kunst und Künstler*.

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before he left Germany for good to escape the National Socialist regime. Unlike other Breslau collectors, Sachs does not seem to have had a specific theme for his purchases other than quality. The collection was "modern," in that Sachs did not purchase medieval, Renaissance, baroque, or eighteenth-century art, but began with nineteenth-century masters. Nationally and stylistically, his holdings were as diverse as could be, spanning German realism, French impressionism and postimpressionism, German expressionism, and more, adding up to the full range of contemporary art ideologies and a balanced overview of the development of modern art.

Like Sachs, Leo Lewin became rich as an adult, and his newfound riches were probably the catalyst for his collecting passion, which scholars believe developed in earnest sometime during the First World War. Like Sachs, Lewin collected drawings, paintings, and sculpture. By the 1920s, he had a well-balanced collection that ranged from drawings by great masters such as Rembrandt to work by more contemporary artists like Picasso. *Kunst und Künstler* notes that Lewin had a major group of works by Max Slevogt and Liebermann, along with important paintings by Corot, Cézanne, Pissarro, Renoir, Manet, Monet, and Van Gogh, and sculpture by August Gaul.[63] The same issue calls Lewin the "strongest Breslau buyer of new art."[64] Liebermann painted three portraits of Lewin in 1917 and 1922, for three of his children.[65] By 1927, however, Lewin had sold a sizeable portion of his collection through Paul Cassirer in Berlin, and today many of the works he owned are in public museums. It is unclear why he sold at this time, which was before the National Socialists forced Jews to divest in the so-called Jew Auctions.

Lewin's most important pieces included August Gaul's *Small Zoo*, sold to the Berlin National Gallery in 1931 for 12,500 marks; Picasso's *Flowers* (1901), now at London's Tate Gallery; and Van Gogh's *Garden at Anvers* (1890), currently in a private collection.[66] Lewin's collection focused on nineteenth- and twentieth-century art of a striking stylistic range, including impressionists, expressionists, and cubists, to name a few. Lewin and his wife fled Germany for London in the 1930s. They had sold some of the collection in 1927 and more in 1930, and were forced by Nazi anti-Jewish policies to sell additional works at Max Perle in Berlin before they left, but they were fortunate to be able to take a portion of the collection with them.[67] Like Sachs, Lewin seems to have been motivated by a general interest in quality art, rather than any narrow segment of art production.

Industrialist Max Silberberg was another avid and active collector. Few details about Silberberg's personal life and history are known today, leaving his collecting motivations and expectations opaque. He was born in Neuruppin,

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Brandenburg, in 1878, then moved to Breslau in 1920. He married into the Weissenburg family, who owned the highly successful Factory for Metalwork, where Silberberg became a manager. Like Sachs and Lewin, Silberberg was a conservative collector in the sense that he bought work already recognized by art experts, but he did not have conservative tastes. Although he only began collecting in 1920, he was able to build the most important impressionist collection in Germany.[68]

According to Karl Scheffler, who wrote about Silberberg's collection in *Kunst und Künstler* in 1931, by the mid-1920s Silberberg had approximately 130 works by German and French artists. One-third of the paintings and drawings were German and two-thirds were French, but most of the sculpture was German. The French works included the "heroic romanticism of paintings by Delacroix, Daumier, Courbet . . . masters of lyrical painting like Corot, Diaz, Monticelli and Daubigny . . . representatives of impressionism Pissarro, Sisley, and Monet; Renoir finally ends this series; between the two groups stand Manet and Degas; they are neither dramatic nor lyrical."[69] Silberberg's German art collection included works by Hans van Marées, Max Liebermann, Leibl, Trübner, and Purrmann, and his sculpture collection boasted work by Gaul and Kolbe, but also Maillol and Matisse. In short, in a matter of just a few years, Silberberg amassed an outstanding collection that merited attention beyond Breslau. Like Lewin and Sachs, Silberberg collected works in many different styles, which Scheffler felt was one of the many merits of his collection, since it presented a complete and balanced view of art from 1870 onward. Silberberg purchased art from numerous galleries and private collections in Breslau, Germany, and France. Several canvases came from fellow Breslauer Leo Lewin, including Daumier's *Oedipus* and Courbet's *Bridge*. Many of Silberberg's purchases were museum-quality masterpieces like Van Gogh's *Bridge at Trinquetaille,* now at the Zurich *Kunsthaus;* Cézanne's *Jas de Bouffon* (1890), whose current location is unknown; and Manet's *Woman in Oriental Costume* (1876), which is in the E. G. Bührle Collection in Zurich. The Holocaust destroyed Silberberg's collection: beginning in 1935, a portion was broken up and sold in the Berlin "Jew auctions," and the Nazis "Aryanized" the rest in 1940, confiscating and dispersing the artworks.[70] Silberberg's children fled Germany and survived, but he and his wife died in the camps. According to scholars, its breadth and quality made Silberberg's collection the finest in Breslau at the time.[71]

Ismar Littmann was the most unusual of the Breslau connoisseur collectors. Littmann was born in 1878 in the small town of Gross Strelitz. After completing his doctoral work in law, he settled in Breslau where he established a highly successful legal practice. He apparently suffered from a medical con-

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dition severe enough to preclude military service in the First World War. According to his son-in-law Chaim Haller, Littmann first fell in love with modern art and began to purchase work in the middle of the conflict, sometime in 1916. He started by investing in French Impressionists but quickly changed direction, turning almost exclusively to German work by living artists, both known and unknown, from every corner of the country. In the eleven years that he was active, Littmann acquired an astonishing 5,814 works on paper, 289 important oil paintings, and fifty-eight major watercolors. He owned paintings by such well-known figures as Alexander Kanoldt, Otto Mueller, and Max Pechstein, and relative unknowns like Breslau artist Paula Grünefeld and Otto Beyer. Put in perspective, there are 4,015 days in eleven years, which means that Littmann averaged more than one purchase a day!

Beyond sheer numbers, Littmann had several unusual collecting habits. The records of his purchases show multiple acquisitions from single artists, often numbering into the hundreds.[72] Sometimes he owned more than one print of the same linoleum cut, lithograph, or etching. It almost appears as if Littmann was using his purchases as a form of sponsorship or direct patronage, like the aristocracy of old. At the time he was active, Germany was struggling economically and conditions were particularly severe for artists, though this also created opportunities to buy outstanding art at reasonable prices, which Littmann probably recognized. Like the other important Breslau collectors, Littmann purchased much of his collection directly from the artists. He was a personal friend of several of the artists he collected, including Corinth, Kollwitz, Pechstein, and Mueller.[73] The museum-quality work in his collection included canvases by Otto Mueller such as *Boy in Front of Two Standing and One Seated Girl* (1918/1919), today at the Emden Kunsthalle, and *Two Female Nudes* (c. 1919), now at Museum Ludwig in Cologne. Other paintings, like Kanoldt's *Olevano*, which was restored to his family in 2001, are either in private hands or have disappeared. Littmann's family sold some of the collection at auction in 1935 at Berlin's Max Perle Gallery and managed to send other parts out of Germany.[74] Although Littmann's collection focused primarily on German art from 1850 onward, it included many styles—realist, impressionist, expressionist, *Brücke*, *Neue Sachlichkeit*, and more—and in many ways encompassed the range of German art produced between 1850 and 1934.

Sachs, Lewin, Silberberg, and Littmann were important figures in Breslau's cultural and Jewish communities and belonged to multiple arts and cultural associations. All four were members of the *Künstlerbund Schlesien* and *Gesellschaft der Kunstfreunde,* and Sachs was active in the *Kunstgewerbeverein* as well. Although none of the group was very religious, they all identified

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as Jewish. Silberberg and Littmann were both founding members of the Jewish Museum, which was in many ways Silberberg's most influential cultural involvement, for he was a motivating force behind its founding and helped shape the institution from its inception. The Breslau Jewish Museum was unique in Germany for several reasons: it sought to adopt the most up-to-date research and curatorial methodologies so that the collection and its display would be scientifically grounded. This ambition reflected the high regard Breslau Jews had for learning but also their shared desire to create a serious scholarly enterprise rather than a collection of personal memorabilia.[75] Equally unusual, the museum collected Jewish ritual objects and books and art of all kinds by Jewish painters, including portraits of secular figures important to the Breslau and Silesian Jewish communities and paintings of secular subjects executed by Jews. The Jewish Museum's first exhibition, *The Jews in the History of Silesia* (1929), identified the Jewish community as fundamentally Silesian and secondarily German, but not foreign.[76] It thus reflected the spirit of regional pride and consciousness typical of the time. Unfortunately, the museum had a brief lifespan. It was incorporated in 1928, moved into a permanent space at the Jewish Orphanage in 1933, and closed its doors for good on November 3, 1938, just days before *Kristallnacht*. During its brief existence, however, the museum mounted several important exhibitions and inspired other Jewish museums across Germany.[77]

Museums

In a 1922 article, Karl Scheffler praised Breslau's first-rate collections, important patrons, and improving museum.[78] First, however, he eviscerated the city for its historic backwardness, subservience to Berlin, absence of creative imagination, and lack of interest in modern art and architecture. The Museum of Fine Arts was completed in 1879, while the Museum of Applied Art opened its doors in 1899. By comparison, Düsseldorf's *Gemäldegalerie* (Painting Gallery) dates to the early eighteenth century, Kassel opened the *Fredericianum* in 1779, and Berlin founded its first art museum in 1830. Scheffler went on to write about recent changes, which he dated to the 1916 hiring of Heinz Braune.

Braune's appointment to the Museum of Fine Arts did not singlehandedly alter Breslau's arts scene or Breslauer attitudes toward modern art, but it did signal a change. The Museum's board of directors consulted Scheffler himself about the qualifications for a contemporary museum director, then followed his advice in their search.[79] Once Braune came on board, the Museum gave him

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the financial and personal support he needed to build its contemporary collections. Under Braune's watch, the Museum acquired paintings, sculpture, drawings, etchings, prints, and other work by major German and international figures. Braune's successor, Erich Wiese, continued in a similar vein, so that by the late 1920s the Museum had a respectable, if not outstanding, catalog of holdings. Braune likely decided to focus the collections on German art because it was less expensive and more readily available. He doubtless found it easier to raise private funds to purchase German work, and the focus gave the Museum a distinct identity.[80] The work Braune bought was stylistically broad in scope, including Heckel and Schmidt-Rottluff, Mueller and Barlach, Slevogt and Liebermann, Feininger and Archipenko.[81]

The collections of the Museum of Fine Arts are important for several reasons. To be purchased and exhibited by a major museum is an imprimatur of merit that helps make artists worthy of private purchase, and museum exhibitions bring art to the attention of potential collectors. Braune's influence in the Breslau cultural community is evident from the importance Scheffler accords him, but also from his many community involvements. Beyond his responsibilities as head of the museum, Braune participated in several cultural organizations, like the *Gesellschaft der Kunstfreunde* and *Künstlerbund Schlesien*, and apparently served as an advisor to private collectors interested in purchasing art and gallerists seeking to sell contemporary work.[82] As the article in *Kunst und Künstler* makes clear, when Braune arrived, the Museum had a mediocre collection with almost no holdings in nineteenth- or twentieth-century art. Until Braune's tenure, the major exhibitions of contemporary art were the temporary annual shows mounted by the Lichtenberg Gallery. As mentioned earlier, only a small handful of commercial galleries in Breslau sold contemporary work at any one time, and their selection was limited. Beyond the commercial galleries, the *Künstlerbund Schlesien*, *Gesellschaft der Kunstfreunde*, and Academy mounted annual, and sometimes semiannual, exhibitions that brought new work to the city, but these were brief occasional events. In short, until the Museum built its collection, hardly any contemporary art was available for public view, permanently or otherwise, and Breslauers had to go to Berlin or other cities for exposure to the latest trends. Although some museum records were lost during the Second World War and others damaged in a flood in 1997, it is possible to read some patterns from the records that still exist in order to reconstruct Braune's efforts.

Braune seems to have set out expressly to build the Museum's collections in nineteenth- and twentieth-century German art, and by 1929 Landsberger could claim that the collection was one of the best in the country. Braune posi-

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tioned the Museum carefully. He did not want to exhibit just anything but looked for work that had lasting value, striving to collect according to "the principle of the cream of the crop not the market."[83] It is naturally more difficult to judge contemporary art than art that has withstood the test of time, and Braune did not explain how he made his decisions. However, the little-known exhibitions he organized and works he purchased suggest that he was an astute judge of quality. Moreover, he managed to build the collections in a time of severe economic stress, using a host of strategies from selling less valuable works to make funds available for new acquisitions to soliciting financial and art contributions from local patrons.

In the 1920s, the Museum actively acquired art and participated in traveling exhibitions. It showed work by Hans Thoma in 1920, Lovis Corinth in 1922, and architect Erich Mendelsohn in 1920. In 1925, Braune brought the famous *Neue Sachlichkeit* show to Breslau, followed by a Paul Klee exhibit in 1928, Kandinsky and "The Woman of Today" in 1929, and Alexi von Jawlensky in 1930.[84] Braune corresponded frequently and copiously with galleries across Germany about work to show and purchase. In 1928, he purchased paintings by Alfred Kubin, Alexander Archipenko, Hans Purrmann, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, Oscar Kokoschka, August Gaul, Max Beckmann, Ernst Ludwig Kirschner, Christian Rolhfs, Otto Müller, Erich Heckel, Ernst Barlach, Heinrich Zille, Max Slevogt, and Lyonel Feininger. Although many of these figures belonged to the avant-garde in German art, they represent a broad spectrum: Brücke, expressionism, impressionism, cubism, *Neue Sachlichkeit*. The fact that almost every one is still considered important today speaks to Braune's awareness and prescience. The work Braune refused is as revealing as the pieces he chose to acquire. In 1921, he rejected the offer of a show on the Dresden Secession because, he wrote, "[I] never show an art salon."[85] In other words, he was not interested in exhibiting the work of an official group. In 1925, he refused an offer of work by James Ensor from the Gallery Nierendorff in Berlin, likely because Ensor was neither German nor important enough, in Braune's eyes, to merit acquisition. In short, his knowledge and ability to judge art was evident in all his decisions, positive and negative.

When Braune assumed the directorial post, the Museum's holdings were not only sparse but displayed in a strange manner, with many important pieces in storage rather than in the galleries.[86] Equally disturbing to Braune, the Museum's medieval art consisted mostly of work from Italy, Holland, and other foreign countries, because, according to Braune, German medieval art was thought to be inferior to art from other parts of Europe. Under his watch, not only was the collection brought together in a unified display, but it was signifi-

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cantly enhanced by purchases of work by first-rate German masters like Hans Baldung, Lucas Cranach, Albrecht Dürer, and Matthias Grünewald. Braune's stated objective as curator and museum director was "to develop a German museum here, that emphasizes home-grown style and art of all types that our fatherland comprises."[87] He intentionally focused his acquisition efforts on art of national rather than just regional significance. As well as art by Germans, Braune also made important acquisitions of work by artists throughout Europe. However, he only purchased international art by well-known artists, so he could build the Museum's national profile and enhance the city's growing reputation as a *Kunststadt*. One final reason for Braune's avoidance of regional art was that the Museum of Applied Arts primarily collected Silesian work. In 1929, Franz Landsberger addressed the growing calls for merging the Museum of Fine Arts with the Museum of Applied Art by pointing out that the two museums had very different characters, appropriately, and that difference should be preserved.[88]

When Braune stepped down in 1928, the Museum mounted a retrospective show to celebrate his contributions. According to articles in the *Breslauer Zeitung*, Braune was able to perform miracles with a limited budget during the worst economic times.[89] By the time he left, the Museum could boast work by an incredible range of artists. Braune's efforts extended beyond painting to improving the sculpture collections and Museum library. He established a department for medieval painting and sculpture with a special workshop for restoration. Presciently, since few serious art aficionados would have collected such work at the time, Braune also established a department for advertising posters by donating his personal collection, which included works by foreign artists Giacometti and Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, as well as Max Wislicenus, Paul Drobek, and Hans Zimbal.[90] Most importantly, however, Braune built the collections in every way possible, not focusing on one type of art or period but striving for a representative balance that eschewed ideology, in true Breslau form.

Erich Wiese succeeded Braune to the directorship. Wiese had worked for Braune for years, so it is not surprising that he seems to have continued the work Braune initiated. He brought in exhibitions of important contemporary artists such as Kandinsky, Nolde and Kriegel, Jankel Adler, Franz Radziwill, and Von Jawlensky. In 1931, Wiese exhibited works from Carl Sachs's collection, a selection of 300 graphic works by impressionist artists including Hans von Marées, Käthe Kollwitz, and Leibl alongside Liebermann, Slevogt, and Corinth. The local and regional press extolled Sachs's generosity, which was especially remarkable at a time when people in Silesia were suffering enormous privations.[91]

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In 1928, *Schlesische Monatshefte* ran a series of short essays by eminent Breslauers who tried to answer the question, "How can Breslau's artistic life be elevated?"[92] Responses varied. City building director Hugo Althoff pointed to the lack of adequate exhibition and atelier facilities in the city. He felt that improved arts infrastructure would do the trick. Max Streit, chair of the *Kunstgewerbeverein*, blamed the fractured nature of arts patronage, especially the multitude of associations that divided resources. He believed the solution was to consolidate resources and efforts in one large organization. Erich Wiese and August Grisebach, the distinguished art historian, underscored the need for exhibitions of contemporary art and venues in which to hold those exhibitions. Wiese wrote, "Leading art of our time shown, not without criticism, but also not with the pretention that one shows only lasting [art]." Adolf Rading remarked more directly on the challenges to patronage: "Breslau is an old bourgeois city. It is an enclosure for sedentariness, tradition, the status quo . . . I do not see where the bridge between the bourgeoisie and genuine art might be, they are spiritual opposites."[93] Kurt Masner, director of the Museum of Applied Art, echoed Rading: "The citizens of Breslau react to every encouragement to elevate the artistic life firstly apathetically, cautiously, and dismissively, it will take a lot of time and work before they are enthusiastic." Rading and Masner did not believe that Breslau was any different from any other city in Germany. In their view, expecting the middle classes to support art was wrong-headed. They located the problem in the very different worldviews of the bourgeoisie and artists: artists are "pioneers" who stretch the boundaries of perception and push against convention, whereas the bourgeoisie are tradition-bound; bourgeois Germans will rarely embrace contemporary art because such art will make them uncomfortable.

Rading did not mention the lack of self-confidence in judgment and taste or the sense of inferiority that Landsberger and others saw as plaguing Breslau. Instead, he saw the city's problems with art patronage as universal challenges that faced all of Germany. Rading dubbed Breslau, "The city of education and art philistines," where, he believed, art and the *Bürgertum* were "spiritual opposites."[94] Wiese refined Rading's assessment by suggesting that the bourgeoisie will not support or purchase art they do not understand. He emphasized the importance of presenting art that "belongs to the representation of the city," and Masner concurred. Art may need effective patronage networks, public advertising campaigns, and educational programs to succeed, but it also needs to engage its audience. Breslauers would not enthusiastically view or purchase art that had no connection to the life of the city. This was not a question of periphery versus center, regional versus national, or international quality, but simply of making art to which the public could relate.

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Chapter 5

Between Idealism and Realism: Architecture in Breslau

> "*The sensuous and the spiritual, which struggle as opposites in the common understanding are revealed as reconciled in the truth expressed by art.*"
>
> —C. W. F. Hegel, *On the Arts*

Fragmentation and variety were defining characteristics not only of Breslau art in the 1920s but also of architectural design. Iain Boyd Whyte and others have argued that, like its art, German architecture of the time responded to the "contradictory conditions of modernity" by neatly dividing into opposing camps organized around traditional and modern values.[1] But Breslau's architects do not fall easily into either camp; instead, they touch on both. Breslau thus provides a useful case study for correcting simplistic notions of binary division in German architecture. On paper and built, the work of Breslau architects may be disjointed and multivalent, but it is also rich in content and invention. The term "Breslau work" needs to be carefully defined, however. Only a handful of outstanding buildings designed by architects who worked in the city were actually constructed in and around Breslau; most of their best work was commissioned by clients in other cities in Germany and abroad. This was a twin consequence of the economic situation in the 1920s, which constrained private construction, and the relative cultural conservatism of many Breslauers of means. As the economy stabilized and Silesia began to recover from the war, building activity predictably picked up, but by the time of the crash of 1929 it still had not reached prewar levels. Much of the interwar architectural production in Breslau was therefore speculative and never constructed. However, unbuilt designs can be as revealing as built ones, for architecture exists not only in the physical world but on paper as well. Competition entries, visionary utopian designs, and drawings of unrealized work can tell us as much about the variety of practice as architects' writings and actual buildings.

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Breslau architects whose work demonstrates the incredible variety of approaches during the Weimar period include Richard Konwiarz, Heinrich Lauterbach, Adolf Rading, Hans Scharoun, Max Berg, Moritz Hadda, Albrecht Jaeger, Heinrich Tischler, Hugo Leipsiger, and Ludwig Moshamer. Lauterbach, Hadda, and Leipziger were all Breslau natives; Jaeger and Tischler were Silesians; and Berg, Konwiarz, Moshamer, Rading, and Scharoun came from other parts of Germany. Rading and Scharoun initially moved to Breslau to teach at the Academy, while Berg, Konwiarz, and Moshamer came to the city to work for the Breslau Municipal Housing Office and did private work on the side. Only Lauterbach, Rading, and Scharoun are associated with the *Neues Bauen* (New Building) of the 1920s, though Lauterbach and Rading rejected the label, while Scharoun is usually set apart by art historians because of his idiosyncratic work. All these architects were open to multiple theoretical and formal possibilities and willing to marry positions usually understood as mutually exclusive. The aesthetic identity they assumed was an amalgamation of traditional and modern tropes. In many cases, they derived their traditional architectural values from direct study of local and regional vernacular buildings and took their modern values from national and international movements like the *Neues Bauen*. Like their colleagues across Germany, Breslau architects believed they could improve living conditions and contribute to social harmony by improving the built environment. As with Breslau artists, most architects in Breslau depended upon local, regional, and national, if not international, recognition for success, and the tensions between provincial, national, and international played out in their individual careers.

Berg, Hadda, Jaeger, Konwiarz, Lauterbach, Leipsiger, Moshamer, Rading, Scharoun, and Tischler are largely overlooked in post-World War II histories of modernism and Weimar culture. Regina Göckede suggests that Rading and Lauterbach were neglected both because much of their built work is in Breslau and Silesia, where it lay forgotten during the division of Germany, and because neither was truly radical.[2] Göckede's analysis can extend to many of the others. Scharoun is ignored because his work does not conform to the aesthetic categories typically used to evaluate architectural design from the period, being neither a functionalist nor an expressionist or traditionalist. Christoph Bürkle and Peter Blundell-Jones both describe Scharoun's architecture as "organic" and place him squarely in a group with Hugo Häring and Alvar Aalto, though Bürkle admits that Scharoun himself tried to avoid classifying his work.[3] Blundell-Jones argues that Scharoun was a practitioner of an "alternative tradition," a common way of viewing architects, like Scharoun, Aalto, and Häring, whose work does not fit neatly into expressionist or functionalist aesthetic models.[4] Peter Pfankuch opens his 1970 retrospective with the asser-

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tion that Rading "is today virtually unknown although he belongs to the few and consistent contributors to the development of *Neues Bauen*," despite the fact that Rading repudiated the label.[5] In truth, the Breslau work reflected the kind of reconciliation C. W. F. Hegel refers to above. As they wrestled with design problems and the conflicting pressures of tradition and modernity, Breslau architects created new aesthetic formulations. Because they grappled with the same issues as their peers—new modes of living, technologies, spatial ideas, and more—their work should not be seen as unusual. The fact that much of that work was not aesthetically radical does not mean it lacked merit; rather, it demonstrates the broad scope of Weimar modern production.

Tradition and Modernity

German and Breslau architectural practice in the 1920s took place in the context of powerful competing, even contradictory, aesthetic and social ideas. Modernist ideals included machine inspiration, international orientation, functional and rational thinking, obsession with designing in an up-to-date fashion, and the "rational" consideration of function to determine form.[6] Aesthetic values associated with modernism, or *Zivilisation*, included geometrically determined forms, pristine white buildings with flat roofs, large glazed surfaces, new materials and construction methods, and open contiguous spaces. In contrast, romantic approaches to design—driven by a concern for the user, a desire to create beautiful, timeless spaces, and an interest in architecture as a means of manifesting the spiritual, intangible, and intuitive—were considered conservative and championed by proponents of *Kultur*. The architectural forms associated with this position were inspired by traditional and *Völkisch* German tropes: pitched roofs, small punched windows, individuated spaces, a reduced classicism of tripartite division, colonnades, stone, and monumental forms. Although attempts to classify architecture purely on the basis of formal tropes are inevitably reductive, these aesthetic distinctions nevertheless had powerful ideological ramifications, as illustrated by the famous Flat Roof Controversy, which reached ridiculous proportions in the War of the Roofs between Uncle Tom's Colony and the Am Fischtal Colony in Berlin Zehlendorf. The inclusion of Gustav Wolf's pitched roof building at the Breslau *WuWA* in 1929 caused a similar minor scandal, since pitched roof architecture was not considered sufficiently progressive for the show. Still, when examined closely, the divisions between proponents of *Kultur* and *Zivilisation*, or traditionalists and avant-gardists, muddy considerably.

Recognizing traditional and modern expression in Weimar-era architec-

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ture is not always easy, since there were so many permutations to the mix of aesthetic elements. New technology, materials, and construction systems were generally associated with modernism, yet architects of all aesthetic stripes adopted them. Even buildings with traditional formal expression were built with new materials and methods. Many of the 1920s housing estates in and around Breslau, like Pöpelwitz and Oltaschin, were designed to look familiar, even though they were built with unfamiliar materials and building techniques. Conversely, even architects who professed to break with tradition and the past in favor of modernization were indebted to historical forms and spatial arrangements.[7] Albrecht Jaeger's villa for Dr. Paul Neumann (1930) looks from the outside like it conforms to the prescriptions of *Neues Bauen*, with its unadorned white stucco facades, flat roofs, simple volumes, and tubular steel handrails. Yet its interior contains a conventional set of separate spaces, nothing like *Neues Bauen* open planning.[8] Very few Breslau architects positioned themselves as definitively traditional or modern. More often than not, they negotiated the territory between the two, creating a mix that may seem to lack aesthetic logic, by not conforming to the compositional rules for either traditional or modern work, but in fact reveals a balanced pragmatism.

One area in which out-and-out traditionalists did differ from their peers was their approach to new materials and technologies. Traditionalists often used new materials like concrete and new construction systems like reinforced concrete frame and steel frame, but they hid those systems behind historic-looking facade treatments or tried to make new materials look like old ones. Thus, rather than celebrating newness, traditionalists obscured it in favor of familiar appearances. One mark of avant-garde work, on the other hand, was the explicit expression of new materials and technology. Instead of hiding construction systems within walls, modernist architects exposed them to the eye and integrated them into the spatial composition of buildings. Revealing the underlying structure and systems put the rational thinking behind the architecture on display, celebrating and even reveling in newness.

In Breslau, architects were not only willing to combine aesthetic elements from different formal languages but saw this as a valid design strategy for inventing new solutions. Hans Poelzig and Max Berg pioneered this approach long before the Weimar period. Poelzig borrowed from Silesian vernacular as a formal source rather than imitating it as a model. The Church in Maltsch (1906) typifies his use of historic precedents. It has steeply gabled roofs, small windows, and the stacked forms of older churches, yet the massing is simplified, the facades are smooth white stucco, and there is no surface ornament whatsoever.[9] Poelzig's and Berg's buildings for the 1913 Centennial Hall and

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Fair Grounds were equally important early projects. As Jerzy Ilkosz indicates, they are among the few Breslau masterpieces widely recognized in diverse architecture histories.[10] Poelzig constructed a small exhibition pavilion with garden pergolas. Although decidedly streamlined, the project uses a reduced neoclassical vocabulary closer to Italian Renaissance than anything else, with symmetrically arranged buildings, fluted columns that form a series of colonnades, and pilaster-rimmed cupolas. In contrast, Berg's Centennial Hall is a stunning reinforced concrete construction whose 67-meter clear spans broke records.[11] Although its unadorned exposed concrete makes the structure's outward expression more modern than Poelzig's, Centennial Hall is laid out in a perfect circle, sits on a plinth, and is perfectly symmetrical. In other words, both projects abstract and alter elements from traditional architecture, bringing together old and new. In his study of the two projects, Ilkosz points out that before the First World War most architects synthesized old and new. Max Berg's sketches for skyscrapers were another early example of this new attitude: Berg adapted the modern American skyscraper to Breslau by proposing buildings at a lower scale, made of brick rather than stone, and featuring undulating facades inspired by German expressionist design. These projects may more properly belong to what contemporaries called the "break into the modern," but they are important precursors to the later architecture.

Breslau Buildings

In 1926, city architect D. Berg wrote about the need to establish a balance between traditional and modern in architectural expression, a common view in Breslau architectural circles. In his essay on architecture in and around the city, he underscores the lack of spirituality in functionalist and rationalist architecture.[12] Berg reminds his readers that "contemporary art is art that only has meaning for its time. Timeless art is art of the great ones, that according to its greatness can have meaning over longer periods of time for generations."[13] In order to convey meaning, Berg explains, art and architecture must do more than respond to reason; they need to appeal to human emotion. Berg ends the article by calling for a return to spirituality in architecture and the inclusion of "feeling with invention." The idea is that architects should use rationally inspired creativity in an emotionally appealing way. Berg accompanies his essay with examples of successful buildings and design propositions, including Max Berg's Centennial Hall and Ludwig Moshamer's *Messehof*, the entry to the Fair Grounds and new exhibition hall (1925).[14] The *Messehof,* Moritz Hadda's

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Karlsruhe Life Insurance Building (1922), Richard Konwiarz's Crematorium (1927) and Fraternity House (1927), and Hugo Leipziger and Albrecht Jaeger's private home in Breslau-Carlowitz (1929) provide a general introduction to the range of work built in Breslau during the 1920s.

Little information remains about the Karlsruhe Life Insurance Building, although the structure did survive the Second World War. The building dates to the 1860s, when it was built as housing. Hadda and his partner Wilhelm Schlesinger renovated its facade treatment and spatial organization in 1922. Their primary intervention was on the exterior, where they used reinforced concrete in a plastic way that recalls the prismatic forms of German expressionism along with more traditional elements. The roofline zigzags above a march of triangulated pilasters like a repetitive row of pitched roofs above a colonnade. The horizontal lines of window headers and sills offset the vertical thrust of the composition which is absolutely symmetrical. There is no surface ornament whatsoever; instead the play of light and shadow on the deeply set windows makes the building visually exciting. The reductive nature of the facade is absolutely modern; the oblique suggestion of traditional form in the roof and pilasters is incidental. The Karlsruhe Life Insurance Building depends on surface manipulation and, as Janet Ward reminds readers in *Weimar Surfaces*, a great deal of the new architecture was skin deep.[15]

Hugo Leipziger and Albrecht Jaeger collaborated on a number of projects in and around Breslau during the second half of the 1920s. Their work generally conformed to *Neues Bauen* aesthetics. The Cooperative House at Bischofswalde resembles their other projects in its flat roof, rectilinear plan form, white stucco facades, rational facade design, and rational planning. The curved ends depart from *Neues Bauen* tenets, however, as do the traditional spatial layouts. Although functionally arranged, the spaces of the units are ordinary in size and plan. The rooms are small and individuated (Leipziger and Jaeger do not use any open planning in either the horizontal or vertical dimension), finishes are minimized, and there is no surface ornament. Thus, as in the Karlsruhe Life Insurance Building, the building appears modern only on its surfaces. Like Berlin, Breslau began renewing the external face of its building stock during the 1920s, with a view to improving what was seen as outmoded and unattractive architecture. According to articles in the Silesian press, Breslau's architects, both private and public, looked to Berlin and other German cities for their cues, but Breslau was short on funds and could do less than other German municipalities.[16]

Richard Konwiarz's Crematorium was a sober brick building at the Gräbschen Cemetery just outside the city center. Unlike the buildings described

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above, the Crematorium was new construction, so Konwiarz arguably had greater design freedom. Yet he too used a mix of traditional and modern. The building's entry makes several direct references to classicism: it is capped with a pediment, a line of rectangular pilasters stretches rhythmically along its width, and a smaller pediment sits over the main entry. But the abstract allusions end there. The pediments are exaggerated totally out of proportion, as is the height-to-width ratio of the facade. The only surface ornaments are a citation from the Old Testament on the main pediment and a small bas-relief symbol atop the door. Otherwise, surfaces are smooth and unadorned. The interior is stark, with the materiality and pattern of the stone walls and wooden ceilings the only concessions to ornament. Modest, wooden, high-backed chairs are the only furnishings inside the Hall for Mourning. The windows have equally simple frames and mullions. Neither material nor space is wasted. Konwiarz thus freely used elements of the classical language alongside the spare surfaces and functional planning of *Neues Bauen*.

Konwiarz used a similar approach in his Fraternity House, although its expression was even more starkly reduced. According to August Grisebach, Konwiarz's building was quite radical in its lack of finery and departure from traditional aesthetics.[17] Constructed out of brick, the vernacular material, the building consisted of two rectangular flat-roofed wings. It has almost no surface ornamentation, just a simple cornice, echoed by a horizontal band that stretches the length of the exterior. The windows are set in light-colored frames that contrast with the brick, and the facade composition creates visual effect by grouping the windows and varying their sizes. Grisebach describes the building as "aware of function without sobriety, simple without seeming meager."[18] There are few surviving photographs of the building, which was destroyed during the Second World War, but the interiors seem to have had the same straightforward clarity as the exteriors. Here Konwiarz worked with a traditional material and program in a rational and functional manner.

Adolf Rading reviewed Moshamer's project for the *Messehof* in *Schlesische Monatshefte*, where he not only remarked upon the apparent formal contradictions in the project but approved of how they produced a powerful piece of architecture.[19] However, he saw a stark contrast between the project's outside and inside. Rading found the stripped-down aesthetic of the exterior unattractive and out of proportion, albeit decidedly up-to-date. The problem was not a question of beauty per se, but what Rading viewed as a lack of consideration for the human spirit. On the other hand, he compared the building's interiors to Gothic architecture, praising the "sensuousness . . . totally tied to light and space; building material, building mass seem necessary evils."[20] The inte-

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rior Rading enthused over is an enormous open hall, a long-span structure supported by arched, inverted trusses that recall the inside of a wooden ship. The top half of the building shell is glazed with transparent panes that bathe the space in natural light. The glazing also makes the upper portion of the building envelope appear diaphanous, in much the same way as the outer shell of a Gothic cathedral. The building thus merges the abstract simplicity of *Neues Bauen* with the spatial dynamism and manipulation of light found in Gothic architecture. Moshamer's blend of old and new is not straightforward: the unadorned facades have elongated columns topped by squat capitals reminiscent of the Greek Doric, while the interior is sleekly rendered reinforced concrete. The *Messehof* demonstrates that there were infinite ways to merge old and new. It was possible to combine traditional building forms with new materials and contemporary space planning, use traditional space planning in new forms, or build with traditional materials in new forms. The sheer scope of possibility helps to account for the variety of solutions offered by Breslau architects.

Lauterbach

Heinrich Lauterbach was one of the few Breslau architects who tried to explain the apparent lack of direction in Weimar-era architecture and the thinking behind it. Born March 2, 1893, in Breslau, Lauterbach was the son of well-to-do businessman Richard Lauterbach, who owned woodland and mills in several locations in Silesia, Poland, and Hungary. Lauterbach first encountered architecture at the age of thirteen, when Hans Poelzig designed and constructed the family home, "an event that I followed with burning interest and that finally directed me to my profession," he later wrote.[21] Lauterbach enrolled in the sculpture course at the Breslau Academy, where he soon discovered that he had more of a talent for building design. Poelzig accepted him into the architecture course but then decided that he needed technical education and directed him to the Darmstadt Technical High School. In Darmstadt, Lauterbach studied under reform-minded Friedrich Pützer, who was principally a church architect, and conservative art historian Wilhelm Pinder, who later became closely associated with the National Socialists. After the First World War, Lauterbach completed his studies at the Technical High School in Dresden, where he primarily studied with Poelzig, though he completed his diploma with Martin Dülfer, who was known for his historicist and *Jugendstil* buildings. Lauterbach thus had a fairly conventional education, with no radical or experimental elements. He returned to Breslau in 1925 to establish his own architecture firm where he

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designed a mix of single-family homes and housing projects that garnered him moderate attention in the national architecture press.[22]

In 1926, Lauterbach began work on the Breslau *WuWA*, for which he designed and constructed several buildings. The extensive press coverage of *WuWA* cemented his national reputation. From 1931–32, he taught briefly at the Breslau Academy, and after the Second World War he received a professorship in Stuttgart, followed by an appointment in Kassel where he taught until he retired. Lauterbach's postwar speeches suggest that he was a devout man, or at least spiritual. Unlike Scharoun and Rading, he did not join the new arts associations that sprang up in Berlin and Breslau after 1918, and he does not seem to have been involved in arts politics, apart from the local and regional *Werkbunds.* His work and writing make it clear that Lauterbach was open to new aesthetics, materials, and construction systems, but was also cautious about adopting new design methods and relinquishing old ones.

Little survives of Lauterbach's prewar writings, but in 1958 he was invited to give a speech in Munich about his memories of the beginnings of *Neues Bauen* in eastern Germany, for he was one of the few architects who could provide an eyewitness account of the period.[23] Lauterbach begins by lamenting the current historiography of the early modern movement, which he criticizes as one-dimensional and biased toward a very small group of architects like Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, and Walter Gropius. He then recalls the buildings he looked to for inspiration as a young architect, among them Alfred Messel's Wertheim (1904) in Breslau and Peter Behren's Turbine Hall (1909), but above all Hans Poelzig's designs for factories in Silesia, "the first important industrial buildings—designed according to the function and the building materials and construction method—without the formal pretensions of a 'new style.'"[24]

Lauterbach's history includes buildings usually ignored because of their conservative aesthetics, but also pointedly references work based on diverse pragmatic considerations rather than aesthetic formulas. He thus offers a very different view of *Neues Bauen*, to which he ascribes the more traditional-looking architecture of Heinrich Tessenow, Paul Schmitthenner, and Richard Riemerschmid alongside Gropius, Meyer, Taut, and Mies. The archival copy of the speech has notes in the margins and crossed-out sections that he apparently decided were better left unsaid. One of these is the comment that neither Gropius and Meyer's 1912 Fagus Factory nor their design for the 1914 *Werkbund* Exhibition "exercised the astonishing influence that one ascribes to them today."[25] Instead, Lauterbach notes the importance of Bruno Taut's *Frühlicht*, a short-lived visionary magazine little studied after the Second World War, to him and his contemporaries. Lauterbach is trying to alert his audience to the

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ways in which history is distorted as it is written, for the projects held up as exemplary today are not necessarily the ones the past considered significant, like much of the Breslau work from the Weimar era, which was important at the time but has been neglected by history. It is important to note that Lauterbach appraises architecture according to its aims rather than its aesthetics.[26] This formulation explains the variety of aesthetic solutions he and his Breslau compatriots used: they saw form as the result of the design process, but not its goal. For Lauterbach, *Neues Bauen* represents an artistic approach and attitude toward making that is anything but technical; the notion of the "machine for living" is antithetical to his understanding of *Neues Bauen*, for he finds machines cold, unwelcoming, and inhuman. He absolutely rejects the codification of *Neues Bauen*, which in his view turns the idea of a new, open attitude toward creating architecture into a closed aesthetic ideology and style.

Lauterbach also devotes some time to explaining the significance of the name *Neues Bauen*. "Why," he asks, "was the name not New Architecture?" Lauterbach believes that Heidegger's famous essay, "*Bauen, Wohnen, Denken*" (Building, Dwelling, Thinking) correctly assessed the importance of *bauen* to contemporary architecture. He explains that the phrase *Neues Bauen* is appealing because it connects the old German word *buan* with the modern *bauen*, so that "New Building means also: New Living, which means also, a new way for man to be on the Earth."[27] Thus, the name reflects the desire to give form to a new society and its institutions and affirms the interest of German architects in public housing and other large institutional programs during the 1920s. In an earlier speech from 1953, Lauterbach addresses the relationship between building and dwelling by pointing out that these concepts have parallels in "means" and "ends." He clearly privileges the "ends," believing that a building only has value if it enhances human existence. This analysis leads to a critique of overdependence on technology. Technology, Lauterbach asserts, "is always only the *means* with which to achieve a particular end."[28] In other words, technology should not drive the project but support it, a view that echoes Lauterbach's former teacher Poelzig, who also believed that technology is neither the end nor the aesthetic. He goes on to assert that the purpose of technology is function, but function is not the "actual purpose" of building or design. The actual purpose of architecture is spiritual delight. Lauterbach thus rejects the basic function-driven tenets of *Neues Bauen* in favor of a more human-centered approach. This attitude toward technology sounds conservative, if not reactionary, and certainly was not in line with more radical modernist thinking.

Perhaps the most interesting passages in Lauterbach's speeches relate to

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aesthetics. Lauterbach recounts the "tale" of the architect commissioned to design a museum who makes all the walls glass. The "light blinded the viewers everywhere," and there was no place for the curator to display his objects. "But the architect found his glass and steel construction so successful that he suggested that it would be best if nothing was exhibited in it!"[29] Lauterbach's parable makes the ethical problem clear: architecture is meant to serve the function housed within it, not displace that function. He blames such projects on the simple-minded application of aesthetic ideology (and even names Mies van der Rohe as one of the guilty parties). Lauterbach concludes his lecture by admonishing his audience that "*Neues Bauen* is no abstraction, by which alone one can discover the 'how'—the 'how' and the 'what' are not separable—the how must be discovered in the 'what.'"[30] In other words, *Neues Bauen* is not a formula for design but an attitude toward design problems, an approach to solving formal, programmatic, and aesthetic challenges. By this measure, far more architects practicing in Breslau and Germany during the 1920s were modern than are usually credited.

Soon after Lauterbach returned to Breslau to set up a practice as an independent architect, he received his first commission, an estate house in Kadlub for Count von Strachwitz, an aristocrat from an old, established family of Silesian landed gentry.[31] The house reflects its owner's traditional and conservative values. It has steeply pitched, overhanging roofs above stucco facades and seems to borrow freely from local vernacular farmhouses in its roof contours and massing. The plans divide the building into public and private areas in a fairly conventional manner. The only hint of modern planning appears in the public spaces, which are relatively open to one another with pocket doors to allow for more continuous space. At House Strachwitz, traditional design dominates the modern, but the design demonstrates Lauterbach's open-minded attitude toward building aesthetics.

House Hasek (1930) and House Schmelowsky (1932), both in Jablonec, Czechoslovakia, are very different from House Strachwitz and represent Lauterbach's mature style. From *Neues Bauen*, he takes the exterior white stucco, flat roofs, steel and glass window construction, horizontal window proportions, and the entire volume of the houses, roof gardens, and open spatial planning in the main entertaining areas. From "ship architecture," he borrows House Hasek's rounded form of the rear wing, tubular steel handrails, exterior gangway-like stairs, and wrap-around decks, and House Schmelowsky's curved roof over the living room, spiral stair, and circular window.

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Fig. 35. Heinrich Lauterbach, House/Jablonec Schmelowsky, Street Elevation (1933).

From traditional planning, he takes the small, private, individuated bedrooms and bathrooms that are upstairs at House Schmelowsky and in a separate wing at House Hasek. He asserts his design independence by mixing these elements together, but also, at House Schmelowsky, by painting the steel bright red, including a partition curtain in the open living space to allow privacy when desired, inverting the ship's hull form, and inserting a cubic volume that protrudes over the garden facade and is flanked by a framed void. At House Hasek, Lauterbach departs from *Neues Bauen* with the complex volumetric plays between the wings, the solid/void schema evident at the rear of the house, and the irregularity of window sizes, which seem to defy rational planning. The visual and spatial tension between the design elements at both houses crystallizes Lauterbach's own words (written in reference to Scharoun but apropos design more generally): "Everything living is interwoven from polarities and rhythms that are integrated . . . into form."[32] In Lauterbach's designs, the polarities are the aesthetic and spatial ideas of traditional and modern architecture.

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Fig. 36. Heinrich Lauterbach, House/Jablonec Schmelowsky, Garden Elevation (1933).

Rading

Like Lauterbach, Adolf Rading wove together disparate elements in his architecture and understood *Neues Bauen* in broader terms than many of his contemporaries.[33] Rading's education and early work experience undoubtedly taught him to respect differing attitudes toward design. Unlike Lauterbach, Rading completed his architecture studies at the conservative Berlin Municipal Building Trade School, rather than one of the more progressive architecture academies. After leaving school in 1911, he worked for three distinguished architects of the period, August Endell, Albert Gessner, and Peter Behrens. Gessner was known for his pioneering work in housing design in Berlin and would have shown young Rading how to question architectural practice. Behrens and Endell exposed him to the emerging *sachlich* (objective) attitude toward design, but also to more conventional approaches. Behrens began as a neoclassicist, then developed a refined modern classicism, before moving in an

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even more contemporary direction. Rading was in Behrens's studio at the time of this breakthrough, so he witnessed his mentor's development first-hand. Behrens's work retained an obvious debt to neoclassical design until his death, serving as a successful example of the fusion of old and new. Endell was an autodidact whose first work, the Elvira Photo Studio in Munich, was in the *Jugendstil*, but by 1912 he too embraced the new architecture. In Endell's studio, Rading worked on the *Trabrennbahn* for Berlin-Mariendorf, a building considered a precursor of *Neues Bauen* because of its formal simplicity and straightforward response to functional imperatives.[34]

Rading moved to Breslau in 1919, when he accepted Endell's offer of a teaching position at the Academy, but he kept his connections to Berlin. Initially, this was because he was uncertain about whether he would remain in Breslau; after 1926, he and Hans Scharoun operated a collaborative practice in Berlin because so few clients in Breslau and Silesia were interested in modern design. Rading was well connected to contemporaries like Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius through avant-garde organizations, like the Berlin Ring, and other associations, such as the *Deutsche Werkbund* and the *Bund Deutscher Architekten* (League of German Architects). He published widely, both regionally and nationally, weighing in on most important contemporary architecture and design issues. Among others, he wrote for the regional magazines *Die Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung*, *Schlesisches Heim*, and *Schlesische Monatshefte*, as well as *Die Form*, the national journal published by the *Werkbund*. His reputation was such that he was one of the fifteen architects chosen to contribute to the 1927 Stuttgart *Weissenhofsiedlung*, along with internationally known figures like Mies, Gropius, and Scharoun.[35] Although Rading was a member of the architecture vanguard, he was a paradox: he belonged to progressive associations and designed in a formally modern idiom, yet he was highly skeptical of radical contemporary rhetoric. He espoused certain avant-garde ideas and traditional formulations, while flat out rejecting others.

More of Rading's theoretical writing survived the war than Lauterbach's, so it is easier to construct a picture of his ideas. Rading addressed Weimar-era cultural conflicts directly and often. His writings communicated the necessity for balance in good design, and particularly for equilibrium between extreme ideas. He not only advocated finding a middle road but positioned himself squarely in the center. He wrote explicitly of the experimental nature of his work and the potential pitfalls connected with pioneering design.[36] Rading was also deeply concerned with the development of German building culture, especially as it related to the larger notion of *Kultur*. He viewed new architecture as a cultural product, not a technological or modern aberration. He was particu-

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larly concerned with East German culture because it was generally thought to be underdeveloped in relation to German culture as a whole.[37] Rading wrote that "Culture means . . . the growth of quality on local territory."[38] He recognized the importance of local and regional arts communities, for without them there was no national arts community.

Rading also saw a particular connection between building culture and the cultures of eastern Germany and Germany.[39] Like members of the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* and *Rat Geistiger Arbeit*, he believed that architecture was the pinnacle of all arts and culture. In his view, creativity was the key to building culture. Without creativity, there was no building culture. Without building culture, there could be no larger culture.[40] By creativity, Rading meant the ability to interpret contemporary life through art: "whomever cannot judge the relationship between man and industry," he wrote, "cannot build a house today."[41] Creativity was central to his thinking in other ways as well. Rading believed that the German system of reserving public projects for state-employed architects stymied innovation by awarding large public works designs, which could—and should—be inspirations, to entrenched bureaucrats who by definition lack imagination. Rading argued frequently and vehemently that independent architects should be commissioned for public projects to inject art and creativity into the bureaucratic process and thereby into the public realm.[42] Elevating the artistic level of state-supported projects would in turn improve the quality of public space.

For Rading, a world without art had no life. He believed that art was more than the embodiment of spirit in material form; it was the physical manifestation of human life and culture. Art "is not a byproduct of life, but the most essential interpretation of human life, its formal result," he writes emphatically. "It is therefore logical that a *Volk* that is not attuned to its art . . . has no life direction and actually stops living."[43] Rading underscores his points by discussing the negative psychological effects of poor architecture on its occupants, especially in Breslau housing developments like "Tschepine," where cost savings were the excuse for poor design.[44] The implication is that without good building, people will not have the sense of well-being necessary to develop culturally. If they cannot develop, cannot pursue *Bildung*—personal cultivation, education, and self-improvement—they cannot become fully participating members of modern liberal society.[45] Equally, if their development is stunted, local culture will also be underdeveloped.

Rading applied his ideas about better housing in his 1922 project for Oranienstrasse in Breslau. This groundbreaking project proposed a row house scheme at a time when Breslau zoning would not accommodate this type of

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planning. The developer eventually convinced the city to change the building code so the project could go forward.[46] Rading developed the design to reduce building costs by consolidating construction of multiple homes into one larger volume, which would save on excavating, framing, and utility installation. From the start, he saw the project as experimental, not only in its approach to site planning and building massing, but in its spatial propositions. The units are tightly organized maisonettes, with well-thought-out functional spaces. There are no corridors; instead, rooms open onto one another, avoiding wasted space and saving on wall construction costs. The stairwell is open to below, so that even in the small, efficient rooms, there is a sense of openness and space. The street facade is lively but far less daring than the interior; with punched windows of differing sizes, a gambrel roof, and arched attic windows, the building hardly looks revolutionary. Still, despite its relative conservatism, Rading injected art into Oranienstrasse through the facade design, where he tested an idea that would reappear in 1929 at the *WuWA*: giving each unit a slightly different outward expression to counteract the repetitiveness of the plans and make residents feel that their units were unique and special.

Like the fully committed members of the avant-garde in the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* and *Rat Geistiger Arbeit*, Rading saw art as necessary to all Germans, not just the educated elite, and he bemoaned the quality of German art education, not to mention much German art. Yet he did not accept the entire 1920s progressive agenda. In his essay "*Neues Bauen*," Rading pointedly attacks certain tenets of the avant-garde while attempting to balance others with more traditional perspectives. He writes, "He who is clear that '*Neues Bauen*' is not 'new' building, has achieved a lot. Then he knows that our building is not further developed than the old tradition that mankind always followed . . . He knows that white colored cigar boxes with deeply cut windows or horizontal divisions are not, as we often experience, the sign of *Neues Bauen*."[47] While Rading used the simplified cubic forms, flat roofs, white stucco, glass and steel, and new construction of the *Neues Bauen*, he discarded the notion of a break with history. Rather, he viewed these formal solutions as developments that arose naturally from earlier architectural forms. He supported his view by tying contemporary architectural values to historic architectural forms, tracing the relationship between building and landscape to the Greeks, *Sachlichkeit* (objectivity) to the Romans, cubic form to the Egyptians, and the organic connection between building and urban form to the French Baroque.[48] New architecture was thus part of a larger historic continuum and one side of *Kultur*.

Rading believed in studying history and learning from it, not breaking with it. Yet he did not believe in imitating or enacting historical styles. In his

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explication of the 1932 Instructional Plan for the Breslau Academy, he writes, "You can no longer see art from the contemporary situation but as part of a long historical development, that has deep significance for the development of human life."[49] Rading finishes the *Neues Bauen* essay by locating architecture in the present: "With this, is said, that this [*Neues Bauen*] has nothing to do with façade matters but with something detached, abstract, in itself present, therefore not something dissociated, organic, grown in the times."[50] That is, *Neues Bauen* is the "meaning of the times," intimately tied to contemporary conditions. It arises from the "thinking of the times" and derives directly from the newly formed postwar "*Gesellschaft*" (society) with its automobiles, aircraft, and hydroelectric power.[51] *Neues Bauen* is thus rooted in an attitude toward design, rather than a specific aesthetic or formal expression. To Rading, "new" building is identical with "building," and "conviction" should be understood in Goethe's sense as "agreement with the spiritual tendencies of the time."[52] Because it is the attitude that matters, formal solutions can encompass a broad range of possibilities, including elements both typical of *Neues Bauen* and not.

The aesthetic choices Rading made over his career manifest his insistent faith in history as a continuum. An early project, the house on Stifterstrasse in Breslau (1921), was clearly influenced by local vernacular, although unlike other Breslauers such as Poelzig and May, Rading was not explicit about the sources for his designs (see fig. 5). Outside, the house is a simple, unadorned volume covered in a tight skin, with punched windows so abstractly detailed they appear more like voids on the facades than openings. The general massing of the building is reminiscent of traditional German house design, but there are no protruding elements of any kind, no bays, window frames or sills, or eyebrow dormers. The facades are white stucco. The only traditional forms are the hipped shingle roof with its exposed beams and the slightly ornamental brick chimney element. The front door has an odd shape similar to a Gothic church window that is repeated as a cutout on the chimney. Rading intended the house to have a flat roof, but the Breslau building department would not allow it.[53] Apparently, at this point in time, the city only let architects depart from traditional planning on the interior, where such novelties would not be visible to the public.

The interior is the earliest example of a spatial idea that became an ongoing motif in Rading's design work. The living room and dining room are combined into one large space that dominates the ground floor, making these community spaces the center of the house. On the second floor, in a similar arrangement, the rooms all open onto the workroom, although the individuated bedrooms are more traditional. Both living/dining room and workroom spatially embody Rading's notion of communal or *Gemeinschafts* living, a theme

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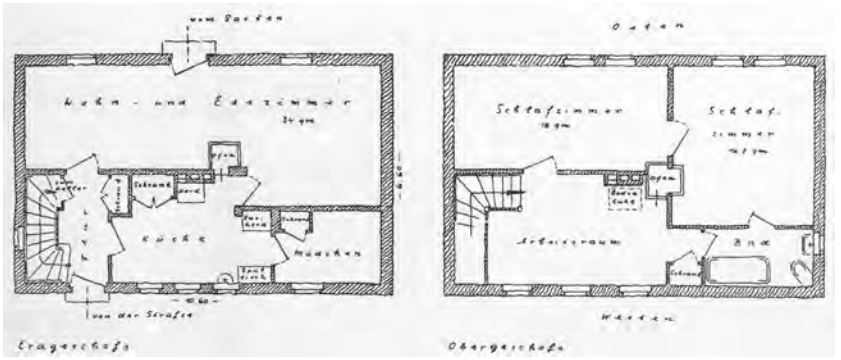

Fig. 37. Rading House Stifterstrasse floor plans (Akademie der Künste, / Architecture Museum Wroclaw).

that recurs in his work until his death. Rading also makes direct connections between inside and outside through doors to the garden and more window surface, at least in comparison with the norms of the day. "Today's houses relinquish any connection with the outside world . . . the house shown here, whose small windows make it appear to close itself totally, has on the interior a connection to light and sun that is unknown in our usual houses . . . if human life is to have meaning, the unity of all life must occur, but not through the closing but through passion," he explained. "Only he who is not reluctant can master life and to master life is life's epitome!"[54] The house's combination of historic and new form was partly pragmatic, making it easier to obtain building permission at the conservative Breslau city planning commission. But it also may indicate a purposefully relative relationship to form, since Rading returned repeatedly to traditional spatial arrangements for private rooms. The open planning of the public zone—living room, dining room, and kitchen—reflects democratic and modern approaches to Weimar living. Modern appliances and efficient hygienic planning dominate kitchen and bathroom design, showing the value of technology. The bedrooms are still private, the preserve of family and tradition.[55]

For Rading, the most crucial aspect of architecture was the intangible and spiritual, yet he saw these as inextricably linked to the rational and functional. His ideas paralleled Lauterbach's notions of "what" and "how," but in Rading's schema, the opposing pairs act together to produce a third entity called "art." In 1919, Rading wrote a manifesto of sorts, "*Fanal*" (Signal), in which he outlines his beliefs about art and architecture, including the qualities that constitute

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each. The language is polemical, similar in tone to the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* and *Rat Geistiger Arbeit* manifestoes that appeared at roughly the same time. The name of the piece is a metaphor for its message: that art's key role is to project the spiritual quality of life. As a beacon that projects truth, true art is invaluable because it addresses and expands the spirit, but more importantly because it embodies the human spirit.[56] Thus, a house design is successful only when the architect manages to imbue it with spirit. By spirit, Rading means three things: the human emotions, the essence of the function at hand, and the mood of the age.[57] "A house is not an accumulation of stones, cement and steel alone. The material appears dead, the work, the house is to you a dead body," he wrote. "But every stone . . . is imbued with power . . . When one understands the spiritual nature of construction, of columns, loads, and tension, that are not only physical but spiritual phenomena, then it will not be difficult to fashion from body and spirit a new third thing artwork."[58] For Rading, then, architecture is the embodiment of spirit in a building, accomplished through the rational mediation of an architect. It is important to note the opposition between the "live" spirit and "dead" material. Architecture only has value when the architect instills it with emotion; neither material nor technology alone can accomplish this goal. Rading thus directly opposes the German avant-garde belief in the power of technology and new materials to energize architecture.

Rading emphasizes the dual aspect of art and architecture and the notion of the "third entity" again and again. In a letter published in *Die Form*, he discusses art as the combination of the "visible and invisible," manifest through tangible material and intangible ideas, its essential elements, which are as interdependent as the human body and soul.[59] Rading is less clear about how the architect should unite the material and immaterial, alluding rather elliptically to "skill" as the necessary quality. By "skill" he seems to mean talent and intuition, since the spiritual nature of material has to be sensed, which requires an ineffable quality or talent one is born with. Although spirit is the essence of good design, rational thinking brings the spirit forth. In one essay, he asserts that "Art means order, rationalization of needs, and thereby the most rational use of the materials and most economical use of money."[60] Without reason, intuition cannot be exploited to its fullest potential and the architect cannot make successful buildings. Thus these two seemingly opposing qualities, intuition and reason, must both be mobilized in the interest of good design.

Rading also struggled with what he termed "idealism and realism." He did not use the terms in their pure philosophical senses, but was careful to define them. In his opinion, the city architect was either "a realist for whom contemporary life and economy are givens from which he makes set forms, as functional

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as possible; or he is an idealist under the attraction of man as a unique personality for whom he seeks to discover forms for the new community life."[61] The realist sees the world as it is and uses rational methods of analysis to solve its problems. The idealist, on the other hand, is a romantic, as the historian George Mosse points out. For the idealist, the world consists of perfect yet unattainable types toward which art should strive. Rading explicitly positioned his work between idealism and realism: he attempted to functionally realize new forms that would enable his clients to realize their romantic, intuitive, spiritual needs and desires. By pragmatically using traditional architectural elements and spatial configurations, he could introduce clients to new design, mixing familiar with unfamiliar, old and new, so that they could embrace new design.

The House of Dr. Rabe (1930) in Zwenkau typifies Rading's approach. Three stories high, the house is white stucco and has a flat roof with a barely articulated thin metal drip edge. At first glance, it appears to be an unremarkable example of *Neues Bauen* design. But on closer examination, Rading's quirky personalization becomes apparent. Each facade has a unique aspect, and none is symmetrical. The main entrance is offset to one side of the front facade, marked by an asymmetrically placed awning. Inside, the visitor discovers a rationally arranged square plan, with simple rectangular rooms organized around a two-story central void. Rading decorated the void and the rooms surrounding it as a multicolored three-dimensional art installation, with colored shapes that wrap around corners while Oskar Schlemmer created metal sculptural figures to hang from the surfaces.

Schlemmer's work was designed to be an integral part of the architecture; together, space and art distinguish the house. The house is sparsely furnished with contemporary pieces; walls and floors are smooth, clean surfaces; and the layout of the rooms is highly functional. Services like lights and heating elements are exposed and unadorned. In a nod to traditional planning, the piano nobile is raised up off the ground, servant quarters and parking are on the ground level, and bedrooms are on the third floor. It would be possible for the bedrooms to overlook the double height living space, but Rading kept them separate and private, as was his wont. Conjoining idealism and realism produces a compact, well-functioning house with wonderful, unique spaces that reveal the dialectical power of Rading's work.

Rading's writings reveal a deep mistrust of technology that is tied to his belief in the spiritual nature of art. Like Lauterbach, he disliked purely technological work.[62] "Is it not so," he asks, "that this 'technology' is only technology and not something spiritual and therefore is not in a position to alter the spiritual structure of mankind and with a 'feeling of happiness' give other form and

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Fig. 38. Adolf Rading's Dr. Rabe House in Zwenkau as it is today (1930) (Wikipedia courtesy of Magnus Manske).

content?" For Rading, technology's greatest failure is its inability to improve man's spiritual wellbeing.[63] Furthermore, technology by itself has no creative force, but requires man's intervention. His wariness about technology did not keep Rading from using the latest materials and building systems, nor did it prevent him from developing types for mass construction projects, like the floor plans he designed for the Breslau Oranienstrasse row housing (1922), which repeat one basic plan type with slight variations, and the apartment house for the Breslau *WuWA*, for which he developed eight basic layouts. While capitalizing on the economy inherent in repetitive types, Rading took care to avoid straight-out repetition, varying facades, for instance, so they would not be deadly boring. Avoiding repetition was not just an aesthetic choice; it was part of a design method that responded to spatial experience rather than spatial function, sublimating the technological to the human order. By using perceptions of interior spaces to govern things like window size and placement, Rading was able to exploit technology without celebrating it.

Rading's criticism of *Typisierung* (standardization) follows a logic similar

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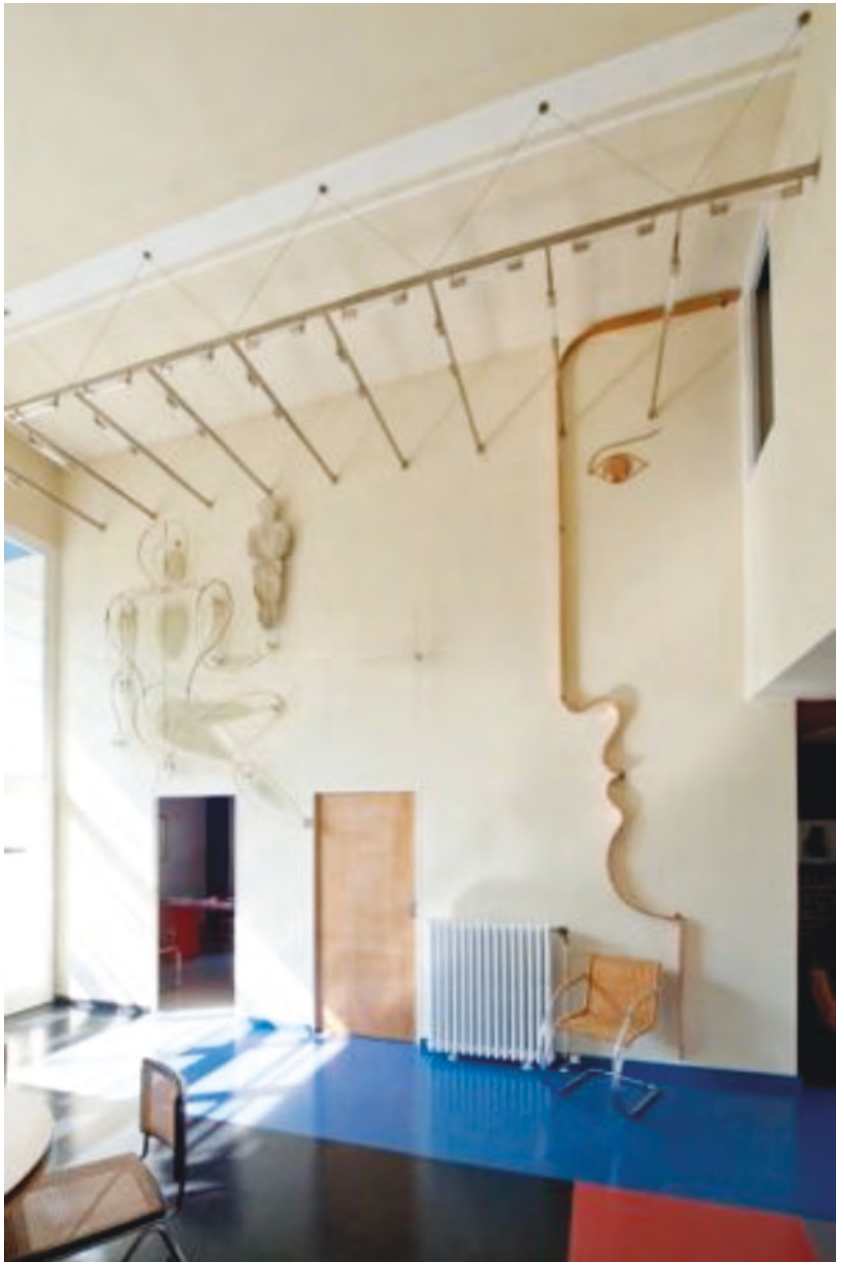

Fig. 39. Oskar Schlemmer wall piece for the Dr. Rabe House in Zwenkau (Bauhaus Archiv).

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to his position on technology. "*Typisierung* does not develop automatically," he writes. Rather, it develops when there is a clear need and an application for that need.[64] Furthermore, it is only an effective building strategy when part of a comprehensive design plan that takes into account the "living needs of the residents," by which Rading means the individual day-to-day habits of particular occupants. Designing in the abstract for some unknown future occupant thus becomes very difficult, since people have different "living needs." Rading believed that the strength of *Typisierung* lay in its technical potential, but that potential could only be realized in the context of the spiritual dimension of design. For Rading, technology, standardized type-form, and economics were always secondary to design's more abstract considerations: "Investigating the housing problem of the times independently from economy and numbers and to make the results fit practical and economic conditions will be the most important theoretical task of the coming years."[65] Rading views the architect's ability to think about design—that is, his deployment of both reason and intuition—as his greatest strength, through which he can reduce building costs, create a better functioning building, and, above all, bring the ineffable to architecture.[66]

It is certainly possible to standardize parts in architectural design without creating dull architecture. When Rading designed the third—and last—renovation of the Mohrenapotheke in Breslau he made minimal alterations to the interior but used an elegant standardized facade system to update the building's street face. Horizontal fingers of white opaque glass panes overlap the rightmost bay of the building, giving the illusion that the facade is in motion. Black opaque glass accents interspersed between the windows make the facade look clean and sleek. The top floor has a balcony bordered by a tubular steel handrail. Given Rading's openness to historic architecture, his choice to update the facade and give the Mohrenapotheke the first truly modern facade in Breslau's medieval town center may seem odd. But in fact Rading's renovation is extremely sensitive to its context, marrying the new outward expression with the historical fabric around it. Its horizontal thrusts align with the historic buildings on either side, while its roof respects the heights of adjacent structures. Although their horizontality is exaggerated, the Mohrenapotheke windows are actually about the same height and width as windows of neighboring buildings and the rhythms of the building's facade echo its neighbors. Although some saw the use of glass as jarring and out of context next to ornate seventeenth- and eighteenth-century buildings, Rading was able to design a modern facade that was responsive to its historic context, epitomizing his belief in the historical continuum and the viability of marrying the old and the new.

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Scharoun

Of all the Breslau architects, Hans Scharoun was the most unusual. He was a signatory to the avant-garde groups *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* and *Novembergruppe*, joined the Ring, and was considered radical and important enough to be included in the *Weissenhofsiedlung*. Yet according to his biographers, Scharoun's work never fully conformed to any classification, traditional or modern. Syring and Kirschenmann call him "the outsider of Modernism," while Colin St. John Wilson includes him in his book *The Other Tradition of Modern Architecture*.[67] With modifiers like "outsider" and "other," historians try to locate Scharoun's work within an alternative stream of modernism, as if there was such a thing as mainstream modernism. Yet modernism, like Weimar culture, was always multivalent. Although Scharoun may not belong in *Neues Bauen*, that does not necessarily mean he was an outlier. Rather, his work represents one of many approaches to modernism.

Scharoun moved to Breslau when he secured an appointment as a professor at the Academy, with Rading's help. Scharoun was a unique architect from the start, basing his work on his personal ideas about architecture, rather than the tenets of any particular movement. At seventeen, he declared that "The independent architect must not be governed by sensations, but by reflection,"[68] by which he meant several things: the architect should not be ruled by what he sees, whether historic precedent or current fashion, nor by the material, spatial, and light impressions he experiences, but by what he discovers through personal contemplation.[69] Of course the architect should take into account what he sees and experiences as he develops his designs, but contemplation should control the decision-making process. Scharoun pondered most aspects of his art: human being, space, form, structure, program, house, city, landscape, and the future potential of architecture. The numerous conceptual drawings and paintings he executed over the years attest to his active imagination and the originality of his vision. Like Rading and Lauterbach, he saw form as something essential, "not a symbol, but a productive agent of the substance of all considered forces." "The independent architect" was also crucial to his vision, in both of its meanings: the architect's status vis-à-vis the state building apparatus, in a country where many architects were state employees, and the individual architect's relationship to other architects and aesthetic movements. Above all, Scharoun believed deeply in the unfettered creative mind of the individual, a belief that, in the history of architecture, is definitively "modern."[70]

While Scharoun embraced certain core tenets of 1920s modernism, he ignored others. Thus, like Rading, he believed in a rational approach to design,

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as well as the importance of function for spatial planning, but he refused to be governed by these values, placing the human experience of space and form at the center of his design work. Profoundly influenced by his friend Hugo Häring, who also deeply affected Lauterbach, but unlike Rading, Scharoun thought that intuition took precedence over reason, a point to which he returned repeatedly over the years. He observes that "The creator makes form intuitively, responding not to his individual temperament, but to the times he serves."[71] For Scharoun intuition is not just an individual trait but a sense that is strongly connected to the contemporary cultural context in which the artist finds him or herself. Describing the interwar avant-garde group *Gläserne Kette* (Crystal Chain) many years later, he wrote:

> Thereby was determined, the diversity of individual powers of imagination whether it occurred as the realization of sensual-dynamic aspect or the glass clear spirit . . . From this began the new theme of "organic building" which Hugo Häring later developed in his theoretical work. Instead of "placing form," "finding form." Instead of architectonic elements as preconditions, structural order, as an essential depiction of the event with regard to function and spirit.[72]

Successful form finding meant arriving at the essential in architecture, which was "not a symbol, but the active origin of all solemn effects." This picture presents the creative mind as an open agent engaged in an act of discovery—"finding form"—rather than rational choice—"placing form." Scharoun embraced order as necessary to good design but viewed it not as mere geometry, but as a natural system whose parts were integral to the whole—that is, "organically related to one another." Orthogonal geometry was effective only when it best served a project's formal and spatial order or functional purpose, not as an end in and of itself. Using modern idioms was, by extension, not an end, but a means to a design end.

Scharoun's unorthodox approach to geometry, evident throughout his career, appeared even in his earliest sketches for unbuilt projects, which depicted formally animated, geometric experiments, like his Honorable Mention submission for the 1922 competition to design a skyscraper on *Friedrichstrasse* in Berlin.[73] The perspective sketch for the skyscraper shows a complex building volume that steps back from the street and up to a tower at the back corner of the site. The triangular main entry contrasts with the curve of the sidewalk in front. The building facades undulate in strange ways: one side curls around the corner, while another waves in and out. The geometry in the plan is even more

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complex. Though at first glance it appears to be symmetrically ordered and centrally focused, the plan is in fact asymmetrical, with rooms made up of an odd assortment of irregular forms. Scharoun clearly determined the plan logic from something other than rational or geometric ordering, and reviewing the competition entries for *Bauwelt*, Max Berg extolled his "fantasy" and "artistically formal" invention.[74]

Along with geometric freedom, Scharoun felt that architecture should express the *Lebensgefühl* (attitude toward life) of an era, but he did not believe there was a single or correct aesthetic solution to this expression, nor did he believe in ignoring the lessons of history. In his lectures, he repeatedly referred to historical architecture as a model for what can be done, though not something to imitate, a position that echoed Polzeig and Rading. He also seems to have shared Poelzig and Rading's belief in the mystical connection between the *Volk* and true architecture. In 1920, he wrote, "A thousand possibilities flow through our fantasy . . . our fierce will must feverishly look forward to the night of agreement with the primal impulse of the people [*Volk*]. Only then will building fundamentals have the sensuality of mankind and the purity of the crown of the hereafter. Then we will be true again."[75] This mystical and romantic tone permeates his writings of the 1920s, at odds with his otherwise rational explications of the new building art. Scharoun wrestled with the notions of *Lebensgefühl* and the related concept of *Zeitgeist* (spirit of the times). In one revealing passage, he explained how style emerges from tensions between the will of the times, function, and material.[76] But he remained vague when it came to a precise explication of the will of the times. He believed in the new society but tried to humanize the community (*Gemeinschaft*) by creating buildings with individual identity and shared spaces.[77] Like Rading, he utilized new materials and construction methods yet rejected the technological and the machine as determinants of architectural form.[78] In 1921, he said, "The gears of the spirit must be brought to intensive work, so that booming technology in its victory lap, but also in its terrible mechanization and the loss of intellectual power [it creates] does not crush the spiritual structure of contemporary Europe."[79] Scharoun feared that technology and the machine would stifle positive human instincts, especially in the arts.

Scharoun was equally cautious about the development of *Typisierung*, warning that it could only emerge in response to the specific needs of architects, clients, and technicians, not in the context of artificially created needs.[80] For the 1932 competition The Growing House, Scharoun embraced prefabrication and standardization as essential principles for developing inexpensive kits-of-parts that could easily be added to over time.[81] In this case, *Typisierung* made sense

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because it responded to client needs, promising cost controls and flexibility. The Transportable House, constructed for the 1927 *Deutsche Garten- u. Gewerbeausstellung* in Liegnitz, was one of Scharoun's rare forays into prefabricated design. Though the house design was based on a repetitive unit type comprised of repeating standard panels, Scharoun could not accept the monotony implicit in *Typisierung*. Within this highly rationalized system, he varied window sizes and forms, changed rhythms, and offset the entrance to counter the symmetry of the form. Inside, he managed to undermine the regularity of the construction system with rooms of varying sizes whose disposition obscured the modular nature of the structure. The idea was that the owners would participate in the configuration of the house, using the repetitive units to create the house of their desires, adapted to their way of living.[82] Scharoun thus approached *Typisierung* in a manner similar to that of Rading by taking advantage of the benefits of modern construction while avoiding its pitfalls, particularly the monotony that can result from repetitive systems. The foray into *Typisierung* was an anomaly in his practice, however, to which Scharoun never returned.

Scharoun's design work always combined intuitive and rational impulses, even as it varied over the years. His solutions differed from Rading's in their formal and expressive freedom. His 1918–20 sketches for the *Gläserne Kette* were decidedly expressionist in their transparent crystalline forms, vibrant colors, and utopian aspirations. However, the theater fantasies of 1922 are dynamic and sculptural, rather than strictly expressionist. Gone are the prismatic forms and transparent glass volumes. Instead, the forms swirl and surge upwards and even the sky spins or radiates, in a visual realization of Scharoun's belief in movement and its relationship to form. Scharoun defended his designs by explaining how human motion through space generated the form.[83] The palette is lighter than the earlier aquarelles, reinforcing the sense of motion as the buildings seem to float lightly on the page. Proposals for housing in Insterburg and Prenzlau (1919), on the other hand, have all the hallmarks of traditional German *Siedlung* design, including pitched roofs and punched windows and gables, although the beginnings of a more abstract approach appear in the simplified massing, smooth surfaces, and experiments with roof profile and facade composition. In 1921, Scharoun participated in a competition for a Museum of Hygiene in Dresden, tellingly naming his entry *Kultur und Zivilisation*. The plan is an odd mix of orthogonal, rational spaces and prismatic ones, while the elevation similarly depicts a dry functionalist facade that seems to have been taken over by a series of parasitic prismatic forms.[84] Like Insterburg and Prenzlau and the Museum of Hygiene, the 1922 competition entry for the *Friedrichstrasse* Skyscraper (see above) bears the hallmarks of Scharoun's

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Fig. 40. Hans Scharoun, House at the *Weissenhofsiedlung*, Stuttgart (1927). (Wikipedia, courtesy of Shakespeare.)

later work in its mix of idioms combining soaring crystalline forms with curvilinear elements at the street. Some volumes are almost all glass and others have punched windows typical of contemporary skyscrapers, making the design resemble a collage of ideas or an amalgamation of different design impulses.

Even at the *Weissenhofsiedlung* (1927), Scharoun did not quite toe the line. Although his single-family home displays many of the hallmarks of the new style—he could not bring himself to restrict the house to a simple cubic form, instead curving two corners to help direct movement around the house and garden.

The interior staircase sits inside one of the curved corners, while a large curved horizontal window with a panoramic view of the neighborhood cuts the other. A piece of the roof dips down toward the entry. Scharoun does not seem to have minded being a bit of a renegade or being called a "*Kurvenromantiker*." Adolf Behne summarized Scharoun's position: "Orthogonal rooms, that are straight lines, are not functional, merely mechanical entities."[85] The house is well thought out but eschews the constrictions of the "modern" box form used at other *Weissenhofsiedlung* projects, instead displaying Scharoun's iconoclasm.

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Scharoun used the word "balance" to describe his 1927 competition entry for an addition to the *Reichstag*, for which he proposed a radically different contemporary extension to the neoclassical structure. Balance referred to the aesthetic equilibrium between these two very different approaches to building form, but Scharoun also frequently used the terms "*ausbalancieren*" (balance out) and "*Ausgleich*" (balance or equalize) to indicate his larger architectural strategy.[86] In the body of his work, Scharoun found the balance between different aesthetic and philosophical extremes. Balance also described how his designs seamlessly integrated differing forces. Scharoun could work with the functional planning and new technology of the *Neues Bauen* while responding to his intuitive drives; he could simultaneously use white stucco, steel, glass, and curvilinear form; he could respond to the new social program and relate it to larger notions of German society; he could take an alien white building and successfully integrate it into the natural landscape. In sum, Scharoun was able to balance tradition and modernity in an original and elegant fashion.

Clement Greenberg claimed that we more or less know what "modern" means in the case of architecture, but the definition is far more problematic in the case of art. In his view, "modern" architecture entailed "functional, geometric rigor and the eschewing of decoration or ornament."[87] He pointed out that the early return of the figurative and representative to "modern" art made it difficult to make distinctions in pictorial art, whereas the elements of architectural classicism did not return until 1980s postmodernism. Turning Greenberg's assertion on its head, the clarity of "modern" elements in architecture should make it relatively easy to distinguish modern from traditional work. But although there is some truth to this assertion, in architecture, as in art, the divisions are not as clear or absolute as they may seem, as the 1920s work of Breslau architects demonstrates. The difficulty in pinning down the modern should be seen not as problematic, however, but as a sign of the richness of architectural invention during the Weimar period.

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Chapter 6

A Nonideological Modernism: Breslau Artists in the 1920s

> ". . . *the insular seclusion that already existed . . . before the War . . . [is] the deeper reason for disaffection [and immigration]. It is contrary to the curious experience that many personalities here who stand at the pinnacle of spiritual life in the Reich have had; they discovered the East as a new land, not constituted of cold and prudish men, closed in their hearts, but discovered not only a wide playing field but a second Heimat*."
>
> —Carl Lange, *Schlesische Monatshefte*, 1928

Although Breslau's artistic life coalesced around the Academy, the diverse personalities and interests of Breslau artists made the community truly significant. Looking back on his years in Breslau, the artist Alexander Camaro said, "On the one hand, we have truly lost this city [Breslau], on the other hand, it was an exceedingly fruitful cultural epoch and a spiritually liberal city. Not least, through the concentration, a fortunate combination of a circle of creative men, that seldom occurs."[1] Camaro implies that the cultural developments in Breslau were particular to the Weimar "epoch" and to Breslau itself. As Carl Lange realized, the situation in the East was a paradox. Breslau seemed isolated and remote, yet artists who went there discovered a place where they were free to work as they pleased, largely because they were ignored. That freedom was both real and illusory. Although artists in Breslau could navigate the territory between avant-garde and traditional aesthetics as they pleased, they remained dependent on Berlin in many ways. Local and regional recognition and patronage were not sufficient for building a lasting and fruitful career. While artists could make a decent living in the provinces, they made and maintained their reputations in the capital city's internationally recognized galleries, museums, and publications. Breslau artists thus had to operate in a reciprocal relationship to the cultural scene in Berlin, if they wanted to truly succeed.

The artists who migrated to Breslau after 1918 pursued an incredible

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range of aesthetic approaches. Fiercely independent and individualistic, they nonetheless can be characterized as a group who blurred distinctions between the representational aspects of traditional art and the abstract geometric tendencies in new art.[2] To paraphrase Hans Scharoun's assessment of his colleagues, cited in chapter 3: Paul Dobers, Paul Holz, and Konrad von Kardorff were traditionalists who used realistic representation; Alexander Kanoldt was interested in New Objectivity; Carlo Mense was a Magic Realist; Georg Muche was an abstractionist, Otto Mueller was an expressionist; and Oskar Schlemmer was fascinated with the human figure. But in describing his peers, Scharoun did not use standard stylistic labels, like cubism or New Objectivity. Instead, he pointed to the intent or focus of each artist's work. Rather than referring to Otto Mueller as an expressionist, Scharoun described him as "Mueller, of the vegetative." Rather than label Holz a realist or traditionalist, he noted that "Paul Holz [was engaged with] the strength and power of origins."[3] These semantic choices emphasized each artist's individual contribution, distinct from any style, movement, or group. They also point to the fact that these artists did not conform to the narrow prescriptions of modernist or traditionalist aesthetic imperatives, but had to be defined on their own terms. Indeed, Weimar-era art in Breslau demonstrates that the split between conservative and modern or avant-garde was not so clear.

Challenging Style

Contemporary observers recognized the range of aesthetics in Weimar-era Germany. In 1921, Willi Wolfradt wrote in *Das Kunstblatt*, "we have no culture, no style, we find ourselves in an anarchy of formal tendencies, in a state of epigonal, utopian rootlessness."[4] Wolfradt framed this state as loss—"One cedes to engineers and certain politicians [the right] to be happy about civilization, one complains over lost culture, rhapsodizes for the coming one"—explicitly pointing to art as both the "product of our cultural situation" and "a mirror of our desire to overcome our situation."[5] Two aspects of art, form and content, were key to addressing what he saw as the chaotic, technically oriented, complex condition of modernity and modern city dwellers, for "Content is the artistic goal of the representation, under Form we understand the accomplishment of this goal using the chosen means."[6] Like Scharoun's descriptions of his peers, Wolfradt's frame offers a less polarized, and arguably more accurate, model for discussing artists and their work than the usual stylistic labels. Wolfradt noted that contemporary art seemed to "unite" the many tendencies in art,

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the "concert of contrasts" in an "arena of polarities," asserting that the surface impression of the era's fragmented, polarized, disconnected art movements belied the existence of an underlying order.[7] He likened contemporary art to a wave sweeping over the sand that engulfs the beach, rearranges it, then recedes; although the wave of modernity could be overwhelming, tradition would never disappear. Indeed, the "anarchy" Wolfradt described could be viewed as rich variety, the fruitful result of active artistic engagement, while the absence of "style" and "culture" he described may, in fact, have been the formal expression of the endless possibilities afforded by the combination of old and new. Wolfradt's analysis and its implications certainly applied to Breslau, which was as a magnet for the artists Wolfradt describes, who embraced the wealth of formal possibilities available to them.

Like all Weimar artists, Breslau artists faced the tensions between the modern and the traditional, along with the avant-garde. As David Cottington, Matei Calinescu, and others point out, "modern" and "avant-garde" are related but not synonymous terms for two connected but distinct groups.[8] The avant-garde seeks to break with convention and forge new territory. In Germany during the 1920s, members of the avant-garde generally could be identified by their membership in particular associations like the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* and *Novembergruppe* in Berlin, and *Rat Geistiger Arbeit* and *Gruppe 19* in Breslau. They tended to believe in left-wing politics, drastic educational reform, and the marriage of art and life (whatever that meant). Modern artists engaged in their work with the conditions of modernity: social, political, demographic, and technological change; mass communications and media; urbanity; psychological states of mind.

Many Breslau artists subscribed to Oskar Moll's beliefs that quality, not style, matters in art and all art builds on past achievements. This focus on the evolution of art differed from the radical avant-garde's theory of a revolutionary break with the past. Of course there is a difference between rhetoric and reality, and much of the avant-garde was as deeply rooted in tradition as any traditional artists, as historians like Barbara Miller Lane and Colin Rowe have demonstrated.[9] German expressionism, for instance, was an avant-garde movement deeply invested in romantic art. Still, Breslau artists were unusual in their open embrace of both tradition and modernity.

The most obvious manifestation of this embrace was the way Breslau art combined different elements from traditional and contemporary art, in contrast to work that only embraced contemporary ideas and forms. Artists like Moll, Marg Moll, Mueller, Paula Grünefeld, and Schlemmer, used traditional forms, like the still life, nude, portrait, and landscape, but rendered

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them in an abstract, nonspatial, and unrealistic fashion. Johannes Molzahn worked with abstracted compositions of recognizable figures in a nonlinear space, and the emotional and psychological aspects of his work were very important. Other artists, like Paul Holz, worked with traditional media, such as the woodcut, and traditional representational techniques, like perspective, but experimented within these modes by depicting nontraditional subject matter or partially abstracting elements of otherwise realistic images. Painters like Carlo Mense combined figuration and abstraction, adding the new element of the dreamscape to great effect. Alexander Kanoldt is still considered one of the key figures in *Neue Sachlichkeit*, yet, as his biographer and childhood friend Wilhelm Hausenstein pointed out, his work was at once absolutely new and deeply rooted in classicism.[10] He painted traditional subjects like cityscapes and still lifes using new methods of applying color and manipulating light. Kanoldt also heightened the emotional quality of his canvases to create a hyper-reality. There were as many formulations for combining old and new as Breslau had imaginations to invent them.

The Breslau artists did not want to be labeled or even associated with any specific aesthetic ideology or "ism," including the avant-garde. Schlemmer left the *Bauhaus* in part because of the turmoil after Gropius's departure, but also because Hannes Meyer was pushing a narrowly prescriptive approach to art that emphasized explicitly political or social aims and did not have room for Schlemmer's theatrical experiments. In Breslau, by contrast, Schlemmer discovered an open, supportive, noninvasive atmosphere where, he wrote, Moll "rules quietly and wisely," without imposing any agenda on his faculty.[11] Georg Muche also seems to have left Dessau for Breslau in search of a less restrictive atmosphere. By 1922, Muche was already concerned with the direction at the *Bauhaus*. He wrote to Gropius:

> I am of the opinion that art today is as much an end in itself as in any time, and that for the unambiguously arts talented man will always remain an end in itself, even where it seems applied. I suspect that one too narrowly limits the freedoms of the creative individual when one takes the negation of the formula, "art for art's sake" as a fundamental principle. The useless picture is just as fundamentally creative as the technician's useful machine.[12]

Presumably Muche was reacting against the functional imperative pushed at the *Bauhaus* at that time. His own art in the 1920s was hardly applied, combin-

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ing cubist abstraction with dreamy colored schemes, and his insistence on artistic independence aligned with the prevailing sentiment in Breslau where, unlike Dessau, there was no push toward functionalism.

Otto Mueller similarly believed strongly in artistic quality. Herbert Wentscher, one of Mueller's pupils, described him thus: "In [my] memory [of Mueller] lingers the incorruptibility of artistic things, his advocacy for absolute quality. He remained true to himself until his last hour, he also demanded the highest accomplishments from his students."[13] Many of Mueller's colleagues described his fierce adherence to personal vision, as does his biographer, Lothar-Günther Buchheim.[14] Even when Mueller joined the *Brücke*, he remained an outsider. He never adopted the bold colors and heavy-handed line, which were the signature formal elements of the *Brücke*, nor did he abandon the tropes that typify his work, such as the nude, gypsies, and landscape. Kanoldt also remained fascinated with traditional subjects like landscape, architecture, and the portrait. His forays into the avant-garde in Munich were short-lived, as he quit the *Neuen Kunstlervereinigung* (New Artists Association) and the Munich *Neue Sezession* (New Secession) almost as soon as he joined them. Kanoldt never moved into the abstraction and cubism explored by other Munich artists, like Kandinsky, Jawlensky, and Le Fauconnier, or the vibrant colors of Franz Marc; instead, his art remained subdued and tied to its traditional origins.

Moll bragged about the diversity of aesthetic positions held by the Academy faculty, which he clearly viewed as both a strength and a defining characteristic of the Academy.[15] It was also a defining quality for the Breslau modern art scene as a whole. The distinguished art and cultural critic Adolf Behne praised the school for its diverse faculty, who nevertheless "achieve a unity of purpose and outlook."[16] It is significant that Behne emphasized approach over style or aesthetic ideology. Rather than movements, Moll spoke of artistic "currents" or "trends" by which he meant specific formal interests, for instance, "The deepening of naturalistic vision without contenting themselves with imitating natural occurrences . . . on the other hand, a wide distancing from the object, a disturbance of the artifact."[17] Moll saw such formal trends as the significant factors in contemporary production, with which artists worked to develop individual means of expression. Style, by contrast, was too narrow and prescriptive, and he consistently repudiated it as a measure of art, instead recognizing the importance of the "many-sided currents" in contemporary art practice.[18]

In the rather mystical formulation, "Not art as an aesthetic object but style out of belief," Moll appropriates "style," redefining it as the desired result of a

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personal approach that arises from inner conviction, rather than in imitation of current art fashion.[19] As Molzahn put it in 1964, in a diatribe against style and the machine aesthetic, "aesthetics are not the result but the foundation for an organically based spirituality" in art, a claim that reflects his Weimar-era position as well.[20] Georg Muche also worried that machine aesthetics were taking over and crowding out individual creativity, which he wanted to keep as open as possible.[21] Otto Mueller admonished himself to "always doubt everything, find the new."[22] Mueller positioned himself outside every art movement, including the avant-garde, doubtfully querying any and every idea so he could discover paths as yet unknown. In sum, Breslau's diversity was specifically predicated on an open-minded use of aesthetic means to develop a form of personal expression. Unlike the radical avant-garde, however, Breslau artists positioned their work neither in reaction to bourgeois society nor or as a means of educating the *Volk*.

The embrace of individuality in Breslau accompanied a suspicion of fashion, style, and prescriptive aesthetics. Unlike the avant-gardist who intentionally rejects norms as an artistic strategy, the Breslau artists celebrated the creative mind that wishes its work to be unique, since singularity makes art special and therefore valuable. The challenge was how to achieve exceptional quality outside the usual aesthetic categories. The painter Hans Purmann, a close friend of the Molls and pupil of Henri Matisse, outlined this challenge in a short essay Marg Moll kept among her personal papers. He wrote, "the goal of our times is to demonstrate the stylistic unity [of artworks] through composition."[23] The difficulty lay in achieving one's own aesthetic coherence, without resorting to imitation, style, or fashion. Purmann was particularly worried about the abandonment of nature and natural subjects for pure abstraction, and he argued that it is possible to work with and from nature without copying natural forms.

Hans Poelzig repeatedly warned against the dangers of imitation and style. Although he was an architect, not an artist, Poelzig's position, shared by many Breslau artists, exemplified the fears about formulaic approaches to art. Poelzig warned again and again that *Sachlichkeit* and functionalism were coming dangerously close to a new style akin to those of the nineteenth century: "This sort of New *Sachlichkeit* has as much false romanticism in it and, in the end, buried *Unsachlichkeit* as every period, that allows itself to become intoxicated with a buzzword."[24] In a letter to Bruno Taut, he railed against the machine, warning "that everything related to the machine should not be holy to contemporary architects lest they fall into the same rut of their 19th century

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predecessors who worshipped styles."[25] Poelzig articulated Breslau's general mistrust of fashionable tropes like the machine metaphor, which were not always bad but needed to be questioned and used only when they had a direct relationship to the problem at hand.

If Poelzig's criticism was balanced and tempered, others, like Georg Muche, went much further. Weighing in on the question of fashion and style, Muche wrote, "If we mean that we are free and untied and that in art all is permitted, then fashion and business dictate what appeals [to people]."[26] Art requires limitations, for if anything goes, the commercial, capitalist domains of fashion and business will determine public taste, resulting in poor quality art. Two fashionable tropes particularly concerned Muche, the machine and technology. In a letter to Walter Gropius, he acknowledged their importance to life but argued that they are secondary to life itself. Muche believed the machine ought to serve art, not serve as art's guiding metaphor. He did not worship the machine as such, nor did he see it as an aesthetic end: "A machine seems senseless to me if it cannot fulfill its function even if it has the most beautiful and artistic form. Artists should not run behind engineers in order to transform their machines into a modern aesthetic."[27] In other words, Muche believed that the machine is less important than art, and that art, technology, and science are secondary to life itself, which undergirds them all—for life is the subject of art, technology serves life, and science probes the secrets of life. Muche also took issue with the notion that art does not serve a purpose: "Useless painting is primordially creative to the same degree that the technologist's useful machine is."[28] To Muche, art's purpose lies in its creative aspect, which is as important to humankind as the machine. Art, after all, serves the spirit, and if art serves the spirit well, it is successful, regardless of its aesthetic expression.

In spite of his attachment to traditional modes of expression and skepticism about the machine and new technology, Moll believed that the artist needed to engage with the present: "To comprehend contemporary values and an accurate testing of the modern instinct will be one of his [the artist's] most important tasks," and to "create new forms is not sensation but acceptable necessity."[29] Moll did not mean that the artist should follow trends and fashions, but rather that he should "comprehend" new ideas, then use them to create with personal meaning. Muche's and Poelzig's reservations notwithstanding, Moll's attitude typified Breslau artists, who certainly engaged with the many new ideas circulating during the 1920s, even as they remained cautious about novelty for its own sake and aware of the pitfalls in following fashion rather than personal artistic conviction.

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Oskar Moll

Oskar and Marg Moll arrived in Breslau in 1918. Oskar was originally from Brieg, Silesia, which helps explain why they accepted the offer to come to Breslau. Born on July 21, 1875, Moll was the youngest surviving child of Henrietta Rosalie Marie and Theodor Leopold Wilhelm Moll. His father and two brothers ran the family leather factory in Brieg.[30] The business was successful and Moll grew up in a privileged upper-middle-class home with all the advantages of the German *Bürgertum*. He never shed the trappings of privilege, and his upbringing and habits later earned him the nickname "Grand Seigneur" at the Academy. Moll regularly smoked a cigar, loved cognac and the hunt, and dressed well. Surviving photographs from the period show him turned out in a dapper suit and tie, quite different from the more bohemian dress of colleagues like Mueller, who usually wore a painter's smock. His bourgeois background invited disdain, possibly motivated by jealousy, from some Breslau associates, like Alexander Kanoldt and Carlo Mense.[31] Kanoldt railed against Moll's "incredible middle-class instincts" and what he saw as the resultant "superficiality" of his personality and work. By the late 1920s, he even accused Moll of being a dictator. But others, like Adolf Rading, Hans Scharoun, and his wife Marg, praised Moll's even-tempered disposition, fair-mindedness, and refusal to be baited by his critics.[32] Moll's easygoing nature made him well suited to deal with the radically different personalities and artistic interests of his faculty.

Siegfried and Dorothea Salzmann, Gisela Fiedler-Bender, and others have rightly argued for the recovery of Moll as an important early modern German painter.[33] Historians point to several factors in explaining his absence from the canon: his status as a German from the East; the destruction of two-thirds of his work during the war, leaving a relatively small record for scholars to study; his reputation as a French-influenced outsider, even during his lifetime; and the fact that his work does not sit comfortably in any aesthetic category. Scholars tend to glance over or ignore the profound debt Moll's work owes traditional painting, yet it is one of its most characteristic qualities.

Over the course of his early career, Moll's painting metamorphosed from the undistinguished academicism of his first canvases to the uniqueness of his mature work. His earliest work took a traditional approach strongly rooted in late nineteenth-century German painting. Moll used a dark palette steeped in browns, greens, and blacks to paint familiar subjects from his everyday surroundings such as pit houses and workers at the family leather factory, Silesian

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Fig. 41. Oskar and Marg Moll (private collection of Brigitte Moll Würtz).

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landscapes, and still lifes modeled after old masters. Adolph von Menzel, a fellow Silesian, certainly influenced his work, as did his teachers Lovis Corinth and Hans Leistikow. After he moved to Berlin, Moll's work took on the elements common to the Berlin Secessionists: a penchant for painting in nature, a brighter palette, and freer brushstrokes. Moll's mature style emerged after his sojourn in Paris, where he made contact with members of the French avant-garde, particularly the fauvists and cubists, and studied with Matisse. By his own admission, his work vacillated between naturalism and abstraction over the years, as he sought out his own path. His personal aesthetic equivocations likely made Moll sympathetic not only to the struggles of others but to differing ideas about art.[34]

The Molls rented a large apartment in the fashionable part of central Breslau on the Schlossplatz, next door to Frederick the Great's Breslau residence. The house at number 4 was a palatial neoclassical stone building that belonged to collector and patron Arthur Ollendorf. The house opened directly onto the square, the site of public parades, political demonstrations, and medieval festivals.[35] Marg remembered enjoying a front row seat on her private balcony during the Kapp Putsch. Moll was an avid collector of antiques and art, and the apartment furnishings and decorations echoed his tastes, which were quite eclectic. His collection was so extensive that in 1932 he mounted a solo exhibition of his antiques at the Breslau Academy.[36] The furniture in the apartment included a mix of solid wooden *Biedermeier* pieces with custom designs by August Endell. The dining room décor was typical, mixing white Baroque pieces with paintings by Picasso, Braque, and Léger, while the living room had reddish brown mahogany *Jugendstil* furniture by Endell and paintings by Matisse, Henri Rousseau, André Lurçat, Jean Souverbie, and Oscar Kokoschka.[37] The range of work in his collection reflected Moll's belief that "quality art of all ages passes together."[38] Though Moll favored the French school, his tastes were broad, and alongside works by Matisse, Leger, Lurçat, Picasso, and Braque hung paintings by Corinth, Mueller, Purmann, Schmidt-Rottluff, and Kokoschka. (Alexander Kanoldt's charge that Moll ignored contemporary German artists is not borne out by an examination of his holdings.)[39] Breslau art historian Ernst Scheyer remarked that "The decoration of these rooms, their different styles, were a further expression not only of their unerring, forward-looking contemporary taste, but also the generosity and tolerance of both Molls."[40]

In his art, Moll tended toward traditional subject matter like the portrait, landscape, and still life. His paintings interpret recognizable objects and subjects using the combination of color palette, light, and composition to convey

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an emotional attitude. Art historians Siegfried and Dorothea Salzmann refer to the lyric character of his canvases.[41] Moll's 1908 portrait of Marg provides a wonderful early example of his poetic voice at work. The painting shows the influence of Matisse and Corinth, who were his teachers and who painted Marg, but also reveals Moll's independent artistic voice. The figure of Marg sits near a window to the left of the canvas. Her figure is more realistically proportioned than Matisse's, more akin to Corinth's, but the imaginative use of color, dark outlines, and type of abstraction obviously derive from Matisse's work. A sliver of an armoire sits to Marg's side, in a clear reference to the Matisse, but her seated pose recalls the Corinth. Her face is obscured in shadow, and Moll stresses her curved, restful, contemplative pose rather than her facial features. Marg is clad in black, and a dark piece of chair back in the lower right corner both balances her figure and helps move the eye over the scene. Compositionally, the painting is closer to the triangular construction used by Corinth, though a splash of pattern on the rear wall and the pattern-like rendering of the scene outside the window gesture toward Matisse. Yet the palette, a mix of subdued pastel peach and yellow, is Moll's own. Matisse is known for his use of brilliant, vibrant colors in flagrant disregard of reality, but although Moll adopted the notion that color should express emotional truth rather than depict reality, he developed his own signature range of restrained colors. Even when he used rich reds and blues, he applied the paint thinly so the canvas never had the saturated quality of a Matisse. The transparent aspect of the paint on the canvas was another typical feature of Moll's work.

By all accounts, Moll approached painting intuitively. He described the artist as a "wanderer," "searcher," and "believer" who struggled all his life to discover "new expressive possibilities."[42] Moll sought to surprise even himself, by painting intuitively without fully knowing his goal.[43] Although he dabbled in abstraction and even cubist form, overly formal and mathematical approaches to painting did not attract him. Rather, Moll seems to have intentionally trod the ground between the poles he identified, one that "accentuated the forms of naturalistic vision without . . . copying natural occurrences," and the other that was "far removed from the object" and concerned with "a disintegration of the subject" evident in abstract approaches like cubism and constructivism.[44]

Neither a theorist nor a polemicist, Moll wrote very little about his work, so art historians must rely on the paintings themselves to decipher it. His few statements on art asserted that "art was music" and the most important aspect of art was quality, not style. Moll could be old-fashioned, equating artistic quality with beauty and finding endless beauty in the natural environment. Toward the end of his life, he wrote, "Life is a work of art for which the most

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challenging nuances are key. To find harmony, is the eternal mystery."[45] Moll's work achieved a layered harmony between differing colors, abstraction and figuration, natural beauty and contrived composition. He sometimes used color realistically, in a shade of green for a plant or blue for the sky, but he always manipulated the color to serve the visual effect of the painting. Unfortunately, most reproductions oversaturate his muted colors. Moll also manipulated light to create drama in his work. Light often radiates from some unseen source or falls on the painting's subjects in impossible ways. Although Moll painted open-air landscapes that captured existing natural beauty, he left them free of human figures. Nothing actually happens; his landscapes capture a mood, as do his portraits and still lifes. He arranged his still lifes meticulously to further the deeper impression he wished to create. Moll's work aestheticized existing environments, natural or manmade, to create visual poetry and establish a "spiritual consonance" between viewer and artist as realized between the viewer's imagination and the painting.[46]

Although Moll neither rejected traditional art nor fully embraced new forms, he did believe that "bringing new forms is not sensation but psychological necessity."[47] He saw the progression of avant-garde styles since the late nineteenth century as evolutionary stages: "Expressionism, Futurism, Cubism, Surrealism. So many differences seem to be contained in these names but the effort by all is actually the same, namely to emerge from the naturalism of the past in order to more or less retreat from the view that nature offers."[48] Moll believed that contemporary art attempted to convey the emotional and psychological truths or inner reality, rather than natural reality.[49] He openly advocated for artists to use old and new to accomplish their goals: "Do not forbid anything—not the old or the new. That does not mean art for everyone . . . Art through choices, neither art through veneration, nor art as aesthetic object, but style out of belief."[50] Most importantly, Moll found style as an expression of contemporary artistic fashion uninteresting, believing instead in personal style as an outgrowth of individual artistic vision.

In 1920, Moll painted *Atelierfenster Breslau* (Atelier Window Breslau) and *Atelierstilleben mit Iris und Mehr* (Atelier Still Life with Iris and More) in his workspace at the Academy. These examples of his mature work demonstrate his unique approach to modernism thematically, compositionally, and technically. Although in *Atelierfenster Breslau*, he uses a more vibrant palette than usual (and than in *Atelierstilleben)*, referring to canvases by Leistikow that heighten the contrast between flora, sky, and water by using a dark, often black, pigment like a shadow image, overall the similarities between the paintings outweigh their differences. Both take Moll's personal objects and the familiar

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Fig. 42. Oskar Moll, *Atelierfenster Breslau* (1920) (courtesy of Landesmuseum Mainz).

space of his atelier as their principal subjects. Rather than depict the room in its entirety, each painting captures a section, a moment, and an emotionally charged impression. Objects appear in a flattened space, arranged on a tilted, perspectival plane, in a mode of representation neither fully representational nor fully abstract. Both paintings juxtapose interior objects with a view of nature, although *Atelierfenster Breslau* is more radical, collapsing inside and outside onto a single plane and diminishing the window frame so that they seem continuous. Although Moll's atelier was in the city, the paintings show only natural features, as if it were in a wood or garden, a choice consistent with Moll's obsessive interest in nature. Flagrantly manipulating the truth to deny the urban environment in favor of a natural setting is one form of idealizing and transforming the urban. During the Weimar period, this impulse was normally associated with

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romantic conservatives, not progressives. In canvases like the *Zwei Winterszenen* (Two Winter Scenes), nature literally swallows the man-made environment, devouring everything in its path. Moll was delighted to move to Breslau where, he wrote, "in my beloved *Heimat*, I can discover the laws of beauty." Paradoxically, Moll's *Heimat* is a city, but his vision of beauty in the *Heimat* focuses on nature. His work seems to be the animation of an inner conflict, combining traditional painting types with new ideas about space, the picture plane, color, and light.

Marg Moll

Marg Moll, like her husband Oskar, amalgamated traditional and progressive approaches to art. Although she trained as both a painter and a sculptor, she is best known for her three-dimensional work, where she addressed her lifelong professional interest in the human figure: her sculptures take the body as their exclusive subject, but in myriad ways. Marg came to Breslau because of her husband's appointment at the Academy, but she was an accomplished artist in her own right. The few biographical sources and Marg's own testimony reveal that she was a fiercely independent woman who left home at a young age to pursue her art studies in an era when women generally did not study or work at all. She studied drawing from the nude and sculpture in Frankfurt at the Städel Institute, drawing from the nude and charcoal drawing techniques at Lovis Corinth's studio in Berlin, human anatomy with Dr. Robert Richter at the Lewin Funcke-School in Berlin, and she was a founding student at the Matisse School in Paris, along with German painter Hans Purmann and her husband, Oskar.[51] Thus, her education exposed her to solid technical foundations for her art, along with new ideas.

In 1911, Marg befriended the German sculptor August Gaul, known for his lifelong passion for animal subjects but also for being an early exponent of abstraction in three-dimensional work. Gaul's move from textured to smooth surfaces had parallels in Marg's work, as did his fascination with animals, since Marg also made numerous animal pieces over the years. Käthe Kollwitz was another close friend who experimented in three-dimensional work, depicting the working class in figures known for their deep emotional content. Truncated pieces by Wilhelm Lehmbruck, Georg Kolbe, and Constantin Brancusi clearly inspired Marg's partial figures, while Léger's rounded, voluptuous forms found expression in Marg's work during the 1920s. Marg's figures often convey empathy for the human condition: her *Liebhaber* (Lovers, 1928) en-

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twine until they seem almost to be one body, swaying as if carried away with affection. The year she met Gaul, Marg exhibited some of her works in the Secession Exhibition in Berlin.[52] Exhibitions followed at other galleries in Berlin, Munich, Breslau, and other cities. Erich Wiese purchased her bronze figure *Tanzende* (Dancing One) for the Breslau Museum of Fine Art in 1921.[53] The bronze, which the Nazis included in the infamous *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art) exhibit of 1937, is typical of Marg's mature work, using stylized form—an arm poised over the head, another dropped and extended forward, left hip thrust outward, head turned to one side, and legs crossed over one another—to create an illusion of inert material animated. The body surfaces are smooth, and the only detail is in the face and hair. The figure is both recognizable and abstract, rendering traditional subject matter in a new way.

Surviving photographs and sculptures show that Marg's work, like that of other Breslau artists without a set style, had a consistency of purpose. Hans Scharoun wrote that "Marg Moll never settled on a manner . . . as sculptor of naked bodies she remained a Humanist . . . The totally abstract, geometric work is seldom in her oeuvre. But she did know how to abstract, that is how to penetrate to the essence of objects."[54] Marg takes nature, usually the human figure, as a starting point, but rather than imitating what she sees, she interprets it, infusing the form with meaning. Her earliest extant work, like *Am Weg Sitzende* (In the Way of Sitting, 1911), already uses the human form but not in a wholly realistic manner.

The influence of sculptors like August Rodin is evident in the rough molding of the surface and the modeling of the figure so that it can be viewed in the round, from any perspective. Marg soon departed from the relatively representational style of her early work to experiment with less recognizable forms inspired by the body, but she retained the Rodin-inspired in-the-round format. The figure is always abstracted in proportion, shape, and angle and often truncated to focus the viewer's attention on particular elements, like an arm or head, and make the corporeality less obvious. *Stehende mit Krug* (Standing with Jug, 1928) typifies Marg's pieces from the 1920s.

It is a female body cast in bronze, with angular yet rounded limbs and torso. The head and limbs are recognizable but distorted in scale and shape, denuded of normal physical detail. The material makes the sculpture reflective, and the visual effect caused by the play of light and shadow on the forms heightens the figure's sensuality. Like most of Marg's work, *Stehende mit Krug* is highly evocative but open to the viewer's interpretation. Its combination of representation and abstraction demonstrates how adeptly Marg negotiated the territory between traditional and new sculpture.

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Fig. 43. Marg Moll, *Am Weg Sitzende*, 1911 (private collection of Brigitte Moll Würtz).

Marg's work changed over the long course of her career because she was open to new ideas rather than set in a formulaic approach to her art.[55] Yet the fundamentals remained the same. Marg took human posture or gestures as starting points and used her skills of animating material, whether cast bronze or wood. Her pieces seem to express the fundamental nature of things without depicting their true physical nature, blurring the distinctions between traditional and modern work.

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Fig. 44. Marg Moll, *Stehende mit Krug*, 1928 (Georg Kolbe Museum).

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Mueller

Although Otto Mueller was temperamentally and artistically different from his friends Oskar and Marg Moll, the three shared certain beliefs. Like Marg, Mueller was fascinated with human form and interested in new ways of depicting the body. Like Oskar, Mueller's painting combined old and new. Mueller was virtually the same age as Oskar and arrived in Breslau in 1919. Writing about Mueller and his work is challenging on several fronts. The taciturn private artist rarely corresponded and never wrote about his work. Mueller's canvases and his friends' stories comprise most of the historical record. Mueller seems to have wanted it this way, writing, "My pictures replace any biography, I show my life and experiences in my work."[56] But reading the artist through his work is tricky for many reasons, most notably that Mueller destroyed most of his early work, leaving it impossible to know whether he hated his first attempts at drawing, painting, and lithography or was trying to manipulate future attempts to tell his story by withholding evidence of his early efforts. Despite the patchy record, however, enough evidence remains to construct a picture of the man and his approach, and to conclude that Mueller's art was a mix of traditional and contemporary influences.

Art historians tend to portray Mueller as an expressionist on the basis of his association with the Berlin-based *Brücke* group and his painting technique. But his contemporaries, art critics Paul Westheim and Karl Scheffler, and his biographers offer more complex estimations that ring true today.[57] Scheffler recognized Mueller's debt to classicism, calling him "German-Roman," while Westheim described Mueller's art as a modern handling of "intimacy" and "lyricism."[58] Biographer Dieter Posselt explains how difficult it is to situate Mueller, then proposes to place him in his own stand-alone category. Posselt suggests that the best way to understand Mueller is to pay close attention to the qualities of his work, or even to literally let the work speak for itself, without textual explication, as it has often been presented since the 1920s.[59] But another way of paying close attention to the character of Mueller's canvases is to see them as an active dialog between traditional and modern art.

Unlike Moll, Mueller began an academic education but did not complete it. Mueller first enrolled at the Dresden Academy, where he studied under Georg Hermann Freye for two years, until they apparently squabbled because Mueller did not like Freye's criticism; he then matriculated at the Munich Academy but was not allowed to continue after the first year because the director, Franz von Stuck, would not give him the necessary certificate to advance. [60] Little documentation of Mueller's studies in Munich remains, but it seems that he also

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bristled at Von Stuck's critique.[61] One author speculates that Mueller was resistant to other points of view because his beliefs about art were so well developed.[62] It is equally plausible, however, that he simply did not like receiving criticism. Either way, Mueller's experiences in Dresden and Munich show that he must have already been independent and self-assured at a young age.

Although his studies in Munich aborted early, Mueller did become familiar with the work of Arnold Böcklin and Hans von Marées, painters he studied assiduously, who affected his ideas about art. Böcklin was known as the leading German figure in the symbolist movement, and von Marées was a proponent of idealism. An 1895 Mueller lithograph after a painting by nineteenth-century illustrator and portrait painter Paul Thumann called *Kunst bringt Gunst* (Art Brings Grace or Favor) gives some clues about Mueller's early work and development. *Kunst bringt Gunst* shows two young people in classical dress, one seated, painting a ceramic urn, the other standing in a doorway watching.[63] The lithograph's realistic technique suggests the work of Böcklin and von Marées more than Mueller's mature style does. The lithograph's focus on two human figures in juxtaposition to the landscape does hint at Mueller's future interests.[64] His almost mystical fascination with the relationship between man and nature and his interest in the human subject partially derive from his study of Böcklin and von Marées.

Acquaintances agree that one of Mueller's strongest traits was his vehemently antibourgeois attitude. Stories abound about Mueller's unconventional habits, excessive drinking, flaunting of middle-class customs, and so on. The daughter of one collector and friend recalled a dinner party Mueller attended in Breslau. He apparently drank a great deal during the meal, and at some point asked to be excused and left the room. Concerned about his state, the host followed Mueller into an adjoining room where he discovered the artist urinating on the floor![65] It is unclear whether Mueller was too drunk to find the toilet or registering a protest against the bourgeois apartment. Marg Moll remembered the time someone gave Mueller Gerhart Hauptmann's complete poems as a gift, and for some unexplained reason, he scattered the volumes through the streets of Breslau, from Hauptmann's house to his own.[66] According to his pupil Alexander Camaro and Marg Moll, Mueller lived alternately in his atelier at the Academy and in various Breslau hotels. He did, however, rent an apartment on Rosenstrasse 32 from 1920 to 1930, which suggests that the Bohemian image may have been purposefully cultivated or that he slept in the atelier when he was working on a painting but still kept conventional digs.[67] Mueller's sister wrote that his second wife, Elisabeth Lübke, was delighted to marry Mueller because he would help her "emerge from her *Bügerlichkeit* [middle-

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class nature]."[68] In other words, Elisabeth saw Mueller's antibourgeois attitude as a positive attribute. Though the antibourgeois impulse affected Mueller's behavior and reputation, it had a minimal impact on his art. Mueller never joined the radical avant-garde, the most antibourgeois group of artists, nor did he espouse the more radical formal innovations of his era. His lifelong artistic interest in gypsies, who were marginalized members of German society, was certainly antiestablishment, but the rest of his oeuvre treated conventional subject matter like landscapes and bathers.

When it came to his work, Mueller was, by all accounts, passionate, uncompromising, and radically independent. According to German art historian Herbert Wentscher, Mueller believed in the "incorruptibility of his artistic work" and its "absolute quality." Wentscher wrote that Mueller "remained true to himself to the end."[69] Mueller's passion is evident in surviving self-portraits like *Selbstbildnis mit Hahn* (Self Portrait with Hen, 1920), *Selbstbildnis mit Frau und exotischer Blüme* (Self Portrait with Woman and Exotic Flowers, 1920/21), *Selbstbildnis* (Self Portrait, 1921), and *Selbstbildnis mit Pentagram* (Self Portrait with Pentagram, 1922).

Although the portraits show Mueller in differing costumes and circumstances, they all depict the artist with angular attenuated features, wild hair, and piercing eyes drawn with jagged outlines that at once express antipathy and fervor. The eyes, which are always exaggerated in size, draw the viewer's attention, signaling their importance. As in *Selbstbildnis,* Mueller often looks straight at the viewer with a challenging glare. In *Selbstbildnis mit Pentagram*, by contrast, he looks outwards but his expression is bemused or contemplative. His clothes are in disarray, and the complementary green and red colors in the background suggest the presence of opposites, perhaps alluding to the artist's conflicting emotions. Although no records confirm why Mueller stayed in Breslau, we know from other artists that he would have found a uniquely open and supportive environment at the Academy. Both Endell and Moll seem to have been undaunted by Mueller's eccentricities and erratic behavior, instead accepting him at face value and appreciating his genius.

For most of his career, Mueller avoided joining groups of artists with explicit aesthetic positions. This may have been only partially by choice, since we know that he attempted to exhibit with the Berlin Secession in 1910 and was accepted to one show but rejected from another.[70] The second rejection occurred when the Secession refused a group of young artists, who, in response, formed the New Secession in April 1910. Besides Mueller, the group included such luminaries as Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Erich Heckel, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, Emil Nolde, and Max Pechstein. The New Secession also welcomed members of the

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Fig. 45. Otto Mueller, *Self Portrait* (1921) (Von der Heydt Museum, Wuppertal).

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Brücke (Bridge), which Kirchner, Heckel, Schmidt-Rottluff, and Fritz Bleyl had founded in 1905. The *Brücke* artists wanted to leave behind the precepts of academic painting in favor of a new approach to artistic creation. It is not clear whether the group's name referred to the many bridges in Dresden, where it began, or served as a metaphor for the path to a new art. At the time, Mueller was actively trying to shed certain aspects of academic painting, such as overt realism, from his own work, though rather than fully giving up traditional art, he negotiated an amalgamation of academic principles with new techniques. In any case, the period between 1910 and 1913, when he briefly participated in the New Secession and joined the *Brücke,* was the only time Mueller belonged to a group with an ideological agenda. Even in this group of artists whom he admired and liked personally, Mueller was an outlier, for his work was far more reserved in composition, line, and color. Historian Magdalena Moeller credits Mueller's participation in the group with the development of his mature style, though he does not appear to have espoused any particular ideology, but rather doggedly followed his own inclinations.[71]

Mueller severely limited the thematic scope of his work, almost exclusively drawing and painting nude women, gypsies, couples, self-portraits, and landscapes, and never painting subjects associated with modernity and modernism such as the city or machines. Mueller usually situated his nudes in a natural landscape, a traditional subject for painting, for he was quite conventional when it came to the content of his paintings. He wrote, "The main goal of my quest is to convey the sensations of landscape and man with the greatest simplicity possible," going on to praise the Egyptians as the producers of the "ideal" art. [72] Although Mueller does not explain what he means by this, it is possible to extrapolate from his work that he admired the simplicity of subject, form, and line in ancient Egyptian art, since these characterized his own work.

Paul Westheim, the critic and editor of *Das Kunstblatt,* described Mueller's work as "art of the nuance."[73] Like his constrained subject matter, Mueller's palette and mise-en-scène hardly vary. As art historian Lothar-Günther Buchheim has pointed out, Mueller's strategy allowed him to delve deeply into the subjects that interested him.[74] Canvases may appear to use similar elements, yet the emotions they evoke vary dramatically. For example, both *Zwei sitzende Mädchen vor liegender Figur* (Two Seated Maidens in Front of a Reclining Figure, ca. 1911) and *Kauernder Rückenakt in Landschaft* (Cowering or Crouching Back Nude, ca. 1920) depict nude women crouched on the ground with their faces turned away from the viewer. But the former seems to show a moment of rest, while in the latter the figure cowers, as the double

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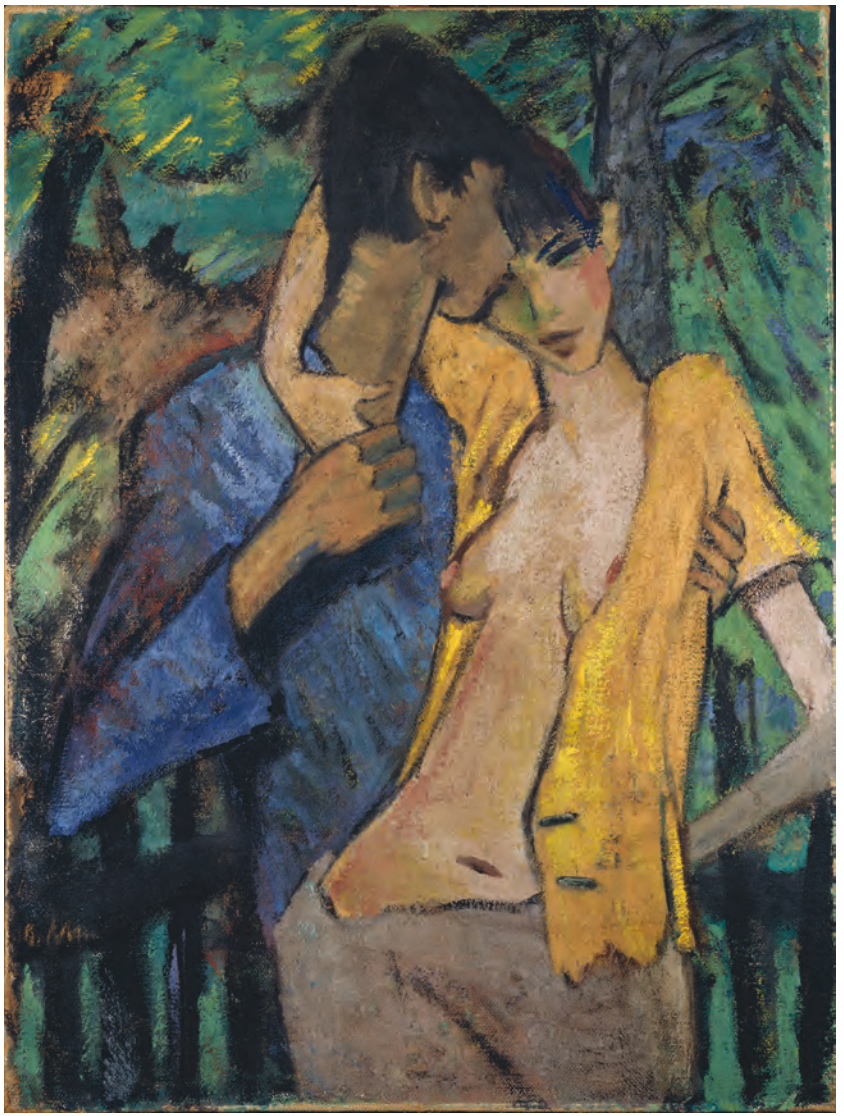

Fig. 46. Otto Mueller, *Liebespaar* (1919) (bpk/Museum der Bildende Künste, Leipzig).

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meaning of its name suggests. In *Zwei sitzende Mädchen*, the recumbent female figure holds up her head and has a gently curved back, bent knees resting on the ground and a bright red head covering. Minimal horizontal and vertical lines with almost no shading suggest the landscape. The umber background is lightly shaded with restful colors, sky blue and white. In contrast, *Kauernder Rückenakt* shows a female figure with a torso so curled over as to contort. The right shoulder presses upwards, the back twists, and the head drops to almost touch the chest in a gesture of submission or sadness. The landscape is animated with jagged lines to suggest greenery and rendered in a riot of yellows, blues, greens, and browns.

From 1910 onward, Mueller's drawings, paintings, and prints demonstrate a consistent approach that repeats many technical and conceptual aspects. Mueller uses bold, simple lines to create the forms and outlines of both figures and landscape. He renders the landscape and often the air with bold, zigzagging strokes that create a charged atmosphere. Through the juxtaposition of the elements and lyrical movement of line and form, Mueller suggests a mood without directly portraying it. The painter Ludwig von Hofmann, who was known for his Arcadian scenes of nudes in the Garden of Eden and women dancing or cavorting on the beach, may have been another inspiration for Mueller's mature work, for Mueller would have seen the use of dynamic form in Hoffmann's canvases. Although Mueller abandoned the traditional narrative format, he never relinquished figurative depiction. Mueller's art is evocative though, sometimes suggesting an emotional state, other times a human situation.

Modern painting techniques and aesthetics appear in a variety of guises in Mueller's work. Mueller eschews realistic representation in favor of a kind of impressionist vision. Although the human body figures prominently in his work, Muller neither depicts it in a scientifically or anatomically correct fashion nor does he idealize it. Mueller outlines his figures in bold, dark strokes that emphasize their edges. He stretches already angular torsos thin and depicts sharp, stylized features. At the same time, his rendering technique flattens the roundness of muscles. Mueller's nudes often evince sensuality without overt sexuality; they seem akin to man in his original state in the Garden of Eden, where nudity is natural and innocent. Even pictures with overt sexual content, like *Van Zanten's glückliche Zeit* (Van Zanten's Happy Time, ca. 1912), a woodcut of a nude man squeezing a nude woman's breast, much to her evident delight, are more natural than sexual. Mueller's nature is as stylized as his human form. He renders plants with large brushstrokes of color or sweeps of charcoal or graphite. Although the images are recognizable as plant matter, they have little detail so they can add natural atmosphere without a specific

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sense of place. The same handful of plant types appears again and again in Mueller's work, with minor variations in scale, color, and rendering technique. In his paintings and color drawings, Mueller works with a limited palette of earth tones and nature-related shades, typically greens, yellows, and browns. In short, although Mueller restricted every aspect of his formal vocabulary, each work is different. Mueller straightforwardly negotiated the territory between traditional and modern painting by combining traditional forms and subject matter with new painting techniques in his own, unique way.

Kanoldt

Like Mueller, Alexander Kanoldt worked with a limited formal language, developed over many years, which combined traditional subjects with new ways to paint. Kanoldt was born in 1881 in Karlsruhe, the son of Edmund Kanoldt, one of the Nazarene painters whose realistic approach to landscape painting combined religious and romantic imagery.[75] After gymnasium, Kanoldt began studies at the *Karlsruhe Kunstgewerbeschule* (Karlsruhe Arts and Crafts School) but soon transferred to the *Karlsruhe Akademie* where he studied under Friedrich Fehr, a distinguished naturalist painter. Fehr likely influenced Kanoldt's lasting interest in plant life as a subject. From Karlsruhe, Kanoldt moved to Munich where he met the Russian and French émigrés Kandinsky, Jawlensky, Le Fauconnier, and Girieud, and Swiss painter, Paul Klee. Kanoldt was a founding member of the *Neue Kunstlervereinigung* (New Artists Association) with Jawlensky, Kandinsky, and Gabriele Münter, but he soon left the group because he did not accept what he saw as the essentially subjective quality of their approach.

In fact, Kanoldt seemed to make a habit of joining groups and then abandoning them. Early in his career, besides the *Neue Kunstlervereinigung,* he briefly belonged to *Neue Sezession* (New Secession), while later he joined and left the *Badischer Sezession* (Baden Secession) and *Die Sieben* (The Seven).[76] In between, in 1921, he wrote to the art critic Walter Dexel that he had decided to refrain from ever "joining or helping found or belonging to" another artists' group.[77] Groups were for the young and "likeminded," but more importantly, at that point in his career, Kanoldt felt that each artist had to stand on his own, alone: "I take it as almost topsy-turvy, to gather different individuals around one flag, or to want to bring them under a single cause."[78] Kanoldt went on to assert that his desire is to "realize and perfect" his work rather than espouse a style, a claim he often repeated. He was, in fact, adamantly antistyle. In one letter, referring to the *Bauhaus,* he irritably disparaged "ideology" for its po-

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tential aberrations, then continued his rant, saying, "These are the days of *Sachlichkeit*—not the 'new'—but the ruins are reached."[79] In other words, ideology contains and reduces art, masking the true, layered complexities of good work. It joins people together falsely, making them conform to a single "flag waving" purpose when, in fact, most people are radically different. The individuality of purpose Kanoldt articulated was, in his view, a product of age and maturity. In this light, Kanoldt's stance against the *Bauhaus* can be understood as a stand for individuality over conformity, rather than merely an attack on the school and its teachers. Kanoldt seems to have been acerbically critical of everyone: he treated the cubists and *Blaue Reiter* with almost as much disdain as the *Bauhäusler* and railed against his colleagues in Breslau, though he did seem awfully pleased when his work gained recognition even if he disliked being called a member of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity).[80]

In the 1920s, Kanoldt adopted a traditional approach to art that could have been called "retrograde." There is very little analysis of Kanoldt's work, a lacuna that Holger Jacob-Friesen attributes to the cold distance of his approach as much as to the relatively few canvases that survive.[81] Both Jacob-Friesen and Wilhelm von Hausenstein, who wrote about Kanoldt in 1926, recognized the challenges in evaluating and categorizing Kanoldt's work, but Jacob-Friesen put it best when he wrote, "Kanoldt's pictorial language is neither catchy in the traditional sense nor radically progressive; conservative observers found it too modern . . . in contrast, to the followers of modernism it likely appeared too conservative."[82] Kanoldt seems to have been painfully aware of the danger in his approach, and at times even worried that he had lost his edge. He reminded Franz Roh, the art critic and historian, that he had been "a soldier at the front lines of the new art," so he could not be accused of backward or outmoded thinking.[83] At this point, Kanoldt turned to the subjects and style he would embrace for the rest of his career: the architecture of his native Karlsruhe with its classical Roman history, Italian landscapes tied to classicism, and still lifes.

Hausenstein attributed the shift in Kanoldt's art to his reaction to the "physical and moral disturbances" of the First World War, which caused him to seek greater order, simplicity, and timeless principles: "Everything pulled him towards the order of things in simple bodies; his idea is the crystal; his idea is the law of geological layers; his idea is fortification as in 'defense.' His flowers, his plants, were fortifications of nature . . . He loved everything that revealed the constructive planning of the order of things."[84] Geometry significantly informed Kanoldt's work. The forms in paintings like *Olevano* (1927), rendered in neutral brown tones, are blocky, unadorned, and powerful in their

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Fig. 47. Alexander Kanoldt, *Stilles Leben 1/Blumentöpfe* (1926) (bpk / Museum der bildenden Künste, Leipzig / Ursula Gerstenberger).

almost primeval straightforwardness. The light is mysterious, seemingly without origin, rather than realistic. In Hausenstein's view, Kanoldt's art represented a return to the classical, and therefore traditional, sources of his childhood: the Roman ruins in and around Karlsruhe, his father's art, his classical education at the gymnasium, and the Italian art that hung on the walls of his childhood home. While Kanoldt's surviving letters never make this connection

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directly, he certainly suggested his sympathy for traditional art in oblique ways. "Here is the solution," he wrote sarcastically to Franz Roh, "At any price Modern! For God's sake—do not appear backward." For Kanoldt, then, tradition and traditional art values were clearly pitted against the "modern." Progress, at least in the eyes of his peers, was tied to repudiating all things not "modern," but with his sarcasm Kanoldt demonstrated his own skeptical position and his sympathies for traditional artistic tropes.

Kanoldt was equally skeptical of abstraction in art. In several instances he derided Moll for "his turn to the abstract."[85] Kanoldt apparently disliked what he saw as the faddishness of abstraction, but he also saw Moll's art as superficial, calling it "gimmickry" based on formal tricks rather than real mastery.[86] The only Breslau colleagues Kanoldt did not criticize were Mueller and Hans Zimbal. Little known today, Zimbal favored an academic approach to landscape painting. His canvases are competent but uninspired and unoriginal. Mueller, of course, was fascinated by landscape and the naked human figure. It is interesting that Kanoldt felt sympathetic to Mueller and Zimbal as fellow artists of the natural environment, but not to Moll who shared his interest in still life.

In letters to Roh and Dexel, Kanoldt revealed his beliefs in traditional principles and above all in nature. He was careful to underscore that nature was to be understood and taken as inspiration, not copied. Kanoldt worked with nature because it constantly presented him with new challenges and new ideas. He wrote about the still life compositions that were perhaps his most influential and original works. In paintings like *Stilleben I/Blumentöpfe* (Still Life I/Flower Pots, 1926) Kanoldt assembled groups of objects, typically plants and vessels, and arranged them on a table. The viewer usually has a double perspective on the still life, from above and opposite. In other words, the objects appear in partial perspective, but also impossibly flattened out. Kanoldt adopted a signature palette of muted earth tones with deep shadows that give his canvases an eerie, almost surreal quality. As Kanoldt wrote to Roh, "I can confidently say that what today has the least style was the hardest to work out. The still life is probably even in the best of times too 'arranged' . . . what was until now the appeal of most of my 'composed' works."[87] Aware of the stigma attached to using traditional subjects, however, Kanoldt worried that his obsession with the still life form would make critics and collectors dismiss him as conservative and backward.[88]

Paradoxically and in spite of his fears, Kanoldt's subject matter and realistic manner of representation made him a darling of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* group of artists, usually identified, together with Georg Schrimpf, as painters who used a magical realist approach. Yet Kanoldt did not adopt this artistic ap-

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proach to adhere to an aesthetic method or belong to a movement; he developed it because it suited his personal sensibilities. In a letter to Franz Roh dated 17 June 1926, Kanoldt revealed his disdain for Hartlaub's term "*Neue Sachlichkeit*."[89] Of course it was not just the term that upset Kanoldt but Hartlaub's drive to categorize and group artists, rather than assessing them individually. Uppermost in Kanoldt's mind was the desire to "realize myself and perfect myself through art," perhaps one reason he held critics and purveyors of taste in such great disdain.[90] Yet Kanoldt's contempt betrays his sensitivity to public opinion as well as his fear that his work would be ignored or devalued for its traditional modes of expression. Despite the bluster, the underlying sentiment is uncertainty. Kanoldt's concerns reveal the deep schism between tradition and modernity in German art circles of the time. Yet despite Kanoldt's personal fears, art critics and historians consider him a member of the Weimar avant-garde, not a traditionalist. Ultimately, the tensions between Kanoldt's self-image and public perceptions illustrate how difficult it is to place many Weimar artists.

Schlemmer

Oskar Schlemmer is another Breslau artist who is difficult to assess yet fascinating, because he developed his own way of combining traditional and modern approaches to art and was explicit about his ideas. Born in 1888 in Stuttgart, Schlemmer was almost fifteen years younger than Mueller and Moll and seven years younger than Kanoldt. He completed an apprenticeship in applied arts drawing before enrolling at the Stuttgart Applied Arts School, where he stayed only one semester, before deciding to enroll instead at the Stuttgart Academy of Fine Arts, where he completed a degree. He studied under three influential painters, Alfred Hoelzel, Christian Landenberger, and Friedrich von Keller. Von Keller, the first German painter to focus on the workingman as subject matter, was both an idealist and a realist and resembled his better-known French contemporary Jean-Francois Millet. Landenberger was an impressionist painter and founding member of the Munich Secession, who painted a range of themes including open air, still life, interiors, allegories, and religious subjects. Hoelzel developed a new compositional theory "based on regulating laws of plane and color, independent of pictorial representation."[91] Like his teachers, Schlemmer was open to new ideas in art, challenged conventions, and simultaneously followed multiple paths in painting, sculpture, mural art, theater, and dance. At the Academy, Schlemmer made long-lasting friend-

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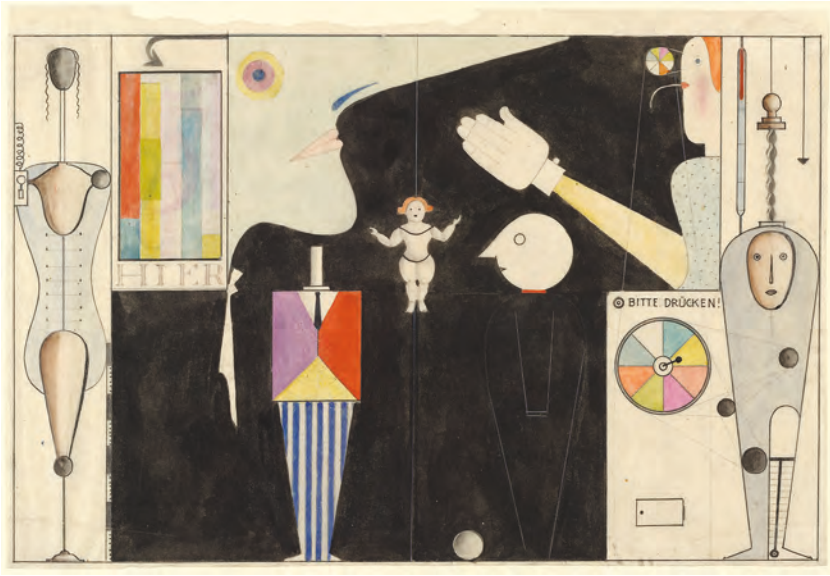

Fig. 48. Oskar Schlemmer, *Das figurale Kabinett* (1922) (Museum of Modern Art, New York).

ships with two important contemporary artists, Willi Baumeister and Otto Meyer-Amden. He and Meyer-Amden corresponded frequently over the years, discussing everything from personal family matters to contemporary art politics.[92] Schlemmer also kept diaries whose entries complement and embellish upon the themes discussed in the letters. The letters and diaries chronicle Schlemmer's life and beliefs about art, but also provide an excellent window into art during the Weimar era.

Schlemmer is usually associated with the Dessau *Bauhaus* where he taught from 1920 to 1929, first in the mural painting and sculpture workshops, then in the theater workshop. He was a painter, sculptor, designer, and choreographer. Among his best-known works are the Triadic Ballets, dances in which the performers wore three-dimensional geometrically shaped costumes that inflated their figures, making them appear doll-like rather than human. Schlemmer's lifelong interest was the relationship between the human figure and space, as evident in his choreographic and costume design work, as well as his sculpture, metal wall reliefs, drawings, and paintings.

In his diary, he declared, "Not machine, not abstract—always man!"[93] Peter Beye and Karin von Maur stress the way Schlemmer used the human

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figure to combine the figural with the geometric, which is also a way of merging traditional and modern art, although scholars do not usually analyze the work in these terms.[94]

In Breslau, Schlemmer was able to pursue his obsession with the human figure in his own work and as a pedagogical subject in his theater design course, but also in a new teaching area Moll created for him, "The Man," subtitled "Man and Space." He studied the figure in numerous sketches, drawings, and paintings, perhaps the most famous example of which is his painting *Bauhaustreppe* (*The Bauhaus Stairway* 1932), executed in Breslau. The painting shows seven people, all partially visible, ascending or paused on a staircase. Three women with modern cropped hairstyles, seen from behind, are at the center. The bright red top worn by the middle figure occupies the compositional center and contrasts with the largely blue grey color of the canvas. The vertical thrust of the three women is echoed in a fourth masculine body, located on the left-hand side of the painting, that appears to be balanced on pointe, and a smaller figure climbing the diagonal stair to the upper right. The fact that most of the figures face away from the viewer, and are only partially shown, adds to the sense of movement. Schlemmer's bodies are stylized, modular forms in flat primary colors awash with an eerie light. Faces are turned away from the viewer or obscured, which makes the rounded forms of the bodies dominate the composition. The gridded windows contrast with the roundness of the human figures. As the Museum of Modern Art catalog from 1999 explains, the combination of figural and geometric tropes was Schlemmer's way of "celebrating *Bauhaus* design principles" alongside his own, at a time when the school was under attack by German right-wing elements.[95] At the same time, the juxtaposition of curvaceous and rectilinear forms alludes to Schlemmer's obsession with the synthesis of the organic and geometrical in what Karin von Maur described as "lively human architecture."[96] The image is as much dream as reality.

Although he spent nine years at the *Bauhaus*, Schlemmer's artistic interests did not always align with those of his colleagues. He did not agree with the machine aesthetic or the craft orientation at the *Bauhaus*, emphatically believing craftsmanship to be dead in the age of industrial production, or at best a luxury for the very rich, and that any ambition to reinstate the medieval guilds and workshops was nostalgic and romantic nonsense. Schlemmer was equally skeptical of the notion that artists should learn industrial production methods in order to design for mass production. His vision of artistic invention seems to have lain somewhere between the extremes of traditional craft and machine production. In 1922, he observed two main directions for contemporary art:

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"On the one hand, we have the trend in which art transcends the individual, taking up the rhythm of technology and the machine, and in turn lending support to them; this implies a negation of painting in the old sense. On the other hand, painting is finding itself again; after overstepping its boundaries, it came to recognize them and is now beginning to *se humaniser*."[97] Schlemmer saw a crisis in method between classical and new ideals. The humanizing tendency he remarked in contemporary painting referred to the return to figurative painting and realistic representation on the part of many young artists, some of them, but not all, members of the *Neue Sachlichkeit*. Schlemmer did not want to abandon classical principles; he wanted to leave behind classical forms. He sought to create work that transcends fashion and at the same time "can hold its own against the perfect utility of functional objects and machines."[98] His untitled drawings in the collection at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, experiments with geometrically generated figures as opposed to figures drawn from nature, may refer to these tensions. The drawings betray an interest in machine-like precision applied to the human body that was, perhaps, a way to reconcile man and machine through art. Alternatively, they can be seen as an effort to humanize the mechanical.

For Schlemmer, then, art must reconcile the techniques available while bridging the gap between representative and abstract: "The alternation between abstract and non-abstract techniques has almost become a sign of the times . . . I myself have succumbed to it and am trying to establish some principles, so that the two modes can coexist side by side when that seems meaningful and so that one can understand why one mode or the other was chosen for a given project."[99] Like other artists in Breslau, Schlemmer articulated the desire to utilize the broad range of options available to him, rather than narrow his possibilities to either traditional or modern approaches. He went on to consider why one might choose one or the other. He recognized the possibility of innovating simply for the sake of doing something new, without real intention or depth of meaning, but also realized that one could explore new possibilities within traditional modes: "Through the study of nature I hope to refine my expressive tools to the point that I can render some great spiritual conception."[100] As early as 1913, he noted that the path to great art is to study nature, then abstract from it in order to "render the inner vision." Schlemmer pointed out that despite rhetoric to the contrary, there were connections between new modes of expression, like cubism, and tradition, which in turn justified the use of traditional forms.

Throughout his letters, Schlemmer wrestled with the question of form: what forms are meaningful, how does the artist find the right form, what is the

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relationship between absolute and relative form, what is the difference between fundamental and symbolic form, what is the value of form for form's sake. But in all his ruminations on the subject, Schlemmer returned again and again to the notion that content took precedence over formal expression. Schlemmer's rationale for content as the most important quality of art was simple. He viewed the artist as the person who "makes the unclear appear clear, the unconscious conscious, the impossible possible."[101] In other words, the artist visualizes the invisible and intangible in the world, a realm that encompasses many things: the spiritual, emotional, and psychological dimensions of human existence, as well as dreams.

Schlemmer articulated emotions that must have been common among his peers, namely "inner turmoil" over the correct way to approach art and a strong desire to assimilate new ideas without abandoning old ones. He discussed his dual desires for his art to be emotional, spiritual, and traditional and to be modern. In a diary entry from 1929, he went even further, explicitly marrying tradition and modernity by defining high style in art as the "combination and perfect balance of abstraction, proportion, law on the one hand, and nature, emotion, idea, on the other."[102] Interestingly, Schlemmer attributed this combination to Goethe and his definition of classical antiquity. That is, Schlemmer's view of classicism melded *Kultur* and *Zivilisation*, rather than isolating *Kultur*, as was more common.

In a later diary entry from 1930, Schlemmer elaborated on his idea about traditional and modern approaches to art:

> Proportion and the basic laws: experience has taught me that proportion and the basic laws signify something very noble in art, but also something very dangerous. It is utterly fatal to treat them as a convenient recipe or dogma, to invoke them before the picture itself has been visualized: instead of "freedom under law" one ends up with inspiration in handcuffs. No! The initial impulse should be emotion, the stream of the unconscious, free, unfettered creation. The more latitude feeling receives, the more readily it will gravitate toward precision, compressing the picture into final form without help from the laws of proportion or measurements.[103]

Schlemmer went on to explain that the function of rules is to control "what instinct has created," thereby setting up a strong relationship between rational method and intuitive thinking. In this, his views were similar to those of the architect Adolf Rading, his Academy colleague (see chapter 3). Schlemmer seemed to see rules not as stifling and outmoded but as vehicles for invention.

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Indeed, the measured, precise image was a common theme in his art. *Das figurale Kabinett* (The Figural Cabinet, 1922) is a complex composition of human heads and bodies assembled in a row, like actors on a stage or objects in an assembly line. The humanity of the figures is questionable: two are attached to strings like marionettes, while others have mannequin-like prostheses and are connected by linear elements to cogs and wheels. Some body parts appear fully attached to torsos, but others are severed. All share an oddly geometric robotic form. The words "Please Press" are written next to a circular object that might be a button to animate the painting. The button makes the painting ambiguous: is it an image or a machine inviting the viewer to set it in motion? Considering Schlemmer's views on the machine and art, the painting could be the visual humanizing of the machine. From another perspective, the piece is one example of modern techniques applied to the traditional subject of the human figure, and a clever reconciliation of conflicting aesthetics in a single body of work.

Biographers of Schlemmer, Kanoldt, Mueller, the Molls, and other Breslau artists agree on one fact about the city: it was a place where artists flourished. Most artists who arrived there discovered a sympathetic and tolerant peer group. They were pleasantly surprised to find that the "remote" regional city hosted a lively, if small, arts community where it was possible to pursue their artistic interests in spite of limited resources and support. The very conditions that made Breslau problematic also bonded its artists together in the service of common causes. Without strong local interest in contemporary art, the artists themselves could define the parameters of acceptable practice, and they did so broadly, simultaneously embracing the cutting edge of the avant-garde and traditional *Volkskunst* (folk art); realistic art and abstraction; religious and secular subjects; and everything in between.

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Epilogue

> "*A cleansing began in the federal schools. In Berlin a series of notorious teachers were furloughed to the United States . . . In Breslau a radical cure was likewise necessary. There, Rading and Scharoun, well-known architects of Neue Sachlichkeit, and Molzahn of the mechanical, were furloughed*."
>
> —Winfried Wendland, "Nationalsozialistische Kunstpolitik im neuen Pruessen," 1933

The *Prominenten-Krise*

Shortly after *WuWA* closed in 1929, the "*Prominenten-Krise*" (Crisis of the Prominent) erupted among *Werkbund* members in Breslau. Conservative factions initiated a series of private and public attacks on the Breslau Academy and the *WuWA* designers, especially Lauterbach, Molzahn, Rading, and Scharoun, who were derided as radical modernists. Critics accused the Academy of fostering a decadent atmosphere dominated by famous artists whose work was based in international (read French), rather than German or Silesian, culture. In their opinion, *WuWA* was an avant-garde fiasco that did not represent eastern or German design. This critique ignored important facts: several of the architects were native sons, including Lauterbach and Effenberger; all of the work force was from Breslau; hardly any of the architecture was actually avant-garde; and the exhibition included conservative work. Indeed, Dr. Hans Nowak argued in the *Schlesische Monatshefte* that the antipathy was founded in jealousy and cultural politics, since so many of the accusations hurled at the *Prominenten* were patently false, including the assertion that *WuWA* had been a failure.[1] As Nowak pointed out, not only was *WuWA* well attended, but the German and international press covered it extensively, with newspapers in France, England, Brussels, Zurich, Moscow, New York, Budapest, Warsaw, and Cracow devoting space to it, often in special sections. Nonetheless, the vitriol led Lauterbach, Rading, Scharoun, Molzahn, and Vinecky to quit the

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Werkbund.[2] The crisis illustrates how polarized Breslau and German cultural politics had become. More disturbingly, it foreshadowed how the dialectical relationship between tradition and modernity that characterized Weimar-era cultural production in Breslau changed dramatically in the National Socialist era, as conservatives and traditionalists rose to dominance, to the exclusion of all others.

The German word "*Prominent*" translates roughly as "celebrity," and in 1920s Germany it had the same negative connotation it has today. The "*Prominenten*" were artists with national and international reputations, who were perceived as insensitive to Silesian and Breslau culture and unable, as outsiders, to create art and architecture appropriate for the region. Like contemporary celebrities, they were seen as crass, self-interested publicity seekers, rather than true artists. While regional chauvinism always existed in Breslau, the *Prominenten-Krise* represented a serious escalation in hostility. The crisis was partly the result of professional jealousies on the part of *Werkbund* members from Breslau and greater Silesia who were not invited to participate in the exhibition, but there were also real concerns about the *WuWA* budget and the efficacy of new construction techniques used in some of the projects. Some people also believed that the crisis was part of a complex power play at the *Werkbund*, where local boys were forcing "out-of-towners" like Rading out in favor of other local boys like Emil Lange.[3] Unfortunately, when the local press got wind of the conflicts, it played up the story, adding fuel to the fire.[4]

The attack on Johannes Molzahn, who designed the graphics for the *WuWA* handbills, posters, and exhibition program, was one of the most disturbing aspects of the episode. Molzahn was a German from Weimar, which made him a "foreigner" in the eyes of radically conservative Breslauers, who saw his designs as ugly experiments in modern graphics and exemplars of all that was wrong with contemporary art and culture. Molzahn's work came to symbolize everything culturally conservative Breslauers found objectionable in *WuWA*, in particular "foreign" involvement and noxious un-German modern aesthetics. Molzahn arrived in Breslau shortly before *WuWA*, but organizers asked him to design the public relations materials on the basis of his international reputation as an innovative graphic designer, which, ironically, was precisely the problem. Molzahn's involvement in *WuWA* drew local and regional press attention to the presence and activities of three other artists and Academy professors, Heinrich Lauterbach, Adolf Rading, and Hans Scharoun, because all were progressive and active on the national stage. Labeling all four as *Prominenten*, the press quickly concluded that *WuWA* was a Breslau Academy project, and, since the Academy was rife with modernists, they condemned the entire *WuWA* enter-

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prise as the work of meddlesome outsiders. The conservative-leaning *Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung* was responsible for a sizeable portion of the nastiness. In 1932, one of its commentators wrote, "For all building professionals, who are serious about their profession, it must be a point of honor to concur that in the German nation there is no place any more for champions of foreigners."[5] The irony is that these attacks targeted Germans from the West, not people from other countries. But for the *Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung*, any modern artist was a foreigner, because modern art was fundamentally not German.

Conservatism in Breslau

The epithet *Prominenten* aligned with others bandied about in the late 1920s, including "cultural Bolshevist," "degenerate," and "alien."[6] The ire of cultural conservatives was rising and polarizing rhetoric was heating up across the board, but in Breslau, especially, this verbal abuse did not emerge out of nowhere. Georg Bollenbeck writes,

> Contrary to appearances, the growing appeal to traditional evaluative and identificational concepts such as "German culture," "German spirit," and "German art" did not stem from success, but expressed failure, the loss of points of reference from the international character of modernism. Thus, the conflict between unleashed modernity and out-of-date aesthetic ideas promoted an identity crisis, and this interacted with the experiences of national expropriation arising from the Treaty of Versailles, and the material expropriation from inflation and the Great Depression.[7]

Breslau and Silesia were suffering from a sense of diminished local and regional identity, exacerbated by territorial concessions, persistent economic hardship, and Berlin's seeming indifference to their plight. At the same time, the international reputation of the Academy and its faculty continued to grow, and *WuWA* had brought national and international attention to Breslau and the *Prominenten.* Resentment was inevitable, and after 1929 Breslau's economic situation made its artists particularly vulnerable to accusations that they were members of the "arts proletariat," "foreign," and "un-German."[8] Writing in 1932, Dr. Alfred Schellenberg asserted that Breslau and the Academy's biggest mistake "was to assume that the extremists of a certain art movement also had to be the best educators of the next artistic generation. That this is not the case, the *WuWA* fiasco has demonstrated in 1929."[9]

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The *Prominenten-Krise* was a harbinger of what was to come. Although Breslau had historically been quite liberal, beginning in 1930 it elected a noticeably high percentage of National Socialists. In 1930, the party received 24.2 percent of the vote in Breslau, compared with 18.3 percent nationally, and in 1933 that percentage rose to 50.2 percent, compared with 43.9 percent nationally.[10] The rise becomes even more dramatic in light of the 1928 election, when the National Socialists received the support of only 1 percent of Breslau voters. This sudden and dramatic political move to the right was, like the rise of cultural conservativism, in good part a response to the post-1929 recurrence of extreme economic hardship in Breslau and Silesia. In 1930, *Schlesische Monatshefte* optimistically announced a new federal economic initiative for Silesia, but it never materialized.[11] The mood in the city remained conservative as the 1920s came to a close.

It is important to note, however, that cultural conservatism had been present in Breslau in various forms for decades. Over the years, Breslau artists repeatedly registered resistance to the Academy and to modern art and architecture, which suggested that these sentiments had always remained close to the surface. Cultural conservatism had long disdained anything seen as "foreign," but especially the French and British, whom they considered philistines who had only the modern *Zivilisation*, in contrast to Germans, who had the lasting timeless values of *Kultur*.[12] Now, in the changing Breslau cultural climate, artists perceived as foreign purveyors of foreign modernism were increasingly unwelcome. Right-wing hatred targeted the Academy because it employed German artists who had been trained abroad by French artists, but also because its faculty worked in modern idioms. Kurt Langer expressed feelings that became increasingly common in Breslau when he wrote, "The majority of the folk stand incomprehensibly before 'modern art': in Style forms they feel comfortable, as do many professionals . . . in the frivolity of modern art production, the public has lost its sense of security."[13] The balanced and nuanced attitudes of Academy artists and their circles had proven far too subtle for the general public to understand.

On October 24, 1929, just weeks after *WuWA* closed its gates to the public, the stock market crashed in New York City, sending ripples across the United States and throughout the world. Germany had received an influx of monetary investments between 1925 and 1929, mostly in short-term loans that were regularly extended. But in 1930, American and French banks called in their German debts, precipitating a liquidity crisis for German banks and the German government. In Silesia, where the economy was already weak, the effect was devastating.

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The End of the Academy

By 1931, it was clear that the government was going to have to take far more draconian measures to alleviate the crisis than it had initially thought. Chancellor Heinrich Brüning responded with a series of fiscal austerity measures, the second round of which, in 1932, included shuttering three of Prussia's arts academies including Breslau, although the trade-oriented Breslau Applied Arts School remained open.[14] The Academy was part of the Ministry of Culture and the Applied Arts School was part of the Ministry of Commerce. The very different cutbacks at the two agencies were likely the result of ongoing debates over art education in Prussia. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, a series of articles appeared in *Deutscher Allegemeine Zeitung*, *Weltkunst*, *Kunst und Künstler*, and *Kölnischer Zeitung* attacking the logic and efficacy of art academies. In "Are Art Academies Needed?" U. Lamm argued that the academies were essentially elite bastions of upper-class luxury, dilettantish, economically unproductive, and unnecessary.[15] In comparison, so the story went, applied arts schools equipped their graduates with practical skills so they could become productive members of German society who would advance the nation's industrial competitiveness. The cultural politics at play put the dispute in terms of High Art versus Low Art: the academies housed producers of "luxury" products for the privileged classes, whereas art schools were home to down-to-earth fabricators of craft and popular art. According to contemporary writers, by turning their backs on handicraft in favor of fine art, the academies had also lost their connection to their regions.[16] This narrative was further complicated by the fact that while the closures appeared to be apolitical responses to the fiscal crisis, they affected only academies with a modernist bent.

In Breslau, where the economy had never fully recovered from World War I, Brüning's decision had a devastating effect on the cultural scene. Throughout the 1920s, the Academy had attracted and supported many of the most interesting artists in Breslau. Without the economic sustenance provided by an Academy position, and with no other ties to Breslau or Silesia, there was no reason for most of the artists to remain in Breslau, a city that showed little interest in art in the best of times. Furthermore, although the first threat to close the Academy met with some opposition in the form of a letter writing campaign and protest marches in Berlin and Breslau, when the final decision was announced in 1933 it met very little resistance.[17] According to the article, "What Remains from the Art Academy?" in the *Schlesische Zeitung*, many Breslau residents had not approved of the Academy's direction during the 1920s. Its increasing national and international renown was a source of pride to some, but in altering

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its mission and focus, the Academy had lost local support and much of its connection to the city and province. By the time it desperately needed local and regional champions, few stepped up.[18] The city may also have been preoccupied with more pressing economic issues, or perhaps it had grown tired and even cynical after decades of trying to get more support from Berlin. In any event, by the time the Academy closed for good, almost all the "*Prominenten*" had moved on, and the rest soon followed. They left for other German cities, academies, and universities, and even for other countries, spreading as far as Palestine, the United States, and Turkey. Those who chose to stay in Germany suffered under the National Socialist regime, while those who chose to leave faced other hardships.

Art under National Socialism

By the early 1930s, National Socialist agitation against modern art was having an effect. Several museums, including the Dessau *Schlossmuseum*, opened "*Schreckenskammern*" (Chambers of Horrors), which were displays of contemporary art deemed "degenerate" and undesirable by cultural conservatives. Oskar Schlemmer wrote directly to Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels to express his dismay over this development: "[I am] deeply shaken by what I hear from numerous cities in the Reich, including Dessau, Mannheim, and Dresden, where the museums' collections of modern art are to be placed in 'chambers of artistic horrors,' each picture labeled with the sum paid for it, exposed to the mockery and indignation of the public."[19] These displays prefigured the 1937 *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in Munich, which began as a small-scale show in Dresden in September 1933, then slowly grew as it traveled across Germany, acquiring work from museums in other cities.[20] By Munich, the now infamous exhibition included work by many of the former Breslauers, including Alexander Kanoldt, Carlo Mense, Marg and Oskar Moll, Johannes Molzahn, Georg Muche, Otto Mueller, and Schlemmer. Despite the complexities of Breslau art and the nuanced distinctions among these artists, the Nazis saw no difference, subtle or otherwise, between their work, branding them all "modern" and therefore "degenerate."[21]

The altered cultural landscape in Breslau is perhaps most apparent in the first art exhibition mounted after Hitler assumed power, in the summer of 1934. Curated by the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* (Militant League for German Culture) and titled "German Art in Silesia from 1850 until the Present," the exhibition was dedicated to mediocre history painter Edward Kaempffer and fea-

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tured 109 Silesian artists.[22] It is interesting that the *Kampfbund* chose to dedicate the show to Kaempffer, who was not a native son but did hold a professorship at the Academy from 1895 until his retirement in 1924. In 1921, Kaempffer was attacked for being "academic in the worst sense," and his poor reputation ultimately forced him out of the Academy, to be replaced as painting instructor by *Neue Sachlichkeit* painter Carlo Mense.[23] Despite—or perhaps because of—this history, the *Kampfbund* chose to honor Kaempffer for his conservative painting style, which was so different from the *Prominenten*. At this cultural and historical moment, dedicating the exhibition to a retired professor from the hated Academy seemed to give the exhibition legitimacy. As well, Kaempffer was best known for the series he painted at the Erfurt Town Hall between 1889 and 1896, which represented the iconic German tales of the Tannhäuser Saga, Faust, and the Counts of Gleichen.[24] This nationalist subject matter no doubt had tremendous appeal to the show's National Socialist organizers.

The Exhibition Catalog explicitly describes the aims of the show: "The exhibition 'German Art in Silesia' is the first of its kind since the National Socialist assumption of power," it begins. "It will show a programmatic line of the intentions of our Führer Adolf Hitler . . . earlier art was without soul. What it showed was mostly an outrage, it appealed to the lowest instincts of mankind."[25] Painter Wilhelm Ueberrück and sculptor Johannes Kiunka curated the exhibition along with a jury of relative unknowns. Ueberrück was an average talent who specialized in uninspired drawings and paintings of horses. Like Kaempffer, the artists chosen for the show were conservative and largely unexceptional. Leopold von Kalckreuth is probably the best known, but today only a few art historians would recognize his name. Not surprisingly, only a handful of the artists who had appeared in Breslau exhibitions just a year or two earlier were part of the show, and none of them were *Prominenten* or artists associated with modern art. The balance between the many contemporary approaches to art that had characterized Breslau exhibitions had been obliterated.

Life after Breslau

Many of the artists who left Breslau struggled to make a living, whether they remained in Germany or immigrated, and their art was sadly underappreciated for decades. Otto Mueller and August Endell died in the 1920s, so they did not experience the National Socialist vilification of their work, and Ernst May and Max Berg had left Breslau in the mid-1920s, so they were not there when the Academy closed. Johannes Molzahn was fortunate to escape to the United

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States after a brief stay in Berlin, but his twenty years in the United States was erratic at best. Molzahn moved homes and jobs several times, a sign that he had difficulty fitting in. He first had a teaching appointment at the University of Washington in Seattle, where he taught until 1941.[26] In 1943, he accepted an appointment at the School of Design in Chicago, and in 1947 he moved to New York City to teach at the New School for Social Research. That position was not permanent either, and in 1958 he returned to Germany. After the war, Molzahn had little success placing his work in exhibitions in either the United States or Germany, and critical attention to his oeuvre has been equally limited.[27]

Alexander Kanoldt relinquished his teaching position in Breslau shortly before the *Notverordnung* (Emergency Decree), having never liked Moll and the way he ran the Academy.[28] He moved to Berlin, where he taught at the Berlin Art School, but in 1936 he became quite ill and had to retire. Kanoldt passed away in 1939 at the age of fifty-eight, before the outbreak of war. Like Molzahn, his postwar reception was sparse, although recent interest in *Neue Sachlichkeit* has brought new attention to his paintings.[29]

Adolf Rading and his third wife, Else Leschnitzer, also moved frequently after leaving Breslau. They first immigrated to France in 1933. Because Leschnitzer was Jewish, they soon continued on to Palestine, where Rading established an office and developed a successful career designing and building private and eventually public commissions. In 1943, Rading became the city architect in Haifa, but he was never fully content in Palestine, so in 1950 he moved to England, where he again built a modest practice and constructed a few small-scale projects.[30] Rading's postwar production remained true to the ideals he articulated in the 1920s, with aesthetically pragmatic work that mixed elements of traditional and modern architecture. Like many of his fellow Breslauers, Rading received little attention in the postwar period.

Scharoun returned to Berlin when the Academy closed. Barred from teaching by the Nazis, he still chose to remain in Germany, although his wife left the country for the duration of the war. He managed to secure a handful of private house commissions during the Nazi era, including the Molls villa (1935) and the Schminke House (1933).[31] During the war years, he was occupied with reconstruction work. In comparison to many of his contemporaries, Scharoun navigated the National Socialist period fairly well, despite the regime's antipathy. When the war ended, he rebuilt his career, designing and constructing some of his most important work in Berlin in the 1950s and 1960s, including the *Philharmonie* (1957–63), *Staatsbibliothek* (1966–78), and *Kammermusikal* (1984–87). Scharoun served as president of the prestigious national Academy of the Arts in Berlin from 1955 to 1968. Unlike most of his

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former Breslau friends, Scharoun's national and international reputation grew after the war, but he continues to be seen as an outsider among modern architects, as evidenced by the title of Kirschenmann and Syring's monograph, *Hans Scharoun: Aussenseiter der Moderne* (Hans Scharoun: Outsider of the Modern). Interest in Scharoun has grown further since the early 1990s, with the turn to digital design and complex three-dimensional form-making.

As his biographer Cristina Inês Steingrüber points out, Heinrich Lauterbach's experience between 1933 and 1945 is perhaps more typical than either Rading's or Scharoun's.[32] Like Scharoun, Lauterbach chose to remain in Germany. He was branded a "potential enemy" of the state in 1933, like many of his friends and colleagues, which made it nearly impossible to obtain work, though he received a few private commissions between 1935 and 1940, when he was drafted to serve as an architect in the war effort. [33] He was released from service in 1941 because of heart problems, but he went on to serve as an architect in the strategically important city of Gotenhafen, now Gdynia, Poland. At the end of the war, he reunited by chance with his wife and two daughters in Fischen im Allgäu. After the war, Lauterbach had a productive academic career as a professor in Stuttgart and Kassel. Although he resumed his design practice in the 1950s and 1960s, he constructed few projects, none of them of particular note.[34] Never as productive or influential as Scharoun or Rading, Lauterbach is virtually unknown today.

Oskar and Marg Moll moved from Breslau to Düsseldorf, where Moll found a professor position, but he was dismissed in 1934 for being "*Volkspolitisch unzuverlässig*" (a politically unreliable person).[35] With no real employment options, the Molls retreated to the Berlin villa Scharoun had designed for them. Tragically, the war destroyed the villa, their exemplary collection of twentieth-century art, and much of their own painting and sculpture. Marg continued to sculpt until her death, but with little recognition. In 2010, a construction crew in Berlin found several sculptures from the *Entartete Kunst* show while excavating at the Red Town Hall.[36] The pieces, which had been part of Joseph Goebbels's private stash, included Marg Moll's *Dancer*. The figure had been left in the depot of Breslau's Museum of Fine Arts,[37] where Goebbels's commission found it when they went to Breslau to confiscate artwork for the Munich *Entartete Kunst* exhibition that demonstrated "insult to German feeling, or destroyed the natural, or mutilated form, or lacked suitable handwork or artistic ability."[38] No one knows how the sculpture landed at Red Town Hall, but today it is permanently installed at the New Museum in Berlin, and Marg Moll's art has been reinstated for posterity.[39]

In one of history's many ironies, the artists who so reluctantly settled in

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Breslau came to love the city and the community they found there, and deeply regretted having to leave. Oskar Schlemmer made his affection for Breslau and the friends he made there clear in several diary entries, and after he was forced to leave he remembered "the beautiful Academy."[40] Hans Scharoun wrote about the "phenomenon of the Breslau Art Academy," and Heinrich Lauterbach remembered "our Breslau Academy that was a fantastic society!"[41] Marg Moll noted that, "Many meaningful friendships among these important men date to these lively years."[42] Georg Muche echoed her sentiment in a nostalgic letter to Lauterbach in 1972: "I remember our get-togethers at your house in Breslau on Uetrichtsweg and at these talks with . . . Schlemmer and Michaelis . . . a happiness that everything lived and was good."[43] Years later, Ilse Molzahn, Johannes's wife, reminisced, "And then suddenly it was all over . . . the soothing confirmation and support that one experienced from outwards, was again departed . . . Everywhere the frames cracked, the dark political currents acquired more and more of a face . . . A past not only in the sense of the irretrievable youth, but in the sense of irretrievable creative energy, that filled what was then a totally German city."[44] The nostalgic tone of these memorials clearly reflects a powerful experience.

The destruction of the arts community in Breslau was only one salvo in what Peter Paret calls "the war over modernism in Germany."[45] Paradoxically, the Breslau group, who "stood in opposition to ideologically founded intentions" in art, ultimately fell victim to extreme political and cultural ideology.[46] With the nucleus of its arts community gone, Breslau quickly sank in stature from a *Kunststadt* leading the nation to an unremarkable border city that closely resembled its pre-1918 provincial image. Only recently, since Wroclaw elected a forward-thinking and imaginative mayor, has the city again become a lively center for intellectual and cultural pursuits. Still, the significance of Weimar-era Breslau, its variegated understanding of modernism, and its alternative cultural modernity remains.

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Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Theodor von Gosen, "Erinnerungen," NL Gosen, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Abteilung Bildende Künste (hereinafter GN/ABK) I,B and II,B.

2. "Breslau so weit dahinten? Irgendwo? Niemals!" Ibid.

3. Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1968), xiii, "When we think of Weimar, we think of modernity."

4. Recent publications include: Andrew McElligott's compilation *Weimar Germany* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2009); Eric Weitz, *Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2009); Sabine Hake, *Topographies of Class: Modern Architecture and Mass Society in Weimar Berlin* (Ann Arbor: Univ. Michigan Press, 2008); Mel Gordon, *Voluptuous Panic: The Erotic World of Weimar Berlin* (Los Angeles: Feral House, 2008); John Bingham, *Weimar Cities: The Challenge of Urban Modernity in Germany, 1919–1933* (London: Routledge, 2007); Rainer Metzger, *Berlin in the 20s* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007); and Anton Kaes, *Shell Shock Cinema: Weimar Culture and the Wounds of War* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2009), to name just a few.

5. Canning, Hong, and von Saldern have essays in McElligott, *Weimar Germany*. In earlier works, Canning probes gender issues in Weimar but also the role of individual consciousness in the period. Von Saldern's earlier work, *The Challenge of Modernity: German Social and Cultural Studies 1890–1960* (Ann Arbor: Univ. Michigan Press, 2002) investigates different German responses to modernization.

6. McElligott, *Weimar Germany*, 7.

7. Karl Christian Führer, "Highbrow and Lowbrow Culture," in McElligott, ed. *Weimar Germany*, 279.

8. The only history of Breslau in English is Norman Davies and Roger Moorhouse, *Microcosm: Portrait of a Central European City* (London: Pimlico, 2003), 39. German language histories include memoirs like Ernst Scheyer, *Breslau so wie es war* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1975), Niels van Holst, *Breslau—ein Buch der Erinnerungen* (Hammeln: Seifert, 1950), and Konrad Mueller, *Breslau wie es war* (Goslar: Unser Weg, 1949), but no recent comprehensive history.

9. Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Fall of Prussia 1600–1947* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 2006), 190–210, and Davies and Moorhouse, 200–218.

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10. Franz Landsberger, "Breslau als Kunststadt," *Schlesische Monatshefte,* June 1925, 2 Jg, Nr. 6, 319. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author's.

11. Since the mid-1990s a number of German-language scholarly books on the arts community in Breslau have appeared, including: *Werkstätten der Moderne Lehre und Schüler der Breslauer Akademie 1903–1932,* ed. Johanna Brade (Janos Stekovics: Halle, 2004); Petra Hölscher, *Die Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe zu Breslau: Wege einer Kunstschule 1791–1932* (Ludwig: Kiel, 2003); *Von Otto Mueller bis Oskar Schlemmer: Künstler der Breslauer Akademie,* ed. Kornelia von Berswordt-Wallrabe (Museen in Schwerin, Wroclaw und Regensburg: Schwerin, 2002); *Hans Poelzig in Breslau: Architektur und Kunst 1900–1916,* eds. Jerzy Ilkosz and Beate Störtkuhl (Aschenbeck and Holstein: Delmenhorst, 2000).

12. For a comprehensive history of the Academy, see Hölscher; for information on specific artists see Brade and von Berswordt-Wallrabe.

13. "The Republic of Cities" is the title of John Bingham's chapter on Weimar urbanism in McElligott, *Weimar Germany.* Bingham makes a similar argument in his *Weimar Cities*.

14. Bingham, *Weimar Cities*, 9. The list of scholars who point to the metropolitan experience as key to Weimar historiography is too large to name here in full. Walter Laqueur, Detlev Peukert, Sabine Hake, Eric Weitz, and Rainer Metzger are just five examples.

15. Recent books on Breslau are limited in scope in other ways: Petra Hölscher's *Die Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe zu Breslau* is primarily concerned with the history of the art academy, others present profiles of artists who were resident in Breslau, like *Künstler der Breslauer Akademie: von Otto Mueller bis Oskar Schlemmer* and *Werkstätten der Moderne: Lehrer und Schüler der Breslauer Akademie 1903–1932*.

16. Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley: Univ. California Press, 1990); Alon Confino, *The Nation as Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany and National Memory, 1871–1918* (Chapel Hill: Univ. North Carolina Press, 1997); and Jennifer Jenkins, *Provincial Modernity: Local Culture and Liberal Politics in Fin-de-Siécle Hamburg* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2003).

17. As Jennifer Jenkins points out, recent research dismantles the Hamburg myth. See Mary Lindemann, *Patriots and Paupers: Hamburg 1712–1830* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1990).

18. This was precisely the line of reasoning used in attempts by city officials and the *Deutsche Werkbund* to secure federal funding for exhibitions such as the 1929 Werkbund sponsored *und Werkraum Ausstellung* (WuWA).

19. Eric Storm, *The Culture of Regionalism: Art, Architecture and International Exhibitions in France, Germany and Spain, 1890–1939* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 2010), 6–10.

20. Detlev Peukert, *The Weimar Republic* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993).

21. See chapters 4 and 5.

22. Hans Poelzig, letter published in the *Schlesische Zeitung*, 1932, a clipping in Nachlass Poelzig, GN/ABK I, C.

23. Karl Ditt, "Konservative Kulturvorstellungen und Kulturpolitik vom Kaiserreich bis zum Dritten Reich," *Neue Politische Literatur 41* (1996), 230–60.

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24. Adolf Rading writes about this in his papers, see Adolf Rading, Nachlass Rading, AdK Berlin.

25. Susan R. Henderson, "Ernst May and the Campaign to Resettle the Countryside: Rural Housing in Silesia, 1919–1925," *Journal of Architectural Historians* 61, no. 2, (June 2002), 188–211.

26. For the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* manifesto see: Manfred Schlösser, ed., *Arbeitsrat für Kunst: Berlin 1918–1921; Ausstellung mit Dokumentation; Ausstellung der Akademie der Künste vom 29. Juni–3 August 1980* (Berlin: AdK, 1980).

27. NL Theo Effenberger, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz (hereinafter GSPK) I.HA Rep 92 Effenberger, Nr. 47, "Rat geistiger Arbeiter," 1919.

28. NL Theo Effenberger, GSPK, I. HA Rep 92 Effenberger Nr. 47, without title or date; I.HA Rep 92 Effenberger, Nr. 32; and I.HA Rep 92 Effenberger, Nr. 47.

29. Ibid.

30. Hans Scharoun, *Poelzig, Endell, Moll und die Breslauer Kunstakademie 1911–1932* (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1961), 6, 9; Adolf Rading, letters in NL Rading, AdK Berlin; Hans Poelzig, "On the Closing of the Breslau Academy in 1932," *Schlesische Zeitung*, clipping from NL Poelzig, GN/ABK, I C.

31. Hans Poelzig, "On the Closing of the Breslau Academy in 1932," *Schlesische Zeitung*, clipping from NL Poelzig, GN/ABK, I C.

32. Mario Krammer, "Schlesien u. der deutsche Geist," *Schlesische Monatshefte,* 1927, 386.

33. Theodor von Gosen, NL Gosen, GN/ABK I.B and II.B, 6.

34. Ibid.

35. Franz Landsberger, "Oskar Moll: Zur Jubiläums-Ausstellung im Museum der bildenden Künste," *Schlesische Monatshefte*, JG 1925, 217.

36. Oskar Schlemmer, *The Letters and Diaries of Oskar Schlemmer,* ed. Tut Schlemmer, trans. Krishna Winston. (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1972), 238–72.

37. Theodor von Gosen, NL Von Gosen, GN/ABK and Adolf Rading, letters in NL Rading, AdK Berlin.

38. Franz Landsberger, "Die Neue Sachlichkeit: Zu einem Bilde von Alexander Kanoldt," *Schlesische Monatshefte,* 4 JG, 1927, 105.

39. Brigitte Würtz, "Mein Vater Oskar Moll," in *Oskar Moll: Gemälde u. Aquarelle* (Cologne: Wienand, 1997), 17.

40. See Adolf Rading archives at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin but also the AdK publication, *Adolf Rading. Schriftenreihe der Akademie der Künste Band 3* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1970).

41. Peukert, *The Weimar Republic*, 81–85.

42. John Bingham, *Weimar Cities,* 3 and Ben Lieberman, "Testing Peukert's Paradigm: The 'Crisis of Classical Modernity' in the 'New Frankfurt' 1925–1930," *German Studies Review* 17, no. 2 (May 1994), 287–303.

43. Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Modernisierungstheorie und Geschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1975).

44. Walter Gropius, *Scope of Total Architecture* (New York: Collier, 1962), 19.

45. In *Mathematics of the Ideal Villa and Other Essays* (Cambridge, MA: MIT

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Press, 1976) Rowe demonstrates the debt Le Corbusier had to Renaissance masters; in *Mies Reconsidered: His Career, Legacy, and Disciples* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986) and in *Figures of Architecture and Thought: German Architecture Culture 1880–1920* (New York: Rizzoli, 1990) Dal Co shows Mies's antecedents in the neoclassical work of Karl Friedrich Schinkel.

46. Rosalind E. Krauss, *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985), 1–8; and see Clement Greenberg, *Art and Culture* (New York: Beacon, 1971).

47. Dietrich Schmidt, "Innovation and Experiment," *Auf dem Weg Zum Neuen Wohnen: Die Werkbundsiedlung Breslau 1929* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1996), 8. As Schmidt remarks, "extreme positions of 'industrial functionalism' do not appear in Breslau. One has yet to examine the reasons for this."

48. The literature on the *WuWA* is extensive and divides between articles in the professional press between 1927 and 1930 such as *Die Form*, *Die Bauwelt*, *Kunst und Dekoration*, *Kunst und Künstler*, and *Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung* along with government archives at the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz and State Archives in Wroclaw, Poland.

49. Theodor von Gosen, "Erinnerungen," NL Gosen, GN/ABK I,B and II,B.

50. See e.g., Peukert, *The Weimar Republic*; Marshall Berman, *All that Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Penguin, 1982); and Walter Laqueur, *Weimar: A Cultural History* (New York: Transaction, 2011).

51. McElligott, *Weimar Germany*, 20.

52. See Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1987) for a thorough history and in-depth analysis.

53. Adelheid von Saldern, *The Challenge of Modernity: German Social and Cultural Studies 1890–1960* (Ann Arbor: Univ. Michigan Press, 2002), 2.

54. Berman, *All that Is Solid Melts into Air*, 17.

CHAPTER 1

1. *Siedlung und Stadtplanung in Schlesien*, ed. Magistrat der Hauptstadt Breslau, Heft 1 (Breslau: Magistrat der Hauptstadt Breslau, 1926), 9.

2. *Breslau nach dem Kriege*, ed. Magistrat Stadt Breslau (Breslau: Magistrat Stadt Breslau, 1929), 3.

3. Dr. Guttmann, "Die Entwicklung der Breslauer Wohnverhältnisse und die Bewirtschaftung der Wohunungen nach Kriegsende," *Die Wohnungswirtschaft der Stadt Breslau*. Magistrat Stadt Breslau. (Breslau: Magistrat Stadt Breslau, 1927), 46.

4. Guttmann, 13.

5. *Siedlung und Stadtplanung in Schlesien*, ed. Magistrat Stadt Breslau, Heft 1, (Breslau: Magistrat Stadt Breslau, 1926).

6. Guttmann, 47.

7. Guttmann, 47 and 48.

8. Guttmann, 47 and 48.

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9. Susan R. Henderson, "Ernst May and the Campaign to Resettle the Countryside: Rural Housing in Silesia, 1919–1925," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 61, no. 2, 189; and Susan R. Henderson, *The Work of Ernst May 1919–1930*, Dissertation filed at Columbia University, 1990.

10. For a comprehensive history of the partition debates after World War I and the plebiscite see T. Hunt Tooley, *National Identity and Weimar Germany: Upper Silesia and the Eastern Border, 1918–1922* (Lincoln: Univ. Nebraska Press, 1997); and Davies and Moorhouse, 326–32.

11. Harloe, 76.

12. Dr. Guttmann, 44–70.

13. Fritz Behrendt, "Der Wettbewerb zur Erlangung eines Bebauungsplanes der Stadt Breslau und ihrer Vororte," *Der Städtebau*, Jg 19, Heft 3/4 (1922), 21–22.

14. Martin Fuchs, "Über die Tätigkeit der Siedlungs-Aktien-Gesellschaft Breslau," *Schlesisches Heim*, 3 (1922), 95.

15. *City Visions 1910–2010*, ed. Museum of Architecture of Berlin University of Technology. (Berlin: TU Berlin, 2010), 2.

16. Max Berg, "Gross-Berlin: Gesichtspunkte für die Beurteilung des Wettbewerbes Gross-Berlin und seine Bedeutung für die Entwicklung des modernen Städtebaus," *Dürerbund. Flugschrift zur äesthetischen Kultur 7*, no. 63 (1910).

17. Beate Störtkuhl, "Wohungsbau der Zwischenkriegszeit in Breslau im Mittelosteuropaischen Kontext," in *Wohnen in der Grossstadt 1900–1939: Wohnsituation und Modernisierung im europaischen Vergleich*, eds. Alena Janatkova and Hann Kosinska-Witt (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2006), 337–44.

18. Jörg Sanders, *Die Wohnungsreform der 20er Jahre* (Göttingen: Georg-August-Universität Göttingen/Grin Verlag, 2002); Michael Harloe, *The People's Home? Social Rented Housing in Europe and America* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1995); and one example from the 1920s, Walter Müller-Wulckow, *Wohnbauten und Siedlungen* (Leipzig: Karl Robert Langewiesche, 1929).

19. Richard Pommer summarizes the literature on the controversy in his article "The Flat Roof: A Modernist Controversy in Germany," *Art Journal* 43, no. 2 (1983), 158–69; Werner Hegemann takes on the issue in "Künstlerische Tagesfragen beim bau von Einfamilienhäuser," *Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst*, 3 (1927), 120. Other contemporary articles include: Walter Gropius, "Das flache Dach, Internationale Umfrage über die technische Durchführbarkeit horizontal abgedeckter Dächer und Balkone," *Bauwelt*, special issue, 1926; and Paul Schultze-Naumberg, "Zur Frage des schrägen und des flachen Daches bei unserem Wohnhausbau," *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, Nr. 94 and 96.

20. Pommer, 165–66.

21. Barbara Miller Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1968, 1985), 7–9.

22. Ernst May, "Auswirkungen von Architektur und Städteplanung in der Weimarer Zeit auf die Gegenwart," Dec. 2, 1965, Lectures, Ernst May Archive, GN/ABK, Nuremberg.

23. Numerous books from the 1920s and 1930s describe the altered living situation of many Europeans. On Germany see for example, Müller-Wulckow, *Wohnbauten und*

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Siedlungen; (Königstein: Langewiesche, 1928) Robert Mielke, *Die Siedlungen der Heimat* (Breslau: Hirt, 1926); Rudolph Martiny, *Die Grundrissgestaltung der deutschen Siedlungen* (Gotha: Pertha, 1928); Hans Eckstein, *Neue Wohnbauten: ein Querschnitt durch die Wohnarchitektur in Deutschland* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1932).

24. Nicholas Bullock and James Read, *The Movement for Housing Reform in Germany and France 1840–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995), 85.

25. Eckhard Herrel, "Constant Maturing," in *Ernst May, 1886–1970,* eds., Claudia Quiring et al. (Munich: Prestel, 2011), 15–18.

26. *Ernst May 1886–1970,* eds., Claudia Quiring et al. (Munich: Prestel, 2011).

27. Henderson, "Ernst May and the Campaign to Resettle the Countryside," 190.

28. Ernst May, "Kleinwohnungstypen," *Schlesisches Heim*, August 1919, 15, "Ich möchte hier im ersten Hefte klar und deutlich den Kampfruf ertönen lassen,'Nieder mit der Mietskaserne!'"

29. Eckhard Herrel, "Constant Maturing," 17.

30. Ibid., 23.

31. Ibid., 15.

32. Ernst May, "Funf Jahre Frankfurter Wohnungsbau," *Kommunale Vereinigung für Wohnungswesen*, 1930. Heft 13, 66.

33. Klaus Jürgen Winkler, "Das soziale Moment in der Architektenanschauungen Ernst Mays in den 20er Jahren," *Wissenschaftlisches Bauwesen—Weimar,* 1987, 289.

34. Ernst May, "Wohnungsfürsorgegesellschaften und Baukultur" *Schlesisches Heim* (August 1920), 6.

35. See for example, "Typ und Stil," *Schlesisches Heim* (May 1922), 42–43.

36. Ernst May, "Kleinwohnungstypen," *Schlesisches Heim* (1920), 14.

37. Ernst May, "Wie weit kann die Wohnfläche des Kleinhauses eingeschränkt werden?" *Schlesisches Heim* (1920), 38.

38. Ernst May, "Wohnungsfürsorge," *Schlesisches Heim* (1924), 12, 406–12.

39. May, "Kleinwohnungstypen," *Schlesisches Heim* (1919), 15.

40. May, *Schlesisches Heim* (1921), 228–33, and "Wohnungsfürsorge," *Schlesisches Heim* (1924), 12, 406–12.

41. May, "Typ und Stil," *Schlesisches Heim* (1922), 44.

42. May, "Wohnungsfürsorgegesellschaften und Baukultur," *Schlesisches Heim*, Jg 1 (1920), 3–7.

43. See "Die bewegliche Bodentreppe in Kleinwohnungen," *Schlesisches Heim*, "Wie weit kann die Wohnfläche des Kleinhauses eingeschränkt werden?" *Schlesisches Heim* (1920), 38–43.

44. May, "Typ und Stil," *Schlesisches Heim* (May 1922), 42.

45. May, "Kleinwohungstypen," *Schlesisches Heim* (1920), 14.

46. May, "Der Grundtypen der Schlesischen Heimstätte mit Finanzierungstabelle," *Schlesisches Heim* (1924), 71–78 and 108–17.

47. May, "Rentengutsiedlung Goldschmieden-Neukirch der Schlesischen Landgesellschaft bei Breslau," *Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst*, 4 (1919–1920), 141–52. See also: Beate Störtkuhl, "Ernst May und die Schlesische Heimstätte," in *Ernst May 1886–1970* (Munich: Prestel, 2011).

48. May, "Wohnungsfürsorge," *Schlesische Heim*, 5 (1924), Heft 12, 406–12.

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49. Werner Hegemann, "Künstlerische Tagesfragen Beim bau von Einfamilienhäuser," *Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst*, 3 (1927), 112.

50. Hegemann, 108 and 113.

51. Autobiography, October 1958. GSAPK, I. HA. Rep. 92 Effenberger, 22.

52. Magistratbaurat Dr. -Ing. Heinrich Knipping, "Siedelung Breslau-Tschansch," *Zentrallblatt der Bauverwaltung*, 50 Jg, no. 26 (July 2, 1930), 1.

53. See Störtkuhl, 48; and Staatsarchiv Breslau, Rej. Wr. 16482, 86–88.

54. Christine Nielsen, *Theo Effenberger 1882–1968: Architekt in Breslau und Berlin* (Egelsbach: Dr. Hänsel-Hohenhausen, 1999).

55. Walter Curt Behrendt, "Über die deutsche Baukunst der Gegenwart," *Kunst und Künstler (*1914), 328.

56. I.HA Rep 92 Eff. Nr. 50, "An Herrn Ulitska," no date.

57. Examples include, I. HA Rep 92 Nr. 50, Letter dated 12 Feb. 1923 to Herr Reichminister, Dr. Albert, in Berlin; I.HA Rep 92 Eff. Nr. 50, to Dr. Redslob, Reichsministerium für Innern, dated Breslau, 7 Feb. 1923; and I.HA Rep 92 Eff. Nr. 50, "Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Schlesischen Bundes für Heimatschutz in den Geschäftsjahren 1919 bis 1921."

58. Siedlungsgesellschaft Breslau AG, "Tätigkeitsbericht 1926," *Siedlung und Stadtplanung in Schlesien I*.

59. Dr. Konrad Hahm, "Theo Effenberger," reprinted in *Theo Effenberger,* eds. Konrad Hahm and Christina Nielsen (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2000), v.

60. Ibid., vi.

61. Ibid.

62. Effenberger, "Von Schlesischer Baukunst," *Schlesisches Heimatblätter*, 4 (1910–1911), 343.

63. Effenberger, "Gartenstädtischen Bauten," *Neues Bauen*, ed. Erwin A. Gutkind (Berlin: Bauwelt, 1919), 227.

64. Hahm, vii.

65. L.A., "Kleinwohnungen in Schlesien," *Deutsche Bauwelt* (1927), 498.

66. Architekten Wahlich und Heim, "Siedlung Zimpel," *Schlesisches Heim* (1920), 2–8.

67. Wahlich und Heim, "Siedlung Zimpel," *Schlesisches Heim* (1920), 2, and *Siedlung und Stadtplanung in Schlesien*, ed. Magistrat Stadt Breslau, Heft 1, (Breslau: Magistrat Stadt Breslau, 1926), 3; Fritz Behrendt, "Noch einmal: Die Zukunft der Breslauer Stadtgestaltung," *Schlesische Monatsheft* (1926), Nr. 49; and Paul Heim, "Die Öffentlichen Gebäude der Siedlung Zimpel," *Schlesische Monatshefte*, Jg 4 (1927), 259–63.

68. Wahlich und Heim, "Siedlung Zimpel," *Schlesisches Heim* (1920), 4.

69. Heim, "Die öffentlichen Gebäude der Siedlung Zimpel," *Schlesische Monatshefte* (1927), 260.

70. Ibid., 261.

71. Ibid.

72. Heim, "Siedlung Zimpel," *Schlesisches Heim* (1920), 5.

73. Heim, "Die öffentlichen Gebäude der Siedlung Zimpel," *Schlesische Monatshefte* (1927), 260.

74. Erich Landsberg, "Zur Ausstellung: Siedlung und Stadtplanung in Schlesien," *Schlesische Monatshefte* (1927), 407.

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75. Several different residents expressed this sentiment to the author on a research visit to Wroclaw.

76. Adelheid von Saldern, "The worker's movement and cultural patterns on urban housing estates and in rural settlements in Germany and Austria during the 1920s," *Social History*, 15, no. 3, 334.

CHAPTER 2

1. Alfred Krüger, "Probleme der modernen Baukunst," *Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung,* Breslau, 27 JG, No. 47, 12 June 1929, 350.

2. *Siedlung und Stadtplanung in Schlesien: Breslau, 1926*, Magistrat der Hauptstadt Breslau (Breslau: Stadt Breslau, 1926), 11.

3. Ibid., 24.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., 11.

6. *Wohnung und Werkraum: Werkbund Ausstellung in Breslau 1929: 15 Juni bis 15 September: Der Offizielle Katalog* (Breslau: Stadt Breslau 1929), 1. GSPK.

7. Ibid.

8. *Wohnung und Werkraum: Werkbund Ausstellung in Breslau 1929,* 2.

9. Ibid.

10. Marg Moll, GN/ABK Moll I-B1a.

11. Karin Kirsch, *The Weissenhofsiedlung: Experimental Housing Built for the Deutscher Werkbund, Stuttgart, 1927* (New York: Rizzoli, 1989), 41; and Richard Pommer and Christian F. Otto, *Weissenhof 1927 and the Modern Movement in Architecture* (Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press, 1991), 24, 45–56.

12. Pommer and Otto, 47.

13. Ministerium fur Handel u. Gewerbe: Note to the File dated Berlin, 2 July, 1927, in IHA Rep 120 EXVI2 Nr. 5 Beiheft 1, *Die Ausstellung WuWA* in Breslau 1929, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, (GSPK). See also Jadwiga Urbanik, *Wroclawa wystawa Werkbundu WuWA 1929* (Wroclaw: Museum Architektury we Wroclawiu, 2002).

14. Hans Scharoun, letter to Wilhelm Lotz, *Die Form*, 26 August, 1927, 2 Jg, 1927, Nr. 8, p. 251. Scharoun describes the goals of the Stuttgart exhibition, one of which was to present a uniform look in spite of the different architects involved.

15. IHA Rep 120 EXVI2 Nr. 5 Beiheft 1, *Die Ausstellung WuWA* in Breslau 1929: Ministerium für Handel u. Gewerbe: From various letters in the file, 1927 and 1928, GSPK.

16. Frank Trommler and Jost Hermand point to the nonideological character of Weimar arts in their book, *Die Kultur der Weimarer Republik* (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 1994).

17. IHA Rep 120 EXVI2 Nr. 5 Beiheft 1, *Die Ausstellung WuWA* in Breslau 1929: Ministerium für Handel u. Gewerbe, GSPK.

18. Ibid.

19. Hans Poelzig, letter to *Schlesisches Zeitung*, 1932, from the files, NL Scharoun, GNM/ABK, Fond I, C.

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20. Heinrich Lauterbach, letter to Ernst Scheyer dated 27 May 1961, reprinted in *Hans Scharoun: Bauten Entwürfe Texte* (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1974), 84. In the letter Lauterbach not only asserts that he had initiated the exhibition, a fact confirmed by other sources, but that he began as early as 1926 to work on the *WuWA*. All the official documents were destroyed in a fire at the *Deutsche Werkbund* headquarters in Berlin during the Second World War so it is impossible to corroborate Lauterbach's claim.

21. IHA Rep 120 EXVI2 Nr. 5 Beiheft 1, *Die Ausstellung WuWA* in Breslau 1929: Ministerium für Handel u. Gewerbe: From various letters in the file, 1927 and 1928, GSPK.

22. IHA Rep 120 EXVI2 Nr. 5 Beiheft 1, *Die Ausstellung WuWA* in Breslau 1929: Ministerium für Handel u. Gewerbe: Note to the File dated Berlin, 2 July, 1927, GSPK.

23. IHA Rep 120 EXVI2 Nr. 5 Beiheft 1, *Die Ausstellung WuWA* in Breslau 1929: Ministerium für Handel u. Gewerbe: note to the files dated August 1927.

24. Ibid.

25. IHA Rep 120 EXVI2 Nr. 5 Beiheft 1, *Die Ausstellung WuWA* in Breslau 1929: letters to the files dated from 1927.

26. Newspaper clippings from the *Breslauer Zeitung, Breslauer Neueste Nachrichten*, and others.

27. Magistrat der Hauptstadt Breslau, Hochverwaltung, 8 February 1928, IHA Rep 120, EXVI2 Nr.5 Beiheft 1, *Die Ausstellung WuWA* in Breslau 1929, GSPK.

28. Note to the files dated 28 December, 1928, IHA Rep 120, EXVI2 Nr.5 Beiheft 1, *Die Ausstellung WuWA* in Breslau 1929,

29. IHA Rep 120 EXVI2 Nr. 5 Beiheft 1, *Die Ausstellung WuWA* in Breslau 1929: Ministerium für Handel u. Gewerbe: Letter to the Ministerpresident and Staatsminister, 14 January 1929, GSPK.

30. *Finanzierungsplan für die Ausstellung "Wohn- und Werkraum"* vom 15 June–30 September 1929, IHA Rep 120 EXVI2 Nr.5 Beiheft 1, Die Ausstellung WuWA in Breslau 1929, GSPK.

31. Magistrat der Hauptstadt Breslau, 30 June 1928, IHA Rep 120, EXVI2 Nr.5 Beiheft 1, *Die Ausstellung WuWA* in Breslau 1929, GSPK.

32. Letter to the Regierungspräsident, dated 2 August, 1928, from Breslau, IHA Rep 120, EXVI2 Nr.5 Beiheft 1, *Die Ausstellung WuWA* in Breslau 1929, GSPK.

33. Letter to Ernst Scheyer dated 27 May 1961, reprinted in *Hans Scharoun*, 84.

34. Heinrich Lauterbach, "Werkbundaustellung 'Die Wohnung' Stuttgart 1927," *Schl. Monatshefte (*1927), 93.

35. Ibid.

36. Magistrat der Hauptstadt Breslau, 30 June 1928, IHA Rep 120, EXVI2 Nr.5 Beiheft 1, *Die Ausstellung WuWA* in Breslau 1929, GSPK.

37. Elenore Colden-Jänicke, "Nachklang. Hausfrauliches zur Werkbundsiedlung Breslau, 1929," *Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung,* 27, no. 82 (1929), 613.

38. For a general history of the *WuWA* see Urbanik, *WuWA 1929*.

39. Alfred Rothenberg, "Die Werkbund: Ausstellung 1929 in Breslau," *Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung*, 27, no. 47 (1929), 341.

40. The plans for the restaurant survive, however, at the National Architecture Archives, Wroclaw, Poland.

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41. See "Ausstellung Breslau 1929," *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, 49 JG, Nr. 29, Berlin, 17 July 1929, 461.

42. Lubomir and Vladimir Slapeta, "50 Jahre WuWA," *Deutsche Bauwelt*, 70 Jg, No. 35, 14 Sept. 1979, 1142.

43. Rading to Marg Moll, letters from 1947 and 1948, written in Tel Aviv. AdK, Nachlass Rading, Rad. 8.

44. Magistrat der Hauptstadt Breslau 30 June 1928, IHA Rep 120, EXVI2 Nr, 5, Beiheft 1, *Die Ausstellung WuWA in Breslau 1929*, GSPK.

45. See Dietrich Schmidt, "Innovation and Experiment," 10.

46. Ernst May, "Wohnung und Werkraum, Ausstellung in Breslau," *Das Neue Frankfurt*, 3 (1929), 205.

47. I.HA Rep 92 Effenberger. Nr. 50, GSPK.

48. Max Streit, "Aus dem Reich der Farbe," *Schlesische Monatshefte*, 6 Jg (1929), 307.

49. Franz Landsberger, "Von Form und Gehalt des heutigen Baustils," *Schlesische Monatshefte*, Nr. 7, Jg VI, 1929, 288.

50. Alfred Rothenberg, "Die Werkbund-Ausstellung 1929 in Breslau, " *Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung*, 27 Jg, no. 47 (12 June 1929), 341.

51. Georg Münter, "Wohnung und Werkraum: Ein Versuch die Werkbund Ausstellung in Breslau zu Würdigen," *Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst,* 13 (1929), 442.

52. Some recent publications on housing in interwar Germany include: Paul Overy, *Light, Air and Openness: Modern Architecture between the Wars* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008); Jörg Haspel and Annemarie Jaeggi, *Siedlungen der Berliner Moderne* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009); Michael Harloe, *The People's Home? Social Rented Housing in Europe and America* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1995).

53. Pommer and Otto, 113.

54. Claudia Quiring, *Ernst May: 1886–1970* (Munich: Prestel, 2011); Jan Abt and Alexander Ruhe, *Das Neue Frankfurt: der soziale Wohnungsbau in Frankfurt am Main und sein architect Ernst May* (Weimar: Edition M, 2008).

55. Urbanik, *WuWA 1929*, 146.

56. See *Werkbund Ausstellung 1927,* cited in Kirsch, 22.

57. "Werkbund-Ausstellung 'Wohnung und Werkraum' Breslau 1929," *Holz, Stein, Eisen*, 1928, Week 40, 40 JG, 721 and "Werkbund-Versuchssiedlung in Breslau," *Dekorative Kunst*, Band 37, Munich 1929, 273.

58. Franz Landsberger, "Ausstellung der Staatlichen Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe in Breslau," *Schlesische Monatshefte*, 6 Jg (1929), 59–60.

59. Hölscher, 187.

60. See *Stein, Holz, Eisen*, issues from 1928 and 1929.

61. The articles ran periodically through 1928 and into the summer of 1929.

62. "Ausstellung Breslau 1929," *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung,* 49 JG, Nr. 29, 17 July 1929, 461–69.

63. Georg Münter, "Wohnung und Werkraum: Ein Versuch die Werkbund Ausstellung in Breslau zu Würdigen," *Wasmuth*, 13 (1929).

64. Elenore Colden-Jänicke, "Nachklang/Hausfrauliches zur Werkbundsiedlung Breslau 1929," *Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung Breslau*, 27 JG, Nr. 82, 24 Oct. 1929, 614–615.

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65. Gustav Wolf, "Die Versuchs-Siedlung Grüneiche auf der Breslauer Werkbundausstellung 1929," *Die Wohnung*, 4 Jg, Heft 6, Sept. 1929, 196.

66. Alfred Krüger, "Probleme der modernen Baukunst," *Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung*, 27 Jg, no. 47 (12 June 1929), 352.

67. Alfred Rothenberg, "Die Werkbund-Ausstellung 1929 in Breslau," *Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung*, 27 Jg, no. 47 (12 June 1929), 341.

68. Ibid., 341.

69. Ibid., 349.

70. "Werkbund-Versuchssiedlung in Breslau," *Dekorative Kunst,* Band 37, Munich 1929, 273–78.

71. Thomas Mann, *Von Deutscher Republik: Politische Schriften und Reden in Deutschland* (Frankfurt aM: Fischer, 1984), 263.

72. Thomas Mann, *Order of the Day: Political Essays and Speeches of Two Decades.* Trans. H. T. Lowe-Porter. (Freeport: Knopf, 1969), vi-vii.

73. Weitz, *Weimar Germany*, 270–84.

74. Weitz, *Weimar Germany*, 252; Peukert, *The Weimar Republic*, 181–84; Willett, *The Weimar Years*, 26–27, 56–58.

CHAPTER 3

1. Hartmut Frank, "Ein Bauhaus vor dem Bauhaus,"*Bauwelt 41*, 1983, 1640–58.

2. Other art schools and academies considered influential were: Dresden, Kassel, Düsseldorf, and the Frankfurt, Debschitz, and Reimann schools. See Hans M. Wingler, *Kunstschulreform 1900–1933* (Berlin: Bauhaus-Archiv, 1977) and John Maciuika, *Before the Bauhaus* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006).

3. *Poelzig, Endell, Moll*, 6 and 34.

4. See Kathleen James-Chakraborty, "Henry van de Velde and Walter Gropius: Between Avoidance and Imitation," *Bauhaus Culture: From Weimar to the Cold War* (Minneapolis: Minnesota Univ. Press, 2003), 26–43.

5. Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present* (New York: Da Capo, 1972).

6. The enhanced attention can be seen in regular columns on Breslau in such journals as *Kunst und Künstler* and *Das Kunstblatt*. See chapter 4 for more detail.

7. *Poelzig, Endell, Moll,* 6.

8. Johannes Molzahn, to Marg Moll dated 2 January 1953, reprinted in Siegfried and Dorothea Salzmann, *Oskar Moll Leben und Werk* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1975), 56–57.

9. Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*.

10. Gropius's book dates to 1935; Bayer's book on the Bauhaus dates to 1939; Giedion's biography of Gropius appeared in 1954.

11. Book-length publications on the Academy include: Petra Hölscher, *Die Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe zu Breslau: Wege einer Kunstschule 1791–1932* (Kiel: Ludwig, 2003), *Künstler der Breslauer Akademie: Von Otto Mueller bis Oskar Schlemmer: Experiment, Erfahrung, Erinnerung,* ed. Kornelia von Berswordt-Wallrabe (Schwerin: Staatliches Museen Schwerin, 2003), *Werkstätten der Moderne, Lehrer und*

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Schüler der Breslauer Akademie 1903–1932, ed. Johanna Brade (Görlitz: Museum zu Görlitz, 2004).

12. Vladimir Slapeta, "Breslau," *Rassegna, Themes in Architecture*, Year 11, 40/4, December 1989, 4–90. Slapeta published a short German language essay on the Academy in *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Hochschule für Bauwesen Weimar* in 1979.

13. Ekkehard Mai, *Die deutschen Kunstakademien im 19. Jahrhundert: Künstlerausbildung zwischen Tradition und Avantgarde* (Köln: Böhlau, 2010).

14. Alfred Rohde-Königsberg, "Ostpreussens Romantiker," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* (1933), 21–37.

15. See Maciuika, Pevsner, and Wingler.

16. Pevsner, *Academies*, 267.

17. See NL Effenberger, I.HA Rep 92, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz (GSPK), Berlin and IHA Rep 120, GSPK, Berlin.

18. Hans Poelzig to Bruno Taut dated 23 June 1919, NL Poelzig, GN/ABK, I.C.

19. See Hölscher, *Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe zu Breslau*, for the most detailed study to date of the Academy from its inception to its close.

20. Cited by Petra Hölscher, "Visionen für die Breslauer Kunstschule," *Von Otto Mueller bis Oskar Schlemmer,* 12.

21. Hölscher, *Die Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe zu Breslau,* 51–52.

22. Hölscher, *Die Akademie für Kunst un Kunstgewerbe zu Breslau*, 55–60.

23. Hölscher, *Die Akademie für Kunst un Kunstgewerbe zu Breslau*, 58 and 59.

24. Pevsner discusses the history of German academies and applied arts schools along with the reforms they made at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries.

25. Hans Poelzig, "Lebenslauf," Poelzig Archiv, GN/ABK, II/C.

26. Hölscher, *Die Akademie für Kunst un Kunstgewerbe zu Breslau*, 101.

27. Piotr Łukaszewicz, "Die Breslauer Akademie für Kunst unter dem Direktorat Hans Poelzigs," in Beate Störtkuhl and Jerzy Ilkosz's *Hans Poelzig in Breslau: Architektur und Kunst 1900–1916* (Delmenhorst: Aschenbeck & Holstein, 2000), 34, and in Hölscher, 126–40.

28. Łukaszewicz, 34.

29. See Magdalena Droste, *Bauhaus: 1919–1933. Reform und Avantgarde* (Berlin: Bauhaus-Archiv, 2012); David Dearstyne, *Inside the Bauhaus* (New York: Architectural Press, 1986); Rainer K. Wick, *Bauhaus-Pädagogik* (Berlin: Broschiert, 1997); and Wingler for histories of the development of the Bauhaus workshops and the school's pedagogy.

30. Łukaszewicz, 34.

31. Hans Poelzig, "Gärung in der Architektur," *Das Deutsche Kunstgewerbe* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1906).

32. Hans Poelzig, letter from the Poelzig Archive, GN/ABK, dated May 17, 1933, GN/ABK I, C.

33. Ibid.

34. Hans Poelzig, "Speech to the Deutsche Werkbund," 1919, reprinted in *Hans Poelzig*, ed. Julius Posener (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1970), 111.

35. Hans Poelzig, *Lecture to the Bund Deutscher Architekten*, June 4, 1931, GN/ABK I/C. *Sachlichkeit* could be translated to "objectivity."

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36. Hans Poelzig to Bruno Taut dated January 23, 1919, GN/ABK, I/C, 22.

37. Hans Poelzig to Bruno Taut dated January 23, 1919, GN/ABK, I/C, 13.

38. Ibid.

39. Hans Poelzig to Bruno Taut dated December 11, 1918, Poelzig Archive, GN/ABK, Nurnberg, I, C.

40. Hans Poelzig, lecture to the Bund Deutscher Architekten from the Poelzig Archive, GN/ABK, dated June 4, 1931, GN/ABK I, C, 8 and 10.

41. Even today, applied ornament is considered passé. Postmodern architects tried to rescue ornament by arguing for a return to humanist concerns in design but postmodernism has been largely discredited. It was first pushed aside by the formal manipulations of deconstruction in work by Daniel Libeskind, Zaha Hadid, and Coop Himmelblau; more recently, issues of environmental sustainability and sensitivity to materials have taken center stage in architectural design. Foster and Partners and Sauerbruch and Hutton are two architecture firms celebrated for their innovations in sustainable design, while work by Selgas Cano and Eduardo Soto da Moura experiment with materials and materiality. For these architects, ornament is the logical result of natural colors and textures rather than the applied artifice used in classical and neoclassical design. Ironically, new digital fabrication methods have made ornamented surface treatments possible and fashionable as architects realize the potential in laser cut facades. Anticipated by the application of text and image to facades in work by firms like Herzog and de Meuron, laser cut facades now appear in buildings as small as the private home in Amsterdam by Chris Kabel and as large as the design for a Danish incineration line by Erik van Eggerat.

42. Hans Poelzig, letter dated 17 May 1933 to an unnamed doctor, Poelzig Archiv, GN/ABK, I/C.

43. Heinrich Lauterbach, "Hans Poelzig," 1951, NL Lauterbach, AdK Berlin reprinted in *Hans Poelzig,* ed. Posener, 18.

44. *Poelzig und seine Schule*, Exhibition Catalog, AdK (Berlin: 1931), 3, and *Bau Hefte,* 1951, Nr. 2, 71–76.

45. Theo von Gosen, *Künstlerbund Schlesien*, "Zum Geleit," GSPK, I.HA Rep 92 Effenberger Nr, 32.

46. Hans Poelzig to Taut, dated Jan. 23, 1919, GN/ABK, I,C.

47. Hans Poelzig, letter dated 17 May 1933 to an unnamed doctor, Poelzig Archiv, GN/ABK, II/C.

48. Several letters between Gropius and Poelzig survive at the Poelzig Archive, GN/ABK, Fond I/II, the AdK Berlin, Poelzig, 01.17, and the Werkbund Archive, Berlin.

49. Letter to Gropius dated 30 August, 1916, Poelzig Archive, AdK Berlin.

50. Hans Poelzig, "Bauschule: Handwerker- bezw. Gewerkschule," Poelzig Archive, GN/ABK, Fond I, B-5, February 1919.

51. Marg Moll, "Erinnerungen," Marg Moll Archive, GN/ABK.

52. August Endell, "An die Schönheit," in *Vom Sehen: Texte 1896–1925 über Architektur, Formkunst und "Die Schönheit der großen Stadt,*" ed. Helge David (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1995).

53. Ibid.

54. *Poelzig, Endell, Moll* and Hölscher.

55. See letter dated 11 February 1920 to "Fritz" in the Rading Archive, Rad. 1, AdK Berlin.

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56. I.HA Rep 92 Effenberger, Nr. 47, "Rat geistiger Arbeiter," 1919, Preussischer Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Berlin.

57. I.HA Rep 92 Effenberger, Nr. 32, *Manifesto Rat geistiger Arbeit* 1919, Preussischer Geheimes Staatsarchiv Berlin.

58. Ibid.

59. The model built on the nineteenth-century Master class implemented first at the Düsseldorf Academy. See William Vaughan, "Cultivation and Control: the 'Masterclass' and the Düsseldorf Academy in the Nineteenth Century," in *Art and the Academy in the Nineteenth Century,* eds. Rafael Cardoso Denis and Colin Trodd (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 2000), 150–52.

60. Klaus Reichels, *Vom Jugendstil zur Sachlichkeit, August Endell (1871–1925)* cited in Johannes Rickert, "Das Pädagogisches Prinzip der Breslauer Kunstakademie (1900–1932)," in Wingler, 207.

61. Rickert, 208.

62. Rickert, *Poelzig, Endell, Moll*, and Scheyer. Frank is more critical of Endell's role.

63. Archiv Heinrich Lauterbach, "Erinnerungen," NL Lauterbach, AdK, Berlin.

64. Archiv Heinrich Lauterbach, AdK, 1–124.

65. See reference above to her comments on the conflicts in Breslau. Marg Moll, "Erinnerungen," Marg Moll Archive, GN/ABK. Alexander Kanoldt also wrote acerbic letters about his colleagues in Breslau, in particular, Oskar Moll.

66. Oskar Moll, *Ausstellung Staatliche Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe zu Breslau in der Kunsthalle am Christophoriplatz*, (Breslau: Breslau Akademie, 1929).

67. Hölscher, 240.

68. Ksenia Stanicka-Brzezicka, *Schlesische Künstlerinnen um 1900. Die Tätigkeit der Vereinigung schlesischer Künstlerinnen (1902)*, dissertation (Wroclaw: Univ. Wroclaw, 2004).

69. Hölscher, *Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, 486.

70. Pyotr Łukaszewicz, "Das Zusammenspiel von Frieier und Angewandter Kunst," *Von Otto Mueller bis Oskar Schlemmer: Künstler der Breslauer Akademie* (Schwerin: Museum Schwerin, 2002), 70.

71. Hölscher, *Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, 498, Stanicka-Brzezicka, and Łukaszewicz, 68.

72. Łukaszewicz, 70.

73. Petra Hölscher found fragmentary records with names of 837 students of which 226 were women. Hölscher, 449–85.

74. *Poelzig, Endell, Moll*, 28.

75. Cited in *Poelzig, Endell, Moll*, 28.

76. Heinrich Lauterbach, "Oskar Moll, Kassel 9.9.51," 3, NL Lauterbach 01.119, ADK, Berlin.

77. Oskar Moll, "Staatliche Akademie für Kunst- und Kunstgewerbe Breslau, Ausstellung der Studierenden," Catalog for the 1930 exhibition (Breslau: 1930), 1.

78. Hölscher, 276–77.

79. Rading Archive, AdK Berlin, Rad, 6 and 78.

80. See correspondence in Scharoun Archive, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Abteilung Bildende Künste (GN/ABK), Fond. I/C. More general histories are in: Wingler, *Kunstschulreform* and Pevsner, *Academies of Art.*

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81. Gropius's declaration of February 3, 1922, first outlined the new direction.

82. Years later Georg Muche wrote about the opposing views extant at the Bauhaus, something he apparently considered a source of excitement and productive energy but which Gropius fought against. Georg Muche *Blickpunkt: Sturm, Dada, Bauhaus* (Tübingen: Wasmuths, 1965).

83. Akten der Stadt Breslau, 1328, Staatsarchiv Breslau.

84. I.HA Rep 92 Effenberger Nr. 50, *Schlesische Bund für Heimatschutz*, Breslau, im Schloss Ostflugel, Fernsprecher Ring 7679, Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Dahlem.

85. Coverage ranged from short announcements about events in Breslau to full-fledged articles and reviews.

86. Many Academy faculty members wrote about how difficult it was to practice in Breslau. See the Poelzig and Rading Archives, Akademie der Künste (AdK), and von Gosen Archives GN/ABK.

87. Dr. Erich Wiese, *Schlesische Monatshefte (*1929)*,* 28.

88. Behne, "The Breslau Academy," 443–49.

89. Oskar Moll, "Zum Geleit," *Katalog, Staatliche Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe Breslau: Ausstellung der Studierenden, vom 11. Juni bis 6. Juli 1930* (Breslau: Breslau Academy, 1930), 1.

90. Moll, *Katalog, Staatliche Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe Breslau*, 1930, 1–2.

91. Molzahn, *Katalog, Staatliche Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe Breslau*, 1930, 3.

92. Ibid., 6.

93. Ibid.

94. Ibid.

95. Schlemmer, *Katalog, Staatliche Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe Breslau*, 1930, 9.

96. Ibid., 10.

97. *Katalog, Staatliche Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe Breslau*, 1930, 17.

98. See for example *Bauhaus Culture: From Weimar to the Cold War,* ed. Kathleen James-Chakraborty (Minneapolis: Univ. Minnesota Press, 2006), Ulrike Muller's *Bauhaus Women: Art, Handicraft, Design* (Paris: Flammarion, 2009), *Bauhaus Construct: Fashioning Identity, Discourse and Modernism,* eds. Jeffrey Saletnik and Robin Schuldenfrei (London: Routledge, 2009), T'ai Smith, *Bauhaus Weaving Theory: From Feminine Craft to Mode of Design* (Minneapolis: Univ. Minnesota Press, 2014), and work by Elizabeth Otto on Marianne Brandt and mysticism at the Bauhaus.

99. Oskar Schlemmer, *The Letters and Diairies of Oskar Schlemmer*, ed. Tut Schlemmer (Evanston: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1990), 262.

CHAPTER 4

1. Anja Heuss's excellent chapter on Max Silberberg, "Die Sammlung Max Silberberg in Breslau," in *Die Moderne und ihre Sammler. Französische Kunst in deutschem Privatbesitz vom Kaiserreich zur Weimarer Republik*, ed. Andrea Pophanken and Felix Billeter (Berlin: Akademie, 2001), 311–26; and Deborah Ascher Barnstone, "Weimar

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Era Breslau and Ismar Littmann's Modern Art Collection," *The Art Book*, 13, no. 4, (November 2006), 28–31.

2. Franz Landsberger, "Breslau als Kunststadt," *Schlesische Monatshefte,* 2 JG, Nr. 6 (June 1925), 319.

3. Robin Lenman, "Painters, Patronage and the Art Market in Germany 1850–1914," *The Past and Present Society*, Nr. 123 (May 1989), 114.

4. Articles in the Breslau cultural press throughout the Weimar era repeatedly complain about the dearth of interest in contemporary art.

5. Karl Scheffler, "Breslauer Kunstleben," *Kunst und Künstler*, 21 (1923), 112.

6. Scheffler, "Breslauer Kunstleben," 111.

7. Erich Wiese, "Neue Münchener Kunstlergenossenschaft und Kunstlervereinigung Dachau," *Schlesische Monatshefte* (1929), 28.

8. For several years during the 1920s, Heinz Braune and Erich Wiese, the directors of the Museum of Fine Arts, made notes to their official files listing the names of Breslauers who were prominent collectors especially of contemporary art. Archives of the National Museum, Wroclaw.

9. Wolfgang Köllman, "The Process of Urbanisation in Germany at the Height of the Industrialization Period," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 4, no. 3 (July 1969), 59–76.

10. Köllman, 70–71.

11. Jonathan Sperber, "Bürger, Bürgertum, Bürgerlichkeit, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft: Studies of the German (Upper) Middle Class and its Sociocultural World," *The Journal of Modern History*, 69, no. 2 (June 1997), 271–97.

12. Till van Rahden, *Jews and Other Germans: Civil Society, Religious Diversity, and Urban Politics in Breslau 1860–1925* (Madison: Univ. Wisconsin Press, 2008).

13. Peter Paret, "Bemerkungen zu dem Thema: Jüdische Kunstsammler, Stifter und Kunsthändler," in *Sammler, Stifter und Museen: Kunstförderung in Deutschland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, eds. Ekkehard Mai and Peter Paret (Cologne: Böhlau, 1993), 177.

14. Paret, 177.

15. Scheffler, "Breslauer Kunstleben," 111.

16. Ibid.

17. Ruth Negendank, *Die Galerie Ernst Arnold (1893–1951)* (Weimar: VDG Verlag, 1998), 123 and 125.

18. *Handbuch des Kunstmarktes 1926* (Berlin: Antiqua, 1926).

19. WSPS 1316, multiple letters and notes from the *Gesellschaft der Kunstfreunde* bemoan the lack of gallery space in the city.

20. *Sonderabdruck Museumskunde, Neue Folge V*, Heft 2 (Berlin: Berlin Museums, n.d.), WSPS 594, 354 and "Entwurf," Wydzial Samorzgdowy Prowincij Slaskiej, WSPS 594, 300.

21. *Handbuch des Kunstmarktes 1926* (Berlin: Antiqua, 1926).

22. Beth Irwin Lewis, "Kunst für Alle: Das Volk als Förderer der Kunst," *Sammler, Stifter und Museen: Kunstförderung in Deutschland im 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert,* eds. Ekkehard Mai and Peter Paret (Köln: Böhlau, 1993), 189.

23. "Entwurf: 100 Jahre Schlesischer Kunstverein," WSPS 594, 350.

24. Satzung des Schlesischen Kunstvereins zu Breslau, 5 January 1918, WPS 594.

25. "Entwurf 100 Jahre Schlesischer Kunstverein," WSPS 594.

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26. Dr. Wolf Marg, "Vom Schlesischen Kunstverein: zur Erinnerung an sein Gründungsjahr:1833," WSPS 594, 333.

27. Thomas Schmitz, *Die deutschen Kunstvereine im 19. und 20, Jahrhundert* (Düsseldorf: ars una, 1997), 374–98.

28. "In den letzten 20 Jahren. . . ." WSPS 1390, 3–4.

29. Staatsarchiv Breslau, Kunstverein, Contract dated 26.6.1919 between Museum Bildende Künste and Schlesische Kunstverein.

30. "Der Schlesische Kunstverein," October 1919, WSPS 1156.

31. Theo von Gosen, "Künstlerbund und Akademie," *Februar Ausstellung des Künstlerbund Schlesien*, Breslau 1932.

32. *Künstlerbund Schlesien Satzungen*, I.HA Rep 92 Effenberger Nr, 32.

33. "Grosse Kunstausstellung Breslau 1920" *Schlesische Zeitung,* 13 April 1920.

34. Kurt Langer, *Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung* 16 September 1926, Nr. 38, 24 Jg, 325.

35. *Künstler Schlesiens*, I Buch ed. Künstlerbund Schlesien (Frankfurt: Mittelland Verlag, 1925), *Künstler Schlesiens*, II Buch, ed. Künstlerbund Schlesien (Breslau: Ostdeutschen Verlagsanstalt, 1929), and *Künstler Schlesiens*, III Buch, ed. Künstlerbund Schlesien (Breslau: Ostdeutschen Verlagsanstalt, 1929).

36. Ernst Schremmer, "In Schlesien und aus Schlesien," *Kunst in Schlesien—Künstler aus Schlesien: Malerei, Graphik und Plastik im 20. Jahrhundert* (Würzberg: Bergstadt Verlag, 1985), 9.

37. Letter from the *Gesellschaft der Kunstfreunde* to Mayor Wagner dated 26 November 1926, WSPS 1316, 6.

38. Ibid., 6–8 and 14–17.

39. Ibid., 14.

40. Ibid., 16.

41. Letter dated 16 May 1927 from Geschäftsträger Schlesischer Städte und Handelskammern to Mayor Wagner, WSPS 1316, 819.

42. "Bericht über die Tätigkeit der *Gesellschaft der Kunstfreunde*, Breslau im Jahre 1928," WSPS 1316, 102.

43. "Bericht über die Tätigkeit der *Gesellschaft der Kunstfreunde*, Breslau im Jahre 1928," WSPS 1316, 101.

44. The publication, *Juryfreie Kunstausstellung Breslau 1927* 24 July–4 September Am Zoo (Breslau: Juryfrei, 1927), outlines the goals of the *Gruppe 19* exhibitions.

45. Numerous publications by the Bund declare its political and ideological neutrality. See documents in the Staatsarchiv Breslau, WSPS 1181.

46. "Der Schlesische Bund für Heimatschutz," Staatsarchiv Breslau, WSPS 1181, 12.

47. Ibid.

48. I.HA Rep 92 Effenberger, Nr. 50, "Schlesier, Unterstutzt den Schlesischen Bund für Heimatschutz!" Breslau, 1919.

49. Storm, *The Culture of Provincialism*, 10.

50. "Entwurf des F . . ." Staatsarchiv Breslau, 1918–1919, WSPS 1181, 108.

51. Ibid., 109.

52. Vortragsliste 1927, *Schlesische Bund für Heimatschutz*, Staatsarchiv Breslau, WSPS 1183.

53. Sperlings Zeitschriften Adressbuch 1927 (Leipzig: H. O. Sperling, 1927), 358.

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54. Walter Grasskamp, "Die Einbürgerung der Kunst," *Sammler, Stifter und Museen,* 109.

55. See Hölscher, 167.

56. Zofia Bandurska, "Archivalien der ehemaligen Breslauer Kunstmuseen," *Berichte und Forschungen; Jahrbuch des Bundesinstituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im Östlichen Europa*, Band 12 (Oldenbourg: Bundesinstitut für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im Östlichen Europa, 2004), 80.

57. *Handbuch des Kunstmarktes 1926* (Berlin: Antiqua, 1926).

58. Michael Cullen, "Juden als Sammler und Mäzene," in *Juden als Träger Bürgerlicher Kultur in Deutschland,* ed. Julius H. Schoeps (Stuttgart: Berg, 1989), 123; Erich Wiese, "Die Stiftung Carl Sachs für das Schlesische Museum für Bildende Künste in Breslau," Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 1932, 149–52; and Erich Wiese, "Daumier, Toulouse-Lautrec, Munch, Zorn," *Gesellschaft der Kunstfreunde*, Juli 1929, Alten Generalkommando, Breslau. Exhibition catalogue.

59. From author's correspondence with Laqueur.

60. These four are repeatedly referred to by Heinz Braune in Museum correspondence from the 1920s as among the most important Breslau collectors. See files in National Museum Wroclaw, II/59.

61. "Daumier, Toulouse-Lautrec, Munch, Zorn," *Gesellschaft der Kunstfreunde,* Juli 1929, Alten Generalkommando, Breslau. Exhibition Catalogue. See also, Erich Wiese, "Die Stiftung Carl Sachs für das Schlesische Museum der bildenden Künste in Breslau," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1932).

62. Magdalena Palica, "The Collection of Carl Sachs," located at www.silesiancollections.eu.

63. *Kunst und Künstler*, 1927, 235.

64. Ibid., 318.

65. See auction notes located at www.hampel-auctions.com/de/archive/g12/62996.

66. *Kunst und Künstler,* 1928, 22.

67. Magdalena Palica, *From Delacroix to Van Gogh: Jewish Art Collections in Breslau* (Wroclaw: Biblioteka Dawnego, 2009).

68. Paul Abramowski, "Die Sammlung Silberberg, Breslau," *Der Sammler*, 20 (1930), 149–53; Alice Landsberg, "Eine grosse deutsche Privatsammlung. Die Sammlung Silberberg in Breslau," *Die Dame*, 16 (1930), 12–15; *Collections de Messieurs S . . . et S . . . , Tableaux Modernes, Paris*, 9 Juin 1932 (Paris: Galerie Georges Petit, 1932).

69. Karl Scheffler, "Die Sammlung von Max Silberberg," *Kunst und Künstler*, 4.

70. Heuss, "Die Sammlung Max Silberberg in Breslau," 311–26.

71. See e.g., Abramowski, Landsberg, and Scheffler.

72. From the Littmann records given to the author by his daughter Ruth Haller and son-in-law Chaim Haller.

73. Ruth Haller, "The Story of Dr. Ismar Littmann and his Art Collection," personal papers belonging to Ruth Haller.

74. See Deborah Ascher Barnstone, "Weimar Era Breslau and Ismar Littmann's Modern Art Collection," *The Art Book*, 13, no. 4 (2006), 28–31.

75. Willy Cohn, "Das Wissenschaftliche Ergebnis der Breslauer Ausstellung: Das Judentum in der Geschichte Schlesiens," February and March 1929.

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76. Deborah Ascher Barnstone, "The Breslau Jewish Museum: Disintegration of the Manifest World," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 12, no. 3 (November 2013), 459–78.

77. See Katherina Rauschenberger, *Jüdische Tradition im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik* (Hannover: Hahnsche, 2002) for a comprehensive history of Jewish museums in Germany.

78. Scheffler, "Breslauer Kunstleben," 111.

79. Ibid.

80. Letter from Dr. Braune to Alfred Gold in Berlin dated 8 June 1926. Braune explains that the Museum only collects German art. Stadtarchiv Breslau, files from the Museum für Bildende Künste, Musuem Narodwe we Wroclawiu.

81. Ibid. and files of the Staatsarchiv Breslau at the State Archive Wroclaw. Surviving correspondence documents many of the purchases and donations made during the 1920s.

82. Museum Narodwe Wroclawiu Archive, II/59. Braune listed major collectors in Museum correspondence on several occasions in the 1920s.

83. Heinz Braune to Prof. Busch, Wirtschaftsbund bildender Künstler Schlesiens, dated 1 December 1925, WSPS 605, 79.

84. Letter to Erich Wiese from Ludwig Grothe dated 21 November 1925, WSPS 605, 785.

85. Heinz Braune, letter to the Dresden Secession dated 15 January 1921, National Museum Archive, II/59.

86. "Rede des museumdirektors Braune zur Eröffnung der Abteilung altdeutscher Malerei und Plastik im Museum der bildenden Künste," 16 October 1927, WSPS 615, 36–40.

87. Ibid., 39.

88. Franz Landsberger, "Zur Gruppierung der Breslauer Museen," *Schlesische Monatshefte* (1929), 449–50.

89. Clippings "Ausstellung der Neuerwerbungen im Schlesischen Museum der bildenden Künste," 16 August 1928 and "Kunst-Ausstellungen. Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Künste," 15 August 1928, WSPS 615, 63 and 64.

90. Letter dated 27 April 1925 to Kunsthandler Wolfensberger, Zurich, WSPS 605.

91. Franz Landsberger, "Es gibt noch Mäzene," *Neuen Breslauer Zeitung*, nr. 150, 27 November 1931.

> "Wodurch kann das Breslauer Kunstleben gehoben werden?" *Schlesische Monatshefte*, Nr. 3, JG V, March 1928, 93–99. In 1922, Minister Erwin Redslob, Minister of the Interior, outlined the cultural challenge to Silesia still present in 1928, "to positively and creatively meet . . . not by romantic escape from the present and interweaving into the international economy but by an affirmation of the future tasks and new situation of our people, through the historical and *Heimatlich* traditions fruitful to development in this new time."

92. Redslob admonished his audience to be mindful of both past and present in order to build the cultural armature for the future, to turn to local and regional heritage and economies rather than international ones.

93. Adolf Rading, "Wodurch kann das Breslauer Kunstleben gehoben werden?" *Schlesische Monatshefte,* Nr. 3, JG V (March 1928), 94.

94. Adolf Rading, NL Rading, n.d., AdK Berlin, Rad. 134.

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CHAPTER 5

1. See Iain Boyd Whyte, in *Tracing Modernity: Manifestations of the Modern in Architecture and the City,* eds. Mari Hvattum and Christian Hermansen (London: Routledge, 2004), 53.

2. Regina Göckede, *Adolf Rading (1888–1957) Exodus des Neuen Bauens und Überschreitungen des Exils* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2002), 13 and 15.

3. Christoph Bürkle, *Hans Scharoun* (Zürich: Artemis, 1993), 1.

4. Peter Blundell Jones, *Hans Scharoun* (London: Phaidon, 1995).

5. Peter Pfankuch, *Adolf Rading: Bauten, Entwürfe und Erläuterungen* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1970), 7. See Adolf Rading, "*Neues Bauen*," AdK Rading 21, 5.

6. The literature from the 1920s dealing with questions of what constituted modern expression is extensive. On the subject of cultural contradiction and the conflict between tradition and modernity writers on both sides of the divide, conservative and progressive, remarked on the split between values and the seeming contradictory pressures operating on cultural production. Examples include architect Wilhelm Kreis in *Über die zusammenhänge von Kultur, Zivilisation und Kunst* (Berlin: Hübsch, 1927) and "Romantik und Sachlichkeit in der modernen Architektur," *Die Baugilde*, 1930; Peter Behrens in "Zeitloses und Zeitbewegtes," *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, 52 Jg., 1932, Nr. 31; Fritz Schumacher in "Die Zeitgebundenheit der Architektur," *Deutsches Bauwesen*, Bd. V, 1929, Heft 10; and Walter Riezler in "Die Kampf um die deutsche Kultur," *Die Form*, 1932.

7. The most famous study of this phenomenon is not of a German architect but of Le Corbusier. In his *Mathematics of the Ideal Villa,* Colin Rowe demonstrates how Le Corbusier was indebted to classical architecture, specifically Andrea Palladio's buildings. Francesco Dal Co studied the classical in Mies van der Rohe's architecture.

8. For a photograph and plan of the villa see Konstanze Beelitz and Nicolas Förster, *Die Architektur der Moderne: Breslau/Wroclaw* (Berlin: Wasmuth, 2006), 134.

9. The project is reproduced in *Hans Poelzig in Breslau: Architektur und Kunst 1900—1916,* eds. Jerzy Ilkosz and Beate Störtkuhl, (Delmenhorst: Aschenbeck & Holstein, 2000), 172—73.

10. Jerzy Ilkosz, *Max Berg's Centennial Hall and Exhibition Grounds in Wroclaw* (Wroclaw: Museum of Architecture, 2006); Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1980); Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York: Penguin, 1958); Wolfgang Pehnt, *Deutsche Architektur seit 1900* (Munich: Wüstenrot Stiftung, 2005); Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design* (London: Palazzo, 2011).

11. Kathleen James-Chakraborty, *German Architecture for a Mass Audience* (London: Routledge, 2000), 22–23.

12. D. Berg, "Betrachtung über Architektur und Städtebaukunst," *Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung*, 24 Jg, Nr. 10 (7 March 1926), 3. Unfortunately, Berg's first name does not appear in the paper or anywhere else.

13. D. Berg, "Betrachtung," 1.

14. Bernhard Stephan and Richard Konwiarz authored *Die Baukunst Breslaus* (Breslau: Gratz, Barth & Comp, 1926) in which they survey the history of Breslau architecture from 1241 to the present. Although their list of notable contemporary projects is rather short they

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concur with D. Berg, and August Grisebach lists several buildings of note from the 1920s in "Ein neues Logenhaus in Breslau," *Schlesische Monatshefte*, 1927, 9, among them the *Messehof,* Richard Konwiarz's Crematorium, Adolf Rading's Oddfellows Hall, and sundry unnamed school projects. By the end of the 1920s, the list had grown even more.

15. Janet Ward, *Weimar Surfaces: Urban Visual Culture in 1920s Germany* (Berkeley: Univ. California Press, 2001), 45–92.

16. *Schlesische Monatshefte* features articles throughout the 1920s by local architects who address the question of renovation. Two of the more revealing ones appear back-to-back in 1926. One is by Adolf Rading, who attacks the city for what he sees as incompetence and inaction; the other is by city architect Fritz Beherendt, who defends what he sees as the progress made by the city in spite of economic challenges. Adolf Rading, "Die Zukunft der Breslauer Stadtgestaltung," 273–347 and Fritz Behrendt, "Noch einmal: Die Zukunft der Breslauer Stadtgestaltung," 347–51.

17. August Grisebach, "Ein neues Korporationshaus in Breslau," *Schlesische Monatshefte,* 4 (1927), 354.

18. Grisebach, "Korporationshaus," 354.

19. Adolf Rading, "Die Neue Messehalle in Breslau," *Schlesische Monatshefte* (1925), 168.

20. Rading, "Messehalle," 169.

21. Heinrich Lauterbach, "Wiederholung in München," 6.5.1958, AdK Berlin, Lau.01.127, 2.

22. Articles on his work appear during the 1920s in the Silesian *Osteutsche Bau-Zeitung* and *Schlesische Monatshefte* as well as the Berlin-based national publications *Die Bauwelt* and *Kunst und Dekoration.*

23. Heinrich Lauterbach, "Wiederholung in München," 6.5.1958, AdK Berlin, Lau.01,127.

24. Heinrich Lauterbach, Speech dated 6 May 1958 in Munich, NL Lauterbach, AdK, Lau 01.127.

25. NL Lauterbach, AdK, Lau 01.127, 4.

26. Ibid., 6.

27. Heinrich Lauterbach, "Wiederholung in München," 6.5.1958, AdK Berlin, Lau.01.127, 6.

28. Heinrich Lauterbach, "Vortrag vor der Volkshochschule Kassel am 8.6.1953," AdK Berlin, Lau.01.103, 2.

29. NL Lauterbach, AdK Berlin, Lau.01.103, 20.a.

30. Ibid.

31. Heinrich Lauterbach, "Erinnerungen an Kindheit und Jugend," NL Lauterbach, AdK Berlin, Lau 01, 210.

32. Heinrich Lauterbach, *Hans Scharoun: Ausstellung in der Akademie der Künste vom März—30 April 1967* (Berlin: Adk, 1967), 7.

33. Beate Szymanski and Regina Göckede try to rehabilitate Rading's reputation and role in *Neues Bauen*, although neither analyzes his idiosyncratic understanding of the movement. Göckede also attempts to situate Rading more precisely in the history of *Neues Bauen*, but only as an exile after 1933.

34. See Regina Göckede, *Adolf Rading (1888–1957): Exodus des Neuen Bauens und Überschreitungen des Exils* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2005), 160.

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35. Rading's importance today is attested to by a spate of recent publications studying his work that includes several dissertations and books: Regina Göckede's 2005 *Adolf Rading (1888–1957)*; Beate Szymanski's 1992 *Der Architekt Adolf Rading: Arbeiten in Deutschland bis 1933* (Munich: VVF, 1992); and Otto Pegels's 1992 *Adolf Rading 1888–1957. Bauten und Projekte in Deutschland, Palästina und England* (Dissertation, 1992).

36. Adolf Rading, *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, Heft 6, 60 Jg., Berlin 1926, 457.

37. See Adolf Rading, "Bauaufgaben und Zukunft im Osten," Rad. 105 and "Pressenotiz," (Feb. 1925) Rad. 123, NL Rading, AdK Berlin and Adolf Rading, "Grundlagen der Breslauer Stadterweiterung im Zusammenhang mit amerikanischen Reiseeindrücken," (1924) Rad 29, "Breslauer Spaziergang," (n.d.) Rad 82, and "Bauaufgaben und Zukunft in Osten," (n.d.) Rad 105, NL Rading, AdK Berlin.

38. Rading, "Pressenotiz," III.

39. Rading, "Pressenotiz" and "Bauaufgaben und Zukunft im Osten."

40. Ibid.

41. Rading, "*Neues Bauen*," AdK Rading 21, 5.

42. Rading, "Bauaufgaben und Zukunft im Osten." As head of the *Schlesische Bund für Heimatschutz*, the Breslau architect Theo Effenberger made similar arguments to the city and provincial authorities throughout the 1920s—see HA Rep 120 Theo Effenberger, GSPK Berlin.

43. Adolf Rading, "Lehrplan einer Bauakademie," AdK, Rad 6, 5 December 1932, 2.

44. Adolf Rading, "Architekt und Wirtschaft," AdK, Rad 129, August 1926.

45. For discussions of the importance of Bildung to notions of liberal German society see Jennifer Jenkins, *Provincial Modernity: Local Culture and Liberal Politics in Fin-de-Siècle Hamburg* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2002); Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burge (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989); Dieter Langewiesche, *Liberalismus in Deutschland* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 1988); and Bollenbeck, *Bildung und Kultur: Glanz und Elend eines deutschen Deutungsmusters* (Frankfurt aM: Suhrkamp, 1996).

46. Pfankuch, *Rading*, 18.

47. Adolf Rading, "Neues Bauen," 3–4.

48. Ibid.

49. Adolf Rading, "Lehrplan einer Bauakademie entwickelt auf der Allgemeinen Situation der Kunst," AdK, Rad. 6, 12 May 1932.

50. Rading, "Lehrplan," AdK, Rad. 6, 12 May 1932, 1.

51. Rading, "Lehrplan," 2 and 7.

52. Rading, "Neues Bauen," 1.

53. Pfankuch, *Adolf Rading*, 22.

54. Pfankuch, *Adolf Rading*, 24.

55. The Austrian critic and architect Adolf Loos employed a similar approach in his house designs.

56. Rading, "Fanal." NL Rading, Adk, Rad 75.

57. Rading, "Von Wesen des Bauwerks," NL Rading, Adk, Rad 93, 1.

58. Ibid., 1–3.

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59. Adolf Rading, "An Die Form," AdK, NL Rading, Rad 1, 1–3.

60. Rading, "Architekt und Wirtschaft," 8.

61. Adolf Rading, "Stadt, Form, Architekt," *Die Form,* Bonn, 1 Jg. Oktober 1925, Heft 1 reprinted in Pfankuch, *Adolf Rading*, 10.

62. Heinrich Lauterbach, "Bauen um zu wohnen," vortrag von der Volkshochschule Kassel, 8.6.1953.

63. Adolf Rading, "Stadt, Form, Architekt," *Die Form,* Bonn, 1 Jg. Oktober 1925, Heft 1 reprinted in Pfankuch, *Adolf Rading*, 10.

64. Adolf Rading, "Die Typenbildung und ihre städtebaulichen Folgerungen," AdK, Rad. 127.

65. Ibid., 5.

66. Rading, "Architekt und Wirtschaft," and "Neues Bauen."

67. Eberhard Syring and Jörg Kirschenmann, *Hans Scharoun 1893–1972: Aussenseiter der Moderne*, (Köln: Taschen, 2007) and Colin St. John Wilson, *The Other Tradition of Modern Architecture: The Uncompleted Project* (London: Wiley, 1995).

68. Hans Scharoun, "Vortrag in Bremen," 6 January 1967, AdK NL Scharoun, reprinted in Pfankuch, *Hans Scharoun*, 10.

69. See Eberhard Syring and Jörg Kirschenmann, *Hans Scharoun 1893–1972: Aussenseiter der Moderne*, (Köln: Taschen, 2007) and Ulrich Conrads, *Zeit des Labyrinthes: Beobachten, nachdenken, feststellen 1956–2006* (Berlin: Birkhäuser, 2007) for discussions of Scharoun's position within the German avant-garde.

70. In the Eighteenth Century Battle of the Ancients and the Moderns, belief in imitation and repetition of existing architectural tropes was set against the belief in individual creativity.

71. Hans Scharoun, "Lecture to the Breslau Academy," 1925, reprinted in Pfankuch, 50.

72. Hans Scharoun, "Die gläserne Kette," Lecture at Sender Freies, Berlin, 14 March 1964, AdK NL Scharoun, reprinted in Pfankuch, *Hans Scharoun*, 15.

73. Pfankuch, *Hans Scharoun*, 36–37.

74. Max Berg, *Die Bauwelt*, 1922, Heft 8 123 reprinted in excerpted form in Pfankuch, *Hans Scharoun*, 36.

75. Hans Scharoun, "Ruf zum Bauen" (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1920).

76. Hans Scharoun, Lecture at the Breslau Kunstakademie, 1925.

77. In the Weimar cultural debates, one of the oppositional pairs was *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (community and society). Community was seen as the traditional construction derived from village communal life whereas society represented the modern, urban form of settlement.

78. Poelzig's and Rading's views owe more of a debt to Woefflin's aesthetic theories—the notion of style as an expression of the *Lebensgefuhl* of an era—than to the function driven forms. Human and psychological reactions to art are the driving considerations. For August Schmarsow, space was the determining factor in architecture, "von innen nach aussen" did not mean using function as the primary generator but using the space itself.

79. Hans Scharoun, "Vortrag in Königsberg," 1921, reprinted in Pfankuch, *Hans Scharoun*, 20.

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80. Hans Scharoun, *Die Form*, 26 August 1927.

81. Pfankuch, *Hans Scharoun*, 98–99.

82. Hans Scharoun, "Erläuterungsbericht zum Transportablen Holzhaus," *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 61 Jg. Berlin, 1927, Nr. 7, 78 and Nr. 84, 693–96.

83. Hans Scharoun, to Adolf Behne, Insterburg, 11 June 1923, NL Scharoun, AdK, Berlin. He writes, "The line over the entry opening reflects the curve of the floor and the viewing room and the movement of the outer wall reflects the seating order so that actually almost no line is without reference in the building."

84. The plan and elevation are reprinted in Pfankuch, *Hans Scharoun*, 30.

85. Adolf Behne, *Der Moderne Zweckbau* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1964), 43.

86. His inaugural lecture at the Breslau Academy, 1925, NL Scharoun, AdK Berlin, reprinted in Pfankuch, 52.

87. Clement Greenberg, "Modern and Postmodern," William Dobell Memorial Lecture, Sydney, Australia, October 31, 1979, *Arts Magazine,* 54, no. 6 (February 1980).

CHAPTER 6

1. Cited in Mario Andreas von Lüttichau, *Otto Mueller: Ein Romantiker unter den Expressionisten* (Köln: DuMont, 1993), 73.

2. Franz Landsberger, "Ausstellung der Staatliche Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe in Breslau," *Schlesische Monatshefte,* Nr 2, Jg 6 (February 1929), 62.

3. *Poelzig, Endell, Moll* 6.

4. Willi Wolfradt, "Der Stilkonflikt in der Kunst der Gegenwart," *Das Kunstblatt,* 5 (1921), 38.

5. Wolfradt, 40.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. David Cottington, *The Avant-Garde* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2013) and Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1977).

9. See Barbara Miller Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1968) and Colin Rowe, *The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa and Other Essays* (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1982). Lane and Rowe are only two examples of many historians who have treated the notion of the break with the past.

10. Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Alexander Kanoldt* (Berlin: n.p., 1926), 38, in the Franz Roh Letters at the Getty Foundation.

11. Oskar Schlemmer, letters to Otto Meyer dated September 8, 1929, and June 29, 1930, and Ludwg Grote dated July 7, 1930, reprinted in *The Letters and Diaries of Oskar Schlemmer*, ed. Tut Schlemmer (Evanston, IL: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1972), 249 and 261–62.

12. Georg Muche, letter to Walter Gropius dated February 1922, Muche Archive 77, Bauhaus Archiv, Berlin.

13. Cited in Lothar-Günther Buchheim, *Otto Mueller: Leben und Werk* (Feldafing: Buchheim, 1968), 254.

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14. Buchheim, *Otto Mueller*, 278–79.

15. Oskar Moll, "Zum Geleit," *Ausstellungskatalog Akademie der Kunst und Kunstgewerbe* (Breslau: Breslau Academy, 1929), 1.

16. Behne, "The Breslau Academy," 444.

17. Moll, "Zum Geleit," *Ausstellungskatalog*, 1.

18. From a letter to the art historian Franz Roh dated 14 January 1926, Franz Roh Letters, Getty, Box 4, Folder 1.

19. Oskar Moll, "Auszüge aus Briefe," 1941, from a private collection in the Rhineland. Cited in Salzmann, 34.

20. Johannes Molzahn, "Beitrag Kunstgewerbeschulen," Walter Dexel Letters, Getty, 850835, Box 2, Folder 19. Molzahn's essay for the 1930 Breslau Academy Exhibition Catalog echoes the same sentiment.

21. Georg Muche, letter to Walter Gropius dated February 1922 from Weimar, Muche Archive, Bauhaus Archive, 77.

22. Cited in Lothar-Günther Buchheim, *Die Künstlergemeinschaft Brücke* (Feldafing: Der Kunst, 1956), 262.

23. Hans Purrmann, "Die Einheit des Kunstwerks," in *Hans Purrmann*. Exhibition catalog from the Pfalzgalerie Kaiserslautern, 3–25 June (Kaiserslautern: Schneider, 1950), in the Archiv Marg Moll, GN/ABK.

24. Hans Poelzig, lecture to the Bund Deutschen Architekten 4 June 1931, Archiv Hans Poelzig, Fond I/C, GN/ABK.

25. Hans Poelzig, letter dated 23 January 1919, to Bruno Taut, Archiv Hans Poelzig, Fond I/C, GN/ABK.

26. Georg Muche, Lecture n.d., Muche Archive, Bauhaus Archiv, Berlin.

27. Georg Muche, letter to Walter Gropius dated February 1922 from Weimar, Muche Archive, Bauhaus Archiv, 77–78.

28. Ibid.

29. Oskar Moll, Ausstellungskatalog Breslau Akademie für Kunst- und Kunstgewerbe, 1930.

30. Marg Moll, "Unser Gemeinsamer Weg," in *Oskar Moll Leben u. Werk* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1975), 38.

31. Letters from Kanoldt to art historian Franz Roh are full of derision for Moll, who both Kanoldt and Roh believed was out of touch with most artists. Franz Roh Letters, Getty Archive, #850120, Box 3.

32. Marg Moll, speech 21 September 1955, Marg Moll Archive, Fond I, GN/ABK.

33. Siegfried and Dorothea Salzmann, *Oskar Moll: Leben und Werk* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1975) and *Oskar Moll: Gemälde und Aquarelle,* eds. Gisela Fielder-Bender and Dorothea Salzmann (Mainz: Wienand, 1997).

34. Barbara Ilkosz, "Oskar Moll und das Breslauer Kunstleben in den Jahren 1919–1932," in *Oskar Moll: Gemälde und Aquarelle*, eds. Gisela Fiedler-Bender and Dorothea Salzmann (Cologne: Landesmuseum Mainz, 1997), 96.

35. Brigitte Würtz, *Elard und Ich: Erinnerungen und Fragmente* (Munich: Brigitte Würtz, 2002).

36. *Oskar Moll: Sammlung Walter Birenheide*. Exhibition catalog (Galerie Koch, Hannover, 2002), 5.

37. Brigitte Würtz, "Mein Vater Oskar Moll," *Oskar Moll: Gemälde und Aquarelle*, 14.

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38. Würtz, "Mein Vater Oskar Moll," 14.

39. Kanoldt Letters, Getty Archive, Los Angeles.

40. Ernst Scheyer, *The Breslau Academy and Oskar Moll* (Würzberg: Holzner, 1961).

41. Siegfried and Dorothea Salzmann, *Oskar Moll: Leben und Werk*, 19.

42. Oskar Moll, "Auszüge aus Briefen," *Oskar Moll: Leben und Werk*, 34–35.

43. Oskar Moll, "Rede zur einer Ausstellung," *Oskar Moll: Leben und Werk*, 32.

44. Oskar Moll, "Zum Geleit," *Oskar Moll: Leben und Werk*, 31.

45. Oskar Moll, Auszüge aus Briefen 1945/7, *Oskar Moll*, 37.

46. Oskar Moll, "Entwurf zu einer Ansprache," *Oskar Moll: Leben und Werk*, 33.

47. Moll, "Zum Geleit," *Oskar Moll: Leben und Werk*, 30.

48. Moll, "Entwurf zu einer Ansprache," *Oskar Moll: Leben und Werk*, 34.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

51. Brigitte Würtz, "Aufzeichnungen meiner Mutter Marg Moll 1884–1977," *Elard und ich,* 269–70 and Marg Moll in *Unser Gemeinsames Leben Oskar Moll Marg Moll* (Karl Wiehn, Facta Film, 1966).

52. Würtz, "Aufzeichnungen meiner Mutter Marg Moll 1884–1977," 273.

53. Ibid., 275.

54. Hans Scharoun, "Marg Moll," 1964, reprinted at http://www.oskar-u-marg-moll.de/ueber_m.html.

55. Hans Scharoun, "Marg Moll," 1964, reprinted at http://www.oskar-u-marg-moll.de/ueber_m.html.

56. Mario Andreas von Lüttichau, *Otto Mueller: Ein Romantiker unter den Expressionisten* (Köln: DuMont, 1993).

57. Lüttichau, *Otto Mueller*, and Dieter W. Posselt, *Otto Mueller: A Stand-alone Modernist* (Norderstedt: Deutsche Bibliothek, 2010).

58. Paul Westheim, "Otto Mueller," *Das Kunstblatt*, 2 Jg, 1918, Heft 5, 130; and Karl Scheffler, "Otto Mueller," *Kunst und Künstler,* 17 Jg, 1919, Heft 9, 349.

59. As Posselt points out, presenting Mueller without textual explanation began with the 1925 publication of *Silesian Artists,* which had no textual accompaniment, and continues today.

60. Lüttichau and Dieter W. Posselt, *Otto Mueller. Ein Künstlersolitär der Modern* (Norderstedt: Neu Auflage, 2009) and Johanna Brade, *Zwischen Künstlerbohème und Wirtschaftskrise. Otto Mueller als Professor der Breslauer Akademie 1919–1930* (Görlitz: Museum Görlitz, 2004).

61. Emmy Mueller, *Erinnerungen an Otto Mueller*, 12.

62. Meike Hoffmann, "Otto Muellers graphisches Schaffen," *Otto Mueller: Gemälde, Aquarelle un Druckgraphik aus dem Brücke-Museum Berlin*, ed. Magdalena M. Moeller (Hirmer: Munich, 1996), 26.

63. Reprinted in Meike Hoffmann, "Otto Muellers graphisches Schaffen," in *Otto Mueller: Gemälde, Aquarelle un Druckgraphik aus dem Brücke-Museum Berlin*, ed. Magdalena M. Moeller (Hirmer: Munich, 1996), 27.

64. Herbert Wentscher commented on Mueller's passionate nature. See Lothar-Günther Buchheim, *Otto Mueller: Leben und Werk* (Buchheim: Feldafing, 1963), 254.

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65. Ruth Haller, daughter of the collector Ismar Littmann, told this story often to her husband Chaim Haller who recounted it to the author in a telephone interview on February 28, 2006.

66. Marg Moll, Fond I, B-7e, GN/ABK.

67. Johann Georg Prinz von Hohenzollern and Mario-Andreas von Lüttichau eds. *Otto Mueller: Eine Retrospektive* (Munich: Prestel, 2003), 197.

68. Lüttichau, 78.

69. Cited in Buchheim, *Otto Mueller*, 254.

70. See "Otto Mueller und die 'Brücke'," in *Otto Mueller: Gemälde Aquarelle und Druckgraphik,* ed. Magdalena M. Moeller, (Munich: 1996), 117.

71. Ibid, 11.

72. Otto Mueller, *Ausstellungskatalog Otto Mueller, Paul Cassirer Berlin* (Berlin: Paul Cassirer, 1919), 1.

73. Paul Westheim, "Otto Mueller," *Das Kunstblatt*, Heft 2, 1918, reprinted in *Otto Mueller: Gemälde Aquarelle und Druckgraphik*, Moeller, 117.

74. Lothar-Günther Buchheim, *Otto Mueller*, Kunstblätter der Galerie Nierendorf (Berlin: Buchheim, 1968), 3.

75. Wilhelm von Hausenstein, *Alexander Kanoldt* (Berlin: n.p., 1926), 38, in the Franz Roh Letters at the Getty Foundation.

76. Hausenstein, 43–44.

77. Alexander Kanoldt. Letter to Walter Dexel dated 22 January 1921, Getty Foundation, #850835, Box 2, Folder 5.

78. Ibid.

79. Letter to Roh dated 26 January 1927. Getty Foundation, #850120, Box 3, Folder 2.

80. Letters to Roh dated 26 January 1927 and 17 November 1926 in which he disparages Moholy-Nagy, Kandinsky, Klee, Picasso, Braque, and Gris. Getty Foundation, #850120, Box 3, Folder 2

81. Holger Jacob-Friesen, *Alexander Kanoldt: Graphik und Malerei aus dem Besitz der Staatlichen Kunsthalle Karlsruhe* (Karlsruhe: Staatliche Kunsthalle, 2000), 9.

82. Ibid.

83. Letters dated 5 April 1927 and 26 January 1927 to Roh. Getty Foundation, #850120, Box 3, Folder 2.

84. Hausenstein, 46.

85. Alexander Kanoldt, letters to Walter Dexel, Walter Dexel Letters, Getty, #850835, Box 2, Folder 5.

86. Ibid.

87. Letter to Roh dated 10 June 1926. Getty Foundation, #850835, Box 2, Folder 5.

88. Letter to Walter Dexel dated 22 January 1921. Getty Foundation, #850835, Box 2, Folder 5.

89. Letter to Franz Roh dated 26 January 1927. Getty Foundation, #850835, Box 2, Folder 5.

90. Letter to Walter Dexel dated 22 January 1921. Getty Foundation, #850835, Box 2, Folder 5.

91. Peter Beye, "Introduction," in Karin von Maur, *Oskar Schlemmer: Sculpture,* trans. Anne Engel (Stuttgart: Hatje, 1972), 8.

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92. Schlemmer, *Diaries*.
93. Schlemmer, *Diaries*, 116.
94. Beye, *Oskar Schlemmer*, 10.
95. *MoMA Highlights*, ed. The Museum of Modern Art (New York: Harry Abrams, 1999), revised in 2004 and 2008, 118.
96. Karin von Maur, *Oskar Schlemmer Monographie* (Munich: Prestel, 1979), 212.
97. Schlemmer, *Diaries*, 118.
98. Ibid., 135.
99. Schlemmer, *Diaries*, 140–41.
100. Ibid., 10.
101. Ibid., 23.
102. Schlemmer, *Diaries*, 241.
103. Ibid., 272.

EPILOGUE

1. Editorial Staff, "Prominenten-Krise," *Schlesische Monatshefte*, Jg 7 (1930), 34.
2. Ibid.
3. Hans Nowak, "Prominenten-Krise," *Schlesische Monatshefte*, Jg 7 (1930), 34–35.
4. Articles on the crisis include Nowak, "Prominenten-Krise," *Schlesische Monatshefte*, Jg 7 (1930), 34–35; Emil Lange, "Zuschrift," *Schlesische Monatshefte*, Jg 7 (1930), 89; Hans Nowak, "Erwiderung," *Schlesische Monatshefte*, Jg 7 (1930), 89–90.
5. "Ein Spaziergang nach 3 Jahren," *Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung*, JG 30, 1932, Nr. 36, 298–300.
6. Georg Bollenbeck discusses what he sees as the relationship between the use of such terms, the atomized cultural environment in Weimar-era Germany and the political rise of Hitler and the National Socialists in "German *Kultur*, the *Bildungsbürgertum*, and its susceptibility to National Socialism," *The German Quarterly*, 73, no. 1 (Winter 2000), 67–83.
7. Bollenbeck, "German *Kultur*," *The German Quarterly*, 74.
8. Sensitivity to the name-calling is evident in writings from 1929 onward including essays by Oskar Moll and Oskar Schlemmer in *Katalog, Staatliche Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe Breslau*, 1930.
9. Dr. Alfred Schellenberg, "Die Zukunft der Breslauer Kunstakademie," *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 20 January 1932, Effenberger, I. H. A. 92.
10. http://www.wahlen-in-deutschland.de/wrtwbreslau.htm.
11. "Schlesischer Wirtschaftsspiegel: Die Osthilfe," *Schlesische Monatshefte*, Jg 7 (1930), 41–42.
12. Jeffrey Herf, "The Engineer as Ideologue," 633 and *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986); Raymond Guess, "Kultur, Bildung, Geist," *History and Theory,* 35, no. 2 (1996), 151–64; Peter Imbusch, *Moderne und Gewalt* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2005), 53.

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13. Kurt Langer, *Ostdeutsche Bau-Zeitung*, 16 September 1926, Nr. 38, 24 Jg, 325.

14. "Breslauer Kunst-Akademie soll sterben," *Vossische Zeitung*, 20 December 1931.

15. U. Lamm, "Sind Kunst Akademien nötig?" *Kunst und Künstler* and "Was bleibt von der Kunstakademie?" *Schlesische Zeitung,* Breslau, 24 January 1932.

16. See for instance, Anonymous, "Was bleibt von der Kunstakademie?" *Schlesische Zeitung*, 24 January 1932, clipping in the Effenberger Archive, I.H.A. Rep 92.

17. Effenberger, I.HA Rep 92 Effenberger, Nr. 29: 6.

18. Anonymous, "Was bleibt von der Kunstakademie?" *Schlesische Zeitung*, 24 January 1932, clipping in the Effenberger Archive, I.H.A. Rep 92.

19. Oskar Schlemmer, *Diaries*, April 25, 1933, 310.

20. Peter-Klaus Schuster, *Nationalsozialismus und "Entartete Kunst." Die Kunststadt München 1937* (München: Prestel-Verlag, 1987), 94.

21. On the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition, see for example: John Petropolous, *Art and Politics in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill: Univ. North Carolina Press, 1999); *Degenerate Art: The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany,* ed. Stephanie Barron (Los Angeles: LACMA, 1991); and *Nationalsozialismus und "Entartete Kunst,"* ed. Peter-Klaus Schuster (Munich: Prestel, 1998)

22. National Socialist ideologue Alfred Rosenberg founded the Kampfbund in 1928 in order to facilitate the National Socialists' ability to manipulate German cultural life.

23. Rudolf Hillebrand, "Kunstausstellungen," *Freie Meinung*, Nr. 54, 24 December 1921; cited in Hölscher, 82.

24. Bodo Fischer, *Die Gemälde in Erfurter Rathaus* (Thüringen: Verlagshaus Thüringen, 1992).

25. *Deutsche Kunst in Schlesien 1850–1934; und Gedächtnisausstellung von Prof. Eduard Kaempffer*, ed. Wilhelm Ueberrück (Breslau: Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur, 1934).

26. Herbert Schade, *Johannes Molzahn: Einführung in das Werk und die Kunsttheorie des Malers* (Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1972), 18–22.

27. Molzahn died in 1965. Herbert Schade published a monograph on Molzahn in 1972; there were three exhibitions of his work in the 1970s in Berlin, Duisberg, and Nuremburg; then renewed interest in the 1990s.

28. Alexander Kanoldt to Walter Dexel, in particular, 17 November 1926. Walter Dexel Archive, Box 2, Folder 5, Getty Foundation. Kanoldt refers to Moll as a "dictator" in this letter.

29. Kanoldt is the subject of two monographs published by the State Art Hall in Karlsruhe dating to 1963 and 2000 and a couple of exhibition catalogs.

30. *Adolf Rading: Bauten, Entwürfe und Erläuterungen,* ed. Peter Pfankuch (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1970) and Regina Göckede *Adolf Rading (1888–1957): Exodus des Neuen Bauens und Überschreitungen des Exils* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2002).

31. *Hans Scharoun: Bauten, Entwürfe, Texte*, ed. Peter Pfankuch (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1974).

32. Cristina Inês Steingrüber, *Heinrich Lauterbach (1893–1973): Leben und Werk* (Diss.), 71–75 and Cristina Inês Steingrüber, *Der Architekt Heinrich Lauterbach* (Kiel: Ludwig, 2005).

33. AdK, NL Lauterbach 101–132, 1958.

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34. There is very little literature on Lauterbach other than a monograph from 1971 assembled by the Akademie der Künste, Berlin and a recent dissertation by Christina Steingrüber from 2003.

35. Effenberger, I.HA Rep 92 Effenberger, Nr. 29: 6.

36. The local and national press covered the discovery. See for instance, "Entartete Kunst bei Grabungen gefunden," *Der Tagespiegel*, 2 May 2011.

37. Petra Ahne, "Brigitte Würtz war ein Kind," *Berliner Zeitung*, 10 February 2012.

38. Ahne, "Brigitte Würtz," *Berliner Zeitung*, 10 February 2012.

39. Marg Moll has never been the subject of much art critical attention either during her lifetime or afterwards except for Werner Filmer's 2009 monograph *Marg Moll: eine deutsche Bildhauerin 1884–1977*; Oskar received a fair amount when he was alive and then again in the 1960s around the time of the *Poelzig, Endell, Moll* exhibition.

40. Oskar Schlemmer, *Diaries*, December 23, 1931, 287.

41. Scharoun, *Poelzig, Endell, Moll*, 5; Heinrich Lauterbach, AdK, NL Lauterbach 01–124, "Rede zum 70. Geburtstag Oskar Schlemmers."

42. Marg Moll, NL Marg Moll, GN/ABK, Fond I, B-7a-7i, "Erinnerungen an Oskar Moll," 11.

43. Georg Muche, letter dated 2 April 1972, from Muche to Lauterbach NL Muche, GN/ABK, I-C, 466.

44. "Der Kunstakademie in Breslau (I)" von Prof. Dr. Guenther Grundmann: 1961, I.HA Rep 92 Effenberger Nr, 32.

45. Peter Paret, *The Berlin Secession: Modernism and Its Enemies in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1980), 247.

46. Hans Scharoun, *Poelzig, Endell, Moll* (Berlin: AdK, 1965), 6.

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