

THE ARCHITECTURE OF HANS SCHAROUN:

Practice 1933 - 1945

by

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Submitted to the Department of Architecture on
25 June 1985 in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Science in
Architecture Studies.

Abstract

This document is an account of the work of the architect Hans Bernhard Scharoun according to a method which represents the practice of architecture as the execution of a "research programme". The attempt is made to represent the course of events within the discipline of architecture during the years 1933 to 1945 as the confluence of a number of competing research programmes.

References to the individual projects which issued from Scharoun's practice during this period disclose the interaction between his programme and competing contemporary programmes, and contribute to an account of transformations in his programme. A description of the institutional framework prevailing in Germany under National Socialism, of the efforts to implement a programme of "total" architecture, and, in particular, of the effect on Hans Scharoun's practice during this period, demonstrates that:

- These institutions were not a monolithic front capable of implementing a consistent, "total" programme for architecture. This is explained as a product of the particular historical circumstances which governed the formation of those institutions and limited their influence, and as the consequence of the nature of National Socialist fascism.
- The disjunctions and inconsistencies present in these institutions allowed a reduced, yet authentic, form of Scharoun's programme to continue to develop and progress, despite the apparently untenable circumstances.

The course of his practice is explained as the consequence of the insulating boundaries and mediative paths developed at the confluence of the programmes which correspond to Scharoun's practice and to these institutions. The events are recounted as manifestations of correspondence and disjunction in the composition and interaction of the respective programmes.

The presentation of Scharoun's work shows that he was able to persist, to apply his programme, and to maintain its thematic essence, in the presence of a dominant incommensurate programme because, as a progressive programme, it tolerated internal disjunctions. It also shows that disjunctions which were maintained within the fascist programme in order to project the degree of completeness which the ideology demanded, made it impossible to eliminate unorthodoxy of the sort represented by Scharoun's work.

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"It is only in the relation between things and ideas that truth can be reasonably judged.

The inconceivable quality of German fascism is its essence. It demonstrates that it can no longer be approached on a theoretical level.

...
Theories search continuously for causes. The planned destruction of six million people, ... can have no causes. And each attempt, to construct them in spite of that, must be rejected."

Wolfgang Pohrt (Sellout, 1980)

"Eine polierte metalkugel ist zwar ein phantastische angelegenheit fur unsere geist, aber eine blute ist ein erlebnis"

Hugo Haering (1925)

"Hier eine kleine Welt, da eine kleine Welt" ...
"Hauptsache: Bewegung !"

Hans Scharoun

I wish to thank Professor Stanford Anderson, the German Academic Exchange Program, and the Academy of Arts, Berlin for their support on this project.

Chapter 1
Introduction

This thesis examines the practice of the architect Hans Scharoun. It concentrates on his work during the years 1933 to 1945, to disclose the effect the contemporary circumstances may have had on his work.

As this particular period of his career begins, Germany is under the rule of National Socialism. Scharoun has moved from Breslau to Berlin, as the Breslau Academy of Arts has been closed. His office, in Berlin, with Rading is being dissolved, as Rading is forced to emigrate, and contracts become scarce. The most prominent advocates of modern design principles will also emigrate. German artists will lose the privileges of expression which they had acquired during the Weimar period. The innovative stylistic principles which had been indispensable to modern architects prior to 1933 will be excluded from the sanctioned principles of practice.

In spite of the ominous events, this particular period of Scharoun's career was selected, as it affords an opportunity to isolate essential qualities of the architect's work. Scharoun was not the only modern architect who

remained in Germany during these years,[1] and while the work of each architect who remained should be examined, Scharoun's case provides both the broadest field of projects and an instance of the most marked transformation.

Changes in this work can, when related to changes in the context, indicate the presence of stable themes which informed the architect's designs. Those principles which may be shown to govern changes in his work in response to the rise of National Socialist fascism, may be recognized as essential elements of his architecture.

This account follows the architect along a deliberate personal path through shifting and contradictory networks of ideas, beliefs, and ideals. It is an account of those events which made such a path possible. In contrast to an account of the design of a single work, or the development of a particular design philosophy, this account of a practice pursues the architect throughout the course of his career. Rather than seek essential causes for events or explain deterministic influences leading to a design philosophy, It

1. Many of the proponents of Neues Bauen (in the sense distinct from the "new architecture") remained. Doecker, Haering, Lauterbach, Maechler, Haesler, Max Taut, and the Luckhardt brothers present other examples.

attempts to employ a consistent systematic method to recount Scharoun's practice and to depict a context for his work, in order to provide a basis to demonstrate interaction between the two.

To undertake such a task for this period in German history introduces serious methodological difficulties. First, the documentary base, upon which such an endeavor depends, is not as rich as one would hope. In addition, the conditions of life under fascism and the policies of the fascist government smothered any unorthodox discourse.[2] Those documentary materials which escaped destruction during the war are divided among Eastern and Western archives. The only consolation is that only one of Scharoun's houses was destroyed during the war.

The disjunction between the Scharoun's personal beliefs and the professional standard make it impossible to relate the architect's intentions and achievements directly to the social and professional context. Too many of the beliefs

2. The most damaging manifestations of this were the wholesale burning of nonconformist or critical art and literature in May 1933 (See (Serke.1980). Hitler's statements on culture . (See (Wulf.1983, p.126f, p360f)

which had contributed to the development of his work were no longer acceptable in practice. A cursory examination of the objects of his practice[3] does not indicate that Scharoun had repudiated his previous work. This would lead one to believe that he had pursued his practice as some form of a continuation of his work prior to 1933.[4] Yet, in light of the stylistic contrast between his work before 1933 and that executed after 1945, it seems more accurate to expect some form evolution and development during these years.

In order to demonstrate this, the methodology of "scientific research programmes" is employed as a means to discuss the various forces which impinged upon an architect, and to demonstrate their interaction. The approach presented by Y. Elkana[5] and applied to the practice of architecture by S. Anderson[6] is modified in accord with the distinction which must be made between the pursuit of science and the practice of architecture in Germany under National Socialism.

3. See Appendix A

4. Both his limited direct reference to his work during this period (see (Pfankuch.1974, p.116f)) and his contemporary correspondence (see (Anderson.1985, p.459f)) support this.

5. (Elkana.1982)

6. (Anderson.1984)

Using this methodology to present Scharoun's practice, I intend to assess the significance of the architectural work produced by Scharoun during this period.

Chapter 2

Context

2.1 Overview

The twenties and early thirties had been years of remarkable transformation in the field of architecture. The practice had recovered from the years of minimal reconstruction and inactivity following World War I, to set its sights on a new society and on the built forms which would foster it. Whether architects followed a progressive ideal, or pursued conservative revision, they shared the conviction that their search for architectural forms would contribute to their cause. The most visible progressive developments were reforms in the education of architects[1] and the work of those avant-garde architects who had achieved positions of authority in municipal design departments and private building societies.

Whether one took a position on architectural design

1. Such as those at the Bauhaus and the State Academy of Art in Breslau. See (Wingler.1977)

methodology as radical as that of Hannes Meyer,[2] or was as conservative as Heinrich Tessenow[3] there was a common concern. One principle common to the core beliefs of all modern designers was the desire to realize a more genuine relation between the designs which architects were producing, and the social and economic order which was beginning to dominate life during the first decades of this century. As architects addressed the contingent class structure and the conditions of production, their concerns began to coalesce in images of the tasks architects were to perform in the coming decades. For the architects affiliated with Neues Bauen these concerns were expressed as attempts to represent the

2. See (Schnaidt.1965, p34: the Federation School of the General German Trade Union) or (Meyer.1980, pl00f). He propounds a collective design method which depends on a strictly hierarchical model of architectural knowledge to proceed from decomposition of a problem to a final design by building up independent component solutions.

3. See (Tessenow.1961).

"material quality of use",[4] or they appeared as systematic attempts to program and design new plan types to correspond to new purposes.[5]

The most prominent proponent of Neues Bauen was Adolf Behne. His writings[6] analyse designs according to

-
4. Although most visible as a controversy surrounding the place of ornament in design, this was an instance of a more general question of the relation of between physical forms and social orders, and of the effects of transformations within the respective realms. See (Mueller,1984,p19):

"Die Avantgarde der Moderne hat die Verwendung des Ornaments als Versoehnungsparadigma rigoros abgelehnt. >Keine Zuckerzangen als Kompensation fuer die alltaeglich erfahrene Dominanz der Geburtszangen!< Auch das haette ihr motto sein koennen. Man mag dazu stehen , wie man will. Konsequenat war diese Haltung gegenueber dem zur Antinomie erstarrten Verhaeltnis der Kuenstlerischen und der praktischen Gestaltung des Lebens, bei dem die praktischen Seite auf der Strecke zu bleiben drohte. Und mit der "praktischen Seite" ist in der Avantgarde vor allem in den 20er Jahren die >soziale< Seite des Bauens gemeint. Deshalb auch hat die Avantgarde in ihren besten Entwuerfen und Ausfuehrungen versucht, an den zu gestaltenden Zwecken etwas sinnlich zur Anschauung zu bringen, was - bei aller Sympathie fuers Ornament - immer mehr sein wird als bester Schmuck und bestes Ornament: ich meine die >sinnlichen Eigenschaften des Gebrauchswerts<."

5. See (Banham.1960).

6. eg: (Behne.1926), (Behne.1927), and (Behne.1923).

purpose: the new programs were to lead to new spatial forms - not new appearances. He proposes an architecture which looks beyond the debate over new styles and visual aesthetic to examine the spatial representation of transformations taking place in society. W.C.Behrendt propounded a similar position,[7] although his approach was more pragmatic. The research and the design work of A.Klein[8] demonstrate a similar search for means to accommodate social transformations. He sought, in particular, to appropriate the middle class spatial program for the working classes on moderate terms through refinements in plan topology and in dwelling furnishing and finishing.

On the other hand designers were conscious that the artifacts of design represented material culture. Self conscious design was ascribed the ability to fabricate culture. Architects, trained to design, became responsible to identify that culture, and to determine the forms which best represented it.

The work at the Bauhaus moved in this direction. At the

7. eg: (Behrendt.1927).

8. eg: (Klein.1929).

center of their efforts to reform architectural culture through radical changes in the education of architects, was the search for a visually based formal vocabulary. As Behne remarked, at the occasion of the Bauhaus exhibition in Weimar:

"Practical necessities should be so organized, that the form issues directly from this organization - a form which is so precise and so convincingly clear, that it rejects any additional adornments." [9]

Gropius was explicit regarding the responsibility the designer assumed:

"Der mensch erfindet durch seine Intuition, durch seine metaphysische Kraft, die er aus dem All saugt, den stofflosen Raum des Scheins und der inneren Schauung, der Visionen und Einfaele; er fuehlt die Zusammenhaenge seiner Erscheinungsmittel, der Farbe, Formen, Toene und versinnlicht mit ihnen Gesetze, Masze und Zahlen. Aber dieser Raum der Schauung draengt zur Verwirklichung in der stofflichen Welt; mit Geist - und Handwerk wird der Stoff bezwungen.

"Das Hirn erdenkt den mathematischen Raum kraft des Verstandes durch Rechnung und Messung. Ueber die Gesetze der Mathematik, Optik, und Astronomie schafft es ein Vorstellungs- und Darstellungsmittel fur den zu erbauenden stofflichen Raum der Wirklichkeit durch das Mittel der Zeichnung.

"Die Hand begreift den tastbaren stofflichen Raum der Wirklichkeit, der auszer uns liegt; sie erbaut

9. (Behne.1923)

ihn in der Realitaet nach den Gesetzen des Stoffs und der Mechanik und miszt und waegt die stoffliche Substanz, die ihn bestimmt, und ihre Festigkeit ebenso wie ihre mechanischen und konstruktiven Eigenschaften. Sie meistert ihn durch das Koennen des Handwerks mit hilfe von Werkzeug und Maschine."[10]

"The goal of this work lies in being able to draw out the greatest possible variability from dwellings. The solution of this important problem must be sought in assemblage of typed components to form the various dwelling organizations. That is to say, to proceed from the new technical and spatial suppositions, to create full scale building blocks, with which one can piece together various dwelling machines based on the number and needs of the inhabitants."[11]

Hugo Haering took yet another position with regard to the designer's responsibility. He proposed that designer's were to continue to seek beyond solutions for material problems to develop forms which "functioned" on a spiritual plane. He would eventually arrive at the formulation

Only the non-essential can be standardized.

...
It is not a question of research into the superficial technical spatial requirements, but rather of inquiry into the goals to be set for the pedagogical

10. (Gropius.1965, p35)

11. (ibid, p56) See, for example, the Dammerstock and Torten housing estates (Gropius.1972).

task[12] The form of the built environment grows out of the research into these essentials .

Nur unwesentliches kann genormt werden

...
Es galt nicht nur der ueblichen erforschung der aeuszern technischen raumansprueche, sondern den zu setzenden zielen der erzieherischen arbeit. In der erforschung der wesenheit wuchs die gestalt der bauanlage heran.[13]

In the housing field, the problems created by migration to the cities, and by the economic depression of the late twenties and early thirties fostered a search, on the part architects of every persuasion, for alternative material and conceptual approaches to design and construction. Designers recognized the necessity to bring the means and forms of housing production into agreement with the economic and material circumstances, with the conditions of industrial development and concentration, and with the stratification of urban classes. As a consequence of these pressures, designers were forced to align themselves with the classes whose representation they felt most significant to realizing their image of society.

12. Although he refers here specifically to Scharoun's design for the Darmstadt School Competition, his use of the term elsewhere implies that the purpose of all architecture is pedagogical

13. (Haering.1951)

Thus, at the same time as modern designers shared an image of their problem, their positions began to diverge ideologically. Thus, for example, although the concept of type figured prominently in projective work of many architects during the twenties. this ideal could only have been frustrated, when presented with the contemporary, impoverished and outmoded industrial base. This fostered the desire for centralized reorganization of housing production and an affiliation with some political institution. May's work in Frankfurt, Gropius's work at the Bauhaus and on industrialized settlements, and LeCorbusier's work in Pessac were all experiments working towards the mass realization of a housing prototype. The numerous publications, competitions, and exhibitions related to modular houses[14] indicate the widespread interest a more flexible approach to the problem, formulated in the interests of the working class.

Contemporary with these attempts, among designers, to reform the design professions, efforts were underway to create an institutional and industrial basis for further reforms in the fields of design. The most visible work would include that carried out by such men as Emil Rathenau and

14. (Wagner.1932), (Neufert.1932)

Edwin Redslob. Rathenau had, as the founder of the AEG, had placed Behrens in a position to develop a coherent industrial style which would represent AEG in the world of commerce. Redslob was the first head of the office of the "Reichskunstwart" established by the German federal government, after World War I, to support reforms in the arts. One of his responsibilities was to offer advice regarding professional standards in the practice of architecture.

When, by the early thirties, housing production was in such disarray that no individual would have been realistic to attempt to rectify the situation, appeals were made to centralized authorities. It was hoped that they could, through regulation, develop a unified national housing development program.[15]

By the early thirties, however, the common efforts to approach the problems of design within modern constraints had yielded to divisive pressures. The field of practitioners separated into competing groups. Those institutions, which continued to act through the twenties and thirties, chose

15. See (Deutsche Bauzeitung, III.33)

sides in the competition for influence over the built environment. Industrial interests compromised their commitment to the ideological propositions associated with modern design, even as they continued to depend on the technical innovations.

Reactionary interests had worked to undermine the efforts of avant-garde modern architects to develop architecture as an instrument to support social change.[16] A "Heimatschutz" movement had developed in broad middle class support for indigenous styles.[17] The more radical modern designers had begun to turn to foreign countries as grounds to develop their ideas.[18] The conservative executives of the Republic closed off institutional support for modern design initiatives in 1932.[19]

-
16. The Kampfbund fuer deutsche Kultur was founded on 4. April 1928 to work, throughout Germany, against modern designers. The Block was established in June 1928, by conservative architects in Berlin, to counteract the Ring. (see (Teut.1967, pl6f))
 17. (Petsch.1980, p.88)
 18. The competition for the Palace of the Soviet had been a point of hope, and disappointment for modern architects. Hannes Meyer, Ernst May, and Bruno Taut chose to pursue their respective practices in Russia.
 19. Bruening's October 1931 austerity plan froze all publicly funded construction for the next thirty months.

There were also disputes among the modern designers. As Behne noted,[20] Scharoun, Haering, and Rading were absent from the 1923 Bauhaus exhibition. The proponents of the "New Building" had withdrawn from CIAM,[21] and from the Werkbund.[22]

Scharoun's work during these years indicates that, just as the profession was seeking a path to follow, he was experimenting with various approaches. Some projects were committed to developing "functional forms" according to organic principles. Other projects show the presence of abstract grids or spatial compositions. There is no apparent evolutionary development. Contemporary projects occasionally embody conflicting principles. This could even be the case with a single design.

20. (Behne.1932)

21. Haering was the only member of that sector of the Ring in attendance at the 1928 CIAM congress. He withdrew on the grounds that the congress made a premature, unjudicious decision, to restrict attention to Le Corbusier's principles. See (Steinmann,1979) and (Joedicke.1965, p11).

22. Lauterbach, Scharoun, and Rading withdrew as a result of the controversy which surrounded the Schlesische Werkbund exhibition. (see (Frank.1983))



Figure 2-1:
Bochum Rathaus

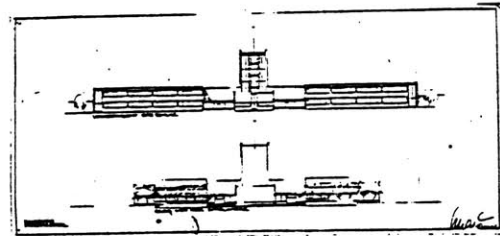


Figure 2-2:
Breslau-Zimpel Schule

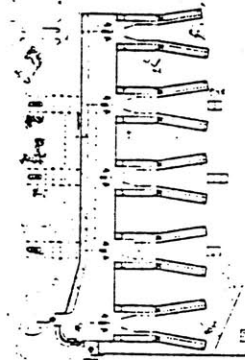


Figure 2-3:
Berlin Justizgebäude



Figure 2-4:
Friedrichstrasse competition

Projects for the Bochum Rathaus, the Breslau-Zimpel Schule, or the Berlin Justizgebäude isolated formal decisions within levels of a conceptual hierarchy. They are similar, in conceptual organization, to work by H.Meyer[23] or W.Gropius.[24] In contrast to these, in his entry to the

23. See (Schnaidt.1965, p.40): the Federation School of the General German Trade Unions.

24. See (Gropius.1972): the Fagus Factory or the Dammerstock Housing Estate.

Friedstrasze competition and his Stock exchange proposal the facades were composed as fields rather than hierarchies, and the plans were developed based on access continuity.

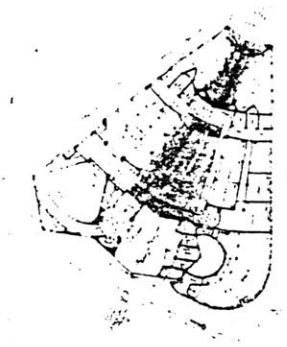


Figure 2-5:
Friedrichstrasze competition

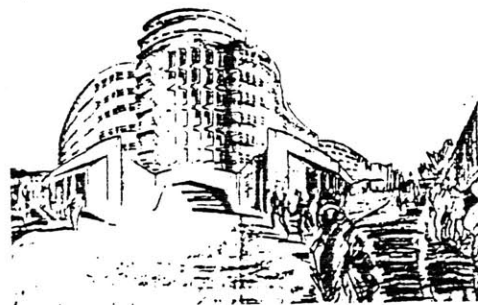


Figure 2-6:
Stock exchange

The "Weite" house design was developed based on abstract, overlapping grids and planes, while in the prefabricated exhibition houses the plans were assembled from modular elements.

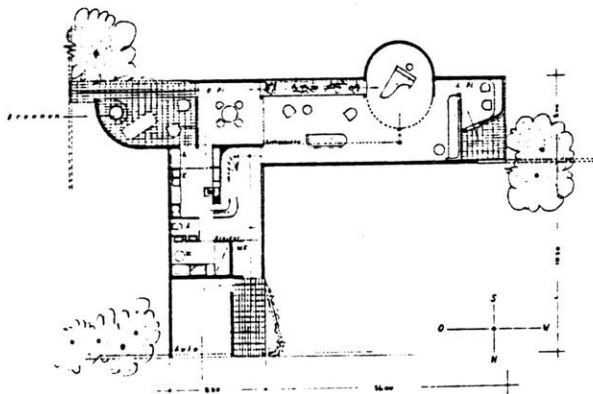


Figure 2-7:
"Weite" house design competition

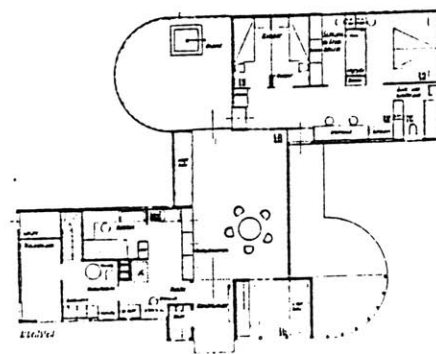


Figure 2-8:
GuGaLi prefabricated exhibition house

At the outset, I held the conviction that Scharoun was

part of isolated group of architects, comprising Haering[25] , Rading[26] , and Li.[27] These architects, occasionally identified as the proponents of "organic expressionism", represented an alternative to the mainstream "rational" modernism which was the most visible source of innovation in the practice of architecture in the period up to 1933.

After sifting through archival materials, it appears that the links were much broader, encompassing many more of his contemporaries, and reaching out towards the east, to Czechoslovakia, and Austria. His teaching at the Breslau

-
25. Hugo Haering (1882-1958) had studied with Theodor Fischer in Munich. He was a contemporary of Mies v.d. Rohe - for a period the two maintained a common office space. In 1935 he assumed leadership of the Reimann school in Berlin, changing the title "Kunst und Werk".
 26. Adolf Rading (1888-1957) had worked in both Endell's (1911) and Behrens' (1919) offices. From 1919 to 1932 he taught in the architectural design program at the Breslau Academy of Art. In 1923 August Endell appointed him director of that program. As a member of the Schlesische Werkbund, he participated in the "Werk und Wohnraum" exhibition (1929) in Breslau. Between 1927 and 1933 he collaborated with Scharoun in Berlin. He emigrated in 1934. See (Pfankuch.1970).
 27. Chen Kwan Li came to Berlin in the mid-thirties, as a student. He apprenticed himself to Scharoun in 1935 and remained with the office until 1942. He contributed to the design for the Baensch, Moeller, Scharf, Weigand, and Weidhass houses.

Academy not only brought him into contact with Heinrich Lauterbach and Oskar Schlemmer, it brought him close to activities in Austria and Czechoslovakia. Lubomir Slapeta, from his masters' class, joined his office in Berlin in 1932, and contributed to designs through 1935. Through Haering's links to the Austrian Werkbund[28] Scharoun would have had a degree of contact to Loos.

While Scharoun shared aspects of his approach with other modernists, the particular constellation he had developed by 1933 would make it possible for him to conserve the essential, progressive aspects of the original modern innovation in the presence of this conservative swing, whereas proponents of other modernist branches had lost contact with those origins.

28. He participated in the Austrian Werkbund's 1932 exhibition.

Chapter 3Method

3.1 Historiographic Framework

Objective, concrete descriptions of Scharoun's work have not been sufficient to comprehend its the nature. Most accounts seek to represent his practice as a continuous development of his position as an "organic expressionist".[1] from the twenties through the eighties. While this does correspond to the most visible qualities of his practice, it serves neither to make the expressionist component less arcane, nor to illuminate the particular qualities which have contributed to its particular course of development. In some cases, aspects of his practice have been neglected, in others periods of his practice have been dismissed.[2] Most frequently, in order not to overlook his works, they have been judged according to principles which the work itself rejected.[3] Yet it would also be

1. See (Pfankuch.1974).

2. This is true, in particular, of the projects from the thirties. (see (Pfankuch.1974))

3. See (Borsi.1967), (Jones.1983)

inadequate to preempt such presentations by simply tracing the stages of the architect's practice relativistically. This would only undermine efforts to demonstrate interaction between Scharoun and his context.

In order to resolve that dilemma, this account requires some form of description which accommodates the architect's work and beliefs as a collection of distinct propositions, each of which may demonstrate some independent relation to the other propositions and to properties associated with external circumstances. If this can be done without entailing a prejudicial order among those propositions, that would make it possible to track shifts in aspects of the architect's principles in response to influence, at the same time as other properties remained constant.

This description will be accomplished within a framework established by Elkana for use in the historiography of science.[4] Elkana was concerned to move beyond "demarcation between external and internal history of science" in pursuit of a method for rational reconstruction of scientific practice. He developed a model for scientific

4. See (Elkana.1974), (Elkana).

knowledge[5] to support a level of interaction among competing programmes which was consistent with his mechanism of scientific progress, at the same time as it maintained a rational core for his historiographic methodology.

According to this method, the "programme"[6] embodied in Scharoun's practice is represented as a set of architectural principles organized according to three categories - a body of knowledge, an image of practice, and ideological factors - according to the role they play in his practice.

- The image describes the sources of knowledge allowed by a programme, the relations of precedence among those sources, the metaphysic which relates the abstract reality which the practitioner manipulates to the concrete reality, the heuristic which guides the practitioner's judgement of the success of the programme, and the audience towards which the practice is directed (including sacred/secular status, and the level of consciousness upon which the audience is addressed).
- The ideology depicts the recognized social pressures, the value placed upon the practice, the norms to which its practitioners must adhere.

-
5. In particular he introduces the concepts "thick description" and "metic reason"; see(Elkana., p46f, pl22f)
 6. This spelling is chosen to distinguish it from a program, in the sense of an "architectural program", which would stipulate the contingent conditions and intentions governing an architectural project.

- The body comprises the methods, theories, solution procedures, algorithms, and heuristics which, when applied and interpreted within a particular "scientific" metaphysic, are construed to test the abstract reality and to project this test onto a true reality. They structure and judge the course and the success of the experimental, or projective, endeavors.

3.2 Architectural Practice as a Research Programme

Following the method of thick description, the distinction between external and internal pressures loses significance. It can now be recognized that such distinctions promote one programme to the level of the historiographic methodology used to represent and investigate other programmes. Whereas political matters had been designated as external to true architecture, and political affiliation had been used[7] to qualify a programme as degenerating or progressive, depending on how it responded to propositions with political connotations, affiliation can now be identified as a property intrinsic to the programme. Its presence as a demarcation criteria depended on a proposition which, in the mechanism of thick description, resides in the image of knowledge, as a proposition no more significant than any other. In fact, to have made such distinctions on a historiographic level contradicts propositions present within

7. See page 50.

in politically progressive modernist programmes of the twenties. In order to maintain the ideal of "rational reconstruction" the requirement of political isolation must be removed. As a side effect, the demarcation separates into two criteria: the ideology or politics presented by a programme are subject to moral judgement; the historical judgement refers to the structure of that presentation.

In order to adopt this framework into the historiography of architecture, a number of modifications must be made. In particular, to represent circumstances in which the image of practice may hold the practice to be a non-rational endeavor, criteria of rationality must be shifted into the image; their use left to the discretion of the particular programme. In order to explain interaction and transformation under circumstances in which the "hard core" of a dominant programme may not support dialogue, the provisions for incommensurability[8] must be extended, to accommodate it within a given programme. Where, just as mismatches between individuals' beliefs are acceptable, it would be legitimate to allow inconsistency among the propositions corresponding to a single individual's programme. It becomes possible to

8. (Elkana.,p113f)

represent the interaction between two ostensibly isolated programmes through a mechanism for internal accommodation.

This need for this facility is particularly acute for the period studied. The twenties and early thirties had been a time of conflict among numerous approaches to design. Whereas alliances, such as the DWB, had furthered the cause of modern designers, by 1933 they had lost their shared purpose, and its significance as a forum diminished, as economically and politically based rifts pushed divergent social ideals to the surface. After 1933, as all such organizations were subsumed by fascist institutions, no form of dissension was permitted.

Once coherence and inherence have been removed from the realm of reconstruction to that of historical account, it is still necessary to distinguish between interaction which is significant to the reconstruction of a practice and that which, although it may remain part of the account, would not contribute to a description of a deliberate path. This distinction may be made by determining if the influence, criticism, or even interference, concerns the substance of a programme or the participants.[9] Under substance, the

9. See (Elkana.1974, p.253), (Elkana, p.15).

method must be prepared to acknowledge disagreements throughout the realms of the competing programmes. Whereas the nature of scientific practice allows Elkana to concentrate on the body of knowledge, an account of architectural practice must also recognize conflicts within the realms of image and ideology.

In addition, if the programme is no longer to be composed according to rules of consistency, the interaction among propositions within a given programme must be made more explicit. This model for intra-programme competition must provide a mechanism to trace the interaction between a programme and nominally external factors. According to the basic method, once principles are located in individual realms, the means available to describe transformations of a programme include noting the appearance and disappearance of propositions, and charting changes in the formulation, or the meaning, of a proposition. As the above discussion indicates, it should be expected that a single programme actually houses a number of partial, overlapping, programmes. It should even be possible that they be contradictory. Yet, as long as each can be identified in the intentions of the designer, it claims a degree of control in realizing the composite programme. By extension, it becomes legitimate to note correspondence and disjunction among propositions

present in various realms. By tracing the transfer or projection of propositions among realms, and noting in the precedence of propositions within realms, it is possible to describe the effects of the "intra-programme" competition. In this formulation, the changes - for example, in the body of knowledge, as a consequence of ideological influence, would be described as the appearance of anomalous techniques or criteria within the body of knowledge, and as the successive transformations of meaning, displacements, or projections which the discrepancy provokes. Once internal distinctions are legitimate, it would be possible to identify the mechanism of simultaneous progress and continuity as the shifting and juggling of numerous, partial programmes on the part of the practitioner. This would, for example, help to identify those aspects of the modern programme - and of Scharoun's programme in particular, which made it susceptible to, or even reinforced, changes in its context, those which forced conflicts with competing programmes, and those which insulated it from external interference.

3.2.1 Mechanism of Application

To ensure that one does not introduce spurious qualifications into the account by conventionally adopting practices from the historiography of science, two further questions must be resolved: where does a programme reside, and what are the central criteria applied to determine the status, or the quality of a programme. Answers to these two questions affect which phenomena will come under study, and what sorts of relationships between the social and the formal constitution of a programme will be subject to investigation.

To restate the first question, would a single building correspond to a programme? Would an extended project - a settlement, such as Pessac, or Siemensstadt, or the Weissenhof exhibition - constitute a programme. Does a polemic article, or a book - for example, Vers Une Architecture or Eine Stunde Architektur - correspond to a programme? Is one of these objects more essential to the constitution of a programme than another. What may be claimed, when seeking a architect's programme, if they never propounded any such thing. This question is especially acute in Scharoun's case, where the intellectual ground rules of the enquiry run contrary to those practiced within the programme. Whereas many architects - Le Corbusier and Haering

among them, undertook to formulate a set of principles, and to apply them deliberately in their work, Scharoun was much more discursive.[10]

The designation "programme" must correspond to an identified set of principles, applied deliberately, over time. It is particularly important to establish a stable, independent quality for a programme. An individual building is too passive to meet this criteria: for the hard core of the programme manifested by a single building to become evident, it depends on the user or the critic to apply some conception of use or analysis. The predilections of the observer which the principles and associate them with realms. No single object can indicate a response to alterations in "objective" conditions. On the basis of a combination of repeated statements, evidenced in interaction with an autonomous reality it is possible to begin to establish the content and structure of a programme.

A programme must articulate its properties. It must insist on its frames of reference. In the trivial case, this may be established through explicit statement on the part of

10. See above, page 24.

the designer. Another means to do that is to observe how the programme responds to problems for which it does not yet contain the answers, or to judge changes which take place in the explanations which it proposes, tactics it employs, and solutions it suggests for the situation at hand. Even the design process for a building is likely to be too restricted to support this. Unless the factors leading to transformations in the individual design are self-evident, the danger exists that the observer will begin to apply their own programme in order to interpret the change.

Only in the simplest programmes or the most protracted projects will the process of clarification, which contributes to the design, demonstrate the structure of a programme by pointing out inconsistencies internal to the programme or mismatches with the situation. Part of the problem is that the situation has, most likely, remained constant during the the period of the shifted design. In this sense, the single building is more like one experiment, one published paper.[11]

11. Unless the originator's image of knowledge places great importance on reflection and on thought experiments, a test cannot even be said to have occurred.

A programme might, more likely, be found in a housing estate design, in the body of work over a period of time, or within a collective practice - a "school" or design philosophy. The works chosen as the basis for an account of a programme need only establish a set of qualities with a minimum of interpretation. This could occur through comparison among the works, or through comparison with works, from other designers, under similar conditions. They must demonstrate a correspondence between changes in the programme content, coincident with transformations in the context. With regard to the work of an individual architect, in order to allow the mechanism discussed above, the constraints placed on propositions should not be consistency or coherence, but rather deliberateness and reasonableness.

Attempts to judge the status of a programme raise two further questions. The events of the early thirties demonstrated that architectural practice does not require an objective, shared context of principles and ideals. The base of principles which are required for an architect to practice are not of the same quality as the objective reality shared by a school of scientific thought. Architects in general, and Scharoun in particular, [12] demonstrate the conviction

12. In a letter to Anna Hoffmeyer:
"Tatsachen sind vereiste Gefuehle..."

that "objective" reality is a consolidated form of subjective, a priori principles, derived from personal experience, which have been tested against a physical reality, at best under inconsistent conditions and to varying degrees. Where each given programme may be reasonably maintained in the face of any other individual reality, "objective" criteria for judgement depend on political force for their authority.[13] Where "progressive" problem shifts are defined socially, they carry conviction for the practitioner only, not for the historian. Where significant anomalies are designated according to social consensus, where a programme may have been forgotten without ever having been refuted, the acceptance of a programme is the concern of account only, not of judgement. The incoherence which manifests "external" influence imputes no degeneration. It is also unlikely either that "progressive" - in the sense of contending with a significant anomaly - will be sufficient to identify advance, or that distinctions in integrity, made according to rules of consistency, could identify "degeneration", since boundaries and priorities are set by

13. Eg: Elkana's competing scientists have made a political decision, when they confer, to accept a common set of meanings. The National Socialists attempted to promote architectural propositions to objective criteria by excluding any competitors.

subjective decision.

Under such circumstances, in order that the concept of advance be available to qualify architectural programmes, the concept of progressive and degenerative problem shift must be adjusted. The meta-principle "consistency", which had been applied to judge the quality of a programme, recedes. It becomes a proposition of the same priority as any other component of a programme. "Falsification" is no longer a criteria of demarcation of programmes, but only a principle, among others in the "image" of a programme, governing validation of theories. The extension to the formalism of research programmes offers a means to contend with such difficulties. According to this extension, it is legitimate to trace the movement of propositions between realms, and to qualify the degree of agreement of propositions among realms. One might term these two qualities "thematic projection" and "thematic correspondence", respectively. "Advance" - without the connotations of directness, corresponds to such a transformation, when it is orchestrated to achieve some end. The specification of that end is left to the programme.

[14] At the same time as this particular analytical framework offers opportunities to contend with deficiencies in existing accounts of, and in the methods of recounting, Scharoun's practice and these times, it sets requirements for the subsequent course of the investigation, No attempt will be made to present a survey of Scharoun's entire practice during this twelve year period.[15] It is more appropriate to present those aspects of his work which best indicate the development of his programme from the common "avant-garde" core, and which highlight the influences. Particular attention will be paid to those aspects of Scharoun's practice and of the context which demonstrate the need for a "programmatic" model.

In this process, in order to identify the mechanism of influence between programmes, restrictions placed on the individual designer should be formulated as propositions which constitute a competing programme. Principles of

14. Any judgement of the integrity of a programme and recognition of competitors may be limited according to the range of audience which the programme claims. For architecture, the audience can be qualified according to whether they are concerned with generation, use, or criticism of the work. Each audience will correspond to a distinct authority.

15. See (Anderson.1985).

consistency may be used to identify the correspondence or conflict of propositions between programmes, and to judge the extent of influence. In particular instances, it will be worthwhile to draw attention to those situations in which influence can be circumscribed. The degree to which influence has been assimilated, that is the grade of evidence for principles in either the initial programme or the altered programme to support the decision, demonstrates the degree to which the influence had been concerned with substance of the practice.

As a side effect of thick description, relationships among propositions which come to light, can explain how certain programmes were able to maintain a degree of autonomy in the face of the fascist reorganization of the practice, while other programmes were forced to shift contexts in order to continue. A comparison of the generic programmes "Neues Bauen" and "Neue Sachlichkeit" demonstrates this. Each proposed an abstract theory to explain the link between use and form. In the first case, this criteria to judge the quality of form was independent of the particular culture. It was continuously evolving, parallel to, yet independent of

the culture.[16] According to "Neue Sachlichkeit", this ultimate validation criteria was to be found in the character of the particular artifact, and in the culture itself. Thus when the model of the culture turned out to be false - as was demonstrated by the cultural shift following 1933 - there was no recourse except to search for another culture which provided a more favorable fit.

The thick description mechanism also makes it possible to avoid overstating the completeness of fascist control over architectural practice. Since it is no longer necessary for the propositions of the NS programme to correspond one-to-one with those of the programme it supplanted, it is no longer an objective deficiency[17] for the fascist programme to have taken control of institutions without a substantive social, technical, and formal programme. The absence of substance may now be viewed more in the nature of fascist control. This makes it possible to demonstrate the boundaries of that control.

It would be expected, for example, that the respective

16. See Haering's discussion of the evolution of form in (Haering.1968). See page 4.1.2.1

17. See (Teut.1967, p19), (Miller-Lane.1968, p.185ff)

realms would be susceptible to influence to varying degrees. Whereas it is relatively easy to inject new propositions into the body of a programme - the purpose of an experiment is to refute theories, ideological propositions are more tenacious. The course of Scharoun's practice bears this out.

3.2.2 Architectural References

In the case of Scharoun's programme during the thirties, very few statements made by the architect may be used to set forth the programme.

Knowledge of Scharoun's concerns can be built up only from very sketchy indications, from contemporaries or from correspondence, either as to the names of authors to whose ideas he might have made references, and to contacts he was able to maintain. His personal library had been given to the Berlin Academy of Arts shortly after his death in 1972, without any record of the particular contents having been made. Only a superficial knowledge of his view of his situation could be culled from records of correspondence out of this time. His correspondence during the years before 1945 did not survive to 1982. It has been possible to locate letters only through the recipients.[18] Even in those

18. In particular O.Schlemmer, and L.Slapeta.

instances, the contents of such letters must be taken to represent only a very guarded projection of his concerns, as postal service was subject to surveillance.

One difficult aspect of this attempt to chart the transformations within Scharoun's programmes is that the manifestations during the various periods are difficult to compare. Contemporary accounts served to accommodate aspects of the designs with the institutional programmes. Whereas, during the twenties, proponents of modern programmes depended on periodicals and independent publications as a means to distribute their arguments and to communicate examples of their work, during the thirties, unorthodox designers were restricted to carrying out unpretentious projects. Publication was highly controlled, both through official means and through the personal efforts of competitors who wished to undermine modern programmes.[19] In Scharoun's case his own commentaries, which had been common in the twenties, ceased in the thirties. The only presentation of his work within Germany were articles by others, in which, with one

19. The foundation of the National Literature Chamber predated that of the National Chamber of Arts. Unofficial efforts took the form of individuals, such as Konrad Nonn - editor of the Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung, who used their influence to prevent the publication of work by any modern designers.

exception,[20] his work was mentioned only in passing.

The silence during the thirties carried over into the forties, and fifties. Very few retrospective accounts by witnesses of the time appeared. Those which did appear tended to be selective, interpreting only aspects of events chosen to advance a particular image. They performed the same selective reconstruction with regard to the new institutions.

Scharoun's only reference to work out of that period[21] designated the first version of the Moeller house as a prototype of Neues Bauen design. This is typical of the contradictions of the period. The absence of stylistic correspondence would lead one, at first, to dismiss the statement entirely. The correspondence does appear however when one continues beyond the stylistic elements to examine the spatial and formal organization of the design. This demonstrates that the only reliable basis to explicate the programmes would be the buildings themselves.

20. The Schminke house was featured in the March 1934 issue of Innen-Dekoration.

21. (AdK.Scharoun.22.VI.1950, T.U.B lecture)

3.2.3 Institutional References

Archival records do exist to document much of the design work he carried out during this period. The various offices of the Baupolizei maintained files of all completed projects. Those documents which survived the war could be used to augment Scharoun's office archives on file at the Academy of Arts. Finally, sufficient documents were available from institutions which had been concerned with the practice of architecture during the thirties to sketch the institutional programme.

3.3 Institutional Context

There is no shortage of accounts of the effects of the the National Socialists' attempts to recreate art to serve totalitarian ideals.[22] They range from Behne's depiction of the immediate effects of the events of the years 1933 - 45 as he strove to reintroduce the ideals and examples of moderne art into the cultural vacuum of the late forties, to Teut's and Wulf's documentary works which recount the workings of National Socialist cultural institutions through official documents.

The difficulty with these representations is that they concentrate on the official activities of the totalitarian institutions. Even where they delve into the background of such events, or furnish National Socialist documents which convey the NS programme directly, they go no further than to present a canonical image of National Socialist cultural politics. The effect has been to reinforce the same monolithic image which National Socialist interests had hoped, themselves, to perpetuate.

22. eg: Behne.1947, Brenner.1963, Miller-Lane.1968, Taylor.1974, Teut.1967, and Wulf.1983.

The argument has been[23] that the institutional forces were sufficiently powerful and effective, that non-conformist work was visible only, as exceptions, to the extent that it did not threaten the established course of cultural developments. While it is true that the effect of totalitarian control on the practice of architecture was devastating, it cannot be true that those modern practitioners who remained, whose work may no longer have been published, could have vanished simply because they were not institutionally supported. If that were true modern architecture would never have been conceived in the first place. It is also not sufficient to argue that manifestations of modern principles were ignored, as they were taken to represent insignificant perturbations. Even in cases where the converse to this problem has been explored, in that the myth modern preeminence prior to 1933 has been questioned,[24] no effort has been made to explore the implications of continued application of moderne programmes.

23. (Miller-Lane.1968, p84), (Teut.1967, p66f, 119f).

24. Eg. (Schaeche.1984) where he points out that the modern programme was already defunct when the Bruening austerity program went into effect, and thus the National Socialist institutions were merely removing a degenerate programme from the field.

These presentations neglect the continued existence of conservative institutions during the period of totalitarian controlled cultural politics and they discount any continued moderne practice throughout this period on the grounds that it did not act to affect those institutions.

In order to develop a description of the cultural context of the thirties in sufficient detail to support an account of the influence on an individual practice, documents were collected from those institutions which impinged on the practice of architecture.[25] Rather than concentrate on the official statements, which the above authors have covered with sufficient completeness and objectivity, I attended to the preliminary versions, the minutes and the consulting opinions which were never to have become part of official policy. These documents contributed to regulations which

25. Reichskammer der bildenden Kuenste (Landesleiter, Berlin, and Praesident),
Preuszische Bau- und Finanzdirektion (in particular the administration for development of the Domaene Dahlem),
Reichsstelle fuer Raumordnung,
Reichsfinanzministerium,
Reichsministerium fuer Volksaufklaerung und Propaganda,
Amt des Reichskunstwartes,
Reichsarbeitsministerium (Hauptabteilung IV (or S) - Siedlungs- und Wohnungswesen, Reichs- und Landesplanung).

shaped the context of the practice of architecture in order to develop an account of the National Socialist programme with which the individual architect was confronted.

[26] During this process, the distinction between personal and substantive concern was maintained as a means to determine which instances of conflicts were to be accommodated as manifestations of competing programmes.[27]

On the basis of this body of information it is possible to develop a sense of the functioning of these institutions. This image of the actual context in which Scharoun practiced acts as a basis for an account of the course of that practice, of the influences and the evolution.

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26. "Einstweilige Massnahmen zur Ordnung des deutschen Siedlungswesens", "Gesetz ueber die Errichtung einer Reichskulturkammer" (and subsequent executive regulations), "Anordnung ueber den Schutz des Berufs und die Berufsausuebung der Architekten" ("Architektengesetz"), "Gesetz ueber die Zulaessigkeit befristeter Bausperren", "Verordnung ueber die Baugestaltung", executive regulations pertaining to the "Anzeigepflicht fuer Bauvorhaben", "Rahmengesetz ueber die Neugestaltung deutscher Staedte", executive regulations surrounding a "Bauverbot", and the "Fuehrererlass ueber den sozialen Wohnungsbau".
27. It is for this reason that conflicts with the Ministry of Finance were a matter of concern, while conflicts with the Gestapo were not.

Chapter 4

Account

This chapter employs the research programme form to represent Hans Scharoun's practice during the years 1933 - 1945. The account demonstrates the use of this framework to describe the interaction between an individual practitioner's programme and a conflicting programme which constitutes the context. The relationships among the components and structures of the respective programmes reveal the possibility of innovation within this context. In addition, the articulated "programme" offers a structural explanation for the anomaly which enabled Scharoun's unorthodox programme to survive.

The presentation is divided into three sections. The initial discussion concerns the individual components of Scharoun's programme. They are illustrated based on examples drawn from his work through 1945. The presentation shifts, to locate the contact points between the National Socialist programme (the context) and Scharoun's programme. Finally the thesis will point out the ways the Scharoun managed to continue to develop in spite of hindrances.

4.1 Scharoun's Practice

4.1.1 Circumstances

Over this twelve year period Scharoun executed seventeen single family houses, two apartment houses, and five housing developments. He planned four additional houses, and sixteen additional housing developments - of which twelve were planned in conjunction with the "Deutsche Arbeitsfront". The projects which Scharoun produced during this period are contained in a list of works in appendix A.[1] .

Although his prominence was not what it might have been under different circumstances, it seems clear from the magnitude and nature of the work, and from Scharoun's sparse references to the course of his practice,[2] that despite the circumstances, his projects offered opportunities to apply and evaluate his architectural principles beyond limitations set by National Socialist institutions.

1. See also (Anderson.1985)

2. See correspondence with L.Slapeta 19.III.34, 12.XI.35, and 22.V.38 (Anderson.1985).

Because membership in professional organizations was controlled, there was no institutional support for an interchange of ideas. Architectural publications were closed to him, and although he would have been legally eligible to participate in competitions, they would not have been the proper forum for him to apply his programme.[3] Yet it was still possible to maintain a level of personal interaction which could support productive individual relationships. The interaction was so low-keyed that the only consistent references to it come in correspondence after the war, when survivors of that era relate the tenuous relationships which they were able to sustain in such an impoverished environment.[4]

One quantitative indication of the restrictions on his work may be seen in a comparison of his income with the standard for architects of standing. Whereas Scharoun attested to an average income of c. 12,000 RM during these years, much of that came from property owned, in Bremerhaven,

3. See (Anderson.1985, p.138ff): the competition for the Rostock Civic Center.

4. In Scharoun's case such references appear in correspondence pertaining to post-war rehabilitation proceedings, for which he had, in his capacity as director of urban design for Berlin, submitted references. See also (BDA.1983)

by Anna Scharoun. The level of income of architects favored with state contracts indicates, by demonstrating the other extreme, that Scharoun was earning only a modest income. Speer, for example, received a fee in excess of 1.5 million RM for the design work for the "Grosse Halle", while architects under contract to the GBI were regularly receiving fees of hundreds of thousands of marks.[5]

Independent of the quantitative limitations, Scharoun's practice appears to have gone through several phases. After a period of uncertainty, he was able to compose a programme which isolated those stipulations inconsistent with the core of his initial programme. As he continued to work, he was able to integrate the two realms. Finally, in the last years of work before construction was banned, he developed sufficient facility to continue to assimilate increasingly strict stylistic restrictions into a programme which conceived highly developed, unorthodox spatial organizations. Also in these last years, the planning for post-war reconstruction afforded an opportunity to investigate settlement layouts which demonstrate some of the spatial

5. In (BA.R120.Nr1564, p.3 ff) the total of fees paid in conjunction with the redesign of Berlin was approximately 14.5 million RM.

principles which he had discovered through the house designs.

4.1.2 Components

Scharoun's work during the twenties and thirties demonstrates sufficient similarities to demonstrate that he was able to continue the core of his initial programme into the thirties. Although the socially motivated communal designs are restricted to the watercolors he painted in the forties, after architectural work was no longer available, he continued to show his concern for the issues of urban environments and housing in his designs for single family houses and apartments. This is also born out by a comparison of the components constituting the respective programmes. They are presented here according to realm.

4.1.2.1 Ideology

Within the realm of ideals, Scharoun's programme shared the central goals of all modern practitioners during the twenties.[6] He sought new built forms to answer the demands which the contemporary material conditions were placing on the inhabitants of modern cities. He hoped, in the process, to circumvent the social limitations which dominated

6. See (Pehnt.1980, p77), (Scharoun.1925)

the nineteenth century, and which hampered development of a new urban culture.[7] He sought to formulate the essential purposes buildings were to serve in order to develop appropriate plans and employ industrial innovations to promote these ends.

In one area of his practice, he sought to provide the spatial amenities which had been available only to the upper classes for the middle and lower middle classes. The projects and exhibition houses which employed prefabrication technology were all intended to make it possible for families with moderate incomes to own homes. In another, he attempted to develop forms to serve the new classes which had appeared in the cities. His project at the Breslau Werkbund exhibition and the speculative apartments, for Jakobowitz, in Berlin represented experiments to produce economical dwelling plans for unorthodox household compositions. He was concerned, in a general sense, that these forms represent the individual self-realization which was central to the social change during the preceding decades.

7. Janofske points out the origins of this ideal in Scharoun's involvement with expressionist architects and the "Glaesernen Kette". By the thirties, it had assumed a more pragmatic form. See (Scharoun.1932)

Alle Gemeinschaftsgedanken gipfeln, oder besser gesagt, werden anschaulich durch Formung des Erlebnisses zwischen Einzelwesen und Raum um uns.

...
Mitte und Hirn des Theaters[8] ist der Schauspieler. In ihm wie ueberhaupt in dem Koerper des Menschen drueckt sich am ehesten die Verbindung von Raum und flieszender Handlung aus, der Raum verbindet sich im Menschen mit dem Zeitablauf.[9]

These immediate propositions were subordinate to two principles which resided at the core of Scharoun's ideology. His publications during the fifties[10] indicate he had adopted, from Haering, a model of cultural development, within which culture did not depend on deliberate acts on the part of the participants, but rather evolved according to its own forces.[11]

"The development of cultures exhibits a lawfulness and directedness. Cultures cannot continue to be accepted as the combinatorial results of the ingenuity of man [...]. They must be recognized as the individual phases of an evolutionary process, which, although it is executed by man and is necessary for man's development, remains, in

8. He using the developments in set design as the background to his arguments.

9. (Scharoun.1925) See also (Scharoun.b.1957)

10. See (Scharoun.1957).

11. The first chapter of (Janofske.1982) presents a more complete account of the origins and character of this model. I am concerned here only with those aspects which govern its relation to a competing programme.

conception and lawfulness, as removed from the power and will of man as the paths of stars."

"Es gibt also in dem ablauf der kulturen einen gesetzmäßigkeit und ein gerichtetsein auf ein bestimmtes zeil hin. Die kulturen koennen nicht weiter hingegenommen werden als das kombinatorische ergebnis der erfindungskraft der menschen und der tausenderlei einflüsse, denn ihr tun und handeln unterworfen ist, sie muessen erkannt werden als die einzeln phasen eines entwicklungs Vorganges, der von den menschen zwar vollzogen wird und der auch zu ihrer eigenen entwicklung erforderlich ist, dessen innere idee und gesetzmäßigkeit aber dem willen und der macht der menschen ebenso entzogen ist wie der gang der gestirne." [12]

"Man does not create culture. Superior methodical formal events involve man, and offer people possibilities for their own development. This evolutionary process does not follow the will of man, but rather the laws of higher consubstantiality."

"Eine kultur wird nicht von menschen geschaffen. Hoeheres planhaftes formgeschehen bezieht menschen ein, bietet menschen die moeglichkeiten zu eigener entfaltung. Nicht nach dem willen der menschen geschieht dieses werden, sondern nach den gesetzen hoeherer wesenheiten. Die menschen sind hier nur werkzeug. Eine hochtechnik ist ohne unseren willen, ohne unser wissen um ihre ziele entstanden durch den trieb einer rasse [13] zu organhaftem gestalten und bauen, entstanden aus anonymen kraefte heraus. Eine neue wissenschaft ist im entstehen durch eine innere

12. (Haering.1934)

13. NB. This was to be understood alongside a prior discussion of "ethos" in which he points out that, in the evolutionary competition between classical and organic forms "kaempfen ueberhaupt keine rassen, sondern formwesen. Latinismus ist die partei der geometrischen formwesen, organik [...] is die partei des volkes. Volk ist aber nicht identisch mit rasse. Volkhaftes ist wesenform alles rassischen und jeder rasse.

umwaelzung aller erfahrungen, herbeigefuehrt durch denselben trieb einer rasse zu den geheimnissen der natur und des werdens, und ein neues bauen ist seit jahrhunderten im werden, herbeigefuehrt durch ebendenselben trieb einer rasse zu den gestaltschaffung der natur. Ueberall zeigen sich uns heute die uralten spuren dieses triebes bis in vorgeschichtliche zeiten hinein. Aelteste tradition fuehrt uns - nach einigen jahrtausenden des lernens und vorbereitens - zu einer kultur der organik."[14]

This ideal, which depicted cultural development as a teleological process, made it possible for Scharoun to relax demands that his programme advance the culture, as this advancement would continue independent of individual efforts. It allowed him to concentrate on the design tasks which were available to him. In correspondence with L.Slapeta, at the point when the two were arranging for Slapeta to come to Berlin to work, Scharoun counseled to wait until he could guarantee worthwhile work.[15]

It also made it possible to tolerate competing programmes, as they would be contributing to an inevitable

14. (Haering.1934)

15. "Die Sache liegt nunn so, wenn Sie Ihre Anfrage wirklich im Ernst meinten, Sie sich doch mindestens mit wirklich reizvollen Aufgaben beschaeftigen muessten. Zu projektieren gibt es natuerlich immer mehr als man schaffen kann, ich hoffe sehr, dass darueberhinaus in kurzem das Eine oder Andere von angeknupften Dingen faellig wird und damit auch die wirklich reizvolle Arbeit da waere."
(Slapeta Archiv (HS.19.03.34))

process.

"Was ist aber das ergebnis hitlers im sinne des erziehungswerkes?[16] Kann man diese ganze katastrophe, die er herbeifuehrte, anders erklaren als durch eine bewusstseinstoerung und eine massenpsychose,

Ist aber eine solche unbegreifliche bewusstseinstoerung wirklich aufgetreten und tatsache geworden, sp kann man eine begruendung hierfuer nur in dem plane eines hoeheren geschehens suchen. Damit sind die menschen niicht entschuldigt oder gar gerechtfertigt - wenn auch entlastet - damit rueckt man nur dem verstaendnis dieses geschens naeher. Fragt man das erziehungswerk, welchen zweck dieses bewusstseinstoerung gehabt haben kann, so duerfte man zur antwort etwa erhalten, dasz aber diese krise des technischen denkens in mitteleuropa zum ausbruch kommen musste, nicht weil dieses mitteleuropa besonders autonom und autokratisch gewesen waere [...] sondern weil dieses mitteleuropa zu einem neuen werkraum[17] bestimmt ist, der eine klare abwendung von dem autonomen menschen zur voraussetzung hat."[18]

Where, in addition, this model proposed that the evolutionary process was specific to the particular geographic domain of a given culture, it could also be predicted that neither Haering, nor Scharoun would choose ^{to} emigrate from Germany.

16. "Educational mechanism" refers to a global process of cultural evolution.

17. The next evelutionary level: the organic.

18. (Haering.1968, p279, 10.VII.45) Note that this was composed in retrospect.

Die gestalt der erde ist aus einer vielzahl landschaftlicher individuen aufgebaut, denen werkraumqualitaeten zukommen. Sie bilden die kosmisch gegebenen gliederung fuer den strukturellen aufbau der politischen gesellschaft. Die in staendig bewegung befindlichen grenzen, die aus gruenden machtpolitischen planungen ueber sie hingezogen werden, haben diese urgliederung nie aufheben loennen. [....] Die werkraeume haben die funktion von individuen in der gesamtheit der menschlichen gemeinschaft. Dasz dieser ihr charakter in den politischen strukturen keine rolle spielt, [...] hat seinen grund in der unwissenheit ueber dieses thema, die den gegenwaertigen stand der arbeit an der politischen gesellschaft kennzeichnet.[19]

Furthermore, this was not the product of a new development, but rather the re-emergence of the "organic culture":

"Organic cultures start in the profane, in the things of everyday life. They originate in the people, in the ethos. They do not originate among the scholars or rulers. [...] Organic cultures cultivate that which is essential in things and people, and therefore attend to their multiplicity, finding their unity in the same roots as nature."

"Geometrischen kulturen beginnen mit der errichtung von tempeln, mit der pflege der formen der offenbarung gottes, beginnen mit einer gottidee, die eineidee hoechster macht ist. Organhafte kulturen beginnen im profanen, in den dingen des taeglichen lebens. Sie beginnen im volke und im volkhaften,[20] sie beginnen nicht durch die wissenden und herrschenden. [...] Geometrische kulturen unterwerfen alle dinge und menschen einem gesetz der erscheinung,

19. (Haering.1968, p.321)

20. Haering was particular, in other works, to distinguish his sense of "Volk" from the sense then in common usage. He assigned the term "Masse" to this, latter, use. (see (Haering.1947); (Joedicke.1965, p59))

sie gleichen sich aeusserlich an, indem sie sie innerlich abtoeten und zur sache machen. Organhafte kulturen pflegen die wesenheit der dinge und der menschen und also auch ihre mannigfaltigkeit und finden ihre einheit in derselben wurzel wie die natur.[21]

For Scharoun this yielded the proposition that organic building

leads to a formation which allows a new development the individual faculties of man. It reveals these powers in the phenomena. When we speak, for example of dwelling, we mean the dwelling act, the dwelling process appropriate for a particular, identifiable individual."

fuehrt zu einer Formgebung, welche eine neue Entfaltung der individuellen Kraefte des Menschen gestattet, und sie offenbart diese Kraefte im 'Vorgang'. Wenn wir zum beispiel Wohnung sagen, meinen wir das Wohnen, den Wohnvorgang also, der einem bestimmten und bestimmaren Individuum zugeeignet ist. Das Prinzip der Individuation, das Wirken des Individuums in ein Ganzes, kommt damit zu seinem Recht."[22]

A corollary to this was that the meaning of architecture was its "significance to life".[23] During the twenties this is readily visible, as attention to sizes, and as a tendency to generate exterior forms which correspond to the configuration

21. (Haering.1934)

22. (Scharoun.b.1957, p.15)

23. "Architektur als Deutung des Lebens": see (Janofske.1982, p21ff)

of interior spaces. This is particularly true for the designs in which circulation was a central concern. During the thirties, the designs were much more figurative. They were intended to develop individual "worlds" which transported the inhabitants experientially as well as spatially.

This realm was partitioned by two contradictions. First, [24] to bind the "Werkraum" to the particular qualities of the domain concedes a certain degree of influence to the participants in the process. Second, the directed inevitability of the evolutionary process contradicts the indeterminate accommodative capacity required of individual designs. [25]

4.1.2.2 Image

The most significant, though not immediately visible, component of Scharoun's image of practice is the formulation of authority. The origin of this component may be traced to the distinction Haering had made between architecture and building:

24. See (Janofske.1982, p.17ff).

25. These disjunctions made it possible to continue to advance his programme in the presence of an overbearing competitor.

Das gestaltschaffen im reich der organik ist expressiv art, nicht aesthetisch, nicht im sinne einer harmonisierung der aeuszeren erscheinung. Dem begriff der schoenheit steht jener der ergriffenheit gegenueber, der nicht die sinnliche welt anspricht, sondern die geschehenswelt. Es geht um das geheimnis der gestaltwerdung, die aufgabe ist nicht, die geschoepfe einem gegebenen formgesetz zu unterwerfen. Im raum der geometrischen strukturen entstand eine architektur. In ihr diktiert das gesetz der masse, der kubus. Die organstrukturen suchen den bau als organ, sie bestimmen seine gestalt aus seiner wesenheit, der bau untersteht keinem formgesetz, er wird aus der idee seiner gestalt Es wird also wichtig, nunmehr unter den werken der baukunst zu unterscheiden solche der architektur und solche des organhaften bauens, denn die polaren bezugspunkte trennen sie im wesentlichen.[26]

They had adopted, from Haering, an ideological faith in the teleological development culture which avoided a dialectic between modern culture and traditional forms. Haering also proposed that the effect on the user or inhabitant was the most significant quality of architecture. This effect was related to the activity which a place was to support.

"Das gestaltziel allen bauens ist: ein organ des wohnens, des lebens, des arbeitens zu sein. Der bau verdankt seine gestalt des funktion, die er als organ des menschen zu erfuellen hat. Da stellte sich auch das neue bauen als erste wichtige aufgabe, das wesen des wohnens neu zu erfahren"[27]

26. (Haering.1968, p.314)

27. (Haering.1951)

The emphasis on activity caused them to concentrate their design efforts on the relation between surface forms and the inhabitants' impressions, and to discount representation of construction or of abstract order. As they were willing to distinguish between visual order and the architectural means employed to represent use, they were not compelled to make that use submit to an aesthetic. Finally they worked towards design as a means to mythic composition rather than as a means of problem resolution. Scharoun's own projects demonstrate this, as do those of his student Slapeta, and those of Haering.

The organic modernism which Scharoun shared with Haering, Rading, and Lauterbach deemphasized the visual formal language and the representational, symbolic quality of architecture in favor of an attention to use and typology.

"Neither the search for rhythm, nor efforts to harmonize are essential to a building, rather solely its service to life."

"Als die modernen auf dem wege zum wesentlichen des bauens vorsteiszen, kamen auch sie [...] auf die rhythmisierung des baukoerpers. Aber auch hier fanden sie noch nicht das wesentliche des bauens, wichtiger als die rhythmisierung war schon das problem der harmonisierung, d.i. das der maszbestimmung der einzelteile auf grund ihrer lebenswichtigkeit am ganzen bau. Das aber bedurfte einer neuen bestimmung des baues, d.h. also seiner wesenhaftigkeit. Nicht rhythmisierung noch harmonisierung sind wesenhaft am bau, sondern einzig seine leistung fuer das leben. Rhythmisierung und harmonisierung sind nur probleme

seiner gestaltung und abhaengig vom wesen des baues."[28]

Das neue bauen zeigt baustoffe und konstruktionen in ihrer wesenhaftigkeit, ohne sie aus anderen formprinzipien heraus umzubilden, und es versucht, das ausdrucksproblem aus diesen gegebenheiten heraus zu erschöpfen.[29]

"Die geometrie fordert eine ordnung im raume auf grunde geometrischer gesetze. Eine organhafte kultur fordert eine ordnung im raume zum zweck einer lebenserfüllung. Das eine fuehrt zu dem begriff der architektur, das andere ist der begriff des bauens schlechthin und von uranfang an."[30]

This distinction resided at the core of "Neues Bauen". It united a number of proponents of "Neues Bauen" in their efforts to develop legitimate design criteria other than aesthetic, and directed their search for formal sources and principles outside of the realm of visual composition. This led to the introduction of the mechanism of types as a means to judge and compare designs and programs and to the introduction of the concept of "leistungsform" to express their goal:

28. (Haering.5.1926)

29. (Haering.1931)

30. (Haering.7.1934)

"Die leistungsform, ein technisches werk, verbirgt die weseneheit, die ihr das thema gibt, wie der same die bluete verbirgt, die puppe der schmetterling. Doch ist es die wichtigste aufgabe des technischen werkes, das gestaltwerk zu erschaffen, in dem diese weseneheit erscheint."[31]

Consequent with the rejection of visual effect, the sources for design motifs were instances of form which corresponded with use. There were also formal references to natural, landscape configurations, as well as re-application of conventional forms adapted from objects. Whereas, in the twenties the motifs may have been from the realm of steamship design, the motifs in the thirties came from traditional domestic houses but the mechanism was no different.

Die gestellte aufgaben ist klar: es geht darum, das haus von innen her anzulegen, von den lebendigen vorgaengen des wohnens auszugehen und auch im aufbau nach diesem prinzip vorzugehen. Das auszen ist nicht mehr von vornherein gegeben, es ergibt sich erst, wie sich das auszen in allem organwerk erst ergibt. Das auszen setzt dem organwerk wohl grenzen entgegen, doch bestimmt es nicht sein form. Man zieht waende um wohngruppen herum, man ordnet nicht wohngruppen in rechtecke ein. Waende werden auf diese weise kaum rechtwinklig zueinander stehen, und es wird auch kaum ein rechtwinkliger baukoerper entstehen. Auch werden die waende nicht unter allen umstaenden gerade sein. Eine natuerliche ordnung wird sich einstellen, [...] Doch haben wir kaum damit begonnen, den naechsten schritt zu tun, der zur arbeit am gestaltwerk fuehrt.

31. (Haering.1968, p.306)

"Das gestaltwerk hat leitenden charakter. Die räume begreifen ihren dienenden auftrag. Sie erhalten ihre gestalt vom wohnenden und von seinem wohnen her, [...] sie sind nicht von einer technischen zweckmaeszigkeit her allein bestimmbar, es spricht bei ihrer wahl eine beziehung zur wesenheit des wohnenden mit." [32]

Yet scharoun did not restrict his design work to this principle. [33] his inaugural address in Breslau ascribed an independent authority to the audience:

"Das Bauschaffen ist das Ergebnis folgender Synthese: Wille einer Zeit, Forderungen des Bauherrn und Moeglichkeiten, die in der Natur des Baustoffes liegen. Der Auftrag des Bauherrn setzt bewusst das Symbol fuer die unbewusste Stroemung der Zeit. Und aus der Spannung aller drei Faktoren zueinander Zeitwille, Zweck, Material erwaechst jeweils Groesse und Wert der Baukunst einer Zeit, ..." [34]

The image of audience also presented two distinct sources of validation. His earliest designs - those he did as a child, were carried out against the wishes of his father, and his training at the Technical College in Berlin was never concluded, as he felt it was more worthwhile to accept work with Paul Kruchen's office on the postwar reconstruction in

32. (Haering.1952)

33. See also (Janofske.1982, p33).

34. (Scharoun.1925)

East Prussia. The design work he performed for Jakobowitz from 1929-33 also demonstrates his willingness to develop a project for a specific audience. The ground rules for the design were set out by Jakobowitz according to profitability. The Baupolizei had to approve the designs for conformance to zoning and design guidelines. Scharoun was free to develop apartment plans and facade designs within those constraints. The house built for one of Jakobowitz's engineers is a further example of this. Schuldenfrey's stipulation "Anything! Just no flat roof!"[35] explains much about the eventual exterior form of his house. In the correspondence which pertains to the projects of the thirties, there is a strict split between the discussions with the clients and the discussions of formal issues. It is clear that there was to have been one set of criteria for validation in conjunction with clients, one for application with institutional authorities, and another to use when generating designs.

Within his image of practice, Scharoun had been concerned with hierarchical methods to develop and communicate order in built environments as early as his

35. "Blosz kein flaches Dach!" Related (VIII.84), by E. Harendza. He was employed in Scharoun's office to work on the projects for Jakobowitz.

design for the Breslau bachelor flats for the Werkbund exhibition in 1929.

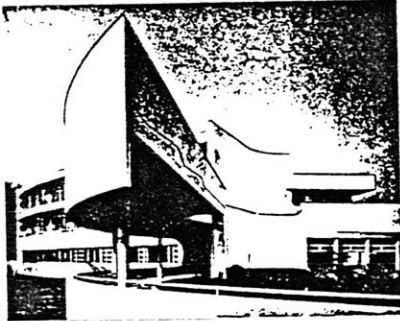


Figure 4-1:
Breslau bachelors' dwellings
-1929: View.

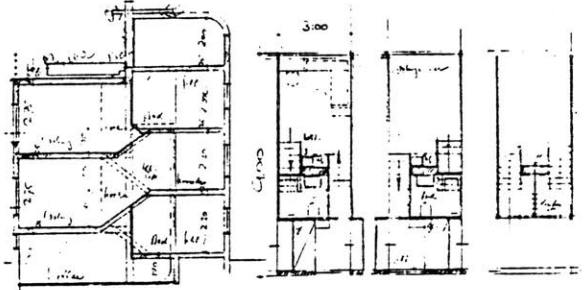


Figure 4-2:
Breslau bachelors' dwellings: Plan.

His retrospective account of the project[36] emphasizes the relation between the apartment, the corridor and the communal spaces, and in particular the mediating function of the latter. Geometry serves as an ordering means only in the immediate relationship between the dwelling and the corridor; at the next level, the consistent topological relation between apartments and the access path suffices. The external form exhibits no consistent overriding geometry.

36. (Scharoun.1950, T.U.B. lecture).

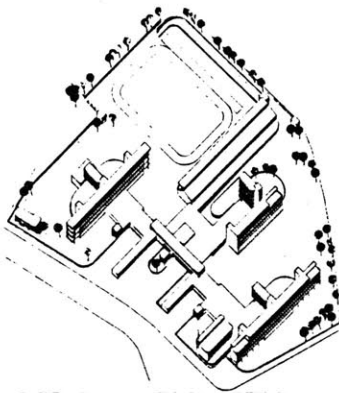


Figure 4-3:
Breslau-Zimpel school -1928

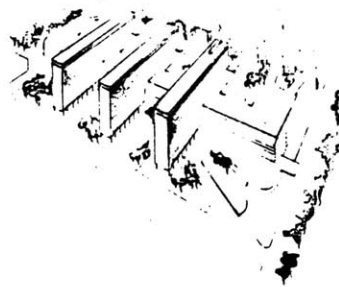


Figure 4-4:
"Justizgebäude" -1928

The competition design for the school in Breslau-Zimpel indicates a yet stricter hierarchy in the symmetrical arrangement of wings and symmetrical axes, while the entry for the "justice building" in Berlin indicates similar uses of hierarchical access and wings without the restriction to symmetrical arrangements.

Although this form of hierarchical order is not as severe as the symmetrical, classical hierarchy which dominated monumental NS designs, it resembles that which was developed in guidelines for new-town planning in the early forties, and that which Reichow developed in his plans for Wolfsburg and in his presentations of organic town planning[37]

37. (Reichow.1949)

Scharoun was among the advocates of Neues Bauen who rejected industrial symbolism as an end in itself. Although he did not refrain from using industrial technology, he did it for a pragmatic purpose rather than for effect.



Figure 4-5:
Hohenzollerndamm apartment house.

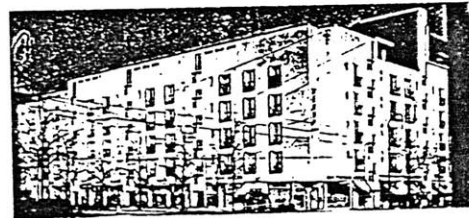


Figure 4-6:
Kaiserdamm apartment house.

The apartment projects of the twenties demonstrate that he was much more concerned with the effect of the surface presented by the building as a setting for the expressive quality of the individual formal elements than with the technological associations of the individual components. This surface was the means to communicate the purpose of the building and to mediate between the interior and exterior realms.[38]

38. (Scharoun.1925)

Es gilt weiter die einfachsten Grundlagen, nach denen sich das Zellsystem einer Stadt aufbaut, wieder aufzudecken: Raum und Kubische Form. Die Begrenzung des Raumes ist die Wand. Notwendig ist es, diese Wand wieder als den von aussen sichtbaren Teil der Räumlichkeiten fühlbar zu machen, im Gegensatz zu den bisher üblichen Fassadenmauern, die den irgendwie ausgenutzten Grundrissen vorgeklebt wurden. Aus den Beziehungen und Spannungen, die so z.B. zwischen Raum und Wand entstehen, muss das architektonische Schaffen weitere Formgesetze ableiten. Öffnungen in der Wand betonen die Art der Benutzung des hinterliegenden Raumes, werden Augenblicke für Blickausfall oder Lichteinfall. ...

There was no concern to represent its constructed quality. Rather than be concerned to represent the innovative nature of the technology which supported such forms, he was concerned to express traditional values through the new techniques:

Wer sich klar ist, dass >Neues Bauen< nicht >Neues< Bauen ist, hat viel gewonnen. ...

Er weiss, dass >neu< Bauen identisch mit >Bauen< überhaupt, >Gesinnung< bedeutet im Goetheschen Sinne, das heisst Übereinstimmung mit den geistigen Tendenzen der Zeit.

Damit ist gesagt, dass es sich nicht um eine Fassadenangelegenheit handelt, also etwas Losgelöstes, Abstraktes, für sich Bestehendes, sondern um etwas nicht loszulösendes Organisches, in die Zeit Hineinwachsendes.[39]

39. Rading lecture 1929 for the Werkbund convention; in (Pfankuch.1970)

Where Scharoun sought innovation, it was an attempt to accommodate traditional qualities under contemporary conditions. The apartment projects in Berlin and the bachelors' housing in Breslau can be interpreted in this sense, as attempts to accommodate emerging classes into a continuing social structure.

Another shared proposition was the emphasis placed on the experience of the environment in the hierarchy of validation. Although the particular ends Scharoun sought diverged from the NS desire to impress upon the citizens their subordinate status, he was still sensitive to arguments which emphasized the significance of impressions.

Ich glaube, es ist unschwer zu erkennen, dass der Verlust des Gefuehles fuer den allbeherrschenden Raum den Niedergang wie in der Architektur so auch in der Buehnenkunst mit sich brachte.

Die Beeinflussbarkeit des allgemeinen Empfindens und des Gemuetzustandes aber durch Raum duerfte jeder von Ihnen an sich selbst erkannt haben. Die Empfindung des sich aendernden Raumes hat in gleicher Weise wie der Ablauf der Zeit dem Menschen das Gefuehl einer Gesetzlosigkeit eingegeben, die ihn in Schrecken versetzen kann und deren er sich durch Schaffen irgend einer Gesetzmaessigkeit zu erwehren trachtet. Alle Gemeinschaftsgedanken gipfeln oder besser gesagt, werden anschaulich durch Formung des Erlebnisses zwischen Einzelwesen und Raum um uns. Die bildende Kunst, Malerei, Plastik, ist durch das Material einseitig an das Statische, an die

Wiedergabe eines Zustandes gebunden, waehrend die Architektur gleich der absoluten Musik das Dynamische herzustellen in der Lage ist.

Die Buehnendekoration des kommenden Schauspiels wird nicht Ortscharakterisierung, sondern Eindruckserhoehung geben muessen und an der stelle der Illusion und des Realismus muss wieder Idealismus und das Symbol treten. Mitte und Hirn des Theaters ist der Schauspieler. In ihm wie ueberhaupt in dem Koerper des Menschen drueckt sich am ehesten die Verbindung von Raum, und fliessender Handlung vereint aus, der Raum verbindet sich im Menschen mit dem Zeitablauf.[40]

Scharoun's practice was characterized by conventional methods. He frequently drew from adjacent references to develop designs. The development in Dahlem-Dorf employed a roof form and massing which was certainly intended to accommodate the design to the house form prevalent in the neighborhood.

40. from Scharoun's Breslau inaugural lecture; in (Pfankuch.1974).

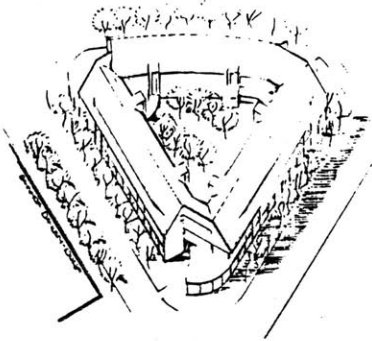


Figure 4-7:
Dahlem-Dorf development
-1927: axonometric view.



Figure 4-8:
Kaiserdamm apartment block
-1929.

The projects for Jakobowitz combine a restrained visual vocabulary with references drawn from the adjacent structures to maintain the line of the roof and the rhythm of the street. The plans were exercises in developing innovative dwelling plans for conventional urban development configurations. This work by far outweighed the projects, such as Siemensstadt, in which Scharoun exercised a free hand. There is even one project in Berlin[41] for which Scharoun and Rading assumed responsibility to complete a project in progress. In the process of completing it, they modified the design of the rooftop so that it would provide amenities such as Siemensstadt. The Schuldenfrey house is perhaps the clearest example of this: The only stipulation the owner had

41. Although Harendza indicated Scharoun's carried the project to completion, it is not included in the list of works, as the documents do not indicate the extent of his involvement.

made was that it not have a flat roof.[42]

By the late twenties work demonstrates a tendency away from abstract orders to contingent orders. He began to develop designs as juxtapositions of a number of partial principles of order. The Stuttgart house design had already been attacked as too unorthodox for including curved form in an otherwise orthogonal geometry.

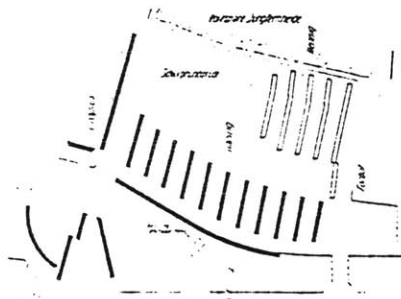


Figure 4-9:
Siemensstadt site plan.

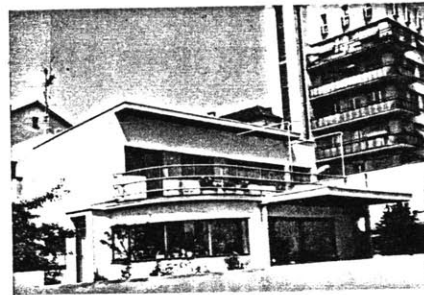


Figure 4-10:
Weissenhof exhibition house.

The site plan for Siemensstadt employed a combination of row arrangements and block-edge development, while the Stuttgart house combined constructivist planes with the solid mass of contained uses.

42. Recounted by Harendza.

The legitimation mechanism which he developed along these lines, might be termed an "epic" method since it sought to combine the available rather than to work towards an ideal.[43] Since the concept of cultural teleology precluded a goal defined by an individual, it was sufficient to work to create environments which "signified" the conditions of dwelling as they were, at that time.

4.1.2.3 Body of Knowledge

The body of knowledge may be recounted as a set of principles, or theories. It also encompasses the methods according to which they are employed. The projection of his ideal into principles could be summarized relative to specific reminders he used:[44]

"Hauptsache Bewegung"

Expressed the concern for the effect of the place on the user: the user was to be set into the state of mind conducive to the respective activity.

43. See (Elkana).

44. Although not all sayings originate from this period, it is reasonable to employ them to the extent they correspond to the material.

"Hier eine kleine Welt, da eine kleine Welt"

Accounted for the elaboration of designs, in both plan and section, into zones for particular activities. The independent areas were then joined through a network of paths, visual connections, and common reference surfaces or views to create topological groupings which corresponded to the program stipulations.

"Dem Vorgang entsprechend"

Architectural elements were chosen and deployed with regard for their physical presence and their value for use rather than for what they might abstractly represent. Worth was seen in the specificity of form according to projections of use.

Finally he relied upon principles of order beyond simple classification which dominated twenties design. Resemblance ordered arrangements by repetition, assemblage, and layering of elements and according to shape, direction, and continuity of line.

Under the category of methods, the techniques of arrangement reappear as methods to organize elements in layers, and along movement paths. Hierarchical assemblage

grouped spaces at one size to form unified elements to be treated at the next larger size. These methods required a distinction between the part and the whole which the designer could perceive, even though it could be superceded by other means intended for the users' perception. In order to ensure that the desired order would be perceived, he used purposefully reinforced lines and curves to emphasize continuity and direction, and depended on the unification which appears through scale shifts associated with hierarchical assemblage.

"Nach auszen sichtbar"

Surfaces served as the major spatial elements. In contrast to volumes, which are distinct, the surface is identified with a zone which comprises all spaces affected by the surface. In contrast to grid and wall systems, surfaces exist without regard to preestablished dimensions and directions, and are not restricted to modules. They were employed according to two distinctions. Along one axis they represented the use associated with the surface. On the other, they were used to augment framed, grid systems, to contain space when an open quality was not desired.

Scharoun's attention to surfaces as a means to communicate purpose, and as a medium to contain use, had been

demonstrated during the twenties in his designs for apartment blocks. The detailing and "intensification" of the surfaces corresponds consistently with the respective contained use, while the "constructed" quality of the surfaces, or their relation to an overriding structural order consistently remain unrevealed.

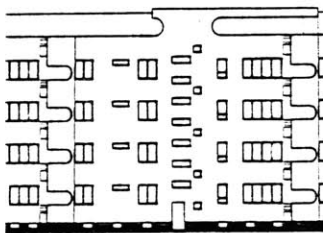


Figure 4-11:
Siemensstadt development
Jungfernhaideweg elevation.



Figure 4-12:
Siemensstadt view.

On interior surfaces, the use to be represented was not that contained, but that associated with the surface. Rading's houses of the mid-twenties had already applied color and sculpture to surfaces to develop their capacity as signs. Scharoun's apartment house designs of the twenties had adopted this practice for interior and exterior surfaces. In the Schminke house such intensified surfaces appear frequently, to mark the place for a particular use, to indicate the equivalence of particular places, or to indicate continuity between two places.

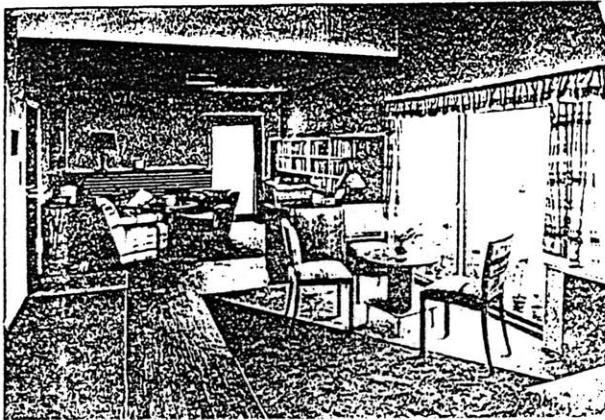


Figure 4-13:
(Rading) Rading house:
Living room view.



Figure 4-14:
(Rading) Rabe house:
Fireplace alcove.

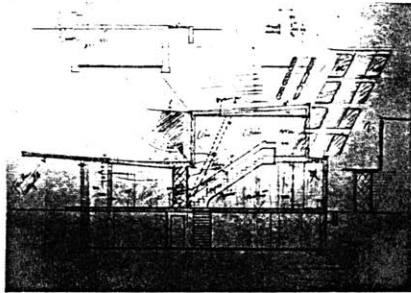


Figure 4-15:
Schminke house: Entry hall
elevation

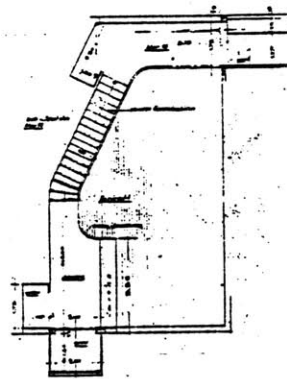


Figure 4-16:
Schminke house: Ground
level; linoleum plan

The changes to the entrance facade of the Schminke house reveal a similar interest.[45]

45. Reproduction courtesy of the Institut fuer Denkmalpflege, Dresden.

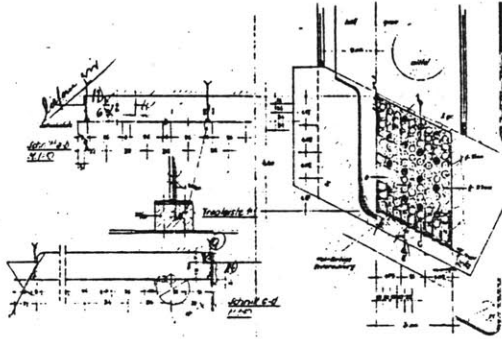


Figure 4-17:
Schminke house: Ground
level; reflected ceiling
plan.

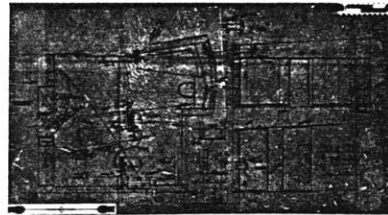


Figure 4-18:
Schminke house: Master
bedroom; reflected ceiling
plan.

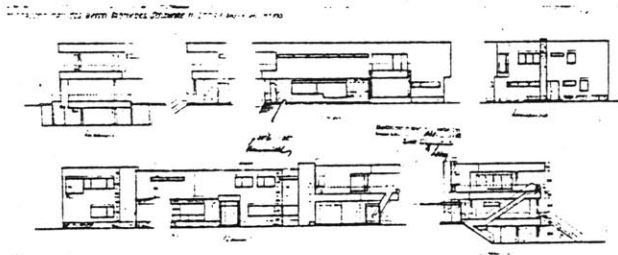


Figure 4-19:
Schminke house elevation;
first version.

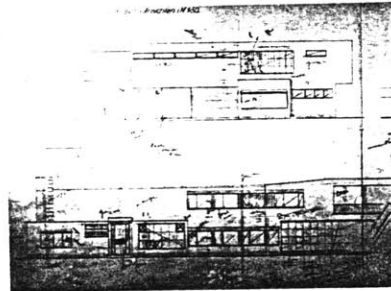


Figure 4-20:
Schminke house: elevation;
second version.

The most significant change is the removal of the chimney from the south facade. Whereas a chimney applied as relief to the northwest elevation was retained to separate the entry and access from the uses (the kitchen and the guest bedroom), the chimney which had effected the dimensional and qualitative surface transformation from the bathroom and living room (at the left) to the master bedroom and solarium appears in the final design only as a downspout which marks a

break in the parapet line. At the same time, the fenestration has been collected so as to emphasize the continuity of use, at the loss of a sense of the constructed nature of the building.

He used movement to generate plans, to order distinct use spaces according to the personal association which develops from passing through a space. This depended on layering and repetition of similar elements to establish connections between places. Depending on the circumstances, the elements may be walls, floors or columns.

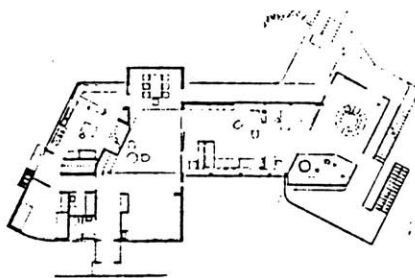


Figure 4-21:
Schminke house: ground floor
plan.

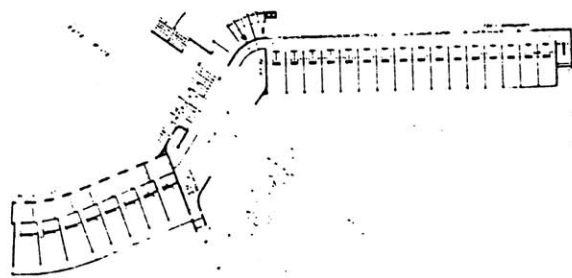


Figure 4-22:
Breslau exhibition bachelor
dwellings: plan.

The plans of the Breslau exhibition and the Schminke house indicate the selective use of walls to separate and to contain uses, and of columns to designate continuity of access or use. In the Schminke plan, in particular, the entire structure is steel frame, yet the columns do not appear where the closure is complete. Where they do appear,

the original grid does not signify order, rather the columns are displaced as necessary to generate the desired use zones, to imply continuous use through extending surfaces, and to distinguish uses by breaking patterns.

The arrangement of levels in the Schminke house demonstrates the use of translated surfaces which had informed Scharoun's designs during the twenties. Each level maintains the same quality of relation to the exterior. Along the front edge, the house is entered, and windows indicate the type of use; along the rear a balcony affords a limited access in addition to the view provided by the windows. The entry foyer and the stair allow uncomplicated access to the upper floor. This universal accessibility was an ideal Scharoun had set out in 1925. It also shaped the design of the Baensch, and Wenzack houses.

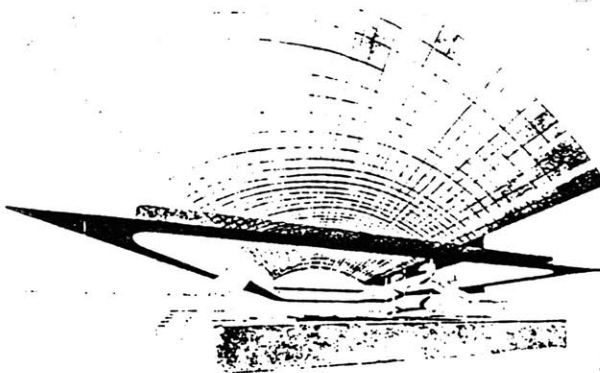


Figure 4-23:
Schwimmbad am Zoo -1927.



Figure 4-24:
"Dwelling Space": watercolor
-c.1942.

4.2 Institutional Programmes

4.2.1 Pre-1933 (Weimar) Institutions

In order to present the workings of the programme behind the institutional facade erected by National Socialism, one must recognize those branches of the government which were to have continued to perform the designated tasks, even after 1933. The National Socialists were only able with difficulty, if at all, to gain control over some of these institutions. This means that, during the period of NS rule, architects were competing with a programme which resembled the programmes with which they had had to contend during the twenties. Only in the early forties, as the regime had preempted the practice of architecture by converting the economy to military production, did the NS programme began to approach the degree of dominance which the programme had projected.

4.2.1.1 Bauordnung

The most stable of these institutions was the Department of Buildings.[46] It was not one centralized agency, but

46. The "Baupolizei" was the agency which executed the building codes.

rather represented local government. In 1918,[47] as a step in the continuing effort to consolidate the national administration of the "Kaiserreich", the office of the "Staatskommissar fuer das Wohnungswesen" was created to takeover responsibility for housing matters from scattered departments in other agencies.[48] This coincided with the passage[49] of national housing laws, which created the legal precedent for the unified construction codes, and established the first substantive outline. Each state was to issue its own version over the next decades.[50]

Two points about this building code are of particular importance for this investigation.[51] First, construction and zoning regulations were viewed as legitimate compromises of preeminent individual property rights. This conformed with precedents in construction law dating back to the first

47. 31.V.1918, (BA.R41, Index, p.VIII).

48. Das Ministerium des Innern, das Finanzministerium, das Handelsministerium, das Landwirtschaftsministerium, and das Ministerium des oeffentlichen Arbeiten.

49. 28.III.18.

50. The unified building code ("Einheitliche Bauordnung") for Prussia was established 25.IV.1919. The building code in effect in Berlin during the thirties was based upon it.

51. See (Buff.1971, pp.59-77).

construction regulations in the early thirteenth century.[52] They were allowed on the grounds that the right to personal property entailed a public responsibility. According to this precedent, the construction permit was "obligatory": it was to be approved unless the Baupolizei could show why the project should be disallowed. Furthermore such objections were required to demonstrate a risk to the public welfare or a compromise of the public interest. Second, the 1918 formulation required, for the first time, that the appearance of the project and its relation to the surroundings be considered in the review process. Elevations, at the scale 1:100 were added to the documents to be submitted for approval, and the "unified street-scape" and "local character" were to be considered.

Such regulatory efforts also present a general pattern: there was never a self-consciousness of the effect of such unification upon the culture. The intent was simply to unify the legal framework upon which construction regulation was based, in order to control urban development and to prevent indiscriminate construction from defacing urban environments and cultural objects.

52. See (Buff.1971, p.15f).

4.2.1.2 Bau- und Finanzministerium (Domaene Dahlem)

Contemporary with these regulatory efforts, the Ministry of Construction and Finance[53] was planning and executing the subdivision and development of forestry lands. They were continuing an effort which had begun, in 1901, when the lands were released, by royal decree,[54] to develop a garden suburb. In the course of administering this process they demonstrated an attitude towards design guidelines which was to continue through the thirties and forties. By the mid-twenties, planning guidelines were set out for the composition of the community, urban design schemes were developed, and a legal framework was established to allow corporate and individual projects to be executed by developers and owners at a range of scales. These regulations are significant to this research because the streets Garystrasze, Miquelstrasze and Huenigerstrasze -along which Scharoun executed the Schuldenfrey, Scharf, and Strauss houses - lie within the boundaries. The internal deliberations surrounding development in this neighborhood reveals that the design controls were rooted in contractual

53. Bau- und Finanzministerium (PBFM).

54. (BLA.R42.Nr3884) the "Royal Commission for the Subdivision and development of the Domaene Dahlem" was established 8.VII.1901.

arrangements which dated back to the first years of the twentieth century.[55]

The basis for these controls were urban designs drawn up by independent architects, either under contract, or through open competition. Situations where the PBFM had failed to uphold the guidelines had led to litigation, in which the PBFM was charged with breach of contract. Thus although the powers of design review present in the contract could not be used to force a particular style, they did impose a legal liability.

55. (BLA.R42.Nr3884) contained a memorandum from 11.VII.1932 discussing the distinction between the stipulations of the building codes and the sales contracts as they had been worded since 1901, with particular regard to the responsibility assumed by the Prussian treasury:

"In these contracts there is no explicit guarantee on the part of the Prussian Treasury to protect and to maintain the character of the neighborhood as that of a distinguished dwelling colony. The question remains however, whether it is not possible, on the basis of the circumstances under which the sales contracts were formulated and accepted, to conclude a responsibility on the part of the Prussian Treasury to do everything on its part to maintain the character of the area, and to protect the land owners, so far as it was in the power of the Treasury, from decreases in property values."

4.2.1.3 Professional Societies (BDA)

Parallel to the consolidation of regulatory institutions and the development of precedents for urban development, there had been, since the first decades of the twentieth century, efforts by professional organizations, to win official sanction for their practitioners.[56] They sought to control training for and entry into their profession, and to stipulate a specific range of practices which would be reserved for sanctioned members.

The primary participants in the process prior to 1933 were the office of the "Reichskunstwart" and the "Bund Deutscher Architekten" (BDA). The earliest communication[57] simply addressed the issue of competition between free lance and state architects. It suggested that in order to protect the private architect and to foster the development of an architectural culture, municipal offices should refrain from executing architectural commissions. They should contract instead with private architects, or should award contracts on

56. See (Macleod.1971, Chapter 8), for an account of the course of similar efforts in England during the nineteenth century, and an indication of the significance of the link between "style" and professionalism.

57. (BA.R32.Nr7, p.137) from 7.XI.1920 and (BA.R32.Nr7, p.142) from 15.II.1921.

the basis of competition.

The first correspondence which deals directly with the "Architektenkammer"[58] once again addressed the issue of the architects' economic situation. Redslob took issue with the position presented by a representative of the BDA,[59] on exactly those points which intended to limit membership in the chamber of architects on the basis of artistic ability, and sought competitive advantage for its members.

The formulation which the "Reichskunstwart" eventually accepted for deliberation in 1927[60] maintained the members' isolation from both municipal and commercial practice but eliminated the "moral and business reputation"[61] of the applicant from the qualities to examine, leaving only "architectural[62] and technical ability". It added to their rights:

58. (BA.R32/7 p.192f).

59. Cornelius Gurlitt, BDA president in 1927.

60. (BA.R32.Nr143, p.195f) in a memorandum from 30 March 1927.

61. The "moralischer und geschaeftlicher Ruf" of the applicant were retained through the October, 1925 version in (BA.R39.Nr191, p.76f).

62. baukuenstlerisches Koennen.

(\$13)

... Members are authorized to draw permit documents for third parties. They may submit these plans to, and act as representative before, the responsible authorities.

All of the elements necessary to develop the National Chamber of Arts[63] were present in these proposals. It appears, ironically, that hesitation on the part of the National Ministry of Economics, and the Ministry of the Interior - in the person of Redslob - delayed its foundation. The first proposals from the Kampfbund fuer deutsche Kultur[64] for an architects' and engineers' chamber depended on the distinctions in social standing which had been included by the BDA in its original formulation. As a consequence of their political intent, the original stipulations made by the BDA regarding moral reputation have been replaced by requirements regarding "political trustworthiness" and ancestry.[65]

63. "Reichskammer der bildenden Kuenste" (RKBK).

64. KDK.

65. (BA.R56I.Nr66) in letter 1 April 1933.

4.2.2 National Socialist Institutions

The term National Socialist programme will be applied to the principles and methods which constituted the institutionally recognized and supported practice of architecture between 1933 and 1945. Even though, as discussed above, this programme was not monolithic in composition and execution, it conceived of and represented itself as a single entity. The practitioners contended with the same central quality in all instances, a quality which distinguishes all components sufficiently from any other programmes as to argue that they were bound together. It was a particular combination of fascist ideology, whereby designs were to subordinate all activities and aspects of life common will. It also encompasses the repressive methods employed to restrict any competing programmes which might attempt to demonstrate a different ideology, and the methods developed to maintain the mythology which developed to cover the gap between the claims for the programme, the active reality, and the desires of the population.

The contrast to the modernist programme was particularly strong, since propositions which had operated as patent truth in the twenties were dismissed as no longer applicable. The propositions which replaced them were projections, through

the fascist image of practice, from the realm of ideology in to the body of knowledge.

Within the programme, the absence of practical experience caused an emphasis on procedural structure and an absence of technical content. Discussion and controversy were eliminated as means to reshape, rethink, and develop programmes because the variation of perception which appeared might have cast doubt on the monolithic myth. According to statement and according to the substantive changes which the NS programme introduced, it ought not have been at all possible to continue to practice a moderne programme. Yet this would only have applied if the monolithic myth agreed with the real achievements.

The programme for bureaucratic consolidation led to the establishment of the Reichskammer der bildenden Kuenste, the Reichsstelle fuer Raumordnung, the Development office of the Deutsche Arbeitsfront, and the office of the General Bauinspektor for Berlin. This was in addition to existing offices for planning and construction in the various ministries, and the building inspectors' offices eventually controlled by the Reichsarbeitsministerium.

As is particularly apparent in respect to building

codes, the amount of substantive coordination achieved in the years up to 1945 in no way approached the image projected by NS publications. The disjunction between the projection and the reality extends beyond that example. A pattern of institutional non-conformity, and the NS mechanism for control through prescription rather than by prototype resulted in a significant degree of latitude for practitioners. The distinction between the projected image of these institutions and their actual effectiveness is attested to by the additional measures adopted and under consideration by 1945, as the regime collapsed.

4.2.2.1 Bauordnung

It would be expected that the NS government would have attempted to introduce stricter controls, and to realize its cultural image, through the building codes. Yet when a new unified building code appeared on 7 February 1938,[66] it presented changes neither in content, nor in regulatory structure.[67]

In fact, in all individual building codes passed in

66. See page 90.

67. (Buff.1971, p77).

various German states through 1940, the terms applied to qualify the fit of a project to its environment were roughly consistent. Even after passage of the "regulations to prevent disfigurement", the building codes never evolved to the point where style was prescribed.

The building code for Neumuenster from 25 May 1932[68] maintained:

(§16 Roof, P2)

The roof slope and the type of roofing should match that of the adjacent buildings and fit the character of the street.

(§24 External Appearance of Architectural Structures)

(Pl.a) All exterior elevations are to be designed and, finished, and maintained such that their appearance is not intrusive and cannot act as to offend a sound feeling for order. In particular, roofing which, on the basis of color, material, or pattern, acts so as to disturb the unified form, is disallowed. ...

(Pl.c) Buildings which form an architectural whole may not be partially remodeled or painted such that the unified effect of the architectural work is destroyed.

The only difference in the 21 June 1935 version is to the effect that all visible surfaces are to be kept in good

condition. The building code for East Prussia[69] contained similar stipulations:

POLIZEI VERORDNUNG UEBER DAS BAUEN AUF DEM LANDE
DER PROVINZ OSTPREUSEN

...

VON 1. DEZEMBER 1932

§24 Aeussere Gestaltung der baulichen Anlagen

1. Das aeussere der baulichen Anlagen (§1) muss in bezug auf Bauart, Bauform, Baustoff und Farbe so beschaffen sein, dass es die einheitliche Gestaltung des Strassenbildes nicht stoert; insbesondere sind Eindeckung, die nach Farbe, Musterung und Stoff die einheitliche Gestaltung des Strassenbildes stoeren, nicht zulaessig.

2. Bei der Errichtung baulicher Anlagen ist auf den Schutz der Bau- und Naturdenkmaeler gegen Verunstaltung und auf die heimische Bauweise Ruecksicht zu nehmen.

3. Die von Strassen, Plaetzen oder anderen oeffentlichen Verkehrsflaechen, insbesondere Wasserlaefen, Eisenbahnen, aus sichtbaren aeusseren Umfassungswaende sind in dauerend gutem Zustande zu erhalten.

4.2.2.2 Bau- und Finanzministerium (Domaene Dahlem)

Indications of a contractual agreement could only be found among archival records in the case of the Strauss

69. (GSA.R87.Nr2730).

house.[70] Based on comparison with contracts for other properties,[71] the Strauss case seems not to have been in any way out of the ordinary. The sales contract stipulated that

(\$6)

...
The buyer must, before 1.January.1938....., erect a dwelling of at least square meters upon the property. A penalty ofRM will be assessed for each year construction is delayed.

Drawings for the dwelling design for the initial construction upon the property are to be submitted, prior to commencement of construction, to the seller for approval. Elevation drawings are to be submitted in duplicate. Single copies of plans and a site plan are to be submitted.

Should the buyer commence construction prior to approval of the elevation drawings, or should the construction fail to follow the approved drawings, a penalty of RM - in words: Reichsmark - will be assessed.

-
70. The Schuldenfrey property may have been purchased before the guidelines were in effect, and the Scharf property had long been family property.
71. (BLA.R42.Nr3886) contains a draft of a contract for property on the same block as the Strauss house, to have been sold at approximately the same time as the Strauss property was purchased (16.I.1936 according to (GSA.R151.Nr10758)).

4.2.2.3 Professional Societies (RKBk)

On the example of the "Reichskammer der bildenden Kuenste" (RKbK), the archival documents indicate that the most radical aspects of the programme which had been carried over from BDA proposals from the twenties were the object of objections from various sources on the grounds that they would damage the economy and the livelihood of too many who were involved in the construction industries, if they excluded practitioners whose activities might have left them open to conflicts of interest, and if the entry requirements were interpreted rigorously on the matter of technical qualifications. This conflict within the image of practice was eventually resolved in favor of those who sought to maintain the middle class base. The monopoly on the right to submit plans was eventually abolished, and the technical entrance requirements were eventually lifted. Attempts to establish internal distinctions, to be used in recommendations, or to establish membership on review boards, was also to no avail, since the RKBK never succeeded to become the authority to decide recommendations for such positions.

The development of the RKBK demonstrates a correspondence of between the respective images of practice maintained by avant-garde architects and that promoted by reactionary

designers. The mechanism was adopted from proposals made during the twenties, even if the principles which it was to enforce had changed.

The racial and political stipulations were the consequence of projections from ideology. With the passage of the Nuernberg laws, applicants were required to prove their ancestry, and in the late thirties and early forties, as the domestic conditions became more severe, the secret police required that all members be reviewed for evidence of political disloyalty.[72]

4.2.2.4 Massnahmen fuer Siedlungswesen

The national regulations for housing planning grew out of proposals under consideration during the twenties. The BDA, the RAM, and the PBFM were all involved in the deliberations. The National Socialists claimed responsibility for the version which was finally passed, yet that version maintained only the minimum of controls. It was more a legal framework to allow development to be coordinated, to lend authority to master plans, and to create sources of funding

72. It was under these circumstances that Ferdinand Kramer, for example, was forbidden to practice. See (DWB.1982, p.217).

for development. The substantive regulations were deferred until a unified design code could be developed.

The minutes of a conversation on 16.XI.1942 indicate the direction in which National Socialist institutions were evolving. With regard to the "3. Erlass ueber den deutschen Wohnungsbau (23.XI.1942)" Popitz concluded that, once the government agency responsible to execute the national housing program was exempted from the building codes, the effect would be to circumvent the "Bauordnung" and to abolish the "Baupolizei". The effect would have been to nationalize the housing industry and to grant the "Reichswohnungskommissar" complete authority in the planning and design fields.[73]

73. (GSA.R151/n3693)

Von dem sachlichen standpunkt koennte man die schweren Bedenken, die der Vertreter des Reichsarbeitsministerium ueber die Auseinanderreissung der Wirtschaftsplanung auf der eine Seite, Bebauungsplaene- und Fluchtlinienfestsetzung und Bauordnungsplaene auf der anderen Seite haette, nur teilen, ebenso wie auch die Auffassung, dasz die Baupolizei praktisch mehr oder weniger erledigt waere, da nach dem Kriege in der Hauptsache fuer die Baupolizei nur gewerbliche Bauten uebrig blieben. [...] Es handelt sich um die Baugenehmigung, Rohbau- und Gebrauchsabnahme; damit wuerde jede staatliche Kontrolle nicht allein in der Baupolizei als Sicherheitspolizei, sondern auch als Verkehrs-Gesundheits und Verunstaltungspolizei entfallen [.....]

4.2.2.5 Verordnung ueber Baugestaltung

When they were finally ratified on the 10. October 1936,[74] the "design regulations" did not contain any more stringent stipulations than had been present in building codes during the twenties. There was no mechanism to exert control over architectural styles. Those passages which would have characterized architectural quality in greater detail, were stricken when it became evident that such distinctions could not be made within the conventions of jurisprudence, as they were based in subjective

74. (RGl. I p.938)

perception.[75] [76] Although "aesthetic demands"

75. (BA.R41(rep318)/n76) records the deliberations which contributed to the executed version. It also contains the Buege's ruling which details the measures to be taken by the various local authorities to uphold the initial regulation. The more specific wording of this decree indicates a response to Speer's (6.VIII.36) doubts as to the suitability of the "Baupolizei" to execute the regulation. He had suggested that they be assisted by professional advisory panels. It was indicated that the RKbK should appoint them. In particular, he recommended that the regulations include powers to "replace unsuitable inspectors ('Sachbearbeiter') with suitable personnel."

76. (17.XII.1936)

Buege's ruling was more specific as to the goal and the objects of the regulation:

"Die gestellten Anforderungen sollen in erster Reihe den Zweck haben, ein harmonisches, von Gemeinschaftsgeist und fachlichem Koennen zuegendes Gesamtbild zu erreichen und zue Hebung der Baukultur beizutragen. ...

Die "besonderen Anforderungen", die an die baulichen Anlagen im Wege Ortsatzung oder Baupolizei-verordnung gestellt werden duerfen, sollen einerseits den zustaendigen Stellen die Handhabe bieten, die bauliche Gestaltung nach ihrem Willen zu fuehren, andererseits den Bauherren und Architekten den architektonischen Rahmen geben, in den sie sich mit ihren Bauvorhaben von vornherein einzupassen haben. ...

Fuer die Gestaltung des Baukoerpers werden u.a. Vorschriften ueber die Einhaltung einer bestimmten Gebaeudehoehe (Traufhoehe, Firsthoehe) oder Geschoszzahl, in Sonderfaellen auch Gebaeudetiefe, zweckmaeszig sein. Von den von auszen sichtbaren Bauteilen ist das Dach von bestimmenden Einflusz. Um Einheitlichkeit zu erzielen, koennen Dachform, Dachneigung, Werkstoff und Farbton fuer die Dacheindeckung festgelegt werden,

Fuer Auszenwaende kann vor allem die Bestimmung des Werkstoffes und seiner Farbe in Frage kommen, bei Putzbauten auch die Bestimmung der Putzart.

Bodenstaendige Bauweisen sind tunlichst zu foerdern. Neuzeitliche Baustoffe und Bauweisen sollen jedoch nur soweit ausgeschlossen werden, als sie die Eigenart oder beabsichtigte Gestaltung des Orts-, und Strassen- oder Landschaftsbildes stoeren wuerden."

("schoenheitliche Anforderungen") would have furnished a better means to project ideological stipulations into the material realm,[77] they were rejected in favor of "Decorous design principles" ("anstaendige Baugesinnung") as the criteria distinguish architectural quality,[78] in order to ensure uniformity.

The rulings Buege issued to execute the regulation may well have been the most effective manifestation of the National Socialist programme. Although it was not possible to trace their influence in detail, they did contribute to the design standards applied to Scharoun's design for the Scharf house by the "Bau- und Finanzministerium".[79] On the other hand, even though Buege's directive emphasized the mandatory status of the regulations, the phrasing of the statute conformed to the standard for an "obligatory" permit[80]

77. (ibid., Hiecke(3.VII.35))

78. (op.cit., Popitz(2.V.36))

79. See (Anderson.1985, p.476).

80. See page 91.

4.2.2.6 Neugestaltung

The laws which established the office of "Generalbauinspektor" for Berlin were the first concrete step towards what would have become the standard for architectural practice in Germany. Rather than attempting to legislate the standards, a single practitioner was given the responsibility, the authority, and the funding to conceive and execute a unified plan for Berlin. Although the immediate scope of the first stages of the plan did not go beyond monumental proposals to rebuild the institutional infrastructure in Berlin, the next stages would have encompassed the industrial and residential development of the city. Even in the limited form of this initial implementation, by 1937[81] the BP approval process required that the GBI review the project before they could grant the building permit. Although this stipulation was frequently ignored, and although the GBI disapprove only projects within the extent of its existing planning, and then only in order to stop construction which would interfere with later development the potential was there to employ the regulation as an absolute means to execute centralized planning.

81. 30. January 1937 (RGl. I p.103)

The regulation's purpose turns out to have been to provide a legal framework to formalize powers of eminent domain needed in order to execute any unified urban design plans.[82] Their intent was to avoid inflated claims for compensation when land was eventually taken under eminent domain. Furthermore, the regulations were executed only, under Speer's control, in Berlin.[86]

4.2.2.7 Anzeigepflicht

On a national level, all plans for development or construction above a specific volume were to be reported to, and approved by, the Reichsarbeitsministerium. This review process was implemented on the basis of executive orders

82. Documents from the Reichs Arbeitsministerium, which recount the deliberations over the content of the regulation[83] and efforts by the RAM to mollify the director of the "Reichsstelle fuer Raumordnung" with respect to fears that the new regulations would compromise his authority,[84] indicate that national planning policy was not perceived to overlap with urban design, and that the law was, in any event, "primarily an eminent domain law for urban design". In memos[85] which discuss execution of the regulations, discussion is confined to eminent domain and its implications.

83. (GSA.R41.Nr591, p2f) from 26.VI.1937.

84. (GSA.R151.Nr1357, p.273f) from 9.IX.37.

85. (GSA.R151.Nr1357, p.333f) from 31.XII.1937, and (GSA.R151.Nr1357, p.357f) from 3.III.38.

86. (Buff.1971, p84)

(5.VII.34 and 23.X.35) pertaining to the "einstweilige Massnahmen zur Ordnung des deutschen Siedlungswesens" (3.VII.34). The regulations took effect on 1. December 1936. Within Berlin, all construction plans were subject to review, regardless of volume. This process could have become a mechanism to implement a totalitarian planning and design programme. When taken together with the degree to which the government was becoming directly responsible for design and planning[87] they could have contributed to the "total" architecture. Yet, the conflicts between the various agencies, and the limited focus, were sufficient to forestall such events.

Records from this review process indicate that attention was reserved for regional planning issues. Works by Scharoun and by Taut & Hoffmann appear in either overviews of regional development[88] or individual permit applications[89]

87. By 1943 the GBI employed hundreds of designers. The plans to rebuild the Berlin envisioned employing 208 designers of the 278 who would be available. (GSA.PB/R107.n70) By 1938, the government, including the military, was responsible for eighty percent of construction in Germany. The construction restrictions which began in 1939 culminated, in 1943, with a complete ban of all non-military construction. (GSA.r3617)

88. (BA.R41.Nr163.H1) under the GWG.

89. (BA.R41.n4341)

4.2.2.8 Neubauverbot

The authority the terminate of forbid construction, which appeared as the progress of the war drained the German economy, played itself out in a fashion very similar to that of centralized approval of projects according regional planning guidelines. Although it could have been used selectively, to enforce qualitative controls, both the intent and the fact of the execution indicate that it was employed to control resource allocation without regard to qualitative distinctions. The concern was to trade off the condition of the building industry with the severe shortage of materials.

4.2.2.9 Technical Standards

Another product of the totalitarian projection into the image of practice were the programs to develop, distribute, and enforce design and construction standards. the body of technical information available to the profession was, in a certain sense, one of the few areas of innovation inn the period 33-45. Numerous articles discussed proposed or newly adopted standards for design specifications, and agencies issued regulations to enforce the application of these standards. The professional journals contributed to this effort by acting as the forum for discussion of such standards, and many members of the profession sought refuge

here as one haven from political pressures. One example of this were the "Bauwelt Tafeln" published 1935 in Wasmuth's Monatshefte. They were a rudimentary graphic standards, based on the measure of people. In the 1938 Wasmuth's the "Tables" were expanded to constitute a true Graphic Standards. In 1939, building authorities published, in Wasmuth's, specifications governing the execution of all construction details This trend was by no means new to the fascist programme. Already in the 20s the PBFA had continuously conducted, and sought to disseminate the results of, research into the technical or standardizable aspects of the practice.

At the same time, the potential for total control was evident first in the late thirties and early forties, when work such as Neufert's for the RAM, contributing to the planning for post-war reconstruction, was established as an absolute standard for war-time apartment dwellings. He produced designs in 1943[90] to be used during the war as standard typed designs for apartment house construction. The Reichsarbeitsminister approved the design in a generic form. This approval was extended to the Baupolizei offices

throughout the country.

4.3 Commentary

4.3.1 National Socialist Presence

The documents reveal three phenomena behind the National Socialist institutions. First, they demonstrated the quality of a continuous programme, in that they were based in conservative or even reactionary institutions carried over from the twenties. On another level, the non-"elastic" quality of a programme is demonstrated where individual disagreements, competition for personal power and structural conflicts with the NS institutions rendered them unable to execute the "total reforms" which they claimed. Finally, the development of the NS institutions corresponded to the course expected for a "relativistic" programme:[91] the true nature of the NS programme was only beginning to be realized by 1945, as the government began to assume exclusive responsibility for architectural planning and design, and as projections were made to consolidate such institutional precedents in post-war Germany.

The NS programme presented a projection of a

91. The physical meaning is intended for both "elastic" and "relativistic" here. In other words, change propagates at a finite rate. As it propagates it is, itself, transformed.

totalitarian ideology onto an image of practice which had been inherited from the avant-garde programmes of the twenties. Certain principles, such as the use of architecture to support social reorganization, were eliminated, while others, such as using architecture as a means to bind the individual into the society, were retained. This image was adapted to accommodate industrial, settlement, and monumental practices.[92]

Conservative tradition was retained as the predominant authority, to the extent that it did not conflict with the technical requirements of monopolistic industrial development.

The disruption of the moderne programme, when viewed as a conflict with the NS programme, appears not as the consequence of outside interference, but as the manifestation of the emergence and consequent domination of one of the two contradictory principles whose interaction had influenced the course of the various moderne programmes during the twenties. On the one hand there had been pressure, within the practice, to change design, to make it conform to the pressures upon

92. See (Miller-Lane.1968, p185ff).

the market and society at large in the direction of consolidation, and monopolization and to elevate rational measures of efficiency as the dominant "objective" criteria. On the other hand were the social forces which had, over the preceding decades, worked to liberalize social orders, and to carry those changes into the physical environment. The pressures became ever more acute in the early thirties as the coincident effects of the demographic transformation, from a rural to an urban society, and of the world wide economic crisis began to undermine the stability of the bourgeois base of German society, and thereby threatened the privileged upper class which controlled the German economy.

Where the National Socialist programme projected the principle of consolidation from the body into the image of practice, it did not constitute exertion of an external force upon the moderne programme, but rather resolution - under the guidance of ideology- of an contradiction within the modern programme prior to 1933. An adjustment which the moderne programme had demanded within the body of knowledge was executed on a larger order, to encompass the entire programme.

The final form of disruption was the displacement of the rational myth by the two myths which supported the NS

programme: a totalitarian myth, and a natural myth. In the first instance a mythological mechanism was used to support arguments for the necessary presence of a fascist authority to arbitrate in conflicts. In the second, symbolic links to traditional qualities of culture were celebrated, at the same time as the substantive social and economic reform was directed to annihilating that culture.

The central criteria in the NS programme was to choose or create environments in which the individual was represented only in relation to central authority, to word their judgement as if the good of the people had been the basis for judgement, while implementing programmes which benefited a very limited class (the wealthy and the politically privileged). Any other criteria were illegitimate. They were determined to be detrimental to the good of the people, because while they undermined the authority of the state. The government purveyed a image of domestic serenity and justice, widespread affluence, and economic progress. Behind this facade, the government and armaments industry pushed the economy towards war, and the society was held intact more by the threat of expulsion and destruction of any who would dare to openly differ than by common ideals.

In order for this mechanism to function, at the outset, the repression had to remain "discrete". The populace had to be led to believe that cooperation and conformity were in their interests. This meant that where there was any divergence between the actual common good and the "common good" as projected by the NS regime, details were better off unsaid. Broad generalizations supplanted substance in regulations. A program would be implemented only by installing an agency, as direct authority to execute the changes.

NS image

The projection into the NS image of practice took the form of the method "political coordination". The stated purpose was to ensure that a consistent and approved programme be applied by all practitioners, and that duplication and waste be avoided. That they never, in architecture, succeeded beyond establishing the institutional framework to carry this out, did not stop it from being effective as a means to undermine the moderne programme of the twenties, as that depended on a similar centralized authority in order to implement its changes.

During the years following the National Socialist takeover, the opponents of an international modernism removed

competitors from the field of practice. The highly visible institutions which they established, purportedly to this end, figured, more in appearance than in substance in the eclipse of the modern.

The essential mechanism used by the government to execute changes was "political coordination".[93] Throughout the society this meant that, over the course of 1933 - 1934, all institutions were transformed, incorporated into a larger body, which seized the authority over the reconstituted organization - usually through the power to name executive boards, or they were dissolved. The effect was to place forums for all public and semi-public social interaction under the control of the party.[94] In this respect, the situation for the practice of architecture simply followed the general pattern[95] .

In industry the institutional reorganization happened very quickly. On 2 May 1933 the trade unions were dissolved. They were replaced with a governmentally controlled body,

93. "Gleichschaltung"

94. (Allen.1973) portrays the effects such a transformation had on life in a small German town.

95. See (Teut.1967) and (Miller-Lane.1968)

their leaders were imprisoned, and their property was confiscated. The housing industry was left a certain amount of freedom, until 1935, when the German Labor Front[96] began to reconstitute the incorporated housing societies as municipally staffed and controlled housing societies. By the early forties, it was envisioned that as single centralized housing authority would assume responsibility for the entire national housing program.

All architectural organizations were incorporated into the RKBK. Although this was presented as the mechanism to achieve central control, in fact once the controversy surrounding architectural styles lost its value as a source of material to substantiate the "totalitarian" myth, all practitioners were taken into the RKBK ranks. This was done in order to prevent any unauthorized interaction than to control the members directly. The repression which was inflicted upon fields of cultural endeavor such as writing, painting or sculpture never visited the practice of architecture with such vengeance. Whereas the symbolic force of a work of art was such that NS policy sought not only to forbid artists from practice, but also to destroy their

96. Die Deutsche Arbeits Front (DAF).

works, and whereas the conviction communicated by writing was so threatening to NS control that they not only destroyed works, and performed title-by-title surveillance of those titles available to the public through libraries or through stores, but regularly imprisoned dissenting writers, the mechanism employed to control activity in the field of architecture was more circumspect.

Modern architects of name did lose their official position, and their right to practice may, for a time, have been contested,[97] Yet where the architectural institutions, the schools, the building societies, were dismantled, the buildings continued to stand. They seemed not to possess the symbolic power which had been ascribed them. Or perhaps

97. See (Miller-Lane.1968, p.184). Hugo Haering's application to the RKBK appears to have been initially denied, and approved only after intercession by Chr. Loercher.[98] Scharoun's file indicates that his application was approved as a matter of course, although Lauterbach indicates that the application also required intercession to win approval. Ferdinand Kramer was, on the basis of political persuasion, forbidden to practice. Both Haering was required to surrender his license when he set aside his practice to act as director for the "Kunst und Werk" school. Sergius Ruegenberg's (Mies' project manager for the Barcelona Pavilion) license was rescinded when he was drafted, but returned when he received a contract from the Air Ministry in the early forties. The RKBK newsletter reported only instances in which licenses had been revoked because an individual "disappeared".

98. (USDC.Haering)

Germany was simply not so wealthy in the early thirties that it could afford to destroy its housing stock and municipal infrastructure.

They were rather more subtle means which served to guide the design profession through control of what could be said or published. It became more difficult to write of modern projects, not to mention to discuss the social ideals which had contributed to progress during the twenties. The spread of programmes through exposure and competition, which had been the mainstay of progress until the thirties, was suddenly eliminated as a means to propel the practice. Modern architects withdrew to private gatherings[99] or to individual friendships[100]. Those who depended on a public forum emigrated.[101]

Those publications which still attempted to communicate information on realizations of modern programmes avoided any form of presentation which might lead to stylistic

99. (AdK, Scharoun post-1945 correspondence).

100. See (BDA.1983).

101. This does not apply to those architects whose political or personal histories would have made stay in Germany hazardous.

controversies.[102] They confined themselves to technical descriptions and systematic surveys, and grounded any ideological allusions in the interests of the middle class.[103]

NS ideology

The least stringently regulated sphere of practice during the thirties was free lance design for industrial purposes. In the first case, the regulatory tools established by building codes and through the "Verordnung ueber Baugestaltung" had only a limited effect, as the industrial structures were not subject to the contextual constraints of dwelling designs. In addition, the Reichswirtschafts Ministerium pressed for efficiency and economy in design regarding matters of industrial production.

In the second case the architect was privileged to act as the representative of the owner. As a member of the middle class, the owner had been awarded limited rights to represent

102. Hoffmann and Koch were continued to publish surveys which included projects from modern designers. See (Schuhmacher.1934), (Voelker.1939), (Hoffmann.1939).

103. See (Behne.1935), in which the family's domestic needs are presented to justify the unorthodox plan arrangement.

his status through his dwelling. Whereas workers' housing was directly controlled, in so far as the respective organizations were dismantled or incorporated into party-controlled housing societies, the only controls applicable to dwelling design were building codes and development plans.[104] In each case, the regulatory authority was limited to the external form, as visible from public property. Even in situations where the exterior form was questioned, objections were overridden by arguments relating the particular interior form to the owners needs and interests, or linking the design to the site conditions.[105]

In both instances, the structure of the mechanism of "coordination" allowed individual practitioners more freedom than might have been expected. The reorganization was carried out by installing a new bureaucratic structure which would establish, through the chain of authority, the control of a small class over the entire institutional structure. Whereas much attention was paid to the bureaucracy of this

104. eg the plans for the Domaene Dahlem. See page 101.

105. See, for example, Scharoun's rebuttal to objections lodged against the Strauss and Scharf designs (Anderson.1985).

transformation, very little effort went to develop the substantive changes which were to have been executed.

This meant that the individual architect was not contending with an unbending policy, but with the will of the individual official who made a personal decision, according to form, but without substantive guidelines.

NS body

Finally, the body of the programme accepted principles from conservative, reactionary, and avant-garde predecessors, as consistent with the ideology applied to the respective realms of practice. The tactics which resulted (for example eminent domain powers for municipal design work, conformance stipulations for private housing design, and design guidelines for housing development design, or the antiquated production methods used for monumental work and the reinforced concrete technology used in industrial construction) were specific to the realm of practice. The executive tactics used to carry out the programmes - bureaucratic consolidation and the "Fuehrerprinzip" - led to an environment in which personal decision was the final authority.

The totalitarian ideal central to the NS programme

appeared, in the projection into the body as two formal principles:

- A design always signifies some institution of authority. Its formal presence should demonstrate mythically the necessity of that institution, and recognize other influences only in that it brings them into the desired relation to that authority.
- Designs are to be created by assembling repeated elements. The individual elements are so that, when repeated they do not introduce any qualities which draw away from the signified authority, and so that taken alone, they never develop any independent, self-sufficient qualities.

Implications

At the beginning of National Socialist rule, the free-lance architect, by virtue of association with industry and with the private land owner, also had a degree of latitude. As the government reshaped the economy to support a war, this changed drastically. Materials became scarce, construction was first limited, and then forbidden. At the same time government projects, related either to defense or to the redesign of Berlin under Speer, were the only work available to architects.

It appears that the conformity, which the NS regime was unable to legislate, would eventually have been achieved by becoming the only client. In the meantime, the absence of authority left the private architect able to develop a

programme within those vague restrictions which had been articulated. Since, as it turned out, the framework was never elaborated to support programmatic substance, the effect was only to place organizations, according to level in the hierarchy, under the control of individuals. In order to escape such control, a competing programme must have devalued the significance of centralized authority in favor of personal experience, or some other less controlled source. On the basis of these observations, the actual situation faced by the practicing architect appears, in contrast to the projected image, to have allowed for much more unorthodoxy than the "total architecture" image projects.

4.3.2 Scharoun's Practice

4.3.2.1 Collaborators

Two designers who figured prominently in Scharoun's office during the thirties were Chen Kwan Li and Lubomir Slapeta. Peter Pfankuch was present only during 1944, while Erich Harendza had left because of the lack of work in 1932. Other names were mentioned in correspondence during these years,[106] but it does not appear that they significantly shaped the course of designs. The documents also indicate that the planning work which Scharoun executed for the DAF was carried out as a joint venture with the architect Willy Kiesshauer.

Beyond Scharoun's contacts with his employees, he was able to maintain few contacts with members of the profession throughout this period. During the first few years, the architects who had stood close to the Ring managed to meet unofficially. When many left the country, or were forced to leave, the opportunities for meaningful contacts diminished. It was possibly only through social gatherings, or through

106. A frenchman, Herr Francois, and someone referred to only as "an officer" were mentioned in Scharoun's correspondence.

individual meetings to maintain contact with practitioners of similar positions. In this way he was able[107] to maintain contact with Boettcher, Haering, Hoffman, Mattern, and Max Taut. Similar contacts with Mies, Gropius, and Wagner were broken off when they left Germany.

In addition to this, affiliations with other individuals lent Scharoun a degree of protection and offered limited opportunities for contracts. The partnership with the developer Jakobowitz was broken off when his firm was confiscated, but Scharoun's relations with Huss of the Bremerhavener Wohnungsbaugesellschaft and with Menzel of the the Gemeinnuetzige Wohnstaettenbau Gesellschaft in Berlin continued in spite of the risk to those parties, and his acquaintance to Schulte-Frohlinde may well have enabled him to obtain planning contracts from the DAF.

4.3.2.2 Influence

It is clear from the above, that Scharoun's ability to practice was contingent upon the particular circumstances. The course of that practice, however, was not. It would have been possible to do as others did, to embrace the

107. Conversation with C.K. Li, summer 1983.

institutionally reinforced style. Even though he could probably never have achieved the renown he held before 1933,[108] his existence would have been more secure. He could have taken a conservative path, to produce pleasant, inoffensive houses which embodied an arbitrarily reduced subset of those principles which had constituted his programme during the twenties and cloaked them in traditional forms. It will be demonstrated in the presentation which follows, that the programme which evolved from this conflict maintained the integrity of and, in fact, represented an advance upon his programme as it stood during the twenties.

It seems likely that his collaborators during this period and the pressure from competing programmes were an impetus to include new principles, yet the manner in which they were integrated demonstrates the continued presence of a core programme. The changes are manifest as the reaction to the forced projection of the fascist ideology onto his image of practice, and into the body of knowledge. Decisions may also be explained as the outcome of his efforts to accommodate or to circumvent propositions which had forced

108. The symbolic reconciliation represented by his acceptance would have worked counter to the NS desire to control through threatened exclusion.

their way into his body of knowledge. This was the case with a number of material restrictions and specific regulations. The reaction took the form of recognizing isolated anomalous propositions, and gradually readjusting the function of the proposition within the respective realms, so that his hard core would be maintained.

Successive designs may show that recent propositions have begun to interact with established elements, or in certain instances, indicate that the propositions have been rejected, by virtue of the presence of some negated formulation. In the event that no older proposition shows change, the influence is then known to have not been concerned with the substance of the programme. The respective realms demonstrate different degrees of susceptibility to this phenomena. Propositions operating within the body of a programme show the greatest susceptibility, followed by propositions concerning the image. Ideological propositions would tend to be the most difficult to project, and are the most likely to be rejected.

In these terms, Scharoun's programme was insulated from pressure in two ways. First because it ascribed a conventional quality to culture and use, it was legitimate to accommodate the conservative reaction. Second, just as

multiple principles were permissible within a single design, it was legitimate to execute a programme which embodied distinct configurations of principles. This meant that institutional regulations could be applied as far as was required, while the unaffected aspects of the programme were applied in whatever space was available. Furthermore, since inconsistency carried no negative connotations, it was conceivable to attempt to achieve a design which embodied as full a range of principles as possible.

4.3.2.3 Continuous Development

The first phase of Scharoun's practice during the thirties is marked by a concern to accommodate the stylistic stipulations with which the various review authorities were now much more demanding.[109] In particular instances, new propositions manifest themselves quite graphically in records of the architect's work. The development of the relation between the structural system and the spatial quality of a house from the Schminke to the Strausz and Scharf designs is a very clear example of this. In the first instance, the structural frame is employed throughout the house, yet it has an effect on the perceived space only where the architect chooses to display it.

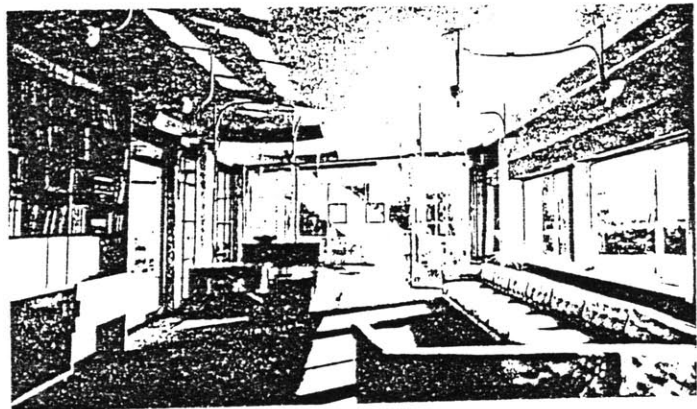


Figure 4-25:
Schminke house: View of living area

In the latter two houses, the two structural systems (frame

109. See page 101.

and bearing) are each spatially apparent. Each system is used to perform a distinct formal task. In addition, the pitched roof is also employed to spatial effect. To that extent, they have been internalized.

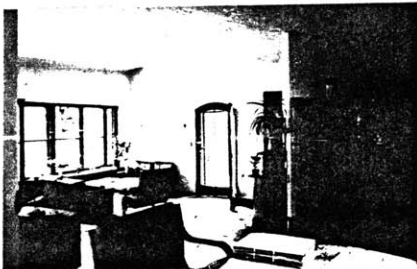


Figure 4-26:
Strauss house: View of
living area.



Figure 4-27:
Scharf house: View to
studio.

The appearance of the influence maintains the external origins. In the Strauss case, the submission drawings record the sketches in a hand other than Scharoun's for the new roof form, and for both latter houses the letters with the PBFM[110] certainly demonstrate the divergence of interests. Yet Scharoun could respond to the changes, and argued for one formulation, as superior to the other. This indicates that, within his programme, the terms of the objection had some points of influence and means of representation.

110. See (Anderson.1985, p.466ff).

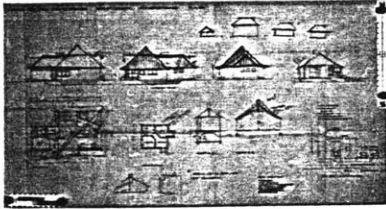


Figure 4-28:
Strauss house: Excerpt from submission drawings.

In another instance, the Bonk house, the design for a subdivision house became the typological basis for a later individual design. Typological propositions "internal" to Scharoun's image were combined with the practical projections of traditional ideology to produce components for a new programme.



Figure 4-29:
Priort housing estate.

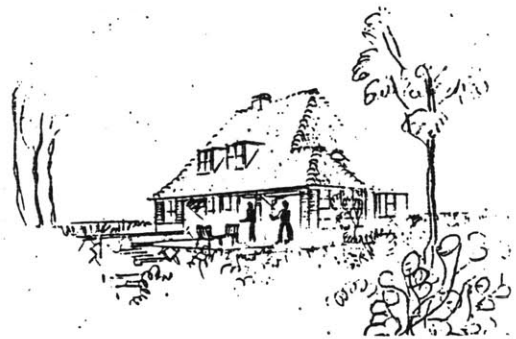


Figure 4-30:
Bonk house: SE view.

The next sections will present other specific instances of influence in "programmatic" terms.

Body of Knowledge

This phenomena is easiest to follow for propositions concerned with the body of a practice. It occurred during the thirties with regard to the material resources available to construct houses. On one hand the formal regulations limited surface finishes. On the other the successive four-year plans applied ever stricter limits to the quantities of building materials available to construct a house. The most stringent regulations limited each house to two tons of steel. If the owner desired central heating, there would not be much left over to carry long spans across open rooms or wide windows. The Schminke house had set a standard, for Scharoun, for the potential available from flat-plate steel framing. His first houses after 1933 were much more modest endeavors. Where he could, for example in the Baensch house, he continued to use steel framing to escape the limitations in room shapes which one wood framing, but by 1939, for the Mohrmann house, he managed to extended the limits of bearing wall systems as far as he needed to achieve the spatial configuration he desired.

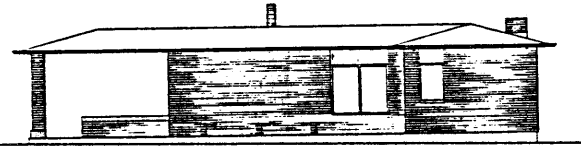


Figure 4-31:
Noack house: elevation

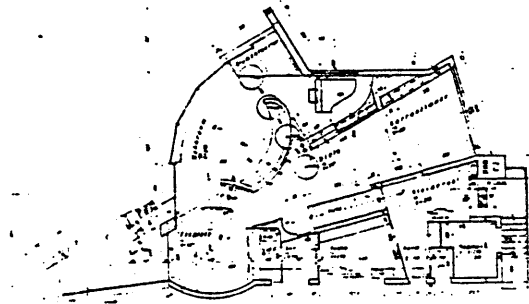


Figure 4-32:
Baensch house: ground floor
plan

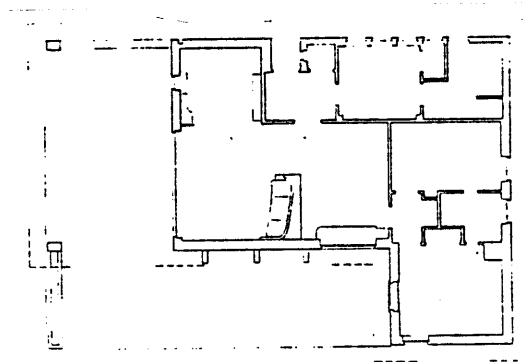


Figure 4-33:
Noack house: plan

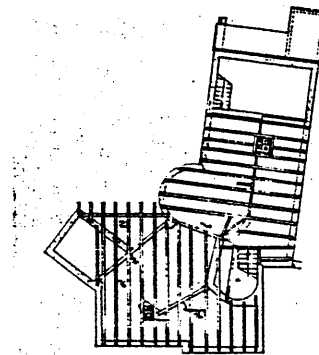


Figure 4-34:
Mohrmann house: second level
framing plan

These first houses also illustrate the effect of limitations on roof forms. The Noack and Mattern designs included very flat pitched roofs. They seem to be attempts to limit the effects of the new formal propositions. In the Mattern house, however, Scharoun began to exploit the formal potential of the gable roof. He arched the interior ceiling, to improve the light quality and reinforce the plan layout with the section form. The Strausz house was to have had a similar section.

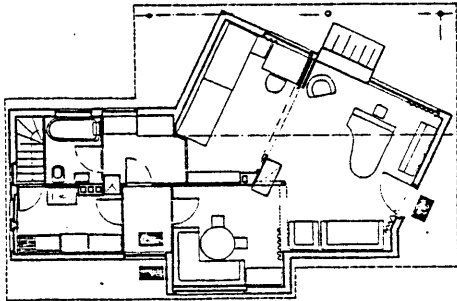


Figure 4-35:
Strausz house: preliminary
schematic design



Figure 4-36:
Strausz house: south eleva-
tion

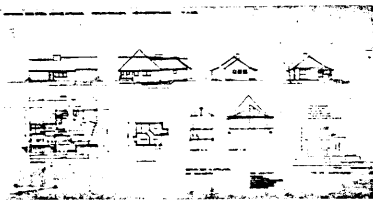


Figure 4-37:
Strausz house: altered per-
mit drawing

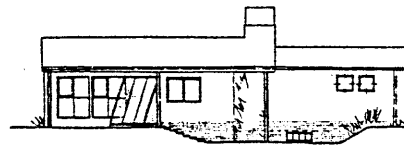


Figure 4-38:
Strausz house: eleva-
tion

The first schematic design indicates that he hoped to use the roof support posts, more deliberately than he had in the Schminke house, to develop a patio on the south side of the house. The next version indicates that the living room window was to face more towards the rear yard, which made the extensive south overhang unnecessary. The altered permit drawing also indicates that the inspector pressured Scharoun to use the higher roof form. Once that proposition was operative, Scharoun pursued the implications independently.

By the time he finished, the arched ceiling had been elaborated to distinguish between the spaces it spanned, at the same time as it united them. The fenestration, the interior finish work, and the timber framing were detailed to reinforce the sense of continuity from the living room out into the yard. The extra attic headroom was used for a heavy timber truss, to span the length of the living room without employing steel. Even the exterior form was cause for concern: Scharoun attempted to win approval for a gable roof, since it would have maintained the directed form of the house layout. As graphic an instance of "interference" as this may be, it is also apparent that it concerned the content of Scharoun's practice.

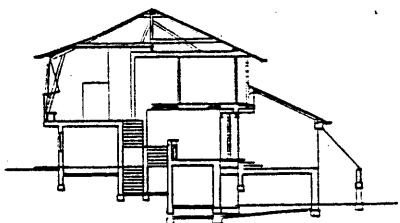


Figure 4-39:
Moll house: composite section.

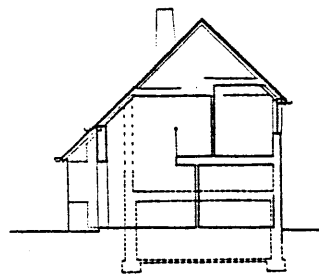


Figure 4-40:
Biskupski house: composite section.

The Moll house presents another development in the process. The composite section depicts the roof as a continuous surface, draped over the entire house. In those places where he desired large openings, he has eliminated the masonry

closure and allowed the wood framing to support the roof independently.

In the mid-thirties a new principle appeared: levels became continuous displaced surfaces as well as translated surfaces. This appears to have arisen first, in a minimal form, in the Strausz house. When Scharoun was required to maintain a particular height base, despite the undesirable effects that would have had for the access to the rear garden, he responded by introducing three steps between the living area and the dining area.

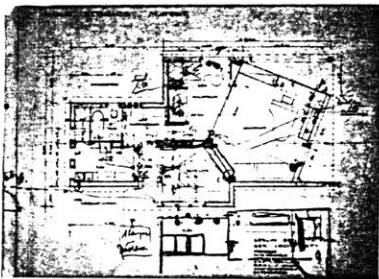


Figure 4-41:
Strausz house: schematic
plan. (note stair added)

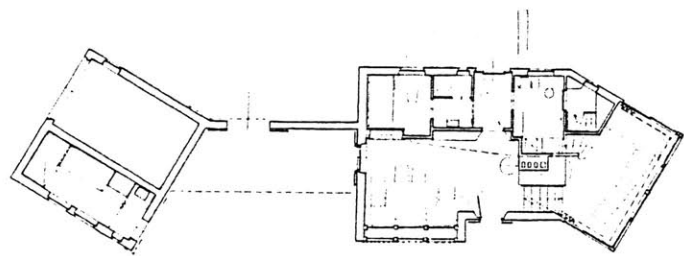


Figure 4-42:
Biskupski house: plan

While the composite sections indicate that the translation was still determined by the positions of the levels, the plans indicate that the virtually continuous quality of the

surface with a common use had come to figure in the arrangement. It also coincided with the development of the spatially distinct masses mentioned above. The outcome of the two developments were such plans as the Moll, Moller, and Biskupski houses, in which the primary use surface is a displaced plane. The Mohrmann and Endell houses illustrate the same quality with less vertical displacement.



Figure 4-43:
Siemensstadt.

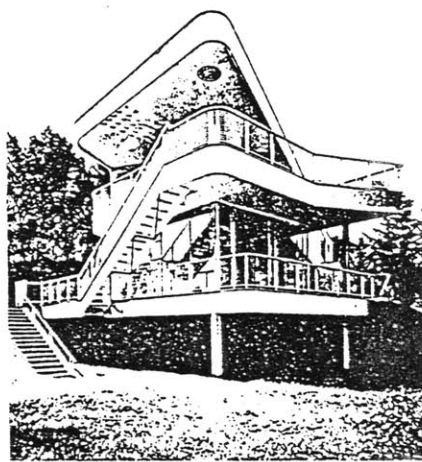


Figure 4-44:
Schminke house.

The attention to visual design which had been balanced in the twenties with an interest to develop new spatial types, diminished in the thirties. The publications during the twenties emphasized the graphic and compositional qualities of Scharoun's spatial designs. The photographs of projects such as Siemensstadt, Breslau, Weissenhof, and

Schminke[111] all strongly emphasized the compositional qualities. The first publications during the thirties emphasized those aspects of the design which contributed to and represented the quality of use.



Figure 4-45:
Moll house

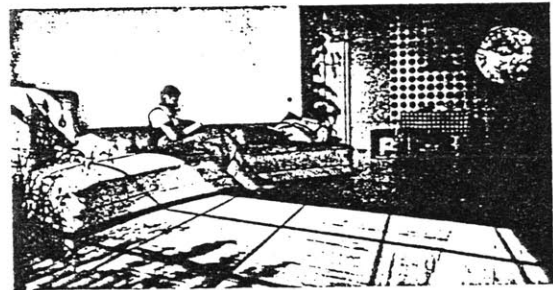


Figure 4-46:
Mattern House

Later, during the thirties, when compositional interests began to reemerge, the terms of the composition had changed. Surfaces and frameworks had been augmented by more complex systems of three dimensional correspondence. When Scharoun did not have the same materials at his disposal, the surface compositions were not developed as dramatically, yet the same principles appear in more reserved form.

111. Although photographs of the Schminke house were first published after 1933 they had been intended for a pre-1933 editorial policy. They were eventually published in Innen-Dekoration (n.3, 1934).

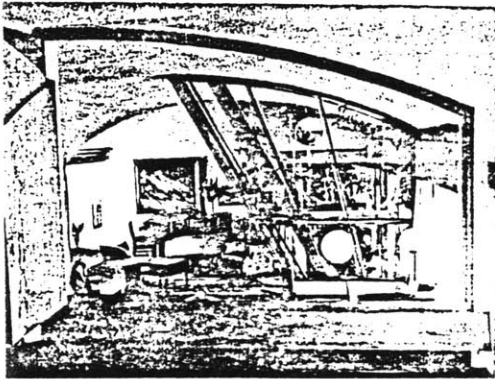


Figure 4-47:
Endell house

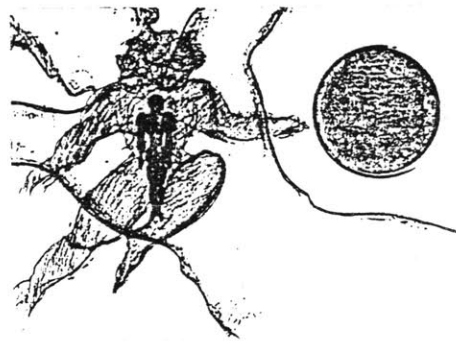


Figure 4-49:
Mattern house: wall relief
in dining area.



Figure 4-50:
Moll house section, indicat-
ing wall relief.



Figure 4-51:
Moll house: view into dining
area: note ceiling.



Figure 4-52:
Endell house: south elevation.

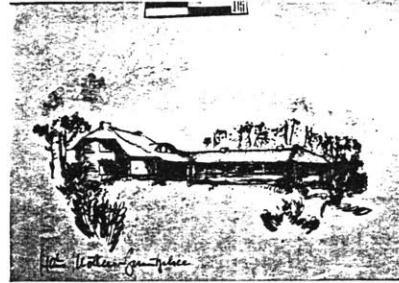


Figure 4-53:
Moeller addition: rendering.

The exterior surfaces of the houses retained their mediating roles, with the additional, occasional, responsibility to isolate the inhabitants from the public. The Endell facade displays three zones, each corresponds to a particular mode of mediation: containment for the garage, representation for the private uses, and interior/external continuity for the living area. The exterior finishes (stucco, brick, stone, shutters) are so arranged that the interior path, from entry to garden, is depicted on the facade. The design for the extension to the Moeller house indicates a similar concern for the unity of the existing house and the addition. He accomplishes this through correspondence of materials and sizes, and by continuing edges from one mass to the other.

The function of the stair, as a means to achieve the

transition to upper stories illustrates another development in Scharoun's tactics during these years. In the first houses after 1933, such as the Baensch, Hoffmeyer houses, and the first Wenzek design, the stair - which could no longer be placed freely as in the Schminke and Stuttgart houses - migrates to the middle of the plan, where there is sufficient height to ensure adequate headroom. As the path through the house becomes more deliberate, the stair is placed as appropriate for the progression, while the external form of the house develops to accommodate the volumes of the individual spaces and of the access path.

This process had already begun with the curved stair in Stuttgart, and with the split level solarium in the Hoffmeyer house. In the Just and Biskupski designs, the access path - including the stair - becomes integrated into the progression of spaces. In the Mohrmann and Endell houses, the stair becomes a reference point for the plan. The Scharf plan employs the stair as a spatial element to create continuity within the open living space. In the Weigand house, the stair alcove develops into a study at the same time as it acts externally to define the entry.

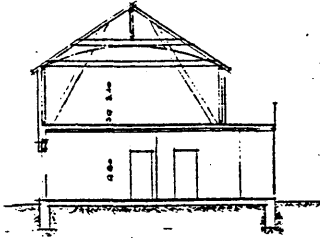


Figure 4-54:
Scharf house: section

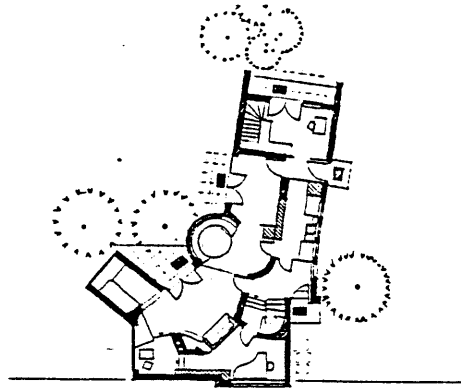


Figure 4-55:
Mohrmann house: main floor plan

In the latter part of the decade, even as the regulations tightened, Scharoun became very capable at manipulating these formal means to his ends. The presentation sketches for the Scharf house indicate that the concern with edges and openings was paramount. The roof floats above the house mass, as if the form of the eave were determined by some factor other than the wall upon which it bears. In order to create the central gallery space, which was the purpose of the house, Scharoun set a heavy timber, secondary structural system on top of the masonry structure. Wood and masonry construction are combined in the south facade to establish a very comfortable relationship with the rear garden.

The Mohrmann house embodies the most elaborate spatial configuration, and yet it was executed under the most severe conditions. The exterior bearing walls correspond to the

basic elements of the plan. They also determine the layout of the main framing members. In order to arrive at the final arrangement, Scharoun has shifted the basic masses, to open the house towards the south. The study and the dining alcove have been placed to benefit from the orientation, at the same time as they form interior spaces. The center bearing wall is aligned and dimensioned to act as a unifying surface for these spaces, at the same time as it extends the "interior" zone of the house out into the garden, by virtue of its direction and shape. The various finishes are arranged to help identify these use zones. As in the Schminke house, floor framing panels are arranged to accommodate this plan form, and the roof timbers follow suit. Finally, the entire arrangement has been conceived to present an orderly - although somewhat exaggerated, hip roof to the public.[112]

4.3.2.4 image

These examples indicate that, in contrast to his design work prior to 1933, in which one may account for the varied principles as experimental programmes, adopted provisionally for single projects, the houses of the thirties demonstrate that he could now sustain of a number of programmes

112. See figure 4-64.

simultaneously. He was able to do so by relaxing demands that a design conform to standards of coherence. To augment those principles of geometric and organic order, upon which he had depended during the twenties, he began to develop principles of spatial organization based on resemblance to natural forms.

This coincided with an emphasis on movement as the most significant means to comprehend the organization of the house designs. The twenties designs had been readily surveyable and comprehensible, while they were open, continuous plans. The thirties houses were difficult to comprehend from any given vantage point. The individual spaces withdrew into their respective "worlds". Although the architect could still plan from one vantage point, the inhabitant would never perceive the order apparent in the drawing. The users would begin to comprehend the house as they moved through it. One means he used to help this process was to develop the plan as a sequence of spaces. One wall of the house would be elaborated as a surface against which these spaces would be set. The opposite wall would open out - usually to the south - onto the private yard, to provide access and a consistent view as reference. The plans for the Biskupski and Weigand houses can be explained in this way.

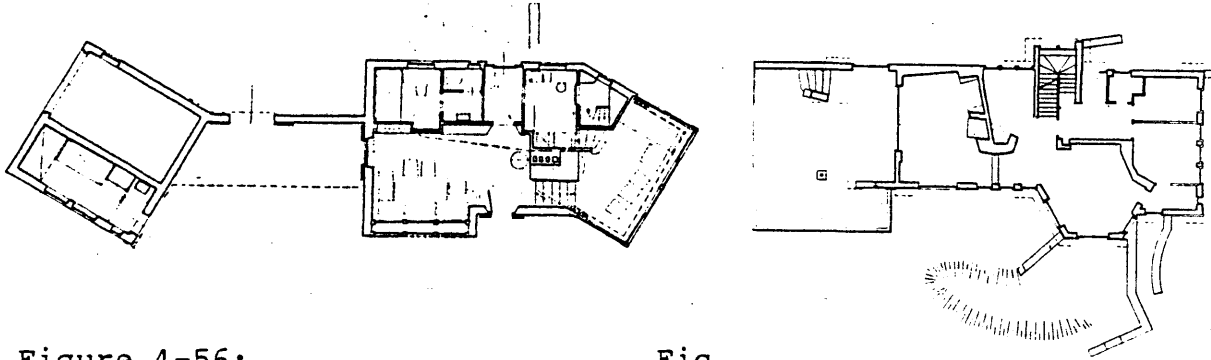


Figure 4-56:
Biskupski house: plan

Fig. 4-57:
Weigand House: plan

This points out a subsidiary development in the body of Scharoun's programme. The references to movement had been twofold during the twenties. His architecture projected "ship-like" qualities through the presence of maritime details: round windows, continuous pipe railings, swooping parapets, curved walls. He also made the shapes of spaces correspond to travel paths, with results such as the Boersenhof office building. In the thirties, the houses serve to transport the inhabitants from the public world to various private domains, to bring into intimate contact with the landscape, or to focus on some particular activity. The intent to transport the inhabitant figuratively, as well as physically is central to these houses.

The function of the stair, illustrates another tactical development in Scharoun's practice during these years. In the first houses after 1933, such as the Baensch, Hoffmeyer

houses , and the first Wenzek design, the stair - which could no longer be placed freely as in the Schminke and Stuttgart houses - migrates to the middle of the plan, where there is sufficient height to ensure adequate headroom. As the path through the house becomes more deliberate, the stair is placed as appropriate for the progression, while the external form of the house develops to accommodate the volumes of the individual spaces and of the access path.

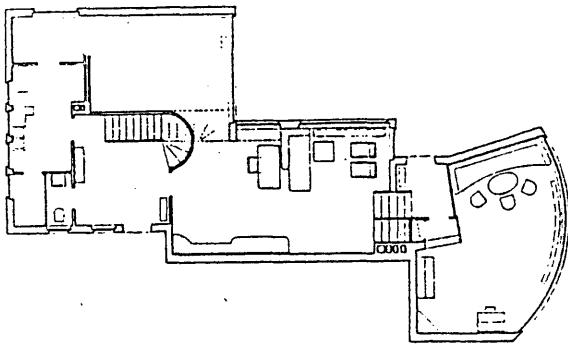


Figure 4-58:
Hoffmeyer house: plan.

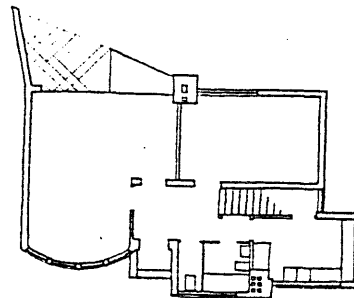


Figure 4-59:
Wenzek house: plan, first version.

This process had already begun with the curved stair in Stuttgart, and with the split level solarium in the Hoffmeyer house. In the Just and Biskupski designs, the access path - including the stair - becomes integrated into the progression of spaces. In the Mohrmann and Endell houses, the stair becomes a reference point for the plan. The Scharf plan employs the stair as a spatial element to create continuity within the open living space. In the Weigand house, the stair alcove develops into a study at the same time as it

acts externally to define the entry.

The most specific attempt by the NS programme to influence Scharoun's image of practice had been the attempt to regulate and standardize design. Yet, so long as he could maintain reflection and analysis at a higher precedence in his image than convention, he would continue to develop his own designs. The changes to the "Bauordnung" had not been sufficiently restrictive to effect his programme. If he were to have continued to plan with "Neue Heimat" he would have been relieved from all the other regulations which the "Baupolizei" enforced. This is not to imply that Scharoun was averse to convention. He had, himself, developed many standards. He developed dwelling standards for "Neue Heimat" to be used in post-war reconstruction. His files even contained the then current standard dwelling plans. In spite of that, the standards he developed maintained a degree of spatial differentiation more in keeping with the Siemsstadt apartments than the "uniform dwelling type".

ideology

Finally, Scharoun concurred with the proposition that architecture should mediate between the individual and

society. Yet, he also believed that architecture should represent and facilitate the individual's efforts at self-realization, rather than demonstrate the individual's allegiance to centralized authority. In the course of the development of the work during the thirties, the proposition of individuality began to predominate: the plans shifted away from hierarchic order to a conventional and asynchronous order. This shift produced changes within more than one realm. Within the body of his practice, it was a priority to develop spaces for each individual use. He developed the form of the intermediate spaces according to the shape and of the dependent spaces, and arranged them according to conventional rules rather than abstract rules. For example, a sequence of articulated spaces with a consistent view would be a more likely access arrangement than a corridor. It accompanied a shift in the image of the practice, reducing the significance of communal order. When, in the course of planning officers' dwellings in Bremerhaven, the client was more concerned that the houses to be planned around a rigid courtyard - in order to represent their unity - than that the designs individual houses be developed as appropriate for their particular position, Scharoun refused the project.

While the material influence mentioned above induced accommodation, the ideological pressure acted to isolate

Scharoun's programme from the context. When the social order became more restrictive, Scharoun employed the street facades more as a means to insulate the inhabitants from the outside world than to link the two.

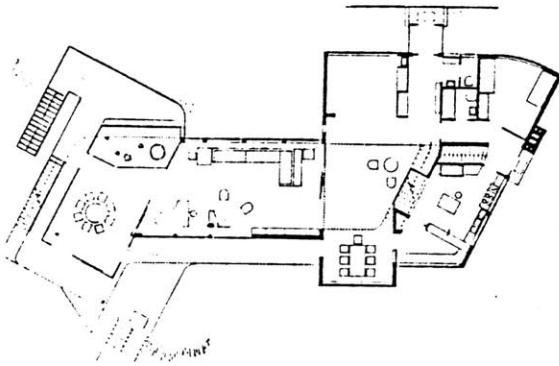


Figure 4-60:
Schminke house: Plan
1929-1933

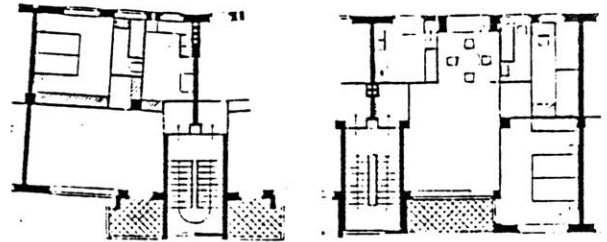


Figure 4-61:
Siemensstadt apartment: Plan
1930

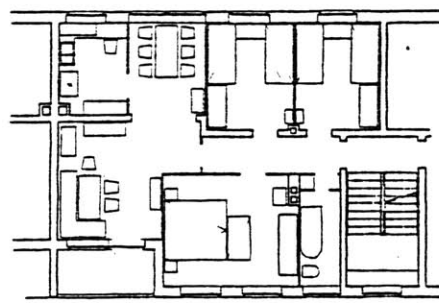
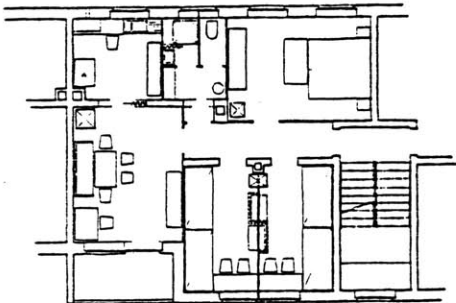


Figure 4-62:
Neue Heimat housing: Types
1941.

The entries of the Schminke house and the Siemensstadt apartment plans were formed so as to introduce the visitor to adjacent spaces in the dwelling, the entries in dwellings in the thirties tended to isolate the visitor from the more private areas in the dwelling. There were also propositions

which acted to insulate Scharoun's programme from influence. The most resistant proposition was that the act of design was an unconscious formal process, beyond the conscious control of either the designer or of any objective regulation. This acted in tandem with the conviction that the individual's experience was the central purpose of architecture to make Scharoun's programme unresponsive to NS pressures to recognize and represent centralized authority in designs.

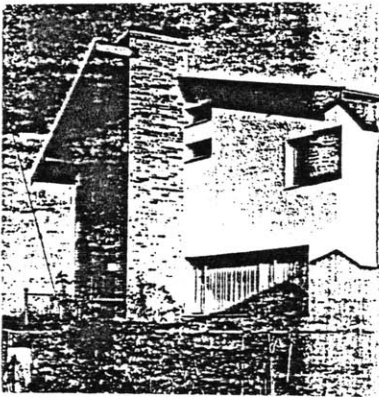


Figure 4-63:
Baensch house: street
facade.

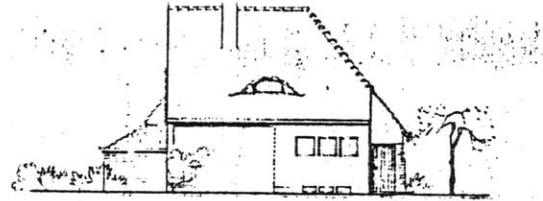


Figure 4-64:
Mohrmann house: street
elevation.

The first facades Scharoun executed after 1933 were rather direct in representing the conceptual structure of the house. The northwest elevation of the Baensch house marks the entry with a chimney and a shift in the surface of the facade. This edge supports the openings in the facade as well as anchoring the separation, in plan, between the living and the service zones - on the ground floor, and between the husband and wife - on the upper floor.

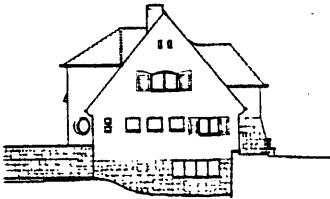


Figure 4-65:
Weigand house: street elevation.

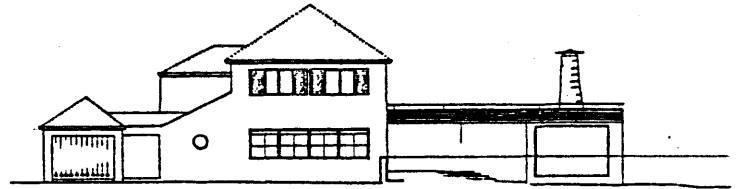


Figure 4-66:
Weidhaas house: street elevation.

In the Mohrmann, Weigand, and Weidhaas designs, the street facade has developed a representative quality separate from the interior activities. Access to the house no longer passes through the street elevation, it occurs through an entrance behind the facade, on the side of the house. Those windows which cannot be reconciled to the symmetrical form of the gable wall float freely, without restraint, and without regard for the other openings. On the opposite side of those same houses, the elements are deployed in ever closer correspondence to the uses contained.

The contrast which develops between the public and private facades develops in parallel with contrasts in the plan organization. A zone appears behind the duplicitous facades, enveloped by that facade and closed off from the remainder of the house, to contain service spaces, or other private rooms. The entry access and a stair to the upper

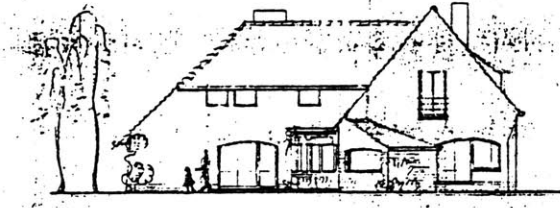


Figure 4-67:
Mohrmann house: south elevation.

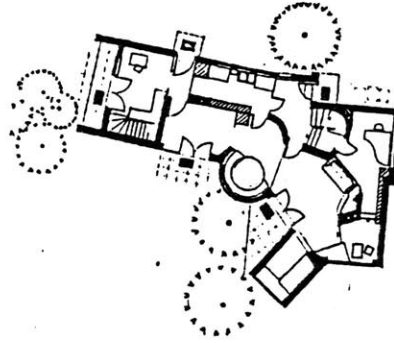


Figure 4-68:
Mohrmann house: Ground floor plan.



Figure 4-69:
Weigand house: south elevation.

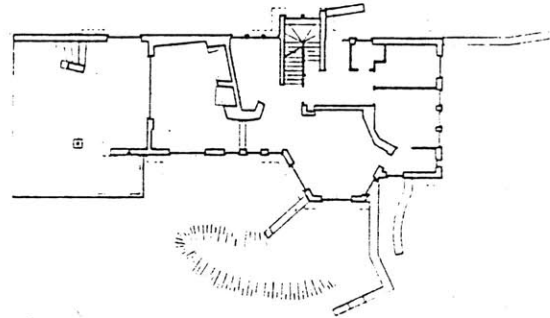


Figure 4-70:
Weigand house: Ground floor plan.



Figure 4-71:
Weidhaas house: south elevation.

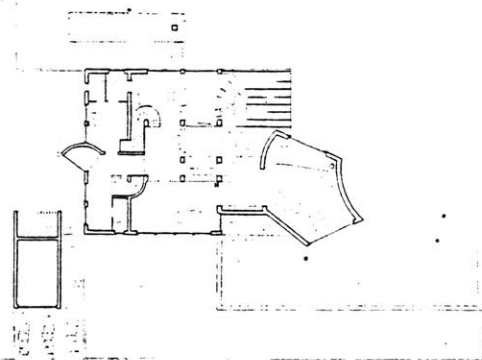


Figure 4-72:
Weidhaas house: Ground floor plan.

floor usually develop within this mass, while the other

living spaces depend on the interior edge to define some of their use zones. Yet while the shape of this mass is important, the quality of the interior spaces does not signify the external uses. When considered at the size of the entire plan, the spaces are acting as a single element in the design. This sort of hierarchy appears in the Weidhaas, Biskupski, Just, Moeller, Moll, and Bonk houses.

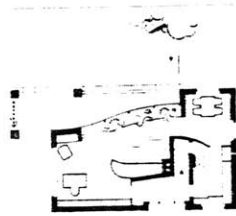


Figure 4-73:
Bonk house: ground plan.

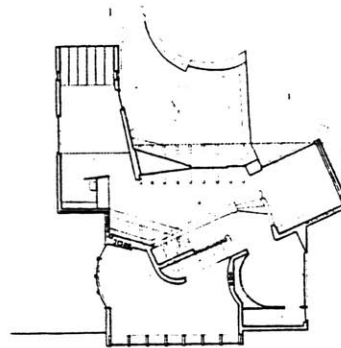


Figure 4-74:
Moll house: main floor plan.

4.3.3 Assessment

Scharoun believed the meaning of architecture was to "signify life". During the period of National Socialist rule in Germany, an attentive individual would have been hard pressed not to be concerned exactly what life was to be signified. Scharoun had been relieved of his teaching post. No public forum was open to him. He was visited by the Gestapo on more than one occasion. His partner, Rading, was forced to leave Germany. During the last year of the war the only communication he had with Haering were postcards, "signs of life", sent as indications that he had survived yet another bombing raid.

Yet he remained, convinced that the condition was temporary. When it passed, the problem of building would still be waiting to be tackled. Scharoun's model of cultural evolution enabled him to remain in the presence of an overbearing competitor, without having to submit to it. He drew on Haering's model to propose organic design as an inevitable stage, which was to develop from the contingent conditions

This account has demonstrated that in spite of the hindrances and interference, Scharoun was able to continue

his practice, to continue to work on the problems posed by "new building". The circumstances presented above demonstrate that Scharoun was able to accommodate sufficient particular stipulations from the NS programme that they were not able to prevent his practice. The manner in which the propositions were accommodated demonstrates the mechanism of a programme's progress, from the first anomalous appearance to the eventual integration. "External" principles were first accommodated conventionally within his programme, then began to influence the "internal" composition of the programme by inducing adjustment within an individual realm, or through projection into another realm. These propositions finally represented integral elements of a new programme when they contributed to the core of the new programme.

Whereas one must account for the varied principles manifested in Scharoun's design work prior to 1933 as experimental programmes, each adopted for a single project, the houses of the thirties demonstrate that he was now able to avail himself of a number of programmes simultaneously. They also demonstrated that the precedence among the propositions remained unchanged. It follows that the essential thematic quality of the programme remained unchanged over the course of the transformation.

Appendix A
List of Works

The works presented in this chronological list are identified by two numbers. The first number, in parentheses, designates the objects relative chronological position according to the best information at my disposal. The second number is the project's designation according to the list of works drawn up by Peter Pfankuch.[1]

In most cases the numbers will agree. A few new projects (indicated by a " - " in the place of the Pfankuch number) and some corrections in dates introduce some discrepancies. The designation " W " indicates the project was a competition entry. The designation " E " indicates the project did not proceed beyond the design stage. The designation " U " indicates the project was an alteration to an existing structure.

1. (Pfankuch.1976)

A.1 Projects 1927-1932

- (58):(58)
Transportable Woodframed
House at the GuGaLi -
German Garden and Crafts
Exhibition
Liegnitz /N.S.
hergestellt von Christof
& Unmack, Niesky/O.L.[2]
- (59):(59) 1927
Single Family House for
the Werkbund Exhibition
>>Die Wohnung<<
Stuttgart - Weissenhof
23.VII - 23.X.1927
- (60):(60)|E 1927
Passage through the Min-
istry Gardens
Berlin
urban design proposal
- (61):(63)|E 1927
Adriabad, Schwimmbad am
Zoo
Berlin
- (62):(61)|WE 1927
Fire Station
Breslau
- (63):(63)|WE 1927
Reichstag Addition
Berlin
>>Balance<<, 2 versions
- (64):(64)|E 1927
Wohnblock Dahlem Dorf
Berlin
- (65):(65)|WE 1928
Evangelisch Kirche
Breslau-Zimpel
- (66):(66)|WE 1928
Schule
Breslau-Zimpel
- (67):(67)|E 1928
Ledigenheim am Eingang
einer Siedlung
Breslau
- (68):(68)|WE 1928
Stadthalle und Ausstel-
lungshallen
Bremen
- (69):(69)|WE 1928
Schulhausgruppe Schlich-
tallee
Berlin-Lichtenberg
- (70):(70)|WE
Einfamilienhaus
>>Weite<< for Velhagen
and Klasings Monthly
Journal

2. The same firm would con-
struct the Schminke House
and the "Growing House" in
Berlin.

- (71):(71)|E 1928
Hotel in Wesermuende
...
- (72):(72)|WE 1928
Richard Wagner Memorial
Leipzig
- (73):(73) 1928-29
Kaiserdamm Apartment
Dwellings
Berlin-Charlottenburg
(Kaiserdamm 25 /
Koenigen-Elisabeth-
Strasze / Fredericia
strasze)
- (74):(74) 1929
Wohnbauten Kaiserstrasze
Bremerhaven
(Buergermeister Schmidt
Strasze)
- (75):(75)|E 1929
Wohnheim am Heidelberger
Platz
Berlin-Wilmersdorf
- (76):(76)|E 1929
Wohnblock Paulsbor-
nerstrasze
Berlin-Wilmersdorf
(Paulsborner- /
Eisenzahn- /
Westfaelische- /
Albrecht-Achilles-
Strasze)
- (77):(77) 1929
Wohnheim an der Werkbun-
dausstellung
>>Wohnung und Werkraum<<
Breslau, 15.VI-15.IX.1929
- (78):(78)|E 1929
Ausstellungspavilion
Desta
Deutsche Eisen- und
Stahl- Gesellschaft
- (79):(79) 1929-30
Hohenzollerndamm Apart-
ment house
Berlin-Wilmersdorf
Hohenzollerndamm 35-36 /
Mansfelderstrasze 29
- (80):(80)|WE 1929
Justizgebaeude
Berlin-Tiergarten
Invalidenstrasze, Alt-,
Moabit Strasze, Rathenauer
Strasze
- (81):(81) 1930
Siedlung Siemensstadt
Berlin-
Charlottenburg/Spandau
Siteplaning of settle-
ment; Apartments at
Jungfernheideweg, and
Maeckeritzstrasze
- (82):(82)|E 1930
Dwelling block Lindner
Berlin

- | | | | |
|--|------|--|------|
| (83):(83) E
Row houses - Type
Schlachtensee
Berlin | 1930 | (91):(92) E
Dwelling house Kottbusser
Tor
Berlin-Kreuzberg | 1931 |
| (84):(84) E
Row house - Type Halensee
Berlin | 1930 | (92):(93) E
Dwelling house
Treseburger Ufer
Berlin-Neukoelln | 1931 |
| (85):(85) WE
Richard-Wagner-Memorial
Leipzig | 1929 | (93):(94) E
Dwelling house
Hauptstrasse
Berlin-Schoeneberg | 1931 |
| (86):(86)
Dwelling House
Flinzberger Place 3
Berlin-Wilmersdorf | 1931 | (94):(95) E
Dwelling house Kaiserdamm
Berlin-Charlottenburg | 1931 |
| (87):(88) E
Storefront advertising
for Leiser
Berlin | 1931 | (95):(96) E
Wonolett
...
Typed floor plans | 1931 |
| (88):(89) WE
War victims memorial in
Thueringer Forest
... | 1931 | (96):(97) E
Moeller house
Potsdam
three single family
houses | 1931 |
| (89):(90) UE
Steinhausen House
Falkenhain(Berlin) | 1931 | (97):(98) E
Gallery Apartments
Berlin | 1931 |
| (90):(91) WE
The contemporary home
for Bauwelt | 1931 | (98):(99) E
single family house, type
Loebau
Loebau | 1931 |

- (99):(100)|E 1931
 "Kettenhaus am Hang"
 ...
 single family - semi-
 detached houses
- (100):(101)|E 1931
 City outskirts settlement
 house
 >>Stadtrandsiedlungs
 haus<<
 ...
 (w/ E.Gutkind)
- (101):(102)|E 1931
 Dwelling block and
 Theater
 Berlin-Charlottenburg
 Spandauer Damm / Ecke
 Sophie-Charlotten-Strasze
- (102):(103)|E 1931
 "Aussiedlung Berlin"
 Berlin
 two story Dwelling row
 houses
- (103):(104)|E 1931
 Type plan designs
 ...
 "Vierspaenner" for four
 story dwelling houses
- (104):(105)|E 1931
 Dwelling development
 Wannsee
 Berlin-Wannsee
 (w.Rading)
- (105):(106)|E 1931
 Apartment house
 Reichstrasze
 Berlin-Charlottenburg
- (106):(107)|E 1931
 Dwelling types for a
 double loaded corridor
 house
 (Mittelganghaus)-
 ...
- (107):(108)|E 1931
 Apartment house Hinden-
 burgplatz
 Bremerhaven
- (108):(124) 1931-33
 Schminke House
 Loebau/Sachsen
 (garden by Herta
 Hammerbacher)
- (109):(109)|E 1932
 Single family house /
 "Flachtyp" I, II, III
 ...
- (110):(110)|E 1932
 Baukaro (modular based
 house type plans)
 ...
 (for Jakobowitz / Chris-
 tof & Unmack)

- (111):(111) 1932
the extendible house /
"Das wachsende Haus"
Berlin
Wood house for the ex-
hibition "sun, air and
house for all"
- (112):(112)|E 1932
Dwelling block
Landsberger Allee
Berlin-Lichtenberg
- (113):(113)|E 1932
Film Theater
Bremerhaven
- (114):(114)|E 1932
Panke Park
Berlin-Wedding
(excursion park to
Bernau)
- (115):(115)|E 1932
The transportable house
...
plan types
- (116):(116) 1931-33
Dwelling Block Hohenzol-
lernring
Berlin-Spandau
Hohenzollernring -
Falkenseer Chaussee
- (117):(118) 1932
Schuldenfrey House
Berlin-Dahlem
Garystrasse 26
- (118):(119)|E 1932
Wohnheim mit variablen
Typen
...
- (119):(120)|E 1932
Wohnheim
...
(1- and 2- bed types,
four and six entry)
- (120):(121)|E 1932
Single family house with
terrace addition
...

A.2 Projects 1933-1945

- | | | | |
|----------------|--|--|------|
| | | (128):(128) | 1933 |
| | | Mattern House | |
| | | Bornim(Potsdam) | |
| | | (garden by Mattern) | |
| (121):(122) | 1932-33 | | |
| | Dwelling block | | |
| | Zweibrueckerstrasse | | |
| | Berlin-Spandau | (129):(-) | 1934 |
| | Zweibrueckerstrasse | Benkhof house | |
| | 38-46, Hohenzollernring | Nedlitz(Potsdam) | |
| | see pfl16 | | |
| (122):(123) E | 1933 | (130):(149) | 1934 |
| | The variable dwelling | Noack House | |
| | ... | Nedlitz(Potsdam) | |
| | (prototypical design for
combined of dwellings and
bachelor flats) | (131):(129) | 1934 |
| (123):(117) | 1933 | Anker noodle factory | |
| | Wenzeck house | Loebau/Sachsen | |
| | Berlin - Frohnau | (garage; cafeteria; | |
| | Maximillian Korso 31 | lounges; farm house; site
planning) | |
| (124):(87) WE | 1930-34 | (132):(130) E | 1934 |
| | Stadthalle Rostock | Northsea Cluster | |
| | ... | Wesermuende, Buergerpark | |
| | | Officers housing | |
| (125):(125) | 1934-35 | (133):(131) E | 1934 |
| | Strausz House | Vitznau vacation houses | |
| | Berlin-Dahlem | Vitznau / Switzerland | |
| | Hueninger Strasse 39 | (houses for an hotel
vacation colony) | |
| (126):(126) WE | 1933 | (134):(132) | 1934 |
| | Stockholm | Mueller-Oerlinghausen | |
| | ... | mosaic workshop | |
| | Replanning for the neigh-
borhood Normalm | Berlin-Charlottenburg | |
| | | Clausewitzstrasse | |
| (127):(127) E | 1933 | | |
| | Wohnheim Alexanderplatz | | |
| | Berlin | | |

- | | | | |
|--|------|---|------|
| (135):(134) | 1935 | (142):(140) | 1936 |
| Baensch House
Berlin-Spandau
Weinmeisterhoehe, Hoehen-
weg 9
(garden by H.Mattern) | | Moll House
Berlin-Grunewald
Trabenerstrasze 74a
(garden H.Mattern)
(destroyed 1944) | |
| (136):(-) E | 1935 | (143):(153) | 1937 |
| Priort Housing Estate
...
(collaboration with the
GWG) | | Scharf House
Berlin-Schmargendorf
Miquelstrasze 39a, 39b
(garden H.Mattern) | |
| (137):(135) | 1936 | (144):(-) | 1937 |
| Hoffmeyer House
Bremerhaven
Friesenstrasze 6 | | Scharf Development
Berlin, Dahlem
Miquelstrasze, Ham-
mersteinstrasze | |
| (138):(136) | 1935 | (145):(141) | 1937 |
| Hottengrund settlement
Berlin-Kladow, Hottengrund | | Elbestrasze single family
houses
Bremerhaven
Elbestrasze - Ecke
Bleszmannstrasze | |
| (139):(137) | 1935 | (146):(142) | 1937 |
| Pflaum House (Bader-
Bornschein)
Falkensee(Berlin) | | Moeller House
Zermuetzelsee
(Altruppin)/ Mark Branden
burg
(garden H.Mattern) | |
| (140):(138) | 1935 | | |
| Dwelling house
Kaiserstrasze
Bremerhaven
Buergermeister Schmidt
Strasze | | | |
| (141):(139) | 1936 | | |
| Dwelling settlement im
Eichengrund
Berlin-Heiligensee
Schulzendorferstrasze
(for the GWG) (garden
H. Mattern) | | | |

- (147):(-) 1938-42
 Neue Heimat
 Bautzen, Bernau,
 Leipzig-Molkau,
 Leipzig-Lieberwolkwitz,
 Loebau,
 Neugersdorf Saxon,
 Oberoderwitz Sa.,
 Ottendorf-Okrilla Sa.,
 Radeburg,
 Reichenbach-Neusalza Sa.,
 Tharandt.
 (Planning for post-war
 urban reconstruction.
 Collaboration with
 W. Kiesshauer.
- (148):(144) 1938
 Single-family Housing
 Bleszmannstrasse
 Bremerhaven
- (149):(145)|U 1938
 Krueger House
 Berlin-Nikolassee
 An der Rehwiese 4
 (destroyed 1982)
- (150):(146) 1938
 Bonk House
 Bornim(Potsdam)
 Am Raubfang
- (151):(147)|E 1938-44
 Humboldtstrasse Single
 family houses
 Berlin-Reinickendorf
 (for GWG)
- (152):(148)|E 1938
 Just House
 Berlin Schlachtensee
- (153):(150)|UE 1939
 Dwelling house
 Yorkstrasse
 Bremerhaven
 Yorkstrasse
- (154):(151)|E 1939
 Weidhass House
 Leipzig
 (7 versions)
- (155):(152) 1939
 Silbermann Garden bath
 house
 Brandenburg/Havel
- (156):(154) 1938-40
 Mohrmann House
 Berlin-Lichtenrade
 Falkensteinstrasse 10
- (157):(155) 1939
 Kaiserstrasse Dwelling
 houses
 Bremerhaven
 Kaiserstrasse 240-254
 (for BWG)
- (158):(156) 1940
 Endell House
 Berlin-Wannsee
 Am kleinen Wannsee 30b
- (159):(157) 1940
 Mueller-Oerlinghausen
 studio alteration
 Berlin-Charlottenburg
 Kantstrasse 12

(160):(143)|E 1941
Biskupski House
Zermuetzelsee(Altruppin)

(161):(158) 1941-43
Central Laundry research
project
...
(for the
Reichsforschungsgesellschaft)

(162):(159) 1942
Weigand House
Borgsdorf(Berlin)

(163):(160)|U 1943
Mueller-Oerlinghausen
House
Kreszbronn/Bodensee

(164):(161)|E 1943
Moeller House addition
(see p142)

(165):(-)|E 1944
Rittmeister House
...

(166):(-)
Fa. Printator
...
Umspannstation, Nieder
spannungsschaltraum, u.
Betriebswerkstatt

Appendix B
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Appendix CAbbreviations

The abbreviations used in the above discussion have the following meanings:

BWG	Bremerhavener Wohnungsbaugesellschaft m.b.H.
DAF	Deutsche Arbeitsfront
DWB	Deutscher Werkbund
GWG	Gemeinnützige Wohnstättenbaugesellschaft m.b.H.
NS	Nationalsozialismus
PBFD	Preuszischen Bau- und Finanzdirektion
RAM	Reichsarbeitsministerium
RFM	Reichsministerium der Finanzen
RGB1	Reichsgesetzblatt
RkbK	Reichskammer der bildenden Künste
RmVaP	Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda

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